

BLACK POLITICS — HOMELANDS

1996-1997-8

Mdlalose admits IFP is equally to blame for killings

(11B)
By MICHAEL SCHMIDT

ST. 7/1/96

KWAZULU Natal's premier, Dr Frank Mdlalose of Inkatha, has admitted that his party and the ANC are partly to blame for political violence in the province.

Overrun by death squads, troops, shady agents provocateurs and state spies, Kwazulu Natal seems to have slipped back into its low-intensity war of attrition with an average monthly toll of 68 deaths.

The Christmas Day massacre on the South Coast, which left 19 dead, sent politicians and security force members into a frenzy of finger-pointing.

Dr Mdlalose, known as an Inkatha moderate, did not mince his words. "The underlying cause of these atrocities is political intolerance, exacerbated by the perception of security forces being thrust on communities without their confidence and, in many cases, acting in a partisan manner," he said in an interview.

"Political parties have not created the necessary climate for peace and tolerance within the province, in particular the majority IFP and minority ANC."

Dr Mdlalose announced that a commission of inquiry into the causes of violence would be set up by the end of the month.

National Police Commissioner George Fivaz — allegedly spied on by the National Intelligence Agency himself — said undercover agents would infiltrate the province to get to the root of the problem.

Dr Mdlalose denied his commission of inquiry was yet another attempt to federalise police powers, but complained that central government's withholding of such powers was to the detriment of attempts to curb violence in the province.

IFP urged to end boycott

(11B)

CT 8/12/95

CARLETONVILLE: President Nelson Mandela has urged the Inkatha Freedom Party to return to the Constitutional Assembly.

Mr Mandela was addressing a rally at Khutsong yesterday to celebrate the ANC's 84th anniversary.

"We would like to reiterate our call to the IFP to return to the Constitutional Assembly unconditionally," Mr Mandela said.

The ANC said yesterday it would not allow the constitution to give chiefs the same powers as those of elected representatives.

"We want to advise the traditional leaders to abandon the illusion that there can ever emerge a constitutional settlement which grants them powers that would compromise the fundamental objective of a genuine democracy in which the legislature and the executive at all levels are made up essentially of elected representatives," the ANC said. — Sapa-Reuter

● See Page 4

Inkatha seeks indaba with ANC

Sowetan 9/11/96

(11B)

By Simon Zwane

A HIGH-POWERED meeting between the Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC in KwaZulu-Natal is being planned to discuss the escalating violence in the province.

Addressing a Press conference in Maritzburg yesterday, IFP leader and traditional affairs and environment MEC Mr Nkosi Nyanga Ngubane said premier Frank Mdlalose had been informed about the killing of Mr Mzamo Shandu at the weekend and a top level meeting would be sought with the ANC.

"We are compelled and forced by circumstances to sit down and discuss the matter," he said.

The meeting would also discuss the Christmas killing at

'We are compelled and forced by circumstances to sit and discuss'

Shobashobane on the South Coast.

Shandu was killed when Ngubane's entourage was ambushed in Stoffelton in the Impendle area. Ngubane blamed the ambush on "police negligence". He said the police did not inform him of the tension in the area and allowed ANC members to come close to the road where his convoy would pass.

He said he would not have gone to the area if he had been informed that residents had signed a petition barring him from coming.

However, Ngubane vowed to go back to the area for the meeting that was aborted after Shandu's murder. He

was also planning to visit Shobashobane and Bergville in his capacity as a traditional leader.

IFP senator Phillip Powell, who was part of the entourage, said the incident indicated that traditional leaders in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands were under attack as the ANC tried to expand to rural areas. He said the strategy used in the '80s, when councillors were driven out of townships was being repeated in the midlands.

IFP MP David Ntombela, reported that IFP Youth Brigade member, Mbukeleni Msomi was shot dead in the Loskop area of the KwaZulu-Natal midlands over the weekend

Buthelezi rebuffs call to return to Constitutional Assembly

Star 10/1/96 (11B) (SOTIA)

Appeal is not genuine ... Mandela is not a man of his word, says IFP leader

Durban - Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rebuffed President Nelson Mandela's call for the IFP to return to the Constitutional Assembly, and criticised the president's handling of the international mediation issue.

At the weekend, in a policy statement released at a rally celebrating the ANC's 84th birthday, Mandela urged Inkatha to return to the assembly writing South Africa's new constitution.

But in a written reply sent to Reuters yesterday, Buthelezi said: "If Mr Mandela did not

have the disdain that he has for me and the IFP, he would have directly spoken to us about his proposal that we return to the Constitutional Assembly, and not through an exercise where he was playing to galleries.

"This call is not a genuine call because the ANC has already said more than once that they will finalise the constitution regardless of whether the IFP is there or not," Buthelezi said.

Inkatha pulled out of the Constitutional Assembly early last year in protest at the Government of National Unity's fail-

ure to honour the April 1994 agreement to take the IFP's demands to international mediation. The IFP agreed to contest the general election on condition its federalist constitutional demands were put to foreign mediators.

Buthelezi said he respected Mandela but "it is absolute temerity on his part - for a man who has demonstrated to us and the whole country and the world that he is not a man of his word by refusing to honour the solemn agreement on international mediation that he signed

with his own hand - to adopt a high moral stance to us about going back to the Constitutional Assembly".

He said Mandela had ignored the international mediation issue when it was raised by KwaZulu Natal chiefs at meetings with the president in last month and in December 1994.

Buthelezi also said recent statements by Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa, about meeting the IFP leader to woo him back to the constitution-writing process, were "cheap politics". - Reuters.

Buthelezi rejects call by Mandela to join in talks

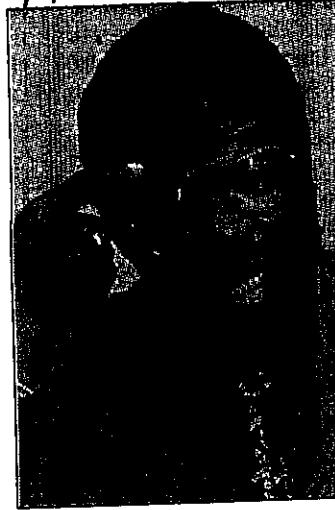
~~3077A~~ (118) CT 10/11/96
DURBAN: Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rebuffed President Nelson Mandela's call for the IFP to return to the Constitutional Assembly and criticised the President's handling of the international mediation issue.

Mr Mandela at the weekend urged Inkatha to return to the assembly writing South Africa's new constitution in a policy statement released at a rally celebrating the ANC's 84th birthday.

But in a written reply to Reuter yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela should have directed his call to the IFP.

"If Mr Mandela did not have the disdain that he has for me and the IFP he would have directly spoken to us about his proposal that we return to the Constitutional Assembly and not through an exercise where he was playing to galleries.

"This call is not a genuine call because the ANC has already said more than once that it will finalise the constitution regardless of whether the IFP is there or not,"



ADAMANT: Chief Buthelezi

Chief Buthelezi said.

Inkatha pulled out of the Constitutional Assembly early last year in protest at the ANC's failure to honour the April 1994 agreement to take the autonomy-seeking IFP's constitutional demands to international mediation. — Reuter

● See Page 6

...receiving the largest number of medals? the All Africa Games last year.

ANC 'disappointed' by IFP's refusal to return

(11B) BD 11/1/96

THE ANC said yesterday it was disappointed IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had rejected President Nelson Mandela's call for the party to return to the Constitutional Assembly.

The ANC was reacting to reports that Buthelezi had rejected Mandela's call and been critical of his handling of the matter of international mediation in constitutional matters agreed to by the ANC, IFP and NP shortly before the April 1994 general elections but which were not implemented.

The ANC said Mandela's call had been made with a genuine desire to see the IFP return to the assembly in the best interests of all South Africans.

"It is most unfortunate that Buthelezi responded to the ANC's gesture of reconciliation

by launching a wholly unfounded attack on our president (Mandela)," the party said.

Neither Mandela nor the ANC had refused to honour the agreement to international mediation which had been made in 1994.

It was the IFP which had last year withdrawn from talks with the ANC which were meant to address this as well as other issues.

Constitution

The ANC was insistent that the final constitution had to be written by the legitimate, elected representatives of the people, it said.

This was why the party had on Monday called on the IFP to return to the assembly, and would keep its door open for talks with the party. — Sapa.

ellery fabrication demand outstripping supply.

The hefty increase in global forward

ANC 'disappointed' by IFP's refusal to return

(11B) BD 11/1/96
THE ANC said yesterday it was disappointed IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had rejected President Nelson Mandela's call for the party to return to the Constitutional Assembly.

The ANC was reacting to reports that Buthelezi had rejected Mandela's call and been critical of his handling of the matter of international mediation in constitutional matters agreed to by the ANC. IFP and NP shortly before the April 1994 general elections but which were not implemented.

The ANC said Mandela's call had been made with a genuine desire to see the IFP return to the assembly in the best interests of all South Africans.

"It is most unfortunate that Buthelezi responded to the ANC's gesture of reconciliation

by launching a wholly unfounded attack on our president (Mandela)," the party said.

Neither Mandela nor the ANC had refused to honour the agreement to international mediation which had been made in 1994.

It was the IFP which had last year withdrawn from talks with the ANC which were meant to address this as well as other issues.

Constitution

The ANC was insistent that the final constitution had to be written by the legitimate, elected representatives of the people, it said.

This was why the party had on Monday called on the IFP to return to the assembly, and would keep its door open for talks with the party. — Sapa.

'State funds used for protection units'

MARITZBURG. More than R8,5 million in state funds had been spent on training Inkatha Freedom Party-aligned self-protection units in the 1993-94 and 1994-95 financial years, KwaZulu-Natal auditor-general Chris Foster has disclosed.

His findings may embarrass Premier Frank Mdlalose, who told the legislature last year that the money used to pay the SPUs had come from a suspense account. He repeatedly denied state money had been used.

In a special report due to be tabled in the legislature's public accounts committee on Monday, Mr Foster says total expenditure incurred for SPU members amounted to R8 881 347 for the two financial years.

Mr Foster said that, according to available evidence, SPU members

(115) (213) ARG 19/11/96
had been paid a once-off amount of R1 000 each, which came to a total of R6 940 000 paid in the 1994-95 financial year.

"As motivation for these payments it was stated that as the SPU members had not been incorporated into the police force as apparently previously promised, a number of these persons protested at the legislative assembly during September 1994," Mr Foster said.

"It was then decided by a senior official in the office of the premier of KwaZulu-Natal that an amount of R1 000 be paid to each person claiming to have been trained as a SPU member. No evidence could be produced to support the authenticity of the claims of the individuals who received these payments." — Sapa.

R9-m state funds were used for SPUs says A-G

Star 19/1/96

(118)

Durban – An investigation by the office of KwaZulu Natal's Auditor-General has found that almost R9-million in state funds was used to finance the illegal training of Inkatha-aligned self-protection units.

"Total expenditure incurred in respect of SPU members ... amounted to R8 881 347 for the 1993/94 and 1994/95 financial years," provincial Auditor-General Chris Foster's office said in a report released yesterday.

