

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1995

JUNE - DEC.

Inkatha plays down rift with the ANC

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it would not abandon constitutional talks with the ANC, despite speculation that it intended to do so because of heightened political tensions between the two parties.

Inkatha also backed a denial by President Nelson Mandela's office that the Cabinet was "at breaking point" after media reports that ministers "nearly exchanged blows" at Wednesday's Cabinet meeting over a KwaZulu/Natal security report.

Inkatha chief negotiator and Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela said even if Inkatha found nothing new in ANC constitutional proposals presented to it this week, plans for negotiations between the two sides would proceed.

Mzimela said Inkatha hoped the ANC would accept after studying Inkatha's proposals that it did not want KwaZulu/Natal to secede from SA, but stood for "a federal and plural constitutional system".

He said: "We have to find a solution through talking, because we cannot continue any other way." The alternative, not only for KwaZulu/Natal but for the whole of SA, "would be absolutely disastrous". It would take at least another week before the two sides were ready to meet to draw up an agenda for full-blown negotiations.

He scoffed at reports that ministers al-

B02/6/95

Continued on Page 2

ANC rift

Continued from Page 1

most came to blows at Wednesday's Cabinet meeting. The reports said tempers had flared during a discussion of a security briefing on KwaZulu/Natal given last week to the Cabinet security and intelligence committee. If that was true, Cabinet would not have agreed to hold a special meeting next week to discuss the situation in the province.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel slammed as "outrageous and fabricated" the reports that the Cabinet meeting threatened to lead to physical violence. "Neither was there at any time the faintest suggestion that any parties or ministers were contemplating withdrawal from the government of national unity."

He conceded though there was "prolonged and heated debate" over the controversial draft Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Bill. Mandela is spearheading ANC efforts to transfer the payment of chiefs' salaries from the provinces to central government.

A Cabinet source said the row over chiefs' salaries burst into the open when Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, whose department drafted the Bill, tried to say that the Cabinet had two weeks earlier approved the Bill and it was therefore unnecessary for it to return to the Cabinet after consultations. He said some ANC ministers backed Meyer, but Inkatha ministers disagreed. The matter was settled when the chairman, Deputy President FW de Klerk, said the Cabinet had not yet adopted the Bill.

ANC fight with IFP hurting ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ SA image — De Klerk

ARG 2/6/95

TYRONE SEALE, Political Staff

THE deadlock over international mediation is the most urgent problem undermining confidence in South Africa's long-term prospects, says Deputy President F.W. de Klerk.

Speaking in the national assembly debate on his budget vote yesterday, Mr de Klerk said at home and abroad there was still a degree of doubt, and even scepticism, about the country's future.

In KwaZulu-Natal mediation was no longer the only issue, as political violence continued sporadically, scores of people were dying every week and tension was mounting in spite of promised dialogue.

"Leaders who serve together in the government of national unity are relentlessly going for one another," Mr de Klerk said, referring to Mr Mandela's accusation from Tanzania this week, that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — and not his party — was responsible for violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

"When the President of South Africa launches a vicious attack on the integrity of a leading member of his government from foreign soil, it is not only his image which suffers, but also our country's image."

Briefly deviating from his prepared speech, Mr De Klerk denied that Wednesday's cabinet had nearly come to blows over party political differences.

"There was a sharp debate, even strong personal remarks were made, but it was never disorderly, and statements to this effect create the wrong impression."

Mr De Klerk said the IFP threatened and marginalised itself through withdrawal. The African National Congress threatened as well and thus contributed not only to the IFP's marginalisation but also to undermining the constitution.

"And in the meantime KwaZulu-Natal is bleeding — literally and figuratively. It cannot continue. The time has come for true statesmanship from all sides, instead of the present point-scoring."

● More reports, page 4.

President: I told Shell House guards to shoot

(113)

POLITICAL STAFF

CT 2/6/95

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela instructed ANC security guards to kill if necessary, to protect the ANC's Shell House headquarters from IFP marchers last year.

Mr Mandela made the dramatic admission yesterday in reply to continuing NP and DP criticism of the police's handling of the Shell House massacre in which nine people were killed when ANC guards opened fire on the crowd.

More than 50 people died during the IFP's mass march to the centre of Johannesburg on March 28 last year.

Mr Mandela told the Senate: "They (the marchers) came to Shell House and passed the spot where they were supposed to have their meeting. We knew why. I gave instructions to our security: if they attack (Shell House), you must protect that house even if you are to kill people. It was absolutely necessary for me to give that instruction."

In a statement reacting to Mr Mandela's comments, Inkatha accused him of "duplicity" and demanded both a police investigation and a judicial commission of inquiry into his role in the shooting.

"Despite the President's apparent conviction that he is above the constitution, justice must be done and be seen to be done. The President must be taught that he is as much subject to the law as anyone else."

"It is imperative that the Minister of Safety and Security ensure that the President's role in the entire incident be made the subject of an immediate criminal investigation," Inkatha said.

The party also accused Mr Mandela of preventing a proper police investigation of the shooting at the time.

Mr Mandela's admission came a day after 101 survivors and relatives of victims of the shooting filed a law suit against Mr Mandela and the ANC for damages amounting to R10 million.

VIOLENCE CLAIMS SIX LIVES

'We'll force army out of south coast' — IFP

CT 2/6/95

(11B) (11B)

DURBAN: In the face of threats of force from the IFP, the officer commanding kwaZulu/Natal has promised an investigation into allegations of political bias among soldiers.

Inkatha yesterday vowed to mobilise its supporters to force the defence force out of the kwaZulu/Natal south coast region.

"IFP leaders in the Port Shepstone region have vowed to mobilise tens of thousands of IFP supporters to force the removal of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) from the region," Inkatha spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said.

"This follows the SANDF's contemptuous dismissal of the party's allegations of SANDF misconduct in the region," he said.

Inkatha was happy with polic-

ing in the area and Port Shepstone would be peaceful if the SANDF had not been deployed there, Mr Tillett said.

The officer commanding the army's Natal Command, Brigadier Chris le Roux, earlier rejected Mr Tillett's allegations of political bias by soldiers in troubled rural settlements near Port Shepstone as "propaganda" but said they would be investigated.

"We have convened a board of inquiry to investigate these allegations so that the truth can be ascertained," he said.

Mr Tillett said the army's state-

ment was outrageous. He added that a regional executive member of the IFP in the kwaZulu/Natal Midlands, Mr Sha Shangase, 49, was shot dead on his way home in kwaBhidla on Wednesday.

Killings

"This brings to 381 the number of IFP members murdered since 1985 in political assassinations."

Police said yesterday that at least six people had been killed in kwaZulu/Natal over the past two days, pushing the death toll from violence in the province to over 230 in the last month.

The Human Rights Committee said about 70 of the killings were politically linked. — Sapa-Reuter

'I WON'T FOLD MY ARMS IN FACE OF CHALLENGES'

Mandela rebukes Buthelezi

CT 21/6/95 246



PRESIDENT Mandela's patience seems to be running out. ANTHONY JOHN-

SON reports.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela warned Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday that he would no longer accept challenges to the central government and to his authority as President of "every inch" of South Africa.

In one of his sharpest rebukes yet of his cabinet colleague and the IFP, the President also said it was crucial that the central government took firm action "against any tendencies to subvert the constitution, foment violence or prevent free political activity".

The IFP leader has repeatedly urged his supporters to "rise and resist" the central government.

Mr Mandela said he would continue to use persuasion and criticism as his main weapons.

"But I am a realist. If that strategy does not bear fruit, if thousands of people keep on dying, ... if in spite of all my efforts ... there has been no progress, I am not going to fold my arms," he said.

Mr Mandela's thinly veiled threats follow remarks during a state visit to Tanzania earlier this week in which he placed much of the blame for the conflict in kwazulu/Natal on Chief Buthelezi.

His remarks fuelled a heated debate in the cabinet this week and more fireworks are expected

to follow. Mr Mandela's thinly veiled threats follow remarks during a state visit to Tanzania earlier this week in which he placed much of the blame for the conflict in kwazulu/Natal on Chief Buthelezi.

on Wednesday during a special cabinet meeting called to deal with the conflict in the province.

Deputy President F W de Klerk warned MPs during the debate on his budget vote yesterday that government leaders were "relentlessly going for one another" while kwazulu/Natal was bleeding.

"When the President of the country launches a vicious attack on the integrity of a leading member of his government on foreign soil, it is not only his image which suffers, but also our country's image," he said.

Mr De Klerk also criticised the IFP's boycott tactics and called for the forging of a new political accord to stabilise kwazulu/Natal.

'Incitement'

In his response Mr Mandela said the NP should share the blame for violence in the province because it had for decades "incited" the IFP to break the law.

"It is my duty as the President ... to save lives and if I cannot save lives under the present constitution, I will change it," he said to applause from ANC benches.

Responding to NP calls during the Senate debate that he should meet Chief Buthelezi in a bid to defuse the crisis, he said he and the ANC had gone out of their way to initiate meetings since he had been released from prison.

"Why should I repeat what I have been doing for the last five years?" he asked.

A promise was made. To break it serves only to strengthen Buthelezi's position, Communist The Economist

Mandela is ceding the moral high ground to Buthelezi

(118) Stan 2/16/95

Moral authority runs through President Nelson Mandela like blood through an artery. Mandela, and his fellow ANC leaders emerged from decades in jail seemingly without bitterness towards their captors.

The ANC's policy of reconciliation has done more than anything else to make the first year of South Africa's new democracy a fairly peaceful one, confounding those pessimists who feared a civil war.

Even in economics the ANC has taken a principled position, showing itself and its coalition government to be more disciplined in fiscal matters than were its National Party predecessors, avoiding the temptation to throw borrowed money at housing, education and unemployment.

Which all makes it even more surprising that on the one remaining cause of political violence — the question of regional autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal — Mandela has ceded the moral high ground to Inkatha Freedom Party leader and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi is a difficult man. One moment charming, the next throwing a temper tantrum, then boycotting one thing or another, then inviting you sweetly to sign his visitor's book, he is not everybody's cup of tea.

But in April 1994 Mandela and then president F.W. de Klerk made him a promise. If the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed to take part in that month's general election, South Africa's

first all-race poll, the ANC and the National Party would agree to international mediation over the IFP's demand for regional autonomy in KwaZulu-Natal.

Inkatha duly took part in the election, yet the ANC has refused to deliver on its promise so far. This week it reluctantly agreed on "talks about talks", but no more than that. People are again killing each other in KwaZulu-Natal.

The ANC says that all the Inkatha demands can be discussed perfectly well in the constitutional assembly whose task is to draw up a new constitution for the country, replacing the temporary arrangements that were put in place before last year's election.

In this, the party is correct: the assembly does offer the best forum for discussion since it carries a full democratic mandate and contains representatives of all political parties — or did, until Inkatha boycotted it in April.

But another truth cannot be avoided. A promise was made. To break it serves only to strengthen Buthelezi's position.

There are other truths, to be sure. The ANC allowed last year's election to be rigged in KwaZulu-Natal to ensure that the IFP won a small majority in the province, for fear of what might happen if it did not.

This makes it far from clear that Buthelezi really speaks even for the Zulus, let alone the province as a whole. Furthermore, the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, has broken with

Buthelezi, his cousin, and has begun to side with Mandela.

Buthelezi says he wants only German-style federalism and not secession. But many suspect that secession is indeed the IFP leader's ultimate aim.

The worst way to deal with such a man, however, is to hand him your moral authority. As long as the pre-election promise is not kept, Buthelezi will be able to treat the issue as one of honour and good faith. He will be able to make the ANC seem simular, in troubling ways, to its apartheid predecessors: willing to change the rules whenever it suits it, unwilling to take criticism or to talk to opponents, willing to use the powers of central government to crush local dissidence.

Some form of federalism would work well for South Africa, giving it the chance to balance national needs and local ones. Most of the ANC's leaders already accept this; on paper, at least, the differences lie only in the detail.

Buthelezi's Inkatha is anathema to the ANC because, despite the fact that it is open to all officially, it remains an ethnically based party.

But the best way to handle Inkatha must lie in the ballot box and the law. So far, Mandela and his government have surprised the sceptics, by being much better than expected.

It would be a tragedy if they now were to surprise the optimists, by being less honourable, less moral and less democratic.

se by four unidentified white men

No mediation before accord says Mandela

(11B) ~~30/11/98~~ *Sowetan 2/6/98*

THERE could be no question of international mediation on constitutional demands by the Inkatha Freedom Party unless the terms of reference were worked out first, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The African National Congress still favoured mediation, but did not want a repetition of what happened last year when international experts who came to do the job had to leave again because no terms had been agreed on, Mandela said.

Replying to the Senate debate on his budget vote, Mandela said all his one-on-one meetings with IFP president and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had failed to yield positive results.

"Why should I repeat today what I have been doing for the past five years and has failed?" he asked.

"I have used negotiation, persuasion, and there has been no development at

all. What should I do?"

However, Mandela said he would continue seeking an opportunity for discussion with the IFP leader, but had to ensure that hit-squads roaming the province were prevented from claiming more lives.

Incited the IFP

The National Party was also a guilty in the continuing violence in KwaZulu-Natal because it had incited the IFP to break the law for decades.

What was happening in the province was "part of the agenda" of the NP, which had admitted to secretly funding Inkatha in the past.

Mandela reiterated that he was the President of the entire country and had a duty to save lives in KwaZulu-Natal.

He said if the present laws of the country hampered his task, he would take steps to change them. — *Sapa*.

Buthelezi's 'divisive' adviser

WJM 2-8/6/95

(118)

As Mangosuthu Buthelezi's adviser, Mario Ambrosini, is employed by the government, but he has been accused of planning to tear it apart, writes **Ann Eveleth**

R336 000, more than that of the Chief Justice.

Buthelezi confirmed this in answer to a parliamentary question from the Democratic Party.

He said he had employed Ambrosini to advise him on "any matter which may be related to my functions, tasks and responsibilities". Ambrosini was employed for the period from July 1 1994 to June 30 1995. Buthelezi added.

ANC MP Blade Nzimande said this week his party was "very concerned" about Ambrosini's "role in this country and the kind of documents he is authoring... (which are) aimed at perpetuating conflict between the ANC and IFP".

Nzimande said it was "clear" Ambrosini's salary included payment for "both his role as adviser to home affairs and as adviser to the IFP".

Ambrosini declined to comment, saying he was barred from speaking to the media. IFP secretary general Ziba Jiyane, however, said Ambrosini was not employed in any IFP position.

Yet Ambrosini frequently attends IFP national council meetings and the

party's general conferences.

While Buthelezi rejected as "racist" reports that Ambrosini had drafted the strategy document, the IFP's 20-point plan bears the unmistakable legal hallmarks of an Ambrosini proposal.

Ambrosini, together with United States lawyer Albert Blaustein, chairman of Human Rights Advocates International Inc. for whom Ambrosini worked, and adviser to the IFP since the 1980s, drafted the Kwazulu Constitution in 1992. The IFP called for the constitution to be presented to the province in an autonomous referendum, and later wanted it presented as an alternative to the interim Constitution.

Forced to leave the World Trade Centre after a special rule — apparently aimed at Ambrosini — barred foreigners from the constitutional negotiations, he continued in his post as constitutional adviser to headline IFP negotiator Walter Felgate. Ambrosini also acted as adviser to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the failed Skukuza summit following his

decision to call for the sovereignty of the Zulu Kingdom in terms of King Shaka's 1838 boundaries.

While some IFP sources admit to an intense dislike for Ambrosini, who they blame for the IFP's most confrontational positions, even his most ardent critics describe him as a "brilliant constitutional lawyer", but add that "he is not politically astute".

While IFP leaders sought to deflect attention from Ambrosini's role in drafting the strategy proposal, saying it was produced by "someone" on a 16-member IFP "strategy committee" formed by the national council in April, immediate reaction to the leak from provincial IFP sources who called the proposals "crazy" revealed a number of schisms in the party's leadership on the issue.

Sources this week said the fact that the party's provincial caucus had not been informed about the document, or been forewarned of Mdloose's withdrawal from the Intergovernmental Forum, had irritated provincial leaders who felt that "something must be done about Cape Town's interference in Kwazulu/Natal".

Other sources said they were concerned the headline course of action the party was now embarked on could endanger the future of party newcomers as the "old guard" took the reins.

ANC leaders this week blamed this strategy largely on Ambrosini and Buthelezi. ANC provincial minister Sbu Ndebele alluded to this when he told the provincial parliament that although IFP supporters had elected 43 IFP members to the National Assembly to participate in the writing of laws and in the writing of the constitution, the IFP's Constitutional Assembly boycott meant that "When it is constitution time, (IFP MPs) go around in the beaches of Cape Town and hold seminars with Ambrosini of Italy who tells them stories of Mussolini and how the IFP can call back the past."

In addition to Human Rights International — which has claimed advisory involvement in 27 constitutions, including advice to Russia's Boris Yeltsin, Fiji, Rumania and Macedonia — Ambrosini has worked for the Washington-based Centre for the Promotion of Human Rights and Cultural Diversity in Africa.

He holds two LM degrees in international, comparative and common law and a doctorate in constitutional justice.

MARIO AMBROSINI, the American lawyer suspected of masterminding Inkatha's "secession" strategy leaked last week, is on the government payroll earning more than the country's Chief Justice.

The African National Congress this week lashed out at the "divisive" role played by Ambrosini, who is employed by Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a special adviser.

Ambrosini, the controversial constitutional lawyer who advised the IFP during Codesa and the World Trade Centre talks, was appointed last year as a constitutional, institutional and legislative adviser to Buthelezi in his ministerial capacity.

The Italian-born American now earns an annual state salary of

IFP leaders rally round 20-point plan

(11B) WM 2-8/6/95

Anri Eveleth

SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party leaders this week closed ranks around party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and engaged in a concerted damage-control exercise following the untimely leakage of the contentious "20-point plan" last week.

While African National Congress leaders accused the party of launching a bid to secede KwaZulu/Natal from the rest of the country, IFP leaders Siphso Mzimela and Ziba Jiyane rallied behind the proposal, saying its contents were consistent with the party's federalist principles.

Party secretary general Jiyane pointed out that the leaked document represented nothing more than a proposal to "speed up" the provincial-led process for federalism agreed at the party's special general conference in March. At that conference, Buthelezi called for the IFP's "provincial army" to stand up and lead the battle. Most of the 20 points can be found in prior negotiating documentation of the party which informed its pre-election boycott last year.

ANC leaders admitted this week that many of the proposals did fall within the parameters of the constitution, but criticised the "manner of implementation" in which the document calls for "as many actions as possible (to be) taken at the same time".

ANC constitutional affairs committee chairman Pravin Ghordan said this was aimed at "causing a constitutional crisis".

Ghordan — who attends meetings of the Intergovernmental Forum from which IFP KwaZulu/Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose withdrew last week — said such a crisis could not be deemed warranted in respect of any issues the party had raised at the forum. "The (IFP) has had the odd complaint ... there might be a few outstanding issues, but nothing to provoke a constitutional crisis," Ghordan said.

Mdlalose told the KwaZulu/Natal parliament sitting in Ulundi this week that central government's failure to assign powers was hampering progress in every area from education and health to local government and development: "The inordinate delay ... has no doubt put the provincial government in a very invidious position" because the failure to assign new laws

meant the continuation of separate apartheid laws for the former KwaZulu and Natal.

ANC provincial transport minister S'bu Ndebele retorted that when the former KwaZulu government had "rushed to control" hospitals, schools and other competencies it was not ready for, the result had been the deterioration of services.

Ndebele said "self-respecting black people and doctors left KwaZulu hospitals ... teachers left, police stations became feared by the communities ... (and) farms ... bought back from whites ... were leased back to whites". ANC provincial MP Mike Sutcliffe said the devolution of powers was not the real issue: "If this was a serious problem of the province not operating effectively because of a lack of powers it would've been discussed at Cabinet. It hasn't." Sutcliffe said it was clear that "most of the provincial departments have not even exercised the powers they have".

Sutcliffe said the education department, for example, had not even finished amalgamating the former apartheid departments: "So how can they think of taking over curricula, training, etc?", he asked.

The 20-point plan — which the IFP's Mzimela says still needs to be referred by the national council to the party's "strategy committee" where it originated, before being considered by the national council "in August at the earliest" — calls for the adoption of far-reaching provincial legislation claiming exclusive powers over land management, water, forestry, civil service and a "provincial security and protection force" which could employ "several thousand armed protection agents under the direct and exclusive control of the province".

The document also calls for a parliamentary budget for legal and economic support to be made "available to the IFP parliamentary caucus to develop additional legislative initiatives and to promote the governance of the province", the director of which should be "immediately accountable to the IFP leadership".

The ANC's Nzimande said these aspects revealed the document to be a "first building-block for secession. It is not by accident called 'a minimal institutional plan'. It implies a wider offensive", he said.

'IFP document against the spirit of united SA'

(11B) ARG 3/6/93

DEPUTY Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Valli Moosa lashed out yesterday at the IFP's 20-point document on a future strategy in KwaZulu/Natal as being confrontational and against the spirit of building a united South African nation.

But he remained hopeful the party would return to the Constitutional Assembly, writing South Africa's final constitution, he said.

The IFP document was "against the kind of spirit that existed almost naturally the other day when we beat the Australians" (last Thursday in the Rugby World Cup tournament).

Mr Moosa said there had been broad consensus in South Africa on the need to build a united nation.

Asked about the effect of the IFP's boycott of the Constitutional Assembly, he said there was a "tremendous amount" of legitimacy for the constitution-writing process "despite everything the IFP has said".

He was also sure there was a strong view within the IFP that the party should impact on the Constitutional Assembly.

"They would find a way of returning, they haven't said they would stay away forever."

Mr Moosa said that in contrast to the way the IFP was behaving, the Freedom Front/Volkstaat lobby was acting "completely" within the constitutional framework.

"The important thing is that they recognise the Constitutional Assembly as a democratically-elected body which is going to take decisions." — Sapa.

en
ff
ch
wa
C
the
W
ro
ns
mil
A
of
r
usr
C
ub
in
sob
po
sh
the
r
yab
col
I
ing
Fr
po
con
Sec
I
S
bi

Buthelezi: The enigma of survival

(110) Star 3/6/95



In Leadership this week, executive editor PAUL BELL talks to Mangosuthu Buthelezi about the perceptions which make him the most controversial figure in our politics

ation on the constitutional future of the provinces - a process agreed by Mandela, Buthelezi and then-president F W de Klerk on April 19 1994 as the single device by which Buthelezi would be persuaded to abandon the IFP's boycott of the first democratic elections.

Until that promise was made, Buthelezi, he with good reason, kept his promise wide-eyed, and it must be resolved.

I asked him if he thought there was a way out of the gathering impasse and he looked back at me with impassable resolve. "I don't know," he said. "I said (on April 19 last year) that I was prepared to be foolish and go into the elections without campaigning for the sake of the country, for the sake of peace. But if I am let down by others, then I come back to me and to say, 'What is your view?' I don't know what you expect me to say."

about polls.

I interviewed him in his ministerial office in Cape Town this month. It was a pointed exchange. You do not argue with Mangosuthu Buthelezi; you walk on eggs. You must be precise or you are either dismissed or led on to his ground. To interrupt is to challenge him and you must steel yourself against the kind of disdain he could easily be lumped in with the rest, and communication break down.

His memory is so attuned to the sense of embattlement and grievance since he has nurtured these past 15 years - years in which, during the great swiftness of South Africa's history, he has been recessed to all but his own people as an obstinate and dangerous anachronism - that to ask him for his recollection of such-and-such an incident is to elicit a prodigious compendium of dates and times, letters, meetings, telephone calls and precise phrases that would stagger more mortal powers of recall. At such times - at most times - he is a fortress. Vigilant against attack. Bristling in readiness. Fluid as a bowman. As agile - and let it be said, as valiant - as a knight as ever defenestrated non-

Even so, take down your guard after the parley is over, and he will take down his. You ask after his health and he will say he is tired, that a friend has called from England and offered to fly him over for a rest, but what time is there? When you chat of other pressing affairs - the forthcoming local government elections, for example - he permits you to linger; it is his sides who become agitated. And when you leave he bestows God's blessing upon you.

He works hard and often late. Yet his performance as Minister of Home Affairs is rated middling - and grudgingly at that - because everybody says he pays too much attention to fuelling the crisis around the future of his province. Even so, nobody seems to have found real cause for complaint that he neglects his ministerial duties.

What is one to make of this man, who can be so courteous and yet is so reviled by his enemies? People call him mad. They say he has a sugar deficiency which unbalances him, that he is violent -

or incites his followers to violence. That he is a tyrant, a powermonger, an anti-democrat. Such mythology has grown up around Buthelezi now that it is hard to distinguish the demon of legend from the politician or man.

At times it seems that merely to suggest that Buthelezi and his position are worthy of re-examination is to invite questions about one's own political morality. How, then, do we sort out the demonology in such a way that we can come realistically to grips with what Buthelezi wants? Because he's not going to be wished away.

The demand for international mediation centres on the IFP's demand for the sovereignty of the Zulu monarchy and "autonomy" of the province. The IFP, and by extension most of the *amaXhosa* (chiefs), seem determined to rule the province in a manner that ensures the continuation of the traditional power. Indeed, the IFP would prefer to rule it alone.

Buthelezi is incensed by the fact that the province's MRF for Economic Affairs is trying to take the provincial government to court. "That's making constitutional history! We have never had a government sued by members of its cabinet. That creates anger, a lot of anger."

The ANC, on the other hand, is trying to separate political power in the province from its traditional base. With the apparent defection of the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to more neutral political ground, new tensions and ambiguities have arisen in the relationships between the monarchy and its subjects. Against this backdrop, violence in the province is rising again, at least a thousand politically related deaths have been recorded there since the 1994 elections 15 months ago.

If nothing less than "autonomy" will satisfy the IFP, how, then, does Buthelezi square that broader sovereignty of South Africa?

Through history - or the stylised prism through which he sees history, through his articu-



lation of an ideology of Zulu-ism that presents King Shaka as a humanitarian whose wars gave his conquered subjects identity and unity - and not a dictator whose rampage through Natal debilitated a sub-continent.

"This sovereign state did not conquer us," says Buthelezi. "This sovereign state is just set up now! I mean, we should not make pretences as South Africans. The Zulu nation was a sovereign nation - but history, we say, has made us South Africans and therefore we have always identified with other black people in South Africa in the struggle for liberation."

"Even now none of us have said that we want to break away." Nevertheless, "we have a history as a nation with a king which everybody admits is a kingdom. We have said if others do not wish to have a federal relationship with the (South African) state, we can have (one) on the basis of principles recognised in Europe and elsewhere, on the basis of certain autonomies - which everyone agreed, when we signed the agreement, should be attended to after the elections."

Earlier this year the IFP withdrew from the Constitutional Assembly in protest at the government's failure to honour the April 19 agreement. Its actions indicate to Buthelezi that the ANC does not want the contribution of the IFP in writing the constitution.

Buthelezi claims never to say anything important of-the-cuff. "The serious things I always put on paper." His response to the President's lights-and-water debate is in the same vein.

"What made it serious," says Buthelezi, "is that he repeated it. He said it to the Press Club in Cape Town, and on the same Parliament he actually went into it and repeated it. It was not something that you may say, it just slipped out of his mouth."

"So I said that, well, if the President was to act unconstitutionally, I think he should be very careful - because our people get a cue from him to oppose what he's doing unconstitutionally."

Regarding his relations with King Zwelithini, since they reached their nadir last year, Buthelezi's tone is restrained. "Relations with the king are normal as ever... We don't depend on the king for political purposes."

"Rehashing the row which boiled over when IFP supporters caused a disturbance at the palace while Mandela was visiting. Buthelezi says he was distressed by the incident and tried to set an example by sending two provincial ministers to the palace to take two heads of cattle in our tradition, to the king's palace of the dirt of the feet of those people who walked there with dirty intentions."

Still, he is "troubled" that the king has refused to see provincial leaders. As for suggestions that the king does not recognise him as his traditional prime minister, he shrugs them off. "The king writes to him in his own hand as Prime Minister."

If one understands Buthelezi correctly, should the President threaten action which could be unconstitutional then he must accept responsibility if IFP supporters respond in kind. It's a sample of Buthelezi's gift for turning an argument back on an opponent.

Washington Okumu, the Kenyan, credited with persuading Buthelezi to accept the April 19 agreement, has been back in South Africa making discreet noises about another breakthrough. As this article went to press the ANC and IFP announced new talks. Don't hold your breath.

In the issues that underlie the demand for international mediation, we may have finally run up against the only real non-negotiable in South African politics.

King Zwelithini, since they reached their nadir last year, Buthelezi's tone is restrained. "Relations with the king are normal as ever... We don't depend on the king for political purposes."

"Rehashing the row which boiled over when IFP supporters caused a disturbance at the palace while Mandela was visiting. Buthelezi says he was distressed by the incident and tried to set an example by sending two provincial ministers to the palace to take two heads of cattle in our tradition, to the king's palace of the dirt of the feet of those people who walked there with dirty intentions."

Still, he is "troubled" that the king has refused to see provincial leaders. As for suggestions that the king does not recognise him as his traditional prime minister, he shrugs them off. "The king writes to him in his own hand as Prime Minister."

All told, nothing has changed about Buthelezi's position on international mediation, or on that brand of autonomy which seems calculated to secure IFP control over the province. He has yielded nothing, one senses in particular flexibility. On the contrary, Buthelezi is at his boldest. Everything else is a matter of manoeuvre.

Washington Okumu, the Kenyan, credited with persuading Buthelezi to accept the April 19 agreement, has been back in South Africa making discreet noises about another breakthrough. As this article went to press the ANC and IFP announced new talks. Don't hold your breath.

In the issues that underlie the demand for international mediation, we may have finally run up against the only real non-negotiable in South African politics.

King Zwelithini, since they reached their nadir last year, Buthelezi's tone is restrained. "Relations with the king are normal as ever... We don't depend on the king for political purposes."

Buthelezi denies he suffers from 'destabilising' illness

By STAFF REPORTER

The broaching in public of a subject long speculated about privately has prompted Mangosuthu Buthelezi to formally deny that he suffers from a medical condition which causes him to be unstable.

Buthelezi, Minister of Home Affairs in the Government of National Unity and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has reacted sharply to an article by Paul Bell, executive editor of Leadership magazine.

The article contains these words: "What is one to make of this man, who can be so courteous and yet is so reviled by his enemies?"

"People call him mad.

"They say he has a sugar deficiency which unbalances him, that he is violent, a tyrant, a powermonger."

In a letter to the magazine, Buthelezi said it was the prerogative of journalists to form their own views, but that he objected to "untruths ...

"it is sheer poppycock to say

imbalance, these ailments has absolutely no medical basis ... I have not once been in hospital because of sugar deficiency.

"The sugar deficiency runs in the Zulu royal house, it runs in families and mine has always been mild and stable as I had it recently when I was an adult."

Buthelezi said he found it "unethical" that the "fallacy" was perpetuated, and challenged Bell: "If you want to contact my doctor, here is his number, I am really very unhappy about

this reference.

The minister also took the authority to task for the interpretation of his role in the sickening saga of Winnie Mandela.

He said all he had done was to confirm that he had not been told about the imminent move by President Mandela or his Cabinet colleagues.

Buthelezi concluded his letter with the words: "Believe it or not I am not as mad as I am alleged to be."

SEE PAGE 11

'Document not a direct challenge'

CP 4/6/95 (11B)

Inkatha Leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an exclusive interview with City Press speaks frankly to Parliamentary Correspondent RAFIQ ROHAN about the struggles between Inkatha and the ANC and the "secret document", among other issues.

Inkatha has no secrets from the world - Buthelezi

the country's interests. It was not something I looked forward to because it's an enforced coalition. **Do you think you will complete the full term of office as minister?**

Well, I don't know. Your guess is as good as mine. In the circumstances, where people are goading the President, using words like I should be fired - I find them very annoying because I wish then, if that is the intention, it should happen quickly so that I can position myself as an opposition leader. Because it is very difficult to do both at the same time.

Let's move on to the controversial "secret document". Although the IFP has dismissed it as a discussion document, there are some aspects of it that are alarming. It...

What should be alarming about it! One journalist expressed it very well when he said that journalists in this country are in awe of the leader of the majority party. And they operate from that basis because I don't see - as Dr Mdlalose has stated, this is nothing new. If we say we want a federal relationship, we have stated it publicly over and over again. It is our democratic right to say that. The Constitution is still being written. This is the time for ideas.

So you wouldn't interpret the document as a direct challenge to the President?

In what way do we challenge him? We are expressing our democratic right... That we mustn't say anything that he doesn't like? Because he believes in a central government, we dare not

therefore? Because he doesn't want any devolution of power himself, he wants a centrist system, therefore we dare not express our own views? To me it amounts to that. That's what the press is doing.

Do you agree there is a tussle between the ANC and the IFP for the support of traditional leaders?

I wouldn't have thought so myself. But it is the perception that comes through in the media. It comes out of the fact that in the past there was an allegation that the King was too close to the IFP - which is nonsense because long before there was any KwaZulu government, I was still the traditional prime minister of his father. Apart from that, I am a family member of the King's. His father was my first cousin. Now to say he is close to me and I am close to him is complete nonsense because, clearly, people were implying that I owed the support I had to being close to the King. But it is almost a whole year since he decided to drift away from us. I haven't lost any of the support that I had before.

What is your relationship like with King Goodwill Zwelithini right now?

If he comes in here he is just as normal as ever. It's a strange thing because, you see, it's quite obvious that the plant of the ANC, which is Mr Sifiso Zulu, is responsible for stirring this pot. He's the one who makes all the statements which are stirring the pot. But, for instance, when the King this month opened the KwaZulu/Natal Assem-



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI... "If we wanted to secede, we would say so."

■ Pic: FANIE JASON

bly our relationship was as cordial as ever. **How do you interpret government moves of wanting to pay the salaries of traditional leaders?**

Most of the traditional leaders in KwaZulu/Natal have shown they stand with me. They elected me as chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders - even though I never aspired to that. But then they (government) think my base is the traditional leaders, so they think that once they are paid from Pretoria they would alienate them from me - which is actually neither here nor there.

So you don't think the government's plan is a good one?

No! It is completely unconstitutional because the affairs concerning traditional leaders fall in

the competence of the provincial governments. **Is the IFP remaining firm on its demand for international mediation?**

We respect the President and Deputy President De Klerk too much to think they would renege on a solemn agreement that they signed with me. It's as simple as that.

Last week the IFP and ANC sat down together and thrashed out problems relating to the constitution. Those talks were extremely successful. They did not require any mediation. Why can't all matters be dealt with in this way?

Is there a precedent for that? Throughout negotiations with the ANC this is why that agreement was signed; because we could not agree. Clearly

there is a deadlock.

That's why we need someone from outside - not to arbitrate or decide for us - but people from outside, from countries where powers have been devolved, to just help us to say what is possible, then we can talk about that in terms of our agreement. People seem to forget that throughout the negotiations the ANC disregarded what we said, even here, in the Constitutional Assembly, they keep on telling us we are only worth ten percent, we are ten percenters.

No constitution was written on the basis of majoritarianism - but on the basis of consensus. We could not get this consensus despite twenty months of negotiations with the ANC.

We are not going to

have a situation where we are subjected to the whim of the majority party and they can just take money - not from Buthelezi or the IFP, but from the whole province, including their own members.

What are the other things you want mediated?

They are in that agreement - fiscal powers, powers of regions and so on. **The IFP is clearly not happy with the powers provinces have right now.**

I have complained at the intergovernmental forums that, in terms of the Interim Constitution, the powers that should be rationalised to the provinces have not been rationalised.

There's been an outcry around the term "secessionism" referred to in the IFP plan to...

It's amazing! Have you

seen the list! Where does it say secessionism? It's really hysteria, you know. You remember well, brother, just before the elections, you know how I was demonised. To say we have underhand plans to do something else than what we put on the table... If you look at all those things, we have said those things on many platforms, even to Mr Mandela himself. We are often very blunt. If we wanted to secede we would say so. We would not do it by subterfuge

Do you think the government could try the 5th Brigade option that Robert Mugabe applied in Matabeleland to wipe out opposition?

It looks that way to us. There is that kind of apprehension in KwaZulu/Natal. For instance on the 21st, when we withdrew and as I mentioned earlier, the President said he would conduct house to house searches. And, in Parliament, he used the word "crush".

How would you assess Mr Mandela's performance as President so far?

Well, I think: so far, so good. In the sense that the government led by Mr Mandela is facing the right direction with the RDP - although nothing practical has been achieved yet. The feeding scheme for the young people at school is a landmark. I think free medication for those attending ante-natal clinics is a landmark. So, in the sense of facing the right direction, he has achieved that.

If you had one bit of advice to give to Mr Mandela, what would that be?

I would say that I think it is very, very bad for all of us when the President is threatening to change the constitution in order to do what he wants to do. Because if the head of the government doesn't uphold the constitution, he sets a very bad example where people may take a cue from him and then act unconstitutionally.

HOW WOULD you describe your relationship with President Mandela right now?

Our relationship has always been very warm because it's a relationship that hasn't come about just now. It dates back more than forty years. People get very confused because there are all these exchanges in the press. I always say that this long friendship that we have always had, whenever we are together, comes to the surface. I pleaded for his release as an individual, more than most people, he said this himself. I see held birthday parties in Soweto.

On the one hand, when you are together there seems to be all this warmth and respect. Yet away from each other, it appears more hostile. This is all very confusing.

Well, I would say that that is political reality - because when the President says, for instance, that my party is using government funds but doesn't specify and then he says he's going to punish the whole province - which incidentally includes ANC members - then, of course, I don't understand that. I'm bound to react to that. But that does not diminish my respect for him.

When you first made the "rise and resist" call, it clearly angered the President. You repeated the call on two later occasions, although you qualified the call in terms of passive resistance. Were you just being defiant?

When I explained what I meant in the presence of the President, then I don't think it's a defiance act. I see journalists, especially white journalists, are always trying to be provocative and to present it as if I am being defiant. But I am just reiterating my convictions, which is my democratic right.

But you did respond to press comments that your job might be on the line.

Yes, and I repeat that it would not be the end of the world. I really don't care, because I did not aspire to be in Mr Mandela's cabinet. He offered me, in terms of the constitution, these portfolios. If he wants to take them away, well, it's his right. So be it.

In retrospect, do you think you made the correct choice by accepting the ministerial portfolio?

Well, I think it was in

'Racists leaked policy document'

Buthelezi slams whites in Inkatha

BD 5/6/95

(11B)

Farouk Chothia

MANDINI — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused "a coterie of whites" in his party of being racists, claiming they were responsible for vilifying him in the media and undermining plans for federalism.

Buthelezi's surprise attack came against the backdrop of a rift within Inkatha over a controversial strategy document aimed at gaining exclusive powers for KwaZulu/Natal in a wide range of fields.

Addressing about 3 000 supporters at a rally in Mandini, Buthelezi lashed out at the "coterie of whites", calling them "megalomaniacs", "nuts" and "racists with twisted minds".

"They have convinced themselves there is nothing that we, as blacks, can do."

He said some of the "dirty work" of the whites was to leak the "innocuous" strategy document, A Minimal Institutional Strategy for the Promotion of Federalism and Pluralism from the KwaZulu/Natal Base, to the news media.

He knew which individual leaked the document and was thus responsible for "undermining the struggle for freedom".

"We hope that he will have the courage to acknowledge what he did before we denounce him to the Inkatha annual national conference (to be held next month)," Buthelezi said.

Apparently referring to the moderate white wing within Inkatha, Buthelezi said these members had also distorted Inkatha's position in the media during constitutional talks in the run-up to the general election last year. Just about every stand Inkatha took at the time was blamed on

him, and then chief negotiator Walter Felgate, a known hardliner. Now "everything" was blamed on him and his "friends" — Mario Ambrosini, Inkatha's hardline constitutional adviser, and John Aspinall, a British businessman.

The "white racists" were based in KwaZulu/Natal, and "one or two of them" were in the provincial legislature.

"They imagine that they are indispensable to Inkatha, and yet the majority of the more than 2-million card-carrying members of Inkatha do not even know them. . . . Such is the political megalomania of these nuts within our white membership," Buthelezi said.

Inkatha sources said the whites referred to belonged to a faction opposed to the decision to withdraw from the intergovernmental forum and to push legislation through the provincial legislature to give KwaZulu/Natal exclusive powers in trade and commerce, land affairs, water affairs, environmental affairs and gambling.

Sources said the strategy document had been drafted by Ambrosini, and many provincial MPs were angry that they were not being left to map out their own strategies for KwaZulu/Natal. Some MPs also believed that the hardline strategy would backfire, and thought Inkatha should rely on negotiations to secure federalism.

KwaZulu/Natal local government and housing MEC Peter Miller yesterday refused to be drawn into the controversy, saying that he did not know who Buthelezi was referring to. "I certainly haven't demonised Dr. Buthelezi. Instead, I have spoken fearlessly in his defence."

Continued on Page 2

Buthelezi

Continued from Page 1

Provincial caucus chief whip Mike Tarr could not be contacted for comment.

□ Stephané Bothma reports that Inkatha yesterday distanced itself from a threat by Johannesburg self-protection units, claiming allegiance to the party, to start killing thousands of people if President Nelson

(11B) BD 5/6/95

Mandela was not jailed for his part in the Shell House massacre.

Inkatha spokesman Philip Powell said a threat to murder 1 000 people a day, made by Gauteng self-protection unit leader Richard Mtuseni, was completely unauthorised. "Mtuseni holds no position in Inkatha and the units are not part of the party," Powell said.

'ANC PLOTTING VIOLENCE'

Buthelezi: Support autonomy peacefully

(116) (104) CT 5/6/95

MANDINI: Chief Buthelezi denied yesterday that the IFP was plotting secession, saying it only sought autonomy.

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called yesterday on the people of kwaZulu/Natal to reject violence and to peacefully support the kingdom's autonomy.

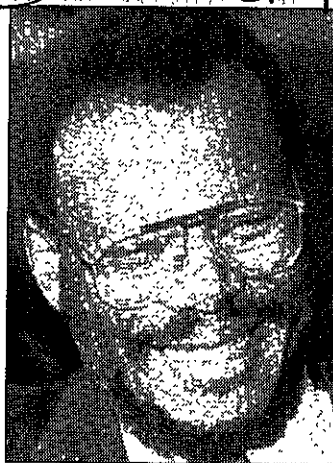
He told a rally here the ANC claim that the IFP plan proposing increased powers for kwaZulu/Natal was "sabotage" and would stir violence in the region was untrue.

It was the ANC that was plotting violence in the region and trying to destabilise it with attacks and threats to cut funding.

Chief Buthelezi repeated that the 20-point plan was only a discussion document and didn't indicate secession or a threat of violence.

"I wonder why when white people talk about secession ... their ideas are considered with respect and reverence," he said.

"We have never spoken about secession and full independence,



NO VIOLENCE: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accuses ANC of plotting.

but rather we have chosen to exercise our right to self-determination."

Chief Buthelezi was not specific about how IFP members were to support self-determination but said they should resist the central government and depend more on the provincial government.

"We seek no greater autonomy than the states enjoy in the United States, Canada, Australia or Ger-

many," he said.

"Had we wanted to break away we would have said so and we would have done so, and no measure of power, intimidation or threats could bend us into submission."

Chief Buthelezi described President Nelson Mandela's criticism of him as "tragic statements".

Mr Mandela said during a trip to Tanzania last week that Chief Buthelezi was responsible for the continuing conflict in kwaZulu/Natal.

"If President Mandela says I am the problem, then I wish to ask whether you are less of a problem for those who want to undermine freedom, federalism and pluralism than I am," he said.

One hundred and eighty ISD members and 160 SANDF troops had been deployed in the district around the rally in an effort to prevent violence, he said.

Three people were shot dead in Mandini before the rally.

One of the victims was Mr Bongani Mnyandu, 24, who had been accused by the ANC of fomenting violence in the area. He was shot dead by police. — Sapa-Reuter

Buthelezi hits out at 'white racists' within Inkatha for undermining federalism aims

Star 5/6/95 (11B)

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

Three more people died in political conflict in KwaZulu-Natal at the weekend.

They were killed in the strife-torn Mandini area shortly before IFP president and Home Affairs Minister Mongosuthu Buthelezi was due to address a rally.

In his speech, Buthelezi lashed out at "white racists" within the IFP whom he accused of undermining the party's quest for federalism.

Buthelezi said this white cabal was responsible for leaking the controversial 20-point plan to the press and was villifying him in the media. He said he knew who they were and if they did not own up, he would publicly name them at the party July's congress.

Speaking ahead of a crucial

week for the Government of National Unity, Buthelezi also warned the government not to use force against KwaZulu-Natal.

The IFP's ruling National Council will be holding an important meeting in Ulundi on Saturday, where progress towards international mediation and the party's continued participation in the GNU will come under scrutiny.

At the rally Buthelezi also directed several jibes at President Mandela and reiterated his call for KwaZulu-Natal to "rise and resist" the central Government.

Buthelezi called on KwaZulu-Natal to strengthen its fight for autonomy.

"We of the IFP must protect our rights and rely on our ability to develop freedom and democracy right here where we exercise the power of government... KwaZulu-Natal must rise and

resist the central Government, using the peaceful and democratic means of its legislative initiative and political leadership. The people of the kingdom must rise and mobilise to democratically and peacefully support their government in this struggle for freedom and self-determination," Buthelezi said.

Hinting at a possible pull-out of the GNU, Buthelezi said his continued membership of the GNU was dependent on the attitude of the IFP rank and file.

He supported KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose for pulling out of the Intergovernmental Forum and stood by the controversial 20-point plan for provincial autonomy for the province. The IFP leader vowed that KwaZulu-Natal chiefs would never accept being paid by central Government.

He slammed the Government for its failure to devolve powers

to provinces. He further warned the Government against using force to "crush" KwaZulu-Natal, saying "might was not proved to be right in Nazi Germany".

The IFP leader slammed Mandela for his willingness to accommodate the Freedom Front's volkstaat claims while not being willing to consider Zulu demands for self-determination.

"I wonder why Mandela justifies to all of us his use of different yardsticks to measure the claims for self-determination of black and white people," said Buthelezi.

Downplaying the crisis, Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana denied yesterday the GNU was under strain, saying "more serious things have happened" in the past year.

"This thing will be discussed and it will be over by the middle of the week," said Mankahlana.

(11B) Sowetan 5/6/95

■ WATERSHED WEEK Relations

between IFP and ANC worsen:

Sowetan Reporters

AHEAD OF WHAT could be a watershed week in relations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused white members of his party of racism.

Addressing a rally in Mandini, Buthelezi said "a coterie of whites ... who include one or two IFP members of the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature", had been "responsible for my vilification via the media".

"Some of their dirty work recently was the leak to the media of an innocuous document of the IFP strategy commission which has been used by the ANC, and the ANC-supporting media, to distort the political position of the IFP.

Twisted minds

"It is unfortunate that we have attracted to the IFP even this type of white racists with twisted minds. They have convinced themselves that there is nothing we as blacks can do on our own," said Buthelezi, without naming those he referred to.

Turning to his ongoing conflict with President Nelson Mandela, Buthelezi said his party would not yield to "any

type of pressure, intimidation, threat or violence until South Africa becomes a truly free country".

"We will not rest until a federal system based on the notion of pluralism is established," Buthelezi said, refuting claims that the IFP's agenda was the secession of KwaZulu-Natal.

Buthelezi said he was shocked when Mandela branded his party as secessionist while "Mandela ... applauds the proposal of the Freedom Front for the establishment of an independent *volkstaat*".

State of emergency

"The notion of a *volkstaat* is by definition a secessionist proposal and yet President Mandela and the ANC leadership seem to endorse it," he said.

Buthelezi said Mandela's recent utterances were aimed at setting a scenario to justify the establishment of a state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal.

"I have said in the past these threats will fail because the IFP people will never, never ever be intimidated into submission," he said.

Buthelezi's statements precede the snap Parliamentary debate on the Shell House shootings and Wednesday's Cabinet meeting where the situation in KwaZulu-Natal will be discussed. On Thursday the IFP's national council is due to discuss the position of Buthelezi as Home Affairs Minister in the GNU.

● See Page 2

racists

warms

IFP boos

118 6/6/95

Buthelezi places Inkatha moderates in the firing line

DREW FORREST (118) 6/6/95

AT FIRST glance, Mangosuthu Buthelezi seemed to be attacking the far-right fringe of the Inkatha Freedom Party — the Cold War conspiracy theorists and Natal-British imperialists drawn to the party out of a hatred for the "Marxist" ANC. Were these perhaps the "white racists" and the "nuts with twisted minds" he was alluding to in his outburst at a rally in Mandini at the weekend?

The real object of his attack, it emerged, was the person who leaked to the media Inkatha's 20-point document on ways of advancing federalism and pluralism. The offender was part of a "white coterie" which had distorted Inkatha's pre-election stance, blaming chief negotiator Walter Felgate for the party's strategy just as they now accused Buthelezi's friend and constitutional adviser Mario Ambrosini and British businessman John Aspinall.

One of those said to be in the firing line is Peter Miller, Kwazulu/Natal's local government and housing MEC. A seasoned politician who switched from the NP, Miller is one of a small band of senior Inkatha men who, for the sake of convenience, can be termed "moderates".

Not all are whites, nor are they a coterie. A loose grouping, they share a private preference for negotiation over confrontation, and for a less abrasive relationship with the ANC and the central state.

Typically, they are career politicians of a liberal and technocratic bent who defected from other parties in search of advancement or a more secure political home. In addition to Miller, this category includes Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela (ex-ANC), Kwazulu/Natal chief whip Mike Tarr (ex-DP), Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews (ex-ANC) and national MP Fatouk Cassim (ex-Solidarity).

They see the election of Ziba Jiyane (ex-PAC) to the post of secretary-general last year as a coup for the cause of moderation. Arts and Culture Minister Ben Ngubane and Inkatha national organiser Senzo Mfayela, who rose through the Inkatha ranks, are said to be of a similar cast of mind.

Most, and Jiyane in particular, opposed Inkatha's plan to stay out of the April election and consider the party's last-minute decision to fight the poll their most important achievement. They retain a distaste for the knee-jerk boycott strategy which this year saw the party withdraw from Parliament, the Constitutional Assembly and the Interprovincial committee.

As professional politicians, rather than ideologues or leader-worshippers, the moderates tend to be more interested in practical governance than in Buthelezi's single-minded pursuit of provincial autonomy. Inkatha meetings have revolved obsessively around international media-tion and related issues, one complained this week, while the inertia of the Kwazulu/Natal government — a potentia, threat to the party's local election prospects — has gone unattended.

"We want to build good government in the province," he said, "to see education going great guns, housing delivery taking place, tourism coming in. These goals are moving further and further away."

If Miller indeed leaked the document, professional concerns must have been his motive. Boycotting the interprovincial committee, one of the document's proposals for advancing federalism, denies the province a say on electoral and housing policy in this forum. Last week he is



□ BUTHELEZI

said to have caused a storm in Inkatha by insisting on attending Minister's Monthly forum of Local Government Minister Roelf Meyer and provincial MECs, at which local election policy is decided.

Buthelezi's weekend tirade highlighted another gripe of the moderates, shared by the party's constitutional committee in the provincial legislature — that of Ambrosini's "excessive influence" on the Inkatha president. The flamboyant Italian is credited with drafting the 20-point document and, more broadly, with

the party's "confrontational" and "provocative" campaign for a pure federal dispensation.

Persuasive and media-friendly, Ambrosini is not in fact a right-winger — he describes himself as a liberal democrat who believes in limited government and political, social and economic pluralism. Neither he nor Inkatha argue for an independent Kwazulu-Natal, and his document — wrongly branded secessionist by the ANC — lists strategies for winning wider provincial powers in line with the current constitution.

But it is confrontational. It proposes, for example, the adoption of the symbols of the Kwazulu homeland with which the ANC was at war for a decade. It suggests the creation of a provincial security force to protect schools and other installations, raising the spectre of an Inkatha-controlled militia to replace the soon-to-disappear Kwazulu Police. In defiance of central government, it moots legislation to prevent chiefs accepting central state salaries.

Ambrosini is deeply suspicious of the ANC and what he sees as its thinly veiled intolerance of political diversity. This, argues one of the moderates, reinforces Buthelezi's own profound mistrust. Unswervingly loyal — the quality Buthelezi most values in his supporters and the source of Felgate's influence — he undoubtedly has the chiefs' ear. Above all, he is accused of weak-

ening the hand of modernisers who are hopefully outnumbered in a 2-million-strong party dominated by Zulu tribalists. Ethnic politics are authoritarian-hierarchical, rather than pluralist in Ambrosini's sense, with a strong military tradition.

"Each conflict with the ANC strengthens the militarists," says one moderate. "They say: 'You guys want to talk — what have you achieved?' The ANC wants to take over, they won't stand for opposition. They must be resisted."

Inkatha's deeply split personality is expressed by its constitution, which is libertarian on human rights — to the point of espousing abortion on demand — and diehard on issues of traditional rule. The modern and traditional wings of the party operate almost independently of each other, with Buthelezi — a Western-educated chief equally at home in the labyrinth of Zulu politics and the national assembly — the glue which holds them together.

The long-term project of the modernists is to transform Inkatha from a tribal and regional movement into a national counterweight to the ANC, a black-led party of the centre, by shedding its warrior image and broadening its appeal to moderates of all races.

After the adoption of a new federal constitution last year, the party has reorganised and made important inroads in other provinces, they say. The recent election of a provincial executive in Gauteng, with moderates in the ascendancy and hard-liners like Thembu Khoza pushed into the background, was an important step in repositioning the party.

Buthelezi's support for the modernising project is seen as crucial, and his speech at the weekend a serious setback. It indicated that holding his Kwazulu/Natal base, increasingly under threat from within and without, is his overriding priority.

"The (Zulu) king is leaning towards the ANC, Mandela threatens to send in troops, to disarm the chiefs and pay their salaries, to cut off funding to the province. Buthelezi's priority is to secure his rural stronghold," a moderate remarks. "Meanwhile, we stand in the wings, sidelined. There's less and less room for us to do anything creative."

Arrest order over threat

(113) star 6/6/98

■ BY MICHAEL SPARKS

Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security Jessie Duarte has issued instructions for the arrest of the East Rand self-protection unit member who said at the weekend that 1 000 people a day would be killed if President Nelson Mandela were not arrested by Friday.

Duarte said yesterday she had "issued urgent instructions" to regional police commissioner Sharma Maharaj to apprehend and arrest Richard Mtuseni in terms of the Intimidation Act.

Mtuseni made the statement in the wake of Mandela's admission last week that he had given orders to guards at Shell House to protect the ANC headquarters, even if it meant killing people.

... RACISM UNDER FIRE

Farouk Chothia

BD 8/6/95

DURBAN - The ANC and NP sharply criticised Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday for his blistering attack on "racist" white Inkatha members.

ANC KwaZulu/Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said Buthelezi's attack indicated he would not brook independent thinking, even from within his own party. "Just as Inkatha is at war with other political parties, it is at war with itself."

At a weekend rally, Buthelezi said there was a "coterie of whites" within Inkatha who were "racists with twisted minds". Based in KwaZulu/Natal, they opposed every Inkatha position in constitutional negotiations before the election and were responsible for vilifying him through media leaks.

Buthelezi claimed a white KwaZulu/Natal Inkatha member had leaked the "innocuous" strategy document, A Minimal Institutional Strategy for the Promotion of Federalism and Pluralism from the KwaZulu/Natal Base, to the media.

The document called for the old KwaZulu flag and symbols to be adopted for KwaZulu/Natal. However, the provincial leadership decided suggestions from the public should be considered.

KwaZulu/Natal local government and housing minister Peter Miller categorically denied responsibility for the leak.

However, Buthelezi described two other whites, seen as hardliners, as his friends. They were Italian-born constitutional ad-

viser Mario Ambrosini and British businessman John Aspinall.

Makhaye said Buthelezi surrounded himself with "extreme white rightwingers" after apartheid had "foisted on him the idea that whites were superior". Black intellectuals such as Inkatha's former secretary-general, Oscar Dhlomo, never survived in Inkatha.

NP KwaZulu/Natal secretary Chris van der Berg said Buthelezi's decision to single out whites was racist and clearly indicated Inkatha's ethnic minority perspective.

Several Inkatha sources said they were flabbergasted by the attack and accused Buthelezi of breaking party discipline. They said he should have voiced his concerns at a national council meeting, scheduled this weekend, or referred the matter to Inkatha's disciplinary committee.

Inkatha sources said they also expected Buthelezi's attack to be discussed at a provincial caucus meeting today. Sources said Buthelezi exercised poor judgment, had heightened racial tensions and factionalism within the party, exacerbated differences between provincial and national leaders and would therefore make it difficult for Inkatha to find support among minority groups for the November poll.

Sources said Inkatha provincial leaders were eager to seek co-operation with the ANC, but were under pressure from national leaders to toughen their stance.

Sources said the provincial leadership was treading carefully because Inkatha had only 41 seats in the legislature — the combined tally of the opposition parties.

to
of
la
ti
cl
fir

... over time," Stals said.

BUTHELEZI MAKES ACCUSATION AT RALLY

White IFP MPs reject chief's 'leak' claims ^(11B)

CHIEF BUTHELEZI has promised to expose white regional IFP MPs from kwaZulu/Natal for allegedly leaking a confidential strategy document to the press.

WHITE Inkatha regional MPs in kwaZulu/Natal have sought to distance themselves from allegations by their leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that they were behind the leaks of a confidential strategy document to the press earlier this month.

kwaZulu/Natal Housing Minister Mr Peter Miller and IFP chief whip Mr Mike Tarr immediately rejected inferences that they were behind the leaks. Other white regional MPs declined to comment or could not be reached yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi accused "one or two" regional white kwaZulu/Natal MPs at an IFP rally at the weekend of trying to undermine the party by delivering the document — which the ANC said was aimed at secession — to the press.

He has promised to expose them at this weekend's national council meeting if they did not come forward.

A senior IFP source, however, said the document was not leaked by a regional MP "and that person could well be in Cape Town (at Parliament) and may well not be

white".

Mr Miller said some parts of the press named him "among others" as being guilty, which he "categorically" denied. He asked the party to deal with the matter before anyone was found guilty by association or implication.

Attack

Mr Tarr said he was "definitely not" behind the leak and said the party needed to resolve the matter "as soon as possible".

One regional MP said yesterday the attack on whites by Chief Buthelezi "was bloody terrible" and could only be regarded as racist. — Political Staff

Massacre: Top CT 9/6/95 IFP man held

(113) (278)
DURBAN: IFP deputy secretary-general Mr M Z Khumalo was arrested here yesterday.

Deputy national commissioner of police Lieutenant-General Morgan Chetty said Mr Khumalo was arrested on charges involving 13 counts of murder, or conspiracy to murder, arising from a January 1987 massacre at kwaMakutha.

Mr Khumalo appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court and was not asked to plead. He was released on R10 000 bail and ordered to hand in his passport.

Mr Khumalo was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal assistant in the late 1980s. In 1990 he took responsibility for accepting funds from the security police for Inkatha, in what became known as the "Inkathagate scandal".

Mr Khumalo's arrest "might be the first step in unravelling the real causes of violence in kwaZulu/Natal", the ANC said yesterday.

The IFP said the arrest was the work of a politically-biased investigation unit. The party has accused the Investigation Task Unit, set up last year to investigate hit-squads in kwaZulu/Natal, of victimising the party and of ignoring the murders of IFP leaders. — Sapa-Reuter

Deal struck on man threatening 1 000 murders a day

Police would be asked to hold off action against Richard Mtuseni Dlomo, who publicly threatened to murder 1 000 people a day if President Mandela was not jailed this week, to allow the IFP Youth Brigade to investigate the threat. The Gauteng Safety and Security Ministry announced this yesterday after MEC Jessie Duarte met a delegation led by Thabane Dlamini, provincial leader of the IFP Youth Brigade.

They struck a deal whereby the brigade would get time to in-

vestigate the matter and Dlomo would be disciplined if he was found to be a card-carrying member of the organisation. — Political Staff.

□ □ □
The backlog of cases before the Industrial Council had risen to a record 5 033 in October 1994, the National Manpower Commission said in its last annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Some 2 000 more cases were received in 1994 than the previous year, and although more

cases were heard, the backlog had also increased to 5 033 by October 31 1994. — Sapa.

□ □ □
President Mandela's public association with Cosatu mass action this week had cast a dark cloud over the negotiation process for a new labour dispensation, Deputy President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his budget vote, he said: "With one TV appearance he apparently draws a line through what the

5 Nov 9/6/95
Cabinet had decided. Mr Mandela's intentions may have been different, but the perception was that he had chosen sides." — Sapa.

(11B)
Two people have been arrested and released on bail in connection with the fraud which has cost the KwaZulu-Natal nutrition scheme R8-million. Health MEC Zweli Mkhize said in the provincial legislature on Wednesday. — Staff Reporter.

NATIONAL NEWS

IFP leader held

OVER 13 killings

(116) Sowetan 4/6 pgs

Sowetan Correspondent

A SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party official and close confidante of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was arrested in connection with 13 murders yesterday.

IFP deputy general-secretary Mr Zakhele (MZ) Khumalo is a former personal secretary of Buthelezi and the two are said to be very close.

KwaZulu-Natal South African Police Services Deputy Commissioner Morgan Chetty said yesterday Khumalo was being held in connection with 13 murders committed in KwaMakutha, south of Durban, in 1987.

During the 1991 Inkathagate scandal Khumalo took personal responsibility for having received funds from security police captain Louis Botha on behalf of the IFP.

He subsequently resigned from the IFP and re-emerged last year when he was elected to his current position.

He is also said to have recruited the 200 IFP youths who were trained by the former South African Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip in 1986.

His arrest follows the arrest on Tues-

day of former Military Intelligence officer Brigadier John More in connection with the same killings.

Botha was arrested in the Eastern Cape last week, also in connection with killings in KwaZulu-Natal.

The three were arrested by the Investigation Task Unit set up by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to probe hit squad activities in KwaZulu-Natal.