The Self-governing Territories Constitution Act which applied at

the time stated that the legislative assembly had no power to spend state funds on any military-type unit or organisation.

The KwaZulu homeland and later KwaZulu Natal government funding of SPUs was first disclosed last year and led to an outcry, particularly from the ANC. At that stage, it was reported around R6-million in government funds had been used to train the paramilitary units.

The auditor-general's office said the Mlaba camp near Ulundi was operated by the communica-

tions section of the ex-KwaZulu government and was handed over to the department of the chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on November 1 1993.

This department had, however, used only about R117 000 to pay casual labourers at the camp.

The bulk of the state funds had come from the police department which spent R7,8-million, while the rest of the money came from the departments of works and nature conservation as well as a Government trust fund, the report said. – Reuters.

IFP spent R8,6m illegally on self-protection units

Farouk Chothia

ABOUT R8,6m of taxpayers' funds was spent illegally on IFP-aligned self-protection unit members during the 1993/94 and 1994/95 financial years, KwaZulu-Natal auditor-general Chris Foster has found.

His inquiry also established that the Mlaba camp near Ulundi where the members were trained had been so badly "abused" that it could not be rehabilitated. To destroy and dismantle it would cost more than R2m.

Foster's finding is expected to embarrass KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose, who told the provincial legislature last year that no public funds were used to pay unit members.

But Foster found that total expenditure incurred by unit members was R8,8m — and the figure could be higher as "all payments made in this regard could possibly not have been brought to light". Of this R8,8m, only R280 000 had come from public donations.

BD 19/11/96 (113) ~~(113)~~
Foster said R6,6m of taxpayers' funds had been paid to unit members as salaries during the 1994/95 financial year. This was done without "adequate authority" and in contravention of the KwaZulu-Natal Exchequer Act. Taxpayers' funds had also been used to buy ammunition worth about R200 000 and uniforms and tents valued at R280 000.

Foster's report is expected to be tabled at a meeting of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature's public accounts committee on Monday. He conducted the investigation after the Sunday Times reported last September that R5,517m of taxpayers' funds had been paid to unit members despite Mdlalose's earlier denial.

Mdlalose subsequently said payments were made to KwaZulu Police special constables from a suspense account in the police budget, while finance MEC Senzele Mhlungu said the

Continued on Page 2

Mandela calls Zulus to major peace gathering

Nongoma - President Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would initiate a round of urgent peace talks in KwaZulu Natal, leading up to an imbizo (gathering of the Zulu nation) to be held possibly before the end of the month.

The imbizo would be preceded by a meeting of Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC provincial leader Jacob Zuma today to discuss plans for the long-awaited gathering, which was aimed at stamping out violence in KwaZulu Natal.

Speaking after a three-hour meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the king's Kwa-Khangela palace near Nongoma, Mandela said the imbizo, authorised by Zwelithini, would hopefully reconcile rival political par-

ties in the province.

"This is a very important and significant development," Mandela said. "It is going to be a watershed meeting because we are going to address all the problems that have led to the killing of people in this province."

Political violence was turning KwaZulu Natal into a "ghost province" and continued to humiliate the Zulu nation.

"We must now concentrate all our energy to make sure the violence stops. We cannot see the Zulu people being humiliated by being made to kill each other."

Both the ANC and IFP were partly to blame for the killing, Mandela added. However, the role of Third Force elements in orchestrating the violence was of particular concern. - Sapa

(113) (113) Star 20/1/96

By CYRIL MADLALA

AN INVESTIGATION by the auditor general of Kwazulu Natal this week confirmed a Sunday Times exposé that the IFP-led provincial government secretly used millions of rands of taxpayers' money to pay the controversial self-protection units.

Auditor General Chris Forster's inquiry found that R8 881 347 of public funds was spent illegally on the militias, more than R2-million of which has disappeared without trace.

When the Sunday Times reported in September last year that more than R5-million had been used to pay the units, Kwazulu Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose denied that taxpayers' money was spent and said public donations funded the salaries.

Fresh finding that public funding was used to pay for IFP militia

Now the auditor general has found that only R280 000 came from the trust account that was established for the donations.

This week the ANC demanded an investigation by Parliament's disciplinary committee into whether Dr Mdlalose made "misleading" statements when confronted on the issue in Parliament last year.

Dr Mdlalose was not available for comment yesterday.

The auditor general's report, expected to be discussed by the provincial govern-

ment's public accounts committee next week, revealed that the money was spent without proper authority during the 1993/94 and 1994/95 financial years.

Pay sheets in support of only R4,7-million were given to the investigators, and they were found to be unsatisfactory.

In some instances the amount received was not reflected next to the recipient's signature, dates of payment were not shown and it was not explained what had happened to unclaimed money.

Outstanding pay sheets to support expenditure of R2 167 000 were not supplied at all, the report said. Between 5 000 and 8 000 recruits were to have been paid at least R1 000 each.

The report said: "No evidence could be produced to support the authenticity of the claims of the individuals who received these payments."

More than R200 000 was spent on ammunition, while tents and uniforms cost almost R300 000. About R6,6-million was for salaries.

It was found that the Mlaba camp, near Ulundi, which was used for training, had been so abused that the loss as a result of its dismantling would exceed R2-million.

An earlier investigation found that the training at the camp was illegal and included instruction in terrorist activities.

11B

ST 21/1/96

King Goodwill calls for ban on Buthelezi

ST 21/1/96

(118)

By CYRIL MADLALA
Parliamentary
Correspondent

KING Goodwill Zwelithini has appealed to President Nelson Mandela to impose a constitutional ban on Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other traditional leaders being involved in politics.

In a move expected to further bedevil the Zulu king's relationship with the Inkatha leader, he asked the government on Friday to force people like Chief Buthelezi to choose between politics and traditional leadership.

The king has been estranged from many chiefs in Kwazulu Natal since his decision to remain above party politics.

King Goodwill was dealt a serious blow last year when the provincial House of Traditional Leaders chose Chief Buthelezi as its chairman, a move the king is challenging in court.

Kwazulu Natal's premier, Frank Mdlalose, and the chiefs have been carrying out tasks normally reserved for the king, such as convening national gatherings (*izimbizo*).

At a meeting with Mr Mandela at his palace in Nongoma in northern Kwazulu Natal on Friday, the king took bold steps to reassert his authority.

Sources said he asked that chiefs be paid through his office, and appealed for extra security forces in Nongoma to protect his businesses.

He told Mr Mandela he was being harassed by chiefs and members of "a party".

"I would propose that liaison with chiefs be done through my office. That will facilitate an integration of all these members of the institution of traditional leadership."

He also recommended that royal properties be registered in the name of the royal house.

Responding yesterday to the king's suggestions, Mr Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said "The President's interpretation of the remarks was that they were not necessarily directed at the president of the IFP."

"Chief Buthelezi is playing a constructive role in the evolution of democracy. However, the degree of participation of traditional leaders in party politics has done more harm than good... Attention will have to be paid to the extent to which traditional leaders can embrace political parties."

To Page 2



King calls for ban

...dela that the legislation "is not of my making". His statement came two days after the Kwazulu Natal government re-enacted the Act.

Mr Mandela emerged from the meeting determined anew to put an end to political killings in Kwazulu Natal.

He said King Goodwill and his Royal Council had agreed to an *imbizo* that could mark a "watershed" in the history of the troubled province.

The President is due to meet Chief Buthelezi and Kwazulu Natal's ANC leader, Jacob Zuma, possibly tomorrow, to discuss the *imbizo*, a presidential spokesman said.

From Page 1

It is understood Mr Mandela agreed at Friday's meeting to facilitate a meeting between the king and the Minister of Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom, to discuss compensation for royal land expropriated through forced removals.

Mr Hanekom and the king will also discuss the controversial Ingonyama Land Trust Act, passed by the Kwazulu government in its final hours. The legislation made the king the sole trustee of 90 percent of the land in Kwazulu.

Sources at the meeting said the king told Mr Man-

umphant Bafana Bafaw closer to quarterfi

thousand rain-fans watched afana claw their r to the quarter-the African Cup d-fought 1-0 win gola at FNB esterdad Bafana's victory in needing only a inst Egypt in ch on Wednesday ured of winning 1 Group A and in Johannes-the quarterfinals. ecstatic Mark — who scored for

South Africa in the 58th minute after Angolan Keeper Antonio Orlando dropped a blistering free kick by defender Eric Tinkler — said after the game: "I feel great to have scored the only goal of the match. It paves the way to the next stage."

Captain Neil Tovey was also confident that his team would make it through to the next round, but cautioned: "At this stage we are not looking further than our game against Egypt, but I must point out there are teams like Ghana and Gabon who

are forces with." The cro undaunted by it was only Africa made a assault on the the second ha passions were there were c forward! Go fo South Afric Andre Arend praise from a s ber of the Cont African Footb Bhamjee, for defence and fe very importan Mark F's Africa's star d made severa forays toward

ST 21/1/96 (118)

IFP may soon be back in the constitution-making process

~~SSSA~~ (11B) BD 22/1/96
David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Top negotiators of the ANC, IFP and NP would meet this week to explore ways to facilitate the IFP's return to the Constitutional Assembly, NP chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer said the IFP's return to the constitution-making process "must take place in the next few weeks" because of the looming May 10 deadline for completion of the new constitution.

Arrangements for the meeting between Meyer, his deputy Valli Moosa (ANC) and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela (IFP) are to be finalised after Moosa's return to SA today from observing the Palestinian elections.

The 21-month political impasse over the issue of international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues was broken earlier this month when the three negotiators held dis-

cussions during a multiparty trip to Germany to study that country's federal system. It was the first time the three had met following a breakdown in discussions last year.

ANC senior negotiator and chairman of Parliament's constitutional committee Pravin Gordhan said yesterday: "The ANC believes the IFP should join the constitution-making process sooner rather than later." Returning to the assembly would provide the IFP with the "best way to put forward their points of view".

Mzimela said last week a report on the trip could form the basis for the IFP's return. Once the parties had studied the report, constitutional experts in Germany could be invited to SA to make further inputs into the constitutional process.

This week's meeting between the three political parties coincides with the resumption of formal negotiations

Continued on Page 2

IFP (11B) (~~SSSA~~)

Continued from Page 1

BD 22/1/96
in the assembly and private meetings between parties.

Gordhan said the ANC expected the next two weeks would be used to lay the basis for negotiations in both the assembly and behind the scenes on the "sharper issues" still outstanding.

Parties have identified four key areas for negotiation: the division of legislative and executive powers between central government and the provinces; whether to retain the government of national unity and, if so, in what form; the economic and socio-economic aspects of the Bill of Rights, and the structure and functions of the second house in Parliament.

As far as the ANC was concerned,

Gordhan said: "If the political will is there, the May 10 deadline for completion of the new constitution will not be a problem. The constitution-making machinery is already well-oiled."

Meyer said: "I do not see why we cannot find each other." The process was now mainly about constitutional differences and not political differences between parties.

Gordhan said there had been "a great deal of narrowing" between parties in recent months in the four main areas still outstanding.

He expected parties to use the upcoming round of private talks "to clarify their positions and create a better understanding between each other". For instance, the ANC expected the NP to clear up perceptions that its negotiators in KwaZulu-Natal were at odds with its national component over the allocation of provincial powers.