ITU head Howard Varney confirmed that Khumalo had been "arrested in five minutes."

Immediately clashed

The IFP and ANC immediately clashed following the arrest.

The ANC said the arrest vindicated President Nelson Mandela's statement in Tanzania that Buthelezi was the source of KwaZulu-Natal's violence.

The IFP accused the ITU of victimising the party and ignoring the murders of IFP leaders.

"It is very ironic that even though over 386 IFP leaders have been murdered in the past few years, there has been no special investigation unit that has been set up to probe this," said IFP Senator Phillip Powell.



Mrs Winnie Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi having a chat after a debate in Parliament in which President Nelson Mandela defended the ANC's decision to open fire on Zulu marchers last year. PIC: AP

Rifts run deep inside Inkatha

WMM 9-14/6/95

(116)

Internal divisions in the IFP run even deeper than Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent attacks on whites in the party would suggest, report **Ann Eveleth** and **Mehlo Mvelase**

THE house of cards the Inkatha Freedom Party stacked so hastily last year in a bid to project itself as a broad national party is swaying precariously this week, with deep internal tensions coming to the surface.

Party sources this week described the IFP as "rife" with internal divisions, and some predicted a purge following party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's weekend trade against the "coterie of whites" in the party's provincial caucuses.

Buthelezi's unprecedented public attack on members of his own party as "white racists with twisted minds" elicited claims of racism from opposition parties in Kwazulu/Natal and dealt a severe blow to party moderates' efforts to win minority support in the coming local government elections. However, it appears the party's fault lines run much deeper than just racial tensions.

Sources say the most prominent of fissures now plaguing the party is that between the provincial and national caucuses, a tension which reached new heights following exposure of the party's controversial "20-point strategy proposal". Sources say many provincial MPs resented the fact that such a strategy would place them in constant conflict with their African National Congress counterparts in the province, thus hampering the provin-

cial government's ability to deliver to its supporters on the ground.

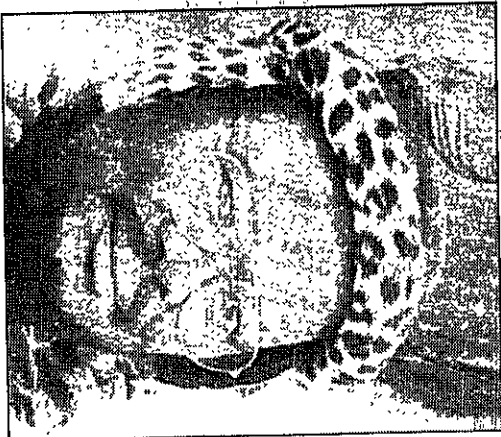
While these tensions are said to have first arisen following disagreement over the Constitutional Assembly boycott, other points of contention between the caucuses include:

- The party's July 21 deadline for the provincial constitution. The IFP-dominated constitutional committee projects the document will only be ready at the end of the year, after a process of consultation involving business and church leaders. Sources say the provincial caucus rejected outright a provincial constitution drafted by constitutional advisor Mario Ambrosini and presented to them as a *fait accompli*.

- The call for the adoption of the former Kwazulu flags and emblems. The constitutional committee had already decided to ask for public submissions on these.

The sources say Buthelezi's charge that the strategy proposal was "leaked to the press by a white member of parliament in (Kwazulu/Natal) who is working to undermine our struggle for freedom" must be seen in the context of these wider tensions.

The sources add, however, that the remark was specifically directed at an "anti-Ambrosini" faction in Kwazulu/Natal, which identifies the constitutional advisor as the source of the most confrontational interven-



Mangosuthu Buthelezi: Attacked a 'white coterie' in the IFP's provincial caucus
PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN PARKINAP

tions. While this resentment is reportedly widespread within the party's provincial caucuses, the "coterie" to which Buthelezi referred is said to comprise local government and housing MEC Peter Miller, constitutional committee chairman Arthur Konigstrammer, and provincial chief whip Mike Tarr.

While both Miller and Tarr have denied involvement in leaking the party document, Miller described the issue of white members of the party as "a sensitive internal issue ... which is not facilitated by an exchange of media comment".

Sources say Miller earned Buthelezi's ire last week when he defied Premier Frank Mdlalose's boy-

cott of the Intergovernmental Forum to attend a meeting of local government ministers. His defiance, while in keeping with his persona as an efficient minister, was seen as rebellion over Mdlalose's failure to consult the Cabinet on the issue.

Konigstrammer, who could not be reached for comment, is also said to have had his back against the wall recently after a party inquiry into election fund mismanagement found him — as the IFP's campaign manager last year — ultimately responsible.

Tarr's inclusion in the "coterie" underlines another party cleavage. As "newcomers" who joined the party in the search for a black political home in the run-up to all-race rule, the recruitment of Tarr and other experienced parliamentarians from the Democratic Party, National Party and former House of Delegates' parties helped project the new "multiracial" image the party sought last year.

Their experience has seen many of them diving head first into their governmental duties and, in the spirit of the new democratic era, taking decisions — and sometimes making statements — based more on the information at hand than on the party's broad strategy objectives.

While this "independence" has offered scope to party moderates — led by party secretary-general Ziba Jiyane — to promote the democratic reforms envisaged in the party's recent constitution, and project the IFP as a broad-based party, sources say it has infuriated the party's "old-guard", including former Kwazulu Legislative Assembly

members who are accustomed to taking their cue from Buthelezi.

Many of these newcomers also form the party's "moderate" wing and this has brought them into conflict with Buthelezi on several occasions. Sources say these party moderates are currently fighting hard to prevent hardliners from putting the party back on a "civil war" footing over the standoff with the ANC.

Buthelezi's decision to racialise his attack is also said to have sent tremors running through the ranks of these newcomers. Following shortly on constitutional negotiator Sipo Mzimela's "anti-Indian" attack on Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mohammed Valli Moosa, sources say many newcomers — who are mostly white or Indian — fear they may fall by the wayside if the party retreats into its traditional laager of ethnic politics.

The sources say racial tensions have been brewing in the party for some time, and this week some provincial sources supported Buthelezi's criticisms, saying that the people concerned "have no constituency and are just riding on the back of Africans".

While the IFP has long had a "coterie" of white members, sources say racial tension began to surface last year as black members began to resent Buthelezi's reliance on former constitutional negotiator Walter Felgate. Resentment among black MECs towards Cape Town's intervention is also largely directed at Ambrosini and his white allies.

Racial tensions also surfaced recently in the party's Kwazulu/Natal caucus, with black MPs opposing Konigstrammer's bid to take over the chairmanship of the constitutional committee from Indian MEC Advocate Ibrahim Bawa.

IFP backing for Mdlalose

ST 11/6/95

(11B)

By CYRIL MADLALA

THE IFP's National Council meeting in Ulundi yesterday rallied behind Kwazulu Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose and his decision to suspend the participation of his province in the Inter-Governmental Forum.

The organisation said it found it unacceptable that the central government had not yet given the provinces the powers granted to them by the interim constitution.

The council called on the people of South Africa to "rise and peacefully mobilise" in support of Dr Mdlalose and his government.

The IFP condemned what it termed President Nelson Mandela's attempt to put the matter of the Shell House massacre to rest.

It said South Africa was faced not only with the tragedy of the massacre, but also with a scandal of a massive cover-

up, which showed the fraudulent nature of the ANC's claims of transparency and commitment to finding the truth.

IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane told the media that the IFP would continue to play a constructive role in the Government of National Unity, despite all the difficulties this entailed.

"We will opt out only if the ANC makes it impossible for us to continue."

The council was still discussing its future in the government late last night.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade yesterday distanced itself from a murder call by an IFP official now being hunted by police.

"We pledge our support for Mr Richard Mothoseng to voice his anger but not to kill innocent people. The people he referred to are those who had a hand in the massacre of our people," said brigade publicity secretary Evans Sosibo.

Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security

Jesse Duarte ordered the arrest of Mr Mothoseng after he announced 1 000 people would be killed if President Mandela was not arrested following his admission that he ordered ANC guards to defend its headquarters at all costs on March 28 last year.

(Mr Mothoseng was earlier identified as Mr Mutsheni in news reports.)

"With reference to Gauteng police's MEC order for Mr Mothoseng to be arrested... we say no one felt threatened by Mr Mothoseng's statement except those who had a hand in the massacre," Mr Sosibo said.

He said Mr Mothoseng was "just expressing his anger" at his brother being killed at Shell House on March 28 last year.

The brigade also revealed plans for a one-day stayaway to back IFP calls for Mr Mandela's arrest.

A date for the protest strike in Gauteng will be finalised by Friday, IFP Vaal Triangle secretary Sihpo Magubane said.

The brigade was planning to mobilise taxi, bus and rail services.

"We will use force if necessary." — Sapa

What Mandela is doing

RAY HARTLEY reports on a three-pronged strategy to combat violence in Kwazulu Natal

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela will this week try to persuade Kwazulu Natal traditional leaders to accept payment from central government and not from the Inkatha-led provincial government.

The proposal, which will be made at a meeting this week, forms part of a three-pronged strategy aimed at eradicating violence from Kwazulu Natal.

By cutting traditional leaders free from the pressure to act on a party-political basis, the funding switch would play a significant role in calming violence-ridden rural areas in the province, government officials say.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has objected to the funding switch, saying it goes against the constitution's listing of traditional leaders as a provincial responsibility.

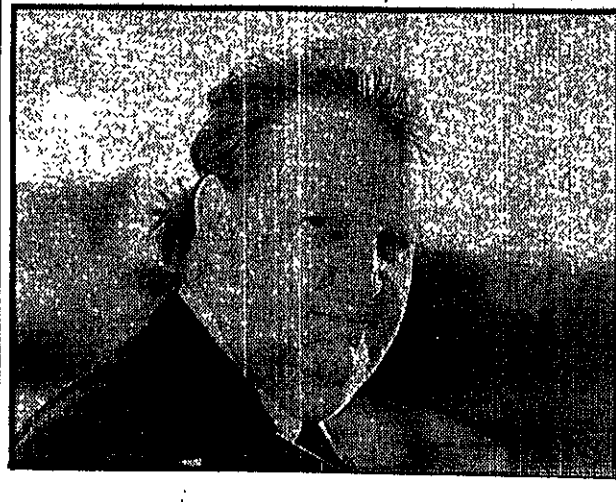
To avoid running foul of the constitution, the proposed legislation is likely to merely open the way for central government to pay traditional leaders without removing the right of provinces to do the same.

Then, using budgetary slight of hand, the government is likely to stop giving provinces money to pay chiefs, forcing them to accept that the payments will come from the centre or face a revolt from traditional leaders.

The other two prongs of



FACING THE MUSIC: The IFP's deputy secretary-general, "MZ" Khumalo, arrives at the Durban regional court this week to face 13 charges of murder



ON THE TRAIL: Colonel Frank Dutton, who is heading the investigation into Kwazulu police hit squads, arrives at court to give evidence

the Kwazulu Natal strategy — a security clampdown and a plan to speed up development in the province — also received attention this week.

On Thursday, Inkatha deputy secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo was arrested on 13 counts of mur-

der in a police investigation, headed by Colonel Frank Dutton, into Kwazulu police hit squads.

Mr Khumalo and two other men, former Military Intelligence officer Brigadier John More, and former security policeman Colonel Louis Botha face

charges in connection with the massacre of 13 people, including eight children, at KwaMakhutha on January 21 1987.

Politicians in the province have also moved to bring together members of the ANC's self defence units and Inkatha's self

protection units.

Based on a model which proved successful in defusing violence on the East Rand, the uniting of the youth militias is likely to precede their integration into the police force in a special reservist capacity.

Another dimension of

the security clamp has been a decisive staunch the flow of I weapons into the province from Mozambique. Senior government officials have gestured that a hard-h plan to combat the by violations is to be

IFP murder ac stranger to co

By CYRIL MADLALA

ST 11/6/87

FOR a man reputed to hold so much power in Inkatha, Melchizedel Zikhhele Khumalo cut a lonely figure when he appeared on murder charges in the Durban regional court this week.

Without his usual entourage, the former personal assistant to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had only members of the Investigation Task Unit for company as he made his way to the courtroom.

Mr Khumalo, 52, was arrested last week on charges involving the murders of 13 men, women and children in Kwamakhutha on the Kwazulu Natal south coast in January 1987.

Under the circumstances the IFP deputy secretary-general looked relaxed, his green trousers and brown leather jacket complementing his trendy hairstyle.

"MZ", as he is popularly known, has been dogged by controversy since he worked for Dr Eschel Rhoodie's Department of Information in the 70s.

Although he has denied ever being an agent for the Bureau of State Security, he has admitted being instrumental in the securing of funds for the training of 200 Inkatha members by the South African Defence Force in 1986.

It has emerged that this was a Military Intelligence project and that the companies which provided the funds were merely fronts.

In 1981 Mr Khumalo took responsibility for accepting a "gift" of R250 000 from the security police to fund an IFP rally at

King's dal at Inkath His machi his co then a lezi's of Kw In J person tion he month Duri party J Dr Sib Chief S Khuma Inordin Whe emerge malo w accoun nelled The link world o police l little th busines and car What murder tivities "Masho sent fo

Former MI man was linked to plan to topp

By MARLENE BURGER

THE former Military Intelligence officer arrested this week in connection with suspected hit-squad activities in Kwazulu Natal is no stranger to dirty tricks.

Nine years ago, Brigadier John More, then a colonel on the staff of Army Chief General Kat Liebenberg, was a pivotal figure in Operation Katzen, a top-secret plan to turn the Eastern Cape into an anti-ANC Khosa statelet.

A crucial component of the plan, devised by former Military Intelli-

gence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen while he was officer commanding EP Command, was to depose then-Ciskei president, Lennox Sebe, in a coup.

The Katzen file, which was stolen from EP Command and released by General Bantu Holomisa during the inquest into the deaths of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sifelo Mhlau, contains a number of "situation reports" sent to Brigadier More between October and December 1986.

Brigadier More — one of three men arrested in the past fortnight by the Investigation Task Unit appointed last year by security minister Sydney Mufamadi — has been seconded to Armscor as marketing director for its manufacturing subsidiary, Denel.

That he was more than merely an information conduit during Operation Katzen is clear from a document dated November 13, headed "Training Requirements", which outlines plans to equip a group of disident Ciskeians for "in-out oper-

ations" in the former independent homeland.

The shopping list of arms and ammunition needed to train the group at a military base in the Transkei in advance of the planned Ciskei coup includes explosives, landmines, hand grenades and RPG7 rockets.

A margin note indicates that a request for R4 rifles, 9mm Uzi automatic pistols, 9mm handguns, 13 500 rounds of 5,56mm ammunition and 9 000 rounds of 9mm ammunition was "already with J More".

Other documents list Brigadier

More as I Operation K Operator brainchild o huizen, was force oper sponse to ar dent P W B "normalised A note to July 9 1986 dent has on country-wid end of Decer "This im must be stal

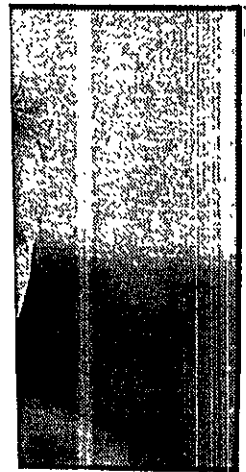
Mandela is doing in Natal



(116)
(276)

FACING THE MUSIC: The IFP's deputy secretary-general, "MZ"

Khumalo, arrives at the Durban regional court this week to face 13 charges of murder



ON THE TRAIL: Colonel Frank Dutton, who is heading the investigation into Kwazulu police hit squads, arrives at court to give evidence

IFP murder accused is no stranger to controversy

By CYRIL MADLALA

ST 11/6/95

FOR a man reputed to hold so much power in Inkatha, Melchizedel Zakhele Khumalo cut a lonely figure when he appeared on murder charges in the Durban regional court this week.

Without his usual entourage, the former personal assistant to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had only members of the Investigation Task Unit for company as he made his way to the courtroom.

Mr Khumalo, 52, was arrested last week on charges involving the murders of 13 men, women and children in Kwamakhuta on the Kwazulu Natal south coast in January 1987.

Under the circumstances the IFP deputy secretary-general looked relaxed, his green trousers and brown leather jacket complementing his trendy hairstyle.

"MZ", as he is popularly known, has been dogged by controversy since he worked for Dr Eschel Rhoodie's Department of Information in the 70s.

Although he has denied ever being an agent for the Bureau of State Security, he has admitted being instrumental in the securing of funds for the training of 200 Inkatha members by the South African Defence Force in 1986.

It has emerged that this was a Military Intelligence project and that the companies which provided the funds were merely fronts.

In 1991 Mr Khumalo took responsibility for accepting a "gift" of R250 000 from the security police to fund an IFP rally at

King's Park Stadium in Durban. This scandal subsequently came to be known as Inkathagate.

His link with the government's security machinery was Colonel Louis Botha, now his co-accused. At the time Colonel Botha, then a major, was responsible for Mr Buthelezi's security outside the former homeland of Kwazulu.

In July 1991 Mr Khumalo resigned as personal assistant to Mr Buthelezi, a position he had occupied since May 1976, a few months after the birth of Inkatha.

During that period, numerous prominent party figures, including secretaries-general Dr Sibusiso Bengu, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Chief Simon Gumede, left Inkatha, but Mr Khumalo soldiered on and came to wield inordinate power in the organisation.

When Inkathagate was exposed it emerged that Mr Buthelezi and Mr Khumalo were the only signatories to the secret account into which the security police channelled state funds.

The story of how Mr Khumalo became the link between the IFP and the shadowy world of military intelligence and security police has not yet emerged in detail. The little that is known about him is that he is a businessman, a Kwazulu police reservist and carries KZP identification documents.

What his alleged role was in the brutal murders should cast more light on the activities of the man known by his clan name "Mashobane", and on the young recruits he sent for military training in 1986.

led Mr Mandela to remark in Parliament that the matter needed urgent attention, the plan has seen a beefing up of security force personnel in affected areas.

The third prong of the anti-violence campaign — an effort to speed up development in the province — was unveiled by presidential aide Jakes Gerwel after Wednesday's cabinet meeting.

Driven by a new cabinet working group consisting of President Mandela, his deputies Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi, the new strategy will focus on long-term problems following a recognition that "socio-economic" factors are a key contributor to violence.

Although no details of the rapid delivery plan have yet been finalised, Mr Mbeki made special mention of the link between socio-economic problems and violence in the province in his budget speech to Parliament this week.

"The people of Kwazulu Natal are among the poorest in the country. Millions of its residents cry out every day for development, to extricate them from the dehumanisation that results from poverty, poverty that also leads to conflict," he said.

Of the three prongs, the socio-economic, hurdle may prove to be the most difficult, with the province's government moving painfully slowly to get itself off the ground.

It is yet to appoint key heads of department, who will have the task of directing government development plans on the ground.

investigative Colonel into Kwazulu and two Military Briga- and for-policeman otha face

charges in connection with the massacre of 13 people, including eight children, at Kwamakhuta on January 21 1987.

Politicians in the province have also moved to bring together members of the ANC's self defence units and Inkatha's self

protection units.

Based on a model which proved successful in defusing violence on the East Rand, the uniting of the youth militias is likely to precede their integration into the police force in a special reservist capacity. Another dimension of

the security clampdown has been a decision to staunch the flow of illegal weapons into the province from neighbouring Mozambique. Senior government officials have suggested that a hard-hitting plan to combat the border violations is to be an-

nounced soon.

At the heart of the security moves has been the speeding up of Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi's Community Safety Plan, which has targeted areas in the province for intensive policing.

After a slow start, which

More as the project leader for Operation Katzen.

Operation Katzen, which was the brainchild of General van der Westhuizen, was a combined security force operation conceived in response to an order from then-President P W Botha that the country be "normalised".

A note to General Liebenberg on July 9 1986 said: "The State President has ordered that the situation country-wide be normalised by the end of December 1986.

"This implies that the situation must be stabilised between now and

the end of October (total restoration of law and order).

"Clearly, this cannot be done by means of existing conventional methods or against the background of the state of emergency."

While Operation Katzen was never carried to conclusion, some phases were implemented.

What is clear from the plan is that it provided for the use of covert hit squads and the channelling of secret funds to pro-government agents and organisations, two of the major components of the Kwazulu Natal investigation.

is linked to plan to topple Lennox Sebe

Brigadier More — one of three men arrested in the past fortnight by the Investigation Task Unit appointed last year by security minister Sydney Mufamadi — has been seconded to Armscor as marketing director for its manufacturing subsidiary, Denel.

That he was more than merely an information conduit during Operation Katzen is clear from a document dated November 13, headed "Training Requirements", which outlines plans to equip a group of disident Ciskeians for "in-out oper-

ations" in the former independent homeland.

The shopping list of arms and ammunition needed to train the group at a military base in the Transkei in advance of the planned Ciskei coup includes explosives, landmines, hand grenades and RPG7 rockets.

A margin note indicates that a request for R4 rifles, 9mm Uzi automatic pistols, 9mm handguns, 13 500 rounds of 5,56mm ammunition and 9 000 rounds of 9mm ammunition was "already with J More".

Other documents list Brigadier

A

IFP youth reject 'kill 1 000' call

(113) CP 11/6/95
THE INKATHA Freedom Party Youth Brigade yesterday distanced itself from a murder call by an IFP official now being hunted by police.

"We pledge our support for Mr Richard Mothoseng to voice his anger, but not to kill innocent people. The people referred to by Mr Mothoseng are those who had a hand in the massacre of our people, not just any one who does not know what actually happened at Shell House," IFP Youth Brigade publicity secretary Evans Sosibo told a news briefing.

Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security Jesse Duarte ordered the arrest of Mothoseng after he announced 1 000 people would be killed if President Mandela was not arrested following his admission that he ordered ANC guards to defend its headquarters at all costs on March 28 last year. Mothoseng was earlier identified as Mr Mutuseni in news reports.

■ Meanwhile, Inkatha's Vaal Triangle branch unveiled plans yesterday for a stayaway to back the party's call for the arrest of Mandela.

"Gauteng province will be ungovernable if Nelson Mandela is not arrested," IFP Vaal Triangle secretary Siphon Magubane told a press conference.

Magubane said plans for the protest would be finalised by Friday, adding all means would be used to enforce the stayaway. "We will use force if necessary," he said. Later last night, IFP secretary general Ziba Jiyane said on SABC-TV the statements had been made by agent provocateurs. - Sapa

Inkatha demands regional autonomy

Farouk Chothia

BD 12/6/95

DURBAN — KwaZulu/Natal premier Frank Mdlalose must ensure that the province takes significant legislative powers from central government by the end of July, Inkatha's national council resolved at the weekend.

A resolution urged Mdlalose and the provincial legislature to take "many courageous legislative and political initiatives" to ensure that "substantial progress" was made in achieving provincial autonomy by the end of July.

This suggests that the council accepted the controversial strategy document, A Minimal Institutional Strategy for Federalism and Pluralism from a KwaZulu/Natal Base, which has been labelled by the ANC as secessionist.

Inkatha secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said council members felt that the concept of the document was acceptable, but its practical implementation needed to be discussed by Inkatha's strategy commission and provincial MPs.

The resolution complained about central government's failure to assign to provinces powers related to land affairs, water, forestry, certain aspects of trade and commerce, consumer protection, education, provincial public media, gambling, lotteries, provincial public service, regional planning and development.

The national council endorsed Mdlalose's decision to withdraw from the inter-governmental forum. However, it was un-

likely that ANC and NP ministers wishing to attend forum meetings would be stopped, Jiyane said.

Speaking after a meeting of Inkatha-aligned chiefs on Friday, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the dispute over the traditional leaders' payment might go to the Constitutional Court.

His comments were a clear indication that the meeting planned for tomorrow between President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha-aligned chiefs in Durban was unlikely to break the deadlock over the issue.

Buthelezi said the payment of traditional leaders was a provincial competence, but the ANC had long argued that there was an overriding clause in the constitution allowing central government to take over payment, for sake of uniformity.

The Inkatha-aligned chiefs resolved to send a delegation to meet Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini to appeal to him to convene an imbizo (mass gathering of the Zulu nation). If he failed to do so, the chiefs would do so on their own.

Buthelezi said there had been no progress in efforts to break the deadlock over international mediation, and the exchange of constitutional documents with the ANC was a "farce" as Inkatha had made comprehensive submissions to the Constitutional Assembly which were available to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Jiyane said if there were to be future talks with the ANC on the issue, these would focus solely on the implementation of the mediation agreement.

Buthelezi calls for resistance campaign

CT 12/6/95

(118)

DURBAN: IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on his followers to launch a massive non-violent resistance campaign against the central government.

"Let us show South Africa what true peaceful resistance entails and what massive mass resistance on a scale unprecedented in this country, can achieve in defence of freedom, pluralism and democracy," Chief Buthelezi told supporters at a rally at Ezingolweni.

Chief Buthelezi, who is also national Home Affairs Minister,

wants greater autonomy in kwaZulu/Natal and a strong federal system in the country.

He emphasised yesterday that Inkatha would resist the government through non-violent means.

"It is clear that if we are not getting the democracy which we have struggled for for so long, that we have no alternative but to use the same non-violent means to attain it," Chief Buthelezi said.

He and President Nelson Mandela have traded harsh words over the continuing political violence in kwaZulu/Natal. — Reuter

IFP threat: Security forces to be deployed

JOHANNESBURG: Gauteng Safety and Security Minister Ms Jesse Duarte yesterday said security forces would be deployed at taxi ranks, bus terminals and stations in the province from today to curb violence threatened earlier this week by the IFP.

Ms Duarte could not say how many security force members would be deployed.

In a statement she said the safe-

ty measures would inconvenience some, but they were deemed necessary to defend peace.

Ms Duarte said Gauteng Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale will meet IFP provincial leaders today.

She said people would be protected in residential areas, city centres and industrial areas.

Earlier yesterday, the Gauteng branch of the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade said it would

investigate and take action against members who threatened to renege the province "ungovernable".

The brigade's Gauteng chairman Mr Thabani Dlamini was reacting to reports that the Vaal Triangle and West Rand regions of the brigade had announced plans of mass action, including a stay-away on Saturday, if President Nelson Mandela was not arrested in connection with the killing of Zulu

marchers near Shell House.

IFP Vaal Triangle publicity secretary Mr Sipho Magubane reportedly said plans for the stayaway would be finalised this week and all means, including "force if necessary", would be used to enforce the stayaway.

In distancing his organisation from the statements, Mr Dlamini said the regions did not have a mandate from the provincial lead-

ET 12/6/95

(118)

ership to release such statements.

He said provincial officials would hold a meeting with regional executives today to find those responsible for the statements and drastic measures would be taken.

"The IFP Youth Brigade is fully committed to peace and stability in our province and the rest of the country and we cannot afford to be seen as perpetrating violence," he said. — Sapa

No show for security alert

(S) (11B) SPAN 12/6/95

STAFF REPORTERS

Despite yesterday's pledge by Safety and Security MEC Jessie Duarte to protect the people of Gauteng against the possibility of violence by IFP members, no security measures were to be found in and around Johannesburg early this morning.

No police presence was in sight during The Star's drives

INKATHA moves to distance itself from reported threats by its Youth Brigade members

past the major taxi ranks and bus stations in the city centre and Soweto during rush-hour. The only officials to be found

were two traffic officers at the Baragwanath taxi rank. They said all they knew about the crackdown was what they had heard on the radio.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andrew Pieke said extra security measures were "supposed" to come into effect today. He had no more information to give them, but said he had heard there had been a show of security at West Street early this morning. However,

The Star could see no evidence of this.

Duarte said yesterday steps were to be taken to counter the possibility of violence by IFP members.

She said extra security personnel would be deployed at taxi ranks and bus stops around Gauteng to prevent "chaos, lawlessness and disorder" in the province.

In a statement released in
▶ To Page 3

Security alert no show

From Page 1
SPAN 12/6/95

Johannesburg, Duarte said people would be protected in residential areas, city centres and industrial areas.

She conceded that the measures might prove inconvenient for some. Police could also search some people, but she would not allow any person's rights to be infringed.

Duarte said her announcement followed threats of violence by members of the IFP Youth Brigade (IFPYB).

The clampdown announcement came as the IFP moved to distance itself from the reported comments of the Vaal Triangle and West Rand regions of its youth brigade.

The regions reportedly called for mass action and stayaways in response to President Mandela's revelation that he had ordered guards at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg to shoot to kill if necessary during a violent protest march last

The IFPYB leader in Gauteng, Thabani Dlamini, yesterday vowed to act against any IFP members who threatened to destabilise the province.

At a press conference, Dlamini denied allegations that the IFPYB was planning mass protests to demand that Mandela and others be charged with murder for giving the order.

He said the regions which had allegedly announced the plans had no mandate to do so, and that a meeting was to be held with regional executives today to try and locate the persons responsible for making the allegations.

Dlamini also reiterated the IFPYB's stand in distancing itself from the recent announcement by IFP official Richard Mthoseng that 1 000 people would be killed daily if Mandela was not arrested.

Premier Tokyo Sexwale is expected to meet IFP provincial leaders today.

In an address at a rally yesterday, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi said war was being waged against his party to destabilise KwaZulu-Natal, and thereby to justify the declaration of a state of emergency in the province.

Second high-ranking IFP man arrested

Sowetan 12/6/95

(NB)

(27/6)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party suffered another major setback at the weekend when police arrested a second high-ranking member over the murder of 13 people in KwaZulu-Natal in 1987.

Mr Peter Msane was arrested on Friday near Ulundi. Msane, who in the 1980's received military training from the South African army with a group of Inkatha recruits, was released on bail of R2 000.

"He is still an Inkatha member and used to work at the IFP office in Ulundi," police Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Dutton said. Msane was picked up two days after the arrest of Zakhele "MZ" Khumalo, deputy secretary-gen-

eral of the IFP, over the 1987 murders in KwaMakhuisa in KwaZulu-Natal. The arrests followed weeks of slanging between President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Butheizi over violence in the province.

Granted bail

Khumalo, who was granted bail on Thursday of R10 000, is ranked number six in the IFP hierarchy. A senior police officer, Colonel Louis Botha, and a former Military Intelligence officer, Brigadier John More, were also arrested during the past two weeks over political murders.

Mandela's Government set up a

special police task force last year to investigate the violence in KwaZulu-Natal, where Inkatha holds power. He recently accused Butheizi of inciting bloodshed, a charge the Zulu chief denied.

IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane has condemned the arrests, saying the task force responsible for the investigation was unilaterally appointed by the ANC-controlled Government. Jiyane said the task force should be disbanded and reappointed with IFP involvement as its members had also been killed. Presently, he said, it was being used to fight a political battle for the ANC. — *Sapa-Reuters.*



Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale, centre, speaks to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Musa Myeni, left, and Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Bongikosi Dlamini at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS

Cold shoulder angers Inkatha Youth group

Nomavenda Mathlano (118)

MEMBERS of the Inkatha Youth Brigade have been angered by Inkatha Freedom Party Gauteng MEC Musa Myeni's claim that he does not know them, and by his distancing himself from the statements they made at the weekend.

It has been pointed out that one of those who spoke at a news conference at which threats of random violence were made was Mandla Magubane, a local Inkatha leader and member of the Northwestern Metropolitan Substructure.

Myeni said those who made threats were not acting on an Inkatha mandate.

The party was investigating the matter, he said.

However, when pressed on the issue, he admitted knowing who Magubane was and said action would be taken against him.

Meanwhile 400 members of the Internal Stability Unit have been deployed at various flashpoints in Gauteng, police have said.

Police spokesman Lt Jan Combrinck said police would patrol all of Gauteng, including the suburbs. They would be joined by members of the SA National Defence Force today.

At a news conference yesterday called by Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale, Myeni appealed to political leaders to stop "bashing" one another in public as this led to heightened tensions at grassroots level,

and had led to the current situation.

Sexwale called the news conference in a bid to prevent violence which members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade threatened to provoke in Gauteng if President Nelson Mandela was not arrested for statements he made about the Shell House shootings.

Myeni said although he could understand the anger in the threats voiced by the youth, he did not condone killing.

From the Inkatha central Johannesburg office Magubane said he could not understand how Myeni could deny knowledge of the group, which included Richard Mothoseng, who had originally made the call for killings to take place until Mandela was arrested, "unless Myeni does not know his structures".

He said group members were Inkatha members.

He said this group was recruited from the Amakhosi in areas of KwaZulu/Natal.

Magubane said no action would be taken against him because he had done nothing wrong.

He stood by Saturday's statement which called for a stayaway in Gauteng and pledged support for Mothoseng for voicing his anger.

At yesterday's conference Sexwale said it was important for stakeholders in the province to protect the peace and stability for which they had worked.

He said as premier he was concerned and wanted to take pre-emptive steps.

Intelligence se

Adrian Hadland

CAPE TOWN — Parliament's role in overseeing the activities and budgets of SA's intelligence services is to be strengthened, according to draft legislation tabled yesterday.

The memorandum to the Bill says earlier legislation creating a parliamentary committee and two inspectors-general to oversee the National Intelligence Agency, the SA Secret Service and the intelligence and information services of the defence force and police allowed too much presidential discretion.

In the first Bill — The Committee of MPs on and Inspectors-general of Intelligence Act which was

Sanco plinte

Mduduzi ka Harvov

A FACTION of Actstop exco members is due to meet on Thursday whether members should disown their mother body, the SA National Organisation, faction head Sejaphala said yesterday.

The move follows an intervention back to 1993 that resulted in the formation of two Actstop rival factions headed by Sejaphala and the Chris Mgidlana.

New union federation proposed

(115)
(115)
CT 13/6/95

DURBAN: The IFP has entered the fray over the controversial labour relations bill, vowing to head the formation of a new union federation to oppose Cosatu.

The party has slammed Cosatu's plans for mass action to persuade business to accept the legislation.

IFP labour relations spokesman Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said Cosatu should work within the National Economic Development and Labour Council.

The IFP would convene a workshop later this year of unions sympathetic to its position, to form a strong federation to oppose Cosatu.

Mr Ndlovu described the new labour bill as a "pay-back" to Cosatu for its support of the ANC.

— Own Correspondent

e
1-
e
je
s-
of
d
n
is
id
of
n
s-
a-
l
m
id
u-
id
ce
f-
v-

INKATHA

(11B)

FM 16/6/95

Abnormal tensions

Suggestions that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent "white-bashing" speech is indicative of a looming party split are being hotly denied.

Nevertheless, the address, in which he lashed out at what he called a coterie of KwaZulu-Natal "white racist" Inkatha members vilifying him through media leaks, is certainly indicative of abnormal tensions within Inkatha.

Stunned whites in the party are predictably keeping low, refraining from anything but noncommittal responses to questions about the outburst while they analyse their tenuous positions in Inkatha and try to determine what lies behind their leader's utterances.

The characteristic Buthelezi outburst follows leaking of the 20-point technical and constitutional strategy discussion document on promoting federalism and pluralism in KwaZulu-Natal (*Current Affairs* June 2). Critics of the controversial document see the proposals as a blueprint for secession planned by Inkatha — claims strongly denied by the party.

The question, though, is whether Buthelezi's remarks were simply an over-reaction to the embarrassment caused by the leak or a symptom of deep-seated party turmoil.

Inkatha general secretary Ziba Jiyane is adamant that it is the first: "There is no split in Inkatha, though our opponents are trying to sow seeds of doubt suggesting there is. When Buthelezi speaks, he says what he means. He was expressing concern about one or two members of the provincial legislature who leaked the document. It is up to those people to own up, otherwise they will be dealt with at Inkatha's annual general conference next month."

In spite of Jiyane's assurances, there are signs that all is not well in the Inkatha camp. Not least are a growing reluctance by all but the most senior party officials to talk off the cuff to journalists after central committee meetings and apparent tensions between moderates and hardliners in the party.

Whether these are anything more than healthy rivalries of the kind that exist in any political grouping remains to be seen. What is certain is that Buthelezi's outburst must have left many white supporters — both officials and potential voters — feeling distinctly uneasy. And the doubts will fester until there is greater clarity about what he really meant. ■

Inkatha set to seize more powers

(11B)
~~(11B)~~

BD 19/6/95

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party's plans to seize more powers in KwaZulu/Natal would begin in earnest this week when lawyers started work on implementing its controversial 20-point strategy, officials said yesterday.

First in line for implementation in the Inkatha-controlled legislature would be legislation "which precludes any traditional leader from receiving compensation from central government".

The officials said putting the plan in motion was part of Inkatha's "open cold war", declared last week after Cabinet endorsed an ANC initiative empowering central government to pay chiefs.

More specifically, an Inkatha strategist explained, it was part of the party's "institutional conflict" programme to wrest more powers from central government in KwaZulu/Natal. Planned mass passive resistance would be the second front of Inkatha's "cold war" against the ANC.

The party was also considering challenging the chiefs' pay issue in the Constitutional Court.

The next move would be to change the name of the province to the Kingdom of KwaZulu, and adopt the former KwaZulu government's emblems and flag.

Defending the move — vigorously opposed by the ANC, among others — a senior Inkatha member said it also had to be seen in a cost-cutting light: "Official vehicles will not have to be resprayed, stationery will remain the same and we will not have to make new flags."

Officials were confident of "substantial

progress" in implementing the plan by the time the party held its annual general conference starting on July 21.

An official said it would largely be up to lawyers working in premier Frank Mdlalose's office to prepare draft legislation for adoption by simple majority in the Inkatha-controlled legislature.

Mdlalose's recent suspension of his participation in the voluntary intergovernmental forum between central and provincial governments was part of the party's "minimal institutional strategy to promote federalism and pluralism". Officials said he would return only when he had been assured KwaZulu/Natal would be assigned more powers.

A political observer who studied the Inkatha plan said at least 12 of the 20 points were constitutional. The rest were open to debate. Whether they were constitutional depended on how Inkatha planned to implement them. The most controversial points dealt with Inkatha plans to:

- Establish provincial armed forces "for the protection of people and property";
- Introduce legislation to wrest control from central government on "all matters" related to land, water and forestry management and their use;
- Claim "exclusive control" over the province's public service;
- Take "firm control" over trade and commerce;
- Legislate to "licence and regulate provincial media"; and
- Legislate to prevent chiefs being paid by central government.

Continued on Page 2

Inkatha

(11B) ~~(11B)~~ BD 19/6/95

Continued from Page 1

However, according to one Inkatha official, the KwaZulu/Natal Act of the House of Traditional Leaders adopted in October was already "broad enough" to prevent chiefs receiving compensation from central government. Adoption of new legislation on the matter would merely strengthen the original Act, he said.

KwaZulu/Natal transport MEC and senior ANC official Sbu Ndebele said the ANC "will fight Inkatha's secessionist and one-

party plan every inch of the way". If the ANC was unable to stop Inkatha at provincial level, the party would resort to the Constitutional Court.

... was acting like "a desperate party which was fast losing control over the new police force in the province, had lost King Goodwill Zwelithini, would eventually lose the chiefs and had not delivered anything meaningful in terms of the reconstruction and development programme.

'140 shots at minibus'

Stephane Bothma

PRETORIA — Vlakplaas C10 unit members allegedly fired 140 bullets into a minibus carrying four would-be bank robbers during an ambush outside Nelspruit in 1992, the Transvaal Supreme Court was told last week.

About 224 spent cartridges found at the scene had been handed to him for testing, ballistics expert Brig Piet Gouws testified in the murder and fraud trial of former C10 commander Col Eugene de Kock.

Gouws said he had found 140 entry holes in the minibus, caused by R5 rifle, 9mm pistol and a 12-bore shotgun fire. The shotgun had been firing solid bullets and not the usual buckshot.

The State alleged De Kock, several of his C10 underlings and members of the Pretoria Murder and Robbery Unit had planned the ambush in March 1992. Outside Nelspruit they had fired at the vehicle before planting AK47 rifles and handgrenades in it and setting it on fire. Four "robbers" were killed in the ambush, while a fifth person, waiting at a petrol station for his friends, was later killed by C10 members, the State claimed.

The trial continues today.

Inkatha rejects Durban proposals

19/6/95

Farouk Chothia

116

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rejected Durban metropolitan council boundary proposals on the grounds that they discriminated against Indians and created economically unviable sub-structures.

In a preliminary report released earlier this month, the Demarcation Board had proposed that Chesterville be the sole black township in a sub-structure that included the Indian areas of Chatsworth, Shallcross and Reservoir Hills and the white areas of Westville and Queensburgh.

Inkatha election campaign deputy manager Anthony Grinker argued that this would give Chesterville residents disproportionate influence in the sub-structure. The bulk of the Indian population had been placed in one sub-structure, reducing their clout in the council.

The Local Government Transition Act stipulated that black areas would receive 50% ward representation on the sub-structure, while the remaining 50% would go to Indian, white and coloured areas.

Grinker said Chatsworth, the largest Indian township in the council, should be placed in an adjacent sub-structure that included Durban central, Berea, Effort, Lamontville, Mobeni, Jacobs, Clairwood, Hillary and Yellowwood Park.

Inkatha would make its submissions to the board today, the closing date for comment on the board's preliminary proposals.

Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said last week a battle was looming over Durban metro's internal boundaries.

Observers pointed out that the battle had been expected to break out after the board had submitted its final report to provincial local government MEC Peter Miller.

Miller had the prerogative of amending the proposals before submitting them to the Provincial Local Government Committee for approval.

Inkatha also objected to the fact that Hambanathi was the sole black township in a sub-structure which included the Indian areas of Phoenix and Westmead and the white areas of Umhloti and La Mercy.

Grinker said the influence of the Indian community was once more being restricted. Phoenix, the second largest Indian township in the council, should be placed in a sub-structure that comprised the black areas of Inanda, Newtown and Mtunzwa.

Phoenix, which had a fairly large industrial area, would assist the sub-structure in attaining economic viability.

The board had proposed that Umhloti form a sub-structure on its own. Grinker argued that Umhloti be included in an adjacent sub-structure that had industrial areas such as Prospecton and Kingiso.

Meanwhile, Masanzima Inkathane reports that the November 11 local government elections might not be hopeless if the ANC and opposition parties do not reach consensus on the demarcation of Johannesburg's boundaries.

The matter may be referred to the special electoral court for a ruling. Demarcation is supposed to be finalised by tomorrow and it seems unlikely that an agreement will be reached in time.

Pressure to review death penalty ban

Adrian Hadland

19/6/95

CAPE TOWN — Government is under growing pressure to reopen the debate on capital punishment following the rejection of the Constitutional Court's recent ruling by several political parties and calls for a national referendum.

Inkatha Freedom Party joined the fray at the weekend, adding its voice to calls by both the National Party and the Freedom Front for the issue to be put to the public.

But justice minister Dullah Omar said he had no intention of supporting a referendum or renewed debate on

capital punishment, according to his spokesman Sue de Villiers.

The Constitutional Court's ruling, which banned the death penalty, had been based on the constitution, which was signed by all parties, Omar said.

The issue of the death penalty was being used as a "red herring" to divert attention from the need to tackle the crime problem in all its aspects.

IFP justice spokesman A. Mzizi said the court was packed with ANC supporters and was empowered only to interpret the Constitution and not determine public policy.

"The judges are not elected and are not accountable to anyone. It is

anathema that the Constitutional Court should be allowed to determine such a fundamental issue."

The IFP said last week that a bill of capital punishment would have a serious negative effect on crime. It called on government to hold a parliamentary debate followed by a national referendum on the issue.

Lawyers for Human Rights said, while, that the IFP was rejecting the authority and independence of the court. It said the death penalty should not be put to a referendum.

"If public opinion were to be the decisive force would be the moral for constitutional adjudication," it argued.

Centrists poised for IFP win (11B)

SYM 22/6/95

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The moderate faction of the Gauteng Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade is expected to assume control of the organisation at this weekend's provincial congress.

The conference will complete the brigade's attempts to merge its four Gauteng regions into one structure. Several key posts in the provincial executive will be up for grabs in what will be a close contest between hardline and moderate wings of the party.

Recent inflammatory statements by members of the brigade — including threats to kill 1 000 people a day and making the province ungovernable — will be discussed.

It is believed that the recent outbursts by members of the brigade have been linked to positioning ahead of this weekend's elections.

Senior brigade member Evans Sosibo, who two weeks ago threatened mass action by members to pressure the police to arrest President Mandela in connection with the Shell House killings, will challenge for the post of publicity secretary.

Racism accusation unfair - IFP

(116) Star 23/6/95

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

Senior IFP MP Farouk Cassim faces censure by the party's national council for accusing its parliamentary caucus of racism.

The caucus said after its weekly meeting yesterday that Cassim's accusations of anti-Indian discrimination in the caucus were "grossly unfair and inaccurate". They would be taken to the party's

decision-making body for "discussion and decision".

Cassim's leaking of confidential caucus deliberations to the press was "unprecedented", the caucus also said in a statement.

The row follows Cassim's complaint about discriminatory treatment of Indian caucus members after the party leadership quizzed some of them about their parliamentary attendance record.

INKATHA

(244) (11B)

Drawing down powers

FM 23/6/95

Inkatha has stepped up its relentless pursuit of regional powers for KwaZulu-Natal — testing the ANC's centrist stance at a crucial time in the drafting of SA's new constitution.

While the party's so-called "open cold war" declared on the ANC may initially ap-

pear to be a kneejerk reaction to its failure to block Cabinet endorsement of President Nelson Mandela's Traditional Leaders Bill, the real focus is on securing provincial powers for the province.

The cold war title to its strategy, says Unisa's Dirk Kotzé, is a deliberate reference to the frosty post-war US-Soviet relationship where each side bristled with nuclear menace while claiming not to be aggressive. "Similarly, though Inkatha never actually advocates violence, its posture carries the implicit threat of its ability to disrupt if it is not taken seriously."

The Mandela Bill, which allows for the remuneration of tribal leaders from the central exchequer, has naturally alarmed Inkatha, who sees it as both symptomatic of the ANC's willingness to ride roughshod over a provincial right, as well as a deliberate attempt to prise the *amakhosi* free from their current paymasters, Inkatha. The argument that Zulus themselves — not taxpayers — should foot the bill if they want their chiefs to be paid is unlikely to be heeded.

Inkatha says it will table a Bill in the provincial legislature barring traditional leaders from receiving payment from central government. It also plans to challenge the measure in the Constitutional Court.

The "cold war" also involves: the rapid implementation of Inkatha's controversial 20-point strategy on federalism; reviving its call for international mediation; and the continued boycott of the Constitutional Assembly and the intergovernmental forum. ■

THE FUTURE role of SA's thousands of traditional leaders is both uncertain and politically sensitive.

So far, their remuneration has been equally so. All that is sure is that they cost the country a great deal of money. In future they may cost even more.

One might wish to see the question of traditional authority examined in measured fashion in the constitutional process. It is a subject about which little is known but which is capable of raising temperatures at provincial level.

Remuneration of traditional leaders raises key issues. One of these is whether they should be paid by central government. Put another way, should all taxpayers be responsible for one province's king who spends liberally to maintain his status?

It would be unfortunate if provincial tensions were raised in the pursuit of short-term political advantage. But there are signs that this is precisely what is happening.

In President Mandela's case, the tragedy of KwaZulu-Natal is that he feels obliged to gain a foothold among the province's traditional leaders. Many observers are keenly waiting to see

11B What cost? King's remuneration has its price

Remuneration has its price

CP 25/6/95

(11B)

WHO SHOULD pay for the king?

The controversy around the remuneration of traditional leaders is gathering steam, with particular concern being expressed about associated costs. King Goodwill Zwelithini, for instance, costs at least R8,7m a year. Piet Marais, of the F&T Weekly, provides a breakdown of the financials costs incurred by the taxpayer.

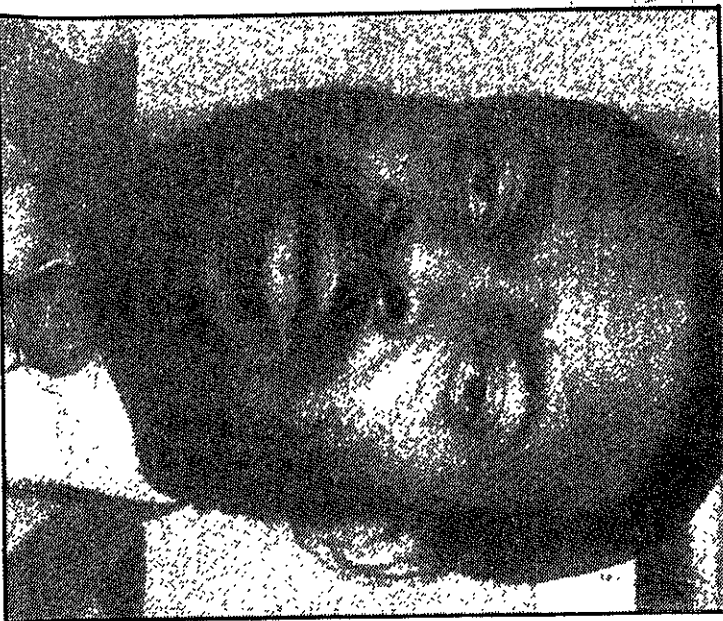
- Personnel expenditure (his salary included) - R790 000;
 - Administrative costs (entertainment included) - R230 000;
 - Supplies (including R600 000 for royal farms) - R619 000;
 - Equipment - R21 000;
 - Sundries - R10 000;
 - School fees for the royal children - R130 000.
- Enquiries directed to

the office of premier of KwaZulu-Natal

Frank Mdlalose reveal that this amount of R1,8 m came exclusively from the premier's budget vote.

An analysis of the budgets of other departments indicated that altogether R8,7 m was spent on him.

It appears this is not the full picture. Provincial accountants are still examining the budgets of several departments to establish the total cost of



KING GOODWILL ZWELITHINI

the monarchy. What is more, it is clear from the information provided by the pre-

Remuneration of traditional leaders raises key issues.

One of these is whether they should be paid by central government. Put another way, should all taxpayers be responsible for one province's king who spends liberally to maintain his status?

the Treasury and a loan of R60m from the SA Development Bank.

A comparison between the Zulu king's expenditure and that of Nelson Mandela lends interesting perspective, particularly in view of their differing functions.

The king's functions are largely ceremonial, and they should receive different salaries.

programme involves both ceremonial and executive duties.

This year, a little more than R16 m was allocated to the president's budget vote. His salary is R55 000 and his personal expenditure R9,7 m.

His other expenditure was: Administrative - R3,7 m; supplies and livestock (R838 000); and sundry expenditure (R230 000).

It should be noted that the salary of Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo is also paid from the president's budget.

Details concerning the Bill, which would make it possible for the payment of traditional leaders from the Treasury, are not yet available.

After a meeting with KwaZulu-Natal chiefs, Mandela indicated these payments could be the same as those received by MPs.

But it is unlikely the formula will be that simple. There are different categories of leaders and they should receive different salaries.

Mandela's moves are seen as an undisguised attempt to win the favour of KwaZulu-Natal's 258 traditional leaders.

It may prove to be too expensive an exercise; the fact that they will get salaries from central government will not necessarily win their support.

The problem with traditional leaders is that they are not democratically elected representatives.

But historically, they have played an important role, especially in local government. In government circles there is a belief that they could play a significant grassroots role, particularly in rural areas, to help facilitate the RDP.

There is no logic in the absolutist view that they have no role because they aren't democratically elected. Such a position would deny the country's realities.

It would also not be in the country's interest for our politicians to create tensions around the issue to gain short-term political advantage.

Finally, a team of experts has already been appointed to the Financial & Fiscal Commission, which may without restraint, examine remuneration.

IFP's Cassim to resign seat after 'racism' row

Drew Forrest

(118) 8026/6/95 the meeting of Indian MPs should not have been called. He also accepted Mzimela's subsequent explanation of the jibe at Moosa, which he said had been prompted by the deputy minister's reference to "Inkatha retards".

THE MP at the centre of last week's row over alleged anti-Indian racism in the IFP is to resign his parliamentary seat.

Leading Inkatha moderate Farouk Cassim said he now planned to establish a non-governmental organisation to lobby for ethnic minorities.

The row was triggered when the IFP parliamentary whips last week called a meeting of the party's six Indian MPs, complaining of their poor attendance at parliamentary debates.

Cassim said he had taken strong exception to the singling out of Indian members, whose parliamentary input had to be seen in the context of their constituency work and local government election campaigning in KwaZulu/Natal.

At a special IFP caucus gathering called to discuss the issue, Cassim clashed with Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela over the latter's alleged remark that Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister Valli Moosa should be "given a one-way ticket to Bombay". He walked out of the caucus meeting and called a media conference.

Cassim said the caucus had agreed that

However, his breach of parliamentary conventions — and in particular the calling of a media conference on a matter under caucus discussion — had left him no alternative but to resign.

The IFP said last week Cassim's recourse to the media would be discussed by the party's national council. It said other Indian MPs were satisfied with the way the dispute had been handled.

Cassim said he had no regrets about the stand he had taken, as it would make party chiefs "more sensitive" to the position of Indian MPs. The party would have to make greater efforts to accommodate the recent influx of Indian members, none of whom held top positions.

Cassim's resignation is a setback for Inkatha's moderate wing and could damage the IFP's drive to woo Indian voters. Indians, who voted overwhelmingly for the NP last April, hold the balance of power in the Durban metropolitan area.

Cassim could lose his seat in assembly

ARLT 26/6/95 (110)

Political Staff

PROMINENT Indian Inkatha Freedom Party MP Farouk Cassim could lose his seat in the national assembly if the party carries through threats to discipline him after an inner-party race row flared last week.

The row is the second involving race to hit the IFP recently.

The interim constitution provides that a member who resigns from his party has to resign his or her seat in parliament.

Mr Cassim broke caucus confidentiality last Thursday when he called a media confer-

ence after walking out of the IFP's weekly parliamentary caucus meeting.

He alleged then that Indian members of the party were being discriminated against on a racial basis.

Caucus responded with a sharply worded statement saying the party's national council due to meet next month would decide his fate.

The row is not the first involving race to hit the IFP of late.

Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently made derogatory comments about certain white members after a controversial party document was

leaked to the media.

Mr Cassim seemed headed at the weekend for premature retirement from parliament and indications were that he could offer to resign from the party and his seat.

He was quoted at the weekend as saying that he was "going into the wilderness."

His going would be a significant loss to the IFP.

Not only is he a senior Indian member of the party, but he works hard in parliament.

Last year, during a television debate, he claimed to be a "Zulu" and a supporter of an autonomous Zulu kingdom in KwaZulu-Natal.

IFP Indian MP may be fired over race row

(11B) Sowetan 26/6/95

PROMINENT Inkatha Freedom Party Indian MP Farouk Cassim could lose his seat in the National Assembly if the party carries through threats to discipline him after an inner-party race row flared last week.

The row is the second involving race to hit the IFP recently.

The interim constitution provides that a member who resigns from his party has to resign his or her seat in Parliament, creating a vacancy to be filled by the next member on the party's electoral list.

Cassim broke caucus confidentiality last Thursday when he called a media conference after walking out of the IFP's weekly parliamentary caucus meeting. He alleged then that Indian members of the party were being discriminated against on a racial basis.

The caucus responded with a sharply worded statement saying the party's national council due to meet next month would decide his fate.

The row is not the first involving race to hit the IFP of late. Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently made

derogatory comments about certain white members after a controversial party document was leaked to the media. And among some of the party's black backbenchers there have been ongoing grumbles about perceived better treatment for white MPs.

Cassim appeared headed at the weekend for premature retirement from Parliament and indications were that he could offer to resign from the party, and his seat. He was quoted at the weekend as saying he was "going into the wilderness". — *Sowetan Correspondent*

Threat to kill '1 000 a day' withdrawn ^(11/3)

CT27/6/95

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Mr Richard Mthusini, the IFP Youth Brigade member who threatened to kill a 1 000 people a day unless President Nelson Mandela was arrested in connection with the Shell House massacre, has retracted his remarks, it was reported yesterday.

Mr Mthusini made his remarks, which elicited the wrath of the police and political parties, at a youth brigade meeting in the Vaal Triangle about two weeks ago.

IFP Gauteng leader Mr Dietmar Lang said Mr Mthusini had "apologised in a meeting attended by IFP Youth Brigade leader Mr Thabang Dlamini and my deputy Mr Themba Khoza".

The retraction came after the IFP Gauteng provincial executive committee had summoned its

structures in the Vaal to explain the statement.

Mr Lang said the intended disciplinary action against Mr Mthusini had been cancelled because he had withdrawn his remarks: "There's no reason for the disciplinary action to continue."

After Mr Mthusini's sensational claims, another IFP Youth Brigade member threatened that Gauteng would be made ungovernable.

The IFP Gauteng executive committee found that the two had made the statements in anger and without consideration of the effects such statements could have on peaceful co-existence.

They were censured by the party and an agreement was reached with Gauteng Minister for Safety and Security Ms Jesse Duarte that a warrant for the arrest of Mr Mthusini would be withdrawn.

Fiery IFP youth leader apologises

(116) PARL 27/6/95
Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade member who threatened to kill 1 000 people a day unless President Nelson Mandela was arrested in connection with the "Shell House massacre", Richard Mthusini, has retracted his remarks.

In an interview, IFP Gauteng leader Dietmar Lang said Mr Mthusini withdrew his utterances, which drew the wrath of the police and political parties, at a youth brigade meeting in the Vaal Triangle about two weeks ago.

"He apologised in a meeting attended by IFP Youth Brigade leader Thabang Dlamini and my deputy Themba Khoza," Mr Lang said.

The retraction came after the IFP Gauteng Provincial executive committee's committee had summoned its structures in the Vaal to report to the committee to explain the statement.

Zulu hardliners seize power in KwaZulu-Natal IFP coastal poll

Farouk Chotia

(118) RD3/419

DURBAN—Hardline Zulu traditionalists gained control of the powerful IFP south coastal region in elections at the weekend, providing setback to efforts to modernise the party and raising fears peace initiatives in KwaZulu-Natal could be affected.

South coast chief Calakubo Khawula was elected regional chairman, defeating Durban-based Thomas Shabalala in the election at the Umlazi Stadium.

IFP secretary general Ziba Jiyane said Khawula obtained about 650 votes against Shabalala's 150. Shabalala was elected deputy chairman.

Reaching to the result, ANC spokesman Dinnisani Makhaye said both leaders had reputations of being warlords and it was clear this faction controlled the IFP.

However, Jiyane said he was "very excited at Chief Khawula's election. He is one of our most diligent leaders".

Newly-elected deputy publicity secretary Anthony Grinke, like Jiyane a perceived moderate, said a good balance had been struck in the elections with fair representation of all race groups and

younger people.

Makhaye said Khawula lacked the "capacity to understand modern politics". He is understood not to speak English.

Observers pointed out that while recently Shabalala had acquired the image of peacemaker, he had previously been a feared IFP leader among ANC supporters.

Shabalala had once been acquitted of murder charges, and on another occasion charges were dropped.

Grinke countered that because Shabalala was currently a key figure in peace initiatives with the ANC, his election would

bolster those initiatives.

Another south coast chief Phaticisizwe Luthuli, was elected treasurer. He is currently resisting efforts to incorporate his tribal area in the Durban transitional metropolitan council.

He had refused the demarcation board permission to hold a meeting in his locality to obtain a cross-section of views on the issue.

Elected to the post of publicity secretary was another south coast "hardliner", James Zulu. He was arrested last year, with several AWB members, in connection with the bombing of a south coast hotel and

mission and witnesses fearing for their lives. This illustrates the depravity of the leadership of the SA Police and elements within it.

When police support for the IFP became known in the early 1990s, as a result of the so-called Inkathagate scandal, prisoners had been taken to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg to assist with the shredding of 135 000 security police files, former security policeman Paul Erasmus told the Goldstone commission.

Continued on Page 2

IFP ideas 'secessionist'

Ingrid Salgado

(116) 3/7/95

THE IFP's proposed handling of land affairs, gambling, forestry and the public service in KwaZulu/Natal could not be reconciled with nation-building, Eastern Transvaal premier and ANC legal affairs head Mathews Phosa said last week.

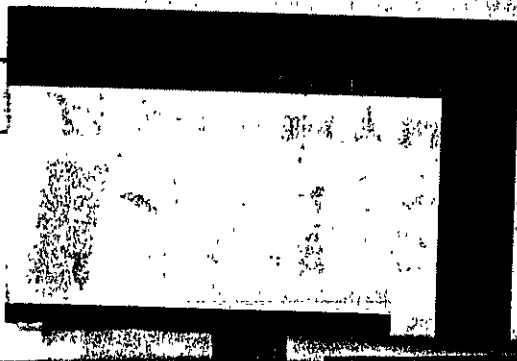
Speaking in a debate with IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane on federalism, Phosa accused the IFP of continuing to use the House of Traditional Leaders for its own purposes. The essence of its approach was "not federalism but confederalism and — to be totally brutal and honest — of secession".

A centralist approach did not exclude provincial powers, and the ANC was not blind to the fact that provinces should be empowered to deal with problems in creative ways.

He proposed that the nine provinces occupy seats in the Senate and that permanent structures be established to support inter-governmental relations.

Jiyane said Phosa himself had "struggled to claim provincial powers" for the Eastern Transvaal.

Democracy had to be built on individual rights and self-governance. The IFP wanted a united SA which ensured the best possible freedom for citizens.



Mandela hints at IFP, police 'plot'

Sowetan 7/7/95

MB
RFB

President Mandela claims that 54 people's deaths were ignored while the focus was on the IFP nine

Sowetan Correspondent

SEOUL — President Nelson Mandela yesterday alleged that a "plot" by police and the Inkatha Freedom Party had led to the Shell House massacre in March last year.

Mandela's allegations, made aboard the presidential jet on a flight between Japan and South Korea,

are set to provoke a fresh round of controversy over the killings.

He strongly suggested that the massacre was part of a conspiracy involving a "third force".

He also alleged that a document Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi gave to the police investigating officer had "landed in the hands" of Democratic Party leader Mr Tony Leon.

"Can you imagine a document given to an investigating officer which is now given to a political leader to raise in Parliament to question the Minister?"

"Can you imagine a thing like that which shows that the investigating officer is not impartial and that he has got an agenda in this investigation?"