IFP claims inaccuracies in inquiry report

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The IFP has questioned the accuracy of KwaZulu-Natal auditor-general Chris Foster's findings following an inquiry into the payment of party self-protection unit members with taxpayers' money. The IFP claim inaccuracies in the report.

But IFP sources conceded at the weekend that if Foster's report was confirmed, it would be an indictment of premier Frank Mdlalose who denied to the KwaZulu-Natal legislature last year that taxpayers' funds were used to pay unit members.

Foster said in a report released last week that about R8,8m of public money was used illegally to train and pay salaries to between 5 000 and 8 000 unit members during the 1993/94 and 1994/95 fi-

(25) (11B) BD 22/1/96
nancial years.

IFP MP John Aulsebrook said on Friday that the IFP did not accept Foster's report "in its entirety". The inaccuracies were cause for concern and the report still needed to be "verified".

Aulsebrook declined to say what the alleged inaccuracies were, and said this would be done at a meeting of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature's public accounts committee later this week.

Foster had been asked to attend so that he could be questioned on his findings. It appeared that there were certain facts that Foster did not have at his disposal. The IFP would make these available to him via the committee.

Aulsebrook said there would be no cover-up. The IFP was among the parties that had asked Foster to conduct the investigation.

"Whatever the inaccuracies in the report, it will not detract from the fact that we want the matter to be dealt with," Aulsebrook said.

If Foster's findings were proved to be true, it would be an indictment of Mdlalose, but it would not mean that Mdlalose had deliberately misled the legislature last year. Rather, it would indicate that payments were made without his knowledge.

Meanwhile, the ANC KwaZulu-Natal region praised Foster for assisting the provincial legislature bring about "responsible, transparent and efficient government". The ANC said it would ask the committee to "thoroughly scrutinise" Mdlalose's and finance MEC Senzele Mhlungu's statements in regard to the payments.

Comment: Page 8

Party is hit by new corruption scandal

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The IFP has been hit by another corruption scandal, with KwaZulu-Natal auditor-general Chris Foster's office revealing that the former KwaZulu government spent about R8m on buying household goods and furniture for ministerial residences during its last year of existence.

KwaZulu-Natal local government MEC Peter Miller yesterday condemned the purchases as "astronomical". He had asked private sector accountants and police to investigate them.

Miller is an IFP member, but did not serve in the former KwaZulu government.

He said a report submitted to him by Foster's office indicated that the former homeland government's interior department had spent about R8m to buy curtaining, furniture, goods and equipment during the 1993-1994 financial year.

Miller said it appeared that "relatively junior officials collaborated with an outside supplier whose modus operandi was to submit tenders purporting to be from different well known and reputable firms". The outside supplier would at the same time submit a tender of his own "which was, of course, always the lowest", Miller said. **BD 23/1196**

"In some instances there was a clear indication that the items paid for had not been delivered in full, and in other cases the amounts paid were grossly in excess of the real value of the items delivered."

Miller's spokesman Warwick Dorning said Miller had asked accountants and police to investigate as he had inherited the interior department after the new constitution came into effect. Miller said he was confident that police would make arrests soon.

There was no indication that any person in high places, including ministers in the former government, was involved in the irregularities, Miller said.

KwaZulu-Natal transport MEC Sibusiso Ndebele (ANC) exposed a similar scam last year. This had resulted in the average monthly cost of servicing and maintaining vehicles being R13m, an average of R1 444 a vehicle.

IFP remains firm on mediation — Felgate

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP national council member Walter Felgate yesterday dampened speculation that the IFP was softening its stance on international mediation, saying it remained a precondition for the IFP's return to the constitutional assembly.

Felgate said there was "unfounded speculation" that IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela and caucus chairman Lionel Mtshali had struck an agreement with ANC and NP negotiators in Germany, and that this paved the way for the IFP's return to the assembly.

"Two IFP members cannot conclude anything in Germany outside the mandate of the IFP national council," Felgate said.

Mzimela and Mtshali were part of a multiparty delegation that visited Germany recently to study the country's federal system.

Mzimela said last week a report on the trip could form the basis of the IFP's return to the assembly. Once the parties had studied the report, constitutional experts in Germany could be invited to SA to make further inputs into the constitutional process.

Felgate said all parties in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature had agreed that a provincial constitution be adopted in the second half of next month. The constitution's adoption would "dramatically underwrite" the need for mediation. Only after mediation took place would the IFP return to the assembly.

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte had proposed that the IFP and NP could hold mediation on their own. Felgate said this would be a "futile exercise". The ANC had to be part of mediation talks.

Felgate said the provincial constitution would have "sunrise clauses", listing powers the province wanted for inclusion in the national constitution.

Zulu chiefs to decide on joint ANC, IFP gathering

Kevin O'Grady

ANC and IFP leaders agreed yesterday to address a joint imbizo — a gathering of the Zulu nation — in KwaZulu-Natal in a display of unity to reinforce peace efforts in the violence-torn province.

President Nelson Mandela, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KwaZulu-Natal ANC leader Jacob Zuma met in Pretoria and agreed that, in terms of Zulu custom, the decision on whether the event goes ahead should rest with chiefs in the province.

Mandela told a news conference afterwards: "A meeting of the entire Zulu community can never be called without first discussing the matter with the amaKhosi (chiefs) of KwaZulu-Natal." The next step would be to call a meeting between Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi, himself and the chiefs. "I am going to get in touch with his majesty tonight to indicate to him it is our opinion this meeting should go ahead as soon as possible."

BD 23/1/96 (11B)
It was envisaged that Buthelezi, Mandela and Zwelithini would address the gathering. Yesterday's meeting followed one on Friday at which Mandela and Zwelithini discussed the matter.

Buthelezi said "a clearing of the air" was needed at the meeting with the chiefs. It would be foolish to hold the gathering without such talks.

Zuma said the big gathering should be able to help normalise relations and bring about peace. It should attempt to reverse the perception among KwaZulu-Natal residents "that there is war among the leaders".

Sapa reports that Zwelithini's spokesman, Prince Sifiso Zulu, said the efforts of political leaders to stage an imbizo were being undermined by "cheap politicking". He was referring to comments by provincial IFP leaders who had initially described the plan for a gathering as a political ploy engineered by the ANC and Zwelithini.

Picture: Page 3

Some funds possibly misused, admits IFP

Farouk Chothia

11B (114)
BO 24/1/96

DURBAN — The IFP denied yesterday that about R8,6m of taxpayers' funds had been unlawfully used to pay self-protection unit members during the 1993/94 and 1994/95 financial years, but admitted that "some money, somewhere, could have been misappropriated".

IFP KwaZulu-Natal MP John Aulsebrook said provincial auditor-general Chris Foster's claim that about R8,6m had been spent appeared to be exaggerated. "It (the R8,6m) could be reduced to half and a large portion of it could be justified," he said.

Aulsebrook said there were 10 "major factual inaccuracies" in Foster's inquiry report. He urged opposition politicians and the public not to be judgmental until all the facts were established and verified.

He said the provincial legislature's public accounts committee was scheduled to discuss Foster's report next Monday.

"We will have to hear evidence supporting his report," Aulsebrook said.

Foster's report said that between 5 000 and 8 000 unit members had received training at the Mlaba camp until the April 1994 general election. Efforts to incorporate them into the KwaZulu Police were unsuccessful due to opposition from then police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During.

Aulsebrook said this was incorrect. "Fully" incorporated into the police force were 1 400 unit members complying with the minimum standards of employment. A further 2 000 have since been accepted by Defence Minister Joe Modise for incorporation into the SANDF.

Observers pointed out that this still left between 1 600 and 4 600 unit members unaccounted for. Aulsebrook said it could be that they were paid with taxpayers' funds, but this still needed to be established.

He said unit members incorporated into the police had been given "short notice" of dismissal and the question of their "compensation" centred on this.

Aulsebrook also challenged Foster's claim that the camp had been extensively abused, and that losses in this regard amounted to more than R2m.

Aulsebrook said that throughout the training, former KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's department liaised closely with the nature conservation department in order to preserve the camp's "environmental integrity". The camp was left in "perfect condition" and vandalism took place after its closure in April 1994.

ed
r.
ty
re

tt
ly

yy
n
e

d
r

t.
il
o

s
n

Agencies



Crusading Azapo in challenge for power

Political Reporter Mondli Makhanya takes a look at the Azanian People's Organisation, which is now gearing itself to re-enter the mainstream of South African politics

TAL

10/08/95

DATE

Star 25/1/96

(NA)

When he opens his mouth to speak, Azanian People's Organisation president Mosibudi Mangena paints a dark picture of the decline in standards which he believes will have to be halted if South Africa's transition to democracy is to succeed.

year and in the run-up to the 1999 general election.

It is this pessimism about the Government's ability to deliver on its commitments that has Azapo upbeat about its electoral prospects in 1999.

The organisation will go into its three-day national congress in December to

1685

Dr Pundy
Financial e
Private Ba
Halfway H

umber 1995

STATEMENT/STAAT

Research Division - School of Economics
Robert Leslie Building - University of Cape Town
Private Bag - Rondebosch 7700
Telephone: 650-2750
Fax No: (021) 650-4053

Southern Africa Labour &
Development Research Unit



According to Mangena, the country's health system is facing collapse as nurses are no longer interested in nursing and the schooling system is in terminal decline, with teachers not willing to teach.

Black living standards are set to tumble even further as the Government seems "hell-bent on privatising state assets" and hence throwing black workers on to the streets.

Joblessness is driving many people to crime, life in black townships is no longer characterised by merry shebeening, and communities have been destroyed by fear and suspicion. But it is the state of the health and education sectors that has Mangena most worried.

"Hospitals and health services are worse than they were two years ago. These days nurses are indifferent and rude to people.

"In education there is no discipline. Teachers are not teaching and on pay day they don't even bother about going to classes but rush to the banks to cash their cheques," says Mangena.

A major contributory factor to this deterioration, he says, is the ANC-led Government's exaggerated preoccupation with white concerns and its failure to treat the improvement of black living conditions with a sense of urgency.

The mushrooming of shack settlements on unused land and the increasing crime rate are just a few indicators of the Government's failure to transform South Africa into a society where black people enjoy the quality of life they voted for in April 1994.

The only former liberation movement to have avoided the hurly-burly of electoral politics during the transition period, Azapo can afford to level such criticism at the Government. It is untainted by the lack of delivery which has partly dented the image of the ANC in many black communities.

Azapo has also kept its hands squeaky clean, unlike the Pan Africanist Congress, which, as the only parliamentary opposition to the left of the ANC has failed to keep the Government sufficiently alive to the concerns of blacks.

And unlike its former liberation struggle trenchmates, Azapo is unashamed about its commitment to advancing the interests of blacks and is unconcerned about accusations of reverse racism.

Mangena told The Star in an interview that Azapo had identified the weaknesses in the Government and would mobilise people around this during this

seek a mandate from the membership to enter the mainstream of South African politics.

The congress will examine the "state of the nation" and work out strategies to penetrate the ANC's seemingly impervious armour.