"It's a very unique case where all the questions being asked in Parliament by the NP and the DP are not about the 54 people who died that day, but are about the nine killed at Shell House. It is as if there were no other deaths," Mandela said.

He alleged that there was a "vendetta against the Government" and that the DP and the NP were "bitter because they had lost political power and a black political organisation is now running the government of the country".

Mandela concluded his four-day State visit to Japan yesterday and began a three-day visit to South Korea.

He flew into Seoul's airbase to be met by Korean Foreign Minister Gong Myung and his delegation. He was taken to the National Cemetery where he laid a wreath and signed a guest book. Today he is due to hold talks with President Kim Young Sam.

ROADBLOCKS NEAR SHELL HOUSE NOT ERECTED — MANDELA

Police, IFP plot alleged

^(HE)
PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA yesterday claimed the police had colluded with the IFP to allow marchers access to the ANC headquarters during a march last year.

POLICE and the Inkatha Freedom Party jointly plotted an attack on the ANC's Shell House headquarters during the Zulu march through Johannesburg on March 28 last year, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In an interview aboard the presidential aircraft en route to Seoul, Mr Mandela said the police failure to take adequate precautions to prevent loss of life during the march "lends credibility to the perception that there was a plot between the IFP and the police".

Mr Mandela said he had received an undertaking from

then-police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe that roadblocks would be erected to disarm the marchers.

The assurance was given after Mr Mandela warned then-president Mr F W de Klerk that the ANC had received information that the marchers would attack Shell House and kill ANC leaders inside the building. However, no roadblocks were set up.

ANC security guards shot dead 10 protesters outside Shell House when the Zulu marchers arrived. Mr Mandela later acknowledged that he had ordered the guards to

defend Shell House, even if it meant killing people.

Mr Mandela yesterday said he had confronted Gen Van der Merwe at a subsequent meeting with police generals. "I asked him why they did not erect those roadblocks. He just looked down. He could not answer.

Plot

"The impression I gained from this was that the failure of the police to take the simplest precautions to save lives was not accidental and it lends credibility to the perception that there was a plot between the IFP and the police."

Gen Andre Pruis, head of community policing, had then

responded: "Why do you attack us alone? Why don't you attack the National Party? They used us and then dumped us."

He said Gen Van der Merwe, former law and order minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and a Gen Erasmus, who was police commissioner for the Witwatersrand at the time, had failed to respond to a written warning about an impending IFP attack in Sebokeng in July 1990.

Thirty-two people, including women and children, were later killed in a daylight attack. Police had not taken precautions and no one was arrested after the killings.

● The IFP and NP both yesterday criticised Mr Mandela's claim of IFP, police collusion in the Shell House massacre -- Sapa

CT 7/7/95 (11B)

Inkatha to push for autonomy laws

Star 8/7/98

(118)

By CRAIG DOONAN

Durban — The IFP said yesterday it would begin developing autonomous policies for governing KwaZulu/Natal and would prepare relevant legislation to be introduced in the provincial parliament.

IFP study groups have been revitalised to prepare legislation to be introduced in the provincial parliament, the party said in a statement.

The study groups had been instructed to solicit input from all stakeholders in KwaZu-

lu/Natal "so that the kingdom can begin to develop its own autonomous policies in all matters which affect the welfare, peace and economic and social development of the kingdom".

The statement came after a meeting between the IFP's national KwaZulu/Natal and Gauteng caucuses in Umlazi on Thursday night.

The statement said the party had "closed ranks behind the embattled state-maintenance president Mangosihle Buthelezi". It said the entire IFP would

participate in the final stages of drafting KwaZulu/Natal's constitution, which would establish the province as a constitutional monarchy "exercising in autonomy all powers and functions which can properly and adequately be exercised at provincial level".

The IFP stressed that the "true liberation" of South Africa would have to rely on the initiative of the KwaZulu/Natal government, "which must bring freedom and democracy to the rest of the country".

KwaZulu/Natal ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye criticised Inkatha's emphasis on autonomy.

"This is again part of the secessionist plan of the IFP. While other provinces have better their political offices to better the lives of the people, Inkatha uses its office to oppose the democratically-elected government of national unity," he told Reuters.

Inkatha's statement came ahead of a meeting of its decision-making national council in Durban today.

An IFP source who asked not to be identified said the meeting would discuss the party's annual general conference which takes place in two weeks. "We will be looking at what's happened over the past year and we'll prepare to report to the electorate at our conference."

Obviously issues such as federalism, international mediation, threats to cut finance to KwaZulu/Natal, threats to crush dissent, the constitution and upcoming legislation will all be looked at, the source said.

IFP in bid to take over king's payments

By CYRIL MADLALA

(11B) ~~11A~~ ST9/7/95
THE IFP is poised to amend provincial legislation to make it illegal for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders in Kwazulu Natal to accept payment from central government.

This is a direct challenge to President Nelson Mandela, who last month pushed through Parliament the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act, which enables central government to pay all traditional leaders in South Africa.

The monarch has indicated that he wants to receive his salary from Pretoria.

Nyanga Ngubane, the Kwazulu Natal minister for traditional affairs, is seeing through the legislation.

The Kwazulu Natal Amakhosi

and Iziphakanyiswa Bill and the Kwazulu Natal Amendment Bill on Payment of Salaries, Allowances and other Privileges to the Ingonyama, are expected to be tabled before the next sitting of the legislature on August 15.

In his memorandum this week to the provincial cabinet, motivating the passing of the proposed Bills, Chief Ngubane said: "My department is of the opinion that it is empowered to legislate on matters relating to traditional leaders and, therefore, it has the corresponding right to legislate on the payment of salaries, allowances as well as other benefit(s) of His Majesty the King."

Chief Ngubane said the proposed legislation would apply notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in other laws.

The legislation will give Chief

Ngubane powers to act on behalf of any traditional leader in the province about matters related to "any remuneration, allowance or compensation from any source under the republic destined to a traditional leader".

Money intended for traditional leaders will be vested in Chief Ngubane. He will act as a trustee for the king, members of the royal house and other traditional leaders.

Errant traditional leaders would be liable for fines of up to R500 which would be recovered from their remuneration.

Prince Sifiso Zulu, spokesman for King Goodwill, said the legislation amounted to the seizure of the king's emolument, and would violate the Bill of Rights.

"Chief Ngubane cannot be a trustee for the king without the

monarch's consent," he said.

In any case, the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act would prevail over this provincial legislation as it was inconsistent with the Act, he said.

The ANC opposes the proposed legislation.

Meanwhile, the parliamentary caucus of the IFP resolved in Ulundi this week to support the "peaceful" fight for the kingdom of Kwazulu Natal and to prepare legislation for the provincial parliament.

It said the entire IFP would participate in the drafting of a constitution for the kingdom "which shall establish the province as a constitutional monarchy exercising in autonomy all powers and functions which can be properly and adequately exercised at provincial level".

Goldstone commission reveals details of IFP gunrunning to Ree

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — Trackloads of weapons transported from Oryamboland in Namibia by the police during 1989 made their way to IFP structures on the Reef, Judge Richard Goldstone states in a 1994 report which until last week remained top secret.

Weapons were handed to IFP Gauteng leader Themba Khoza who had under his control thousands of IFP members able to cause violence in Johannesburg, the report said. Those who lived in Denver hostel were organised in cell structures each responsible for an allocated section of the city, Goldstone's report claims.

The supply of weapons to the IFP formed part of a host of new charges currently under investigation against former Vlakplaas C10 commander Col Eugene de Kock, a source from the Transvaal attorney-general's office said at the weekend.

De Kock's brother, Vossie, also a former policeman, was arrested recently with a large quantity of arms and ammunition which investigators believed was also destined for IFP hostels on the East Rand.

The Goldstone report, handed to President Nelson Mandela and predecessor FW de Klerk before last year's elections, contained several links between the former security police branch — now the criminal intelligence service — and the IFP.

Mandela's office has said the report has not been officially released due to continuing investigations into gunrunning.

Goldstone said criminal activity by the security branch in the 1980s was highly relevant because it explained some of the current public violence and intimidation and because some top policemen who held office until recently had not only been

aware of some of the criminal acts, but approved them and also approved funds to make them possible. They included retired police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe and former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Goldstone said his commission was not aware of any police members outside the security branch who had been involved in the "criminal and despicable actions" detailed in his report.

He said perhaps the worst aspect of his probe into public violence and intimidation had been members and staff of the com-

Goldstone

Continued from Page 1

Erasmus last week supplied the Mail & Guardian with a copy of Goldstone's secret report. Testifying before the commission in secret last year, Erasmus supplied his official police case books from 1977 to 1992.

The case books detailed dirty tricks at the hands of the security branch, including the blackmail of a senior SA Council of

churches clergyman over an illegitimate child. The clergyman could find only R1 500 for the police who used it for a celebratory dinner.

"Reading the case books of Erasmus is a depressing and horrifying experience — page after page of documented criminal conduct against people innocent of anything other than perceived support for the political enemy," Goldstone commented.

B0 10/7-195

(11B)

B/MA/ 10/3/95

(11B)

10/3/95

(118)
**IFP digs its
heels in after
leaders meet**

SPAN 10/7/95
Ulundi — The IFP yesterday vowed to continue fighting for international mediation and declared it would reject the new constitution being drawn up without its participation.

In a statement released after its national council meeting in Ulundi, the party said the impasse over international mediation had resulted in a "dangerous institutional conflict" between provinces and the actions and intentions of the ANC.

It rejected the final constitution being drafted by the Constitutional Assembly because of the "total disregard" of the agreement on international mediation.

The party also decided to challenge the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act, which it described as "unconstitutional, arrogant and inherently undemocratic".

It rejected amendments to the Local Government Transition Act, which it said narrowed the discretion of provinces in determining the rural local government model and called for an investigation into alleged irregularities on the voters roll.

"The IFP rejects the ANC's proposal that people without proper residential details should be denied ward votes in areas where they live ... and recommends that urgent studies be made into mechanisms to ensure people in these areas are not denied their democratic rights," it said.

The IFP also criticised the SABC's televised documentary series *Death of Apartheid*, written and directed by newly-appointed SABC Board member Allister Sparks.

The series and the appointment of Sparks was further evidence of the "final disintegration" of the SABC's independence, it said. — Sapa.

IFP to press on with launch plans

Farouk Choithia

NO 11/7/95

DURBAN.— The IFP yesterday vowed to go ahead with plans to launch branches in ANC strongholds despite the fact that violence erupted at a launch in Clermont, near Pinetown, on Sunday.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said the IFP would be "undeterred" by the attack on its followers, and the IFP was simply following President Nelson Mandela's lead in seeking to eradicate no-go areas.

An ANC-supporting sniper allegedly fired on IFP supporters trying to gather at the Clermont stadium, injuring three people. ANC supporters occupied the stadium, forcing the IFP to abandon the launch.

The IFP had transported several thousand people into Clermont for the launch, and as they returned to Umlazi ANC snipers again opened fire, Tillett said.

He said this led to IFP supporters returning fire, killing three of the snipers.

IFP KwaZulu-Natal local government caucus head John Aulsebrook claimed that a mob almost lynched him, and he was forced to speed off in his car.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said: "We are not going to allow the invasion of communities under the disguise of free political activity."

He blamed a white IFP member for the "invasion", saying the intention was to cause the "slaughter" of blacks. No whites were bussed in as their lives were seen to be more valuable than black lives.

Tillett called on ANC KwaZulu-Natal chairman Jacob Zuma to revoke the "licence to destabilise" issued to ANC supporters, and to condemn the "assault" on free political activity.

Sapa reports Mandela appealed for political tolerance and ordered an investigation into the clash.

Mandela called for free political activity and said "no-go" areas for any political party should not exist.

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose condemned the shooting of IFP supporters.

He also called on ANC leaders in the province to address their followers to ensure that all political parties enjoyed their right to free political activity.

council member, with representation limited to a maximum of 10% of the seats. A minimum of 80% of the

tropolis, Miller said the board had proposed the retention of apartheid

meeting the November 1 deadline.

Marais 'was aware of crimes'

Edward West

CAPE TOWN — There was uncontestable prima facie evidence that former Fundstrust chairman Jan Marais had known about the crimes being perpetrated in the company, counsel for the state Billy Downer said yesterday.

Downer was presenting his closing arguments before the Cape Supreme Court where Marais has pleaded not guilty to a total of seven charges relating to contraventions of the Banks and Deposit Taking Acts, including two charges of reckless trading and fraud, following the collapse of Fundstrust in November 1991.

He said there had been various warning signals

over the years — such as the failure to produce financial statements — which ought to have informed Marais of what was going on in the company.

Downer argued that although Marais had chosen not to testify, and in spite of his constitutional right not to testify, the establishment of prima facie evidence meant that the onus now rested on the accused to bring evidence to the contrary.

Judge Selwyn Selikowitz told the court the key to the illegality in the case was the deposit-taking by Fundstrust. "Everybody was investing on a deposit basis in Fundstrust for a year at 20% interest. The argument is, did the accused know this?" he said.

Downer said there was a litany from investors who had said they would not have invested in Fundstrust if they had known about the contraventions. "We submit the facts were concealed from investors and if they had known they would not have invested."

He said a letter of demand to Fundstrust on October 28 1991 had informed the reader that R45m had been invested in Fundstrust by Gilbeys in contravention of the Deposit Taking Act and the accused had not only signed the contract, but was party to the negotiations for the contract.

"Despite this knowledge, the accused allowed the business to operate as before by taking in new investments," Downer said.

Water supply radioactivity levels probed

Selwyn Stretton

THE water affairs and forestry department is conducting a survey of SA's water resources to determine whether there are harmful levels of radioactivity in the country's drinking supplies.

Certain radioactive substances, which occurred either naturally or as a consequence of human activities, could pose a health risk to consumers, a spokesman said.

An initial study, which focused on different areas across SA where elevated levels were expected, had been completed.

Listing areas as places of low, intermediate or high radioactivity levels had enabled the department to identify sites where further investigations were necessary, the spokesman said.

However, the type of substances emitting the radioactivity had an important bearing on the possible associated health risks.

Any final judgment on the potential health effects could be made only after a number of investigative studies had been completed, the spokesman said.

The department said initial results could be expected within six months.

In addition, statutory responsibilities and the roles of the various bodies concerned with the monitoring and control of radioactivity in water sources had to be clarified.

Discussions in this regard would be held with the various roleplayers, the spokesman said.

IFP to press on with launch plans

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The IFP yesterday vowed to go ahead with plans to launch branches in ANC strongholds despite the fact that violence erupted at a launch in Clermont, near Pinetown, on Sunday.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said the IFP would be "undeterred" by the attack on its followers, and the IFP was simply following President Nelson Mandela's lead in seeking to eradicate no-go areas.

An ANC-supporting sniper allegedly fired on IFP supporters trying to gather at the Clermont stadium, injuring three people. ANC supporters occupied the stadium, forcing the IFP to abandon the launch.

The IFP had transported several thousand people into Clermont for the launch, and as they returned to Umlazi ANC snipers again opened fire, Tillett said.

He said this led to IFP supporters returning fire, killing three of the snipers.

IFP KwaZulu-Natal local government caucus head John Aulsebrook claimed that a mob almost lynched him, and he was forced to speed off in his car.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said: "We are not going to allow the invasion of communities under the disguise of free political activity."

He blamed a white IFP member for the "invasion", saying the intention was to cause the "slaughter" of blacks. No whites were hurt as their lives were seen to be more valuable than black lives.

Tillett called on ANC KwaZulu-Natal chairman Jacob Zuma to revoke the "licence to destabilise" issued to ANC supporters, and to condemn the "assault" on free political activity.

Sapa reports Mandela appealed for political tolerance and ordered an investigation into the clash.

Mandela called for free political activity and said "no-go" areas for any political party should not exist.

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose condemned the shooting of IFP supporters.

He also called on ANC leaders in the province to address their followers to ensure that all political parties enjoyed their right to free political activity.

Norway to give R3,7bn for development in SA

Cape Town (SAP) Norway would plough about R3,7-billion into social and economic development in South Africa over the next five years, Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland announced yesterday.

She told delegates at a meeting of the Socialist International council in Cape Town that Africa needed "dollars not bullets" to realise freedom and democracy.

Norway annually donated about 1% of its gross

domestic product to developing countries.

Brundtland said Norway was providing the aid package to South Africa to strengthen its new democracy, which it saw as a major economic force in the sub-continent.

While the country faced great difficulties in healing wounds of the past, it was a country of great promise, she said.

"South Africa is the great beacon of hope for Africa which has been

facing the threat of marginalisation."

Addressing social and economic problems in eastern and central Europe should not be at Africa's expense, she warned.

The international community seemed to be reacting with a conspicuous lack of compassion to the plight of the poverty-stricken continent.

"Africa's investment in the world economy is declining." — Sapa.

Non-Zulus disillusioned with IFP

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The IFP is set to experience a drain of non-Zulu members as members increasingly get disenchanted with the party's Zulu bias, according to party insiders.

Senior white and Indian members, mostly IFP parliamentarians, have become increasingly annoyed over the IFP's almost exclusive focus on Zulu issues and KwaZulu-Natal.

They believe the IFP has failed to perform as an effective opposition because the party lead-

ership has precluded its MPs from speaking out on matters that are not directly related to itself and KwaZulu-Natal.

"The IFP has become a three-issue party. Everything it does is around international mediation and autonomy, the payments of chiefs and the truth commission," said an IFP source.

Parliamentarian Farouk Cassim, who recently accused the IFP of anti-Indian racism, is set to resign from the party soon after being given permission by the its national council to leave should he so wish.

Sources said IFP members who joined the party because of its free market and federalist stance were disillusioned with the IFP's focusing on KwaZulu-Natal's provincial powers.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane blamed the party's opponents for forcing it into concentrating on KwaZulu-Natal.

"We are having to defend our people and fight fires in that province, and unfortunately this has prevented us from paying due attention to the rest of our constituency," said Jiyane.

(11B) Star 11/7/95

IFP upset by racist claims from its parliamentarian

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's national council has agreed that errant national MP Mr Farouk Cassim should resign from the party — or apologise for embarrassing the party by accusing it of racism.

But an adamant Cassim said last night the IFP "can be sure I will not apologise".

He would resign only from January 15 next year as he needed to pilot through "important" private members' legislation before leaving Parliament.

In terms of the interim constitution, an MP who loses the confidence of the political

party to which he belongs must vacate his seat.

IFP spokesman Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said the party was unhappy with the manner in which Cassim had accused it of harbouring racist sentiments against Indians.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is understood to be furious about the way in which Cassim called a Press conference at Parliament recently to complain that Indian Members of Parliament had been singled out and accused by party whips of failing in their duties.

(11B) Cassim 11/7/95

IFP: Cassim must quit

POLITICAL STAFF

(11B)
THE Inkatha national council has agreed that errant national MP Mr Farouk Cassim should resign from the party — or apologise for embarrassing the party by accusing it of racism.

But an adamant Mr Cassim said last night the IFP "can be sure I will not apologise". He would resign only from January 15 next year as he needed to pilot through "important" private member's legislation before leaving Parliament.

Under the interim constitution an MP who loses the confidence of his political party must vacate his seat.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said the party was unhappy with the manner in which Mr Cassim had accused it of harbouring racist sentiments against Indians.

25 11/7/95

staggered poll.

IFP MP disobeys instruction to resign

Farouk Chothis

MO 12/7/95

DURBAN - The rift between the IFP and its leading Indian MP Farouk Cassim deepened yesterday, with Cassim refusing to heed a call to resign his seat immediately.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said Cassim had proved "unstable" and the IFP wanted him to resign with immediate effect.

This followed Cassim's decision to convene a media conference last month

at which he accused the IFP of racism and offered to hand in his resignation.

He said he would resign in January because he intended to pilot "important" private members' legislation through parliament.

Jiyane said Cassim's departure would have no effect at grassroots level.

Meanwhile, the ANC KwaZulu-Natal region said yesterday that premier Frank Mdlalose's leadership was becoming "a great embarrassment", and he

was unilaterally attempting to change the name of the province to the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal.

The latest row erupted when Mdlalose's office started using the name "Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal" in place of KwaZulu-Natal on official letterheads this week.

Mdlalose's spokesman Thembinkosi Memela described the use of the province's new title as "deliberate and not in conflict with the constitution".

Plan halves political death toll

Adrian Hadland

MO 12/7/95

THE newly launched community safety plan appeared to be having a significant effect on the reduction of political violence particularly in KwaZulu-Natal, according to the Human Rights Committee.

In its June assessment of events and trends in the human rights field, which was published yesterday, the committee said political violence had claimed 74 lives across SA last month.

This represented a 50% drop compared with the May death toll of 142. In KwaZulu-Natal, 55 people had been killed in June against 83 in May.

The committee said the community safety plan, which was launched earlier this year by President Nelson Mandela "appeared to be having an effect".

According to the plan, security force personnel have been deployed in key trouble areas across SA including Gauteng, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

National and provincial level cabinet committees have also been created to oversee the implementation of the plan and to deal with specific situations and circumstances.

The reduction in political deaths in KwaZulu-Natal was "largely a result of the (plan)", the committee said.

It noted that of the 55 "political" deaths in the province last month, 48 had happened in general incidents of political violence, two in attacks against the security forces, four in incidents of industrial conflict and one in taxi violence.

While the number of deaths in the province was following a downward trend, many areas were still tense.

A justice ministry spokesman said instructions were awaited from Mandela's office on the process of nominating and selecting SA's truth commissioners.

The legislation, which is expected to be signed shortly by Mandela, gives the president some discretion in the number and backgrounds of the commissioners.

IN 9C 88 86 84 82 80 78 76 74 72 70 68 66 64 62 60 58 56 54 52 50 48 46 44 42 40 38 36 34 32 30 28 26 24 22 20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2

ne re an ce by a ge an or ge at et an of cl ti an m p to po se da tv 18 al te an en te w er

IFP outlines plans for local govt poll

Farouk Chothia

(118)
00 13/7/95

DURBAN — The IFP hoped to contest local government elections in all provinces, but was still undecided about the Northwest, IFP election campaign deputy manager Anthony Grinker said yesterday.

There were already two other parties challenging the ANC in the Northwest.

Grinker said the IFP hoped to contest some councils in the Northern Province, but acknowledged that the ANC was "very strong" there.

The IFP was "pushing strongly" in the Eastern Transvaal and Free State where it expected to make some inroads.

Two IFP Eastern Transvaal regions

were launched at a meeting in Bethal last weekend. In the Free State, party structures had been established in Welkom and Heilbron, he said.

In the Western Cape, the IFP was "working very hard" to penetrate NP strongholds in the coloured community. In the Eastern Cape, the IFP had opened an office in the East London area.

The IFP did not have much support in the Northern Cape, although it hoped at least to contest Kimberley, Grinker said.

But energies would be concentrated on KwaZulu-Natal — where candidates would be placed in all "no-go areas" — and Gauteng, where good results were expected from the East Rand and Vaal areas.

Carolus calls for arrest of Buthelezi

BLOEMFONTEIN — ANC assistant secretary general Cheryl Carolus has called for "serious consideration to be given to arresting" Home Affairs Minister and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi because of an alleged link between statements he has made and KwaZulu-Natal violence.

She said that after each incident of violence Buthelezi had stated: "There will never be peace."

Carolus told a Food and Allied Workers' Union congress in Bloemfontein on Tuesday that the IFP's 20-point plan for self-rule constituted treason because it contravened the constitution.

She said secession would not affect Buthelezi as he was rich, with many farms, but the people would suffer if they were cut off from benefits the rest of SA enjoyed.

Carolus claimed Buthelezi was being advised by foreign white right-wingers. This had been apparent at constitutional negotiations in Kempton Park, she said.

The truth and reconciliation commission was needed because "we have to know who were the political decision-makers behind the death machines of apartheid."

"We have to know the truth so that we can be ensured they are not continuing (their work)," she said.

Slow progress in the establishment of the commission was a blessing in disguise. Environment Affairs and Tourism deputy minister Bantu Holomisa told the congress:

Policemen who were now exposed would have been unable to investigate wrongdoings, he said.

Without strong evidence "we can forget to challenge (Deputy President) F W de Klerk about decisions he made as safety committee chairman," Holomisa said. — Sapa.

Top IFP man goes missing

Debt-laden former IFP mayor of Stanger vanishes, writes a **Sowetan Correspondent**

THE INKATHA FREEDOM Party, hit by allegations of internal racism, has been further shaken by the sudden disappearance of the mayor of Stanger — who has allegedly left a trail of debts behind.

Long-standing mayor Mr Barry White (37), an IFP member who served as mayor under the old white council and was recently re-elected as interim mayor of the transitional local council, suddenly handed in his resignation two weeks ago. He has not been seen in the town for a week.

A local newspaper, the *Stanger Weekly*, reported that White had disappeared with a R6 000 electricity bill unpaid, a R1 600 rates bill on his

Blythdale Beach property as well as a R300 000 home loan account and a further R300 000 in debt to the NBS Corporate Bank. He is believed to be in Australia.

Local IFP MP Farouk Cassim said Mr White had been a parliamentary candidate in the last election. He played a major role in Inkatha's election win in the province last year. His disappearance has taken the community by surprise.

A town council source said legal action would be taken against the former mayor.

Meanwhile, Mr Cassim, who has been asked to resign for alleging racism against his party, said he would fight to retain his parliamentary seat.

**Inkatha Freedom Party MP Farouk Cassim, in
THE MARK GEVISSER PROFILE**

Ulysses in the cane fields

WM 14-20/7/95 (11B)

FAROUK CASSIM has literary aspirations for himself and his hometown. We sit in his bougainvillea-clad and rambling flat above his father-in-law's dry-cleaning business on Stanger's main road. The muezzin from the mosque next door blares, intermittently, as we eat the exquisite bread he bakes each Saturday, and he claims for Rood Street the destiny of James Joyce's Dublin: "I could write a novel the size of *Ulysses* about this road. All the points of my life are here — my bookshop, my home, my family's business, Zulu politics (I sleep not 50 metres from the tree under which Shaka held court), my wife's school, the mosque ..."

The difference between Farouk Cassim and Kader Asmal — his wife's first cousin — is not just that Cassim went tricameral and then crossed over to the Inkatha Freedom Party. It is that Asmal got out of suffocating, small-town Islam as quickly as he could (and landed up in Joyce's Dublin) while Cassim — a man with similar aspirations — stayed put.

Asked why, Cassim compares Stanger to George Eliot's 19th Century *Middlemarch*: "If you read people like Eliot, it's always in a place the size of Stanger that you can explore who you are. You can find an identity in clearer terms than if you're lost in the city. Here, wherever I go, I am myself, free to do as I choose and accepted as such ..."

He compares himself to Tertius Lydgate, Eliot's idealistic but alienated doctor, who brings science and progress to backward *Middlemarch*. There is something literary about the persona of Farouk Cassim, but both the exterior landscape of Stanger's gentle tropical rot and the interior landscape of its muse remind me more of a VS Naipaul anti-hero than an Eliot or Joyce protagonist: the small-town intellectual with a vast vocabulary, the English teacher with ideas too big for his world, the modest man who lives in a noisy flat on the main street, rather than building a home on his 30-acre sugar farm outside town. The loner with a conscience who committed what he calls "an act of political suicide" by taking on both the Zulu chauvinism and the iron-fist discipline of the IFP, by breaking ranks and accusing it of racism towards Indians.

This week, IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane publicly described Cassim — one of his moderate allies in the party — as "unstable"; a quality, often confused with conscience, more often found in novels than in parliaments — unless those parliaments happen to be the floor-criss-crossing House of Delegates.

Here are the facts of Farouk Cassim's demise (or redemption, depending which way you look at it): After IFP whips corralled the party's Indian MPs together and gave them a tongue-lashing for laziness, Cassim held a press conference in which he accused his party of racism, citing as well Minister of Correctional Services Siphosizwe Mzimela's ethnic slur against Mohammed Valli Moosa, whom he told to "go back to Bombay".

Last weekend, the IFP's National Committee gave Cassim an "apologise or resign" ultimatum. Cassim says he will not apologise "on a matter of conscience". Talking to me on the day the committee was sitting in Ulundi (he is a member, but absented himself), he compares the silence of Indians in KwaZulu/Natal today to that of Jews in 1930s Germany: "If you acquiesce to the little slurs now, those will confirm people in their bad habits and bad ways."



Farouk Cassim: 'If you acquiesce to the little slurs now, those will confirm people in their bad habits and bad ways'

PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

But we need to pick it up now and smash it before it becomes entrenched."

He is upset that the party lashes out at him, rather than taking the opportunity to "look at itself and its racial problems" — the latest of which is the allegation, published in the KwaZulu/Natal press this week, that all the white and Indian alternates have been taken off the IFP's provincial parliamentary list and replaced with Zulus. Cassim is careful in his explanation of this impulse: "I think that the party has been forced, by the ANC, into a position where it has to defend Zulu interests first and foremost at the expense of all else."

One of his white colleagues, talking off the record, is far more dramatic (and deliciously Natal-colonial): "The party is retreating into the narrowest Zulu chauvinism. It has become increasingly hardline and, for those of us non-Zulus who do not toe the line, things are tough."

There's a witchhunt going on, so we have to keep our powder dry, our helmets on, and stay down in the trenches."

At the committee meeting that decided Cassim's fate, former Nat Jurie Mentz argued against censuring Cassim. Mzimela reportedly replied, "If you don't like it, you can also go!" To which Mentz shot back, "If I go, the

whites do too."

The temptation is to rub one's hands with glee at the IFP — a party built on ethnicity — hoist by its own petard. An investigation into the veracity of Cassim's claims of racism leads one, inevitably, into the badlands of that very specific brand of Natal racism: "We are not like them," pontificates one of the IFP's other Indian MPs, explaining why the Indians in the caucus are considered laggardly: "You see, the IFP meets in Cape Town over weekends, when we Indians come home to look after our families and see to

our constituencies. The blacks, on the other hand, just stay in Cape Town. They have a gay lifestyle at the expense of all these foreign foundations. Oh yes, they live it up over there."

Given the rag-tag bunch of white and Indian opportunists who joined the IFP, perhaps the IFP's Zulus have a point. And, unlike many of the Zulus and whites in the party, Indian involvement in the IFP seems to be more about pragmatism than ideology.

Cassim acknowledges the pragmatist impulse — "By being part of the majority party here, we non-Zulus can ameliorate our circumstances by pointing out that there are other people who live here too." But he also carries within him the essential contradiction of Indian politics; one underscored by his announcement that, once he leaves Parliament, he will form a "professional minority lobby that I hope will take in other minorities too, but will at the very least work to protect the interests of Indians."

The contradiction — one to which he readily admits — is that "the downfall of the Indian in Africa has been his insularity." In fact, he says, "apartheid was invented and perfected by Indians long before the Afrikaners came along. That's why it was not rejected wholesale by Indians, because it in fact gave them permission to stay out of national affairs, to stay in their own areas and do their own thing."

He claims that the battle against this insularity is his single greatest fight: isn't setting up an Indian lobby the very worst thing he could do? He cites the experiences of Indians in East Africa and says, "whether I like it or not, there are too many things which stamp us as a vulnerable minority. We have to be conscious of that fact and act accordingly."

Even though 70 percent of KwaZulu/Natal's Indians voted for the National Party, they have not found a home there the way the Western Cape's coloureds have. "Indians as yet have no

political home," says Cassim. Indeed, one is struck by the fact that the only credible Indian politicians are in the ANC, but most of them refuse point blank to acknowledge that they are in the specific interest of Indian interests.

Is Farouk Cassim the answer? He was, by all accounts, far and away the most able politician in the House of Delegates, that slag heap of Indian politics during its dying days. He now is regarded by all parties as one of the IFP's most hard working parliamentarians — all the more reason for the offence he has taken at having been singled out, with other members of his ethnic group, for laziness.

Before the election, he was one of the IFP's most articulate spokesmen: he was often on television rationalising the IFP's withdrawal from the election. Behind the scenes, he has been at the modernising forefront of the party, and has consistently led the battle in favour of negotiations and participation and against walk-outs and boy offs.

Although he emphatically sees the IFP as "the aggrieved party" in the KwaZulu/Natal conflict, he remains puzzled by the party's hardline attitude: "When Mandela attacks Dr Buthelezi [yes, the honourific remains, despite Cassim's disenchantment], I just see it as political posturing, but my colleagues see it as an attack on the Zulu nation. Is it a difference in political culture? Or is it that they have been victimised in a way we non-Zulus can't understand?"

Given his liberalism and his intellectualism, wouldn't he have been more at home in the Natal Indian Congress and the ANC? He gives two reasons for having never considered the ANC: "Because I am a federalist through and through", and "because I always found the NIC very exclusivist: they were self-appointed. How could one participate?"

Despite all, he maintains the intense loyalty to Buthelezi that the chief seems to inspire in so many people, and insists that the problems lie with the sheep of the IFP rather than its shepherd. "Precisely where the IFP is going wrong is that there is so much deference given to Dr Buthelezi. They'd rather do nothing and not cross him than do something and upset him." The irony, of course, is that Cassim did do something — and is out on his ear.

He wrote his master's thesis (at the University of South Africa) on the brilliant but fascist poet, Ezra Pound. While criticising the poet's anti-Semitism and passion for Mussolini, he argues that Pound's fascism has been misunderstood and over-exaggerated, and attempts to explain that Pound used fascism as a metaphor for perfection and completeness, rather than as an ideology. His thesis is called, *Ezra Pound: Poet or Propagandist*, and he concludes that the two functions were, in Pound's work, interdependent.

Farouk Cassim is only just this side of wacky. He spends his spare time writing a school textbook of word games called the *Turbo Word Booster* and is obsessive about futurism: he adores Ray Bradbury and Alvin Toffler, and once tried to start a school with Toffleresque *Third Wave* "infospheres" rather than classrooms.

As I left his *Middlemarch-in-the-cane-fields*, he gave me a copy of a poem he had recently written about Buthelezi: "He was polite or he was brusque/ As the occasion found him/ But he had magic and that is his truth ..." Unlike Farouk Cassim's bread — a recipe passed down from his grandmother — or his thesis — erudite and complex — the poem is void of creativity; pure doggerel. Buthelezi has been his Mussolini. But Cassim, unlike Pound, has been unable to turn autocracy into poetry.

'UNFIT FOR PUBLIC OFFICE'

IFP calls for Carolus' head

DURBAN: The IFP is outraged over Ms Cheryl Carolus' 'derogatory' remarks.

INKATHA yesterday called for police to charge ANC deputy secretary-general Ms Cheryl Carolus and said she should be removed from public office for reportedly attacking its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Ms Carolus was quoted as saying "serious consideration" should be given to arresting Chief Buthelezi, also Home Affairs Minister, because of an alleged link between his statements and kwaZulu/Natal violence.

Ms Carolus reportedly told a Food and Allied Workers' Union congress in Bloemfontein on Tues-

CT 14/7/95

(118)



'SHOOTING FROM THE LIP': Ms Cheryl Carolus

day that Inkatha's 20-point plan for provincial autonomy constituted treason because it contravened the constitution.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said police should charge Ms Carolus for inciting violence.

"The party calls on police chief Commissioner George Fivaz to charge Ms

Carolus after she referred to Prince Buthelezi as 'Gatsha' meaning dog, and claimed there was a link between his statements and violence in kwaZulu/Natal," Mr Tillett said.

"Gatsha" is the Zulu word for branch and is Chief Buthelezi's second name. It has been considered derogatory since the mid-1980s when youths opposed to him used the name in chants intended to ridicule him.

"Ms Carolus has clearly shown that she is unfit for public office and we call for her immediate removal.

"No amount of shooting from the lip or insulting from the likes of Ms Carolus will force us to abandon our rainbow vision of a federal and pluralistic South Africa," Mr Tillett said. — Reuter

Inkatha leaks: (NB) White official may be ST 16/7/95 expelled

By CYRIL MADLALA

A LEADING white Inkatha Freedom Party MP, accused of leaking confidential party documents to the media, faces the boot at the annual conference in Ulundi on Saturday.

Sources close to the party allege he is treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer.

However, Mr Konigkramer said it was "nonsense" that he was the culprit. "No one has accused me of leaking any documents. I have nothing to do with this."

IFP sources said Mr Konigkramer had angered the party leadership by trying to circumvent party structures and deal directly with the IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on this matter.

Sources said if the issue was not resolved, it was certain that the conference, the IFP's supreme decision-making body, would expel the culprit.

Racial tensions have arisen within the party, prompting Chief Buthelezi's recent outburst against a coterie of "white racists with twisted minds".

Six weeks ago Chief Buthelezi accused "one or two" white members of the Kwazulu Natal provincial caucus of leaking to the media a controversial 20-point strategy document.

He said the culprits' identities were known, and challenged them to come clean or he would expose them at the conference.

Describing the issue as "very sensitive", IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane said yesterday that a white member who leaked the document had been confronted by the party.

He declined to name the member, but said the party had had to deal with several other problems involving the same person.

Mr Konigkramer is known to have been close to Chief Buthelezi for many years. When the party bought the Zulu newspaper *Ilanga* in 1987, he was appointed managing director of the publishing company, Mandla-Matla.

Earlier this year an IFP disciplinary committee recommended that Mr Konigkramer, as treasurer-general, be censured as the person ultimately responsible for the management of funds, some of which were allegedly misappropriated by IFP officials during the elections.

Mr Konigkramer denied knowledge of the existence of the disciplinary committee. He said no evidence had been obtained from him.

The committee said Mr Konigkramer and certain IFP Gauteng leaders had acted contrary to the party's interests.

Meanwhile, outspoken MP Farouk Cassim — who accused senior IFP leaders of racial discrimination — has been asked by the national council to apologise or resign for leaking confidential caucus discussions to the media.

Armescor heeds Cameron

Commission looks ahead

SAW 18/9/95

BY HELEN GRANGE

Armescor had already terminated the services of three people named by the Cameron Commission and was focusing on the commission's recommendations on future arms-trading policies, a source in the corporation said yesterday.

The full findings of the commission are expected to be released today.

The source said Brigadier Anthony Savides and Marius Vermaak (former employees) had left the organisation, and former chief arms trader Peet Smith was working only as a consultant until the end of July.

Of more importance, he said, was the Cameron Commission's recommendations on future arms-trading policies and the classification of countries to which Armescor could sell arms.

The commission was established by President Nelson Mandela in October to investigate Armescor's weapons deals since February 1990.

Among other things, the commission recommended the dismissal or prosecution of Smith, Savides and Vermaak.

The commission, chaired by Mr Justice Edwin Cameron, said Smith's consultancy services should be terminated and Vermaak should be prosecuted for refusing to give evidence to the commission on certain matters.

The Armescor source said the corporation was more focused on the commission's recommendations on the replacement of the "old" defence policy with a new one.

One of the issues of concern was the scrapping of classification of countries to which Armescor may sell different types of armory.

Another family murder

Injury and he returned in 1953 with Maserati for second place in the championship. In his four successive years as

four world titles. Britain's Stirling Moss was runner-up to Fangio each year from 1955 to 1957. — Sapa-AFP.

IFP targets informants

SAW 18/9/95

BY MONDILI MAKHANYA

POLITICAL REPORTER

The Inkatha Freedom Party will this weekend "out" white members accused by its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi of leaking confidential documents to the press.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said yesterday that unless the members presented themselves to the IFP's ruling national council before the end of the week, their identities would be revealed before delegates at the IFP's annual conference in Umtata this weekend.

Speculation about the identity of the members concerned has mostly pointed to provincial parliamentarian Arthur Koning-kramer and MP Jurie Mentz, both of whom are highly unpopular in IFP ranks. Beth Havelo, a leading IFP member, is also named in the leaked documents.

The conference will also formally adopt the IFP's 20-point plan which is geared at maximising KwaZulu-Natal's autonomy within the parameters of

the interim constitution. Having given up on hopes of international mediation, the IFP is now seeking to achieve autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal or its own. It will this weekend work out practical steps for the provincial government to take towards achieving autonomy.

"The ANC clearly does not want it (mediation) to happen. We'll push ahead and implement our plan for autonomy," said Jiyane.

At this weekend's conference the IFP is also expected to finalise its position on abortion and the death penalty.

IFP Gauteng Youth Brigade secretary Bonginkosi Dlamini said the party would also look at ways of countering what the IFP believes are ANC attempts to destabilise the KwaZulu-Natal government.

"It's clear the ANC wants to destabilise KwaZulu-Natal so as to tender a picture that we can't rule the province."

No battle cries as IFP plots its future

(IFP) WM 21-27/9/95

This weekend's IFP national conference will look at ways for the party to consolidate its power in KwaZulu/Natal, report **Ann Eveleth** and **Mehlo Mvelase**

THE rumour mills have been peculiarly quiet this week in the run-up to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national conference opening in Ulundi tonight. Party sources poured cold water on earlier proposals for a parliamentary walk-out, a Government of National Unity split, and other impending national dramas which have historically marked IFP conferences.

No battle cry sounded over the continued constitutional deadlock or the disappearance of international mediation from the agenda.

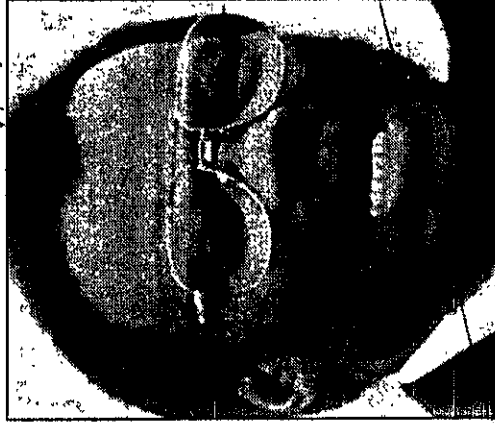
But the IFP signalled the first legislative salvoes of its controversial "20-point" autonomy bid with two provincial Bills preventing KwaZulu/Natal traditional leaders from accepting central government payment in terms of the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act.

Approved recently by the IFP-domi-

nated provincial Cabinet amid fierce opposition from the ANC, the Bills are all but assured parliamentary approval next month, and promise to pose the first Constitutional Court challenge between the two political poles.

Restricting the king and chiefs from receiving remuneration from any source in the Republic other than the provincial government, the two Bills represent amendments to two Acts of the former KwaZulu Government, which themselves enshrine a system of control over traditional leaders beyond mere payments.

Sections of the KwaZulu Amakhosi and Inkhankanyiswa Act, 1990, which remain intact despite the amendment, empower the MEC for traditional affairs, Chief Nyanga Ngubane, in consultation with the provincial Cabinet, to "suspend from office any inkosi... suspected of having misconducted himself in any way ... (including if he) becomes



Buthelezi: New Home Affairs office

a member of, or takes part in the affairs of, an organisation or association whose objectives are subversive or prejudicial to the government or law and order". The proposed amendment to this Act further provides for any chief accepting unauthorised payment to be fined up to R500.

Since King Goodwill Zwelithini is also the chief of the Usuthu tribe, he could face this penalty.

The legislation is the third manifestation of the IFP's 20-point plan — following Premier Frank Mdlalose's unilateral withdrawal from the Intergovernmental Forum and the equally unilateral name change effected by Mdlalose's new stationery for the "Kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal". IFP sources say further moves are on the cards.

While most sources reject the possibility of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi quitting the GNU to lead the provincial challenge, others point out that a recent move has made this unnecessary. Buthelezi opened a new Home Affairs office this week — in Ulundi — and he will frequently work from there, allowing him to take the reins of the IFP in advance of a "passive resistance" campaign to extract compromises from the ANC and National Party.

The sources say strategy talks this weekend will focus on how best to extract these concessions and bolster KwaZulu/Natal's powers; the details

of the passive resistance campaign; the local government campaign strategy and continued grievances over the ANC's dismissal of international mediation; President Nelson Mandela's handling of the Shell House killings; "broken agreements" on the ex-officio status of traditional leaders in local government; the "obstructive" role of the ANC in KwaZulu/Natal; and the ANC's "roughshod" dominance of the GNU.

Also on the agenda are the IFP's internal disciplinary problems occasioned by the leakage of the 20-point plan to the press, and MP Farouk Cassim's public accusations of racism.

Secretary-general Ziba Jiyane has called for Cassim to "apologise or resign" before January, or face disciplinary action. More controversial is the "white coterie" charged by Buthelezi with leaking the document and undermining the party. Sources say party treasurer-general Arthur Korigramer is set to take the fall for this, and his expulsion is widely predicted.

it — is masked to some extent by the fact that few politicians speak openly of a coloured-black divide. That would be politically incorrect; but, more importantly, it would be inopportune to precipitate anything like a regional autonomy struggle in the Western Cape in advance of the community elections.

It is probable, however, that the pattern of voting in those elections will bring matters to a head. If, for example, the ANC continues to make little headway — and it is hard to see any change — the case of those who want a higher prominence for coloured aspirations will be immensely strengthened. And as long as De Klerk — as a loyal member of the Mandela government — continues to repudiate local leaders, as he has been doing, the more his authority in the Western Cape will wane.

For outsiders, some of these considerations seem arcane and even tribal; but if the Western Cape coloured voter again delivers that province to the NP, the time will have arrived for it to define its presence ever more strongly within the NP. There will be pressures for the old white faces of the NP to be replaced by fresher ones, more reflective of the ethnic realities that underpin the party's survival.

Among conservative coloured voters, and particularly Christian ones, De Klerk continues to carry considerable moral weight. He is often seen as a figure who, seeing the error of his people's ways, chose the better alternative. It is this moral force that has held the NP together in the 15 months since its drubbing at the polls, but it is not an incontestable one.

The future of the NP as it stands — still reflecting largely a white perspective on events — depends on De Klerk, as leader, retaining his prestige. This may not last. Given the findings of the Goldstone Report that De Klerk at the very least nominally presided over the efforts of the dirty tricks brigade to smear and otherwise damage the ANC after its unbanning, De Klerk's disclaimers of personal responsibility may return to haunt him in the procedures and debates of the forthcoming Truth Commission.

If the commission can be established in such a way that it enjoys wide public support and credibility, accusations levelled at De Klerk will be correspondingly more difficult to refute. If the commission is seen as an institutional witchhunt, there will be rising clamour within the NP for the party to dissociate itself from government. That would be when the possibility of a real challenge to De Klerk's leadership would surface — within the Western Cape.

It seems decreasingly likely that De Klerk and the NP will survive the next year unscathed by the complex tug of regional vs centrist loyalties — and the NP's shabby past is a matter that will not just go away. ■

(11B)
INKATHA

Race, tribe and land

FM 21/7/95

The focus of Inkatha's annual general congress in Ulundi this weekend is likely to be its approach to local government elections. However, there is a strong probability that this will be overshadowed by two simmering race rows.

These could result in the expulsion of two members, a white and an Indian, at the IFP national council meeting due to take place on the eve of the congress.

Also likely to be debated is the controversial Traditional Leaders Act and the Land Reform Bill. Inkatha's self-declared "open cold war" against the ANC is another likely topic, as are the issues of violence and President Nelson Mandela's apparently



Jiyane . . . suspects leaks from a white Inkatha member

increasingly aggressive stance towards Inkatha and its chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in particular.

The race row was sparked by Buthelezi's allegations that a coterie of "white racist" members were vilifying him through media leaks.

His outburst followed the leak of Inkatha's 20-point technical and constitutional strategy document on promoting federalism and pluralism in KwaZulu-Natal (*Currents Affairs* June 2). Some labelled it secessionist.

According to Inkatha secretary general Ziba Jiyane, a white member suspected of leaking the document has been confronted by the party.

Another dimension was added to racial tensions when Irwanto's Stanger MP, Farouk Cassim, accused the leadership of racism after party whip Eileen Shandu cited only Indians for poor parliamentary attendance earlier this year. A period of grace offered Cassim in which to apologise has expired and his failure to do so is likely to

see him expelled.

Cassim is understood to be planning the establishment of an ethnic minority lobby along the lines of the Jewish Lobby in the US. He is doing so on the basis that minority concerns in the various parties and in the broader society are being increasingly marginalised — a view, interestingly, shared by some Western Cape coloured members of the ANC.

Inkatha will doubtless launch a strong attack on two pieces of legislation perceived as ANC instruments for undermining Inkatha influence in its tribal power base — namely, Nelson Mandela's Traditional Leaders Act and Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom's Interim Tenure Bill, which is likely to be a high priority in the next parliamentary session.

The Traditional Leaders Act allows for the remuneration of tribal leaders from the central Exchequer instead of being a provincial responsibility. As Inkatha sees it, the Act is both symptomatic of ANC willingness, in the name of streamlined uniformity, to ride roughshod over provincial rights, and a deliberate attempt to drive a wedge between Inkatha and the *amakhosi* (on the basis that he who pays the piper calls the tune).

Inkatha's counter strategy, possibly involving alternative legislation in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature and/or challenging the validity of the Act in the Constitutional Court, is also likely to come under scrutiny.

Buthelezi says the Hanekom Bill (officially a temporary measure), along with all legislation to date, is aimed at centralising the ownership and administration of land in Pretoria. It will, he claims, effectively dispossess tribal people of their land.

Inkatha's campaigns against both Act and Bill fall within the ambit of the party's cold war strategy of defiance against central government programmes.

Other elements of this campaign include:

- Rapid implementation of principles contained in the 20-point promotion of federalism document;
- Reviving calls for international mediation; and
- Continuation of the boycott of both the Constitutional Assembly and the Intergovernmental Forum; and
- Intensifying passive resistance of centrist government policies.

It is not clear whether issues such as the heated Inkatha-ANC row over Durban Metropolitan boundaries and the rift between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his people will be discussed.

What is obvious, though, is that while the congress will undoubtedly be used to launch a blistering attack against the ANC, this may well not be sufficient to deflect attention away from the problems and tensions festering in the upper echelons of Inkatha itself. ■

IFP gamble for power

~~116~~ (116)
el 23/7/95

By SIPHO KHUMALO and Sapa

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthezi suggested yesterday that a new election be called in KwaZulu-Natal in a bid to bolster the IFP's majority in the provincial government.

Speaking at the 20th anniversary conference of the IFP in Ufundi on Saturday, Buthezi complained that the IFP was at the "mercy of the minority parties" in KwaZulu-Natal because of its "thin majority".

The IFP holds a narrow one-seat majority in the legislature and dominates the provincial cabinet, but a vociferous ANC opposition has blocked IFP attempts to implement its policy in the region.

The pressure is on the IFP to secure its power base in the province before the ANC-dominated Constitutional Assembly in Cape Town completes a new national constitution that is likely to reflect ANC policies for a unitary South Africa.

"In less than 12 months our legislative powers may be taken away," Buthezi warned.

Buthezi said that due to the

Call for election to bolster the IFP's majority

IFP's slender majority, no agreement could be reached on the drafting of a constitution for which a two-thirds majority is needed.

Buthezi said the IFP wanted a provincial constitution that would give KwaZulu-Natal exclusive powers on policing, the civil service, and local government.

"It might be that we are left with no option but to go back to the people for a fresh mandate and to increase our majority in KwaZulu-Natal so that we can secure a constitution for this province - or else lose the entire stake in this gamble," Buthezi said.

"This is the time for final and bold decisions. The die is cast. It is for us to get on with the

next segment of the drama." Over 2 500 delegates attended the conference, and there were diplomats from 40 countries. Most major parties sent representatives to the congress and were given an opportunity to address the delegates. However the ANC was not invited, according to senior IFP sources.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nematshivanane was a surprise guest at the conference, and he received a thunderous welcome.

Throwing his weight behind the IFP in its fight against the ANC for federalism, Nematshivanane told the crowd, "If there is a Goliath, we'll stand as a David and fight any autocracy from central government."

In his address, Buthezi also

took a swipe at the ANC KwaZulu-Natal chairman Jacob Zuma who suggested a few weeks ago that an election be called in KwaZulu-Natal as the IFP was failing to govern.

"The ANC leader in this province was throwing down the gauntlet to us. It is for you (IFP members) to tell me whether we should pick it up and when we should do so," Buthezi said.

Buthezi accused Zuma of being a "trained protege" of the KGB who "managed to bluff a lot of people with his feigned affability".

The IFP conference is unlikely to sack the IFP treasurer-general Arthur Königkramer and Indian MP Farouk Cassim. Königkramer has been accused of leaking confidential IFP documents to the press and of financial irregularities. Cassim publicly accused the IFP of racism, resulting in him earning the wrath of his leaders.

IFP sources said the two would be dealt with later. If the two were sacked this weekend, it would dominate media coverage, overshadowing the rest of the conference.



ELECTION FEVER ... Buthezi calls for a chance to prove the IFP's mandate.

Constitution would be IFP's 'first prize'

Farouk Chothila

ULUNDI — The IFP threatened yesterday to call a fresh election in KwaZulu-Natal if it failed to secure a two-thirds majority to pass a provincial constitution in the legislature within the next few months.

At the end of the IFP's national conference, secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said: "Our first prize is to have a provincial constitution. If we get it, voters will be spared (an election)." However, 65 of the 112 members of the working group mandated to look into the viability of holding an election voted against it.

The IFP has 41 of the legislature's 81 seats. The ANC has 26, the NP nine, the DP two and the PAC, African Christian Democratic Party and Minority Front one each. Needing the support of 54 MPs to pass the constitution, Jiyane said the IFP was negotiating with minority parties to muster their backing on constitutional issues.

Jiyane said he was confident that the IFP could negotiate a constitution acceptable to other parties. "But if we do not get it, we will go for new elections."

At a news conference yesterday, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was "inevitable" that premier Frank Mdlalose would dissolve the legislature if no agreement was reached on the constitution. "Then an Electoral Act will have to be passed by the legislature," he said.

Premier Frank Mdlalose said much progress had been made in drafting a constitution. It should be completed next month.

A resolution adopted by about 3 000 delegates mandated the KwaZulu-Natal government to prepare for an election "as soon as practically possible". However, many delegates argued against an election. Some said that as the ANC had first suggested that an election be held, it could have "some trick up its sleeve". Others felt the threat of an election should be used to secure international mediation.

The advantages the ANC had, particularly the fact that it had "superior" financial resources and "controlled" the SABC, needed to be addressed.

KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Affairs MEC

20 24/7/95 Continued on Page 2

IFP

Continued from Page 1

Nyanga Ngubane told delegates that the November 1 local government election should be postponed as boundaries were still in dispute. However, Jiyane said no decision was taken on this.

Inkatha election campaign manager Senzo Mfayela said preparations should be

made for the poll. The IFP's campaign would revolve around job creation, service provision, a clean environment and effective policing.

Delegates also called for a constitutional court challenge to central government's failure to assign all the laws requested by the province's premier last May.

IFP votes for early elections

CT 24/7/95

(11B) (24)

ULUNDI: The IFP has voted to call elections early in kwaZulu/Natal if its draft provincial constitution is not adopted in August, setting the scene for a new elections battle to seize control of the province.

The IFP resolved yesterday that: "If there is an impasse because people cannot resolve the issue of (the provincial constitution) through negotiations, then the only other alternative is to go for elections."

The ANC has accepted the challenge to a provincial poll before July next year, vowing to rid the province of the "secessionist" IFP.

At the IFP's 20th annual conference here yesterday, delegates gave the premier the go-ahead to call elections to secure the two-thirds majority in the kwaZulu/Natal legislature required to pass a new provincial constitution.

The party also confirmed that its absence from the Constitutional Assembly was permanent and that it would not recognise any document emerging from it, setting the scene for a stalemate between the provincial and national constitutions.

The ANC, whose chairman Mr Jacob Zuma first mooted the idea of an early provincial election, said it was not afraid to go to the people of the province at any time.

Minority

"Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi must be warned that in the event of free and fair elections the IFP will emerge as a minority party. People have identified the IFP section of the provincial government as the major obstacle to peace, stability and development," ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said.

However, Chief Buthelezi said: "My support is far above what was reflected in the April election."

He predicted the IFP would win over two-thirds of the vote and with it the power to adopt its own constitution. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter

IFP, PAC move towards alliance

(116) sewetan 25/7/95

'We will unite against central government autocracy'

By Paddy Harper

IS AN ELECTION ALLIANCE between the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and minority parties in KwaZulu-Natal in the offing?

This question is one of the key issues facing the province's immediate political future, particularly in the light of the IFP's weekend call for a provincial re-election to get the necessary two-thirds majority they need to pass legislation and a final constitution for the region.

The IFP's 20th annual conference in Ulundi last weekend was marked by an increasingly strong undercurrent indicating the beginning of such an alliance, with the 3 000 delegates present resolving that such a re-election be called if the party does not get the majority it wants.

PAC general secretary Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani delivered a hard-hitting message of support to the conference on Saturday, encouraging IFP members in their quest to wrestle increasing provincial powers from the African National Congress-led Government of National Unity.

To massive roars of applause, Nmadzivhanani told the crowd: "You must, in your deliberations, look at the current constitutional arguments and the powers of the provinces.

"The question therefore is, whether you want to have a provincial government with powers or not ... If there is a Goliath, we'll stand as a David, and fight any autocracy from central Government."

He was joined by National Party provincial MP Mr Rudi Redinger, Freedom Front leader General Tienie Groenewald, Minority Front boss Mr Amichand Rajbansi and speakers from the African Christian Democratic Party and Democratic Party in encouraging the IFP demands for greater provincial devolution of powers.

Significantly, of all the parties represented in the provincial legislature, only the ANC did not have ob-



PAC general secretary Maxwell Nmadzivhanani and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi embrace each other at the IFP's congress.

servers present at the conference, which was characterised by constant challenges to the ANC.

Thus far, a loose alliance of the parties has voted with the IFP in the provincial parliament, with the minority parties backing up the party in a series of votes.

At local level, the Durban Transitional Metropolitan Council has seen an alliance between the IFP, PAC and conservative independent councillors, who have voted as a bloc.

IFP general secretary Mr Ziba Jiyane stressed the re-election would only be called if negotiations with minority parties in the provincial legislature — al-

ready taking place privately — failed to get the majority necessary to pass a constitution, which premier Dr Frank Mdlalose said should be ready by the end of August. Questioned on the possibility of such an alliance, Jiyane said: "We get on very well with the PAC. I hope that the relationship will become more formal."

He said the ANC was not willing to tolerate black opposition, and to avoid being vanquished the PAC needed to seek other alliances. "They can't please the crocodile in the hope that they will be the last to be eaten," Jiyane said.

From the opening prayer delivered by newly elected deputy national chairperson Dr Siphon Mzimela to the closing remarks by IFP president Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the conference was characterised by increasing militancy towards the ANC. In his main address, Buthelezi lashed out at ANC national chairman and provincial leader Mr Jacob Zuma over his recent statement that the IFP needed to be "dealt with" once and for all in the legislature.

ANC provincial leaders have subsequently indicated they will enthusiastically accept the IFP's challenge for a fresh election before next July, saying the ANC was not afraid to go to the people of the province at any time.

ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said: "Chief Buthelezi must be warned that in the event of free and fair elections in KwaZulu-Natal, the IFP will come out as a minority party.



**Political Editor
Kaizer Nyatumba
takes a critical
look at the IFP's
20th national
congress last
week.**

Not too much should be read into IFP's threat

(116) Star 28/7/95

By their very nature, political parties' congresses are occasions for serious reflection on burning issues confronting the party concerned, but they also serve as an important platform for the rank-and-file membership to vent its frustrations.

Having the ear of the party leadership, congress delegates tend to use such infrequent opportunities to ensure that their concerns are brought to the attention of party mandarins and, sometimes, to engage in ostentatious behaviour to show their own rhetorical and strategising abilities in order to be earmarked for elevation in future.

It is a direct result of some of this diligence by delegates that political congresses always conclude with the adoption of a series of resolutions, most of which remain paper resolutions until the next congress.

How seriously, then, should we be concerned about the eight resolutions taken at the IFP's 20th annual general congress in Ulundi last weekend? Seriously enough, one should think, but we should also bear in mind that the congress, like any other, was also an opportunity for the IFP to posture and send a message to its political opponents as well as its supporters.

To the party faithful the message was short and sweet: Despite our junior partner status in the Govern-

ment of National Unity (GNU), we remain a potent political force in the politics of the country and will not allow ourselves to be pushed around by the ANC, and we will resolutely use our status as a ruling party in KwaZulu-Natal as a launching pad for federalism.

To political opponents like the ANC and observers keeping a watchful eye on developments at the congress, the message was simple: We may be "a 10% party", but we are still an important enough political player without whose co-operation there can be no stability in the country, especially in the province we happen to govern.

That, then, is how the speeches made at, and the resolutions emanating from, the IFP congress should be seen. Political congresses are, after all, highly stage-managed affairs: often calculated to send a message of internal unity to the outside world and curious onlookers. This explains why parties in power use such platforms to deal primarily with party political matters and, secondarily, with public affairs of government.

That is why the criticism from some within the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal, that the IFP congress did not deal with matters of public importance such as housing and escalating crime, rings hollow.

By their very nature, political parties concentrate on matters which

will win them public office or, if they are already in office, will help keep them there.

For the ANC at its 49th national congress in Bloemfontein last year, the priorities were consolidating the power the organisation won in the polls last year, adopting strategies to ensure socio-economic delivery to the organisation's predominantly black constituency to stave off a possible mass-based revolution, and laying the foundation for more ANC electoral victories, beginning with the forthcoming local government elections.

For the IFP in Ulundi last weekend, the priorities were consolidating power in KwaZulu-Natal, preparing for a fierce battle with the GNU over a number of issues — provincial autonomy, international mediation, control over traditional leaders — and laying the foundation for more IFP electoral victories in the province.

If the Reconstruction and Development Programme, housing and the high crime rate sweeping across the country received scant attention at the congress, it was because they are not directly crucial to the IFP's future electoral and political fortunes.

Some of the resolutions adopted at the congress have received publicity, among them the one echoing ANC national chairman and KwaZulu-Natal leader Jacob Zuma's sentiment that a fresh general election should be held "as soon as practically possible" in the province.

That was obviously a resolution with potentially serious implications for not only that province but the country as a whole.

However, the one with potential constitutional implications was "Resolution 7". It declares that the IFP's non-participation in the Constitutional Assembly (CA) following the lack of movement with regard to the pre-election trilateral agreement on international mediation "has made the entire constitution-making process illegitimate and (conference) re-states that the IFP shall not recognise any constitution drafted therein".

To be sure, the IFP — which is itself not without blame where this matter is concerned — is aggrieved about the lack of progress on international mediation, but not much should be read into its threat not to recognise and accept a final constitution written in its absence.

There is a sense of *deja vu* here, for we have certainly been there before. When the IFP withdrew from multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre in June 1993, it said it would not recognise the product of those talks.

Once the Interim Constitution was adopted on November 17 that year, the party, which remained opposed to a two-phase transitional process which would see the country's final constitution written by a democratically elected CA, argued that the doc-

ument was so "fatally flawed" as to be unacceptable. It maintained this stance right through to the last week before the April 26-28 poll, before grudgingly accepting, because of the promise of post-poll international mediation, last-minute concessions made to it.

Granted, parallel to the multiparty talks were bilateral and trilateral meetings with the ANC and the National Party which allowed the IFP to influence, to a limited extent, the constitution-writing process from outside. Although this time around IFP-ANC-NP talks parallel to the CA's deliberations have been suggested, they have yet to take place, and this further aggrieves the IFP.

Two points, therefore, need to be made. Firstly, if it persists, the IFP's withdrawal from the CA will mean that our final constitution will be authored by a body representing 90% of the country's electorate (minus the 10% represented by the IFP) and will not be lacking in legitimacy at all.

Secondly, precedent suggests that there is a good chance that, once the final constitution is concluded and is *fait accompli*, the IFP will buckle in and accept it as a fact of life.

Of course, the ideal situation would be for the IFP to discharge the other mandate for which it was elected by returning to the CA to participate in the drafting of the country's final basic law.

Alliance claim is Wrong

(116)
Sowetan 28/9/95
By Khangale Makhado and
Joe Mdhlela

THE Pan Africanist Congress has reiterated its rejection of federalism and shot down any likelihood of an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, PAC MP Mrs Patricia de Lille said yesterday.

De Lille was reacting to utterances by PAC secretary-general Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani in which he said minority parties should come together "to end the ANC's autocratic rule".

She said the PAC's submission to the Constitutional Assembly had made it abundantly clear it rejected a federal state formula.

"Nemadzivhanani had no mandate to bind the PAC to an alliance with the IFP, and therefore his position is unacceptable," she said.

The PAC's KwaZulu-Natal region has dissociated itself from the contents of Nemadzivhanani's remarks.

"As far as we are concerned we are guided by the PAC constitution which stipulates we are for a unitary state, and not a federal state.

"This is the position for as long as this principle has not been changed by the national congress of the PAC of Azania and for as long as we will abide by it," said the PAC KwaZulu-Natal regional chairman Mr Rodgers Mthethwa.

However, Nemadzivhanani said he had been quoted out of context.

He said he was surprised that even the PAC in KwaZulu-Natal had preferred to criticise him on the basis of a report by a biased journalist.

"The point I was making when addressing the IFP conference was that the SABC had become an ANC organ and that we should challenge that position.

"At no stage did I discuss an alliance with the IFP. I am surprised that the PAC in KwaZulu-Natal has decided to attack me as someone suffering from political bankruptcy," he said.

KWAZULU-NATAL

Another bluff?

Inkatha's threat to hold a snap provincial election in KwaZulu-Natal seems to be a bluff. If it goes ahead and the gamble backfires, Inkatha stands to lose the most by forfeiting control to the ANC in the only province in which it holds sway.

But a big Inkatha win, of say 67%, would virtually hand Mangosuthu Buthelezi carte blanche to devise whatever provincial constitution he chooses — undoubtedly stretching his idea of regional autonomy to the limit.

Though Inkatha would still be severely constrained if it wanted its proposals passed by the Constitutional Court, they would undoubtedly be much more federalist than anything the ANC would countenance.



And while the smaller parties (DP and PAC) claim they would welcome an election, they must fear defections to Inkatha and the ANC in what will be seen as an essentially two-way struggle.

That a provincial election can be called in terms of the constitution is not in doubt. The initial election challenge came from ANC provincial leader Jacob Zuma — in a letter to the party's provincial general council on July 8 — on the grounds that fresh elections were needed to restore provincial democracy and stability.

Inkatha in effect accepted the challenge at its 20th annual general congress last weekend. Significantly, however, there were misgivings among delegates that they were being suckered by the ANC into losing at the polls.

Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer accepts that though the provincial legislature is elected for five years, premier Frank Mdlalose can either seek permission for an early poll from the Constitutional Assembly (which Inkatha is boycotting) or force one by passing a vote of no confidence in the

provincial government led by his party.

In the last instance the provincial assembly would be dissolved and a proclamation published in the *Provincial Gazette* announcing an election within 90 days. Inkatha's excuse for such a vote would be that the ANC, through unreasonable obstruction, makes effective government impossible.

Nothing in the constitution prevents holding provincial and local government elections at the same time.

But, if nobody really wants an election, what is the purpose of Inkatha's threat to go to the polls?

Buthelezi probably has a dual motive: first, to soften up non-Inkatha members of

the legislature's constitutional committee to be more amenable to his party's submissions as they near the end of negotiations in the next few weeks; second, in view of the failure to win international mediation, to speed up the drafting process to ensure that KwaZulu-Natal's constitution is in place ahead of the Constitutional As-

sembly's draft national constitution in October.

And that certainly seems possible without going to the polls. Says DP provincial leader Roger Burrows (a member of the constitutional affairs standing committee): "We are talking about a nonelection. In the first place, nobody really wants it because all the parties are stretched. Secondly, the reality is that Buthelezi and Inkatha must be aware that no single proposal has been rejected and that 90% of the provincial constitution can be written with consensus. Only about 10% of the issues would have to go to the vote and even there Inkatha would get what it wants on issues over which it feels strongly, such as provincial competencies, because a lot of others also feel that way."

Even if Inkatha gets compliance from provincial opponents, it will have to be relatively restrained if it is to get the proposals approved by the Constitutional Court. A three-man, interparty panel of advisers scrutinising guiding principles proposed by the province's constitutional affairs committee this week reported that many of the

proposals, especially some submitted by Inkatha, would not pass muster in the Constitutional Court.

The experts — Inkatha's Charles Dlamini, the ANC's Kathie Govender and the DP's George Devenish — point out that the word federalism should be excluded from the general principles as the interim constitution excludes references to either unitary or federal status.

Among other Inkatha proposals they identify as unacceptable under the interim constitution are that the territory of the kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal be "indivisible and inalienable" and that its boundaries include its territorial waters; and that financial allocations from the national Budget must, without exception, be channelled through the province (this would ensure that the provincial government retained responsibility for paying traditional leaders).

UCT political commentator David Welsh says an election, though costly and traumatic, might not be a bad idea because of the controversy which surrounds last year's election results: "If a genuinely free and fair election could cure this festering sore, it would be worth the price. As soon as this is authoritatively settled, the sooner the problems of the province can be intelligently addressed." He believes that the election could well go ahead because Buthelezi is notorious for delivering on a bluff when opponents try to call it.

(11B) (20/11) FM 28/7/95

POLITICAL BRIEFS

IFP chiefs to ⁽¹¹⁸⁾
ratify 'covenant'

DURBAN: Inkatha-aligned chiefs are to make good next month their promises to endorse a "covenant" to fight for "restoration" of the Zulu kingdom.

The "covenant", expected to set out principles for the establishment of a more independent province, is to be ratified at a gathering at King's Park stadium here on August 20.

CT 31/7/95

WHEN Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to call a fresh election in KwaZulu-Natal, he was issuing a warning to his own provincial caucus, rather than the opposition, to hasten the constitution-making process in the province.

An election would not be in the interest of the provincial caucus, Premier Frank Mdlalose's performance is being increasingly questioned, and he risks being removed from the post.

Equally, the position of MP Arthur Konigkramer, who chairs the legislature's constitutional affairs standing committee, is tenuous. He faced the wrath of Buthelezi for allegedly leaking a document to the Press, and was almost expelled from the party.

In this context, it is in the interest of both Mdlalose and Konigkramer — as well as other MECs and MPs who are either performing dismally or who have earned the ire of Buthelezi — to ensure an election is averted by having a constitution completed within the next month.

Soon after this month's national IFP conference, Mdlalose moved to the centre stage of the process, leading a delegation into talks with the NP in a bid to muster support.

The pressure Buthelezi has placed on the party's MPs is steeped in irony: the IFP stands for federalism, but it is Cape Town — not the Umtund caucus — that sets the agenda in the constitutional, legislative and executive decisions of the KwaZulu-Natal government.

The most significant decisions the IFP has taken in the provincial government recently followed a call by Cape Town-based Buthelezi for KwaZulu-Natal to "rise and resist" the central government. This strategy was crystallised by Home Affairs Department special adviser Mario Ormani-Ambrosini in the document A Minimal Institutional Strategy for Federalism and Pluralism from a KwaZulu-Natal Base.

Clearly uncomfortable with the document, and lacking the fighter instinct of Buthelezi, Mdlalose has implemented the strategy clumsily.

Buthelezi has his provincial bosses dancing a deadly jig

FAROUK CHOTHIA in Durban

He withdrew the province from the inter-governmental forum and left his MECs to learn of it via a Press statement. He changed the name of the province to the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal and left his MECs to learn of it from the new letterheads his office began using.

When Mdlalose changed the province's name, he was in fact undetermining a committee of his own government, the constitutional affairs standing committee, which had been given the task of deciding on a name for KwaZulu-Natal and was still in the process of doing so.

But at last weekend's conference, Buthelezi brought into the open another battle he was waging with Mdlalose: the issue of a provincial constitution. Buthelezi complained about the slow progress being made in drafting it, but Mdlalose said "much progress" had been made.

In the end, Buthelezi set Mdlalose a deadline of end-August for the constitution to be adopted by the provincial legislature.

This again undermined Mdlalose: the IFP passed a motion in the legislature last year that the constitution would be ready by the end of this year. Mdlalose has now been forced to fall into line with Buthelezi's position.

Part of the problem lies with the ANC. One reason Deputy President Thabo Mbeki gave Buthelezi for re-

fusing to agree to international mediation was the KwaZulu-Natal government's failure to adopt a provincial constitution. This has strengthened Buthelezi's resolve to have a provincial constitution which he would then use to revive his demand for international mediation.

There have been indications that the campaign would be waged at several levels: in the legislature, on the streets where the IFP would embark on a passive resistance campaign, and internationally through appeals to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and by hosting international conferences on federalism in Umtund.

The IFP wants the provincial constitution to include a "sunrise provision" that would list the powers KwaZulu-Natal wants but is not entitled to in terms of the interim constitution. This provision would also encompass the outstanding issues on which the IFP wants international mediation. Thus Buthelezi would satisfy the two criteria the IFP has set for mediation. The "sunrise provision" would state that KwaZulu-Natal would have exclusive powers over all Schedule 6 functions listed in the interim constitution, including local government, policing, gambling, the provincial

public service and auditing functions with related transfer assets.

The move to act exclusively in relation to Schedule 6 functions has already started. For instance, finance MEC Senzale Mhlangu indicated last week that KwaZulu-Natal would have the "optimum" number of casinos, although the National Lotteries and Gambling Board had allocated it six. He has also withdrawn from the inter-governmental committee dealing with such matters, and so has local government MEC Peter Miller, who is expected to pilot rural local government legislation through the legislature in the coming months.

The provincial constitution would state that KwaZulu-Natal would exercise the powers in the "sunrise provision" only when the national constitution allowed.

The IFP's strategy, therefore, is to incorporate the sunrise clauses in the provincial constitution, and then apply pressure on the ANC to ensure the national constitution is compatible with the KwaZulu-Natal constitution. If it worked the other way round, with the national constitution being completed before the KwaZulu-Natal constitution, the IFP would be in deep trouble.

The interim constitution states that provincial constitutions have to be compatible with the constitutional principles and the interim consti-

tution. After the final constitution is drafted, provincial constitutions must be resubmitted to the Constitutional Court to ensure they are in line with the national constitution.

In this context, Buthelezi could find his hopes of securing autonomy considerably diminished if a national constitution, which reduces the powers of provinces, emerges first. But the provincial caucus has failed to match Buthelezi's expectations.

The appointment of a chairman precipitated divisions: two IFP MPs, Ibrahim Bawa and Konigkramer, presented themselves as candidates at the first meeting of the committee. Bawa won the nomination, but under his leadership the process moved at a slow pace. Later another power tussle emerged, with Konigkramer seizing control of the chairmanship. The process has since moved faster, but the provincial caucus has continued making blunders in the eyes of the national hardliners. They agreed to have three constitutional experts guide the constitution-making process, hogging down the process further.

First, the IFP found difficulty putting forward a candidate, finally nominating Zululand University academic Prof Charles Dlamini. Ironically, both the ANC and DP put forward candidates earlier: Natal University academics Prof Kathie Goverder and Prof George Demvish respectively.

The experts have proved to be a hindrance for the IFP, rejecting most of its constitutional principles as being incompatible with the interim constitution. This left the IFP with the option of either tabling new principles or convincing the experts that its proposals were compatible. IFP hardliners would have preferred the constitution to be drafted immediately, with the Constitutional Court acting as the sole arbiter.

If the constitution was rejected, Buthelezi would have had all the more reason to continue his battle against the "totalitarianism" of the ANC-led central government, and to fulfil his aspiration of securing autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal.

The question is: Can Mdlalose's selfishness — or is he on his way out?

Chiefs set for clash with govt

CT 8/8/95 (25) (116)

ULUNDI: Chiefs in kwa-Zulu/Natal's House of Traditional Leaders yesterday accepted in principle a bill that would prevent them from accepting payment from the central government.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the chiefs that the provincial government also intended challenging the Traditional Leaders' Act in the Constitutional Court. The act provides for payment of traditional leaders by central government.

Other parties have interpreted the bill as a desperate attempt by the IFP to keep control of the king, the province's more than 250 chiefs and the four million people who live under traditional rule.

Chief Buthelezi said the central government was "hell-bent" on breaking ties between traditional leaders and their communities.

Reward

He has assured chiefs they will not be disadvantaged by the legislation which would prevent them from receiving money or gifts from the central government.

The ANC has claimed that the IFP will use the bill to reward those chiefs who are loyal to it and punish those who are not. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Mdlalose denies spiting the king

sowetan 17/8/95 (113)

By Khathu Mamaila

KWAZULU-NATAL premier Dr Frank Mdlalose has defended his cabinet for refusing Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini the use of the provincial government's executive jet on his trip to Ghana.

Mdlalose said in a statement that while his government had no objection to the king visiting Ghana, it had not been possible to pay for the trip since no funds were available.

He said neither he nor the KwaZulu-Natal government had been officially informed about the king's visit.

Monarch is R72 000 out of pocket over official plane trip to Ghana

"On August 4 a cabinet delegation met with the king and indicated that the cabinet had decided that it was not possible for the king to undertake any further travels during the current financial year as there were no funds available.

"I also pointed out that the king could not undertake trips without cabinet authority," said Mdlalose.

The controversy follows reports that the king had overspent his

allowance of R16.5 million this year. Zwelithini eventually paid for the R72 000 trip out of his own pocket.

The tension between the Inkatha Freedom Party-led provincial government and the king comes on the eve of the *Imbizo* called by Mdlalose on Sunday. The king has declined the invitation, saying Mdlalose and traditional leaders led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had no right to summon the Zulu people to such a gathering.

Crisis (11/13) over imbizo sowetan 18/18/95

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

THE IFP-controlled KwaZulu-Natal Government holds an important *imbizo* on Sunday which, among other things, is likely to take a position on the status of King Goodwill Zwelithini.

However, KwaZulu-Natal MEC for traditional and environmental affairs Inkosi Nyanga Ngubane has denied that the king's future would be discussed at the *imbizo*, to be held at the King's Park Stadium.

Instead, Ngubane said the *imbizo* had been called to brief *amakhosis* and their subjects about developments within the region.

He said the King was welcome to attend the *imbizo*.

"What is there to discuss about the king? The truth is that the king has been invited to share with his subjects important issues that concern his people," he said.

Also, Ngubane denied a claim by the ANC that the *imbizo* was partly financed by the taxpayers' money.

Financially bankrupt

In a statement, the ANC said the IFP was financially bankrupt and did not have the capacity to hold an *imbizo* of that magnitude.

"The claim by the ANC that the *imbizo* is financed by the taxpayers' money is far from being true. Our people have contributed money towards this event," he said.

The relationship between the king and the IFP-led Government took a further nosedive last week when the cabinet refused the king the use of a government-owned plane to travel to Ghana.

The ANC this week expressed dissatisfaction at the manner in which the IFP sought to undermine the king, and in the process destabilising the region.

"The ANC notes with shock the continuing IFP efforts of undermining His Majesty, King Zwelithini, and of destabilising the entire province," the ANC said in a statement.

IFP clash with King reaching a climax

W M 18-24/8/95 (11B)

Anne Eveleth

RECENT moves by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini have raised the stakes in his power battle with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Zwelithini refused to attend this weekend's "imbizo" called by the IFP-dominated House of Traditional Leaders to adopt a "Zulu covenant" binding Zulus to the party's "federalist" constitutional principles.

In the past, the IFP moved quickly to clip the monarch's wings every time he spread them. This week, the IFP-led KwaZulu-Natal government responded by trying to ground him on the eve of his planned visit to Ghana.

In the past it was only Buthelezi who could garner international support through visits to various heads of state. Alliances between the IFP and the governments of Britain, the United States and Germany were won on the back of red-carpeted trips by the IFP leader in the days of apartheid when the king was a subdued puppet on his Nongoma throne.

Since Zwelithini's UDI from Buthelezi last year, however, the monarch has sought his own international allies and, it appears, has begun to carve out his own niche on the continent. Seeking funds for his Peace and Development Trust, the monarch has travelled to Britain — where sources say he elicited promises for some R600-million in donations — and to

Uganda and Ghana, where he put the much-vaunted Zulu Kingdom on the traditionalist map, holding court first with the king of the powerful Buganda tribe and now with the king of the Asante. Zwelithini's lawyer, S'dumo Mathe, said the monarch also gained an audience with Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings.

These forays, combined with the monarch's new open-door policy which has led to unencumbered meetings with several other groups within South Africa, have largely occurred without the blessing of the provincial government, whose complaint over the monarch's failure to "consult" it hark back to the days when Zwelithini needed the KwaZulu homeland government's approval to leave the district of Nongoma.

Observers note that Zwelithini's successes would be seen as challenging the parallel initiatives dawning on the horizon of the IFP's ethnicist agenda. Buthelezi has notably made several recent trips to visit the Ndebele in Zimbabwe in his role as Home Affairs Minister, and his attempts to garner support among the Pondos and the Tswana in the pre-election period are common cause. More recently, Buthelezi has suggested that other provinces — and other traditional leaders — would one day follow his lead in calling for greater provincial autonomy, an event which would certainly hold Buthelezi's greatest hopes for becoming a national leader.

In this context, Zwelithini's overseas trips, his unrequited demand that KwaZulu-Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose apologise for last year's Shaka Day fiasco, his call for local government representation in the Senate and his unapologetic support for the centralisation of traditional leaders' payment — not to mention the still unmeasured emotive impact of his divorce from the IFP — present potential obstacles to IFP growth.



King Goodwill Zwelithini: Refusing to attend imbizo

Already, sources say, some business leaders who previously supported the IFP have now turned their attention to the monarch's non-partisan development aspirations. The R270 000 donated to his Trust by the Education Development Trust and computers and other equipment donated by business leaders at Zwelithini's birthday bash in Nongoma two weeks ago, seem to support the claims.

With some IFP sources claiming the party is in dire financial straits, observers have suggested it is sorely missing the monarch's fund-raising potential. One Zulu royal source claimed he was party to a clandestine pre-election campaign by the party which raised some R35-million in overseas donations on behalf of the king — but without his knowledge. The source alleged the funds had been channelled directly into IFP coffers.

Politically, as the IFP attempts to rally support for its "provincial constitution", the monarch's absence from the fold has not gone unnoticed. Although the IFP minimised the loss of Zwelithini last year, hard-core traditionalist supporters still sing songs at rallies asking the king to come back to them. While it is difficult to tie the lower attendance at IFP rallies since the election to the monarch's departure, the confusion of older traditionalists loyal to both the IFP and the king could present an electoral obstacle to the party's efforts to bolster its paper-thin majority through fresh provincial elections.



ZULU POWER: Zulu induna (leader), with a pistol tucked into his belt, leads his impi into Kings Park Stadium. Durban. As 1 000 Zulus attend an imbizo (traditional gathering) called to decide the fate of the Zulu nation.

IFF moves to defy State on fate of Zulus

Political Staff and Sapa.

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has moved a step closer to its threat to call an election in KwaZulu-Natal, setting an August 29 deadline for the provincial legislature to support an IFF-sponsored provincial constitution.

The IFF's national council, meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, said it would call on the provincial legislature to give two-thirds majority support to principles set out in a constitutional committee's guidelines for a provincial constitution.

The IFF, which does not have the two-thirds majority it needs to pass a provincial constitution, said it would call on the legislature "to exercise its constitutional right to call for

an early election if that two-thirds majority is not forthcoming."

The resolution said that the IFF "deplores the extent to which the powers and functions for provinces which the interim constitution provides for have been withheld.

"A political process has emerged in South Africa which is heading the country towards a highly centralised form of government, with a strong potential for perversion in a totalitarian state."

In other resolutions the IFF insisted it wanted a "federal republic of South Africa of which the kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal would be a constituent state or province".

This was not secessionist, the party said.

(116) ARG 21/8/95
 Shooting erupted at Kings Park Stadium yesterday when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced a covenant aimed at restoring autonomy to KwaZulu-Natal.

Addressing about 40 000 Zululans, he urged unification resistance to the "dictatorial" actions of central government.

Outside the stadium, a gunman hiding behind a bus opened fire with an AK 47 on police, who then fired teargas, stun-grenades and rubber bullets at an angry crowd, complaining about an arrest, which was later dispersed with a water cannon.

No injuries were reported.

Four people were arrested and eight illegal weapons were seized at the gathering.

Covenant call for Zulu unity

ET 21/8/95

(116)

DURBAN: Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on Zulus yesterday to adopt a new covenant to unify the divided Zulu nation and demand self-rule.

The divisions were apparent, with kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose saying it had become difficult to work with Zulu King Goodwill.

Addressing about 40 000 people at an "imbizo" (traditional Zulu gathering), at King's Park rugby stadium, Chief Buthelezi said it was only through unity that Zulus would secure regional autonomy in kwaZulu/Natal.

"We must now move more than ever demand the right to govern ourselves within the parameters of a broader, federal relation with the rest of South Africa.

"Today, August 20, will be remembered in history as the day of the Zulu covenant in which the people of the kingdom have become one.

"We are now moving towards our liberation as one nation with one kingdom and one purpose.

Today is the day of unity and the beginning of our liberation."

Chief Buthelezi, who is at odds with King Goodwill, called on his supporters not to threaten the existence of the Zulu throne and said he was "saddened" the monarch was not present.

Dr Mdlalose told the crowd the King had on numerous occasions refused requests for audiences by the kwaZulu/Natal government, amakhosi and various princes and princesses.

● The gathering was marred by violence, with police firing smoke grenades and rubber bullets during a clash with a group of Zulu nationalists outside the stadium. Nobody was wounded.

The incident occurred at about 1pm when police arrested a man found carrying a homemade firearm. One of the Zulus robbed a policeman of his gun and demanded the release of the suspect.

Four people were arrested and seven illegal firearms seized.

● The Zulu king's council and the ANC labelled the gathering an



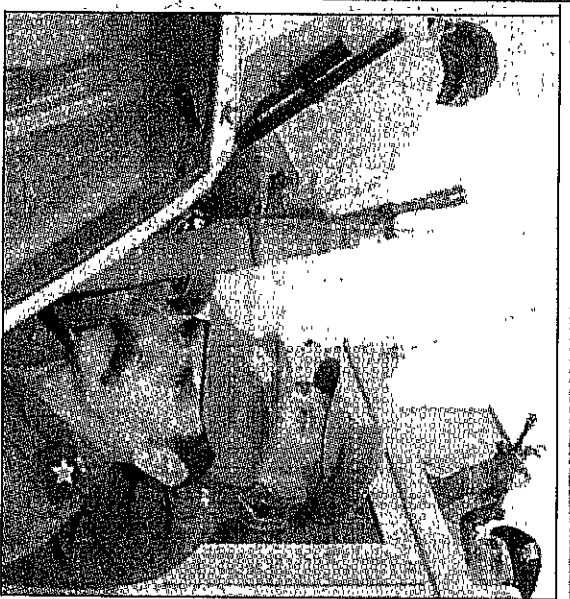
IMBIZO: A Zulu induna (leader) with a pistol tucked in his belt leads his imps into the King's Park stadium in Durban yesterday, where Chief Buthelezi called for Zulu unity. **RIGHT:** Policemen take cover while trying to keep rival Zulu factions apart.

PICTURE: AP

Inkatha meeting and said only the monarch was entitled to call an imbizo.

The IFP suffered a setback on Friday when it failed to get the two-thirds majority needed to

force its constitutional proposals through the provincial constitutional committee drawing up the constitution of kwaZulu/Natal. — Sapa-Reuter, Own Correspondent ● See Page 4



IFP supporters adopt 'covenant' to fight for restoration of kingdom

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN—Violence erupted at an emotion-charged rally yesterday at which about 40 000 IFP supporters adopted a covenant of allegiance, vowing to rise as a nation in the struggle for the restoration of the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal.

Shots were fired outside Kings Park stadium after a crowd of 200 demanding the release of a man arrested for being found with a homemade firearm, ignored police orders to disperse.

The crowd threw objects at police who

returned fire with rubber bullets and used a water cannon to disperse the crowd.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the covenant was for all citizens of the kingdom because "our destinies are so inextricably intertwined".

In a swipe at the DP and NP, Buthelezi said: "There are some people in our province who feel that the king of the Zulu nation should reign only over the Zulu nation and not over them as well. The old spectre of apartheid is well and kicking." He expressed regret that King Goodwill Zwelithini had not attended the meeting.

Lamenting that the Zulu nation had become "orphaned", Buthelezi said that he hoped that Zwelithini would accept the covenant.

Buthelezi yesterday warned that the province's constitution-writing process could no longer be "delayed or hindered". A snap provincial election would be called if it appeared by September 1 that a "suitable constitution which protects our freedom and autonomy cannot be secured."

The IFP failed on Friday to pass any of its constitutional principles in the constitutional affairs standing committee with the

required two-thirds majority.

This came after the DP voted against the clause, and the NP abstained. The PAC and Minority Front (MF) abstained for the entire vote, while the ANC "recused" itself.

They protested that the IFP was "imposing" principles on them rather than relying on negotiations to achieve a constitution.

The failure to have the principles passed in the committee appeared to have undermined the effect of the rally, where they were expected to be addressed in detail. The IFP had hoped that it could have reported scoring a significant victory over

the ANC.

A "sacred" and "ordained" seven-point covenant was adopted at the rally which committed the nation to restoring the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal as the "primary government" of the people and having a constitutional monarchy in which the king reigns but does not govern.

The covenant said the nation embraced "all the people living in our territory, irrespective of race, colour or creed". The nation would "mobilise" peacefully to urge the province's "democratic institutions" to spearhead the freedom struggle.

(11/8) 130 21/8/79

Ramaphosa's speech called a 'declaration of war'

IFP raises the

stakes

(118) (21)

BATTLE between central Govt and KwaZulu-Natal government intensifies

100 pipers on parade

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA AND SAPA

The battle between central Government and the KwaZulu-Natal government led by the Inkatha Freedom Party intensified at the weekend, with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi calling for unity in a "demand to govern ourselves".

And the IFP's National Council said after a meeting in Ulundi it would recommend a snap general election if the provincial legislature failed to pass an IFP-sponsored constitution by August 29.

The IFP has also threatened an incitement charge against ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa after his alleged call on ANC supporters in the province to "oust" its Premier, Frank Mdlalose.

Buthelezi, who is Home Affairs Minister in central Government, urged an estimated 40 000 followers at an *imbizo* at King's Park Stadium in Durban to adopt a "Covenant of Allegiance" which he read to them.

The *imbizo* had been called by the KwaZulu-Natal government and the provincial House of Traditional Leaders, of which Buthelezi is chairman.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — whose relations with Buthelezi and the provincial government are at low ebb — called the gathering an act of defiance, arguing that only



► To Page 3

P.T.O



"Cultural weapon" . . . a Zulu induna with a pistol tucked into his belt leads his impi into King's Park Stadium in Durban yesterday as tens of thousands of Zulus attended an IFP rally. PICTURE: AP

Buthelezi wants to restore 19th century kingdom

(110) (111) Star 21/8/95

◀ From Page 1
he has the authority to call an *imbizo*.

The seven-point covenant is aimed at restoring the 19th century Zulu kingdom through securing greater autonomy for the province and securing "all those powers and functions which in fact can adequately and properly be exercised by an autonomous kingdom".

He called on KwaZulu-Natal residents to back "this new Covenant which gives purpose, unity and direction to our struggle for freedom".

Buthelezi slammed central

Government for reducing KwaZulu-Natal to a mere "administrative centre" by emasculating it of political power.

He urged the province's citizens to unite against the central Government's "oppression" and "dictatorial" actions.

"We swear to rise and resist with all democratic and peaceful means any dictatorial actions which encroach on our inalienable God-given freedoms and on our right to self-determination, dedicating our strengths, efforts and resources and committing our life to our just and noble struggle," said Buthelezi.

Referring to the year-old standoff between himself and Zwelithini, Buthelezi said he would try to seek reconciliation, but not at the expense of the Zulu nationalist cause.

In his address, Mdlalose attacked Zwelithini, saying "it has become very difficult to work with His Majesty".

The rally was guarded by 600 policemen and 120 soldiers.

The IFP yesterday also said in a statement that it would lobby for Ramaphosa's call for the ousting of Mdlalose to be the subject of a snap parliamentary debate.

Speaking at the funeral of slain ANC activist Joseph Nduli on Saturday, Ramaphosa said there was "no governance" in KwaZulu-Natal and accused the IFP of destabilising the province.

The IFP alleged the "declaration of war" by Ramaphosa had already resulted in the burning of homesteads in the KwaShange district on Saturday.

The party also accused Ramaphosa of wanting to subvert the constitution-writing process and said he was dashing chances of parties finding consensus on the final constitution.

King's reign in danger

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

NKOSI YENDLU *Kakhongolose idingisiwe!* This Zulu expression, meaning "the king of the African National Congress is in the wilderness", was chanted at the *imbizo* called by the KwaZulu-Natal House of Traditional Leaders at King's Park Stadium in Durban last weekend.

The chant was obviously directed at King Goodwill Zwelithini, whose authority and status were put under the microscope at the *imbizo* by his subjects.

A Covenant of Allegiance to restore the Kingdom of KwaZulu was adopted at the *imbizo* after it was read out by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This, he said, meant the Zulu nation would organise "our autonomous kingdom as a democratic, pluralistic and constitutional monarchy in which the king reigns under the constitution but does not govern".

It therefore seems that the reign of the king may be in jeopardy.

Even KwaZulu-Natal premier Dr Frank Mdlalose's pronouncement that it had become difficult to work with King Zwelithini again signals that the king may be losing favour with some of his subjects.

In his address, Mdlalose said that despite all his efforts to cooperate with the king, it had become clear that King Zwelithini was now closer to the ANC than to his people and the provincial government of KwaZulu-Natal.

"It has become very difficult to work with His Majesty, particularly as he is surrounded by the type of people that do surround him," he said.

'In ANC's pocket'

Mdlalose did not mince his words when he implied the king now fitted snugly into the ANC's pocket, clearly singing the tune prepared for him by Shell House.

And this is something the IFP-led KwaZulu-Natal government is not prepared to tolerate.

Mdlalose stated that his government had reminded President Nelson Mandela after the April 27 1994 elections that KwaZulu-Natal had come under the IFP's control, and that "there was no place for His Majesty to interact with the national Government or with the political structures outside the government of the kingdom".

This, by implication, means that the king may not act as he pleases and will have to recognise structures like the provincial government, with which he appears to be at odds at the moment.

Also, Mdlalose has made it abundantly clear

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, in a worsening of relations between himself and the IFP, is accused by the IFP of being firmly in the pocket of the ANC (110)

Sowetan 22/8/95



Part of the jubilant crowd attending last weekend's *imbizo* in KwaZulu-Natal.

PIC: ROBERT MAGWAZA

that in terms of the Constitution, his province has exclusive competence in any matters relating to traditional authority and "those authorities and those laws which are the building materials of the Kingdom of KwaZulu".

The fact that the king was now seen as freely moving in ANC circles, and indeed within the national Government, is cause for serious concern to the IFP-led government.

To show how serious the provincial government is about maintaining a hold on all matters traditional, it has now challenged in the Constitutional Court a law providing that traditional leaders receive their salaries from the central government.

"We oppose this by making our own laws in the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal to exclude President Mandela's long finger from the affairs of our *AmaKhosi*," said Mdlalose.

He also pointed out that as far as his government was concerned, the king's travelling expenses abroad had to be curtailed as it was proving extremely expensive. He cited a case in which His Majesty's trip to attend an art exhibition to the United Kingdom cost the provincial government R431 896,66.

In the light of the king's expenditure, the KwaZulu-Natal cabinet passed a resolution which reads: "Cabinet notes that prior to any further trips abroad by His Majesty, the Cabinet will be approached to authorise the trip and the

expenditure involved. Should no further funds be made available, it would not be possible to authorise any further visits abroad by His Majesty."

Buthelezi, who is also regarded as prime minister of the Zulu nation, was blunt in his resolve that the "Zulu nation should achieve great progress on the path of its final liberation".

Buthelezi adamant

He was adamant that despite difficulties with the monarchy, the Zulus were determined to maintain the system.

Addressing the over 70 000 people at King's Park Stadium, Buthelezi said: "I realise that the patience of some of you has run out. But I plead with you that your reaction to what is going on should not be such that it should threaten the existence of the Zulu throne."

Conciliatory as this statement might be, Buthelezi is no fool. He was the first to realise that the king is no longer on his side, and may be inside a hostile camp.

But there can be no doubt that Buthelezi is now moving swiftly to consolidate his position, both as a traditional leader and as someone who leads a political organisation whose constituency transcends racial and gender barriers.

In all his pronouncements, Buthelezi makes room for the king's return to the fold.

Black support for IFP shows sharp decline

(11/15) *secretary 24/8/95*

THE results of a survey raise doubts about the outcome of an IFP drive for an early provincial election in KwaZulu-Natal.

Of all the political parties, it is experiencing the highest rejection rate among black South Africans.

In recent weeks the ruling party in the province has repeatedly stated it will call an election if it fails to secure sufficient support for its constitutional proposals in the provincial parliament.

Garner support

The IFP is trying to garner the support of the minority parties by amending baseline proposals.

But indications are that the party will not depart sufficiently from its original draft, based largely on provincial autonomy, to satisfy all the minorities.

A decision on holding an election could be taken soon after next week's sitting of parliament in Maritzburg.

A Markinor survey of political trends last month led researchers to state: "It is significant that the IFP experiences the highest level of rejection of all parties

among blacks, Indians and coloureds."

The trend is discussed in the Business Climate Intelligence report compiled by Markinor and the University of Potchefstroom's Institute for Future Studies, and is aimed at informing business leaders.

It says "middle ground parties like the ANC and National Party have a more across-the-board acceptance and a lower level of rejection".

The lack of progress with the RDP is having a negative effect on the population, especially on whites. This negative mood could lead to a white backlash, hitting the National Party particularly hard.

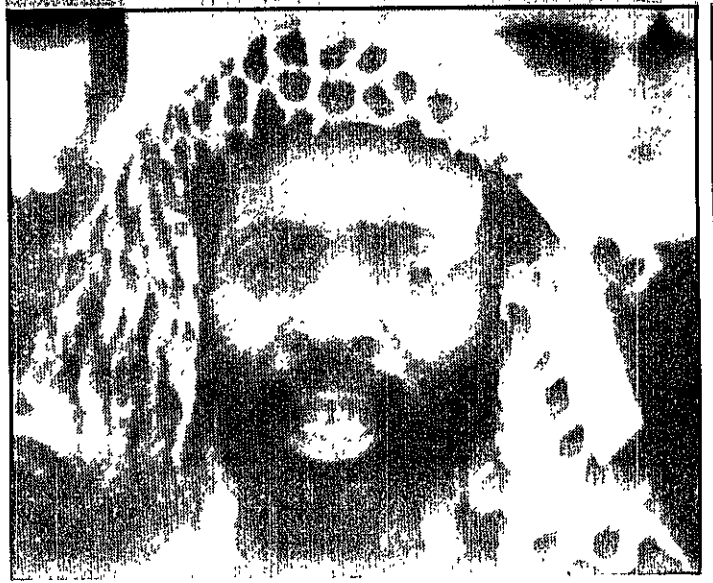
Support for the ANC among blacks remains high - 85 percent support the party nationally.

But support for the ANC is declining among whites (from 5,9 to 2,6), among Indians (42,6 to 40,6) and among coloureds (38,7 to 34,8).

The Democratic Party, PAC and Freedom Front appear to have increased their support at the cost of the ANC, NP and IFP.



STAND-OFF
... Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini (right) and KwaZulu-Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose are at odds over an imbizo called by chiefs at the Kings Park Rugby Stadium today.



Imbizo of discontent

(11B)
8/25/8/95

By SIPHO KHUMALO

KWAZULU-NATAL is bracing itself for a massive gathering of Zulus at an imbizo called by Inkatha-aligned chiefs at the Kings Park Rugby Stadium today to deliver an ultimatum on their demand for a separate kingdom of KwaZulu.

The imbizo, which is expected to attract thousands of people, will go ahead despite opposition from the ANC, which claims that such a gathering can only be called by the Zulu King.

King Zwelithini is understood to have asked the provincial premier, Dr Frank Mdlalose, and Traditional Affairs Minister Nyanga Ngubane, to call off the imbizo when the Royal Council met the two in Nongoma a fortnight ago.

However the chiefs have de-

clared that it was within their rights to call such an imbizo.

The highlight of the gathering is to be an address by Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who will speak in his capacity as the chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders.

The gathering will also be addressed by Ngubane and Mdlalose.

Hundreds of buses have been hired to transport tribesmen to the rally - with at least 150 booked for Empangeni alone.

The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has announced that it has put more than 200 soldiers on standby to ensure that peace prevails.

Bheki Cele, chairman of the Safety and Security Committee, yesterday said he feared an eruption of violence after the gathering as it had happened before at such gatherings.

■ Meanwhile, the constitution-making process in KwaZulu-Natal appears to be heading towards deadlock as political parties squabble over guiding principles and blame each other for obstructing the process.

This emerged at a KwaZulu-Natal constitutional committee meeting in Durban on Friday, when the ANC refused to vote on the adoption of a resolution which incorporated a list of Inkatha's constitutional proposals.

The ANC accused Inkatha of trying to undermine the work of the committee by forcing a vote on the resolution which, the ANC claimed, incorporated constitutional proposals that were still subject to debate.

"In forcing a vote on the resolution, Inkatha is showing contempt for the public who are still making submissions, contempt

for the constitutional committee, contempt for the technical experts and even contempt for the Inkatha members on this committee," the ANC said.

ANC constitutional affairs spokesman John Jeffrey said Inkatha was hoping for a two-thirds majority vote in favour of the resolution, which Inkatha would hail as a victory.

Voting in the committee proceeded without the ANC, and Inkatha failed to garner the support of the minority parties and failed to get a two-thirds majority on any of its proposals.

Inkatha spokesman Mike Tarr said the exercise was part of procedure and merely an attempt to identify issues that needed further negotiation.

National Party spokesman Val Volker condemned both Inkatha and the ANC for obstructing constitutional progress.

IFP races against time to write constitution

Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Mangosuthu Buthelezi is desperately trying to beat the constitutional clock, reports **Ann Eveleth**

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat at the IFP conference at the weekend, that he would call a snap election in the province if agreement could not be reached on a new constitution for KwaZulu/Natal, marked growing frustrations among IFP hardliners at the failure of its moderate provincial caucus to produce a constitution.

The two most senior IFP leaders — Buthelezi and KwaZulu/Natal premier Frank Mdlalose — are at the centre of the battle, with tensions visible at the national conference in Ulundi.

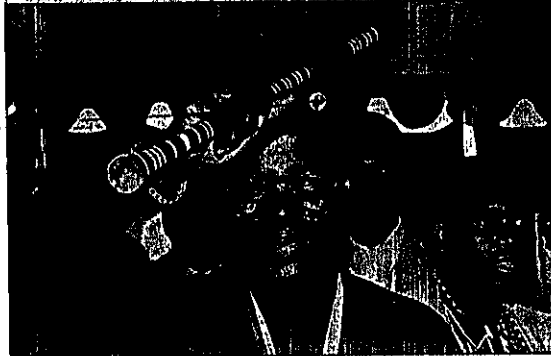
While Buthelezi lamented that the provincial constitution-writing process was moving slowly, pointing out that "substantial progress should have been achieved by now", Mdlalose painted an optimistic picture, stating that "much progress has been made". Reinforcing his position in a press statement on Tuesday, Mdlalose said the constitution would be put to the legislature for approval at a session opening on August 15.

This latest deadline clearly indicates the mounting pressure on Mdlalose: the IFP earlier passed a motion in the KwaZulu/Natal legislature that a constitution would be adopted by the end of this year, but this week Mdlalose — subtly upbraided over the province's failure to pass significant IFP policy legislation — brought the deadline forward without consulting any of the other parties.

It appears Mdlalose failed even to inform the IFP's constitutional negotiators of the new deadline. The same day Mdlalose issued his statement, IFP negotiator Mike Tarr said: "By the end of August, it will be very clear whether parties are close to each other (on constitutional positions). We don't want to set deadlines, but are confident of finalising (the constitution) pretty soon." Along with Mdlalose, the onus lies largely on Tarr and constitutional committee chairman Arthur Konigkramer to ensure that a constitution satisfactory to Buthelezi emerges soon.

A snap election — threatened by Buthelezi if he cannot get consensus on a new constitution — would not be in the interests of any of the three, who risk losing their provincial positions. Konigkramer narrowly escaped expulsion at the conference after being accused of leaking a confidential document to the press. Tarr is an extreme moderate, making him highly unpopular in the party's top echelons.

Their positions tenuous, the three will strive to secure opposition party support to ensure the constitution gets the requisite two-thirds majority. The ANC is, however, bent on delaying the process. Ultimately, the ANC wants to stall the IFP's federalist objectives until a final national constitution is in place. The IFP, by contrast, is clearly trying to beat



New threats: IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants to call a snap election in KwaZulu/Natal if the province cannot adopt a constitution speedily
PHOTOGRAPH: PETER AUF DER HEYDE

the clock.

Calling for elections "as soon as practically possible", Buthelezi warned the party had less than a year left to take advantage of the "small window of opportunity in which (the province) has some degree of legislative autonomy".

The first draft of the new national constitution is expected next May, after which the province could find it more difficult to adopt aspects of its "20-point strategy". The same could be true for the provincial constitution, when it faces the Constitutional Court for certification. If adopted now, it would face scrutiny against the Interim Constitution.

Later, it will have to stand up against the final document, which the IFP believes will be more overtly centrist. The prior adoption of a final national constitution may even make the IFP proposal of provincial "sunrise clauses" less tenable.

The proposal would see the inclusion of dormant clauses enshrining powers not yet available to the province in the provincial constitution, to be enacted if and when they become constitutional. If the IFP succeeds in beating the national timetable, it could also make a renewed bid for international mediation in advance of the final draft. The ANC has argued mediation cannot commence until a provincial constitution is in place.

Backed by substantial motivation, the IFP is increasing the stakes. An imbizo (gathering of the Zulu nation) is planned for August 20, undoubtedly to seek grassroots approval of the constitutional draft,

and a "Ghandian passive resistance" campaign is on the horizon.

Two Constitutional Court challenges are also on the cards. The province intends taking central

government to court over its failure to assign Schedule Six powers (provincial powers in the Interim Constitution) to KwaZulu/Natal, while a separate court showdown looms between conflicting national and provincial legislation on the payment of traditional leaders. Senior IFP sources said a Constitutional Court decision against the province would be used to show up the "political bias" of the court.

A number of proposed constitutional principles were recently ruled "unconstitutional" by the team of advisors appointed by the IFP, ANC and DP in the province. While the objectionable clauses came from all parties, key IFP "autonomy" princi-

ples were on the list.

The IFP is expected to present alternative analyses to the committee next week in a bid to keep the proposals intact. The party needs, however, to take two-thirds of the multi-party committee with it before the draft constitution can even see the light of day in the legislature. While the National Party's provincial caucus said this week it agrees with "70 percent" of the IFP proposals, the horse-trading is set to intensify as both sides seek alliances.

The ANC's 26 MPs are superfluous to the required two-thirds assembly vote of 54, but the IFP needs to add all nine NP votes, the two Democratic Party votes, and the one each from the Pan Africanist Congress, Minority Front and African Christian Democratic Party to its 40 votes to win. Contrary to Buthelezi's claims that the IFP's "thin majority" had seen it "at the mercy of minority parties", all but the ANC have historically voted with the IFP. But DP leader Roger Burrows, who was optimistic agreement could be reached in three or four months, warned, "if they bring a constitution to the August session without negotiation, it will not be passed".

NP leader Tino Volker also rejected a rushed process, pointing out that a draft constitution must be published for 14 days after cabinet approval, before a vote. Sources predict a flurry of bilateral negotiations will ensue, but the chances of a two-thirds majority at this stage appear slim. The ANC only needs to woo one minority vote.

PAC MP Joe Mkhwanazi has generally sided with the IFP, but sources say he is under pressure not to give up the ghost of the PAC's centrist policy. If all else fails, the ANC could dangle a carrot of inclusion on their list in a new election. Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansl would seem a prime candidate.

Sources say the IFP is determined to call elections if the vote fails, but indications are the move would be a major gamble. The provincial government's poor performance to date will work against it, as will recent scandals over white and Indian MPs.

The ANC says a recent survey gave it just over 60 percent support in urban and peri-urban areas of the province, while IFP support among whites had declined from 28 percent in April 1994 to about 15 percent six weeks ago.

While the IFP, like the ANC, claims it suffered from electoral fraud last year, it would be a major feat for any ruling party to raise its 50.3 percent vote to 66.6 percent in a second election.

kwaZulu hit-squad men get 75 years' jail

DURBAN: Two of the three men convicted of hit-squad activities against ANC leaders in kwaZulu/Natal were each sentenced yesterday to 75 years' imprisonment.

The third accused was sentenced to 52 years in jail.

In passing sentence, in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday, Mr Justice Nick van der Reyden called for a probe into allegations that IFP officials and kwaZulu/Natal policemen were involved in hit-squads, after names of several provincial government officials, IFP members and police officers were mentioned during the trial.

Romeo Mbambo and Israel Hlongwane were sentenced to 75 years in jail for killing Mr Nkosinathi Gumede, Sgt Solomon Dlamini and four youths in the early 1990s.

Gcina Mkhize, not implicated in the killing of the youths, was sentenced to 52 years' imprisonment.

CT 30/8/95 (27)(118)
All three confessed to taking part in hit-squad activities and claimed they had acted on orders from senior members of the former kwaZulu government and police.

Judge Van der Reyden accused the kwaZulu/Natal police of incompetence in handling the investigations and of frustrating the probe into the murder of the youths and Sgt Dlamini.

He said he had considered a psychologist's report submitted as mitigation.

The report said the three men had been indoctrinated into believing they were fighting for a just cause.

Reacting to the findings, the ANC said yesterday kwaZulu/Natal attorney-general Mr Tim McNally should be brought before a judicial committee to account for his handling of the case.

The party accused Mr McNally of failing to subpoena leading IFP members and police officials named during the trial. — Sapa

Policemen sentenced for hit squad murders

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — A Durban Supreme Court judge yesterday gave three KwaZulu-Natal police hit squad members a combined sentence of 202 years and ordered an investigation into claims that senior IFP leaders and police officers masterminded hit squad operations.

Judge Nick van der Reyden sentenced self-confessed hit squad members Romeo Mbambo and Israel Hlongwane to an effective 75 years each on six counts of murder and one count of kidnapping. Geina Mkhize

was sentenced to an effective 52 years' imprisonment on two counts of murder and one count of malicious damage to property.

The ANC-aligned victims, as well as a policeman who co-operated with the Goldstone commission, were murdered in 1993 in Esikhawini, northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Van der Reyden said the case proved that hit squads contributed to violence in KwaZulu-Natal, and the "issue of sentencing must be on the basis that all the murders and the kidnapping were on the instructions of people in authority". He

(11B) would have imposed the life sentence had it not been for mitigating factors such as political indoctrination.

The convicted men claimed KwaZulu-Natal social welfare and pensions MEC Gideon Zulu had given them orders to kill, and that safety and security MEC Celani Mtetwa was seen with a cache of illegal AK-47 rifles. Others implicated in alleged hit squad activities included IFP deputy secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo, national MP Lindiwe Mbuyazi and Capt

BD 30/8/95 Continued on Page 2

Hit squad

Continued from Page 1

Leonard Langeni, who was in charge of security in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature.

Van der Reyden said as none of them had testified during the trial, there was no "conclusive proof" against them. However, they were not above the law and the authorities had to investigate every allegation against them. If this did not happen, he

would have a transcript of the trial referred to Justice Minister Dullah Omar and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi for a full investigation into those who allegedly "masterminded" the hit squad activities.

The attorney for the accused, John Wills, said the three would consider testifying to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and applying for indemnity.

Hitmen jailed for 75 years

TWO members of a KwaZulu hit squad were sentenced in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday to an effective 75 years in prison, while a third member received 52 years for their role in the murder of six people in the Esikhawini area.

Mr Justice Nick van der Reyden said the sentences of former KwaZulu policemen, Romeo Mbambo, Brian Gcina Mkhize and IFP member Israel Hlongwane should act as a deterrent to "those people who were prepared to be used as killing instruments and those who orchestrated and ordered the killings of their political opponents".

He earlier found the accused had acted under instructions from the IFP politicians, community leaders and KwaZulu Police officials implicated by the accused.

However, such a finding did not have the

effect of a judgment against the people allegedly behind the Esikhawini hit squads.

He added that these people, including MPs Prince Gideon Zulu and Mrs Lindiwe Mbuyazi, Major Leonard Langeni and Brigadier Como Mzimela of the KwaZulu Police, former mayor of Esikhawini Mr BB Biyela and Chiefs Khawula, Biyela and Mathaba, were not above the law and should be investigated by the relevant authorities.

The judge said if the authorities did not take note of his findings, a transcript should be forwarded to the Ministers of Justice and Safety and Security "for a full investigation into the allegations involving those people identified by the accused as the masterminds and puppet masters of the Esikhawini hit squad".

On the KZP's investigation into the mur-

ders, Mr Justice van der Reyden said the court's initial assessment of it as being "patently unproductive" was, to put it mildly, "charitable".

He said they had now come to realise that what was initially viewed as incompetence on the part of the KZP, was in all probability a "deliberate attempt to frustrate the proper investigation into the murders".

The judge also accepted the evidence of psychologist Mr Clive Willows that the accused were exposed to an intense process of indoctrination, their belief in a justified war and a degree of desensitisation, which he took into account as a mitigating factor.

However, he said this case confirmed the contribution hit squads had made to the violence in South Africa and particularly KwaZu-

lu-Natal over the past few years.

He said no matter how noble their cause might seem, killers must be told that civilised society would not tolerate the assassination of its members, particularly by members of a police force who were duty bound to protect citizens.

Going through each of the murder cases, the judge said he accepted Mkhize's version that Nathi Gumede's murder "was sanctioned by Prince Gideon Zulu and others."

He also accepted the accused's version that the four youths, Velenkosi Mzimela, Bafana Jefe, Sibusiso Mdlini and Muzi Ngcobo as well as KwaZulu policeman Sergeant Dumisani Dlamini were killed in June 1993 on the orders "of those who controlled the hit squad". -
Sowetan Correspondent.

118 Sowetan 30/8/95

King's STAR trust gets 31/8/95 boost

(11B)

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's Peace and Development plan received a huge boost recently with the formation of a high profile trust to oversee its expenditure.

The Methodist Church's Dr Khoza Mgojo and the church's presiding bishop, Dr Stanley Mogoba, have been elected to chair the trust, which was registered in Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court last week.

King Zwelithini announced his plan to revive embattled KwaZulu-Natal late last year after he fell out with his uncle and Inkatha Freedom Party leader and Home Affairs minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The monarch said he hoped the formation of the trust would lay a foundation for peace, stability and development in the province which had been divided by violence and the involvement of traditional leaders in politics.

The trust had received an initial donation of R270 000 from the Independent Development Trust, the King's lawyer, S'dumo Mathie, said.

King Zwelithini said this money would be used on educational projects. The monarch said more money was needed, and an account had been opened with Nedbank, Smith Street, Durban, a/c no 1305-683-439.

Von Lieres to defend (11B) IFP accused

(11B) Star 5/9/95

■ STAFF REPORTER

The case of five IFP and KwaZulu Police members accused of hit squad activities is likely to see a range of high-ranking individuals, including former defence minister Magnus Malan, being called to testify in the Durban Regional Court.

Malan, former chief of the Defence Force General Kat Liebenberg, and former KwaZulu police commissioner General Jaco Buchner could be called as witnesses.

Former Witwatersrand attorney-general Klaus von Lieres is defending the five. He made his first appearance as the counsel for the accused yesterday when the five appeared briefly in court.

He quit his job as attorney-general this year for health reasons.

But his resignation came at the same time as his involvement in a dispute with Witwatersrand reporting officer Jan Munnik, who accused Von Lieres of blocking access to dockets. Von Lieres was then admitted to the Johannesburg Bar.

He is defending IFP deputy secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo and KwaZulu policemen Peter Msane, Sicelo Ndlovu, Prince Mkhize and Martin Khanyile, who were arrested in connection with the alleged hit squad murder of 13 people, including women and children, in 1987 at Kwa-Makhuthu on the South Coast.

TMC executive is tackled in court

Star 5/9/95

■ BY HOPEWELL RADEBE

Former Federal Party leader Frances Kendall yesterday resumed her Rand Supreme Court action challenging the legitimacy of the Greater Johannesburg Council's executive committee.

Kendall, cited in papers before the court as Frances Mary Kendall Louw, launched the application in July contesting the mechanism which was used to appoint the Transitional Metropolitan Council's executive committee earlier this year.

Kendall claims the way in which the executive committee was constituted prejudiced her chances of being elected. She claims her party had formed an alliance with small parties in the TMC in order to secure representation in the executive committee.

She said the major parties did not follow the constitutional requirement of ensuring fair proportional representation in the TMC and its executive committee

in particular.

The process therefore was not in accordance with the Electoral Act which affords smaller parties due representation, and should, for that reason, be declared "unconstitutional".

She further argued that, even with no alliance, she still would have secured a seat in the executive committee if the constitutional requirement of proportional representation was duly followed, and if councillors recognised the need to have smaller parties represented.

Legal counsel, R M Wise (SC) for the TMC, said in defence the executive committee regarded the alliance as informal since it was constituted by civics and rate payer's associations. Thus Kendall's alliance was not necessarily accommodated by the Electoral Act.

The alliance, he said, was formed merely for the purpose of election to the executive committee. The hearing continues.

Killer father gets seven years

Samson Motlhaka (25), the Diepkloof, Soweto, father found guilty on Friday of murdering his 3-year-old son and cutting off his thumb, was yesterday sentenced in the Rand Supreme Court to an effective seven years' jail.

Mr Justice D Marais sentenced him to 12 years, but suspended

ed five years of this for five years.

He said Motlhaka's murder of his son on July 14 last year was a "horrific crime" but he was under "emotional stress at the time".

Motlhaka cut off his son's thumb after strangling him and delivered it in a parcel to the child's mother. - Court Reporter.

ch
im
p-
k-
to
a
nt
a
nd

er-
a
r
ed
ill
he
he
y.
ne
u-

ill
he

as
p-
h-
te

ed
s-
m
ri-
ut

ld
re
o-
s

Gau
clai
Pre
Mbe
dere

four
Keh
His
had
and

pea
san

Boi
tell
tur

Cit
an
hel
eve

po
lea
M
wo
br

KwaZulu-Natal IFP caucus slates leaders

Farouk Chothia (11B)
BD 8/9/95

DURBAN — The IFP KwaZulu-Natal caucus yesterday threw its weight behind the party's provincial negotiators, and condemned the party's national leaders for trying to scupper efforts to negotiate a constitution with other parties.

This is a slap in the face for key national negotiator Sipo Mzimela.

IFP sources said the caucus unanimously agreed at a meeting in Ulundi that negotiations to draft a constitution should go ahead, and expressed reservations about plans to hold a fresh election in

KwaZulu-Natal. They said the top brass in the caucus, including premier Frank Mdlalose and IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane, had expressed this view.

The caucus endorsed the provincial cabinet's postponement of a sitting of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature to October 3 to give negotiators more time to finalise an agreement on constitutional principles.

Mzimela said on Monday a compromise agreement struck by provincial negotiators — including KwaZulu-Natal caucus chairman Arthur Konigkramer and chief whip Mike Tarr — with opposition parties would not "receive the attention" of IFP

policy-making structures until the IFP's original constitutional principles were put to the vote in the legislature.

Sources said Mdlalose expressed his "annoyance" with the statement yesterday. They said the opposing factions would "have it out" when the party's constitutional and legislative portfolio committee, chaired by Mzimela and including Mdlalose, met this weekend. The national council, the party's top decision-making body, is scheduled to meet the following weekend.

"There will be fireworks, but we've got

Continued on Page 2

IFP caucus

(11B)
BD 8/9/95

Continued from Page 1

to bridge the gap," said a source. "If we fail it will have damaging consequences for the party and KwaZulu-Natal."

Jiyane said the meeting this weekend would "review the whole negotiation process". He declined to comment further.

Sources said Walter Felgate — IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's close confidant who has made a comeback after a long illness — was also "making it diffi-

cult" to secure a settlement. Buthelezi said on Wednesday he would not be drawn into the "media mudslinging" and would abide by national council decisions.

Sources said provincial caucus members were insisting that no election could be called until the deadline set by the legislature for the adoption of a constitution — December 31 — expired. They said the provincial caucus had the backing of moderates in the national caucus.

White water rafting deaths

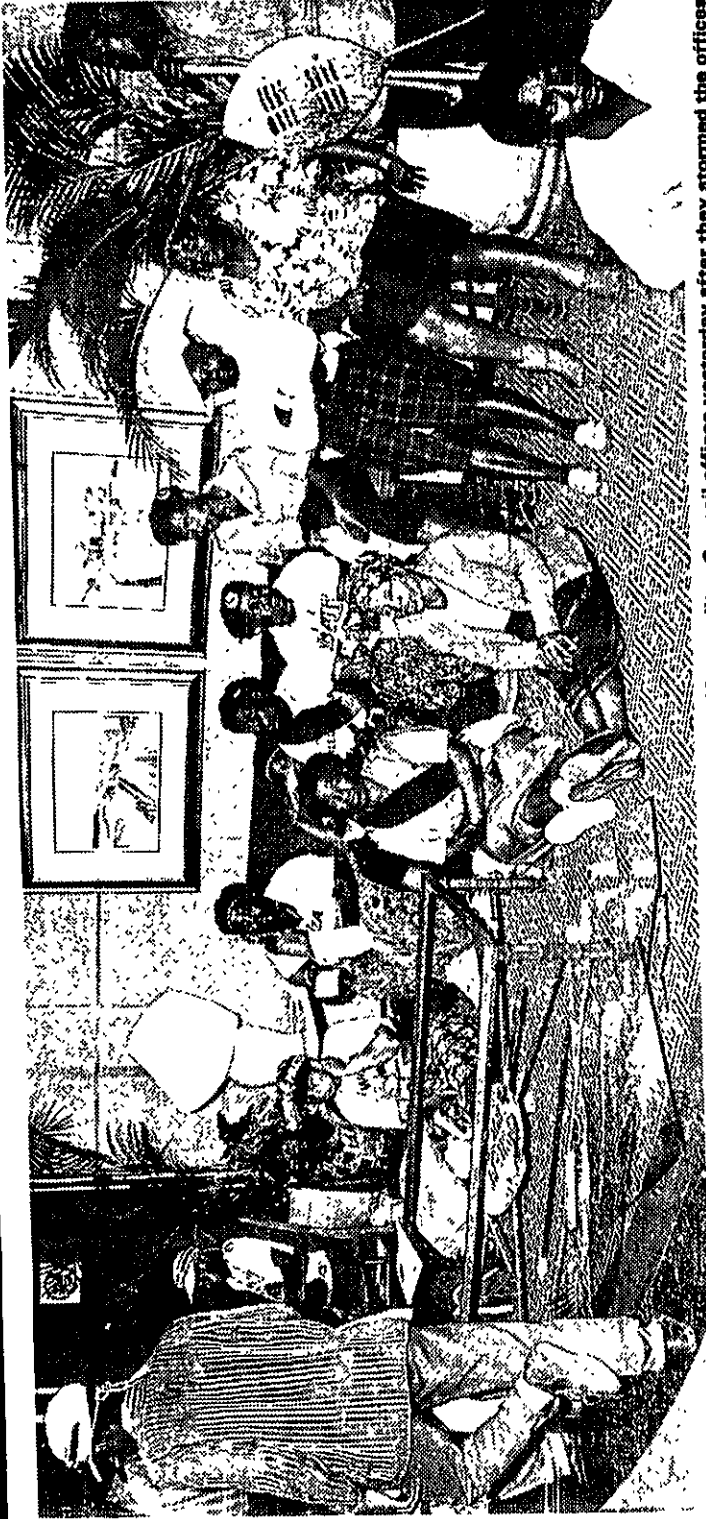
Michael Hartnack

VICTORIA FALLS — Two tourists, including a 37-year-old South African, have died in separate incidents while white water rafting at Victoria Falls.

David Carruthers from Durban, reportedly complained of 'breathlessness' and tipped out of the raft, but was pulled back by his companions.