The organisation has spent the past two years studying the political scene and watching very closely every step the ANC-led Government has taken. Azapo spokesmen can now be heard speaking authoritatively about issues as diverse as energy policy, the Truth Commission and economic growth - a far cry from the days when their only response would have been predictable rhetoric.

It is Azapo's contention that the Government is failing to deliver on its pre-election promises, and that rather than blacks heading for "a better life", black living standards are actually declining.

"We now know where the country is going and what the problems are. We are convinced that they will not be able to solve the problems of our people," said Mangena.

This deterioration in black living standards over the next few years will be exacerbated by the Government's plan to sell off some state assets, a move which Azapo believes will lead to the enrichment of white investors at the expense of black jobs and services.

Mangena says privatisation is merely in the interests of the white minority, which is the only section of South African society that has the means to take advantage of buying up privatised assets.

Azapo has been busy reviving its branches and fine-tuning itself to be a more effective force.

In the traditional stronghold of Sehego near Pietersburg, Azapo remains buoyant and even political opponents concur that the party will give them a run for their money.

However, in Soweto, another area where the party had strong representation, branches are flagging. This Mangena attributes to the 1980s inter-party conflict and the post-1990s emigration of black intelligentsia from the township.

For a start, Azapo will occupy itself with fighting against privatisation and throw its weight behind all the forces ranged against any moves by the Government in this direction. It will also be engaged in moves to make sure there is substantive improvement in black schooling this year.

"We want to become a powerful vehicle through which black people can fight for a better deal," said Mangena.



Mangena ... 'black living standards in reality are in decline'

A party in decline

PAC beset by a weak and directionless leadership, inner party squabbling, a steady stream of resignations and a mutinous membership calling for the heads of their leaders.

ARLT 29/1/96

(11A)

Political Reporter **MONDLI MAKHANYA** takes a look at the PAC, which has a history of being riven with internal divisions.

SINCE its formation in 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress has always been an enigma in South African politics.

While white South Africa feared its radical statements about land repossession, blacks revered its militant rhetoric about peace among Africans and war against "the enemy".

But whereas the PAC's war with the enemy has never really materialised, the organisation has never been at peace with itself.

It has been ravaged by internal conflict and has seen the assassinations of senior leaders like chairman John Phokela.

It has had a steady drain of intellectual talent, most notably former deputy president Dikgang Moseneke who was lost to the business world and rising star Dr Ziba Jiyane, now a senior leader in the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Most recently the PAC has lost the services of its able secretary-general Maxwell Namadzihanani, finance secretary Siphwe Cele and a host of other top administrative staff, all of whom have opted for jobs where monthly pay cheques are guaranteed and where they will not have to run the gauntlet of intra-organisational wars.

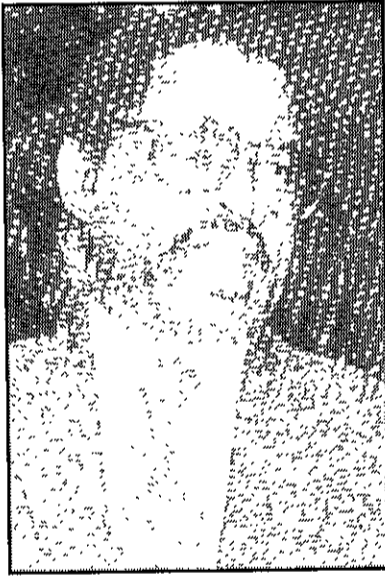
The PAC has all the makings of a party in decline: a weak and directionless leadership, inner party squabbling, a steady stream of resignations and a mutinous membership calling for the heads of their leaders.

In April the party faithful will go into a crucial conference where they will attempt to extricate the party from the mire it finds itself in and refashion it into a force that can be taken seriously by both the voting public and its political opponents.

They will engage in a brutal introspection about why the party has been so badly bruised in two successive elections and why an appealing ideology has not been



CLARENCE MAKWETU ... his five years at the helm have seen the party go into decline.



JOHNSON MLAMBO ... carries a lot of clout, highly regarded for his intellectual ability



ZIBA JIYANE ... a rising star in the party but he left and joined the IFP.



KHOISAN XI ... interested in the presidency but lacks a grassroots powerbase.

seized upon by ordinary people.

Interestingly, the venue for what PAC activists hope will be the beginning of its renaissance will be Bloemfontein, birthplace of the ANC which was for decades the standard bearer of Africanism until the PAC broke away in 1959, saying the ANC had abandoned its historical mission after having fallen to the influence of white communists and liberals.

The Bloemfontein conference, which will be converted to a congress to allow for leadership elections, may mark a crucial turning-point in the PAC's history. It can either convert the PAC from a movement stuck in 1950s Uhuru politics and make Pan Africanism relevant in the post-colonial-era South Africa, or expedite the final break-up of an organisation that has never acted with a single purpose.

Undoubtedly the highest priority on the minds of delegates will be getting rid of the present leadership that is digging the party's grave.

Facing the most pressure is Clarence Makwetu, the dour president whose five years at the helm has seen the PAC go into decline when it should have been capitalising on the moderation of the ANC as it drifted closer to power.

Makwetu, who defeated his deputy Dr Motsoko Pheko by a mere nine votes at the December 1994 congress, has not enjoyed the wholehearted support of his party since many interpreted the narrow margin as a vote of no-confidence in his leadership.

But Makwetu's position is strengthened by the fact that he runs the strongest branch in the whole organisation and the Eastern Cape region from where he comes forms the backbone of the party.

The paralysis during Makwetu's presidency has been exacerbated by the less than perfect communication lines between himself and Pheko. With Makwetu based in parliament, Pheko has taken it upon himself to direct the organisation from the Johannesburg head office, leading to clashes between the two.

As secretary-general, Nemadzihanani was caught in the middle of this tug-of-war, and PAC insiders tell of Nemadzihanani having to literally facilitate a telephone connection so that the two leaders could speak to each other. This has been cited as one of the reasons for his departure.

The PAC has also not got over the simmering conflicts between the formerly exiled leadership and those who were inside the country

during the days of the struggle.

As a result, the two sides have never been able to merge their experiences: the exiles the political maturity learned in ideological training classes abroad and the internal wing the organising expertise learned in the turbulent 1980s.

There are also tensions between full-time party operatives and parliamentary representatives who are seen as not contributing enough to party coffers and are accused of having lost touch with the membership.

Unlike many other parties which have several crown princes waiting in the wings, the PAC has no natural successor to Makwetu. While Pheko should be the logical successor as the next man in the chain of command, his reputed arrogance has alienated many in the party's ranks.

The younger generation in the party - acting-secretary-general Carter Seleke and Nemadzihanani, among others - are uninterested in wearing the crown, preferring to bide their time.

Gauteng legislator Khoisan XI, who is said to be interested in making a bid for the presidency or the secretary-generalship, has no grassroots powerbase from which to catapult himself.

The mantle may fall on a man who has long awaited the moment: political affairs secretary Johnson Mlambo. He carries a lot of clout in the PAC and is highly regarded for his intellectual ability.

But PAC leaders accuse him of indecisiveness and a tendency to over-consult before making a decision. He may turn out to be the elder statesman the PAC need to hold the party together.

In Bloemfontein the PAC will also seek to find a new direction for itself and update the "1959 documents" which have guided the party since its founding by rebel ANC militants.

Policy positions are being circulated among party branches to discuss before April. This will give the PAC clear policy directions in virtually all spheres of South African life and give party positions the same scientific backing that formed the nucleus of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme.

This, PAC leaders hope, will save the party from the embarrassment caused when party leaders make widely contradictory statements in the media or on public platforms. It will also serve as a glue to unite the party and provide programmes around which party activists can rally communities.

AL

IFP rallies behind leader on imbizo

29/1/96 Sowetan 29/1/96 (11B) (S)

THE INKATHA FREEDOM Party national council has endorsed its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's advice to President Nelson Mandela that the issue of an *imbizo* be placed before the amaKhosi and Zulu royal family, the organisation said yesterday.

In a statement issued after a national council meeting in Ulundi on Saturday, the IFP said the council had been fully informed by Buthelezi of Mandela's *imbizo* peace initiative and his consultation with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"This council therefore fully endorses the wisdom of its president, the chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal and his advice to the president of South Africa, that the issue of the suggested *imbizo* must therefore be placed before

If obstacles are put before the King they could scuttle *imbizo* peace bid

the amaKhosi and royal family of the nation for a final decision or instructions as to any other matters that may dictate which must first be dealt with," the council resolved.

"We thus await the outcome of these preliminary meetings."

This stipulation could mean that conditions may be placed by the chiefs in their meeting with the King, which could include the IFP's own stock demands such as international mediation, the recognition of Buthelezi as the King's prime minister, and more powers for the provinces.

A gathering of traditional leaders in Johannesburg is reported to have called

on Mandela to first apologise and solve the Shell House massacre dispute before the *imbizo* can be held.

If these conditions are made, they may put brakes on the momentum towards the *imbizo*, which was initiated by Mandela following large scale slaughter of innocent people in the IFP-run province.

The IFP said it had also noted that the government of national unity cabinet had approved a Bill which prohibited any chief from being a member of the House of Traditional Leaders at any level if he was also a member of a provincial legislature or a member of parliament. — *Sapa and Sowetan Reporter*.

An imbizo ... at last?

(IIB) *(S)* *(S)* *sovetan 30/11/96*
Everything seems to be set – except that there are a few factors that might get in the way of the momentous meeting. Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** considers the ramifications...

WHEN PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA called for an *imbizo* of the Zulu people to be convened by King Goodwill Zwelithini, many thought that, like so many other efforts of his over KwaZulu-Natal, it would come to naught.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, it was felt, would – true to form – oppose it and scuttle the process in its constant battle against any African National Congress initiative.

Mandela's idea was that Zwelithini, as in days of old when King Shaka summoned his subjects whenever there were problems, should give his subjects a chance to tell him what they think and how they see the resolution of the violence that is eating away at the fabric of the province's society.

But 1996 is not the early part of the nineteenth century when Shaka was in charge. Today you have political considerations that that have to be taken note of, hence the need for consultation with not only the king but also IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This especially because, in the final analysis, the *imbizo* will mainly be a meeting of supporters of the ANC and those of the IFP.

Immediately after the announcement, Buthelezi said he would not attend a meeting with Zwelithini and Mandela, and the President had to shuttle between uncle and nephew, between what was until two years ago the king and his traditional prime minister, as Buthelezi likes to call himself.

Sigh of relief

And it all seemed to be coming well off the ground, with Buthelezi simply putting one condition, that an *imbizo* would have to be called in the traditional way, and that meant a consultation between the king and his chiefs was necessary and would in fact have to be the body that convenes such a gathering.

We then saw Mandela last week flying to Nongoma to see the king over his demand, and when the king agreed, many heaved a sigh of relief. Back to Buthelezi again, and Mandela got the nod from the chief for the preliminary meeting to be convened.

Amidst all this, IFP general secretary Dr Ziba Jiyane said the *imbizo* could only take place if international mediation in the national constitutional talks was agreed to, and if more powers for the provinces were guaranteed.