They got the raft to the shore but he later died. Victoria Falls Shearwater Safari director Mike Davis quoted doctors as saying he died of a heart attack.

A young woman tourist drowned on the same stretch of river yesterday when she fell out of a canoe. Her body has not been recovered yet.



IFP members from hostels in Gauteng in the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council offices yesterday after they stormed the offices, causing extensive damage to furniture and office equipment. They were demanding that their names be placed on ward voters' rolls for the local government elections. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

IFP claims voters' rolls are incomplete

Mduduzi ka Harvey

MORE than 200 IFP members, demanding that their names appear on ward voters' rolls for the elections, yesterday occupied the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council offices — breaking glass doors and office furniture.

The demonstrators from hostels in Gauteng claimed voters' rolls were incomplete as serial numbers for potential voters had not been provided. The missing serial numbers affected hostels and IFP strongholds and they claimed most hostels had been omitted from the rolls.

The IFP said that even if the rolls could be rectified, the time lost for its candidates to each canvass 2% of potential voter signatures in each ward was irrecoverable. Legal steps would also be considered by the party if candidates were disqualified because they had not complied with the regulations governing the 2% stipulation by September 11.

Similar complaints have been lodged to the Greater Vaal/Verereening and Preto-

ria metropolitan councils. IFP local government co-ordinator Gerda Bekker said the IFP regarded the omissions in a serious light and had requested that either the 2% stipulation be scrapped or that an extension be granted. Letters containing these demands had been forwarded to the National Elections Task Team, the Gauteng Technical Task Team, Gauteng local government and housing MEC Dan Mofokeng and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelof Meyer.

An impromptu meeting was later held between an IFP delegation led by IFP MEC Themba Khoza and the metropolitan council's executive committee led by the chairman Collin Matjila.

After the meeting Matjila said the elections committee would convene and look into the grievances, while the executive committee would meet and make recommendations to the provincial government.

On the possibility of court action against the IFP for damaging property, council CEO Nicky Padayachee said the matter would be investigated.

ANC denies DP claim on Tembisa rate hike

Mduduzi ka Harvey

THE ANC had reneged on an agreement to raise flat rates in Tembisa township from R30 to R190, a move which could result in a R34m loss, East Rand DP councillor Michael Waters said yesterday.

The claim was disputed by the ANC. Waters said that during a budget debate earlier this year agreement had been reached by councillors that to implement R50m capital budget projects to upgrade Tembisa the flat rate had to

standards and speed up service delivery in Tembisa would suffer a great blow. This was because R34m to improve municipality services would be lost. The reduction, Waters claimed, was a 'optical game played by the ANC to take advantage of the forthcoming elections'.

ANC Kempton Park/Tembisa councillor Ralph Herzberg disputed these claims. He said that the R190 uniform flat rate had been recommended by the Gauteng provincial government, and had been accepted by the ANC and the mass

under way to phase in the

Currently, Herzberg said, those houses with meters in the township were paying a uniform flat rate equal to the rate paid in the Kempton Park suburbs.

Negotiations were also under way to phase in the

the township to repair meters, he said.

Currently, Herzberg said, those houses with meters in the township were paying a uniform flat rate equal to the rate paid in the Kempton Park suburbs.

Negotiations were also under way to phase in the

Hostel dwellers furious

IFP target TMC offices

Star 8/9/95 (11B)

**PROTESTERS
accuse the ANC of
trying to prevent
them from voting.**

IFP hostel dwellers ran amok in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Centre - home of the Transitional Metropolitan Council - yesterday afternoon, smashing glass doors.

The protesters, clad in IFP colours and brandishing traditional weapons, claimed their names were missing from the voters roll and accused the ANC of trying to stop them from voting in the November 1 local elections.

The IFP has announced it intends taking legal steps against the Transitional Metropolitan Council if incomplete voters rolls prevent their candidates from obtaining the necessary 2% support from their constituencies.

IFP Gauteng co-ordinator (i-r) rda Baker said the crowd, about 150 strong, represented up to 50 000 hostel dwellers whose names had appeared on preliminary voters rolls, but had been eliminated from the new ward

rolls. The crowd was initially locked out of the Metropolitan Centre by security guards.

However, according to the council chairman's security advisor Siviwe Mapisa, Baker ordered guards to open the doors.

"She said the crowd had to be allowed into the building in terms of our 'open door policy', but this is an abuse of that policy," he said.

The protesters trashed the building, smashing every glass door from the first to the 16th floor, before trying to gain access to the computer room where the voters rolls are kept.



Council invasion . . . Angry IFP hostel dwellers relax in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Centre yesterday after rampaging through the building armed with traditional weapons.
PICTURE: ANREAS VLACHAK

IFP group storms GJTMC offices

(11B)

Sowetan 8/9/95

By Khangale Makhado

ABOUT 300 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters yesterday stormed the offices of the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, causing extensive damage to furniture.

The group, armed with knobkerries, wrecked the information desk in the foyer leading to the council chambers before proceeding to the communications department on the first floor. They left a trail of broken glass, wrecked furniture and damaged ornaments. The group also went to the 16th floor where more damage was caused.

Council chairman Mr Colin Matjila said after an impromptu meeting with the IFP delegation that an emergency election committee meeting would be held to consider objections by the IFP. They would also call a special executive committee

meeting to address the issue. The committee would then make recommendations to the provincial government.

Matjila said the council was assessing the extent of the damage and would investigate the possibility of laying charges against the people responsible.

The IFP's Gauteng coordinator for local government, Mrs Gerda Bekker, denied that it was the organisation's aim to cause havoc. She said the group, comprising mainly IFP members, went to the council chambers in their individual capacities to check if their names were on the voters' roll.

"It is surprising that while names of our members from the hostels had appeared on the preliminary voters' roll they were now nowhere to be found in the ward voters' roll.

"We take it as a deliberate attempt to delay IFP candidates to gather the 2 percent signatures required by Monday," she said.

2572X

play ny

us 2.5

HIGH (CONSTANTIA) MIRELLE @

Buthelezi slams rebels in the IFP

ST 10/9/95

By Cyril MAPALA

CRACKS appeared within the ranks of the IFP leadership at the Youth Brigade's annual conference in Ulundi yesterday over a new provincial constitution and the timing of local elections.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told delegates that some party members in the KwaZulu Natal provincial parliament were conniving with opponents to distort the IFP's political position by projecting it as secessionist.

"Among our newly acquired mem-

bers, there are a few individuals who are in cahoots with our political adversaries in portraying this image of us."

He said the IFP's national council had recently proposed a document which spelt out the principles on which the IFP should write a constitution for KwaZulu Natal.

Chief Buthelezi said the document would not get the required two-thirds majority, because the IFP didn't have enough seats. "We have no option as a party but to go for an election in KwaZulu Natal."

He warned that some members of the provincial parliament were afraid

of losing their positions if elections were held now. "People are emphasising personal loss of their benefits as members of the legislature. We are facing a situation where some people are weighing individual benefits against what is in the interests of the majority of the people of this region," he said.

Differences between the IFP's provincial and national leadership over the writing of the provincial constitution emerged earlier this week.

Sipho Mzimela, in charge of the IFP's constitution-making process, poured cold water over the attempts of

the provincial portfolio committee to lobby other parties to reach a compromise on the IFP's constitutional principles.

He said the party's constitutional principles as spelt out by the national council, and not the negotiated provincial legislature.

Chief Buthelezi emerged clearly behind Dr Mzimela at yesterday's conference, urging delegates to go out and mobilise for the provincial and local elections.

"We have been insulted and vilified sufficiently. Let us give the electorate

the opportunity to vindicate us," Chief Buthelezi said.

He warned the conference that the central government wanted to emasculate the Zulu kingdom by reducing it into an administrative centre with no political power.

The party closed ranks behind three prominent members accused of complicity in alleged hit-squad activities. Chief Buthelezi assured Prince Gideon Zulu, the Rev Celani Mletwa and M Z Khumalo of his and the party's full support and said the truth commission was designed as a political mechanism of inquisition and witch hunt.

A THINKING NOT A DOG

ANC image 'in tatters'

Buthelezi may be 'forced to step down'

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Repeating a threat he made at a time of deep divisions within the IFP in the run-up to last April's elections, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday he might be "forced" to step down as Inkatha president because of the "intrigues I am facing within and outside" the party. (116) 6D 11/9/95

Addressing the IFP Youth Brigade conference in Ulundi, Buthelezi urged delegates to explain to their communities the "complex situation" the IFP found itself in.

Buthelezi said his future as IFP president depended on grass roots feelings, and these views needed to be known. This might "force" him to reconsider his position, and it might be necessary for someone with "younger shoulders" to carry his "burdens" as president.

Some of the IFP's "newly acquired" members were in "cahoots with our political adversaries", and some IFP MPs opposed to a provincial election appeared to be "weighing individual benefits against what is in the interests of the majority of the people of this region".

Supporting IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela, who found himself at odds with provincial negotiators Arthur Konigkramer and Mike Tarr last week, Buthelezi said the IFP national council had agreed on constitutional principles to be tabled in the provincial legislature.

"It is quite clear that it (the IFP's principles) will not get the two-thirds majority that it should get. The next step that we have no option but to take as a party is to go for an election."

There was "some urgency" in passing an electoral law, and the national Cabinet had set up a task group to look at proposals for a new electoral system.

Buthelezi said the home affairs department had been unable to "expedite" the process as there was "some reluctance" in certain quarters to a new electoral law. The 1993 Electoral Act could not be used as it applied only to last April's election. Voters' rolls had to be compiled for a provincial election and the Act made no provision for this.

Proposals secessionist, says ANC

IFP plans for wide range of powers

(116)
BD 11/9/95

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — A hardline IFP draft constitution for KwaZulu-Natal appears to be at the centre of the bitter row between Inkatha's national leadership and moderate provincial constitution negotiators.

The document provides for a provincial army, the right to declare provincial states of emergency, an unelected premier and cabinet and a European Union confederal-type relationship with central government.

The document is believed to have been drafted by IFP constitutional adviser Mario Ambrosini, and is one of the latest in a series drafted since September last year, but which has not been made public.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the document was "final proof that the IFP is pursuing a secessionist agenda in KwaZulu-Natal".

The proposed constitution seems to go further than the IFP's controversial 20-point plan leaked to the media a few months ago. The ANC, at the time, branded the plan secessionist.

The draft constitution states the premier and ministers need not be members of the provincial legislature. The Zulu king would, after consultation with the leaders of the major parties, nominate the premier, "preferably from the ranks of the majority party". The king "is the head of the kingdom". However, "all actions of the king shall be countersigned by the premier and, when appropriate, by the competent minister". If not, they would "lack validity".

The draft constitution is modelled on a "sunrise" approach, allowing for the more

overtly confederal provisions to become effective only when a proper "federal relation" is established between KwaZulu-Natal and SA. It proposes a "sovereign member state" relationship for the "government of the kingdom" with the rest of SA. The territory of KwaZulu-Natal "includes territorial waters".

The province would recognise its obligations to central government and the other provinces only "insofar as they do not infringe upon the rights, powers and liberties" guaranteed by the provincial constitution. Central government powers "inconsistent" with the provincial constitution would not apply in KwaZulu-Natal.

"The kingdom's parliament may legislate on any matter which is reasonably necessary for or incidental to ... effective government," it says.

"Exclusive competences" highlighted include provincial police, local government and the public service. Central government could levy taxes and impose duties only on the advice and with the consent of the province. The document demands that "all tangible and intangible properties and assets of the republic" in KwaZulu-Natal be transferred to the province.

Under "defence obligations", it specifies that "all citizens have the duty to defend the territory of the kingdom ... from any external enemy". Citizens of the province could participate in a national army, but "only on a voluntary basis".

At the same time, "armed forces of the republic" would be allowed into the province only "in consultation with the

Continued on Page 2

IFP (116) BD 11/9/95

Continued from Page 1

government of the kingdom".

The draft constitution calls for the formation of a provincial army to be known as "volunteer reserve forces". Supreme command will rest in a council headed by the premier. It allows for the proclamation of a provincial state of emergency "where the security of the kingdom is threatened by general insurrection or disorder or at a time of national disaster, and if the declaration ... is necessary to restore peace or order".

Ramaphosa said the document was separatist, unconstitutional, undemocratic and confederal, and internationalised the relationship between the province and central government. "The ANC will not allow the IFP to continue to hoodwink people

about their real intentions," he said.

The ANC planned to enlist the support of other parties in the provincial legislature "to stop the IFP in its tracks" by denying it the necessary two-thirds majority for the adoption of the draft constitution.

Ramaphosa singled out IFP leader Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela and Ambrosini for criticism.

He accused them of trying to scupper efforts by moderate IFP provincial negotiators such as premier Frank Mdlalose, Arthur Konigkramer and Mike Tarr to negotiate a constitution with other parties.

□ Sources said senior IFP leaders met in Ulundi on Saturday to discuss the constitution-making process but Tarr and Konigkramer — the main negotiators — were not present.

IFP youth urge pullout of SANDF

BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

Star 11/9/95

The Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade yesterday called for the immediate pullout of the SA National Defence Force from KwaZulu-Natal and for steps to be taken to pave the way for early elections in the province.

At the end of its annual general conference, the IFPYB rejected as repugnant the tendency of Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to deploy troops in the province without prior consultation with KwaZulu-Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The youth brigade also resolved that Ulundi should finally be established as the capital of KwaZulu-Natal "so as to promote the equal and balanced development of the province".

It criticised the way the ANC had amended the constitution "at any time" to suit its political convenience.

"The way the ANC is handling constitutional matters and utilising the powers of the State in the pursuit of its own political ends is killing our first free and democratic state."

The organisation further resolved to peacefully resist "enforced, centralist dictatorship" with all means at its disposal and reaffirmed its conviction that only international mediation could resolve SA's constitutional crisis.

It also condemned the ANC's process of rationalisation of powers that had reduced provinces to mere administrative implementers and puppets of the central Government.

Provinces, equipped with sufficient legislative, executive and administrative powers to enable them to deliver, should be the primary government of the people.

"We strongly condemn and reject the ANC's constitutional proposals and the preliminary draft of the Constitutional Assembly which intends to crush freedom, self-determination, pluralism and provincial self-rule."

Another resolution called on all institutions to give women opportunities to develop.

Buthelezi 'reviewing leadership of Inkatha'

ARG 11/9/95
(113)
Political Staff

DURBAN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says pressure is forcing him to reconsider his leadership of the IFP.

Chief Buthelezi told the IFP Youth Brigade that stakes had been raised in the IFP's quest for greater provincial powers. Leaders are committed to a provincial election if proposals for a provincial constitution are rejected.

Chief Buthelezi said the party's drive to hold an election was being stymied by the absence of proper legislation.

The interim constitution required that the election be held in terms of the Electoral Act. But these laws applied only to the April 1994 elections, and could not be used for provincial elections.

Chief Buthelezi said he sensed reluctance to institute the laws. At the same time, a faction within the IFP provincial leadership appeared set on negotiating a constitution instead of through an election.

And his position as minister of home affairs appeared impotent to make a difference.

"My department has so far been unable to expedite this matter. You can read between the lines why I say this."

He found this time even more stressful than before the last year's election.

"I want you to go out of this conference to explain the intrigues I am facing within and outside the IFP, which I think, depending on what the people at grassroots feel, will force me to reconsider my position as president of this organisation."

closed since Friday. The pupils occupied the school, which was empty at the time, in protest against the condition of the community school they were attending.

Picture NICKY DE BLOIS

Oil spill worries Parks Board

THE National Parks Board yesterday questioned pollution precautions at Saldanha Bay after a five-ton oil spill over the weekend affected the environmentally protected Langebaan lagoon in the West Coast National Park.

Board acting CEO Herman Botha said: "The National Parks Board questions the effectiveness of pollution control measures in the Saldanha Bay ...

"In the light of the planned Saldanha steel mill and oil storage facilities, one wonders what the environmental consequences would be in case of a larger oil spill."

About 30 oil-covered penguins were found at Jutten Bay. The area would be monitored because of the large number of eggs and chicks there, Botha said.

The oil was spilled on Friday when, under ideal weather conditions, oil was pumped from a ship to the pier at Saldanha Bay. The oil quickly spread towards Langebaan, a protected site in terms of the international Ramsar treaty.

Park warden Otto von Kaschke said two more oil patches were reported just when the clean-up was almost finished. — Sapa.

BD 12/9/95

IFP moderates set to defy national leaders

Farouk Chothia (118)

BD 12/9/95

Buthelezi and national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela.

Buthelezi and Mzimela insist the IFP's original 12 constitutional principles form the basis of a provincial constitution, or else a fresh provincial election be called.

IFP sources said negotiators were continuing talks after receiving the unanimous backing of the IFP's KwaZulu-Natal caucus last week. This includes premier Frank Mdlalose, IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane and Women's Brigade chairman Faith Gasa.

Sources said the negotiators would table the compromise agreement this weekend for a decision. However, it was unclear whether provincial caucus members would feel intimidated about making their views known in Buthelezi's presence.

Some said Buthelezi's weekend threat to quit as IFP president because of the "intrigues" he was facing would work against the interests of moderates. "People do not want him to quit so they will back his position," a source said.

DURBAN — IFP provincial negotiators are set to defy their national leaders by going ahead with negotiations today in a bid to secure a constitution acceptable to opposition parties in KwaZulu-Natal.

This sets the scene for a major confrontation between provincial moderates and national hard-liners at an IFP national council meeting this weekend, where one faction will have to back off.

IFP provincial negotiator Mike Tarr said negotiations with the other six parties would resume today in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature's constitutional affairs standing committee.

IFP provincial negotiators had received no "instructions" to the contrary, and did not believe they were "departing" from the mandate given by their leaders.

Tarr said he expected discussions with other parties to resume from where they ended last week — on the compromise agreement that irked IFP leader Mangosuthu

IFP negotiator defies hard-liners

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP provincial negotiator Mike Tarr yesterday stepped up his defiance of national hard-liners by agreeing to a second workshop to hammer out differences with opposition parties on a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal.

This was despite IFP hard-liner Walter Felgate's attempt to scupper an earlier workshop, and IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela torpedoed the agreement reached there by saying it would not "receive the attention" of IFP policy making structures until the IFP's original 12 constitutional principles were voted on in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature.

Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi suggested at a constitution-

al affairs standing committee meeting that a second workshop be held as "excellent progress" had been made at the first.

Tarr said he supported the proposal and the IFP would continue negotiating in good faith.

ANC negotiator Mike Sutcliffe accused Mzimela and IFP constitutional advisor Mario Ambrosini of being bent on imposing a fascist dictatorship in KwaZulu-Natal.

DP KwaZulu-Natal leader Roger Burrows said IFP hard-liners could be stopped if opposition parties voted against any motion to dissolve the legislature when it sits next month. This would cause a tie, and the IFP speaker would have to side with the opposition as he is compelled to vote in favour of retaining the status quo.

Cape nurses demand 50% increase in salary

Kathryn Strachan

ABOUT 300 nurses from Western Cape hospitals marched on Parliament yesterday to demand a 50% salary increase and an apology from President Nelson Mandela for "insults" to nurses.

Sapa reports national health director-general Olive Shisana gave them a written response from Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, who asked that they send "mandated representatives" to a meeting of the National Health Consultative Forum in Gauteng on September 18.

Sister Monica Siyolo from Khayelitsha, who read out the memorandum, was greeted with shouts of "viva" when she described the 5% increase offered to nurses as an insult. Their demands included a 50% increase and apologies from Mandela and Zuma for "insults directed at the nursing profession".

They also demanded public holiday and weekend overtime allowances and that there be no victimisation of nurses on strike in other provinces. Nurses rejected proposals from Western Cape Health MEC Ebrahim Rassool, who had referred them to the Central Bargaining Council.

"We are not fully represented by anybody, therefore the existing bodies cannot contend that they represent us," said nursing spokesman Raymond Jaftha. He said the demonstration was

not a strike, but a protest march, and that nurses would return to work when the memorandum was handed over.

The consultative forum was set up by the health ministry last week to seek solutions for nurses' low pay and bad working conditions.

Nurses at the GaRankuwa Hospital, north of Pretoria, were on a go-slow yesterday. They returned to work on Monday after a week-long strike which affected several Gauteng hospitals. The nurses and management had agreed to treat emergency cases only until Monday's meeting, when the problems would be discussed.

Meanwhile, the nurses' strike in the Free State spread from Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein to Oranje Hospital yesterday.

Pelonomi spokesman Elke Grobler said Free State premier Patrick Lekota and MEC for Health Senorita Nhlabati addressed a huge congregation of nurses yesterday, appealing to them to return to work.

Hospital management and nurses representatives spent most of the afternoon in negotiations.

Nurses were given until 10am today to return to work, after which they would have to submit written reasons for their absence.

In KwaZulu-Natal striking nurses at the Benedictine Hospital are demanding a 33% salary increase.

Mdlalose poised to quit as Natal premier

OWN CORRESPONDENT

(118)

CT 13/9/95

DURBAN: kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose is finding his situation untenable and recently offered his resignation as Inkatha national chairman. It is believed he may resign as premier.

According to sources, Dr Mdlalose had tabled his resignation at a joint provincial/national caucus meeting some weeks ago but was persuaded to remain on by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Dr Mdlalose, a moderate, supports the provincial caucus view to negotiate the constitution with all political parties.

At a weekend meeting of the the party's constitutional and legislative affairs committee, the committee voted against further negotiation.

Observers believe the crunch may come this weekend at the party's national council meeting: If the leadership fails to provide leeway to the province, Dr Mdlalose may resign as premier.

Ramaphosa takes on IFP

~~David Greybe~~ (110)
BD 14/9/95

CAPE TOWN — ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday accepted an IFP challenge to back his claim that an unpublished IFP draft constitution for KwaZulu-Natal was secessionist.

Details of the document were published this week, prompting accusations by Ramaphosa that it was proof of the IFP's secessionist agenda in KwaZulu-Natal.

Ramaphosa said his party would soon release a detailed analysis of the document by senior ANC constitutional negotiators which proved the IFP's secessionist aims.

Ramaphosa also described the document as unconstitutional and undemocratic.

The IFP charged that Ramaphosa's claims were "either the product of ignorance or bad faith motivated by the desire to gain acceptance for the centralist and autocratic constitution being drafted by his Constitutional Assembly".

IFP power struggle begins to 'unfold'

(116) 14/9/95

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela is being mentioned in IFP circles as a successor to national chairman Frank Mdlalose as KwaZulu-Natal premier.

An IFP source said IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi appeared to favour Mzimela as a candidate for the post in a fresh election, but there were other leaders opposed to this. It was also unclear whether Mzimela, the correctional services minister, would accept the nomination.

Other sources said a power struggle between Mzimela and Mdlalose was unfolding, and Mzimela appeared to have the upper hand at this stage.

Mzimela is chairman of the IFP's portfolio on constitutional and legislative affairs (Pocola), which is focusing on formulating policy for implementation by KwaZulu-Natal's government.

Mdlalose serves under Mzimela on Pocola. Sources said Mzimela had refused to abide by a Pocola decision that went against him a fortnight ago. Pocola had voted on the constitutional agreement KwaZulu-Natal negotiators had struck with opposition parties. The Mdlalose-led moderates won

by a "very comfortable" margin, a source said.

Mzimela went ahead to publicly reject the agreement. Mdlalose advised negotiators to ignore his statement and to continue with talks.

One source said Buthelezi, siding with Mzimela's faction in the constitutional row, took a swipe at Mdlalose at the weekend, saying central government had left him "castrated" by refusing to assign powers to the province.

Sources said the premiership issue had not come into the open. A deeply divided IFP had to first decide at the national council meeting this weekend whether it wanted an election.

Meanwhile, provincial MP Ziba Jiyane said earlier this week that the draft IFP constitution, published in Business Day on Monday, had been amended. Clauses interpreted to be confederal had been removed.

Jiyane said the IFP supported KwaZulu-Natal having a militia, that would not "rival" the SA National Defence Force, to defend "strategic points" in the province. The IFP could want KwaZulu-Natal to have the right to declare states of emergency in the province, but he doubted this could be done without central government.

Inkatha's secret German war chest

(11B) WM 15-21/9/95

Concerns have been raised that German funding is being used for IFP paramilitary purposes, report **Paul Stober, Marion Edmonds, Eddie Koch and Ann Eveleth**

EVIDENCE has emerged that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) plans to rebuild its paramilitary and intelligence capabilities — using German funds earmarked for development — ahead of a possible showdown with central government over a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal.

And, in the week that Chancellor Helmut Kohl made a state visit to South Africa, the *Mail & Guardian* has learned that there is serious concern in President Nelson Mandela's office about the use of German funds in the

province.

Sources in Mandela's office say the president has an "ongoing concern" about German development funds to the IFP being diverted for intelligence and other paramilitary purposes in KwaZulu-Natal.

But it is known that there is serious concern in the Cabinet's inner circle that the IFP may be trying to rebuild its policing and military capabilities ahead of a possible showdown with the central government over a federal constitution for KwaZulu-Natal.

Despite assurances from the Ger-

man chancellor that his government does not interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs, it has emerged that the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the taxpayer-financed funding agency of Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU), has sunk tens of millions of rand into Inkatha over the last decade.

At least two intelligence sources have told the *M&G* this week that two German citizens currently in South Africa are involved in trying to devise ways of using money intended for development projects in KwaZulu-Natal to bankroll a new Inkatha intelligence unit. The intelligence unit is intended to replace the once-powerful Bureau of Security and Intelligence (BSI) which was disbanded together with the KwaZulu police.

It is understood that Joe Mathews, Deputy Minister of Safety and Security and a high-ranking Inkatha official, and IFP Senator Phillip Powell, will play leading roles in the new intelligence unit and that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been briefed about the plan.

Also named as a player is a man called Stan Armstrong, who is said to have played a key role in the BSI before the KwaZulu homeland was disbanded. Armstrong served as an administrative chief in IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office at the time.

Armstrong was named last year by Rian van Rensburg — a former military officer who claims to have been involved in the training of paramilitary units for the IFP — as the link man

between his clandestine work and the party's leadership.

There are fears in the president's office that the proposed new intelligence agency is part of a more extensive set of contacts between the Inkatha Freedom Party and conservative organisations in Germany — a major source of support for the IFP, especially since access to state revenue was cut off with the disbandment of the KwaZulu homeland. Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana refused to comment on the reports.

Large sums of money have been donated to Inkatha since 1983 through the CDU's Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The Foundation receives German taxpayers' money to fund political and development programmes in the Third World. It is not allowed to finance political parties as such and the money has been paid to the Inkatha Institute.

It emerged from the Inkathagate scandal that the Institute was the channel used by the South African security police for secret government funding of the IFP. Major Louis Botha, the security police officer who acted as the link man with Inkatha, has a close family tie with the party. He was arrested some time in 1987 and charged in connection with the murder of 13 ANC supporters in 1987. This month, Botha asked for his bail conditions to be lifted so that he could attend the 50th wedding anniversary of his father in his home town.

The Inkatha Institute closed down after the Inkathagate scandal and has been replaced by the Institute for Federal Democracy. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation now donates some R2.5 million a year to the new institute. Sources close to the Adenauer Foundation say it is currently channelling a minimum of R9 million a year into political and development projects in KwaZulu-Natal.

The head of the new institute is Rama Naidu, former head of the Konrad Adenauer office in Cape Town. Naidu insists his organisation is not a think-tank for Inkatha and that it offers its services to a wide range of political organisations.

Ingor Scholz, director of Konrad Adenauer's Africa desk, said he had been disappointed by past media reports linking foundation money to "fomenting bloodshed in KwaZulu-Natal". Scholz stressed that the foundation was now providing constitutional support to all political parties in South Africa which requested such assistance.

But it is understood that there has recently been some concern among consultants hired by the the foundation over the possibility of its funds being "misspent" in the volatile province.

The history of German links with Inkatha has reinforced concern about foreign involvement in moves to create a new intelligence agency linked to the IFP.

The developments come amid reports of a hardline draft constitution drawn up by Inkatha's national leadership that grants extensive regional powers to KwaZulu-Natal. The draft IFP document provides for a right to declare provincial states of emergency and set up a provincial army. It also places strong controls on the power of the national army to operate in the province.

Konrad Adenauer Foundation funds, funnelled through the Institute for Federal Democracy, have been used to pay for a number of German consultants to help the IFP draft its constitutional proposals. The latest draft constitution is, however, believed to have been produced by the IFP in the face of criticism from the German advisers.

IFP constitution envisages a provincial army

(11B) WM 15-21/9/95

Marion Edmonds and Ann Eveleth

THE recently released hardline Inkatha Freedom Party constitution calls for a provincial army, exclusive provincial policing powers and the right to refuse intervention in the province by the South African National Defence Force. It also claims exclusive powers over all constitutional, legislative, judicial, and financial matters and paves the way for an unelected provincial government.

The IFP draft says neither the provincial premier nor other members of the provincial cabinet need come from the elected parliament. The Zulu King is mandated, in consultation with the leaders of majority parties, to choose the premier, who is then empowered to form a cabinet at his discretion. The provincial parliament is then mandated to cast a vote of confidence or no confidence in the cabinet within 10 days.

The African National Congress analysis argues this feature "produces an autocratic monarchist government which is not really responsible to the parliament and to the people".

The ANC has slammed the IFP constitution in an internal paper — prepared for the party leadership but leaked to the *Mail & Guardian* this week — which claims that the IFP proposal "is a document of secession ... written under the supposition of and in preparation for secession".

The ANC said of the IFP security provisions for a Volunteer Reserve Force and exclusive provincial policing powers: "There is no federation in the whole world which allows its inherent state to maintain its own army."

The release of the IFP constitution comes amid a growing rift between IFP provincial "moderates" and national hardliners over the multi-party constitutional negotiations in progress in the province.

Provincial negotiators this week defied moves by national negotiator and IFP deputy national chairman Sipo Mzimela, and constitutional advisor Mario Ambrosini, to quash the multi-party process and force a parliamentary vote on a set of hardline principles which would surely have set the province on course for fresh elections. Mzimela last week rejected a com-

promise document drafted by all parties, but provincial negotiators this week pushed ahead with multi-party talks in the constitutional committee.

But provincial negotiators claimed last week that Mzimela's hardline position had "nothing to do" with their efforts to secure a negotiated compromise with other parties including the ANC in the province.

Observers argue that the seismic rift in the IFP casts doubts on attempts to democratise party structures over the past year, while the heavy-handed interference of national leaders in the provincial process casts aspersions on the party's claims of federalism.

Ironically, a party whose claims to internal democracy are in dispute, is promoting a constitution that provides for the government of the "kingdom" to intervene in the internal affairs of political parties and trade unions whose structures are deemed undemocratic.

The constitution also says: "The kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal is a sovereign member state of the Republic of South Africa."

The ANC's rejoinder is that "the notion of a 'member state' is only used within an international con-

text: "For example, the European states forming the European Union are called 'member states' in the Treaty of the European Community."

The ANC also criticises the IFP claim for "a priority of the provincial constitution over the (national) constitution", saying "the only similar rules are to be found in the separatist constitution of Tartarstan".

The ANC argues these clauses "could only be accepted after a secession of KwaZulu-Natal ... No federal state (anywhere in the world) can — except in danger of its own dissolution — permit that the legitimacy of its national actions would finally be controlled by the constitutions of its provinces or revised by their constitutional courts. The intention clearly is in the direction of secession".

The IFP constitution also makes several declarations regarding the superiority of provincial laws over national laws. The ANC argues this claim for the "sovereignty of parliament implies that the Republic of South Africa ... should only be a composed entity (not a state) consisting of sovereign provinces with all the attributes of a national state".



Building the RDP: German chancellor Helmut Kohl visits the Funda Careers Centre, a recipient of German funding, in Soweto this week

PHOTOGRAPH HENNER FRANKENFELD

'Consider federal option' — Kohl

'AS German chancellor I do not have any intention of interfering in the internal affairs of this country,' said Helmut Kohl in Johannesburg this week.

On the first visit to South Africa by a German chancellor, Kohl was at pains to avoid political controversy, concentrating on trade and economic co-operation between the two countries.

But, during a 30-minute meeting with President Nelson Mandela, he urged him to consider a more federal system of government. A long-standing friend of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Kohl's advice to the president was seen as supportive of the IFP's demands for greater autonomy in KwaZulu-Natal.

President Mandela reacted diplomatically to the chancellor's advice, saying a high-level delegation would be sent to Germany to examine its

federal system of government. "They will give us a report and we will examine it," he said. "If further conferment of power to provinces will bring about peace and stability we are prepared to consider that."

At a subsequent press conference in Johannesburg, the *Mail & Guardian* asked Chancellor Kohl for details of German funding of the IFP through the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. He failed to answer the question.

Instead, he made his broad statement of non-interference. He also disclosed that, in a meeting with the IFP leader, he had told the chief "that this was not the time to stand apart, but that one should try to stand together and work together".

The chancellor added: "As regards the foundations — the Konrad Adenauer Foundation for one — I think they will also work together with all the forces in this country."

UNLIKELY ALLIANCE



ELECTION PACT: IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Sowejoca president Basil Douglas at yesterday's meeting in Coronationville, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPH: TJ LEMON

Coloured civic association throws in lot with IFP

By TEFO MOTHIBELI

The coloured Southwestern Joint Civic Association (Sowejoca) said yesterday it would enter a local government election alliance with the IFP.

Sowejoca president Basil Douglas made the announcement at a meeting addressed by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Coronationville, Johannesburg, after a show of hands by about 500 people.

The meeting was called to

commemorate the first anniversary of an uprising in Johannesburg's coloured townships over service fees. Three people died in clashes with police.

Other political parties were interested only in votes from the coloured community and would desert them after achieving their goals, Douglas said.

Buthelezi said there was a need "to make the coloured community feel they were a part of the broader South African community". He agreed

with PAC secretary-general Maxwell Ndamzivanani, who also spoke at the meeting, that there was a perception that the coloureds were neglected.

Douglas called for Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale's resignation for saying that coloured people made him vomit.

However, Gauteng government spokesman Chris Vick said Sexwale's remark had been distorted. "What he said was 'the sight of people causing chaos' made him vomit."

2005 Star 16/19/98 (11B)

Pay row over IFP 'army'

110 ST 17/9/95

By CYRIL MADLALA
THE IFP-led Kwazulu Natal government has secretly used taxpayers' money to pay salaries to members of the controversial self-protection units.

More than R5m routed to militias

Millions of rands have been channelled through a bank in Ulundi to pay over 5 000 recruits R1 000 a month over a period of seven months — from September last year to March this year.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, the Kwazulu Natal Premier, told the province's parliament in May that the money had come from "the people", but the matter is now in the hands of Auditor General Henri Kluever.

A senior official in the province's Department of Finance said the donations to a self-protection unit fund had run out. Recruits had then received salaries from the government, he said.

More than R5-million in government cheques was paid to Muzi Lombo, a driver in Dr Mdlalose's department, to pay the militiamen. Mr Lombo, a former Umkhonto weSizwe member, has failed to account for more than R500 000, according to the official.

Asked yesterday why he had said the self-defence

unit members were paid from donations, Dr Mdlalose said he needed to talk to his government officials before responding.

The units were formed in 1993 following a call by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for Zulus to donate R5 each to establish a fund, Umfelandawonye, to help communities protect themselves.

The former Kwazulu government's finance department administered a trust account for the fund, and continued to do so after the Kwazulu and the Natal Provincial Administration budgets were amalgamated.

But sources in the department said less than R300 000 had been raised by contributions by the time angry self-protection unit recruits blockaded the government building in Ulundi last year, demanding to be appointed policemen and to be paid.

One group was paid R90 000 on September 15, but as word of the payments spread, more recruits arrived, and the fund

was exhausted within three days.

The provincial government then dipped into taxpayer's money, issuing 10 cheques totalling R5,517-million in the name of the Kwazulu Commissioner of Police.

Mr Lombo cashed amounts ranging from R207 000 to R1,491-million. The last cheque, for R510 000, was issued in March.

Unit members disrupted the provincial parliament in May to demand more money.

ANC representative Nhlamhla Ngidi challenged Dr Mdlalose in parliament about the source of the funding.

"We hear talk of several millions of rands (being) paid to the SPUs and we have no knowledge where this money came from," Mr Ngidi said.

Mr Mdlalose replied that "these children or boys, or whoever, in the SPUs" had come from donations, and not "the budget that came from Pretoria".

But this week, the Sunday Times confronted the department of finance in Ulundi with cheque numbers, voucher numbers, cheque dates and the amounts authorised for payment to the units from taxpayers' money.

Dr Mdlalose's spokesman, Theminkosi Memela, said Mr Lombo had been given various clerical tasks in addition to his driving duties.

Mr Lombo was a member of the IFP before joining the ANC in Botswana in 1986. The ANC alleged he was an agent of the SA intelligence service, and detained him in Zambia, Angola and Uganda before releasing him in July 1991.

The IFP denies that self-protection units fall under its auspices.



Established 1966 - serving
can travellers for 30 years

CRUISE SPECIAL OFFER
to tropical Singapore,
d then board the
r "SuperStar Gemini".
days to Port Klang,
npur, Medan in
e tropical island
When it comes
d with six meals
'ulise of a lifetime!

**9 DAYS
FAR EAST
FLY-CRUISE
FROM R4990
PER PERSON SHARING**

ES

LY-DRIVE 10 DAYS FROM R4890

TOUR TO ORLANDO 16 DAYS FROM R7590

INDIA ★ AUSTRALIA ★ NZ

SHAKA DAY (116) SHOWDOWN

CP 17/9/95

By SIPHO KHUMALO

THE announcement by King Zwelithini's Royal Council that there would be no "official" King Shaka observance this year has put the council on a collision course with Inkatha's national chairman, Frank Mdlalose, who yesterday said the celebrations would go ahead as planned.

In a statement calling off the Shaka Day observance this year, King Zwelithini's spokesman, Prince Sifiso Zulu, said Inkatha had "deliberately confused" the celebrations with its political

rallies. "The motive was to broaden its political base and manipulate the Zulu nation into a politics of ethnicity," said Zulu. Zulu said the ritual had been used as a political rally where Inkatha "castigated" other political parties.

"The king was never comfortable with that position. The king has made it clear that the Shaka Day ritual should be kept out of party politics, that it should be used to promote unity and the harmonious co-existence of the different cultural,

racial and political groups," said Zulu. Mdlalose defiantly hit back yesterday declaring that Shaka Day celebrations would go ahead this September as planned. "I should point out that the day, 24 September, has been observed as King Shaka Day by the Zulu nation for over twenty years.

"This was not instituted by Inkatha, which had not been even established then," he said. Mdlalose announced that this year there would be two events to commemorate King Shaka Day - one in KwaDu-

kuza (Stanger) on September 24 and the other at Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium on September 25.

He did not say who would address these events, but in the past Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has always delivered a keynote address.

The showdown between Inkatha and the Royal House began last year when relations between Buthelezi soured after Inkatha supporters stoned President Mandela's helicopter at King Zwelithini's Enyokeni Palace.



KING GOODWILL . . . No Shaka day rally.

Inkatha's top five in power battle

(110) CP 17/9/95

As 'saboteurs' move centre stage

By SIPHO KHUMALO

A VICIOUS power struggle has erupted amongst the Inkatha top five heavyweights - president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, national chairman Frank Mdlalose, deputy national chairman Sipho Mzimela, secretary-general Ziba Jiyane and treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer - over constitutional negotiations and control of finances.

Highly placed Inkatha sources this week revealed that Mdlalose and Mzimela are at loggerheads over the KwaZulu/Natal constitutional process, while Jiyane and Konigkramer are engaged in an on-going battle over finances.

Sources said Buthelezi, rather than playing a unifying role, has taken sides in the dispute - backing Mzimela in his fight with Mdlalose and Jiyane in his tussle with Konigkramer.

The sources said Buthelezi had made Mzimela the "de facto premier" of KwaZulu/Natal by making him chairman of Inkatha's portfolio committee on constitutional and legislative affairs.

"This committee takes all the decisions that the KwaZulu/Natal government must implement, and Mdlalose is an ordinary member who must take orders from Mzimela," said an insider who spoke to City Press on condition of anonymity.

The committee's deputy chairman is the former KwaZulu homeland education minister, Lionel Mtshali, who is being described as "Buthelezi's watchdog".

Buthelezi has also given his shadowy Italian

constitutional advisor, Mario Ambrosini, the go-ahead to advise Mdlalose on decisions.

Sources said Mdlalose had become so disillusioned that he offered to resign as Inkatha's national chairman in July.

This would have been the first step towards him quitting as premier.

However, Mdlalose's supporters urged him to withdraw his resignation as they feared this would pave the way for Mzimela to officially take over.

Mdlalose heeded their call and is now beginning to take on Mzimela.

Mzimela and Ambrosini's move to the centre-stage of KwaZulu/Natal politics has angered the ANC, which this week accused the two of being "terrorists and saboteurs".

Fascism

Claiming under parliamentary privilege that Ambrosini's father had been appointed a professor by Mussolini in Italy, ANC MP Mike Sutcliffe asked: "Are they (Ambrosini and Mzimela) South Africans promoting democracy, or are they here to promote fascism and counter-revolution?"

The ANC's blistering attack came after Mzimela torpedoed a constitutional agreement for KwaZulu/Natal that Mdlalose and Konigkramer were very eager to see accepted.

Sources said this was precisely why Mdlalose and Konigkramer had lost favour with Buthelezi.

It is understood that he had become extremely suspicious of the two because of the close relationship they appear to

have forged with the ANC.

It is also understood that Buthelezi suspects that Konigkramer leaked the 20-point secessionist document titled *Federalism and Popularism From a KwaZulu/Natal Base* to the media earlier this year.

At an Inkatha Youth Brigade conference in Ulundi, Buthelezi spoke of "some party members" in the KwaZulu/Natal provincial parliament conniving with opponents to distort the organisation's political position by projecting it as secessionist.

"Among our newly acquired members there are a few individuals who are in cahoots with our political adversaries in portraying this image of us," he said.

Jiyane - a newcomer to the party after defecting from the PAC - is building an "empire" for himself to emerge as a successor to Buthelezi after his retirement, sources said.

Sources said Jiyane is encroaching on Konigkramer's terrain as treasurer-general by having large amounts of money channelled directly to him in his capacity as secretary-general.

Sources say that Jiyane is using this money to reinvigorate and launch new Inkatha structures countrywide.

This, sources say, would give him the powerbase he needs to make a bid to become Inkatha's president after Buthelezi's departure.

With Konigkramer currently on the retreat, Jiyane is tightening the screws on him by making him account for funds spent in previous years when there was no strict control in the party.

Rift between Buthelezi and moderates in IFP

(110) Star 18/9/95

Durban — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi acknowledged yesterday that there was division within the Inkatha Freedom Party and threatened to resign if dissidents were not immediately brought into line.

He castigated the moderate IFP-led government of KwaZulu-Natal for betraying the will of the party's majority hardliners in negotiating with opposition parties on a provincial constitution.

"I am ready to step down if these problems are not immediately solved for I do not wish to

serve as the leader of a divided party," he told a rally at Nongoma in the north of KwaZulu-Natal. "The time has come for the IFP to fight off all its enemies."

The IFP leadership is divided over proposals for a provincial constitution that would give the province maximum autonomy and the right to reject central government intervention on most issues.

Party moderates want to negotiate with other parties, but hardliners want the draft submitted as is for a provincial vote. — Reuter.

Outcry over IFP 'theft' of R5m

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: The ANC and Democratic Party say "heads must roll" in the IFP-led kwaZulu/Natal government if investigations confirm that R5,5 million of taxpayers' money has been used to pay the salaries of Inkatha's self-protection units.

The ANC has asked for a full investigation by the auditor-general, Mr Henri

Kluever.

Describing the use of the money to pay SPU's as "IFP theft of public funds", ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhave called for legal action to be taken against the alleged criminals.

Regional DP MP Mr Wessel Nel said the expenditure could not have occurred without the involvement of senior politicians or officials who, he added, should be held accountable.

ET 18/9/95 (113)

IFP rift: Buthelezi threatens to resign

(11B) ARL 18/9/95
DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has acknowledged that there is division within the party and has threatened to resign if dissidents are not brought into line immediately.

He castigated the Inkatha-led government of KwaZulu-Natal for "betraying" the will of the party's hard-line ruling congress by negotiating with opposition parties on a provincial constitution.

"I am ready to step down if these problems are not immediately solved for I do not wish to serve as the leader of a divided party," he told a rally at Nongoma.

The IFP leadership is divided over proposals for a provincial constitution that would give the province maximum autonomy, including control over its own security and the right to reject central government intervention on most issues.

Party moderates, including some white members, want to negotiate with other parties, but hardliners want the Inkatha draft submitted to a vote in the provincial government as it is. Chief Buthelezi said the IFP should call a provincial election within the next six months to prove its domination.

"The time has come for the IFP to

fight off all its enemies, both enemies within the party and enemies without. If we do not accept the challenge of an early provincial election, we have no choice but to accept that the African National Congress may destroy our kingdom ... and hold to ransom all our freedoms and liberties," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said Inkatha moderates were "a clique which has been planted by the KwaZulu-Natal ANC leadership" and said he represented the will of the people.

Chief Buthelezi, who serves as home affairs minister in the government of national unity, said he had a responsibility to monitor and intervene in the politics of his homeland province if party colleagues were not doing their job. "It is here where I feel I truly belong at this difficult juncture," he said.

Chief Buthelezi did not comment on a Sunday newspaper report that the KwaZulu-Natal government had taken more than R5 million to pay the IFP's self-defence units.

The ANC's provincial leadership charged in a statement that the use of tax revenue to pay a private army was theft and called for an official investigation of the charge.

ANC accuses IFP of misusing state funds

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress in KwaZulu-Natal has called on the auditor-general to investigate the use of over R5,5 million in state funds to pay Self-defence Units of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday the revelation at the weekend that the money had been used to secretly fund a political army showed the bankruptcy of the IFP, "both financially and ideologically".

He said the money must be refunded by those who authorised its expenditure and said criminal charges should be laid against such people.

Makhaye said the auditor-general should also investigate "whether there are other funds that are being misappropriated by the KZN government.

(11B) ~~(11B)~~ Sowetan
18/9/95
Money used secretly to fund a political army, claims spokesman

The investigation must go back to the day of the KwaZulu bantustan," he said.

Makhaye was responding to revelations that the R5,5 million had been paid to SPU members between September last year and March this year.

Mdlalose embarrassed

The money was paid through a driver of premier Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr Muzi Lombo, who has reportedly been unable to account for over R500 000.

The disclosure has placed Mdlalose in a predicament as he had earlier this year said the SPUs were paid from donations by ordinary people.

The *Sunday Times* said yesterday R300 000 had been raised this way.

The rest was paid from state coffers.

Mdlalose was unavailable for comment yesterday but he is reportedly consulting with his officials.

Meanwhile, Makhaye yesterday lambasted an unnamed member of the Congress of Traditional Leaders based in the Eastern Cape, who is also an ANC Member of Parliament.

He said the man attended a meeting of pro-IFP traditional leaders in Durban on Saturday, where, according to Makhaye, plans to destabilise the local government were hatched.

The description fits Contralesa president Mr Patekile Holomisa, who has been complaining about the effects of local government elections on chiefs.

ANC calls for resignation of Mdlalose and Mhlungu

(11B) ~~2/18/95~~ 2/18/95

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The ANC yesterday demanded the immediate resignation of KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose and finance MEC Senzele Mhlungu in the wake of reports that R5,517m of taxpayers' money was used to pay the salaries of IFP-aligned self-protection unit members.

The DP said the culprits would have to be made "accountable" if the reports were true.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye, chairman of the provincial legislature's finance standing committee, said: "Heads must roll. Mhlungu is the political head of the finance department, and Mdlalose is the political head of the premier's department. The buck stops with them."

Reacting, Mdlalose said the ANC's call was "stupid" and "sentence" could not be passed before an investigation was conducted. He would meet top officials of his department today to look

into the matter "very, very closely".

The Sunday Times reported that the provincial government issued 10 cheques, in the name of the KwaZulu police commissioner, to pay R5,517m to disgruntled unit members.

The cheques were issued from September 1994 to March this year. A driver in Mdlalose's department, Muzi Lombo, cashed amounts ranging from R207 000 to R1,496m.

The report said millions of rands had been channelled through a bank in Ulundi to pay more than 5 000 recruits R1 000 a month over seven months.

In reply to questioning from the ANC in the legislature in May, Mdlalose said: "These children or boys, or whoever in the units" were paid from donations and not the "budget that came from Pretoria".

Makhaye said Mdlalose had misled the legislature. Ministers, "even during the apartheid years", had been

Continued on Page 2

ANC call

Continued from Page 1

forced to resign over such behaviour.

The ANC provincial executive committee would consider whether to introduce a motion of no confidence against Mdlalose and Mhlungu at the October 3 legislature sitting.

Makhaye said the unauthorised expenditure was a criminal offence and legal action had to be instituted

against the alleged criminals. He said: "The auditor-general must immediately investigate the books."

Makhaye said the province's Public Accounts Committee, which would ensure funds were not misspent, had still not been established as the IFP does not have a "culture of accountability".

DP KwaZulu-Natal finance spokesman Wessel Nel said that he doubted that Mdlalose would have been aware of the alleged scam, but it would, however, have had to involve either MECs or senior IFP officials.

IFP seeks talks on its 12 principles

Farouk Chothia

AD 18/9/95

(118) (302)

DURBAN — The IFP would seek top-level negotiations with opposition parties in a bid to win support for its original 12 constitutional principles in the run-up to a sitting of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature on October 3, IFP hard-liner Walter Felgate said yesterday.

Felgate said the IFP national council, which met on Saturday, had formed a management team, of which he would be chairman, to do background work on constitutional issues.

IFP national chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose confirmed Press reports that the council decided to replace Arthur Konigkramer as chairman of the legislature's constitutional affairs committee with Mike Tarr.

Konigkramer took the most flak for striking a compromise with opposition parties, a source said. The council "censured" him for allegedly departing from the mandate given to negotiators.

Felgate said if the IFP deviated from original principles, "we'll never get the autonomy we are looking for".

IFP chief negotiator quits committee post

BD 19/9/95 (11B) (216)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP provincial negotiators failed to arrive for constitutional talks with opposition parties yesterday, and IFP chief negotiator Arthur Konigkramer quit as a member of the provincial legislature's constitutional affairs committee.

This came against the backdrop of growing IFP divisions over constitutional talks, with a suggestion by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend that a purge was on the cards.

Konigkramer said it was "impossible" for him to continue on the committee, where seven parties are represented, in the light of decisions taken at an IFP national council meeting on Saturday. The council decided to replace him as committee chairman and censured him for allegedly exceeding his mandate as a negotiator.

The committee had last week scheduled a meeting of an ad hoc committee to look into the role of traditional leaders, but had to call

it off when it became clear that IFP negotiators were not coming.

IFP negotiator Mike Tarr later allayed fears that the IFP had pulled out on instructions from hardliners, blaming their absence on "some confusion".

The IFP has decided that Tarr take over the committee chairmanship, but opposition parties indicated they would nominate a chairman when the committee met again, possibly on Thursday.

Buthelezi told a rally in Nongoma on Sunday that a provincial election may be held within six months "to put the record straight" as to which party had majority support. He said IFP leaders criticising national council decisions had "insignificant constituencies". They were brought into the party for their "professional skills".

Claiming the ANC KwaZulu-Natal leadership had planted a clique within the IFP, Buthelezi said the time had come for the IFP to fight off all its enemies, inside and outside the party.

ght
si-
ent

JN
op-
in
wn
vas
ual
al-

lly
its
lay
ex-
n.
be
to
not
ext
en-
el-
oin

ral
A's
vol-
vas
The
ing
SA
ies.

g
p
a
t
H
s

C
n
i
i
s
c
e
R
E
E
sh
v
d
s
ab
on

the
s
at
asset
d
ca
lia
t
b

Mdlalose probes funds charge

ET 19/4/95

(116) (114)

DURBAN, Kwazulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday launched an internal investigation into reports that R5.5 million in state funds was used to pay Inkatha-aligned members of the Self Protection Unit (SPU), his spokesman said.

The results of the internal probe might be put to Dr Mdlalose as soon as today, the spokesman said.

The ANC slammed the

investigation as a "cover up" and called for the auditor-general to probe the provincial government's financial affairs, including the former Kwazulu bantustan.

The ANC said in a weekend statement that Dr Mdlalose had "misled" parliament when he said members of the SPU were paid by "donations" from communities. For this he should resign, it said. — Reuter



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Roger Burrows of the DP

Crisis talks bid to avert split in IFP

(11B) ARG 19/9/95

Political Staff and Sapa

A CRISIS meeting of the Inkatha Freedom Party is to be held in Durban today in a bid to avert a split and the possible resignation of party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At issue is the proposal by hardliners for a KwaZulu kingdom with extensive federal powers and the wish of moderates to negotiate a new provincial constitution with other parties in a multiparty forum.

The IFP hardliners have been unable to obtain the necessary support in the provincial forum, where the new provincial constitution is being debated, and are now pressing for a provincial election in which they would need to win a two-thirds majority to push through their plan.

Moderates, many of whom fear that the IFP would lose such an election, continue to favour multi-party negotiations in which the IFP would be prepared to reach compromises with other groups.

Opposition parties accuse Chief Buthelezi of aligning himself firmly with the hardliners. He has threatened to resign if the party's differences are not resolved to his satisfaction.

The clashes in the IFP follow the weekend's fiery IFP national council meeting in Ulundi which revealed an ever-widening gulf between the hardliners and the moderates.

At the meeting IFP provincial constitutional committee chairman Arthur Konigkramer was unceremoniously ousted, apparently because hardliners perceive him to be too conciliatory.

Mr Konigkramer confirmed yesterday that he had been censured by the IFP leadership over the weekend.

"Under the present circumstances I am unable to serve on the committee," he said.

Democratic Party provincial leader Roger Burrows said Mr Konigkramer's censure had "major implications" for the future of the province.

The move suggested the IFP was definitely not willing to compromise on their constitutional proposals.

"What appears to be the situation is that the IFP either wants their proposals accepted or nothing at all.

"While there was a perception that there was a group of hardliners within the IFP, what was significant over the weekend (at the IFP council meeting) was that it became evident that Chief Buthelezi was in total support of the hardliners — and, in fact, was leading the charge," said Mr Burrows.

ANC constitutional affairs spokesman John Jeffery said ANC members would have to decide whether or not to continue participation on the constitutional committee after Mr Konigkramer's resignation.

The weekend's council meeting proved the IFP was deeply divided and was continuing to disrupt the province, Mr Jeffery said.

The IFP's failure to attend an ad hoc constitutional committee meeting yesterday was further proof of the party's disruptive influence.

"We will now have to consider whether it's worth continuing without the IFP or giving up (participation on the constitutional committee) completely," said Mr Jeffery.

Policy clash in the IFP

IN THE BEGINNING there was the rumour and then the rumour became a reality. And now, what was just a rumble within the Inkatha Freedom Party about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's leadership, has erupted into open warfare. This caused him to show his trump card on Sunday: "Stand behind me and do as I say or I quit."

It is a strong card. For many people, especially those within the IFP, he is the only leader who can hold the organisation together and pull in the crowds.

But what is the substance of the problem? It revolves around the question of how far the organisation should go to ensure that its version of federalism prevails in KwaZulu-Natal where the party is boss.

On the one hand there is the Buthelezi/Sipho Mzimela grouping, which is spoiling for a fight with the national Government.

It says the province should legislate for an army, a broadcasting authority, financial independence and other central Government roles.

It argues that as the party in power in KwaZulu-Natal, the IFP should use its majority to implement these policies and not allow minority parties such as the African National Congress to frustrate its mission to deliver federalism.

The group says the party should deliver for the province the ideal for which Buthelezi and his colleagues strove over the years.

It maintains that a provincial constitution entrenching these powers should be put to the legislature now. If it is defeated, early elections should be held to settle representation within the province once and for all.

The other group is led by premier Frank Mdlalose and includes the new white members. It argues that while there is a need for more provincial powers, these should be acquired in a manner that ensures there is peace and stability in the province. That whatever measures are taken to ensure that federalism becomes a reality should not play havoc with people's lives and the economic development sorely needed in a province wrecked by violence and poverty.

This group rejected a mandate by Buthelezi and Mzimela to jettison negotiations with other parties. It went ahead to produce a document with other parties that is a far cry from the IFP's "secessionist" document.

It is significant that both Buthelezi and Mzimela are in the National Assembly in Cape Town and therefore do not carry direct constitutional responsibility for running the province.

Consequently, some within the IFP say the two can afford to adopt an attitude of "go for it no matter the cost", as their own positions will not be affected.

IFP insiders say the real problem is not

Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** explains why it was necessary for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to act to reaffirm his leadership of the IFP this weekend

(11B) *Sowetan 19/9/95*



ON THE MOVE ... IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi once again urged his party not to allow the ANC to frustrate their goal of federalism.

whether there is a need for more powers, but how vigorously they should be pursued in the face of democratic opposition.

"Some people feel that the national guys are comfortable and are pushing the provincial ones into a position that could see some of them losing their seats in the legislature with no prospect of another similar job in sight," one source said.

"Many of the people in the provincial legislature have not come far with the IFP and see their positions in Parliament as their only jobs. They are putting on the brakes and forcing Buthelezi to go public about problems."

Buthelezi himself said on Sunday that those opposing his directives were "a clique planted by the KwaZulu-Natal ANC leadership". He said he represented the will of the IFP membership. He therefore had a responsibility to monitor and intervene in the province if party colleagues failed to do their jobs.

Significantly, as Buthelezi was threatening to quit, Mdlalose was enmeshed in a controversy that could embarrass him.

It involves the use of state funds to pay the footsoldiers of IFP-aligned communities who fought for the party in rural and urban KwaZulu-Natal. It was their sacrifices that caused the IFP to win the province. Could the organisation

dump them after the elections, while violence still claims lives daily?

If the donations the IFP called for to pay them ran out, what was Mdlalose to do? When he did not pay them in May they disrupted his legislature in Ulundi, giving the ANC ammunition against seating the legislature in this IFP stronghold.

But will the public, or should the public, countenance this misuse of funds? If they do not, it will be Mdlalose who will be in the line of fire, not Buthelezi.

And that is the issue while the IFP's national MP's have failed to deal with the ANC in Cape Town, they are trying to use the province to fight their national battle, but without jeopardising their own positions.

For example, while the IFP is boycotting the Constitutional Assembly, its representatives are in Parliament. An attempt to withdraw last year was thwarted by dissent from MPs concerned about their houses, their children's education and living standards.

The present dispute may not cause a split in the IFP, but it indicates steadily growing independence within the party — an independence that is seeing Mdlalose standing on his constitutional right as the premier to run the province as he sees fit.

IFP 'split' derails meeting

Sowetan 19/9/95

(11B)

PROGRESS on drafting a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal ground to a halt yesterday after IFP members of a committee failed to attend a key meeting.

An IFP member, Mr Vincent Ngema, said he had not been told of the meeting. But it has been confirmed that faxes informing every member of the meeting were sent out last week.

Constitutional committee chairman and IFP member Mr Arthur Konigkramer said events at the party's national council meeting at the weekend had made it "impossible" for him to attend further meetings of the constitutional committee. He declined to comment further.

This follows a weekend of political

intrigue after which an early provincial election in KwaZulu-Natal now appears unavoidable, with the IFP facing a split between moderates and hardliners.

The rift between factions in the party came to the fore at the weekend, with IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatening to resign unless the party overcame divisions.

Party insiders have expressed disillusionment at the IFP's national council meeting which laid bare the differences over whether a constitution for the province should be negotiated between parties or settled by a fresh provincial election.

Konigkramer, who is also IFP

provincial caucus leader, was censured for accommodating a negotiated settlement with other parties.

Senior members are said to have tried to support Konigkramer, which apparently raised the ire of Buthelezi.

Yesterday's developments brought to a halt work of several ad-hoc committees established by the parliamentary constitutional committee to resolve issues on which parties disagreed during negotiations at a recent workshop.

One of these committees was due to meet in Durban yesterday to discuss the role and place of traditional leaders under a future constitution.

● See page 10.

I, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to stick my head in the sand, ignoring problems and political enemies in the hope they will pass me by without hurting me. Neither has it ever been my politics to keep things away from the wisdom of the people on the ground.

There is no way I can ignore the people of KwaZulu-Natal who, in their hundreds of thousands, voted me into the position I now hold. What is more, we have more elections coming. First there are the local authority elections, and we may also have an election in the province of KwaZulu-Natal within the next six months.

It is contemptible that some are suggesting that it is I who want an election. It was in fact the ANC KwaZulu-Natal leader Mr Jacob Zuma who made the call, saying the ANC wants to deal with the IFP "once and for all". I did not see why the IFP should not pick up that gauntlet.

There are large masses of people who are rightfully entitled to better conditions of life who will have to open their eyes and realise that the ANC cannot deliver on what it has promised. Furthermore, since its unbanning and the beginning of constitutional negotiations, the ANC realised that its only long-term option will be the Inkatha Freedom Party, and therefore developed long-term strategies to destroy us. However, they have miscalculated because the IFP is growing stronger day by day.

There are people in our party who seem to think the time has come for us to fold our arms and begin a long political nap, while the ANC goes around pillaging our country and its freedom. The ANC is bent upon destroying our kingdom and the autonomy of this province and taking political control of all powers and functions. Provinces have been left with only administrative powers.

By virtue of the Development Facilitation Act, the entire provincial competence has been taken away from our kingdom and central government now has the power to decide how and when to allow the development of land and the upliftment of our communities. It has also adopted legislation which centralises

IFP is ready to pick up the ANC's election gauntlet

IFP leader MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI gives a wide-ranging assessment of the state of the nation and of his party

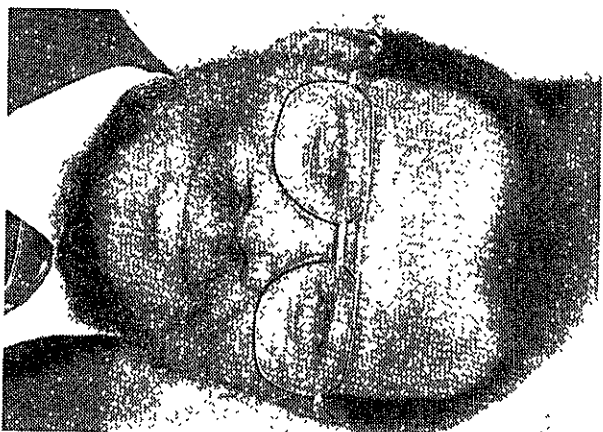
(118) BD 20/9/95

labour relations and educational matters.

All these pieces of legislation have been approved by Cabinet in spite of my firm opposition to many of them. The Cabinet should work by consensus, and yet the inputs of the IFP have never been considered. Parliament has now become a mere rubber stamp of the new banana republic in which a small group of ANC leaders is taking all decisions.

The constitution was amended to undermine the role of traditional leaders in local government structures, so as to enable the ANC to sideline traditional leaders from the administration of their communities. In order to do so, and in violation of fundamental constitutional promises, the ANC has diminished the legislative powers of our kingdom, depriving us of the right to adopt our own legislation to restructure local government so as to protect the role of amaXhosi and create a broad regional framework of social and economic reconstruction and development which fosters the upliftment of our rural and disadvantaged areas.

The constitution was amended also to enable President Nelson Mandela to sign the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act, which was fiercely opposed by the IFP. This Bill intends to transform traditional leaders into organs of the central government and enables President Mandela to decide who is and who is not a traditional leader.



BUTHELEZI

The land issue is becoming more and more explosive. Minister Derek Hanekom is consulting the premier of KwaZulu-Natal with respect to the Ingonyama Trust Act which the ANC wants to amend to undermine the power of the Zulu nation to control its own land.

The time has now come for action. Our IFP annual general conference stated that the protection of the autonomy of the kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal was the true and

only guarantee left for the promotion of freedom, federalisation, pluralism and self-determination throughout SA.

The conference clearly stated that it is our responsibility to restore the kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal by means of a provincial constitution and, if that is not possible, that we shall call for early elections in the province.

However, there are some people within the party who feel that our conference was wrong. These people decided that I, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was wrong and that those who were working with me, such as our deputy chairman Sippo Mzimela, were wrong when we said we must push for the adoption of a constitution for the province which can protect our kingdom.

I am very concerned about what is happening in our party and I have made it public that I am ready to step down if these problems are not solved immediately, for I do not wish to serve as the leader of a divided party, or as the leader of only one faction of a divided party. Either I am the leader of the whole party or rather let somebody else who might have greater wisdom and insight about what is happening in SA take my place.

I cannot and shall not tolerate that decisions taken through the collegial wisdom of our conference and national council are undermined by some people who have their own private agendas and think

that they know better.

We find ourselves in a peculiar situation, if we consider that these people who are undermining us have an insignificant constituency within the party and have often been brought on board because of their professional skills.

We must move back towards the importance of leadership at branch and regional level. The miracle which we achieved in winning the elections in KwaZulu-Natal in four days was because of the amaXhosi, the chairpersons of branches, and other community leaders who mobilised people and gave us the strength to succeed against all odds. This is the inner strength of the IFP in which leadership is close to the people. The time has come for the IFP to fight off all its enemies, the enemies within the party and the enemies without.

We are being undermined by a clique, planted by the KwaZulu-Natal ANC leadership, from completing the work I have been doing so long to secure protection for the institution of the monarchy and for the kingdom.

Before the election there were people within the party who were used by our opponents to undermine our firm stand, but I never allowed their voice to be stronger or more important than the voice of the people on the ground. We entered the election only when amaXhosi and community leaders told us that sufficient protection had been achieved for our kingdom and there was no longer a reason for not participating in order to extract additional concessions from our opponents.

If we do not accept the challenge of an early provincial election, we have no choice but to accept that the ANC may destroy our kingdom, prevent us from drafting a constitution for our province and hold to ransom all our freedoms and liberties.

It is time to shift the political initiative and bring to the fore our community leaders who in the end will secure our victory in elections. Our freedom and our children's and grandchildren's freedom and prosperity are at stake.

This is an edited version of Buthelezi's weekend address at the inauguration of the IFP's Nongoma region.

Taxpayers' money not used — premier

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose yesterday denied that R5,517m of taxpayers' money was used to pay IFP-aligned self-protection units between September 1994 and March this year.

But he admitted unit members had been paid from a government suspense account after being recruited as special constables into the KwaZulu Police. Certain members had not been selected for incorporation into the SA Police Service and SA National Defence Force and had put pressure on the province, claiming discrimination.

Mdlalose said the public had donated R300 000 to a trust account, after former KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had called for the formation of the units in 1993. The finance department had been instructed to make a one-off payment of R1 000 to unit members from the trust account.

Mdlalose said he was referring to this group when he told the KwaZulu-

Continued on Page 2

Mdlalose

Continued from Page 1

Natal legislature in May that unit members were paid from community donations and not the government budget. "I want to reiterate that no taxpayers' money was used to pay" unit members, Mdlalose said.

The Sunday Times reported the KwaZulu-Natal government issued 10 provincial cheques, in the name of the KwaZulu Police commissioner, to pay R5,517m to unit members.

Mdlalose said the special constables not integrated into the SAPS or SANDF had demanded a maintenance allowance, and there was "so much pressure from this group which felt discriminated against that a decision was taken to open a suspense account to pay (them)". Mdlalose said Lt-Col Hilderbrand, believed to be SAPS re-

cruiting officer Lt-Col Stan Hilderbrand, had informed the Pretoria head office of this matter on September 9 1994. It was normal for the provincial finance department to communicate with central government's treasury on issues where expenditure was unforeseen and unavoidable.

On ANC calls that the auditor-general conduct a probe, Mdlalose said the auditor-general had access to the provincial government's books and did not need orders from political parties.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said Mdlalose still had to explain Lombo's role in the scandal and where he was now; which trust account Mdlalose was referring to and how many unit members were paid from it; who took the decision to open the suspense account and how much had been paid from it; and the identity of the "so-called" special constables who had not been integrated into the SAPS and SANDF.

SPUs 'were paid out of police fund'

DURBAN: kwaZulu/Natal's Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose has denied his government used taxpayers' money to fund Inkatha Freedom Party self-protection units.

In a statement yesterday, he said taxpayers' money had been used only to pay special constables recruited from SPUs and the central government had been notified of these payments in June last year.

He said certain members of the SPUs were selected to supplement the kwaZulu Police. They were paid out of the kwaZulu Police budget.

~~(118)~~ (118) (254)
Pressure

CT 20/9/95
Later, special constables not chosen for integration into the amalgamated South African Police Service had demanded a maintenance allowance.

"There was so much pressure from this group, which felt discriminated against, that a decision was taken to open a suspense account to pay these special constables," Dr Mdlalose said.

The national treasury was notified, according to normal procedure when expenditure was unforeseen and unavoidable, he said.

"I want to reiterate that no taxpayers' money was used to pay SPUs." — Sapa

IFP protection units in payments probe

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Staff in the office of KwaZulu-Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose are conducting an investigation into allegations that more than R5 million in provincial funds was paid to members of the IFP's special protection units.

Spokesman Thembinkosi Memela said Dr Mdlalose would not comment on the allegations until the probe was over.

(11B) (117) ARG 20/9/98
Officials yesterday continued inspecting the provincial government's financial records, he said, and there was no indication of when the task would be completed.

Claims that taxpayers had funded the payment of SPU members were made in a report published in a Sunday newspaper. The paper said it had secured financial records to support the claim.

We didn't misuse taxpayers' funds - IFP

Sowetan 20/9/95

By Joe Mdhlela
Political Reporter

KWAZULU-NATAL premier Dr Frank Mdlalose has denied allegations by the African National Congress that his government had used taxpayers' money to pay Inkatha Freedom Party - aligned self protection units.

The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal this week said it viewed the alleged "theft of public funds" by the IFP-led provincial government in the most serious light.

"The spending of the R5,5 million to pay the SPUs was an unauthorised expenditure, which means that the money must be refunded by the individuals who authorised the expendi-

ture," ANC spokesperson Mr Dumisani Makhaye said.

Makhaye said the ANC would press to have the Auditor-General institute an investigation into this malpractice by the KwaZulu-Natal government.

However, Mdlalose said yesterday that the Auditor-General was free to scrutinise his government's accounts.

"The Auditor-General knows that the books of KwaZulu-Natal are always available for audit. He knows he has access to our books and does not have to be ordered by a political party to do the books of this province," Mdlalose said.

He reiterated his claim that it was the ordinary people who contributed R300 000 towards the establishment of "these violence and crime curbing units".

Mdlalose said as crime and violence increased in the province, so did the need to supplement the KwaZulu-Natal police force with additional recruits.

"The police department paid out of its budget for the maintenance of these recruits during their training," he said.

With the decision by the central Government to integrate the self-defence units (SDUs), Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army into the normal police force, Mdlalose said they had also requested that a special constable unit be incorporated into the KwaZulu-Natal police.

"I want to reiterate that no taxpayers' money was used to pay the SPUs," Mdlalose said.

IFP were paid, says Mdlalose

(118) (118)
KwaZulu-Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose admitted yesterday that his government had paid members of the IFP-aligned self-protection units, but said they were police reservists awaiting integration into the police.

In his first response to allegations that the IFP-led provincial government had spent R5,5-million of taxpayers' money on the units, Mdlalose said the SAPS head office had been informed of the matter last September. - Political Reporter.

STW 20/9/95

**'No taxpayers'
money used
to pay SPUs'**

DURBAN. — KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose says no taxpayers' money has been used to pay members of Inkatha-aligned Self Protection Units (SPUs).

He was responding in a statement to media reports that R5,5 million of state funds was used to pay SPU members from September 1994 to March this year.

Mr. Mdlalose, who is Inkatha's national chairman, told SABC television news, however, that SPU members who had been recruited to become KwaZulu Police (KZP) assistant constables had been paid from a government suspense account. — Reuter.

Police budget paid for 'IFP constables'

BD 22/9/95 (11B) (2/4)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal finance department secretary Vusi Nxumalo admitted yesterday that R5,517m had been paid to about 5 000 self-protection unit members — whom he insisted were KwaZulu Police special constables — from an account that had been drawn from the police budget.

Nxumalo said the men were initially paid from the police budget, but when their integration into the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the South African National Defence Force did not materialise a suspense account had been established to pay them.

The idea was that once the integration process ended, the funds would be transferred back to the police budget.

"There were ongoing talks between provincial and national police officials for the integration process to be completed.

"Once integration had taken place, the other problem (that of recovering the R5,517m taken out of the police budget) would have been resolved," Nxumalo said.

He said payments were made from September last year to March this year, when the financial year ended.

He said Muzi Lombo — a driver in premier Frank Mdlalose's department who had allegedly cashed cheques of up to R1,496m — had been the paymaster.

Lombo is believed to have been a former ANC member in exile. The ANC accused him of being an agent, and he was detained at its camps. He was released in 1991, before returning to SA.

SAPS national commissioner George Fivaz's spokesman, Joseph Ngubeni, said Fivaz had ordered an investigation into the veracity of claims that self-protection unit members were paid with taxpayers' funds.

Premier Frank Mdlalose admitted

earlier this week that the services of the special constables had been "suspended" before the general election by the now-defunct transitional executive council.

Questioned later, Mdlalose said they were special constables at the time of being paid, but were no longer in the police.

Mdlalose's spokesman Thembinkosi Memela said last night he was still trying to obtain clarity as to why, if they were special constables at the time of payment, they had not received regular police salaries.

Mdlalose also admitted that the special constables had earlier been self-protection unit members, and that they had received training at the Mlaba camp in northern KwaZulu-Natal. They were later sent to their home districts to protect government property and members of the public.

"Special constables did commendable work to bring sanity to warlords and criminals who were in possession of AK47 rifles and who killed anybody who disagreed with them. Members of the public appreciated their work," Mdlalose said.

Observers pointed out that the transitional executive council had ordered a raid of the Mlaba camp in a bid to close it down before the election. Trainees pelted a police helicopter with stones, forcing police to retreat. The council slated the training as illegal as the Self-Governing Territories Act prohibited the KwaZulu government from conducting paramilitary training.

The training was done at a time when the IFP was boycotting the general election, and it was seen in non-IFP circles as an initiative aimed at destabilising SA.

Investigation task board member Howard Varney — who was part of the raid on the camp — said: "The council enquiry into hit squads concluded in its third report that the training conducted at Mlaba was not bona fide special constable training."

INKATHA POLITICS

More shake-ups?

FM 22/9/95

There is growing speculation in KwaZulu-Natal that political heads will roll over the intrigue and infighting which is ripping through Inkatha's supposedly united front.

Among the first tipped to go is provincial premier Frank Mdlalose. Rumour has it that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently endorsed the appointment of Government of National Unity Correctional Services Minister and recently elected Inkatha deputy chairman Siphon Mzimela as premier candidate in the event of an early provincial election being called.

This assumes, of course, that Mdlalose and provincial finance MEC Senzele (Johnny) Mhlungu survive the current storm over the alleged use of R5,5m of public provincial funds to pay the salaries of Inkatha aligned self-protection unit members between September 1994 and March this year. Mdlalose claimed in May that they were paid from "donations."

Others whose jobs could be on the line are some, or all, of nine Inkatha represen-

tatives on the 20-person provincial legislature's constitutional affairs standing committee who — apparently against the wishes of the leadership — are committed to achieving a constitution through negotiation and consensus. Party hardliners insist on a constitution based exclusively on Inkatha principles contained in what is known as the "Green Paper," but other KwaZulu-Natal political parties refuse to discuss a constitution on this basis.

Considerable progress has, however, been made in negotiations based on combined aspirations. And since Buthelezi has repeatedly stated that an early election is inevitable in the province if insufficient progress is made on the drafting of a provincial constitution, the insistence on the Green Paper is likely to precipitate one.

Buthelezi has denied any knowledge of a rift between himself and his provincial legislators, and denied that any jobs were on the line. "As for Mzimela's nomination, that has not even been discussed," he says.

But in a weekend speech at Nongoma he threatened to resign his party leadership unless he was able to lead a party which acts with unity of intent and purpose, inspired by common goals. He also hit out at an unrepresentative clique using Inkatha to serve their own interests, and stressed the need to fight off enemies both within and without the party — comments suggesting a purge could well be on the cards.

He points out that the behaviour of the constitution-makers in the national assembly, and the gibes that Inkatha never won the last provincial election fairly, suggests that no autonomy will be possible without a mandate. KwaZulu-Natal must therefore have an election, he says.

UCT Prof David Welsh says: "Rather like the franchise issue which was just left hanging by the National Convention in 1993, KwaZulu-Natal remained unfinished business in the multiparty negotiations and is still as far from resolution as ever in the Constitutional Assembly."



Mdlalose ... on the skids from party fighting

'I will stay committed to Zulu nation'

(11B) Star 25/9/95

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he would remain committed to the cause of the Zulu nation.

Addressing the large crowds which had gathered beside Shaka's grave in Stanger on the KwaZulu-Natal north coast to commemorate Shaka Day, Buthelezi's speech was in strong contrast to the indications he gave at last weekend's IFP national council meeting that he may resign.

"I was born with a special responsibility to lead the Zulu nation through the difficult stages of its political struggle towards its final liberation. Under no condition will I ever shy away from this responsibility which has been cast upon me by the Zulu people and by history," Buthelezi said yesterday.

At the peaceful rally amid a large security force presence, he pledged his loyalty to Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini, whose objections to Shaka Day commemorations on the basis that the day had become political are well recorded.

Buthelezi said he would do "everything to preserve the throne" and added that the greatest threat to the Zulu kingdom was internal dispute.

In an earlier address KwaZulu-Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose said Shaka Day was a day of commemoration for all people. Responding to widespread criticism that yesterday's event had been hijacked by the IFP, he said the day was open to all groups.

Both the ANC and the Zulu royal house condemned the event

last week. The king had announced his intention not to attend yesterday's celebrations, therefore claiming the event was not valid.

For the second time in a row the king did not attend the celebrations. The 46-year-old monarch broke off relations with Buthelezi after Inkatha supporters stormed his royal residence to protest against President Mandela's visit and the monarch's intention to invite the president to last year's festivities.

Yesterday the king held a separate private Shaka Day prayer meeting at his royal palace in Nongoma.

Inkatha leaders said they were disappointed the monarch had stayed away from the festivities again. - Political Staff and Sapa.

Harsh road ahead — Buthelezi

Farouk Chothia

90-26/9/95
(11/2)

DURBAN — Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on Zulus yesterday to be prepared to lay down their "precious lives" to secure autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal.

Addressing a Shaka Day rally in Umlazi, Buthelezi urged the 20 000-strong crowd to gear themselves for "misery and more suffering" as the road to the "promised land" was a "harsh one".

"There is still a price that we have to pay and to some of us it might be a dear price indeed. It might be our precious lives," Buthelezi said.

Carrying a spear and shield, the traditionally-clad Buthelezi joined Zulu warriors to break into a regiment-like formation. They sang: "Stand aside, cowards."

Buthelezi called on Zulus to remain steadfast in their culture of self-reliance, and to challenge the difficulties that lay ahead with the "valour, courage and determination" displayed by their forefathers.

Buthelezi said he was born to accomplish the mission of strengthening the Zulu kingdom, and he would "nev-

er, ever, abandon the heavy responsibility cast upon him.

He said that the struggle for autonomy sprung from the deep-rooted conviction that if the people of KwaZulu-Natal ruled over themselves within the parameters of a broader SA, it would pave the way for the "miracle of creating real economic growth and enhancing the prosperity and welfare of all our people".

KwaZulu-Natal had the unique opportunity of blending a "truly modern and yet truly African state" with each other, and by doing so, Buthelezi told his audience, it would claim its rightful "position of leadership within the whole of SA".

Zulus dare not fail in their struggle for autonomy. This was because "the mission that our kingdom has been called upon to accomplish will not only benefit all our people, but will in the end (also) guarantee the freedom and liberty of all the people everywhere in SA", Buthelezi said.

Buthelezi said that Shaka Day was also being celebrated with coloureds, who were asserting their "renewed self-identification as a people", and other race and ethnic groups.



An Inkatha Freedom Party-supporting Zulu fighting unit charges into Umlazi Stadium, carrying tree branches in a traditional sign of mourning for the famous warrior king and founder of the Zulu nation, Shaka, during Shaka Day celebrations yesterday.

Picture: AP



Warrior heritage ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a rally of about 8 000 people to celebrate the founding of the Zulu nation by King Shaka in Stanger north of Durban on Sunday.

PICTURE: AP

Buthelezi forecasts a tough time

(11/19) Mar 26/9/95

Umlazi - Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the Zulu nation faced misery and suffering on the road to self-rule.

"It seems the road ahead is going to be filled with misery and more suffering," he told 20 000 people at a rally to commemorate the founding of the Zulu nation by warrior King Shaka.

Buthelezi said some Zulus would pay dearly.

"There is still a price that we will have to pay and to some of us it might be a dear price indeed," he said to his supporters packed into the King Zwelithini stadium south of Durban.

"There will be further sacrifices and difficulties which we will have to bear ... to achieve the promised land of our freedom and prosperity."

Buthelezi, clad in leopard skins, told his supporters that the struggle for autonomy had been won within the hearts of Zulus.

"The struggle for our autonomy has been won within our hearts and within the untameable spirit of the Zulu nation," he told the festive crowd.

Buthelezi spoke in his capacity as leader of the provincial house of traditional leaders and as Zulu "prime minister" — a title rejected by King Goodwill Zwelithini who boycotted the Shaka Day events because they had become "politicised".

Buthelezi said nothing would divert him from his dream to strengthen the Zulu kingdom "except the inevitable end which awaits all of us".

Buthelezi told a rally in Stanger on Sunday that the Zulu nation was "under seige" but was entering the final phase of its struggle for a kingdom.

The ANC opposes Inkatha's efforts and says they border on plans for secession. - Reuter.

Who was King Shaka?

IN 1995, 167 years after his death, the image of King Shaka is still being contested – an indication of how powerfully tradition still resonates in KwaZulu-Natal.

As in previous years, the marking of Shaka Day this year was fraught with tension. It came in the context of persistent attempts by the IFP-dominated KwaZulu-Natal government to garner more autonomy for the province, speculation of deep divisions within the IFP, allegations of the misuse of public funds and a Zulu king who has distanced himself from what is essentially an event concerning the Zulu royal house.

For the second year running, King Zwelithini has distanced himself from Shaka Day events and called on those who share his belief that Shaka Day be kept out of party politics not to participate in this year's events.

At issue in the dispute between Zwelithini and the IFP over Shaka Day is who controls the public's image of important symbols of the past, how these are defined and for what end.

Following from this is the question of what constitutes Zuluness in 1995 South Africa. It is as elusive a concept as that of the Afrikaner. Are Zulus all people who speak Zulu (are Afrikaners all those who speak Afrikaans)?

Does the Zulu nation exist in present-day South Africa? And if it does not, what does this mean for attempts to create a "Kingdom of KwaZulu"?

Recent historical research into the pre-colonial history of KwaZulu-Natal reveals that the stereotype of Shaka as either omnipotent unifier or demonic conqueror is highly questionable.

Natal University historian Mr John Wright said recent shifts in South African politics have brought to the fore political forces which are seeking to modify the long-established notion of Shaka the omnipotent.

Historical research by Wright and Wits University's Ms Carolyn Hamilton explodes the view of Shaka as a great unifier.

Wright asserts that the new information makes Shaka a more interesting figure than the stereotype that he has been presented as.

"The new perspective helps us to begin to see Shaka not as an all-conquering colossus, but as one of a number of embattled political leaders who achieved prominence in times of trouble and spent their careers grappling, with varying degrees of success, with often intractable internal and external problems."

He also points out that the early Zulu kingdom was smaller than is commonly thought. The area under Shaka's control was confined to the area between Mkhuzi and Tugela Rivers. The Zulu kingdom in Shaka's time was also less unified and therefore less powerful than gener-

The disagreement between King Goodwill Zwelithini and the IFP has its roots in the past. **Estelle Randall** etches in the background to the discord



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the Shaka Day rally in Stanger on Sunday.

ally believed.

"Shaka was unable to subjugate certain chiefdoms to the northern areas of his kingdom until towards the end of his reign, and then only with help of settlements of British traders at Port Natal.

"Throughout his reign he faced powerful, if largely muted, opposition from some major chiefdoms which had come under his rule, like the Mthetwa and Qwabe.

"As is well known, it was his two brothers who led the conspiracy which ended in his assassination in 1824. Outside the borders of his kingdom, the rival Ndwandwe state posed a major threat to Shaka's rule until he defeated it in 1826, again with the assistance of British traders."

Wright adds: "The Zulu kingdom was a product rather than a cause of the upheavals labelled as the *mfecane*. These upheavals had far more complex causes than simply the supposedly explosive expansion of the Zulu kingdom, causes whose origins lie in the interaction of black and white societies in Southern Africa in a process which began years before Shaka was born."

Since the 1994 general elections and his shift away from the IFP, Zwelithini appears to be putting forward the image of Shaka as the

reconciler. In a strongly worded statement, his office explained that the observance of Shaka Day revolved around appeasing King Shaka, who was angry with the Zulu Royal House over his assassination by his half brother Dingaan. Shaka is said to have been a member of the Royal House just before he died.

"In 1956, the then king and Royal House decided to conduct a ritual to pacify King Shaka. The Royal House asked the whole nation to join them."

This, says the statement, was the trend until the bantustan system was implemented when the IFP took over.

"The IFP deliberately confused the ritual with national celebrations and its political rallies. The motive was to broaden its political base and manipulate the Zulu nation into politics of ethnicity.

"The ritual was then used to deliver party political addresses and to castigate other parties," the statement says. "The King was never comfortable with that position."

The statement went on to reiterate Zwelithini's desire that Shaka Day be kept out of party politics and be used to promote unity and harmonious co-existence of the different cultural, racial and political groups.

"The ritual of pacifying King Shaka is the sole prerogative of the King and the Royal Family. Shaka Day is not a commemoration, not a political rally, not a forum to stage power struggles.

"There are set procedures to running such a prayer service: peace of mind, unity of spirit and understanding, brotherliness, observance of protocol. The IFP have ignored that and want to violate the sanctity of the ritual."

"Participating in the ritual in the present state of affairs does not serve the purpose of pacifying Shaka and obtaining the blessings of his spirit."

Premier Frank Mdlalose's spokesman Mr Theminkosi Memela said the Shaka Day meetings which the KwaZulu-Natal government organised helped people "to unite and achieve peace".

ANC safety and security spokesman Mr Bheki Cele said, "If such an event is not called by the King, especially in a highly politically sensitive climate like that of KwaZulu-Natal, it becomes a political event. Once again it was just an IFP rally. They have always hijacked the day."

(11B) Sewetan 26/9/95

Zulus have to make sacrifices

OWN CORRESPONDENT

(118) CT-26/9/95

There would be further sacrifices and difficulties which Zulus would have to bear to achieve "the promised land of our freedom and prosperity".

"However, it is because of this sacrifice that we shall be able to reap the fruits of long-lasting prosperity and peace for our future generations."

He said he had been brought up to understand that he was born "to accomplish this mission, which I have nourished in my heart since I was on my mother's knee".

"Nothing will divert me from accomplishing this dream, except the inevitable end that awaits all of us," he said.

Chief Buthelezi paid tribute to all races living in the province and rejected allegations that he is anti-Indian.



SHAKA DAY: An Inkatha Freedom Party supporting Zulu mabuthu, or fighting unit, charges into Umlazi Stadium yesterday carrying tree branches in a traditional sign of mourning for Shaka, the legendary warrior-king and founder of the Zulu nation.

PICTURE: AP

IPF to negotiate 'crunch issues'

(1113) CT 27/9/98

OWN CORRESPONDENT

INKATHA will meet all parties in kwaZulu/Natal this week in a flurry of top-level talks to negotiate "crunch issues", such as provincial exclusive powers, before next week's parliamentary sitting.

But there are indications that the hardliners in the party, including leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, may be softening on their "all or nothing" stand.

A party source said yesterday there were signs that the green document (containing only IFP constitutional proposals) "is not cast in concrete".

This weekend's national council will decide whether the party will still table this document at next week's sitting. If it is voted on in its present form, it is unlikely to achieve the two-third support it requires to be accepted, and the IFP intends then to dissolve the cabinet and call a provincial election.

Moderates in the party hope the hardliners will swing direction and support their efforts to draft a

"strongly federal" constitution for the province through negotiations with other parties.

The province's constitutional committee yesterday resolved to prepare a document, containing negotiated principles, for the sitting but it postponed electing a new chairman to take over from IFP's Mr Arthur Konigkramer, who was ousted by his own party.

IFP whip Mr Mike Tarr said the party would caucus tomorrow to decide who would replace Mr Konigkramer.

● National Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi seemed to come close yesterday to threatening a state of emergency in kwaZulu/Natal after Monday's killing of four policemen and an informer at Mpendhle.

As the crisis in the province grew, also as a result of Monday night's equally brutal slaughter of 12 people near Highflats on the South Coast, he said police were determined to restore peace and stability and would "impose" it if necessary.

IFP hardliners refuse to budge on Green Paper

Farouk Chetria

BD 27/9/95

DURBAN — The IFP would hold top level bilateral talks with opposition parties over the KwaZulu-Natal constitutional process in the run-up to a sitting of the provincial legislature next week, but has not indicated that it is willing to compromise.

IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela said the IFP did not want changes made to its Green Paper, which outlined the constitutional principles it wants adopted by the legislature.

The paper had been drafted after negotiation with opposition parties, and the agreement reached at the time had to be honoured, Mzimela said.

The Green Paper was responsible for the constitutional deadlock in KwaZulu-Natal. Opposition parties argued that some of its clauses were unconstitutional, and voted against it in the constitutional affairs standing committee.

Opposition parties and IFP provincial negotiators then reached a compromise, which was rejected by IFP national hardliners.

The constitutional affairs committee decided yesterday that the compromise agreement would be tabled before the legislature. But IFP hardliner Walter Felgate said the agreement had no official status and the IFP would insist that the Green Paper be put to the vote. If it was rejected, the IFP would call a fresh election, Felgate said.

Opposition MPs said they doubted there would be breakthrough this week.

The IFP, ANC and NP are expected to involve national leaders in the talks, with Felgate and Mzimela likely to be included in the IFP delegation. The ANC is likely to call in Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Valli Moosa, while the NP would bring Deputy Education Minister Renier Schoeman and national MP Danie Schutte into the talks.

Felgate said arrangements were still being finalised but it was understood that talks with the NP and ANC would take place on Friday.

The Green Paper would allow KwaZulu-Natal to have its own militia and exclusive control over policing functions. It also provides for "sunrise clauses" giving KwaZulu-Natal control over the judiciary and it allows for a provincial constitutional court.

1995 (R000)	1994 (R000)
9 858	16 192
0	1 239
68	10 750
342	217
0 268	28 398
3 039	13 766
4 940	11 058
1 902	0
1 133	13 377
1 746	(9 803)
1 268	28 398

IFP internal tensions escalate

(113) Star 28/9/95

BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

Intra-party tensions between "hardliners" and the "moderates" in the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal have soared to dangerous proportions with senior members of the party allegedly requesting police protection for their families.

Sources in KwaZulu-Natal informed The Star that provincial Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose, Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Dr Ben Ngubane and the party's former provincial constitutional negotiator Arthur Koningkramer sought protection for fear of intimidation and harassment.

Mdlalose and Ngubane have, however, denied the allegations.

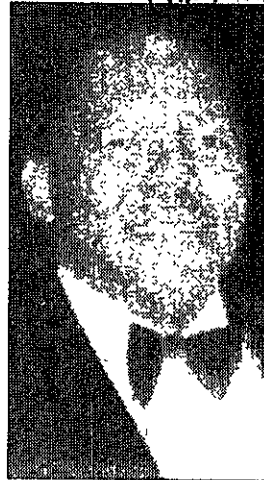
The cause of the tension is the IFP's Green Paper, which outlines constitutional guidelines which the party wants adopted by the KwaZulu-Natal legislature.



Premier Frank Mdlalose ... intimidation

It would, among other things, allow KwaZulu-Natal to have its own army, control over policing functions and its own constitutional court.

The Star understands that "moderates" within the IFP have pleaded that the Green Paper should be altered to accommodate opposition party views and fall within the Interim Constitution guidelines,



Ben Ngubane ... denied allegations

while "hardliners" insist on passing the paper with a two-thirds majority.

Differences within the IFP emerged recently when Koningkramer, chairman of the Constitutional Committee - which was charged with drawing up a new constitution - was removed from his position and replaced with Mike Tarr.

Fierce debates are ex-

pected when the IFP's national council meets on Saturday.

Parties which spoke to The Star yesterday said even if the IFP succeeded in pushing the legislation through, the provincial constitution would not be approved by the Constitutional Court as it would not be within the Interim Constitutional guidelines.

The parties and the IFP were involved in daily bilateral meetings in an attempt to reach an agreement before the legislature sits.

A National Party spokesman said the party was in favour of strong federal powers but "it must all be done within constitutional guidelines".

ANC national chairman and MEC for Economic Affairs and Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal, Jacob Zuma, was adamant the IFP would not get its desired two-thirds majority.

"They don't have support for their proposals. They cannot see the light of the day," he said.

Konigkramer quits for third time

Farouk Chothia

(11B) 00 29/9/95

DURBAN — Embattled IFP treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer quit as IFP KwaZulu-Natal caucus chairman yesterday amid growing strains within the party over the KwaZulu-Natal constitutional process.

Konigkramer confirmed that he had resigned from the post, but declined to comment further.

This is the third post relinquished by Konigkramer, once a close colleague of IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He stepped down from the KwaZulu-

Natal legislature's constitutional affairs standing committee this week, and earlier gave up the post of chairman of committees in the legislature.

Konigkramer was censured by the IFP national council last week for allegedly exceeding his mandate as a constitutional negotiator, and informed the constitutional committee that "important sections" of the IFP lacked confidence in him.

The Zulu-language UmAfrika newspaper reported that Konigkramer had sought police protection, a claim Konigkramer denied.

IFFP forces constitutional principles through as opposition walks out

Farouk Chothia

THE IFFP last night steamrollered its hardline constitutional principles through the KwaZulu-Natal legislature despite the fact that the ANC and the other five opposition parties walked out.

DP KwaZulu-Natal leader Roger Burrows also tabled a motion of no-confidence against premier Frank Mdlalose and his cabinet, accusing them of failing to govern effectively.

IFFP would oppose the motion, which is tabled for debate later this week. The IFFP forced a vote on its constitutional principles although all the parties had earlier pleaded with Mdlalose to postpone the vote. It introduced Burrows accused of "chipping like a Shid by IFFP MP Mairies Mackenzie whom Burrows accused of "chipping like a Shid" to draft a constitutional text on the basis of the IFFP principles.

to allow eight NP MPs who were attending an NP federal council meeting in Cape Town to participate. But the IFFP refused, aware that a full NP caucus would have caused a tie. The IFFP has 40 MPs and the six opposition parties also have a total of 40. In the case of a tie, Speaker Gideon Mdlalose would have the casting vote. Saying he had walked out with "a heavy heart", the only NP MP present, Brianthwards, said the IFFP had been "deceitful and despicable". It had "broken an gentleman's agreement" reached last week that the vote would not be held without the full NP caucus.

Burrows said the DP had much common ground with the IFFP, but it was tragic that the ruling party had chosen to emphasise differences. "Symbolical"ly the IFFP is finally isolating itself.

ANC transport MEC Sibusiso Ndebele accused the IFFP of subverting democracy. "People want food in their stomachs and a constitution is not their priority".

Burrows said the DP would not negotiate with a "gun placed at its head".

118
BD 4/1/1995

and IFFP hardliners had sabotaged the close relationship that had developed between the DP and IFFP moderates. The IFFP will not get a two-thirds majority for a constitution that provides for a militia, just understand that? The IFFP could press ahead with an election but it might then find it needed the ANC's support to secure a two-thirds majority, Burrows said. The IFFP could pass a constitution without the ANC, provided it had the backing of the DP, NP, PAC, Minority Front and African Christian Democratic Party.

Buthelezi the key to solving KwaZulu's problems

COSMAS DESMOND

(118) BD 5/10/95

WHATEVER one might think of the IFP, if they say that the declaration of a state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal will increase tension and lead to further violence, you have to believe them, as they can ensure that it does. And it undoubtedly will.

I am not an apologist for the IFP—mainly because of its essentially capitalist economic policy—but the ANC and its surrogates in academic and non-governmental organisation circles must come to terms with the fact that Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the IFP have a "rock-solid base" in KwaZulu-Natal, particularly in the rural areas. It is now clear that the ideologically bound academics had their figures all wrong: there are still more rural than urban people and they support the IFP—for good or ill. Too many academics, I fear, speak—in English—only to the more "sophisticated" urbanised, Zulus, which means ANC members, who reinforce their own prejudices.

An ANC sociologist maintained before the election that, on the basis of his research, the IFP would not gain more than 14% of the vote. Without having done any surveys, but having actually spoken to people in the rural areas, I told him he was talking rubbish and that they would get about 40%. The rural people have not been counted properly; and they do not count politically, until it comes to voting. But they are

"the people" about whom there has been much sloganeering and if they choose to vote IFP, that is their right, or problem.

For them, IFP equals Zulu, while ANC means "foreign"; even though the IFP, through the likes of Mario Ambrosini and Walter Felgate, is probably more white-dominated than the ANC. One must just accept those contradictions: most people in the rural areas have probably never heard of either of those two gentlemen. They have, however, not only heard of "Shenge" as they have been loyal to "Shenge" as they have been for the past 30 or more years. Buthelezi is seen as the defender of their Zuluness; what means he uses to achieve that is not their concern. How much violence he has been directly or indirectly responsible for, they do not care: they have themselves for too long been subjected to violence to empathise with other victims. Personally, I do care, but am in no position to judge: at best one accepts his protestations of innocence; at worst, he at least has less blood on his hands than the likes of De Klerk. Having known him for a very long time, and while having fundamental political differences with him, I find it difficult to believe that he is quite the demon that he is being made out to be; though I would not say the same for some of his advisers. The main point



BUTHELEZI

is that, demon or not, he still largely controls KwaZulu-Natal. The ANC, or at least the Natal leadership of it, decided in about 1984 that they could simply ignore

Buthelezi; they thought he would just go away, but he has not and he will not, because he does have a massive support base. He is, whether one likes it or not, the key to the solution of the problems of KwaZulu-Natal. And the ANC must come to terms with that fact. If they could come to terms with De Klerk, why can they not recognise the role that Buthelezi has played; a role they did not recognise until 1984? That, I believe, is what he has been looking for since 1990. He was not, after all, simply a puppet of the apartheid regime and Matanzima. Not having received what he considers to be his due recognition, he has felt the need to set up his own separate fiefdom. And he will not give up without a fight: at least metaphorically but probably physically. Imposing a state of emergency would only encourage the latter response.

States of emergency, whether declared by PW, FW, or even RN, at best, are about containing problems, not solving them; at worst they are about giving police the licence to beat, torture, and kill. The brutal murder of four policemen, which has triggered the discussion about imposing a state of emergency, was indeed tragic; but other killings, some of them by police, are at least two-and-a-half-thousand times as tragic; and nothing has been done about them.

There are signs that the police are trying to change; but they still have a tremendous amount to live down. An ANC-led government immediately springing to their defence is not really helpful. It is also confusing, since ANC spokesmen continue to maintain that the police are exclusively on the IFP's side.

We do not need a "war against crime"; we have had enough of war. In any event crime is a symptom, not the cause, of the problems in KwaZulu-Natal. Some of us are also tired of people in Pretoria, deciding what is best for the province.

We need a constructive effort to rebuild this province; an effort which can be made only in collaboration with the IFP which, by whatever means, won the election.

As a member of a minimal (a smaller version of a minority) party, I have no axe to grind on behalf of either the ANC or IFP; it is quite irrelevant to me which of them is in power and it is difficult to see how anybody could tell the difference. But to take the current ANC view that "because we cannot join them, we will beat them" is potentially genocidal. The declaration of a state of emergency would be the first step in that direction.

□ Desmond was a PAC candidate in the general election.

IFP election manifesto will be released this weekend

(113)
Kevin Grady
803/10/95

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will unveil his party's election manifesto in Johannesburg this weekend ahead of the November 1 election, the result of which it believes will "deliver a few surprises".

Gauteng IFP chairman Dietmar Lang said yesterday the party was "quite sure we will do much better than in last year's general election, despite alleged voter registration irregularities which had prevented a number of candidates from standing."

Lang said the party would also launch its provincial manifesto, "which will enhance the national manifesto", on Saturday before Buthelezi addressed a rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium on Sunday.

Provincial secretary Musa Myeni said the IFP was concerned that large numbers of voters from eight hostels had not appeared on ward voters' rolls even though their names were on preliminary rolls.

There were also eight potential candidates who had been prevented from standing for election because their names had not initially appeared on voters' rolls. When this was rectified it would be too late for them to collect the required number of signatures to allow them to stand, said deputy campaign manager Anthony Grinker.

Complaints had been lodged with the election committee but to no avail. "Ideally we would have liked to have had the election postponed... because we are a party which believes in peace and stability, we have not raised hell or toy-toyed," said Myeni.



Gauteng Inkatha Freedom Party secretary Musa Myeni, left, and chairman Dietmar Lang at yesterday's news conference ahead of the launch of the party's election campaign by Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Johannesburg this weekend.

Picture: SALLY SHORKE

THE political marriage between IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose can be compared to that of a husband and his battered wife: each time Mdlalose wants to quit, Buthelezi professes to love him and Mdlalose remains in the party.

During debate in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature this week, Mdlalose was the source of ridicule from the opposition benches: How could Buthelezi describe him as a "castigated" man? How could he allow himself to be a "puppet"? How could he "dance to the tune" of Walter Felgate and Mario Ambrosini? Throughout the jibes, Mdlalose kept his head down, scribbling notes.

The legislature session, which saw the IFP bind the opposition to its confederal-style constitutional principles, showed clearly that the entire IFP provincial caucus consists of battered wives.

DP KwaZulu-Natal leader Roger Burrows waved an internal resolution the IFP national council took last weekend, making it clear to

Battered IFP partnership limps on

(118) 80 6/10/95

FAROUK CHOTHIA in Durban

provincial MPs they would be expelled from the party if absent.

The resolution said that if any of the MPs could not attend the session, they had to first seek the permission of Felgate — not Mdlalose or any of the whips.

IFP insiders say that Buthelezi made it clear at an earlier national council meeting that the provincial caucus is subservient to the IFP's portfolio on constitutional and legislative affairs committee, which would formulate policies for implementation in KwaZulu-Natal.

Committee chairman is IFP national deputy chairman and national Correctional Services Minister Siphiso Mzimela. The portfolio committee has formed a management committee chaired by Felgate, a national MP, to guide the provincial caucus on a day-to-day basis.

Insiders say that during a four-

hour adjournment on Tuesday, IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane — attending his first session as a provincial MP — called on the caucus to rethink the decision to insist that the vote on the constitutional motion be postponed as the IFP was moving in the "wrong direction".

Insiders say that Felgate, who was present at the caucus meeting, silenced Jiyane. Felgate argued that the national council had taken a decision that the legislature adopt the principles, and this decision had to be "religiously" followed.

Living up to his reputation as a "puppet", Mdlalose then said: "If that is what the national council wants, we have to go out and get it."

The result was that the six op-

required by the rules — but the letter had gone "astray". The motion should therefore be debated as a "matter of urgent public importance". After consulting speakers in other provinces, and seeking legal advice as safeguard from Burrows' threat that the word "urgent" was a "contestable commodity" in a court of law, Mdlalose ruled that the motion could be debated.

The motion does not herald the death of the constitutional process. The hardliners have agreed with the opposition that no election can be called until the December 31 deadline for the adoption of a constitution has expired.

This means that the opposition would be forced to enter into a marriage with the IFP hardliners, as they too want to give birth to a constitution. Felgate hopes that this week he turned them into another of his battered wives: meek and submissive to the point where they will capitulate to give the IFP the constitution. Buthelezi wants for KwaZulu-Natal.

LETTERS

Published under the laws of Canada.

Inkatha only local govt shield against 'monolithic' ANC — Buthelezi

Draw Forrest

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday attacked the Gauteng government for failing to defend the province's autonomy and claimed that only Inkatha could prevent local government from being "totally squashed" by an increasingly autocratic ANC.

Buthelezi was addressing an Inkatha rally at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto held to launch the party's local government election campaign in

the province. On Saturday, he launched the national campaign and election manifesto in Johannesburg.

In a clear move to raise its national profile, Inkatha has fielded about 400 candidates in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, the Free State, Northwest, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth. Half of these are in Gauteng, its second stronghold.

Telling the large and jubilant crowd that the conditions of many people were much worse now than before last year's election, Buthelezi said government's failure to deliver houses, jobs

and better education was a consequence of its "monolithic" system of national and provincial rule.

"The ANC's blind thirst for power and social and economic control at all levels of our society have become the greatest enemy of our people," he said.

Only Inkatha could stop local government in Gauteng from becoming the "subservient puppet of a huge central government bureaucracy which does not work and does not deliver".

The denial of local government autonomy was a consequence of the

ANC's rationalisation of powers, which had emasculated the provinces.

Buthelezi said the Gauteng government had fallen in line with the dictates of the ANC national leadership and had abdicated its constitutional prerogatives. The only opposition to ANC "treachery" had come from Inkatha, while the NP and DP were "toothless bulldogs" which had awoken from 17 months of sleep to pledge a more active opposition role.

He also took issue with government moves to draft legislation for a uniform

national system of local government, saying the degree of local autonomy would be set according to the minimum common denominator.

Buthelezi said the solution to violence and crime rested on community policing and community involvement, while the ANC had eliminated autonomous provincial powers over policing. Inkatha believed housing had to be tackled at local level as centralised policy formulation had resulted in

Inkatha (118) 29/10/95

Continued on Page 1

"Very, very few houses".

Central government had also refused to assign any law to the provinces relating to trade and commerce. Inkatha believed small business development was a priority in promoting prosperous communities.

Inkatha's campaign manifesto focuses on the three issues of crime, job creation and the improvement of social services. Among others, it calls for:

- The deregulation of local laws inhibiting business activity, and the

creation of a business commission to advise small businesses. It also urges that local authorities secure land for use by small enterprise at low or deferred charges; and

- The establishment of a crime commission, comprising local representatives, to monitor crime and buttress crime prevention. It also proposes that traffic police be given a full-time crime-combating role and powers of arrest.

Inkatha candidates are required to sign a six-point pledge, styled a "Contract with the community", committing them to honesty, efficiency and accessibility to their constituents.

Comment: Page 6

Continued on Page 2



KEEPING UP TRADITION: Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, armed with traditional spears and shields, make their way to Orlando Stadium, Soweto, for a local elections rally addressed by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday.

PICTURE: AP

Vote IFP' call to

Gauteng locals

JOHANNESBURG: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Minister of Home Affairs, has urged Gauteng local elections voters to embrace federalism and the IFP.

More than 10 000 people dressed in animal skins or Buthelezi T-shirts and carrying traditional weapons toyi-toyed to Orlando Stadium in Soweto for a rally intended to pole-vault the IFP into people's minds in advance of the November 1 polls.

Whites also showed up for the rally to pledge support for the IFP and the notion of federalism.

"Only a clear and resounding victory in Gauteng and all other provinces can send a meaningful signal that we as a party offer a better alternative to the status quo," Chief Buthelezi told the crowd.

He said it was important for the IFP to achieve victory in Gauteng,

but it was more important for the people of Gauteng to recognise their right to provincial power.

"Gauteng as well as other provinces, including the kingdom of kwaZulu/Natal, have been reduced to mere instruments of the central government and have no autonomous power to make decisions."

The IFP's position on federalism was misunderstood. The IFP wanted the provinces to have the same policy rights as the states in America, but it did not propose that they secede from the Republic of South Africa.

"When we talk about autonomy, as in a classical federation, they (critics) twist this to mean that we want to secede."

Chief Buthelezi said the government was spending 90% of its budget on operating costs and only 10% on services. — Sapa

IFP's hardline strategy will deepen tension, warns ANC

BD 12/10/95 (118)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The strain within the KwaZulu-Natal government would deepen if the IFP failed to reverse the hardline strategy it adopted in the legislature session which ended on Monday this week, ANC provincial chairman Jacob Zuma warned yesterday.

Zuma said the IFP should realise that it had a mere one-member majority in the provincial legislature, and that it could not govern without the co-operation of the other parties.

"The next six months are crucial for the IFP to mend its ways. If it does not, it will be under perpetual pressure," Zuma said.

The IFP has 81 MPs in the legislature, which is including the speaker. The six opposition parties have a total of 40 of which the ANC has 26.

Premier Frank Mdlalose's spokesman, Thembinkosi Mem-

ela, said that an "ordinary" cabinet meeting was held yesterday — the first since the legislature crisis started.

Confirming that no "heavy stuff" was discussed in the meeting, Zuma said: "I think everybody wanted to cool off."

Memela said the cabinet had met a delegation from one of the German states. Investment and tourism were discussed.

Zuma said he still got along "very well" with Mdlalose.

"I sympathise with him. He ought to be a father figure but his party is forcing him to behave as though he is only an IFP premier," Zuma said.

He warned the IFP not to introduce further legislation intended to challenge central government — including Bills to re-enact the Ingonyama Trust Act and an Electoral Act — at the legislature session scheduled for next month.

Zuma said that if the IFP did

so, the ANC would respond in the same fashion it had done in the session which ended on Monday.

Zuma said there was no prospect of the ANC pulling out of the unity government as it was one of the "cornerstones" of ANC policy for the transition period.

But the ANC would introduce a motion of no-confidence in the IFP if it continued using "bullying tactics". The IFP should also stop behaving as though it was "still running a one-party homeland".

"If they can't govern the province, the province must be taken out of their hands. It is our duty to defend democracy in the province," Zuma said.

He said the ANC caucus was to discuss the conduct of speaker Gideon Mdlalose who reversed an earlier ruling he made and allowed debate to take place on Bills intended to prevent traditional leaders from accepting remuneration from central government.

Niehaus attacks whites' dominance of the Press

BD 12/10/95

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — White and foreign dominance of the SA Press was sharply criticised yesterday by the ANC.

ANC NEC member Carl Niehaus told a news briefing the SA Press was not reflecting the country's full diversity of voices.

The ANC said in a statement released at the briefing: "Without fundamental change in the patterns of ownership and control of the media, the sale of large sections of the print media industry to foreign interests can only further disempower South Africans."

The Press had been slow in responding to the far-reaching changes that SA was undergoing and most newsrooms remained predominantly white.

"Consequently most mainstream newspapers have white editors who are often perceived to be some of the strongest opponents of the democratic majority government."

The statement singled out Star editor Peter Sullivan, accusing him of trying to stifle opposition within his own staff.

The statement appended an internal memorandum signed by Sullivan which said the Star "must speak with one voice" on the issue of foreign ownership and the racial make-up of the Press because of the topic's "sensitivity".

"The Press is one issue which requires experience and strategic formulation."

It is understood the memorandum was issued in response to an article written by one of the newspaper's black reporters critical of the approach adopted by the Star during the ongoing debate. The article was not published.

The ANC said in the light of Sullivan's instructions to his staff, his professed commitment to Press freedom rang hollow.

In response, Sullivan was quoted in yesterday's Star as saying that the attack was mystifying as he had taken every opportunity to stress that he believed the ANC was fully committed to Press freedom and that he was committed to Press diversity.

Niehaus denied that his organisation was "soft" on crime.

Commenting on the decline in the safety and security budget, Niehaus said the ANC would have liked to have seen more spent directly on crime prevention.

But the ANC had a holistic approach to the problem which included a socioeconomic component and therefore required expenditure in other areas as well.

He said the ANC was concerned about "negative messages" on the local government election, particularly statements made recently by local government election task force co-chairman Van Zyl Slabbert. Despite hitches, the election was going to take place in most areas of the country and a positive message about the elections ought to be expressed, Niehaus said.

R140m for Soweto roads

Mduduzi ka Harvey
BD 12/10/95

THE greater Johannesburg transitional metropolitan council has allocated more than R140m from its budget in the current financial year to implement 30 road projects in Soweto.

Launching the RDP/Masakhane roads project in Orlando East yesterday, Johannesburg mayor Isaac Mogase said the greater Johannesburg council would ensure service delivery, but delivery had to be supported by the community.

The projects, he said, were a way of encouraging the community to support both Masakhane and the RDP.

The best structure to deliver to the communities was local government. But the best service delivery would require the best service payment in return, Mogase said.

Soweto mayor Danny Kekana echoed his sentiments, saying that residents should pay for services, because without funds there could be no service delivery.

Soweto Civic Association spokesman Pule Buthelezi encouraged residents to support the campaign. For local government to be successful, he said, it had to be people-driven.

Johannesburg council RDP unit head John Singh said that community involvement would be the project's main thrust.

The aim was to implement a philosophy of empowering communities, by promoting joint ventures between local and conventional contractors.

Kwazulu security minister

was paid dirty-tricks papers claim
informer court

Top IFP

men unmasked

(118) ST. 15/10/95

By MARLENE BURGER

KWAZULU NATAL's minister of safety and security, the Rev Celani Mthetwa, and Themba Khoza have been unmasked in court papers as the Inkatha Freedom Party men accused of being paid informers for the apartheid government's dirty tricks unit.

In the trial of Colonel Eugene de Kock, former head of the police's notorious C10 unit, the names of the men have so far been protected — written on slips of paper by advocates and shown only to Mr Justice Willem van der Merwe.

But documents filed in the trial show that the two top Inkatha leaders were identified by former C10 members as pivotal figures in gun-running and other operations.

According to one former C10 member, they were paid between R1 000 and R2 000 a month each from the SAP's secret fund from 1990 until 1992.

This dramatic evidence, while not yet tested, provides the strongest corroboration yet of ANC claims that certain security force members and politicians conspired to foment civil war in the run-up to South Africa's first democratic elections last year.

Transcripts of the Goldstone hearings and affidavits made in Denmark last year by key state witnesses Warrant Officer Willie Nortje and Brood van Heerden also show that Humphrey Ndlovu, an Inkatha MP in the Gauteng legislature, his brother, Victor, and a James Ndlovu were on the SAP payroll.

This week, the court heard that documentation dealing with the registration of "high-placed" IFP officials as police informers had disappeared from SAP headquarters in Pretoria.

Warrant Officer Nortje, who testified that he personally registered several



NAMED ...
Inkatha man
Themba Khoza

IFP informers, said he could only conclude that the files had been "deliberately removed".

According to Warrant Officer Nortje, the IFP officials were registered at the same time as the unit began to supply them with arms and ammunition.

He said: "After we got involved with the Zulus, the violence escalated almost immediately."

The IFP men, he said, were paid "not so much for information, though they did sometimes tell us when and where a march would take place, but to ensure their loyalty ..."

Relations soured, however, when Unit C10 became aware that Mr Khoza was a double agent, working also for the National Intelligence Service.

"We could never confirm it, but our information was that he had a handler in Sandton, that NI was also giving him weapons and that they had given him a car," Warrant Officer Nortje told the Goldstone commission.

Colonel de Kock had previously given Mr Khoza a Nissan Sentra "so he could travel to Ulundi". Victor Ndlovu was given a Toyota Corolla by Vlakplaas and, when an IFP member had an accident, a R25 000 claim was submitted to the SAP's secret fund to pay for the repairs.

When this vehicle was searched at a roadblock and a number of weapons, including an AK-47, were found in the boot, Mr Khoza's bail was apparently paid by Colonel de Kock. Mr Khoza was subsequently acquitted on charges of

To Page 2 ⇨

⇨ From Page 1:

illegal arms possession.

Warrant Officer Nortje told the Transvaal Supreme Court this week that false claims had also been used to hire buses to ferry IFP members from Natal to Johannesburg, and to pay for the transport of bodies of IFP members killed in the East Rand violence to Natal for burial.

Some of the IFP informers had not known they were working for the SAP, Warrant Officer Nortje said. They had reported to and been paid by Mr van Heerden, who was the middle man in the arms deals.

Mr Mthetwa, however, had dealt directly with Colonel de Kock, and Warrant Officer Nortje had witnessed several meetings between the two men in hotels in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

On one occasion, Warrant Officer Nortje told the Goldstone commission, he and Colonel de Kock had met then Kwazulu Police

commissioner General Jac Buchner "under a tree on the road to Ulundi".

General Buchner said a Brigadier (Sipho) Mathe (deputy Kwazulu commissioner of police) had become a problem, apparently because he had switched allegiance to the ANC, and he wanted Vlakplaas to take him out, but nothing ever came of the plan," Warrant Officer Nortje testified.

The flow of arms to the IFP had halted in 1992 but, even after Unit C10 was disbanded in April 1993, Colonel de Kock had continued to deal with the IFP, according to Warrant Officer Nortje's affidavit.

Towards the end of 1993, Warrant Officer Nortje received information that Colonel de Kock was using former Vlakplaas operatives including Warrant Officer Snor Vermeulen and Simon Radebe to train IFP members at the Umfolozi game reserve.

"The training was under the auspices of Phillip Powell, a former member of the SAP's D Section.

"I confronted Vermeulen and Radebe, who admitted they had been at Umfolozi. Vermeulen said he had only provided training in the use of rifles, but Radebe told me about 500 IFP recruits on a two-week course had been trained in the use of SADF-issue rifles, AK-47s, RPG7s, explosives and the planting of landmines."

Warrant Officer Nortje said his former colleagues were due to return to Umfolozi on December 1 1993 for another training course but he warned them not to do so, and they had not gone back.

Asked this week by Judge van der Merwe where Unit C10's sympathy had lain, Warrant Officer Nortje said it had been with the IFP.

He said he had withheld information from the Goldstone commission.

"I told the Goldstone commission what I believed they wanted to hear ... but I still tried to cover up where I thought I could," he said.

Top IFP men unmasked
(118) ST 15/10/95

KHOZA 'EXPOSED'

(11B)
CP 15/10/95

By CP REPORTERS

KWAZULU/NATAL'S MEC for safety and security, the Rev Celani Mthetwa, and former Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Leader Themba Khoza, were involved in gun-running as part of the former government's dirty tricks campaign, according to documents before the Eugene de Kock trial in the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

De Kock, the former colonel in charge of the Vlakplaas hit-squad unit, is standing trial on more than 100 counts, including murder, attempted murder and fraud. It is alleged that the two men worked in cahoots with De Kock in supplying arms to the IFP.

The documents show that Khoza and Mthetwa were paid between R1 000 and R2 000 each a month from the SAPS Secret Fund between 1990 and 1992.

These allegations have not yet been tested in court, although the documents are part of the court proceedings.

But witness for the State, Warrant Officer Willie Nortje, said in evidence that he had registered "high placed" IFP officials as informers.

He said that these documents had disappeared from SAP headquarters in Pretoria. He said that the men were paid more for their loyalty.



**IN THE FIRING
LINE ... Themba
Khoza.**

Buthelezi calls on traditional leaders to demand communal land

Faouk Chothia

EDURBAN — IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on Eastern Cape traditional leaders to start a campaign to wrest control of communal land in the province from central government, possibly through legislation similar to the Ingonyama Trust Act.

Speaking in Qamata on Saturday as guests of paramount chief KDM Maranzina, Buthelezi said indigenous and customary law should be placed on the "same footing" as common law.

"These are the true issues of SA which have thus far not even been confronted during the process of constitution-making," Buthelezi said.

Central government's plan to amend the Act, passed before the general election, would result in it being "substantially repealed", he said. "Zulus found this unacceptable, just as they found it unacceptable that Eastern Cape chiefs' land was classified as public property belonging to the state. It was essential that central government returned land in the Eastern

Cape to traditional leaders.

"I would not know whether this could best be achieved by establishing a trust similar to the Ingonyama Trust which we have in KwaZulu-Natal, or whether land ought to be transferred to the Eastern Cape province so that it may establish legislation to recognise the institution of communal property," Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom plans to introduce legislation at the next parliamentary session to amend the Act, as it is considered an obstacle to development. The Act

places more than 90% of land in the former KwaZulu — including all state land — government property, townships and township homes — in a trust under the Zulu monarch Phelekezile Mkhosana. Financial institutions have refused to offer loans for housing development in the affected areas. The KwaZulu-Natal government intends to counter Hanekom's move by re-enacting the Act in the provincial legislature next month.

Buthelezi said traditional leaders could not accept that indigenous and customary law was subservient to na-

Communal land

(11B) Continued from Page 1

BD 16/10/95

the Local Government Transition Act last week as it "substantially restricts the power of provinces to reorganise local government as it best sees fit".

He called on KwaZulu-Natal safety and security MEC Celami Mbetwa to establish a protection service to provide chiefs with "special armed and trained police officials". He said central government's move to disarm chiefs had led to their being killed.

Meanwhile, the ANC KwaZulu-Natal region yesterday called for a thor-

ough investigation into claims that senior IFP leaders, including Mbetwa and IFP Gauteng deputy chairman Themba Khoza, were paid informers.

The ANC call followed a Sunday Times report that court papers in the trial of former Vlakplaas commander Col Eugene de Kock showed that the two were paid between R1 000 and R2 000 a month each from 1990 until 1992 for being informers. They had also been identified by former Vlakplaas members as being pivotal figures in gun-running and other operations.

IFP spokesman Ed Fillett said the evidence was "untested" and it would be premature to comment as the trial was in progress.

ional and provincial legislation.

The ruling law on family rights, inheritance, property and marriages was that which prevailed during the apartheid years, ignoring the fact that many South Africans respected different laws which are greatly diversified on a regional basis, Buthelezi said.

Speaking in northern KwaZulu-Natal yesterday, Buthelezi said he hoped that the KwaZulu-Natal government would challenge amendments made to

Continued on page 2

ANC claim 'proof of Third Force'

(118)

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Star 16/10/95

Allegations that two senior IFP members were paid police informers between 1990 and 1992 drew a sharp reaction from the ANC which said the claims proved the existence of a Third Force.

KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Safety and Security, the Reverend Celani Mthetwa, and IFP MP Themba Khoza, were named as police operatives in court papers last week, according to reports in the Sunday Times.

They were named in papers by Goldstone Commission witnesses, Warrant-Officer Wille Nortje and Warrant-Officer Brood van Heerden who are former members of the police C10 counter-insurgency unit based at Vlakplaas. The unit's former commander, Colonel Eugene de Kock, is on trial for murder.

Although their statements have not yet been tested in court, advocates in the De Kock trial have reportedly shown the judge, Mr Justice Willem van der Merwe, pieces of paper containing the two IFP members' names. Both of them have featured prominently in previous allegations about Third Force and hit-squad activities.

Reacting to the disclosures, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa, said the violence between 1990 and 1992 "was part of a well orchestrated and deliberate strategy by the NP to manipulate and influence the course of transition to democracy".

Mamoepa called for a full investigation and the suspension of Mthetwa and Khoza from their posts.

IFP spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

Furious Khoza rejects allegations

Star 17/10/95 (11B) (276)

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

Former Inkatha Freedom Party youth leader Themba Khoza yesterday admitted to having met former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock on several occasions but denied that he and members of his party had any dealings with the retired policeman.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Khoza said he had met De Kock in several Police Forum meetings and he knew him "like any other policeman".

"During the meetings we would discuss information received regarding potential violence. We shared information with the police and the Police

Reporting Officer:

"No member of the IFP has had any dealings with the police. I don't know Vlakplaas or the C10 Unit," Khoza said.

The IFP MP proclaimed himself innocent and said he was "itching to go to court" to prove his innocence. He said he had briefed his lawyers who were exploring the possibility of taking legal action against a newspaper which published the report.

He challenged the ANC-led Government to press criminal charges against him.

"I am prepared to stand in a court of law and prove beyond reasonable doubt that all allegations are nothing but a concerted campaign against myself and the IFP," Khoza said.