But when Buthelezi did not echo these demands, Jiyane dropped them, saying if the chiefs wanted to go ahead without any preconditions, the IFP would not stand in their way. And so it seemed the path was cleared for the *imbizo*.

Until last weekend, when the IFP national



King Zwelithini ... his planned *imbizo* with the Zulu people may be scuttled by preconditions.

council meeting in Ulundi – while welcoming and endorsing the assertion by Buthelezi that a preliminary meeting of chiefs was necessary – added a rider that could scuttle the entire process.

“This council fully endorses the wisdom of its president, the chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal and his advice to the President of South Africa, that the issue of the suggested *imbizo* must therefore be placed before the *amakhosi* and the royal family of the nation for a final decision or instructions as to any other matters that (they) may dictate which must first be dealt with. We thus await the outcome of these preliminary meetings,” the IFP national council said.

The council resolution anticipates that the preliminary meeting of chiefs and their king may dictate certain preconditions, and that the satisfactory meeting of those conditions is awaited by the IFP before it can say the *imbizo* should go ahead.

The conditions that may be put forward have not been described, but suffice it to say that of

the 300 or so chiefs who will attend, over 270 are either members or supporters of the IFP.

Previous meetings of the House of Traditional Leaders and its *imbizo* have word for word called for the same political preconditions as those of the IFP.

A cue may have been given by the meeting on the East Rand at the weekend, where traditional leaders of the Zulu people in Gauteng said after a meeting that the *imbizo* could only go ahead after Mandela apologises for the Shell House massacre, and solves the outstanding criminal cases arising therefrom.

This is probably going to be one of the conditions set by the chiefs, coupled to others such as the need for the king to apologise for not attending King Shaka celebrations over the past two years, the recognition of Buthelezi as the king's traditional prime minister, international mediation and more powers for the provinces.

If this were to happen, it would mean that all Buthelezi has done would be to avoid being seen as an obstacle.

IFP flexibility raises hopes of settlement

BD 30/1/96 (11B) (214)

Farouk Chothia

MARITZBURG — The IFP made far-reaching concessions in negotiations over a KwaZulu-Natal constitution yesterday, raising hopes that an all-inclusive settlement could be reached by the end of next month.

Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi said parties agreed in yesterday's talks on the need for the provincial legislature's size to be confined to 100. The IFP initially demanded a 200-member legislature.

Agreement had also been reached that in rural areas, property owners would be guaranteed 30% representation on primary local government councils. The NP had wanted this to be a permanent arrangement, but a compromise agreement stated it would apply only for the first term of councils.

ANC negotiator Ina Cronje said the IFP had shown a willingness to negotiate, and there seemed to have been a change of attitude on its part.

However, it was too early to say whether the ANC could strike a deal with the IFP as "tough negotiations" were scheduled for today.

IFP negotiator Mike Tarr said there was a "new spirit" among all the parties, particularly the ANC. "I think everyone now realises that we've got to produce results," Tarr said.

An IFP source said the party was becoming desperate for a constitution. It feared that if there were continuous

delays the provincial process would be overtaken by the national process. At this stage, the provincial constitution had to be compatible with only the interim constitution. If the national constitution was finalised first, the provincial constitution would have to be compatible with the national constitution for it to be certified by the Constitutional Court.

Parties had agreed that a draft constitutional Bill would be published by the end of the week with the aim of adopting a constitution with a two-thirds majority in three weeks' time.

One of the main areas of dispute was the issue of the executive. The front and the ANC wanted the constitution to state that the government of provincial unity would continue until 1999, but the IFP was unwilling to give this commitment. Instead, the IFP believed that any coalition after the adoption of the constitution should be on a voluntary basis. For its part, the NP had proposed that a council of state, comprising two representatives each from the three major parties, replace the unity government. A single-party cabinet would have to refer decisions to the council for ratification.

Rajbansi said all parties were moving closer on the issue of the Bill of Rights. The IFP had initially proposed a detailed Bill, but had now indicated a willingness to be flexible.

Comment: Page 4

Council plays down staff vacuum

Mduduzi ka Harvey

JOHANNESBURG's council yesterday dismissed concerns that the 229 senior posts which became vacant last year had not yet been filled, leaving the council poorly administered.

Acting deputy head of metropolitan human resources Rina Barfoot said the posts, most of which had become vacant through resignations, had all been filled. About 90 officials had been appointed, and the other posts were filled by deputies in an acting capacity.

However, she warned that many more officials could resign unless there was clarity on the level of taxation on the lump sum pension payout. Many officials resigned because they feared their pension payout would be subject-

ed to a 40% taxation. Others left for higher-paying jobs.

She said the 150 resignations last year had not caused waves in the council as these posts made up only a fraction of the council's 35 000 work force.

Barfoot allayed fears that the council was not operating efficiently due to the fact that personnel could not be replaced because of a pre-existing moratorium on appointments. Council CEO Nicky Padayachee had been empowered to override the moratorium and approve the filling of these posts.

Of the 150 resignations, 90 were from Johannesburg, 33 from Sandton, 10 from Randburg, nine from Roodepoort and four from Soweto. Diepsmeadow, Alexandra and Dobsonville were unaffected.

BD 30/1/96

H
O
-
-
-
E
T
v
o
d
d
b
A
e
p
w
h
n
i
f
i
m
t
i
g
w
b
N
E
E
v
s
p
d
f
t
s

Copy only for the first time... but the IFP was unwilling to... 1999, 6661

KwaZulu paymaster missing — official

BD 30/1/96 (11B) (214)
Farouk Chothia

MARITZBURG — KwaZulu-Natal government employee Muzi Lombo, who is at the centre of the scandal over the payment of IFP-aligned self-protection unit members with taxpayers' funds, has disappeared, says provincial director-general Otty Nxumalo.

Questioned by parliamentarians in the legislature's public accounts committee yesterday, Nxumalo said Lombo had not reported at work for about three months.

Lombo was a driver in former KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's department, and had been a paymaster in the new provincial government. He is a former Umkhonto weSizwe cadre who became disgruntled with the ANC.

Lombo had handled cheques of up to R1,4m, issued by the government, to pay unit members. Nxumalo said some paysheets that would be proof that Lombo had made payments could not be found. Lombo was missing, and charges had been laid against him for his failure to provide the gov-

ernment with paysheets. There was no evidence that Lombo had misappropriated funds.

Nxumalo said he was preparing "charges (against Lombo) for unlawful absence from work".

KwaZulu-Natal auditor-general Chris Foster released a report earlier this month indicating that about R8,6m of taxpayers funds had been illegally spent on unit members during the 1993/94 and 1994/95 financial years. Paysheets for about R2m had not been submitted to him.

Committee chairman Tino Volker questioned why action had not been taken against Lombo 10 months ago when he was to have produced paysheets. Nxumalo said the matter had come to his attention only recently.

IFP MPs said they rejected Foster's claim that the training was illegal, and asked that the committee remove references from Foster's report that the expenditure was unlawful. ANC MP Mike Sutcliffe accused the IFP of attempting a cover-up.

The committee adjourned to next week.

Facts surface about IFP cheques

(118)

(211)

Star 30/1/96

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban - An official within the KwaZulu Natal department of finance yesterday identified the office of Mangosuthu Buthelezi as having issued the instructions for cheques ranging from R68 000 to R1,4-million to be paid to IFP self-protection unit members.

This follows an earlier report by KZN attorney-general Chris Foster into the alleged irregular payment of more than R6-million from state coffers to the SPU members.

The provincial public accounts committee met to discuss the re-

port in Pietermaritzburg yesterday.

The officials said members of Buthelezi's office drew up the paysheets for the SPU members, then requested the department to issue them with cheques.

It also emerged that the cheques were cashed by unknown officials.

However, of the more than R6-million paid out, at least R2-million of the money could not be accounted for in paysheets from Buthelezi's office.

The officials said when they demanded the rest of the paysheets from Buthelezi's staff, they

were told that there had been a break-in and the paysheets had disappeared.

According to KZN director-general Prof Otty Nxumalo, charges have been laid against a driver in Buthelezi's department for not appearing at work for the past three or four months.

When questioned it became clear that the driver, a Mr Lombo, was in fact the head paymaster for the SPU affair but Nxumalo said he did not know what qualities Lombo possessed whereby a driver could be entrusted with cheques totalling more than R1-million.

Return of the IFP discussed in secret

~~SECRET~~
David Greybe

(11B)
BD 30/1/96

CAPE TOWN — Top negotiators of the ANC, IFP and NP met under a veil of secrecy yesterday as part of a renewed bid to seek ways to facilitate the IFP's return to the Constitutional Assembly.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer (NP), his deputy Valli Moosa (ANC) and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela (IFP) met for an hour in Pretoria. They refused to discuss the meeting afterwards.

Mzimela went so far as to deny it had taken place, but other sources confirmed it had. They stressed though the talks were at an "exploratory stage", and made a point of underplaying its significance.

"Nothing has come out of it yet," one source said. But he said the three negotiators would "work hard" to resolve the 21-month-old political impasse over international mediation on outstanding constitutional issues.

The three agreed to meet again next week, after Mzimela had briefed IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting was the first since the three held discussions during a multiparty trip to Germany earlier this month to study federalism.

OFFICIALS TELL OF MILLIONS PAID OUT

'Buthelezi's office okayed SPU cheques

(11B) ~~11B~~
CT 30/1/96

DURBAN: The provincial Public Accounts Committee heard yesterday that millions of rand was paid to IFP SPU members without supporting documents.

AN OFFICIAL in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Finance yesterday identified the office of former Chief Minister Ciel Mangosuthu Buthelezi as having issued the instructions for cheques ranging from R68 000 to R1.4 million to be paid to IFP self-protection unit (SPU) members.

This follows an earlier report by KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Chris Foster into the alleged irregular payment of over R6m from state coffers to the SPU members.

The provincial public accounts committee met to discuss the report in Maritzburg yesterday and, according to the Department of Finance officials, they were simply instructed to prepare the cheques without any supporting documents.

What emerged during the department's grilling before the committee was a tale dubbed by one politician as "Ulundigate". The officials said members of Buthelezi's office drew up the paysheets for the SPU members,

ranging in numbers from 1 400 to 8 000, and then requested the department to issue them with cheques.

It also emerged that the cheques were cashed by unknown officials and then allegedly paid out to the SPU members.

However, of the more than R6m paid out by the finance department, at least R2m could not be accounted for in paysheets from Buthelezi's office.

It was established that at least 15 cheques, amounting to R6m, were issued between September 1993 and March 1994.

At least R4.7m was paid out in September and October 1993 alone.

The officials said when they demanded the rest of the paysheets from Buthelezi's staff, they were told that there had been a break-in and the paysheets had disappeared.

The officials also conceded that they issued the cheques "in good faith" because they were told ade-

quate records were being kept in Buthelezi's office.

According to the present finance director-general, Professor Otty Nxumalo, charges have been laid against a driver in Buthelezi's department for not appearing at work for the past three months.

The driver, a Mr. Lombo, is alleged to be at the centre of the SPU pay-out scandal.

When questioned, it became clear that Lombo was in fact the head paymaster in the SPU affair, but Prof Nxumalo said he did not know what qualities Lombo possessed whereby a driver could be entrusted with cheques totalling over R1m.

However, Prof Nxumalo said there was no evidence of the money being misused or misappropriated and said his department was still waiting for the return of the paysheets.

It also emerged that in March last year Lombo had requested more money to pay other SPU members and at the time he warned the finance department that the unpaid SPU members would come to Ulundi to "make mischief" if they were not paid. — Political Staff

Opposition to grill IFP over public funds

(11B)

BY MORDI MAKHANYA

Political Reporter

Star 1/2/96
KwaZulu Natal political parties are set to pounce on Inkatha over a damning report by the Auditor-General which accuses the former homeland government of squandering millions of rands in public funds.

The report by Auditor-General Chris Vorster has revealed a shambles in administering the KwaZulu finances, with R79,5-million in unauthorised expenditure during the 1993/94 financial year.

The report will now go before the Public Accounts Committee when it meets on February 9.

ANC provincial chief whip Ina Cronje said the report was "dynamite stuff". "It confirms one's worst suspicions about corruption that went on in the former KwaZulu homeland."

NP spokesman Pieter van Pletzen said the party was waiting for the February 9 meeting and would then demand answers from those who ran the homeland's finances. "After that we will go nuts."

The Public Accounts Committee will call for the province's Director-General, Prof Otty Nxumalo, to testify before it and give answers on where the money had gone. From there the committee will then either accept the explanations and formalise the payments or recommend criminal investigation.

There is also a proposal that Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose and finance MEC John Mhlungu be hauled before "a disciplinary committee" to explain the government's funding of IFP self-protection units to the tune of R8-million.

Parties bar Zulu king from political arena

Farouk Chothia

MARITZBURG — The IFP and ANC have struck a historic agreement on the future role of the Zulu king, deciding that he should be constitutionally barred from publicly expressing a political view.

The IFP and ANC said in an agreement presented to the KwaZulu-Natal legislature yesterday that they wanted the provincial constitution to state that the monarch "shall not participate in party political activities, or express alignment with any party, nor shall he support or oppose any political issue being debated in the provincial parlia-

ment or in the media".

IFP KwaZulu-Natal MP and negotiator Blessed Gwala said the agreement was largely negotiated at a recent workshop held by KwaZulu-Natal's seven parties in a bid to find common ground on constitutional issues. He said the parties decided their Zulu members should be given a few days to tackle the vexed issue, and this laid the basis for the agreement. "It proves that even if people are divided as members of a political party they can unite as members of the Zulu nation," he said. "It takes the monarch, once and for all, out of politics."

Gwala said the agreement had IFP

president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's support and would be a relief to Zulus. "There is no one who will be able to point fingers at the king. It will bring lasting unity in the Zulu nation."

Observers pointed out that the agreement marked a major IFP climb-down. It had initially wanted the king to have the power to nominate the political premier and to have veto powers over legislation.

The agreement is part of a broader package which stated that the monarch would be responsible for the formal installation of chiefs (the back-

Continued on Page 2

King (11B) (11A)

Continued from Page 1

bone of IFP support); that he would have a royal council appointed after consultation with the premier and the House of Traditional Leaders, and that he may mediate in cultural disputes in consultation with the council.

Two issues remain unresolved and have sparked a row in the legislature. One is ANC insistence that the constitution should state that "succession to the throne will be determined by the royal household in accordance with indigenous and customary law".

The IFP wanted this clause to be replaced by one saying the "crown of the province of KwaZulu-Natal is hereditary for the succession of His Majesty, King Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu".

Both clauses were put to the vote, and a tie emerged. This forced speaker Gideon Mdlalose (IFP) to cast the determining vote. He threw his weight behind the ANC.

The NP and DP voted against the agreement. They believe the monarch should be only the Zulu monarch and

not constitutional monarch of the entire province. But they were defeated.

The agreement is to be included in the draft constitutional Bill passed yesterday. The Bill will now be open to public scrutiny and amended after negotiations between parties. It is due to be presented to the legislature in mid-February for final approval.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal chairman Jacob Zuma said the IFP had dropped its hardline attitude and this could pave the way for an all-inclusive constitutional settlement. One of the main stumbling blocks to be overcome was IFP insistence that sunrise clauses, listing powers the IFP wants the national constitution to grant the province, be included in the main body of the constitution.

Zuma said a compromise could be inclusion of the sunrise clauses in a schedule attached to the constitution. The IFP should then return to the Constitutional Assembly and negotiate for the powers listed in the schedule to be given to KwaZulu-Natal.

If the IFP and ANC could reach a settlement in KwaZulu-Natal, there was no reason to believe they could not do so in the assembly.

IFP wants unconditional release of prisoners

MARGATE. — Police agreed to hold a special bail hearing for six men arrested at Mvutshini on Thursday in connection with the massacre of seven people on December 19.

This followed a meeting between south coast Inkatha Freedom Party leaders (those arrested are IFP supporters) and the head of the Port Shepstone special investigation unit

(113) (276)
Bushy Engelbrecht.

IFP delegation head James Zulu said they would be satisfied with nothing less than the unconditional release of the prisoners.

He demanded the special investigation unit be withdrawn from the south coast immediately.

The six suspects were being held at Westville, Durban + Sapa.

ARG 312/96

Irate IFP marchers block main road in protest over arrests

Star 3/2/96 11B

Durban - About 500 people blocked Margate's main road yesterday to protest at the arrest of six suspects in connection with recent massacres in southern KwaZulu Natal, police said.

"Between 400 and 500 people with IFP banners have gathered in the main road of Margate and are demanding that Director Bushie Engelbrecht address them about Thursday's arrests," Supt Bala Naidoo told reporters. Police rejected the demand because they could not guarantee the safety of Engelbrecht, who is heading the special investigation team which is probing 15 massacres and murders on the south coast.

"The situation is tense but under control. A large contingent of police has been deployed," Naidoo said.

About 60 soldiers in armoured vehicles had been sent to help police, defence force spokesman Kim van Niekerk said.

Engelbrecht's team arrested six suspects on Thursday in connection with the massacre of eight women and children in the

ANC stronghold of Mvutshini near Margate on December 19.

They were also being held in connection with another attack in the area in which two people were killed on December 2.

Engelbrecht issued a statement yesterday rejecting complaints from local police that his detectives had not consulted them before making arrests.

"Complaints in this regard are completely inappropriate as my team is an independent task team appointed by the national commissioner," Engelbrecht said.

"Investigations can only be carried out successfully if the community has confidence in the team and if its credibility is maintained. Members of my team will remain apolitical and impartial and unattached to local police structures," he said.

Engelbrecht added that attempts would be made to discredit his detectives. "False and malicious rumours are likely to be spread."

Police said eight people were killed in KwaZulu Natal on Thursday, pushing the provincial death toll from criminal and

political violence to at least 80 in the past week.

The Human Rights Committee said political killings in the province dropped sharply last month. It said initial reports indicated that about 20 people were killed, making January the quietest month since the HRC began monitoring violence in 1987.

The previous lowest monthly toll of 37 deaths was recorded in November last year but was followed by a sharp increase in December, when the HRC reported 76 politically motivated killings.

"January is generally a quiet month and the deployment of more police in violence flash-points and investigations have helped," it said, adding: "There is still no evidence of any real effort to seek a long-term solution by both political parties."

The runup to the local government elections on May 29 could heighten tensions between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha when the parties start recruiting and campaigning in party-political strongholds, it said. More than 14 000 people

have died in a decade of violence in KwaZulu Natal.

Meanwhile, criminal charges relating to 18 counts of culpable homicide and contravention of the Criminal Procedure Act have been registered against an undisclosed number of policemen by the team investigating police complicity in the massacre at Shobashobane, near Port Shepstone, on Christmas Day.

In a statement yesterday, investigating team head Advocate Neville Melville said sufficient information had been gathered to warrant the charges. No individual policemen have apparently been singled out.

Nineteen people were shot and hacked to death by a mob of up to 2 000 people in the ANC-supporting enclave of Shobashobane on Christmas morning. Survivors alleged that police from the area confiscated weapons from households on the eve of the attack and took part in the massacre the following day.

Melville said the charges of culpable homicide related to allegations that police had failed to take appropriate measures to prevent the attack. - Sapa-Reuter

IFP still ~~holding out~~
holding out (118)
for mediation

Star 5/2/96

Ulundi - The IFP has reiterated it will not return to the Constitutional Assembly until international mediation takes place.

A resolution reaffirming the party's position and condemning the media for speculating it would return to the assembly, was taken at a national council meeting yesterday.

The council said a constitutional settlement in KwaZulu Natal would not obviate the need for international mediation.

It said the mediation had been "solemnly promised" in the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace signed by President Nelson Mandela in April 1994. - Sapa.

IFP demands release of murder suspects

Farouk Chothia

~~11B~~ 11B
BD5/2/96
DURBAN — A tense stand-off developed outside the Port Shepstone magistrate's court yesterday when hundreds of IFP supporters gathered to demand the release of six men suspected of involvement in a massacre at Mvutshini on the KwaZulu-Natal south coast in December.

The protest, the second in a week, follows allegations of a death threat against the director of central government's special investigative team in the province, Bushie Engelbrecht. The team, investigating three massacres, carried out the arrests.

He said that, at a meeting with IFP officials on Friday he "was told to my face that I'd be killed".

Additional police were deployed outside the court and razor wire barriers were arrested before a bail application by the six suspects was heard. The application was refused.

The protesters, led by the IFP's south coast publicity secretary James

Continued on Page 2

IFP

~~11B~~ 11B
BD5/2/96
Continued from Page 1

Zulu, were demanding the release of the suspects and the withdrawal of the police team.

The ANC warned that continued IFP demonstrations against the police unit could result in the collapse of the criminal justice system in the province.

The demonstration was an embarrassment to premier Frank Mdlalose, who endorsed the team's formation after negotiating its composition with

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. Both national and provincial policemen are part of the team, but it reports to national commissioner George Fivaz.

Engelbrecht said he had also been investigating the massacre of IFP supporters in the Paddock area in December. The IFP had blamed the ANC, but "investigations showed otherwise".

Police reporting officer Adv Neville Melville said a culpable homicide and illegal weapons search docket had been opened against policemen in connection with the massacre at Shobashobane on Christmas Day, which the team is also probing.

Regional chairman is publicly censured by IFP

BD 5/2/96 (11B)

Business Day Reporter

THE IFP national council yesterday publicly censured IFP south coast regional deputy chairman Thomas Shabalala after his supporters forced IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane to flee their stronghold of Lindelani by firing gunshots.

IFP council member Walter Felgate said Shabalala had been asked to "remedy" the situation, or further action would be taken against him. He will risk expulsion from the IFP and his seat as an MP in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature.

Shabalala's supporters were accused of burning buses in an attempt to expand his taxi business

in Lindelani, an informal settlement near Durban that Shabalala is said to control with an iron fist.

Jiyane held a meeting in Lindelani last week in an attempt to resolve the issue of the burning of buses.