Denying allegations of spying for the previous government, gun-running and causing factional violence, Khoza said he was being "picked on" because he is one of the "tough guys around who does not want to be pushed around by the ANC or any political party". He said the actual target of the allegations was the IFP and "I happen to be the jewel in the party".

Khoza said he was hurt by the allegations, which were first made at the Goldstone Commission into third force activities and then published by a Sunday newspaper.

He questioned why the names of two senior ANC officials who allegedly worked with the police had not been published.

to
ion
aid,
ary
ca-
ave
gy-
om
ba-
nin
ty."



Gauteng IFP leader Themba Khoza at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: CATHY PINNOCK

Khoza prepared to answer in court on spying allegations

Bonile Ngqiyaza

(118)
BD 17/10/95

GAUTENG IFP leader Themba Khoza indicated yesterday he was willing to appear in court to disprove allegations of gun-running and spying levelled against him, but said he would not make himself available to a commission of inquiry into the matter. Khoza said people were blamed without a chance of defending themselves in such commissions.

The Sunday Times alleged this week that Khoza and KwaZulu-Natal safety and security MEC Rev Celani Mtetwa had been exposed in court papers in the murder trial of Col Eugene de Kock.

Khoza said he knew De Kock from meetings between the IFP and the police, but was unaware of the existence of Vlakplaas, the police base where de Kock's C10 unit was based.

He said the IFP was consulting its legal advisers on whether to take action against the Sunday Times.

Dismissing the newspaper's allegations as obviously "part of the election mud-slinging", Khoza said although he was a senior IFP leader he possessed no information within the party high ranks worth paying for. "I ... want to state ... that the IFP is so overt that not even a fool will care to pay for any information about the party," he said. His political position did not place him in a position where he could "under any circumstance" be able to spy within the ANC. "It is clear that I cannot serve as a spy for or against the IFP, ANC or government."

He said the allegations would carry weight if they were not "uttered by self-confessed criminals" who sought "nothing other than to secure indemnity".

Khoza also denied he had ever been arrested in a roadblock as alleged by the newspaper, or that a policeman had ever paid bail for him. "I know of no buses coming to Johannesburg that were ever paid for by any policeman," he said. Bodies ferried to KwaZulu-Natal were taken by vehicles belonging to the then KwaZulu-Natal government and were never paid for out of police coffers.

The ANC said yesterday the alleged involvement of Gauteng IFP MP Themba Khoza and KwaZulu-Natal safety and security MEC Celani Mtetwa in "third force" activities had vindicated its view that the post-1990 violence had been part of a deliberate strategy by the NP regime "to manipulate and influence the course of transition to democracy".

The organisation also called for, among other things, a thorough investigation into the matter to determine the scope and extent of involvement of the "third force" network in the current violence and murder of leading ANC leaders in KwaZulu-Natal.

The IFP, it said, should immediately suspend the parliamentary memberships of Khoza and Mtetwa pending the outcome of such investigation, and permanently rescind their parliamentary membership if the allegations were proven.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that ANC leaders in KwaZulu-Natal demanded that IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose disclose what they knew about the alleged activities. This would also explain why violence persisted in KwaZulu-Natal, where Mtetwa was responsible for safety and security, they said.

Farmers may protest

Wyndham Hartley

THE controversial extension of the nomination period for the local government elections in the Free State could face a court challenge from organised agriculture in the province.

Free State Agricultural Union president Piet Gous said yesterday legal opinions had been obtained and they were in the process of making a decision.

The new wrangle between organised agriculture and the ANC follows the sitting of Parliament last week when the union's proposals for increased representation for farmers and other levy payers in local government structures were rejected by the constitutional affairs committee.

A decision on the boycott of the elections by agriculture would be discussed at this week's agriculture union conference in Vanderbijlpark.

Local government elections task group national co-ordinator Vic Milne said that the provinces had the power in terms of local government legislation to extend deadlines.

IFP's trade unions form new alliance

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP-supporting trade unions have decided to unify themselves into a confederation in a bid to strengthen their influence and secure representation in Nedlac.

Two existing federations, the United Independent Trade Union of Southern Africa and the United Independent and Economic Trade Union of SA, would form part of the new body.

United Independent Trade Union of Southern Africa general secretary Mhlaba Gumede said five independent unions — including the National Police Service Union (which draws its membership mainly from the KwaZulu Police), the United Security Workers' Union and the United Farm Workers' Union of SA — would also be part of the new confederation.

Representatives of a sixth union, the Natal Teachers' Union, had agreed in principle to throw their weight behind the initiative, but wanted to consult further with constituents.

The unions met in Winkelspruit on the south coast for a two-day weekend workshop where agreement was reached on the need for such a confederation.

Gumede said the unions were denied representation in Nedlac. It was hoped their combined strength would open the way for them to participate in the body.

The confederation would strive for a

membership of at least 500 000.

IFP labour portfolio committee chairman Velaphi Ndlovu, who chaired the workshop, said the new grouping would bring together unions committed to free market principles, and those that were "federal-thinking".

The IFP would not interfere in the confederation and would leave it to operate independently.

Gumede said the fate of the United Workers' Union of SA, which was "close to collapse", had taught the unions a confederation would not survive if dictated to by politicians.

The leaders of the United Workers' Union of SA had been invited to the workshop, but had failed to pitch up.

Ndlovu said the IFP was in the process of drafting a labour position paper. Academics Hugh High and Themba Sono, from Cape Town and Wits Universities respectively, were assisting in this regard. It was hoped that the paper would be ready by end-November for submission to the IFP national council for approval.

He said the workshop had also decided that illegal foreign workers should be arrested, prosecuted and deported.

The number of foreign skilled workers should be reduced at a rate of 25% per annum. Training should be granted to SA job seekers.

Ndlovu said the labour position paper would spell out in detail the IFP's position on such matters.

Furious Khoza rejects allegations

(118) Nov 17/10/95

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

Former Inkatha Freedom Party youth leader Themba Khoza yesterday admitted to having met former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock on several occasions but denied that he and members of his party had any dealings with the retired policeman.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Khoza said he had met De Kock in several Police Forum meetings and he knew him "like any other policeman".

"During the meetings we would discuss information received regarding potential violence. We shared information with the police and the Police

Reporting Officer:

"No member of the IFP has had any dealings with the police. I don't know Vlakplaas or the C10 Unit," Khoza said.

The IFP MP proclaimed himself innocent and said he was "itching to go to court" to prove his innocence. He said he had briefed his lawyers who were exploring the possibility of taking legal action against a newspaper which published the report.

He challenged the ANC-led Government to press criminal charges against him.

"I am prepared to stand in a court of law and prove beyond reasonable doubt that all allegations are nothing but a concerted campaign against myself and the IFP," Khoza said.

Denying allegations of spying for the previous government, gun-running and causing factional violence, Khoza said he was being "picked on" because he is one of the "tough guys around who does not want to be pushed around by the ANC or any political party". He said the actual target of the allegations was the IFP and "I happen to be the jewel in the party".

Khoza said he was hurt by the allegations, which were first made at the Goldstone Commission into third force activities and then published by a Sunday newspaper.

He questioned why the names of two senior ANC officials who allegedly worked with the police had not been published.

IFP 'informer' says he'll clear his name in court

CT 17/10/95 (118)

JOHANNESBURG: Inkatha's deputy chairman in Gauteng has denied allegations that he was a gun-runner and a paid informer for the apartheid government.

Mr Themba Khoza told a news conference he was a victim of electioneering.

"I am prepared to stand in a court of law and prove beyond reasonable doubt that all allegations are nothing but a concerted campaign against myself and the IFP."

The ANC government could open a criminal case against him, but he would not appear before any commission of inquiry.

"I reject the defamatory allegations levelled against me related to gun-running, spying and causing

violence. It is obvious that this is part of the election mud-slinging."

Witnesses in the trial of former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock have alleged in papers before the court that Mr Khoza and kwazulu/Natal's Minister of Safety and Security, the Rev Celani Mthetwa, had been on the payroll of the police's "dirty-tricks unit" between 1990 and 1992.

Mr Khoza said he knew Col De Kock from meetings held with police in townships before the transition to democracy, but said these were directed at stopping the killings.

"I never knew people would turn around and say: 'You are an informer.'" — Reuter

Vlakplaas judge questions need to maintain secrecy on IFP

Stephane Bothma

PRETORIA — Transvaal Supreme Court judge Willem van der Merwe yesterday questioned the need to continue protecting the identity of high-ranking Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election.

Van der Merwe said it was not clear why it would be necessary to protect the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election. He said he would like to know why the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election should be protected.

He said he would like to know why the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election should be protected. He said he would like to know why the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election should be protected.

He said he would like to know why the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election should be protected. He said he would like to know why the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election should be protected.

He said he would like to know why the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election should be protected. He said he would like to know why the names of former Inkatha officials who were on the SA Police's secret payroll before last year's general election should be protected.

Defence advocate Filip Hattinagh SC objected to the names being disclosed because C10 had promised their identities would never be disclosed; and Hattinagh had been given access to sensitive SAP documents to prepare his defence on condition he would not disclose identities of informers. Van der Merwe told the legal teams he had made his views on "clandestine names" clear, but left it up to them to decide how to handle the matter.

See Page 2

Informers

t
s

n

ly to
gen-
ocal
gns,
that
hed

puty
said
the
was

this
FP,"

na-
par-
ised
esti-
g.

ained
future,
rked
if ap-

Ros-
party
s na-
year.
ly to
oth-
figure

ames
ould
pent

part-
NP
s de-
t of
e, he
did al-
r.
pect-
own
lgets
here
onal

Tough IFP paper angers opposition

BD 18/10/95 (11B) (11B)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Major opposition parties warned yesterday that the deadline for the adoption of KwaZulu-Natal's constitution would have to be extended following hard-line proposals tabled by the IFP providing for an unelected premier and empowering the Zulu king to veto legislation.

In an angry reaction, DP KwaZulu-Natal leader Roger Burrows said the IFP had not shifted "one iota", despite bilateral talks over the past two months.

Burrows said there was "broad agreement" among opposition parties that a constitution could not be adopted by December 31. The DP believed the deadline should be extended into the new year, he said.

Parties could conclude at a constitutional committee meeting next week that there was no prospect of agreement, and that they should "call it quits", he said.

NP KwaZulu-Natal caucus chairman Tino Volker said it was clear that the constitution could be adopted only early next year.

Describing Inkatha as "intransigent", ANC chief negotiator John Jeffery asked whether the constitutional process was worth continuing.

Volker said the constitution — unveiled in the constitutional committee yesterday — had been drafted about six months ago. "It is unchanged, and aspects are unachievable," Volker said.

But IFP national council member Walter Felgate said the tabling of the constitution paved the way for further negotiations

and give and take. Felgate said the IFP wanted a constitution adopted by the legislature on December 22. It would be "desirable" for the constitution to be adopted and implemented before the national constitution was completed.

He said the constitution "destroyed the myth" that the IFP favoured secession of KwaZulu-Natal, rather than the "maximum degree of autonomy".

Among the controversial features of the IFP proposals are a voluntary defence force and provincial powers to declare a state of emergency in the event of a "general insurrection". Central government troops could be stationed in KwaZulu-Natal only in consultation with the province.

On claims that large parts of the constitution would be rejected by the Constitutional Court, Felgate said this was a matter of interpretation. The IFP was making the "most liberal" interpretation of the interim constitution.

The IFP constitution states that "no power of the Republic of SA shall be legitimately exercised and applied" in KwaZulu-Natal if it is inconsistent with the provincial constitution.

It also provides for the Zulu monarch to "nominate the premier preferably from the ranks of the majority party" after consulting the major political parties. The king could veto any legislation, which would then be referred back to the legislature. Legislation would be promulgated only after the king — all of whose actions would be countersigned by the premier or competent minister — signed it.

Pa
Ra
ov

V

Ed

C
w
til
lo
W
th
ru
ca
w
p
di
lif

Suspend IFP trio, urges ANC

Star 18/10/95

(113)

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

The ANC yesterday called for the suspension of Inkatha Freedom Party MP Themba Khoza and KwaZulu-Natal Safety and Security MEC Celani Mthetwa and released a dossier detailing Khoza's alleged involvement in at least 10 acts of violence which left scores dead and injured.

At a press conference held in Johannesburg, ANC MP Carl Niehaus said that it was an indictment of the IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that no disciplinary action has been taken against Khoza and Mthetwa.

"The ANC calls on the IFP to suspend the parliamentary membership of Khoza, Mthetwa and (Gauteng MPL) Humphrey Ndlovu pending the outcome of the investigations," Niehaus said.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has also called for the suspension of the trio.

Niehaus said the IFP's responses so far were an indication

of a party desperate to deflect attention from its alleged role and that of its members in carrying out a programme of destabilisation and violence on behalf of the then National Party government.

"In the final analysis the NP must take full responsibility for the well orchestrated and planned strategy of destabilisation which led to the mass murder of thousands of innocent people with a view to manipulating the outcome of the transition to democracy," Niehaus said.

Niehaus said that the ANC would not lay criminal charges against Khoza but would wait for justice, in the form of, among others, the lengthy trial involving former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock, to be achieved.

The ANC, Niehaus added, wanted a thorough investigation into the involvement of "Third Force" networks in the exploitation of legitimate workers' grievances for purposes of undermining the Government.

"The ANC also calls for an investigation into the manipulation of the coloured communities in calling for a coloured homeland and activities of the South Western Joint Civic Association and Khoza's involvement in the Eastern Cape's current call for a 10th province," Niehaus said.

He said Khoza's response that his alleged involvement in Third Force activities was part of ANC propaganda warfare was "laughable" given the nature of accusations against him.

Niehaus said Khoza had had ample opportunities in the past to answer to allegations made against him in the Goldstone Commission probes into the Nqutu massacre, Third Force activities and train violence.

Allegations were levelled against him in relation to many incidents of violence including the Bolpatong massacre and clashes around the ANC headquarters on March 28 last year.

Khoza has denied allegations which implicated him in spying, gun-running and causing violence.

Pig blown up in death rehearsal

IFP informer suspects still under wraps

(116) Star 15/10/95

The names of six prominent members of the Inkatha Freedom Party who allegedly acted as security police informers were again written down and not spoken in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday to protect their identities.

This was at the trial of former Vlakplaas police base commander Colonel Eugene de Kock, who is facing more than 100 charges including several of murder and fraud.

A former Vlakplaas member Brood van Heerden told the court he had acted as a go-between for the C10 base and the IFP members.

He and Warrant Officer Willie Nortje had registered five IFP men as informers. They supplied little information but were paid to ensure their goodwill.

Van Heerden was asked to write their names on a piece of paper. In a reference to the disclosure of some of the alleged informers' names in weekend newspapers, Mr Justice van der Merwe asked if this "underhand manner of doing things" was necessary.

Defence counsel Flip Hattingh had objected to the names being disclosed, saying certain information had been obtained from the police on the understanding that names would not be made known.

Hattingh said the appearance of the names in certain parts of the Goldstone Commission's report, an exhibit in the trial, and the publication of some names was an oversight by the State and defence. Van der Merwe advised the State and defence to make sure what their positions were regarding publication of the names. Until then, the names would remain confidential.

Van Heerden also named two former ANC members who had been arrested and who, he said, worked for the security police.

He had at one stage shared a room at Vlakplaas, first with Hugh Lugg and later with Ronald (Tokkie) Bezuidenhout.

Van Heerden testified that he had seen De Kock hit a young Askari (an ANC turncoat) with a pool cue at the Vlakplaas canteen in 1989 for losing his firearm at a shebeen. The incident happened after white Vlakplaas members returned from a mission at the Oshoek border post.

One member told De Kock the

Askari, known as Bruce, had lost his firearm or had it stolen at a shebeen.

De Kock took a pool cue, asked Bruce where his firearm was, and pointed out that he was not allowed to take his gun out of the camp as innocent people would be killed with it. "He hit Bruce on the head with the pool cue. After the second blow, the cue broke," Van Heerden said.

Bruce tried to get away, but the rest of the group kicked and pushed him back towards De Kock.

De Kock took the cue by its broken end and again hit Bruce on the head.

Van Heerden said he then became frightened and went outside. When he later heard an altercation in the canteen, he went inside and saw that Lieutenant Piet Snyders was "tubing" Bruce (smothering him with the inner tube of a car tyre).

Snyders got up and told Van Heerden that he and Warrant Officer Piet Botha should take over. Botha held down Bruce's hands while Van Heerden "tubed" him until he no longer responded.

Van Heerden said he went outside to drink some water when he got tired. When he returned he saw Botha strangling Bruce with a piece of nylon rope.

Afterwards, they wrapped the body in a blanket and tied it tightly into a bundle. Van Heerden never saw Bruce again.

Referring to another former Vlakplaas commander, Dirk Coetzee, Van Heerden said everyone at Vlakplaas hated him.

Van Heerden said he had helped monitor conversations between Coetzee's wife and Johannesburg attorney Bheki Mlangeni and reporter Jacques Pauw in an attempt to locate Coetzee.

"The general feeling was that if I ever came upon Coetzee I would kill him. I still feel that way about him."

Van Heerden also recounted how he had seen explosives being tested on a pig at Vlakplaas. He remembered De Kock remarking how funny the pig looked with carphones and dark glasses.

The State alleges De Kock and others tried to murder Coetzee with a parcel bomb hidden in the headphones of a tape recorder. It is alleged that Mlangeni was mistakenly killed by the same bomb. - Sapa.

VLAKPLAAS TRIAL HEARS OF ASKARI'S MURDER

Top IFP names still withheld

PRETORIA: The names of top IFP members who acted as police informers were again withheld in the Vlakplaas trial despite the judge asking whether this was necessary.

THE names of six prominent IFP members who allegedly acted as security police informers were again written on pieces of paper in the Supreme Court here yesterday to protect their identities.

This was during the trial of former Vlakplaas unit commander Colonel Eugene de Kock, who is facing over 100 charges, including several of murder and fraud.

Former Vlakplaas member and bank security officer Mr Brood van Heerden told the court he had acted as a go-between for the unit and the IFP members.

He and Warrant Officer Willie Nortje had registered five of the IFP members as informers, but they had supplied very little information and were paid to ensure their goodwill.

He would meet the informers either in his flat or at a Johannesburg hotel.

Five of them were paid for about six to eight months from

October 1990 with money given to him by WO Nortje. A sixth IFP member was paid by Col De Kock.

Mr Van Heerden was again asked to write the names of the IFP members on a piece of paper. Mr Justice Van der Merwe, in a reference to the disclosure of some alleged informers' names in weekend newspapers, asked if this "underhanded manner of doing things" was necessary.

'Information'

"Here, names are mentioned left, right and centre, but when it comes to the ANC and the IFP, we resort to little pieces of paper.

"I think the day has dawned that each man who stuck out his neck, gave information and was paid for it, must come and say what he did," the judge said.

Mr Flip Hattingh, for the defence, objected to the names being disclosed. Certain information had been obtained from the

CT 18/10/95 (113) ~~(113)~~
police with the understanding that names would not be made known.

Mr Hattingh said the appearance of the names in certain parts of the Goldstone commission's report, an exhibit in the trial, and the publication of some names had been an oversight.

Mr Van Heerden testified he had in 1989 seen Col De Kock hit a young Askari (an ANC turncoat) with a pool cue at the Vlakplaas canteen for losing his firearm at a shebeen.

This happened after white Vlakplaas members returned from a mission at the Oshoek border post. One member told Col De Kock the Askari, known as Bruce, had lost his firearm or had it stolen at a shebeen.

Col De Kock took the cue, asked Bruce where his firearm was, and pointed out that he was not allowed to take his gun out of the camp as innocent people would be killed with it.

"He hit Bruce on the head with the pool cue. After the second blow, the cue broke," Mr Van Heerden said.

Bruce tried to get away, but the

rest of the group kicked and pushed him towards Col De Kock.

He said Col De Kock took the cue by its broken end and hit Bruce on the head again.

Mr Van Heerden said he became frightened and went outside. When he heard an altercation in the canteen later, he went inside and saw that Lieutenant Piet Snyders was "tubing" Bruce (smothering him with the inner tube of a car tyre).

Strangling

Lt Snyders got up and told Mr Van Heerden that he and Warrant Officer Piet Botha should take over. WO Botha held down Bruce's hands while he (Mr Van Heerden) "tubed" him until he stopped responding.

Mr Van Heerden said he went outside to drink some water when he got tired. When he returned, he saw WO Botha strangling Bruce with a piece of nylon rope.

Afterwards, they wrapped the body in a blanket and tied it into a bundle. Mr Van Heerden said he never saw Bruce again.— Sapa

ANC asks IFP to suspend 'agents'

(110) ~~(110)~~ 27/10/95
JOHANNESBURG: The African National Congress had ruled out laying charges against two Inkatha Freedom Party officials alleged to have been involved in Third Force activities, ANC MP Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Instead, it had called on the IFP to suspend kwaZulu/Natal Minister of Safety and Security the Rev Celani Mthetwa and Mr Themba Khoza as well as Mr Humphrey Ndlovu from their positions.

Mr Khoza and Mr Ndlovu are members of the Gauteng legislature.

Asked if the men might eventually be charged, Mr Niehaus said further evidence against Mr Khoza and Mr Mthetwa might surface in former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock's trial.

"At this stage the important thing is for the trial to take its

course.
ANC MP Mr Saki Macazoma said a systematic approach, which did not focus on individuals, was needed.

"We have to bear in mind we are dealing with an entire political system, not with individuals who crop up once again."

Reading from an ANC statement, Mr Niehaus said the IFP's failure to discipline Mr Khoza and Mr Mthetwa was a serious indictment of its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "No action has been taken ... despite the IFP's professed commitment to peace."

Mr Niehaus dismissed as "laughable" IFP claims that the Third Force allegations were part of the ANC's election propaganda.

He said the National Party had been responsible for destabilisation in the country. — Sapa

Royal group: Suspend IFP minister

(11B) CT 19/10/95

DURBAN: Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's royal council called yesterday for the suspension from the kwaZulu/Natal government of Safety and Security Minister the Rev. Celani Mthetwa after renewed allegations he was involved in "third force" activities.

The allegations against Mr Mthetwa and IFP Gauteng MPLs Mr Themba Khoza and Mr Humphrey Ndlovu emerged during the murder trial of former Vlakplaas commander Colonel

Eugene de Kock.

In a statement, the king's council demanded Mr Mthetwa be either suspended or removed as minister.

It questioned his ability to stop violence in kwaZulu/Natal when he was said to be associated with violence.

The council said the recent allegations indicated Mr Khoza and others were probably pursuing their own agenda in collaboration with the third force. — Sapa

Long history of third force allegations

Ann Eveleth

KWAZULU-NATAL Safety and Security MEC Celani Mfetswa — named this week as a former paid police agent and gun runner — is no stranger to the third force spotlight.

Allegations linking the former KwaZulu homeland justice minister to gunrunning and to the notorious C10 Vlakplaat security police unit first appeared in the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* in June 1994 when it was revealed that the Goldstone Commission possessed evidence to this effect.

The second report of the Transitional Executive Council task force on hit-squads also alleged that Mfetswa had visited the illegal Mlaba camp where some 5 000 Inkatha Freedom Party self-protection unit troops received training in the use of firearms and other weapons. Many of them were former Caprivi trainees — a group of 200 IFP members who had received clandestine South African Defence Force training in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, during Mfetswa's tenure in the

homeland justice ministry.

The reports fuelled a controversy at the time, threatening to split the fledgling KwaZulu-Natal unity government when the IFP's Premier Frank Mdlalose's decided to appoint Mfetswa to his present post as Safety and Security MEC.

Earlier this year, Durban Supreme Court Judge Nick van der Reyden heard evidence from self-confessed KwaZulu Police hit-squad killers Getha Mkhize and Romeo Mbanjo that Mfetswa had delivered a crate of 25 AK47 rifles to the IFP offices in Empangeni, northern KwaZulu-Natal.

No contradictory evidence was led in that trial. Mfetswa was "unmasked" last week by the *Sunday Times* — together with IFP Gauteng leaders Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu and IFP members Victor and James Ndlovu — as a paid police informer who received monthly payments of R1 000 to R2 000. His pivotal role in gunrunning between the apartheid state's security apparatus and his party has been confirmed by the now-public Goldstone Commission transcripts.

(Zib) Mq 20-26/10/95

Khoza, and Humphrey Ndlovu, who this week denied the allegations, were first linked — along with 16 senior KwaZulu policemen — to hit-squads by the March 1994 TEC report revealed in this paper. The report said Khoza and Ndlovu "were involved in the planning" the November 1993 massacre of 11 people at Nguthu, northern Natal.

Khoza and Ndlovu's brother Victor, were first linked to gunrunning by the March 1994 Goldstone Commission "third force" report as the recipients and distributors of home-made guns manufactured and supplied by Vlakplaat. That report said Khoza had been recruited by former Vlakplaat member and Absa employee Brood van Heerden. The report also alleged that C10 had paid Khoza's bail and legal fees when he was arrested with weapons at a roadblock in September 1990. IFP Secretary-General Ziba Jiyane said this week that the allegations raised against IFP members in the De Kock trial were "unproven" and still had to be tested in court.

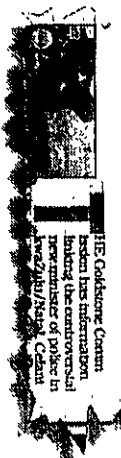
Goldstone

fingers

Inkatha

police

minister



Revealed: In June 1994 we reported on Goldstone Commission information linking Celani Mfetswa to gunrunning

Call to suspend

MEC Mthetwa

(110) (211)
DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal safety and security MEC Rev Celani Mthetwa should be suspended pending the outcome of investigations into his alleged involvement in third-force activities, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said in Verulam, near Durban, at the weekend **BD 23/10/95**.

"If I had anything to do with his appointment, I could possibly suspend him. But the decision is entirely in the hands of KwaZulu-Natal premier Dr Frank Mdlalose."

Meanwhile in Ulundi, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the IFP would ignore any allegations against its officials until the killing of its supporters was solved. The allegations against Mthetwa were a "cynical dirty tricks campaign" by the ANC. — Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by J Jones; newsbills by C Pickard-Cambridge; headlines by V Straus; all of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

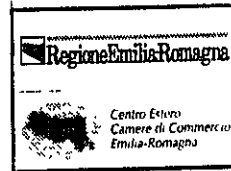
The **CENTRO ESTERO**
(FOREIGN SECTION)
based in Bologna, Italy
will be present
with a collection

VETRORESINA S.R.L.
FAX: 0532/327110
Fibreglass laminates

COMARK S.R.L. - VITTORIA
FAX: 0532/732557
Machinery and plants for coffee

TECNOIDEAL S.R.L.
FAX: 0535/27443
Machinery & systems for the food industries

VALERIO MAIOLI IMPIANTI
FAX: 0544/453366
Projects, installation, maintenance, security, anti-intrusion, fireproof



Promotion and support

IFP 'will ignore claims about officials, members' (11B)

ULUNDI: The IFP would ignore allegations against its members and officials until the killing of its supporters and members was solved, its leader, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, said yesterday.

He said allegations against kwaZulu/Natal Safety and Security Minister the Rev Celani Mtetwa and Gauteng IFP leader Mr Themba Khoza were a "cynical dirty-tricks campaign" by the ANC in the run-up to local elections.

Mr Mtetwa and Mr Khoza have been implicated in the trial of former Vlakplaas chief Colonel Eugene de Kock as allegedly having been informers and gun-runners under the former government.

The ANC had not expressed condolences to IFP members and supporters who had lost relatives in the violence. It had also refused to participate or co-operate in the investigations into the deaths of IFP supporters or members, Chief Buthelezi said in a statement.

"In the face of such blatant partisanship and double standards, it would be absurd to expect the IFP to co-operate with one-sided commissions of inquiry or investigations."

Suspension hinted at

DURBAN: kwaZulu/Natal Safety and Security Minister the Rev Celani Mtetwa should be suspended pending the outcome of investigations into his alleged involvement in Third Force activities, Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi implied at the weekend.

In an interview after addressing a meeting at Verulam near here on Saturday, Mr Mufamadi said: "If I had anything to do

with his appointment, I would possibly suspend him."

He said premiers appointed provincial ministers and the decision to suspend Mr Mtetwa depended on kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose.

It was reported last week that court papers in the murder trial of former Vlakplaas chief Colonel Eugene de Kock linked Mr Mtetwa to Third Force activities. — Sapa

Meanwhile, it was alleged in Ulundi on Saturday that the army and police had been involved in killing civilians in kwaZulu/Natal.

"You have seen the deployment of the SANDF in kwaZulu/Natal and the direct involvement of members of the SANDF and the (police) in the killing of our people," Chief Buthelezi said at the IFP Women's Brigade congress.

He said the kwaZulu/Natal provincial government was powerless to challenge the deployment

of army and police personnel in the province.

Therefore, it was essential that the IFP challenged the ANC's power from the kwaZulu/Natal base, he added.

The IFP in the legislature was committed to promoting constitutional principles tabled by the party for the constitution of the province, Chief Buthelezi said. He was referring to the 20-point plan tabled by the IFP earlier this month. — Sapa

Inkatha not spent force — Buthelezi

(11B) (253) CT 6/11/95

DURBAN: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose Inkatha Freedom Party took less than one percent of votes cast in last week's municipal elections, said yesterday his party would win the council polls in kwaZulu/Natal next year and ultimately become the new South African government.

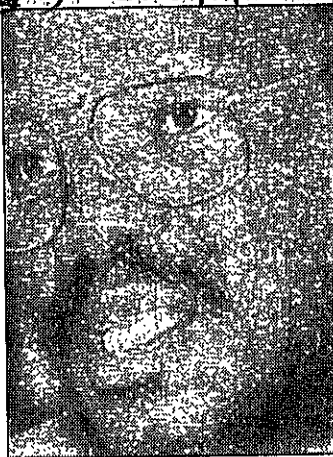
kwaZulu/Natal's 3,1 million registered voters are to go to the local polls on March 27 next year because of demarcation and political disputes.

"We know without a shadow of doubt that if you vote, we will win every single regional council in the kingdom," Chief Buthelezi said in a prepared speech for delivery at a local government election rally in Wasbank.

"We will, in fact, trounce the opposition, which is foolishly of the view that the IFP is a spent force.

"We are a national party with a huge base here, and I want to make it very clear to everyone that while we intend remaining the government of the kingdom, we equally intend becoming the government of South Africa — the federal government of South Africa," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said his party would ultimately win its fight for federalism and "bring democracy



'IFP WILL WIN': Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

to the whole of South Africa".

Chief Buthelezi previously called for a fresh election in kwaZulu/Natal to try to increase his party's hold on power after it won 50.3% of the votes in last year's provincial elections, but yesterday he appeared to soften his stand on this.

"No one really wants new provincial elections, but if this course of action is the only one, or best one available to us, we must be in a position to exercise it and win convincingly." — Reuter

IFP 'might compromise' on conditions for its return to

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The IFP might compromise on conditions it had set for its return to the Constitutional Assembly, KwaZulu-Natal sources said yesterday amid speculation that the party feared missing the constitution-making boat at national level.

IFP chief negotiator Walter Felgate said the IFP would return on condition that a constitution was adopted in KwaZulu-Natal and that international mediation went ahead.

It was learnt that the IFP had shifted on some of the headline positions in the party's draft constitution. The sources said a compromise document, based on secret meetings between parties in the province in the past six weeks would be discussed by the IFP's national council on Friday. A similar document was discussed by the NP's federal council in Pretoria yesterday. The compromise constitutional model was "in line" with the German model. Senior NP negotiator Damie Schutte said NP and IFP negotiators had met

for eight days in the past two weeks. "We would not have lasted so long unless we were making progress," However, Felgate and Schutte stressed the process was at a "very delicate" stage. Some contentions raised in the original IFP proposal dealt with a sunrise provision embodying the aspiration of the province for greater autonomy; a provincial constitutional court; a constitutional monarchy; the protection of civil society and promotion of social and cultural pluralism; a provincial bill of rights; and local government.

One source said a new proposal to resolve the issue of mediation had also been discussed. The proposal was that mediation would proceed only after a provincial constitution was adopted, and would be based solely on the content of the constitution. The political effect of such an approach would be to take the heat out of issue and allow the ANC, if it wanted, not to participate. Felgate and Schutte were optimistic that a provincial constitution "inspired by the principles of federalism and pluralism" could be finalised by year-end.

as originally intended. However, ANC provincial MP and constitutional team leader John Jeffery said IFP MP and provincial constitutional committee chairman Mike Tarr had only yesterday indicated that a provincial constitution would probably be adopted "in February". Political observers said the IFP would not need the ANC to secure the necessary two-thirds majority in the provincial legislature to adopt a constitution if it secured the support of all other parties.

assembly
508/11/95

Buthelezi 'intends to stay in central govt'

OT 8/11/95

(11B) (11B)

DURBAN: Home Affairs Minister and leader of the IFP Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied media reports that he was to resign from his central government position to take up the premiership of kwaZulu/Natal.

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said the reports were "a product of imaginations of Orwellian proportions".

A report in yesterday's Natal Witness newspaper quoted "top-level IFP sources" as saying Chief Buthelezi intended resigning to stand for premier during next year's local government elections.

Chief Buthelezi also dismissed reports that the issue would be discussed at the IFP's national council meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

He said he found it disturbing that the media focused on specula-



NOT RESIGNING: Chief Buthelezi.

tion and misinformation, and failed to report on major issues such as the killing on Monday of an IFP leader in kwaZulu/Natal.

Chief Buthelezi challenged journalists to name their "so-called sources in the IFP". — Sapa

SA under pressure over Nigerian issue

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela left for New Zealand yesterday where he will participate in an intricate diplomatic wrangle at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting on the vexed question of Nigeria.

SA will be under pressure at the meeting, which begins today, to take a more vigorous stand on the recent events in Nigeria where military rulers have refused to accede to the results of a disputed presidential election.

Recently Nigeria again provoked international condemnation when nine minority rights activists, including prominent writer Ken Saro-Wiwa, were sentenced to death in a trial opponents said was politically motivated.

Some members of the 52-member Commonwealth club have suggested sanctions, while others have proposed the suspension of Nigeria and two other military dictatorships, Gambia and Sierra Leone, from the club.

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku, himself a Nigerian, has called for a tough stance on Nigeria, including "actions that go well beyond rhetoric".

SA will be under pressure to adopt a more robust stance, particularly from the First World members of the club, in contrast to its current position which has been a policy of "quiet persuasion".

Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, confirmed that up until

BD 9/11/95



now this had been SA's position, adding "we are not able to say, at the moment what SA's position will be".

"SA will do everything it can within the context of joint decision-making," he said. If the need arose, the president would find time for a one-on-one meeting with Nigerian military ruler Gen Sani Abacha.

Mankahlana said a discussion would take place at the conference on the question of "good governance" which was first raised at the Commonwealth's 1991 conference in Zimbabwe.

The Harare Declaration which committed members to the concept was endorsed by the club partly in an effort to encourage this in SA, which is ironically now called on to lead African countries in the application of similar diplomatic pressure against other African "offenders".

The position SA adopts will be influenced by its understanding of the complexities of the Nigerian situation, which SA officials see as essentially a dispute between elites.

They point out that SA has sent more delegations to Nigeria than any other country, including one by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, in an effort to engage in "brotherly and persuasive discussion". Although they are aware of the irony of the argument in favour of "quiet diplomacy" which was vigorously opposed in the context of SA, SA officials do not see the Nigerian situation being solved by sanctions.

Buthelezi resignation 'rumours'

Kevin O'Grady

BD 9/11/95

(118)

THERE were a number of IFP leaders who believed that party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi should resign from central government and be instated as KwaZulu-Natal premier, Gauteng IFP deputy chairman Themba Khoza said yesterday.

Buthelezi would "follow the decision of the people who elected him" if the time came for the party leadership to vote on the issue, he said.

However, Khoza said reports that Buthelezi's resignation from the home affairs ministry was imminent were based on "rumours" and the replacement of KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose by the IFP president

had not been officially discussed.

Some IFP leaders felt "very strongly" that Buthelezi should spearhead the party's campaign if an early provincial election was called in KwaZulu-Natal. They believed he could woo a great number of voters.

He denied that calls for Buthelezi to replace Mdlalose were based on a belief that Mdlalose was not governing the province effectively.

"That is sour grapes from people who did not win the election in KwaZulu-Natal.

"Nobody is talking about replacing (Raymond) Mhlaba in the Eastern Cape or Ngoako (Ramatlhodi) in the Northern Province. Those regions are the worst in the country," Khoza said.

GROUP WAS NOT OPENLY CONSIDERED... responsibility...

ANC, NP meet as IFP softens stance on negotiations boycott

Star 10/11/95
Cape Town - The ANC and the National Party held a top-level meeting in Cape Town last night amid growing signs that the IFP might end its boycott of constitutional negotiations.

The meeting was expected to explore possible ANC concessions on federalism aimed at luring the IFP back to multiparty negotiations on a final constitution for SA.

The bilateral meeting follows the penultimate day of discussions in Parliament by the multiparty constitutional committee before a draft of the final constitution is published for public comment.

NP and IFP sources said the two parties, possibly with the DP's backing, hoped to finalise a strongly federal - as opposed to confederal - provincial constitution for KwaZulu Natal be-

(11B) ~~11A~~
fore the end of the year.

This follows surprising progress at bilateral meetings involving the NP, IFP, ANC and DP in KwaZulu Natal in recent weeks.

Last night's meeting between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and NP leader in KwaZulu Natal Danie Schutte was to discuss the provincial constitution and prospects of drawing the IFP back into discussions on the final national constitution, due to be finalised in the next few months.

Despite its stayaway, the IFP has been tracking developments in negotiations for a final constitution. Other parties believe it may be tempted to rejoin the negotiations formally if the ANC adopts a conciliatory line on the proposed provincial constitution. - Owri Correspondent.

McDonald's wins latest battle

Nicola Jenver

BD 13/11/95

DURBAN — The US fast-food chain McDonald's won the latest battle in the burger war on Friday when Durban Supreme Court judge Noel Hurt ordered local businessmen George Charalambous and George Sombonos to refrain from operating under the distinctive "M" logo.

Product names bearing a similarity to McDonald's products could also not be traded.

Charalambous owns a Durban restaurant called Macdonalds and opened one in Johannesburg last week, three days before the official launch of the US McDonald's in SA.

Hurt said legal counsel for Charalambous had had insufficient time to prepare arguments for Friday's appearance as the papers were only served the day before. A November 30 return date was set.

However, in the interim, Macdonald's had to add "Dax" to its trademark and could not utilise the double arches "in any context or at any location".

Charalambous could continue operating his Durban restaurant as Macdonald's as had been the case since 1978, but had to change the Johannesburg one to Dax Macdonald's.

Hurt believed there was "some significance" in the coincidental opening of the Johannesburg Macdonald's three days before McDonald's opened in Blackheath and said the respondent Dax Prop — of which Charalambous is the sole member — was "endeavouring to profit by McDonald's goodwill".

He did not accept the argument that since McDonald's had not yet traded in SA, there was no goodwill surrounding the name.

"It is obvious from their significant spending in advertising in SA (more than R20m) that McDonald's are indicating goodwill. Part of that goodwill was created through the use of the golden double arches in their advertising campaign," Hurt said.

Permission was given for Dax Prop to change the return date if this was desired by providing McDonald's with 24 hours written notice.

IFP must win poll — Buthelezi

Farouk Chothia

BD 13/11/95

DURBAN — The local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal, due to be held on March 27 next year, were a matter of life and death for the party, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday. Thus the party dared not fail in its mission to win the province with an overwhelming majority, he said.

Buthelezi told a rally in Okhahlamba in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands that the battle for KwaZulu-Natal was becoming the "very battle" for freedom and democracy in SA. An IFP defeat would open the doors to increased violence against IFP supporters.

An overwhelming victory would, however, be the "door through which we can secure the autonomy of our province, and the survival of the Zulu nation," Buthelezi said.

IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela said the IFP national council discussed at a meeting last Friday the IFP's poor performance in the November 1 election, and there was an acknowledgement that much work had to be done in the province. Nevertheless, spirits were "high" and the mood "upbeat," he said.

Mzimela said the management of

the November 1 election campaign did not live up to expectations, and a "machinery" would be set up to manage the KwaZulu-Natal campaign. Also, he said, there would have to be an "injection of new blood".

Mzimela said the campaign would focus on bread-and-butter issues, and not on national issues, such as IFP demands for KwaZulu-Natal autonomy.

Buthelezi said that with the ANC preparing to use all its resources to win KwaZulu-Natal, the IFP would have to find the strength to be able to stand up to ANC "intimidation".

"If we fail, the entire cause of freedom, democracy and pluralism in SA will fail," Buthelezi said.

Buthelezi said that Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale's statement that an ANC victory in KwaZulu-Natal would be the "cherry on the top" was "highly irresponsible".

Buthelezi accused the ANC of busying its supporters from the Eastern Cape to KwaZulu-Natal to register for the election.

He said security forces were engaging in "genocide" against IFP supporters, and the "might of the state is being harnessed to destroy our party". IFP supporters' only option was to begin policing their own communities.

MONDAY
NOVEMBER 13, 1995

'ELECTION CANDIDATES WERE AMBUSHED'

Troops being used to crush IFP — Buthelezi

CT 13/11/95

(113) ~~113~~

ESTCOURT: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged at a rally here yesterday that the might of the state was now being harnessed to destroy the IFP.

ANC members of the SA National Defence Force had used their positions and troops to carry out violent acts in the name of their organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

In a speech prepared for a peace rally in Okhahlamba near here, he said that just before the local government elections IFP candidates in Mpumalanga province had been ambushed by SANDF members.

"The might of the state is now being harnessed to destroy our party, the IFP, a party they consider to be their enemy number one," he said.

Many IFP members had been at the receiving end of the violence which had started in 1985 with "the launch of the United Democratic Front by the ANC".

The IFP had pleaded with the pre-

vious government to stop "this carnage" to no avail.

"One was hoping that this would stop with the emergence of a government led by a black majority party. But instead, members of the security forces who are deployed ostensibly to protect our communities are the very ones carrying out this genocide."

Chief Buthelezi said he had always reported specific killings to the cabinet, verbally and in writing to Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise and Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi, but had received no response.

He said the IFP was being physically eliminated because "our case for real democracy, justice and pluralism is immeasurable".

Referring to Gauteng premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale's earlier statements that the ANC would bus its support-

ers to kwaZulu/Natal for the province's local government election, Chief Buthelezi said the matter would be discussed at next week's traditional leaders' conference in the province.

In Ladysmith yesterday, Mr Mufamadi said the government remained seriously concerned about the standard of policing in kwaZulu/Natal.

He told a public forum the government would bolster its community safety plan efforts in the province to combat political and criminal violence.

The success of the safety plan was that Operation Jumbo III had highlighted the urgent need for additional policing resources in the province, such as additional investigative staff and possibly more troops.

There had been a significant decline in violent incidents in many parts of kwaZulu-Natal, particularly in the North Coast and Midlands flashpoint areas, since the deployment of 1 000 additional security personnel in August. — Sapa

The might of the state is now being harnessed to destroy the IFP, says Buthelezi

(11B) Star 13/11/95

Escourt - African National Congress members within the SA National Defence Force have used their positions to carry out violent acts in the name of their organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

In a speech prepared for delivery at a peace rally in Okhahlamba near

Escourt in KwaZulu Natal, Buthelezi said just before the local government elections IFP candidates in Mpumalanga were ambushed by SANDF members.

"The might of the state is now being harnessed to destroy our party, a party they consider to be their enemy number one," he said.

"Not even rightwing organisations are brutalised in the way IFP leaders and members are being brutalised."

Buthelezi said many IFP members had been at the receiving end of the violence that started in 1985 with "the launch of the United Democratic Front by the ANC". The IFP had pleaded with the previous govern-

ment to stop "this carnage" to no avail.

"One was hoping that this would stop with the emergence of a government led by a black majority party. But instead, members of the security forces deployed to protect our communities, are the very ones carrying out this genocide," he said. - Sapa

Soldiers 'to be disciplined' after IFP rally actions

ED 14/11/95

Farouk Choithia

DURBAN — Four arrested SA National Defence Force members — who were part of an ANC crowd which allegedly caused disruptions at an IFP rally in Estcourt on Sunday — would face disciplinary action, SANDF KwaZulu-Natal commanding officer Brig Chris Le Roux said yesterday.

IFP defence spokesman Philip Powell said the IFP had the party had received information that local ANC structures had "hired" SANDF members

— who were former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members — to assassinate IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the rally in Okhahlamba, near Estcourt.

Powell said the arrests raised a question of whether the IFP information was correct.

"At best, these members are guilty of violating the constitutional provision of neutrality. At worst, we have a group of SANDF members recruited directly to assassinate Buthelezi," Powell said.

Le Roux said the four SANDF members were on official leave, but had been dressed

in brown SANDF uniforms at the time of their arrest. He confirmed that the four had been arrested, and that there would be an in-depth investigation into the allegations against them. They would face disciplinary action in terms of the military disciplinary code, Le Roux said.

Powell said the four had acted in direct violation of SANDF orders which stipulated that soldiers could not participate in political activities in uniform.

Powell said the four were part of an ANC group which hurled insults and threw stones at IFP supporters proceeding to

Buthelezi's rally. ANC supporters had reached a declaration of peace signed with the IFP in Estcourt last week. It was clear that the ANC had abandoned negotiations in favour of the "Matabele option" of "physically obliterating" the IFP, Powell claimed.

Powell said the incident highlighted the need for Defence Minister Joe Modise to launch an independent investigation into the role MK members, integrated into the SANDF and the police, were playing in destabilising KwaZulu-Natal.

Health officials' fate will be determined by auditor

Sello Motlhabakwe

ED 14/11/95

The fate of three senior Northern Province health and welfare ministry officials, suspended yesterday, would depend on an independent auditor's report, spokesman Tshepo Moshima said.

Health and Welfare MEC Joe Phahla announced yesterday the suspension of three top officials in his ministry for allegedly authorising about 45 promotions of provincial hospital personnel without ministerial sanction.

Moshima said an investigation conducted by the department on an alert from a number of hospital administrative department heads had uncovered the irregular promotions.

Among the personnel promoted were hospital clerks and nurses whose rankings were upgraded from senior professional nurse to chief professional nurse in September this year. The promotions were backdated to July 1993 with full benefits. The promotions emanated from the former Lebowa government offices.

Moshima said the irregular promotions as well as procedural promotions would be reversed by the department until the conclusion of the auditor's investigation.

He said the preliminary investigation had revealed that the three officials, two of whom were principal personnel officers and one a senior personnel officer, had promoted themselves and the 45 other staff members who were all from the former Lebowa homeland administration.

KwaZulu-Natal to get police reinforcements before voting

Nicola Janse

PRODUCTIVITY

the most



IFP links army arrests to plot against chief

(11B) (200) CT 14/11/95
 DURBAN: The arrest of four off-duty SA National Defence Force members in Wembezi in the kwaZulu/Natal Midlands could be linked to an attempt to assassinate Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the IFP said yesterday.

The arrests on Sunday were confirmed by the chief of SANDF Natal Command, Brigadier Chris le Roux.

The four, dressed in brown SANDF uniforms, were seen in the presence of African National Congress crowds gathered in Wembezi close to an IFP rally addressed by Chief Buthelezi.

"These members have been identified as non-statutory force members undergoing training at the technical services training unit in Pretoria," the SANDF said.

They would be escorted back to Pretoria "for an in-depth investigation with regard to their presence at a political rally while in SANDF uniform".

The IFP spokesman on defence, senator Mr Phillip Powell, said information had been received on Thursday that four SANDF members had been "hired" by ANC structures in Wembezi to assassinate Chief

Buthelezi.

"Their presence in Wembezi supports the information which the IFP was given last Thursday," the IFP said in a statement.

Mr Powell said: "At best, these members are guilty of violating constitutional provisions of neutrality. At worst, we have a group of SANDF members recruited to assassinate Chief Buthelezi."

ANC comment was not available yesterday afternoon.

Incitement

However, it said in a statement that a speech given by Chief Buthelezi on Sunday should be investigated by the kwaZulu-Natal attorney-general and the national and provincial police commissioners to determine whether it was an incitement to violence.

Referring to the same speech, the Democratic Party slammed as "provocative" Chief Buthelezi's statement that violence would rise in kwaZulu/Natal if the IFP lost elections in the province next year.

— Sapa

Act on Buthelezi's war-talk - ANC

(116) Star 14/11/95

Durban - A weekend speech by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be investigated by the KwaZulu Natal A-G and the national and provincial police commissioners, the ANC said yesterday.

In a statement, the KwaZulu Natal ANC said the investigation should establish whether the speech on Sunday was a direct incitement to violence.

"If this is found to be true, immediate steps must be taken against him. Buthelezi must explain what he means when he says that unless the IFP wins the elections in KwaZulu

Natal, violence is not likely to stop in this province."

The ANC condemned Buthelezi's statement that security forces were participating in carnage in the province.

"It is unfortunate that Buthelezi had to resort to blatant lies to support what can be seen as his war-mongering.

"It is a naked lie to say that the people who were killed in Mpumalanga were IFP candidates for local government elections," the ANC said.

Buthelezi and the ANC were referring to five IFP supporters who

were killed in an SA National Defence Force ambush in the run-up to recent local government elections.

The party said Buthelezi's speech was a sign of panic among IFP leaders after the party won a mere 0.7% of the votes cast in the local elections.

"Buthelezi's inflammatory speech was aimed at intimidating the people of the province to vote for the IFP. The ANC is convinced it will achieve the very opposite."

The ANC called on the people of KwaZulu Natal to register for local elections, scheduled for March, and to use their vote "to bury bantustan parties". - Sapa.

ANC rejects draft KwaZulu-Natal constitution framed by

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN.—The ANC warned yesterday that it would hit back at national level after the IFP and NP unveiled a draft constitution for KwaZulu-Natal in which it was allowed no input.

During an acrimonious three-hour debate in the KwaZulu-Natal constitutional affairs committee, ANC MP Dumisani Makhaye said the ANC would have nothing to do with the constitutional model negotiated by the IFP and NP, and would make it unworkable.

ANC negotiator John Jeffery warned the NP and IFP that if they excluded the ANC from negotiations, the ANC would do likewise in the Constitutional Assembly, focusing on obtaining a two-thirds majority through negotiations with other parties. If it fell short, it would call a referendum and secure the required 60% support with ease, Jeffery said.

The row was sparked when IFP MP Blessed Gwala called on the committee to adopt a motion compelling all parties to use the draft as the basis for

achieving consensus on a final document. Although committee members had not been given copies of the document—it was still being photocopied—he called for a vote.

Angry ANC members shouted down IFP and NP negotiators for engaging in "political thuggery".

IFP chief whip Mike Tarr admitted that none of the IFP members on the committee had seen the constitution. NP caucus chairman Iyno Volker said that although he had worked on the draft, he had not seen the final version

of the constitution either.

ANC negotiator Nhlanhla Ngidi said the ANC would review its participation in the committee. "If this is an attempt to exclude us, rest assured there will be no constitution in this province," he warned.

DP MP Wessel Nel said his party would not accept a constitution "Lhrust upon us", while Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi said the constitution did not incorporate positions he had outlined in talks with the IFP.

Volker proposed that the vote be

KwaZulu-Natal

(11B) (11/195)

Continued from Page 1

ter Felgate said he was disappointed that a historic breakthrough had been delayed by ANC obstructionism. The IFP would renew efforts to accommodate other parties.

Reflecting IFP concessions to the NP, the draft constitution proposes that the province be named KwaZulu Natal and that the Zulu king be the

monarch of KwaZulu, rather than the province as a whole.

The IFP also dropped demands that the monarch nominate the premier, and that he be given the power to veto legislation. However, it would make the monarch the trustee of all communal land.

Volker said disagreements remained on IFP demands to set up a provincial militia, appellate division and constitutional court to rule on what powers central government could exercise in KwaZulu-Natal.

shelved and that the views of other parties be reflected in the constitution.

A revised motion stating that the committee would consider using the draft as a basis for reaching finality was passed by the IFP majority after all other parties, including the NP, abstained. The motion also stated that a constitution would be adopted by the legislature at a session scheduled for November 29.

IFP national council member Wal-

Continued on Page 2.

IFP is likely to test the political waters in local poll before

Will he or won't he? The question of whether Mangosuthu Buthelezi will leave the national cabinet to lead Kwazulu Natal appears ever more acute as constitutional negotiations hot up and local elections loom. **SAM SOLE** looks at the choices facing the chief

Home Affairs Minister and In-
Freedom Party leader
Mangosuthu Buthelezi has vehe-
mently denied media reports

that he was to resign from his central government position to take up the premiership of Kwazulu Natal.

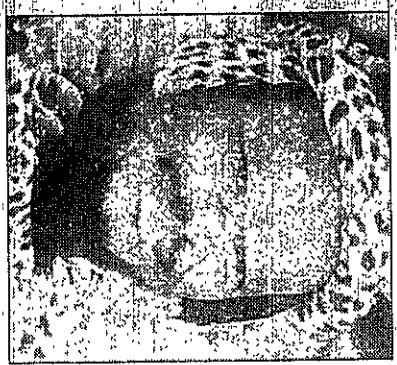
Buthelezi called the reports, which quoted unnamed senior IFP sources, "a product of imaginations of Orwellian proportions". So he was highly irritated when Transvaal IFP in-
Theamba Khoza successfully nudged the denial by suggest-
ing Buthelezi might indeed re-
turn to lead the province.

What is true is that there is considerable pressure within the party, particularly in Kwazulu Natal, for him to do so. The party

structures outside the province and in the National Assembly are less enthusiastic.

Buthelezi has been open about his frustration over his perception of the IFP's provincial government's inability to stamp its authority on the province. The ruthless intervention over the constitution-making process, which saw the removal of Arthur Kottgraber as con-
stitutional committee chairman, was but one expression of that frustration.

The abrupt removal of Celani Mletwa from his low-profile role as MEC for the strategic safety



CHIEF'S CHOICE: Mangosuthu Buthelezi faces a tough call

The party is therefore more likely to test the political waters via the less crucial local govern-
ment elections.

Another factor is the progress in constitutional negotiations. If the IFP succeeds in its bid to write a provincial constitution, some of the pressure would be taken off the party at provin-
cial level.

The focus would shift to entrenching that constitution at national level within the final national constitution.

Here the impetus would be for Buthelezi to remain on the national stage.

and security portfolio may be seen as another example. The response from the provincial caucus has been a largely unspoken "come back and see if you can do better".

And within the IFP Youth Brigade, in particular, there has reportedly been pressure for Buthelezi to join his political frontline troops in the trenches of Kwazulu Natal.

There are a number of factors which may influence a decision to take over the premiership.

The results of the local government elections in the rest of

Observers point out that a return to Kwazulu Natal would send out two messages: first, an abdication of the IFP's national aspirations and, second, the reliance of the party on one man — both of which would be perceived negatively in some quarters.

Given some of his recent statements, it appears that Buthelezi would like to underline his indispensability to the party, but unless there is a deadlock over the provincial constitution, it appears unlikely he will give up the advantages of a national cabinet post for the time being.

If the party called fresh provincial elections at this stage, there would probably be an irresistible call for Buthelezi to return to lead this all-or-nothing campaign.

(116)

the country, where the IFP did very poorly and the ANC did better than predicted, have underlined the fact that the IFP has no cause to be complacent about achieving a substantial victory in Kwazulu Natal — particularly in light of the fact that the ANC will now be able to concentrate its considerable national resources on propping up a provincial campaign.

Buthelezi shows his hand
Mar 18/11/95

IFP men held for murder

By SIPHO KHUMALO

(118)
THE ARREST of two more allegedly clandestinely-trained operatives in connection with the KwaMakhutha massacre has enraged Inkatha leaders who have accused the Investigation Task Unit (ITU) of selective arrests. 21/11/95

The two, accused of being part of a 200-man Inkatha force trained in military warfare in the Caprivi Strip in 1987, were arrested by the hit-squad-hunting ITU in Durban this week.

Hloni Mbuyazi and Vulindlela Biyela appeared in the Durban Regional Court on charges relating to the massacre of 13 people in KwaMakhutha township, south of Durban, in 1987.

Both were released on R2,000 bail.

They are alleged to have joined the KwaZulu police after "specialised" training in Caprivi.

They join 18 other suspects, who include luminaries of the apartheid military and security establishment.

All will appear together in court in Durban in December.

The suspects include General Magnus Malan, former Defence Minister, General Jannie Geldenhuys, former Defence Force chief, Brigadier John More, a former intelligence officer, Colonel Louis Botha, a former security operative and Inkatha's Deputy-Secretary Zakhele "MZ" Khumalo.

Earlier, the ITU arrested four commanders of the ANC-aligned self-defence units in the Maritzburg area.

This week one of them, Musa Mkhize, appeared in the Maritzburg Regional Court on four murder charges.

Another three, Simphiwe Dlamini, Mkhari Makhathini and M'Southern Zondi, filed bail applications, which were opposed by the State on the grounds that the accused might intimidate or interfere with witnesses.

They are accused of murdering Bongani Mkhize and Mzwandile Mtolo in February 1993.

We can get 65% in March, says Buthelezi

(11B) (211) Star 20/11/95
Durban — The ANC would try anything to win power in KwaZulu Natal in next year's local elections, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"The ANC knows that, until it has won KwaZulu Natal, it has not truly won South Africa ... Unless the ANC controls KwaZulu Natal there will always be one solid bastion of political opposition," Buthelezi said in a speech prepared for a rally in the north of the province.

"The ANC is importing its entire election machinery from Gauteng and from other provinces to try work a miracle. It is going to put everything into these elections, from maximising the use of President Mandela down to registering non-KwaZulu Natal residents as voters."

It was important that people voted for Inkatha on March 27 to improve their living conditions and to strengthen the IFP's national constitutional demands.

"Forcing the ANC in particular to concede to our (constitutional) demands, will necessitate their having to confront not just a province united in its constitutional demands, but a province united under the IFP's resolute leadership."

Buthelezi said the results of the forthcoming election would also prove who had the political power in the province, dispelling allegations that last year's national election results in KwaZulu Natal had been rigged in favour of the IFP.

"I see no reason why we cannot get 65% of the vote," he said. — Reuters.

Bid to woo back IFP for constitutional talks

(113) (S.A.A) Sowetan 23/11/95

By Mzimasi Ngudle

CHAIRMAN of the Constitutional Assembly, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has invited Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the country's constitution-making process.

Releasing the working draft of the final Constitution in Johannesburg yes,

terday, Ramaphosa said he would meet Buthelezi soon to hand him a copy of the draft and to discuss the IFP's return.

The IFP pulled out of the Constitutional Assembly early this year over a dispute on international mediation.

Ramaphosa said that, except for three areas, there was general consensus on all provisions of the final draft.

'IN THE INTERESTS OF SOUTH AFRICA'

IFP invited to rejoin constitution process

CT 23/11/95

(11B) (SAPA)

JOHANNESBURG: At the formal launch of the draft constitution, the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said none of the parties in the talks "had felt threatened".

THE chairman of the constitutional assembly, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said yesterday he was seeking a meeting with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to persuade him to return to talks on South Africa's final constitution.

"I will be seeking to meet Chief Buthelezi to hand over this draft constitution to him, and once again invite the IFP to come back to the constitution-making process," Mr Ramaphosa said at the formal launch of the draft working constitution.

"There is a lot that the IFP can contribute ... the issue of the powers of provinces is a matter we have not yet finally resolved."

This would give the IFP the

opportunity to help the constitution-making body reach consensus on the document.

Mr Ramaphosa said the powers of the provinces was one of three key issues yet to be resolved. The others were the powers and structure of the senate and whether the government of national unity should continue beyond 1999.

Threatened

He said he hoped to meet Chief Buthelezi in a day or so to "indicate clearly to him that no party in the constitutional assembly has felt threatened, has felt like walking out".

"I want to point out to him that it is important, it is in the interests of South Africa, that

the IFP should come back into the constitution-making body.

"When they read this constitution, I am sure they will see that this is the type of constitution that is good for this country."

Chief Buthelezi led the IFP in a walkout from the constitutional assembly earlier this year after accusing the ANC of renegeing on a promise to allow foreign mediation on their differences over the powers of provinces.

He is demanding that kwaZulu/Natal be allowed a wider degree of autonomy than the ANC is prepared to grant.

Mr Ramaphosa said he was confident the assembly would meet its May 1996 deadline to produce a final constitution.

"We are going to meet our deadline ... even if it takes locking the parties up in one room for weeks on end until they reach agreement." — Reuter

Buthelezi lashes out at Mandela

(118) MG 24-30/11/95

Ed O'Loughlin

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has voiced some of his strongest criticism to date of President Nelson Mandela, saying relations between the two leaders "could not be worse".

In an interview with The Irish Times, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader said his relations with the president were "polite" but that surface appearances belied the true nature of their relationship.

Buthelezi said Mandela made a point of addressing him in a friendly fashion in public but on his visit to Tanzania last June had publicly accused the IFP leader of being responsible for violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

"It is the most terrible thing to say about one of his Cabinet because he had never confronted me and told me

in what way I am responsible for the violence," he said.

Buthelezi added it was unjust that some people were facing investigation while senior ANC figures like Joe Modise, Jacob Zuma and Thabo Mbeki had been granted amnesty for "crimes" they had committed. He

added that few IFP members had applied for amnesty because it had never been the party's policy to kill people.

Despite his "frustration" at the workings of the Cabinet, Buthelezi refused to contemplate an imminent withdrawal from the Government of National Unity. The decision to enter the GNU had been taken by the IFP national council against his own desire, he said, and it was up to the party to decide whether or not he and other Inkatha ministers should withdraw.

Discrepancies over IFP death list

(116) MG 24-30/11/95

The IFP has renewed its battle cries over the alleged assassination of about 400 party leaders. **Ann Eveleth** investigates the claims

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi wept last Saturday as he read the political eulogy for the Wembezi funeral of the three Dladla brothers.

Gunned down almost three weeks ago on the way to work at the Escourt Bacon Factory, Wembezi IFP Youth Brigade secretary Nhlanhla Dladla died instantly. His brothers, Xolani and Sizwe, died later in hospital from their injuries.