However, Shabalala's supporters fired gunshots, forcing Jiyane to retreat to a nearby police vehicle for protection.

The council meeting was called specifically to discuss Shabalala's behaviour, and some IFP leaders said they would push for his immediate expulsion.

However, Felgate said no such call had been made at the council meeting.

An IFP source said the council's decision to support Shabalala

was disappointing. He had been censured at an earlier council meeting, but his supporters went ahead and threatened Jiyane's life.

Felgate said Shabalala had been asked to respect the right of everyone to choose their mode of transport.

Felgate said Shabalala had been "difficult" in this case, but was generally a "good guy".

An IFP source said that Lindelani was an IFP stronghold, but Shabalala was driving away support because of his actions.

He has been one of the most powerful IFP leaders at grassroots level and had been accused by the ANC of waging a ruthless campaign to expand IFP control.

Ngcobo quits Masakhane to take Jo'burg council post

BD 5/2/96 (11B)

Mduduzi ka Harvey

THE ailing Masakhane campaign is to come under new leadership after the resignation of the campaign's manager Chris Ngcobo.

Ngcobo has been appointed as CEO of Johannesburg's southern substructure.

He was named manager of

Masakhane at its formal launch early last year. With a 1995/6 budget of R30m, the campaign was centrally designed to resuscitate service and bond payments in the townships.

However, recent reports suggest that two thirds of the population in black townships are still not paying for services, that

many local authorities are close to financial collapse and that the campaign has failed to take root.

Masakhane's leadership has been criticised for failing to drive and focus the campaign, and to sustain its initial momentum.

Masakhane sources said no decision had yet been taken on who would succeed Ngcobo.

Large hole in ANC-IFP agreement on monarch

BD 7/2/96

FAROUK CHOTHIA

(116)

THE agreement struck between the IFP and the ANC over the future role of King Goodwill Zwelithini has a major contradiction: it guarantees that KwaZulu-Natal would have a constitutional monarchy, but not a constitutional monarchy.

This is due to the fact that the agreement covers only the king — the head of the institution of the monarchy. The chiefs — the pillars of the monarchy — are excluded from the agreement.

This means Zwelithini would be constitutionally barred from engaging in party political activities, but not the chiefs. This contradiction poses some problems for Zwelithini: how will he be able to visit a tribal authority — where the local chief rules with a political iron fist — without antagonising the locals who belong to a rival political party?

One would have preferred to see the agreement extend to chiefs. If any chief then wants to seek membership of a political party, he should be entitled to do so provided he relinquishes his chieftaincy.

But to have expected the IFP to agree to this — after dropping its plans to use the constitution to regain control of the king and to then vest in him the power to nominate the province's political premier in the event the party loses its majority in parliament — would have been asking too much. The chiefs

are the IFP's lifeblood, and the party would die without their support.

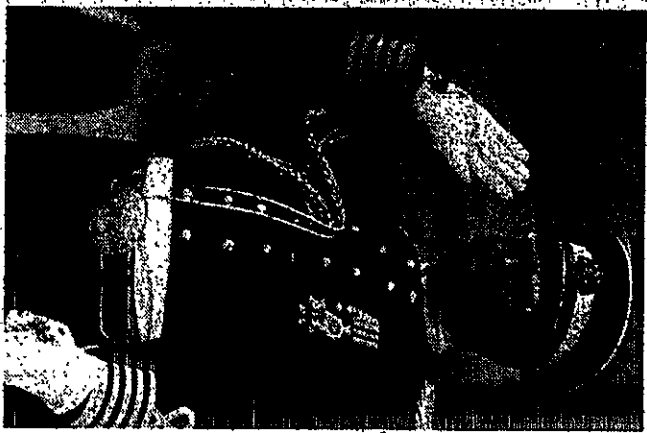
The ANC hopes the process of depoliticising the chiefs will be a natural one: they will see Zwelithini has earned the respect of his subjects across the political divide and will follow in his footsteps.

The IFP can no longer claim that Zwelithini is in "spiritual exile", having deserted the "pillars of the monarchy". The agreement ensures that Zwelithini would be responsible for the formal installation of chiefs. The ANC made this proposal and the IFP endorsed it. However, it insisted that the word "installation" be preceded by "formal".

This was a shrewd move on the IFP's part: it ensured that the provincial government would still be responsible for appointing chiefs (during the homeland era this was done by then justice minister Celani Mketwa, who was fiercely loyal to IFP president Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi) and Zwelithini would be constitutionally required to rubber-stamp the appointments at installation ceremonies.

This too poses problems for Zwelithini: what if two men fight for the chieftaincy and the provincial government throws its weight behind the one aligned to the ruling party?

It is in this context that the ANC had wanted the agreement to state that "the monarch, in consultation



ZWELITHINI

with the royal council, shall be the final arbitrator of disputes of a cultural nature amongst chiefs". The IFP refused but it was forced to give the king some leeway to in-

tervene by agreeing that "the monarch, in consultation with the royal council, may mediate on disputes of a cultural nature".

There is another shortcoming in the agreement: it does not make constitutional provisions for the monarch to be deposed in the event he does not uphold the constitution.

The IFP wanted the House of Traditional Leaders to have the authority to "withdraw" the monarch's powers, but the ANC refused.

A logical compromise would be to vest this authority in the legislature — the source of the monarch's new status. As a debarment would be a weighty decision, it would be wise for the parties to agree that this could be done only with a two-thirds majority — and with the approval of the Constitutional Court.

There is also some doubt as to whether the agreement is a watertight guarantee that Zwelithini will not be drawn back into the party political arena.

The IFP insisted that the agreement stated "the monarch shall have the power to exercise and perform all functions as may be conferred upon him or assigned to him in terms of this constitution or a law of the province".

The IFP demanded inclusion of this clause after conceding that the constitution should not state that one of the "specific functions" of the

king would be to "recognise the traditional prime minister" — a reference to Buthelezi.

The question arises: would the IFP introduce "a law of the province" to force Zwelithini to "recognise the traditional prime minister"? One hopes not. It would be a betrayal of the groundwork laid for the agreement at a retreat in Eyelade in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands last month.

There, the parties wisely decided that their white negotiators — who proved to be troublesome in efforts to find a settlement — should be thrown out of the "Zulu matter".

A group of low-ranking IFP and ANC leaders, including Vincent Khulu (ANC), sat down for several days to clear the air. PAC MP Joe Mkhwanazi, who often laments the division racking the Zulu nation, played the vital role of helping the ANC and IFP find each other.

The result was a historic agreement to elevate Zwelithini to a position he did not have before: monarch of all political, ethnic and racial shades in KwaZulu-Natal.

All that is left now is for the IFP and ANC to resolve their remaining differences so that the agreement can be enshrined in the provincial constitution — and be presented to the Zulu nation for approval at the much talked-about imbizo.

LETTERS

IFP aims for landslide victory in KZN

(11b) ~~(11a)~~

Sowetan 8/2/96

By Joe Mhlela
Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is going "flat out" to win the KwaZulu-Natal local government elections on May 29, a senior leader in Gauteng, Mr. Themba Khoza, said.

Khoza, who is also the party's MP, said although the IFP was still to put in place a coordinated plan for the elec-

tions, the plan was to "go for a landslide victory" in order to restore the party's credibility.

"KwaZulu-Natal is traditionally the stronghold of the IFP. We are not complacent, but are doing everything possible to maintain our dominance in the region," he said.

He said his party has lined up a series of public rallies and meetings to "urge our people to vote IFP into

power in the region".

On crime, Khoza said many regions were becoming crime-ridden, and this was especially so in the Gauteng province. To curb crime, Khoza suggested that the government will have to devise a system allowing as many people as possible to become "job creators rather than job seekers".

"The way to go about strengthening our economy would have to be

deregulation, allowing as many budding entrepreneurs as possible into the economic system," he said.

"I believe voting IFP to run KwaZulu-Natal will contribute to creating a climate conducive to investment," Khoza said.

Meanwhile, co-chairperson of the local government task group, Mr. Khehla Shubane, said at least 61 transitional local councils in KwaZulu-

Natal have been demarcated.

Shubane said he was confident all the political problems that impeded elections in the province last November would be resolved in time to allow for the smooth elections in May.

KwaZulu-Natal and the Cape Town metropole did not hold elections last November due to political problems between central and provincial governments.

ST 11/2/96

Senator in R6m Kwazulu probe

By CRAIG DOONAN (HB)

TOP Inkatha officials, including a senator and a provincial minister, could be subpoenaed soon by a Kwazulu Natal parliamentary committee to explain why over R6-million in state funds was paid to self-protection unit members.

Kwazulu Natal's parliamentary committee on public accounts is trying to get to the bottom of who authorised payment of tax payers' money to between 5 000 and 8 000 unit members during 1994 and 1995, but is making little headway because of an apparent cover-up.

The multiparty committee has been quizzing Kwazulu Natal's director-general Otto Nxumalo about the saga, first disclosed by the Sunday Times last year, but he has not always been able to supply satisfactory details.

The ANC's Mike Sutcliffe said a sub-committee would deal with how to finalise the probe and would call up to 10 individuals, including Senator Philip Powell, who was in charge of training the unit members, and Celani Mtetwa, Kwazulu's minister of justice at the time and currently a provincial cabinet minister.

Others include Stan Armstrong, a top official in Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former Kwazulu office and some senior bureaucrats. Sources believe Mr Armstrong is ultimately accountable for the payment, but may have been operating under instructions from higher up.

Key to the probe is former unit paymaster Sphiwe Muzi Lombo, a former ANC exile who joined Inkatha.

"If someone refuses to come to the committee and we believe their evidence is vital, we do have the right to subpoena them," said Dr Sutcliffe.

ANC hits out at Buthelezi's refusal to go back to assembly

Star 11/2/96

(113)

~~113~~

By Mondli Makhanya
Political Reporter

The ANC yesterday expressed disappointment at Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rejection of a call by President Nelson Mandela for the IFP to return to the Constitutional Assembly.

The organisation also slammed Buthelezi for launching what it termed an "unfounded

attack" on Mandela for the call made during the ANC's 84th anniversary celebration on Sunday. Buthelezi reportedly said Mandela had demonstrated "to the whole country and the world that he was not a man of his word" by refusing to honour an agreement that there should be international mediation on provincial powers.

"It is unfortunate that Buthelezi responded to the ANC's gesture of reconciliation by launch-

ing a wholly unfounded attack on our president," the ANC said.

Responding to Buthelezi's charge that Mandela should have approached the IFP directly if he was serious, the ANC said the call had been made "with a genuine desire to see the IFP return to the assembly, mindful of the best interests of all South Africans".

The ANC also denied it had reneged on the international mediation agreement signed shortly

before the 1994 general election. It also accused the IFP of having scuttled last year's discussions aimed at resolving this and other issues.

"The fundamental principle from which the ANC is not prepared to depart is that the final constitution for South Africa must be written by the legitimate representatives of the South African people elected in 1994," said the ANC.

Mdlalose may be called

Nicola Jenvey (11B)

MARITZBURG
KwaZulu-Natal premier
Frank Mdlalose, and IFP
senator Phillip Powell
could be subpoenaed.