The latest chapter in a long saga of political conflict plaguing this small KwaZulu-Natal Midlands town, the Dladla murders have become a new symbol for the IFP's campaign against the "systematic war of murder and assassination" of party leaders in the province.

Lashing out at "the recent acceleration" of such murders, IFP defence spokesman Senator Phillip Powell said the African National Congress had issued a "unilateral declaration of war" against the party. He said the death of 430 party leaders since 1985 begged the question "why nothing is being done to apprehend the perpetrators".

A *Mail & Guardian* random investigation this week into an IFP list of 390 deaths spanning 1985 to September 1995 provided some interesting answers (see box). Eighty-year-old Elias Khomo — number 378 — is alive and well.

Dubbed a "Youth Branch chairperson" from Paddock on the South Coast, the IFP lists him as shot dead last October.

Exiled South Coast Contralesa Chief Everson Xolo, a former parishioner of the elderly Elim Mission preacher, says Khomo — one of his izinduna — survived the shoulder and foot bullet wounds he sustained during the attack which claimed the life of his son Fanuel. Xolo says the attackers — allegedly led by a IFP warlord — shot Fanuel in the back after sending him to fetch his father. The IFP said the error was "typographical", as Fanuel should have been listed instead.

Solving another case, Xolo says Chief Khandalesizwe Cele — number 279 on the IFP list — was not "decapitated" in February 1993. Xolo said he understood that Cele died of natural causes earlier this year.

While violence monitors agree many IFP members number among the 10 000 victims of the KwaZulu-Natal violence, they argue that these and other discrepancies make the IFP's list "dubious".

The absence of case numbers on 170 of the 390 cases, incorrect case numbers on others, discrepancies between the IFP's early and recent lists over

such details as the gender, name, position, and cause of death of their leaders are just some of the question marks.

IFP secretary general Ziba Jiyane admits the list may contain "mistakes", but claims the majority of cases are accurate. He argues that the significance of the list is that "it establishes a pattern" of attacks on IFP leaders.

Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) Port Shepstone spokesman Sylvan Chetty argues, however, that "anyone who dies in an area dominated by the IFP, if nobody claims them, then the IFP makes them a leader." Umgababa Secretary Miss P Shandu (149), Youth Brigade com-



Eulogy to the dead: IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, flanked by MEC of Social Welfare Chief Gideon Zulu (left) and former safety and security MEC Celani Mthethwa, weeps at the funeral of three Dladla brothers who were assassinated

PHOTOGRAPH ERIC MILLER

Dubious deaths

Some of the "dubious" claims and apparent errors on a 390-person IFP death list include:

- A "dead" Youth Branch leader turns out to be an 80-year-old survivor.
- A "political assassination" is really a love-triangle murder.
- A "murder" docket shows up as an assault case.
- A natural death is recorded as a "decapitation".

mittee member Miss Z Shandu (150) and committee member Miss N Shandu (151) are cases in point.

Umgababa sources say the area has never had an IFP branch. Umkomaas South African Police reports from 1990 list the area as "an ANC stronghold".

Local violence monitors say the Shandus were killed by ANC supporters shortly after they settled in the area in mid-1990. They were recognised as IFP refugees from ongoing violence in KwaMakhutha and were burned to death. Thirteen people were tried for their murder, six were convicted.

Jiyane says it is "callous" to focus on their status within the party rather than on the fact they were burnt alive.

Jiyane insists the three were office-bearers: "We are a grassroots organisation with over 4 000 branches in KwaZulu-Natal alone".

University of Natal Pietermaritzburg Professor John Atcheson, who monitored violence in the Midlands in the 1980s, argues: "If you listed United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders killed — youth leaders and others who wielded some degree of authority — you would probably come up with at least 1 500 for the Midlands alone".

De Haas says that although "IFP supporters obviously got picked off by ANC supporters, many were also killed by their own people, by jealous



Funeral fervour: ANC supporters are teargassed by police to prevent clashes with IFP supporters at the funeral

PHOTOGRAPH ERIC MILLER

husbands, in criminal violence and from any number of causes".

Xolo points to the July 1994 death of Professor Ngilande (number 354): "This guy misbehaved. He was having an affair with somebody else's wife and that's how he met his death."

NIM's Chetty says S'modern Jula, number 390, was a classic example of an internal IFP conflict: One of three main "warlords" operating on the South Coast, Jula was allegedly killed by an opposing warlord. The IFP says the use of a hand-grenade in the attack suggests a "classic ANC-style hit".

Violence monitors attribute more than a dozen cases to internal IFP dynamics or warlordism. Jiyane disagrees: "Warlord is just a buzz-word to describe strong IFP leaders who dare to stand up to ANC death squads."

Ex-Democratic Party monitor and

ANC MP Roy Ainslie says number 359 — Joseph Nyathikazi — was also killed by enemies in his own party. "He was a warlord in Mshayasafe (Inanda) who got into a fight with his own people and fled to Ndewewe. His enemies from Mshayasafe followed him there and killed him," Ainslie alleged.

Jiyane admits the IFP has internal problems, but adds: "They are nothing compared to those of the ANC."

Atchison argued that Drake Ntombela (number 135) and son of IFP MP David Ntombela, was a victim of his own criminal alliances: "Drake and a fellow gangster had robbed a store.

"They got into a fight while dividing the spoils and his co-conspirator shot him, although police at the time pegged it as an ANC murder," he alleged.

The *M&G* sought clarity from the police about 200 case numbers from 24 police stations about murders which appear on the IFP death list.

There were few responses from police stations at the time of going to press, but preliminary findings suggest a wide margin of error on the IFP list. One case number related not to the death of an IFP leader, but to the double murder of two UDF activists.

Another police record states: "The deceased and his family were not supporters of any political organisations."

Another "murder" case number turned out to be an attempted murder charge. Jiyane emphasised: "The IFP is an under-resourced party" without the mechanisms to investigate such incidents thoroughly, contributing to errors and making evidence hard to come by.

Violence monitors point out many of the incidents took place in KwaZulu Police (KZP) jurisdiction, at a time when IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was minister of the KZP.

Asked why the KZP had failed to solve the 56 referenced cases at its disposal, or to provide case numbers for the dozens of other cases clearly within its jurisdiction, Jiyane said the KZP was not the "strong" force it was projected to be, and did not have the capacity to investigate all cases.

Jiyane said the IFP had made submissions to the Goldstone Commission and written letters to security force heads calling for an independent inquiry into the deaths, but it would not co-operate with the Investigation Task Unit which is responsible for investigating hit-squads in the province.

Jiyane said his party does not trust the unit, accusing it of bias in favour of the ANC. Shrugging off the 16 convictions, 88 arrests, 13 acquittals, six arrest warrants and seven deceased suspects listed by the IFP in respect of the 390 deaths, Jiyane said the fact that "one or two people have been arrested", was insufficient.

He said there needed to be a thorough investigation to look at the plot "behind the killings" — an orchestrated ANC plot to assassinate IFP leaders.

Buthelezi accuses Ramaphosa of 'setup' to portray him in

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — IFP leader Maxgosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he saw no purpose in meeting Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa to discuss the IFP's return to the assembly or the draft of the constitution. However, he could not refuse Ramaphosa's request for a meeting. As far as he was concerned, Ramaphosa was using him in a public relations exercise to put off in a bad light Frankly, I cannot see the purpose

of the meeting."

Buthelezi had not read the draft document released last week, but judging by what others who had read it had said, it was "not worth the paper it is written on". Given the "holes" in the document, particularly in relation to provincial powers, "now is the appropriate time to proceed with international mediation," he said. Ramaphosa, at the launch of the document last week, said he wanted to meet Buthelezi as soon as possible to give him a copy of the document and

brief him on the process. He appealed to the IFP to return to the assembly, saying it was in the interests of the IFP and SA that the party ended its boycott over international mediation. A spokesman in Ramaphosa's office said yesterday the ANC leader was away, but would be back next week. Buthelezi accused Ramaphosa of being responsible for scuppering international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues. Ramaphosa had shown him only "disdain". He blamed Ramaphosa for ruining any hopes of

mediation earlier this year when the ANC leader took over from Deputy President Thabo Mbeki the leadership of an ANC team of senior negotiators dealing with the IFP. He claimed Ramaphosa's intervention quashed hopes of discussions between the ANC, NP and IFP on mediation. Ramaphosa was interested only in discussing the IFP's constitutional proposals with which he was familiar — not international mediation, as agreed between them president FW de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and himself be-

(118) 20 28/11/95

bad light

fore last year's general election. Buthelezi said he was "insulted" that Ramaphosa was acting as if the IFP's decision to return to the constitutional process was solely that of its leader. The IFP worked on the basis of "collegial leadership" and there was nothing he could say to Ramaphosa on the draft constitution or a return to the assembly. "I am not a dictator — I am only a simple Zulu peasant." A shift in IFP policy could be made only by the party's national council or an IFP general conference.

Buthelezi rebuffs ANC

~~28/11/95~~ (11/95)
DURBAN: Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rebuffed an ANC overture for talks about the draft constitution.

At the launch of the working draft of the constitution last week, chairman of the Constitutional Assembly Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he wanted to meet Chief Buthelezi to urge him to end Inkatha's boycott of the writing of the constitution.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that foreign mediation on disputed issues was still Inkatha's top priority. The ANC has ruled out mediation.

"I do not expect much to come out of a meeting (with him) at this stage," Chief Buthelezi said. — Reuter

CT 28/11/95

EX-MINISTER 'NEVER APPROVED ARMS FOR IFP'

'What we did was a disgrace' — Malan ⁽¹¹⁰⁾

CT 29/11/95 ^(25#)

PRETORIA: Former defence minister General Magnus Malan yesterday confessed some of his regrets and some secrets of the apartheid years.

GENERAL Magnus Malan, one-time scourge of Cubans, communists and the African National Congress, said yesterday he wished he had thought of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

Gen Malan, 65, also told foreign correspondents he regretted having had to keep South Africa's 1975 invasion of Angola a secret.

Gen Malan said he had never approved the supply of weapons to the Inkatha Freedom Party although other government agencies might have provided guns to the kwaZulu homeland administration.

Asked if the "third force" which the ANC has long blamed for stoking violence existed, Gen Malan said: "The answer is No ... If you start talking about hit-squads, I don't know of any hit-squads that have been trained, or that existed within the SADF during my time.

"I never saw, I never discussed, I was never informed about any so-called hit-list. If you have a hit-squad you have to have a hit-list."

Discussing his regrets over the apartheid years, Gen Malan said: "At one stage I was very annoyed at the way certain things took place.

"What we did against Alexan-

dra, I think it was a disgrace. I saw the people, the conditions in which they were living.

"If we could have had an RDP programme functioning on all cylinders during that period, that's the type of thing I'm sorry I didn't do."

Asked if he was prepared to testify before the Truth Commission, Gen Malan said: "I haven't really got anything I can think of that I can confess. But if the Truth Commission should ask to have more detail on certain things ... then I'm quite prepared to do it ..."

Gen Malan said he had never lied about South Africa's invasion of Angola. "We just never told you what was happening. That's the difference. I feel very sorry ... that's something that I have to confess was terrible." — Reuter

Buthelezi

singing

the blues

rowetan 30/12/95 (118)

The IFP's leader says he is made to feel like an outcast in the GNU

By Pamela Dube
Political Staff

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI is a lonely man, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader told the Dutch Foundation conference on South Africa's new democracy in Johannesburg yesterday.

Delivering an 11-page speech during what was supposed to be a 10 minutes comment, Buthelezi told participants at the conference that he had always been made to feel like an outcast in the Government of National Unity.

"It is not easy to be the one who is always seen as a spoiler amidst the euphoria generated by the enthusiasm of those who often confuse their own hopes for reality.

Took a stand

"I have often been blamed for the thunderstorm of our recent politics merely because I have forecast the bad constitutional weather moving towards us," Buthelezi said.

Even in the past he was always made to look bad.

When he took a stand against the tricameral parliament in the 1980s, the South African private sector "condemned me, describing the tricameral system as the 'first step in the right direction'."

Buthelezi said in those days when everyone was condemning him, "it was only Mr Harry Oppenheimer who had the courage to stand alone with me. Otherwise, I would have felt lonely as I do at this time in our history."

Turning to the draft constitution, Buthelezi said it did not provide answers to the country's problems and contained "no vision for our future."

He said the constitution did not address pertinent questions like provincial autonomy, transformation of the society from "a closed autocracy into an open and plural society with limited government."

One-party state

Buthelezi took a swipe at the African National Congress, saying the party was using its majority base in the Constitutional Assembly to draft a constitution which aimed to create a one-party state.

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen told the conference that his party was worried about the hurried drafting of the country's constitution.

"We feel it is too soon for us to know what type of democracy would be suitable for us."

Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dr Motsoko Pheko told participants that despite having been ruled out as a political force, "we are not a small party at all."

A myth

"The PAC has support in this country, and the one percent issue is just a myth."

Pheko added that the history of Robben Island should be rewritten to show that "PAC members were the first to be there, others (referring to ANC leaders) found us there 10 months later."

Miller 'set to amend local government Bill'

Farouk Choithia
BD 30/11/95

UJLUNDI — KwaZulu-Natal local government MEC Peter Miller has agreed to amend the Provincial Local Government Bill substantially to ensure that it dovetailed with the IFP's local government model. IFP national council member Walker Felgate claimed yesterday.

But Miller refused to confirm or deny this. He said he was still to hold discussions with IFP leaders over the Bill.

Felgate and Miller held a joint news conference earlier yesterday in what appeared to be a public relations exercise to downplay the row that has strained relations between them.

The two issued a joint statement saying they had held "frank and detailed discussions" and it was agreed that amendments to the Bill would be drafted for Miller's consideration.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised Miller on Monday for "saying away" from decisions of the IFP national council and reflecting a model different to that of the IFP's in the Bill.

Felgate said in a later interview that Buthelezi's criticisms were "very helpful". It made him and Miller "sit up and take note" and ensure that the Bill met the requirements of the IFP national council.

Felgate said Miller's Bill had been drafted by "technocrats and politicians" from the "old era" who had a "natural inborn resistance" to change.

Felgate said that Miller was not like them. Miller supported IFP policy and agreed that major amendments should be made to the Bill so that rural people could be empowered.

Felgate said while all traditional leaders would have ex-officio representation on the councils, elected representatives would also serve on them.

Comment: Page 12

Mediation is first step, says Felgate

Farouk Choithia
BD 30/11/95

UJLUNDI — The IFP would return to the Constitutional Assembly only after international mediation had been completed, IFP national council member Walker Felgate said yesterday.

He said an undertaking from the ANC that it agreed to mediation would not result in the IFP joining the assembly. "The IFP did not 'trust' the ANC and believed the ruling party would renege on its word."

Felgate said the IFP's priority was to reach a constitutional settlement in KwaZulu-Natal. It was close to reaching an agreement with the NP. The IFP believed that once an agreement had been reached, Deputy President FW de Klerk would join Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the government of national unity to demand that President Nelson Mandela honour the mediation agreement.

The completion of a constitution in KwaZulu-Natal would make the issues on which there needed to be mediation "crisp and clear", Felgate said.

The IFP believed that mediation could take place in January if the ANC agreed. It would not last more than "a couple of days". Once the IFP returned to the assembly,

Felgate

11B
11B

11B
11B

11B
11B

it would make a joint effort with the NP to prevent the ANC passing its centralised constitutional vision in favour of federal principles.

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte said negotiations in KwaZulu-Natal were "very positive". De Klerk had always believed there should be mediation. The ANC's failure to honour the agreement was the underlying reason for tension in KwaZulu-Natal.

Schutte said an option was to hold mediation without the ANC. The KwaZulu-Natal constitution could be placed before mediators to see whether it was "internationally acceptable".

Schutte said there was a general feeling in the country that it was a "luxury for parties outside the ANC to be divided". There should be co-operation when parties shared basic principles.

Sources said the IFP had continued to make concessions over a KwaZulu-Natal constitution in bilateral talks with the NP.

There were indications that it would accept a militia over which both premier Frank Mdlalose and Mandela would have control. The province could summon it to assist in disasters such as a flood, while only Mandela would have the power to summon it to quell any political unrest.

SANDF set to integrate 2 000 IFP-aligned 'troops'

Stephané Bothma
BD 30/11/95

PRETORIA — About 2 000 KwaZulu-Natal IFP-aligned self-protection unit (SPU) members are to be integrated into the SA National Defence Force over the next two years.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel told a media briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday that Cabinet had approved the decision to allow the SPU members to become soldiers after discussions with the IFP.

He said 200 SPU members would be integrated during the current financial year, while the rest would join the SANDF in the next financial year.

The SANDF last night said it had agreed in principle to the integration of no more than 2 000 SPU members into the force. The integration would take place on condition that the SANDF and other relevant authorities in KwaZulu-Natal agreed on the names of the people to be integrated and that a certified personnel register be compiled as a first step.

"The process... will be done in accordance with a mutually agreed-upon procedure," SANDF communications chief Maj-Gen Gert Opperman said. He said the exact time scales for the process had not yet been determined but would be influenced by the availability of funds.

More details would be announced in the next few days, he said.

The SANDF is currently in the process of integrating an estimated 35 000 MK and Apla non-statutory force members into the defence force.

Meanwhile, all prisoners whose death penalties had not been commuted by the previous government would have their cases referred back to their trial courts for re-sentencing, Gerwel said.

De Kock 'supplied arms to IFP senator'

BD 1/12/95

(11B)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — Six KwaZulu government-owned trucks loaded with explosives and ammunition were taken to Natal by former Vlakplaas commander Col Eugene de Kock in 1993 at the request of IFP senator Phillip Powell.

The munitions were to be used by De Kock and his Vlakplaas colleagues to train IFP self-protection unit members to protect IFP leaders, the Transvaal Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Advocate Flip Hattingh, defending De Kock on 121 charges including murder, fraud and illegal possession of explosives and ammunition, said De

Kock and former Vlakplaas member Snor Vermeulen collected four truckloads of ammunition and explosives from Denel subsidiary Mechem on October 1 1993. By then De Kock had left the police. Among the goods were 700 anti-tank mines, 1 000 hand grenades, 14 400 AK-47 rounds, 15 191 R-1 rounds, 182 RPG-7 rockets, 120 mortars, 1 428 rifle grenades, 125kg of explosives, 98 anti-personnel land mines and RPG-7 rocket launchers.

During cross-examination of Marthinus Gouws, employed at Mechem at the time, Hattingh said the trucks' number plates had been covered by masking tape bearing false police reg-

istration numbers. After the trucks left Mechem, the masking tape had been removed, disclosing KwaZulu government registration plates.

On October 20 1993, De Kock collected from Mechem another 395kg of explosives, 188 mortars, 288 hand grenades, 7 500 rounds of ammunition and 200 shrapnel mines, also destined for Natal, Hattingh said. He also took ammunition stored at Vlakplaas. After the weapons reached their destination (believed to be a self-protection unit training camp in Umfolozi) De Kock visited the area and saw the explosives and ammunition. No money was paid for the ammunition and explosives.

Buthelezi wants common front formed against ANC

BD4/12/95

(11B)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on opposition parties on Saturday to form a common front against the ANC in order to prevent it from establishing a one-party state in SA.

Buthelezi's comments came against the backdrop of the 0,7% vote the IFP obtained in the November 1 local government elections, and the need for it to muster the NP's support to frustrate the ANC's constitutional plans in the Constitutional Assembly.

Addressing the annual conference of the Dikwankwetla Party in the Free State, Buthelezi said the past 18 months had shown that opposition parties had an important role to play. But to be effective, they needed to stage a common front against the ANC. However, opposition parties should not lose their respective identities.

"We have been looking recently at a set of values with the DP and we intend

discussing these with other opposition parties," Buthelezi said.

DP KwaZulu-Natal leader Roger Burrows said DP leader Tony Leon and Buthelezi had met about a month ago to discuss five or six areas on which the DP and IFP had common ground.

Burrows said the DP had talked with a whole range of parties, including the NP, on issues that might bring them together, including economic principles and federalism.

He envisaged a situation where some parties would disappear. Individuals from various parties might come together to form new parties. This might lead to federalists being in one party, and centrists in another.

Buthelezi said an essential pre-condition for creating a "truly modern yet truly African state" in SA was the need for "renewed unity among black opposition parties". NP executive director Fanus Schoeman agreed that there could be a re-alignment of SA politics in the future.

IFP march to defend Buthelezi

(11B)
Sowetan 4/12/95

By Pamela Dübe
Political Staff

HUNDREDS of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched to the Moroka Police Station in Soweto at the weekend protesting against their leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi being implicated in General Magnus Malan's case.

The IFP marchers claimed Buthelezi was innocent.

The march came a day after former defence minister Malan and his 19 co-accused, including former top KwaZulu policemen and IFP officials, were formally charged in the Durban Regional Court for the massacre of 13 people in KwaMakutha township north of Durban on January 21 1987.

Buthelezi's name cropped up several times in the lengthy indictment presented by the KwaZulu-Natal attorney general Tim McNally on the Malan case, implicating him in the activities which led to the massacre of the 13.

According to the indictment, Buthelezi approached the South African Defence Force in October of 1985 to ask for protection from the then banned African National Congress and the United Democratic Front.

Subsequent meetings between Buthelezi and top security officials led to the establishment of the "assistance" project, code-named "Operation Marion".

About 200 IFP supporters were recruited for Operation Marion and were taken to Nlungwane camp in western Caprivi, in Namibia, for training. On return, the 200 were put on an operation, and on that January night attacked UDF leader Mr Victor's Ntuli's house where 13 people were murdered.

Buthelezi's alleged role in hit squad queried by ANC

Star 4/12/95 (11B)

By DAISY JONES

The ANC has called on IFP president and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to reveal his role in the establishment of a paramilitary group thought to be responsible for the killing of 13 people, including women and six children, at KwaMakhutha, outside Durban, in January 1987.

In a statement, the ANC said it was shocked by details contained in an indictment issued to Magnus Malan and 19 others in the Durban Magistrate's Court on Friday.

The ANC said the indictment indicated that the process of setting up an offensive paramilitary group of 30 IFP support-

ers, who applied to join the KwaZulu Police in 1985.

They were later allegedly trained in house penetration, explosives and attacks on identified targets, and it is alleged that this was initiated by Buthelezi.

According to the indictment, Buthelezi sought the assistance of the then-SADF's military intelligence to help him fight a UDF-ANC plot to kill him and neutralise his organisation.

Buthelezi is not implicated in any of the charges or in any unlawful activity.

The "Malan 20" will appear in the Durban Supreme Court on March 4 next year.

Buthelezi won't give evidence

(11B) Sowetan 5/12/95

Sowetan Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not be called to testify in the KwaMakutha hit-squad case in which former defence force chief General Magnus Malan is charged along with 19 others.

Buthelezi's name does not appear among the list of 75 witnesses due to give evidence in the Supreme Court trial which begins in March next year, despite the fact that it is mentioned frequently in the court indictment.

KwaZulu-Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally confirmed yesterday that the IFP leader would not be called to give evidence.

The indictment in the sensational trial opens with a speech by Buthelezi in the former KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in 1984 where he hints at the prospect of establishing a force to fight his opponents in the African National Congress and allied United Democratic Front.

This and many other references to Buthelezi and his role in calling for a homeland paramilitary force has prompted

his rivals in the ANC to call on the Home Affairs Minister to reveal his alleged role in setting up hit-squads.

McNally said if Buthelezi felt it necessary to respond to the indictment he "has a political platform, within the rules of *sub judice*, but the court platform is not available to him".

The ANC's provincial safety and security spokesman, Mr Bheki Cele, said: "I'm legally illiterate. He features prominently in the indictment and not only asked for protection, but promised to hit back at his opponents and that's not defensive. Legally he may not be involved, but morally he is."

The case, against Malan and others hinges around the establishment of an offensive unit through the IFP, which was trained by the former South African Defence Force.

While Buthelezi has publicly denied that SADF officials held discussions over an offensive unit with him, the indictment claims he requested offensive and intelligence capabilities.

His name is mentioned at least 25 times in the 64-page indictment.

929
281
648
525
13,8
13,8
1,75

000

the
res,
ntrol

ary
195
ed)
30)

65
07
67
39
43
96
64
37
47

Ramaphosa pursues a meeting with Buthelezi

David Greybe

DN 6/12/95

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa hopes to meet IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi next month to discuss the IFP's return to the assembly.

Ramaphosa said yesterday "telephonic attempts" over the past two weeks to arrange a meeting had failed. He had decided instead to write to Buthelezi.

He said he wanted to give Buthelezi a copy of the working draft of the new constitution, brief him about the process and try to convince him that his party should return to the assembly.

Ramaphosa denied a claim by Buthelezi last week that he intended to use the meeting as a "public-relations exercise" to portray the IFP leader "in a bad light".

Ramaphosa said: "My task is to draft the new constitution, and nothing would please me more than to have the IFP back in the assembly. I am not involved in any public-relations exercise. We are dealing with weighty issues."

Buthelezi reiterated last week the IFP position that the party would return only if the ANC agreed to proceed with international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues, as agreed by the ANC, IFP and NP last year.

Buthelezi had said he saw no purpose in meeting Ramaphosa while the mediation issue remained unresolved, but said he could not refuse Ramaphosa's request. Ramaphosa said the assembly — and not himself — had to decide what to do to break the logjam over mediation.

Violence aimed at leaders, say parties

Farouk Chothia

BD 6/12/95

(118)

DURBAN — The IFP claimed yesterday that gunmen opened fire on a community meeting called to discuss the reconstruction and development programme (RDP) in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, while the ANC claimed one of its leaders was killed and another two attacked in separate incidents.

IFP national organiser Senzo Mfayela claimed that IFP Impendle chairman Mgudlani Madlala was assassinated and local RDP committee chairman Alpheus Nhlala was injured when gunmen fired 17 shots at the local tribal court on Monday. The gunmen were armed with an AK-47 rifle, a 9mm pistol and a 7,65mm pistol, he said.

"It is ironic that Madlala fell victim to a political assassination while organising an event in support of the RDP, a programme originating from the ANC."

Mfayela said six IFP leaders had been killed in Impendle in the past year as part of a campaign to "obliterate" IFP grassroots leadership.

He said the IFP wanted the immediate appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the murder of its leaders, and would use the "full scope of non-violent action" to ensure its demand was met.

"While the world feasts on the spectacle of selective justice as practised by the investigation task unit and Dullah Omar and his half-truth commission, we are faced by a government and international community that is unwilling to face up to the political serial killing of IFP leaders on a scale which would not be out of place in Bosnia," Mfayela said.

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose visited Impendle and promised to build a satellite police station and deploy additional troops in the area.

Meanwhile, ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye reiterated ANC calls on central government to ensure there was "wall-to-wall" security in KwaZulu-Natal in the run-up to local government elections. He said people should also remember that "absolutely everything is permissible in defence of life and property".

Makhaye said an ANC leader in Durban's Umlazi township — whom he did not identify — was killed yesterday when two assassins stormed into his home.

In Hlathikulu in the Midlands yesterday, the car in which ANC Wembezi chairman Teaspoon Mkhize and Ukhakhlaba regional organiser S'khumbuzo Gumede were travelling was shot at. A teacher travelling with the two was wounded.

Malan trial: Before the KwaMakhutha massacre, there was

Chapter one of

Hazel Friedman

THE murder of three union shop stewards on a lonely road near Mpophomeni on the night of December 5 1986 will be remembered as the beginning of the most violent period in this country's history.

These deaths, along with the KwaMakhutha massacre — for which General Magnus Malan and 19 co-accused will face trial early next year — were pivotal in transforming the Natal Midlands into South Africa's killing fields.

They also marked the beginning of "third force" operations in South Africa.

A chilling excerpt from the indictment against the Malan 20 confirms that these early massacres by the "Caprivi 200" hit squad were designed to stoke "black-on-black violence" and undermine organisations aligned to the African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal. The Caprivi 200 plan is alleged to have been set up by Malan.

Describing preparations for the KwaMakhutha massacre, the indictment says: "The 10 AK47 rifles were handed to the [Caprivi] group and (SADF officer Johan) Opperman gave accused no 1 [Peter Msane] a Tokarev pistol, together with a piece of paper on which was written 'Chapter 1, verse 1', which was to be left on the scene for effect."

The attackers made two mistakes: They killed 13 civilians but failed to murder Victor Ntuli, the intended victim — and forgot to leave the paper behind. Its prophecy was, however, to be fulfilled: more than 10 000 people have died in the civil war that began with these events.

The Mpophomeni massacre, which according to eyewitnesses was carried out by Caprivi fighter Vela Mchunu and a group of accomplices, is engraved in the collective memory of its residents.

In a poignant piece for the 1986 funeral of the union leaders, worker poet Mi Hlatshway wrote:

*We shall remember your smiling and simple faces
that drove other men
to
rape our unity
to
raid our camps
and kill our pride.*

Yet, nine years later — despite the key role that Mpophomeni has played in South Africa's recent history — the township near Howick appears to have been forgotten by the outside world.

Organised by the Metal and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Mawu) in a two-year struggle for union recognition, the 1985 strike at the Sarmcol factory in Howick, mostly staffed by Mpophomeni residents, became a pioneering campaign for the labour movement in South Africa.

It led to the massive Edendale march in support of the United Democratic Front, the 1985 stayaway in the Natal Midlands and nationwide sympathy strikes by Mawu members. These events helped trigger Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's appeal to military intelligence, documented in the indictment, for help in setting up his paramilitary unit (see accompanying story).

It was inevitable that Mawu activists and the people of Mpophomeni — where 40 percent of the strikers lived — became a target of the



The family of a Sarmcol striker in June 1985 in Mpophomeni, where the alleged Caprivi-trained fighters first struck

PHOTO BY PHIL LADDOK

Caprivi unit. In December 1986, soon after the paramilitary troops arrived back in the country, Inkatha organised a "fair" in Mpophomeni.

On December 5, the night before the event was due to take place, busloads of Inkatha supporters arrived at the Mpophomeni community hall.

Alerted by rumours of an impending Inkatha attack, shop stewards' council chair Phineas Sibiya and fellow activist Simon Ngubane began keeping watch on the community hall. They were joined by Mike Sibiya, Phineas' step-brother and Florence Mnikathi, a member of the health committee.

'Their story is one of bitterness, abandonment and betrayal'

Their car was surrounded by armed men — including Caprivi hit man Mchunu — wearing the uniform of the KwaZulu Police. The union leaders were forced out of the car and dragged to the community hall where they were tortured and repeatedly ordered to denounce Mawu.

They were then driven to a remote area where they were forced from the car at gunpoint. Mike Sibiya managed to escape by blocking the barrel of the gun with his hand and diving into a river bed. He heard the gunshots and saw the sky light up in flames. Nine years later Sibiya is still too afraid to return to Mpophomeni. And although

three men were subsequently arrested in connection with the massacre, they were never prosecuted.

Today the settlement that was once an emblem of solidarity has become little more than a haven for refugees fleeing their homes from the KwaZulu-Natal civil war.

The Sarmcol Workers Co-operative — an agricultural project initiated by the union and the community — has all but closed down. Of the original four projects, only one remains and of the 20 workers who started the co-operative, only seven have stayed on.

Money is short and food is scarce. Compounding the problem of increasing debt and ongoing crop failure is the threat of land repossession. The funders who assisted Mawu with purchasing the co-operative, are now demanding their money back. Says Moses Nelele, chairperson of the agricultural project: "You can cry if see what has happened to us here."

The community's angst is directed not only at Sarmcol, hit squads or the civil war which has reduced a pastoral landscape to a war zone. It is also aimed at former colleagues, some of whom are now in government.

Sociologist Debby Bonnin, who has worked closely with Sarmcol strikers and residents from Mpophomeni, says: "The contribution of the strikers to the union movement and the sacrifices made for struggle as a whole should not be ignored. Their story is one of bitterness, abandonment and betrayal."

the Mpophomeni massacre. Both were connected to the SADF's military support of Inkatha

the third force

Buthelezi 'nearly arrested'

M+G 8-14/12/95 (11B) (11B)

HOME Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi came close to being arrested and charged with the Kwa-Makhutha murders, according to sources involved in the investigation.

Buthelezi's name appears several times in the documents that describe events leading to the formation of the Caprivi 200, the hit-squad unit whose members allegedly massacred 13 civilians in 1987.

Most important is a meeting that took place on November 25 1985 between General Tienie Groenewald, then chief director of military intelligence, and the Inkatha leader. The indictment says Buthelezi, fearing plans by African National Congress supporters to "eliminate him and neutralise Inkatha", asked Groenewald to provide him with protection, information and a military capacity.

The indictment contains an excerpt from a 1984 speech made by Buthelezi in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly which says: "We must prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us."

It adds that Groenewald presented Buthelezi's requests to Malan and recommended the South African Defence Force should train "a defensive unit of 50-100 men and an offensive unit of 10-20 men (on a covert basis) for Buthelezi and Inkatha".

An extraordinary State Security Council meeting was called the next day where "Ministers [Chris] Heunis and [Louis] Le Grange were mandated to assist Buthelezi in creating a security force for KwaZulu".

The indictment says the State Security Council had initial reservations about the paramilitary offensive unit "and it was then resolved that that aspect be investigated at

the highest political level and be cleared with Buthelezi".

During a further round of discussions with Groenewald, on February 12 1986, Buthelezi requested the SADF to provide him with a "counter-mobilisation capability", an "offensive capability (or defensive element)" and an "intelligence capability".

The state's indictment alleges that in April 1986 Malan asked his chief of staff intelligence, Vice-Admiral Andries Putter, to "sell" the covert aspect of the plan to Buthelezi. If this was successful, implementation of the scheme would proceed in collaboration with Buthelezi's aide, MZ Khumalo. Putter's job was to "explain to Buthelezi that the minister of defence [Malan] had sent him because it was [Malan's] wish to implement the plan for a paramilitary force without delay."

A top-secret document attached to the indictment says: "Offensive element: the task of this group is to set up a small group of well-trained troops for Inkatha that can be used offensively against the ANC, UDF [United Democratic Front] and related organisations. Further this group can be used as a personal bodyguard unit for the Chief Minister [Buthelezi] in his capacity as President of Inkatha when the SAP is not able to protect him".

The *Mail & Guardian* has additional information — supplied in an affidavit made by a defector from the Caprivi 200 group who is not on the witness list — that describes in detail how the group was trained by SADF special forces officers in offensive warfare techniques.

The informant, who cannot be named because he fears for his life, explains the group received further training at a farm near Pretoria after returning to South Africa from the

Caprivi Strip.

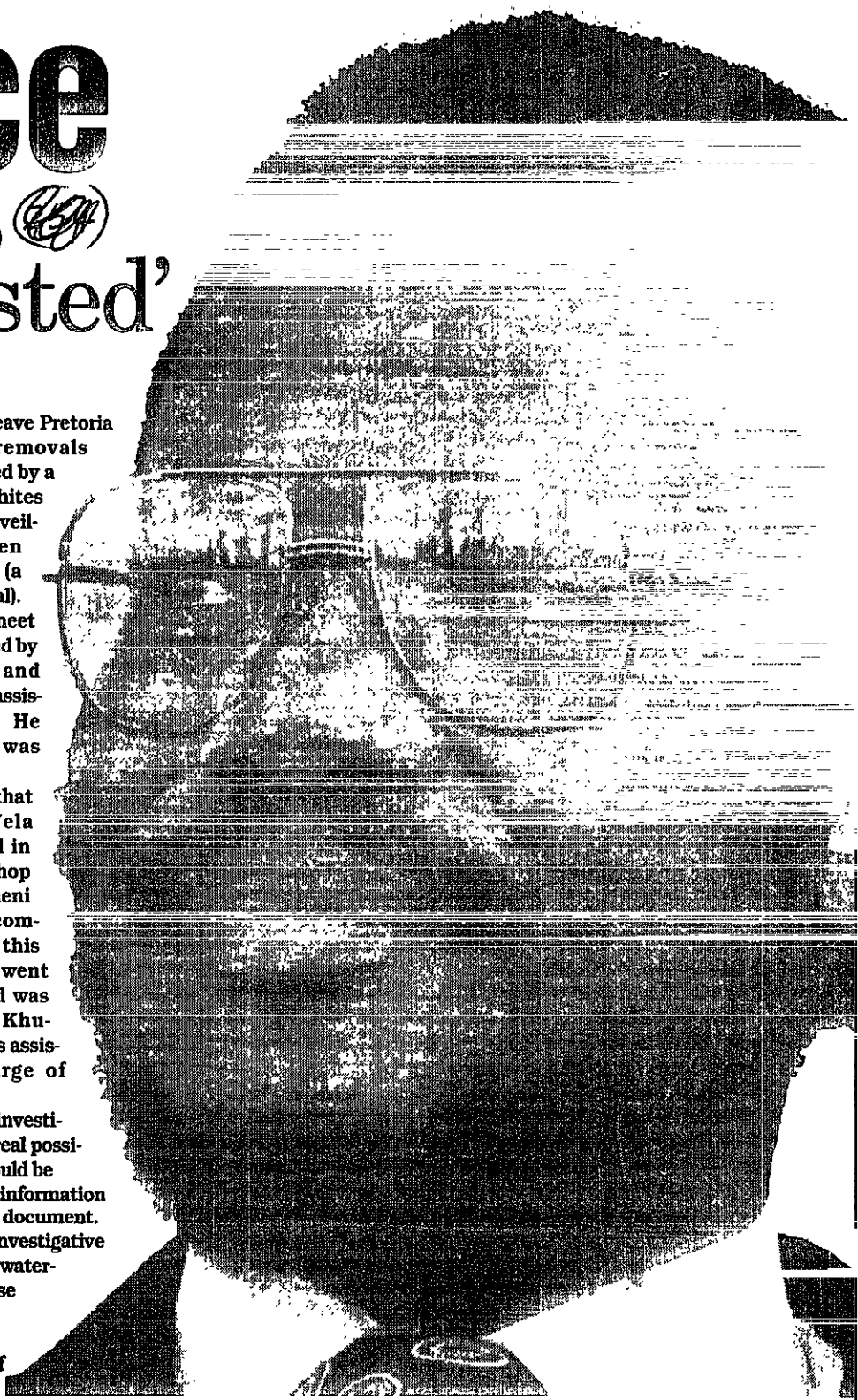
"The day for us to leave Pretoria came. We left in a removals truck. We were escorted by a small car with four whites [in it]. It was doing surveillance. We were taken back to Nhlungwane (a camp in KwaZulu-Natal). Dr Buthelezi came to meet us. He was accompanied by Brigadier Mathe and Zakhele Khumalo, his assistant in Inkatha. He received us. An ox was slaughtered."

This affidavit adds that Caprivi fighter Vela Mchunu was involved in the murder of union shop stewards at Mpophomeni near Howick (see accompanying story). After this killing "he [Mchunu] went to hide at Ulundi and was received by Zakhele Khumalo, Chief Buthelezi's assistant who is in charge of Inkatha offices".

Sources close to the investigation say there was a real possibility that Buthelezi would be charged because of the information contained in the secret document. However, because the investigative team wanted to build a watertight case — and because technical details were missing — it was decided to leave him off the charge sheet.

“We must prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us”

— Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, 1984



Did IFP man work for Boss?

(11B) (11B) (11B) M+G 8-14/12/95

Mvelase

MELCHIZEDEC ZAKHELE "MZ" KHUMALO — the alleged link man between Inkatha and the paramilitary unit at the centre of the Malan murder trial — has a long history of doing propaganda work for Pretoria.

The *Mail & Guardian* has established that Khumalo — the Malan trial's "accused number 7" and the alleged middleman between IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Operation Marion — began his career as an apologist for Pretoria's intelligence agencies as far back as 1963.

Khumalo was officially employed by Eschel Roodie's infamous Department of Information, which spent millions of rand on furtive propaganda campaigns in the rest of Africa and in some European countries to promote apartheid and the homeland policy.

But the Information Department had close links with the Republican Intelligence Agency and its beefed-up successor, the Bureau of State Security — a police and intelligence agency that was designed as a power base for the then-Prime Minister BJ Vorster.

The relationship between the Information Department and Boss was so



Man in the middle: MZ Khumalo

close that Boss chief Hendrik van den Bergh was obliged to resign just a few months before Vorster was forced out of office by the famous Infogate exposure of Boss and Information Department activities.

Khumalo is described as "one of the first black recruits" to the Information Department. His work involved travelling through rural South Africa showing films promoting the government's "separate development" plan and writing for the government publi-

cation *Intuthuko Yabansunthu* (*Black Development*).

Sources close to Khumalo's family say he worked for Boss while the Information Department was his official employer. Although Boss used journalists working for trade magazines in South Africa and abroad as agents for propaganda work, there is no evidence that Khumalo collected hard intelligence against opponents of apartheid.

It was during his travels for the department that Khumalo met his future patron, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — beginning an enigmatic 20-year relationship.

The department apparently fired Khumalo in the early 1970s for being a "double agent", after allegedly catching him smuggling information from the agency to Buthelezi.

At the time, Buthelezi was under investigation by Boss for his African National Congress sympathies. Khumalo had come to respect the Inkatha leader and began offering him copies of Boss reports. Buthelezi is reported to have been initially sceptical, but offered him a job in KwaZulu's agriculture department after his dismissal.

In his new job, Khumalo continued

his extensive rural travels — this time journeying throughout KwaZulu in a homeland government Landrover. As Buthelezi's relationship with the ANC soured in the late 1970s and ANC youths began their exodus out of the country for military training, Khumalo began collecting political information for the IFP leader.

In the early 1980s, Buthelezi appointed Khumalo as his deputy personal secretary. Khumalo became his personal secretary by the mid-1980s. His rising status made him a valuable asset both to Military Intelligence and to the South African Police's security branch when they began to form ties with the Zulu nationalist movement.

Khumalo began to play an active role in KwaZulu homeland security matters during his stint in the chief minister's office, where he built a network of intelligence agents within government departments to ensure staff loyalty.

Khumalo played a major role in the creation of the KwaZulu Police, which he pitched to Buthelezi as a bulwark against the ANC. The formation of the IFP-aligned union federation, Uwusa, was also Khumalo's brainchild.

The Malan indictment says Khumalo became the link man between the SADF and the IFP in 1986 when he took over contacts with the government following initial discussions with Buthelezi.

The indictment alleges Khumalo assisted with the recruitment of the 200 Caprivi trainees, paid their salaries, visited the camp, told the SADF the trainees "were getting restless and wanted to practise their skills", and oversaw the planning of the 1987 attack on the home of Victor Ntuli.

Khumalo also managed — with political commissar Daluxolo Luthuli — the training of further IFP supporters at Mkuze in northern KwaZulu-Natal. When the Inkathagate scandal broke in 1991, sources said Khumalo sat quietly through a marathon session of IFP central committee in Ulundi before announcing, shortly after midnight, that he would take the rap.

Buthelezi apparently stood up to hug Khumalo afterwards. The next day, Khumalo was instructed to go on holiday to avoid the media while the IFP issued a statement blaming him for Inkathagate.

Shortly afterward, when Khumalo's son died in a car accident, Buthelezi restored Khumalo's faith in the IFP by bringing a cow to the funeral.

Khumalo then began to work covertly for the IFP, continuing his involvement with the party's paramilitary organisation, alongside Luthuli.

Asked to comment, Khumalo told the *M&G* he was not able to give interviews to the media at this stage.

ANC 'horrified' by IFP 'havoc'

(11B) ~~IFP~~ CT 11/12/95
JOHANNESBURG: — The ANC was horrified by reports that IFP supporters "wreaked havoc" during a march and meeting at Nongoma, in kwaZulu/Natal, on Saturday, the organisation said in a statement.

The ANC alleged that shots were fired, vehicles were hijacked and roads were blocked during the march.

"This happened when King Goodwill Zwelethini was holding a traditional ceremony just a few kilometres away," the statement said.

It said the actions of the IFP supporters was political thuggery of the worst kind.

"The ANC respects the IFP's constitutional right to assemble peacefully and protest about whatever matter they want, as long as they do so peacefully. However, when they resort to intimidation and violence of this sort, the police need to take firm and decisive action.

"We commend the police for their efforts to protect a busload of the King's supporters who were hijacked by the IFP supporters. We call for the prosecution of all perpetrators," the ANC added.

The organisation said it was concerned these actions could be a foretaste of the IFP's local elections campaign.

"The IFP cannot be allowed to repeat their actions of April 1994, where they prevented the ANC from holding election rallies, intimidated opponents and used fear and force to gain their majority in the province."

The statement called on the government to increase the deployment of police and soldiers in the province ahead of next year's local government poll. — Sapa

IFP woos minorites for backing of constitution

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban - KwaZulu-Natal's ruling Inkatha Freedom Party has dangled a carrot in front of the province's minority parties in a bid to help it win a race against time to pass the region's constitu-

tion before the end of the month.

The party, after behind-the-scenes sweet-talking with the National Party, has scrapped a host of contentious demands from its constitutional draft, and hopes to reach agreement with remaining

parties at a three-day meeting this week.

Key issues which the IFP has compromised on are its plans for a provincial militia, a provincial judiciary, constitutional monarch and control over territorial waters.

The success of the Pietermaritzburg *hosboraad*, which begins today, is regarded by the IFP as crucial, as it sets in motion a sequence of events that have to be finalised by May, when the national constitution will be complete.

IFP chief negotiator, Walter Felgate, said once the new national constitution was in place there would be little space for true provincial autonomy and this would block his party's aspirations towards federalism.

The IFP hopes a final provincial draft will be complete by Thursday, which can then be put out for a period of public comment, passed by KwaZulu Natal's legislature and sent to the Constitutional Court (CC). The CC has a waiting list of up to six weeks and

is likely to query elements of the provincial constitution, before sending it back to KwaZulu Natal, meaning another six weeks, leaving little time to play with before May.

NP KwaZulu Natal chairman, Danie Schutte, who yesterday announced the deal with the IFP,

heralded agreements as "break-throughs (which) not only lay the basis for a provincial constitutional settlement, but are a prerequisite for stability and peace in KwaZulu Natal".

Staw 12/12/95 (11B)

Kings' Goodwill in bid to unite Zulus

□ Poor turn-out blamed on pressure from Inkatha

NONGOMA. — First they danced, Zulu warriors in animal skins waving spears and shields as bare-breasted girls adorned with beaded waistbands strutted past.

Then the men and boys took off their shirts, and with their king's blessing, cornered and killed a muscular black bull with their bare hands in a 40-minute ordeal.

The spectacle Saturday at the Zulu royal kraal, near Nongoma in the northern hills of Kwazulu-Natal blended chanting and tradition from the past with present-day politics. It is part of King Goodwill Zweithini's bid to wrest control of his people from nationalist leader, and distant cousin, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"What the king is trying to do is bring all the political parties together under one umbrella," said Mesuli Sibya, 27, a warrior who wore a cowhide wrapping with blue and red socks and blue Adidas running shoes.

Scenes from a century ago filled the round kraal, formed by a fence of jagged tree limbs, some with animal horns mounted on top.

An *inganga*, or herbal healer, ran among the frenzied warriors during the chase, splashing them with his *muti*,

medicine, to protect them. War songs praising the king, the sunsets and mountains filled the afternoon air. King Zweithini, with black and scarlet *muti* dabbed on his face and body, selected a young warrior as leader of the kill.

Other images were decidedly modern. Two bodyguards, wearing jackets over body armor and carrying automatic rifles, remained on each side of the king throughout the ceremony, standing among dancers dressed in leopard skins.

Fears of an attack by Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, which has championed Zulu autonomy and heritage for two decades, prompted the security presence and was blamed for the low turn-out of about 500 people. Inkatha marchers in nearby Nongoma reportedly fired shots at one vehicle and abducted a bus heading to the ceremony, beating the occupants until police arrived.

The split in Zulu loyalties reflects the circumstances that spawned low-level civil war in the region for the past decade. More than 8 million South Africans consider themselves Zulu, making them the largest single ethnic group.

King Zweithini, who depended on Chief Buthelezi and the

homeland government for the royal family budget, towed the Inkatha line before last year's election. Dismayed by the unabated violence, he broke away from Chief Buthelezi this year after President Nelson Mandela's ANC-led government took over paying the royal family's expenses.

Now the king, who at 47 has ruled for 25 years, continues to push for Zulu autonomy through unity.

Some say his cutting of ties with Chief Buthelezi was perceived as a shift to the ANC and has cost the king respect and support. Traditional ceremonies like the annual reed dance and Shaka day rallies have been poorly attended of late, and King Zweithini has been criticised for including non-Zulus, such as white women, at the annual reed dance as well as Pondo women at Saturday's Ukweshwama, or First Fruit Ceremony.

Dating back to the warrior-king Shaka in the 19th century, the First Fruit Ceremony celebrates the planting and food of summer. It was not performed in the 20th century until King Zweithini revived it in 1992.

"To continue our culture and customs is very important because in our new democracy, it doesn't mean we forget our

ways," Chief Zibuse Mada explained. "Education does not mean we forget our past."

To Mr Sibya, who danced in the front row of warriors, "the Zulu kingdom and my king are more important than political organisations." By killing the bull, a symbol of power, with their bare hands, the modern-day warriors gain a bond with forefathers who ruled the region.

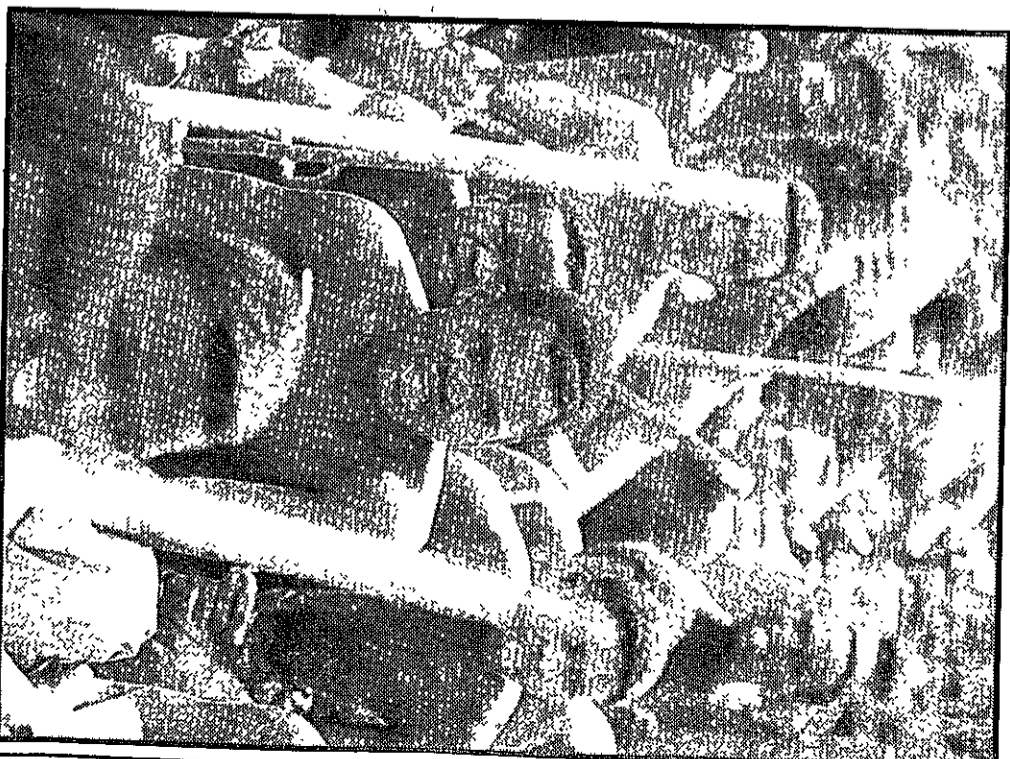
The ritual began with a call by an *induna*, or warrior chief, for the brave to enter the 50m diameter kraal to face the bull amid chanting and singing. Scores did so, some in tribal garb, but most in long pants and tennis shoes.

King Zweithini and other leaders, including his five wives and more than a dozen children, looked on as the mob moved in. The bull started running around the perimeter until slowed by the crowd and finally toppled.

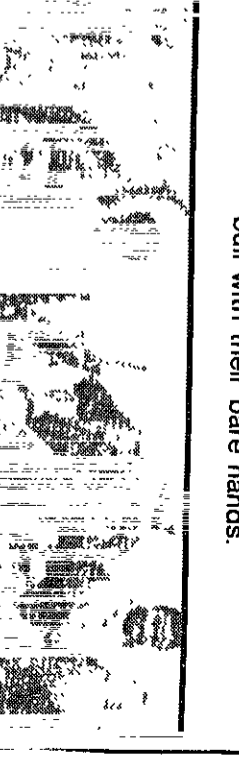
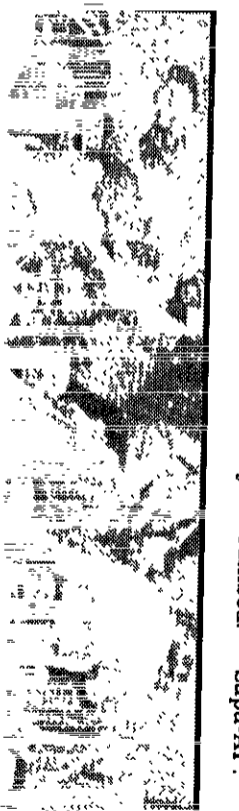
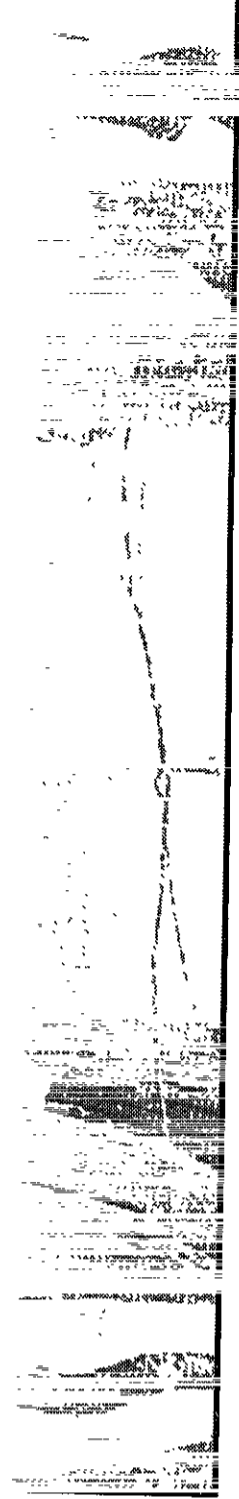
For 40 minutes, dozens trampled the bellowing, groaning bull, wrenched its head around by the horns to try to break its neck, pulled its tongue out, stuffed sand in its mouth and even tried to tie its penis in a knot. Gleaming with sweat, they raised their arms in triumph and sang when the bull finally succumbed. — Sapa-AP.



PLUMED POTENTATE: King Goodwill Zweithini presides over the First Fruit Ceremony — dating to the days of Shaka Zulu — which was revived by the king in 1992.



TENSION MOUNTING: Chanting in anticipation of the great event, these Zulu youths have to set their minds on killing a bull with their bare hands.



Zwelithini accuses IFP

MTG 15/12/95

(11B)

Mehlo Mvelase

A VISIBLY angry King Goodwill Zwelithini for the first time blamed the Inkatha Freedom Party publicly for violence last weekend — after his brother, Prince Mbousi Zulu, had escaped a hail of bullets fired at his car.

Zwelithini's outburst, during a traditional ceremony in KwaZulu-Natal's KwaNongoma last Saturday, marks a new low in relations between the Zulu monarch and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

Zulu's car had come under fire shortly before, allegedly from a group of IFP supporters participating in a march led by IFP leader David Ntombela.

Zwelithini said he had received a report that "royal family members

have narrowly escaped death from Inkatha supporters", but advised his supporters not to seek revenge as he was a "king of peace".

He told IFP leaders to leave him alone and "face their equals" — other political parties. "I will not succumb to evil people who are trying to sabotage my traditional ceremonies."

Meanwhile, it has been learnt that Zwelithini two weeks ago secretly met 16 IFP-aligned chiefs, led by Chief Nkanyiso Biyela, who recently resigned as a KwaZulu/Natal MP in response to the king's call that chiefs should be non-partisan.

A source close to the king said the chiefs apologised for earlier ignoring his call of non-partisanship and said they were scared then of a "dangerous mamba", who is now "powerless".

Leaders urge Goodwill to rebut attack on chief

ET 27/12/95

(113)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: The House of Traditional Leaders has asked King Goodwill Zwelethini to rebut "urgently" a statement attributed to him that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could "go to hell" before he would be invited to meet the king for a reconciliation.

The call, made at a weekend meeting in Ulundi, is likely to chill relations further between the king and the House of Traditional Leaders.

In a number of resolutions, the chiefs said they viewed "with disgust" statements attributed to King Goodwill that appeared in two editions of Ilanga. They also criticised his use of language they considered "divisive".

The newspaper, quoting a taxi

industry official, who attended a taxi operators' meeting called by the king at Nongoma on December 2, the king deviated from the subject and allegedly delivered a long vilification of Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

According to Ilanga, the king:

- Accused Chief Buthelezi of being responsible for the attack on his palace during a demonstration by IFP members in September;

- Said Chief Buthelezi "could go to hell" before he would invite him to a reconciliatory meeting;

- Said people not resident in Nongoma (the king's residential area) must stay away and Mahlabathini residents (Chief Buthelezi's area) "must go back there".

Hail damage totals R20m

Louise Cook

INSURANCE claims totalling R20m were expected for hail damage to crops in Mpumalanga, agricultural insurance sources said yesterday.

Damage to dams, buildings and fences was not included in the figure, but a major insurance company, who did not want to be named, said hail damage alone was likely to amount to R20m. Claims had been received from about 500 farms at Groblersdal, Standerton, Ermelo, Bethal, Heidelberg and Balfour where crops had been hit by hail.

Transvaal Agricultural Union representative for Mpumalanga Boet van Rensburg said the worst damage last week was rain washing away fences and breaking farm dams. "Excessive rain had discoloured maize but in dry weather, the crops can still recover," he said.

IFP slates Mbeki's task force decision

(11B) (RFB) BD 29/12/95

DURBAN — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's decision to increase the strength of the police's investigation task unit in KwaZulu-Natal was a colossal error of judgment politically, the IFP said yesterday.

Spokesman Ed Tillett reported that Mbeki had chosen to bypass the KwaZulu-Natal government instead of waiting for a full consultation with premier Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Mbeki said on Wednesday the possibility of deploying additional security force members in the province had been discussed at a meeting with police commissioner George Fivaz and other senior security force members.

"Deputy President Mbeki's statement is calculated to upstage the ANC's political opponents," Tillett said. "It is well known that the unit has been rejected by the IFP as being a political instrument used by the ANC to embarrass its political opponents. Its investigations have been selective and the unit has failed in its mission to isolate perpetrators of political violence."

Tillett said the unit had been politically discredited in the province.

"The unit lacks broad credibility with the bulk of the province," he said.

"It seems to be bloody minded to impose a solution on the province without consulting the provincial government.

"Beefing up a unit which has been discredited does not seem to serve the purpose of ending political violence in the province."

Tillett said Mbeki was scheduled to meet Mdlalose today and the IFP hoped Mbeki would reconsider his suggestion that additional security force members be deployed in the province.

"The IFP's counter-proposal is that an independent judicial inquiry which enjoys multiparty support in the province be set up to investigate political violence. The inquiry should be free of political stigma or association, because we perceive the unit to be influenced by the ANC.

"The province needs an inquiry with which both the ANC and IFP can feel comfortable. You cannot have either one influencing an investigating unit and we cannot see how the central government can oppose something like that (a judicial inquiry)." — Sapa.

Community policing units in effort to contain crime

Mduduzi ka Harvey

GAUTENG crime would never be stopped, but could only be contained by combining police, traffic police, emergency services, local councils and community resources into a united front to combat its escalation, Sandton community policing forum chairman Steve Margo said yesterday.

Gauteng safety and security spokesman Ian Robertson said a start had been made in the past year to combat crime through community policing forums.

In terms of the new Police Act, the forums now had legal status and area forums had been set up in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Soweto, Midrand, East Rand, West Rand and the Vaal Triangle, with plans under way to set up provincial forums next year to help curb escalating crime, Robertson said.

In an attempt to fight crime the Sandton precinct committee, in conjunction with its 12 000 members and local businessmen, had saved R160 000 this year to buy 20 motorcycles for crime prevention and Sandton City shopping centre management had offered office, storage and parking space for the initiative starting in January.

The internal stability unit

would assist residents to patrol Sandton streets daily, when unit members were available.

Police, traffic officers, patrol cars and emergency services communications were linked to the Sandton crisis control centre.

A R100 000 boost from the Malaysian government to the Alexandra community would be used for a satellite police station in the area.

Nissan SA had assisted the community by offering to repair police vehicles free of charge.

The Bramley forum, consisting of 38 suburbs, had established a fund-raising committee for donations to upgrade the Bramley police station. Residents associations had been established to solve residential problems and neighbourhood and block watches were in the pipeline.

The Sandton crisis control centre had been linked to patrol vehicles to reduce response time and local security companies had been approached to extend their presence to bring about more effectiveness in combating crime.

Linden forum deputy chairman Edward Brittain said government was not combating crime "head on" and was making crime a community responsibility.

Gates opened as Vaal Dam fills up

Mduduzi ka Harvey

WATER Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal has approved the opening of some crest gates on the Vaal Dam, and although the dam was not yet full and stood at 88,3% yesterday, space was being created for the large water volume on the way.

Two gates were opened before noon yesterday and four were opened by late afternoon. Today water is expected to be released from six gates in the morning and from eight gates by noon.

The water affairs and forestry department said the release would not exceed the carrying capacity of the river bed and there would be no danger of property in Vereeniging being flooded.

But, the public was cautioned to be aware of rising water levels, and to move boats and pumps to higher ground. Care should also be taken not to cross low-water bridges which were topped by a flow of 50cm of water as this could be dangerous.

The Vaal Dam should reach 100% on December 30 and is expected to rise to a maximum of 104% on January 2 next year. It was expected the Klip and Suikerbosrand rivers could deliver additional water if rains persisted in Johannesburg or Heidelberg.