SD 12/2/96

The public accounts
committee heard on Fri-
day that the men might
have to give evidence
about alleged payment of
R2,1m of taxpayers mon-
ey to IFP-aligned self-
protection units.

Mike Tarr (IFP), said
several people should be
called before the commit-
tee "to give the bigger
picture" while provin-
cial authorities hunted
paymaster Muzi Lombo.

Lombo is believed to
hold the key to the miss-
ing R2,1m of taxpayers'
money intended for pay-
ment to Inkatha-aligned
trainees from the Mlaba
camp in KwaZulu-Natal.

The committee sug-
gested Mdlalose and for-
mer KwaZulu-Natal po-
lice minister Celani
Mtetwa be asked to ex-
plain the payments.

T
b
g
b
c
s
R
N
o
p
c
t
a
m
f
p
t
a
l
r
t
F
s

ms, top right, and

Buthelezi

warns on

imbizo

CT 13/2/96

POLITICAL STAFF

(1113)
(204)

DURBAN: Pouring cold water on the planned imbizo taking place, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday the government was misreading human nature if it believed it could use "strong-arm" tactics in dealing with the violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

He was reacting to a weekend statement by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki that the government viewed the situation there as a problem for law and order, to deal with, rather than "a political question".

Asked if plans for the imbizo — the great peace gathering of the Zulu people — was on track, Buthelezi said he didn't know if it would "ever take place".

President Nelson Mandela said at the weekend he was receiving the full co-operation of Buthelezi in arranging the gathering.

Buthelezi said the imbizo, which was "still a very far-away thing", depended on his meeting with members of the royal family and the chiefs on Friday. That would be a preliminary meeting before a second meeting of these participants with King Goodwill in the presence of Mr Mandela later.

Police use dogs to break up IFP demonstration

(11B) (S) ~~SD~~
Farouk Chothia SD 14/2/96

DURBAN — Police used a water cannon and dogs to disperse about 600 IFP supporters who staged a march in Durban yesterday to demand the withdrawal of Putco buses from the Lindelani squatter camp north of the city.

The demonstrators, who had earlier prevented commuters from boarding Putco buses, were warned the march was illegal as no permission had been obtained. Some heeded the warning while others continued marching before being dispersed.

The demonstrators are aligned to IFP KwaZulu-Natal MP Thomas Shabalala, who was censured by the IFP national council recently for the anti-Putco campaign in his Lindelani stronghold.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane was forced to flee a meeting there last month after Shabalala's supporters fired gunshots. Jiyane had visited Lindelani to try to persuade them to let residents choose their transport. Shabalala's supporters were accused of intimidating residents out of using Putco so that taxi operators could expand their business. Seven Putco buses had been torched in December.

Shabalala denied any knowledge of yesterday's demonstration, but said residents were dissatisfied with Putco as it was unable to provide an effective service. Residents wanted other bus companies and taxi services to operate in Lindelani.

Meanwhile in Richmond, IFP MP Theresa Millen said the ANC had launched a stayaway to turn the area into a "little Cuba" in the run-up to the May 29 election. The ANC had warned anyone not adhering to the stayaway call that they would be beaten to death, she said.

Police use dogs to break up IFP demonstration

(110) (222)
Farouk Ghothia

BD 14/2/96

DURBAN — Police used a water cannon and dogs to disperse about 600 IFP supporters who staged a march in Durban yesterday to demand the withdrawal of Putco buses from the Lindelani squatter camp north of the city.

The demonstrators, who had earlier prevented commuters from boarding Putco buses, were warned the march was illegal as no permission had been obtained. Some heeded the warning while others continued marching before being dispersed.

The demonstrators are aligned to IFP KwaZulu-Natal MP Thomas Shabalala, who was censured by the IFP national council recently for the anti-Putco campaign in his Lindelani stronghold.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane was forced to flee a meeting there last month after Shabalala's supporters fired gunshots. Jiyane had visited Lindelani to try to persuade them to let residents choose their transport. Shabalala's supporters were accused of intimidating residents out of using Putco so that taxi operators could expand their business. Seven Putco buses had been torched in December.

Shabalala denied any knowledge of yesterday's demonstration, but said residents were dissatisfied with Putco as it was unable to provide an effective service. Residents wanted other bus companies and taxi services to operate in Lindelani.

Meanwhile in Richmond, IFP MP Theresa Millen said the ANC had launched a stayaway to turn the area into a "little Cuba" in the run-up to the May 29 election. The ANC had warned anyone not adhering to the stayaway call that they would be beaten to death, she said.

which
LUMLEY

IFP slams protesters

By Simon Zwane

Sowetan 15/2/96

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has strongly condemned residents from the party's stronghold of Lindelani for demanding the withdrawal of Putco buses from the area.

Residents in the township prevented pupils from attending schools and forced shops to close as they enforced a work stayaway on Tuesday.

Putco buses were forced out of the township and one of the company's bus drivers was forcefully removed from his bus. A shot was fired at him as he fled from his assailants at a roadblock.

Putco spokesman said the driver was later rescued from the mob by police and no damage was done to the bus. The protesters later moved to the city centre where chaos broke out as police opened fire and used water cannons with purple dye to disperse the unruly mob.

The IFP also condemned those involved in an illegal march in the Durban city centre on Tuesday and said they should face the full legal consequence of their actions and face the party's disciplinary machinery. The protesters, armed with dangerous weapons, threw traffic into chaos when they blocked two main roads in the city.

IFP South Coast spokesman Mr Anthony Grinker said the party was not aware of the march and its provincial leadership had not been consulted. "Those behind the march should immediately desist from any further planned action," Grinker said.

He said those responsible for the action should face the full legal implications of their action. The party would also take appropriate action on all those who defied its resolutions. The party censured the area's strongman Thomas Shabalala earlier this month for allegedly orchestrating the call for the withdrawal of Putco buses in the area.

POLITICS

SOWETIAN Thursday, February 15

Buthelezi has final say

By Mathathia Tsedu
Political Editor

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi keeps a tight rein over his party, or so it seems, from a letter sent to him by Senator Ruth Rabinowitz on Tuesday.

No speech can be made without the approval of either himself or party guru Walter Felgate, if what Rabinowitz wrote is anything to go by.

Rabinowitz was to speak in the debate on President Nelson Mandela's speech on Tuesday.

After dictating her speech, she sent a copy to Felgate for approval. Felgate went through it, found nothing untoward and approved. But this was still not enough for Rabinowitz. She sent a copy to Buthelezi with a covering letter stating: "Enclosed please find a copy of my proposed speech today. Mr Felgate has approved but I would like to know if you would suggest any changes or deletions. I am talking later today".

Rabinowitz did speak, and apparently the chief found nothing to add, change or delete in what she wanted to say. It just goes to show that you cannot let senators just stand up and speak without being vetted.

The party functionary who sent copies of the letter and the speech to the media may be in for a tongue-lashing though — if not worse.

Speaking of tongue-lashing, a fight is ensuing between the ANC and the NP (so what's new, you say?) over the speech by Norwegian prime minister Mrs Gro Harlem Brundtland.

Addressing Parliament, Brundtland heaped praises on the people of South Africa and the liberation movement,

(118) *Stuwelan 15/2/96*



Chief Buthelezi

IFP set to lose senior members

By CRAIG DOONAN

SEVERAL disgruntled Inkatha MPs in Kwazulu Natal apparently want to leave the IFP, but are unable to because of the clause in the interim constitution which prevents them from crossing the floor.

Sources in the ANC say senior members in the party have been approached by some IFP parliamentarians who are unhappy with the way Inkatha is being run. Some of those who want to leave hold senior positions in the party and are not white, the sources say.

A DP source also said he was aware of IFP MPs who were unhappy with the party's policy direction.

Many IFP MPs in Kwazulu Natal are unhappy at acting as a rubber stamp for decisions taken by a small group of strategists led by Walter Felgate.

Inkatha, however, says the claims are propaganda intended to weaken the party and destabilise Kwazulu Natal, which is the IFP's power base.

The clause has been omitted from the working draft of the national constitution and will probably not feature in a new Kwazulu Natal constitution, opening the way for MPs to realign themselves.

"The moment the process is completed and the constitution is ratified, people can start crossing the floor," said NP spokesman Pieter van Pletzen.

Inkatha holds 41 of the 81 seats in the province. The ANC has 26 and the rest are shared by other parties. Should IFP MPs defect, Inkatha faces the prospect of a no-confidence vote in premier Frank Mdlalose with his cabinet, the premier alone or the cabinet alone.

(11B) ST 18/2/96

IFP is key to the success of *imbizo*

By Spho Khumalo

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA in KwaZulu-Natal says it fully backs the peace *imbizo* currently being spearheaded by President Nelson Mandela but suspects the Inkatha Freedom Party will not go along with the initiative.

Contralesa's KwaZulu-Natal head Chief Zibuse Mlaba says he suspects the IFP and chiefs aligned to the party will impose pre-conditions aimed at "frustrating" the *imbizo*.

Mlaba spoke to *Sowetan* yesterday after a weekend meeting at Ulundi of more than 300 IFP-aligned chiefs.

In a short statement issued after the meeting the chiefs resolved to attend the preliminary meeting in order to have "heart to heart" discussions in the presence of President Nelson Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

They said such a meeting would allow them to discuss the "whole" situation in KwaZulu-Natal and confer with Zwelithini on the "advisability" of holding the proposed *imbizo*.

Mlaba said he suspected that the IFP would stage a "go-slow" to ensure that the *imbizo* was not a success.

"Inkatha is worried by the current

independent position of the king, hence they talk about the king being spiritually exiled. They have been perpetuating the idea that the king is in the pocket of the ANC and until such time that they view the king as in their pocket they will not want to see His Majesty calling a successful *imbizo*," said Mlaba.

If such an *imbizo* takes place the IFP will be concerned that it will have the effect of promoting Mandela.

"But I am convinced that if it takes place and the king explains his independent position to the nation and urges them to give peace a chance, levels of tension in the province and in the hostels will decline," Mlaba said.

Those close to the process said pre-conditions for the *imbizo* are likely to be imposed on Mandela and the king.

These pre-conditions, say sources, will include demands that Mandela apologise for the Shell House shootings, that chiefs be paid by provincial governments, that central government leave the Ingonyama Trust Act intact and that international mediation get under way before the *imbizo* begins.

The sources say the IFP-aligned chiefs will also demand that the king accepts Buthelezi as the "traditional prime minister" of the Zulu nation.

(113) Sowetan 19/2/96

NEWS

PREVIOUS BOYCOTT 'SET PRECEDENT'

IFP will recognise final constitution — Buthelezi

IF THE NEW constitution is drawn up entirely in the IFP's absence, "so be it", says party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

INKATHA'S announcement that it will abide by a national constitution it has not helped to create has reduced political tensions as the deadline for the constitution's completion approaches.

In an interview yesterday, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party was participating in the present parliamentary and executive structures — which it viewed as flawed — and "will abide by the new constitution whatever it is".

Speaking after his meeting with Danish foreign minister Mr Niels Helveg Petersen — who is accompanying Queen Margrethe on her official visit — Buthelezi said there was already a precedent set with the present constitution, which was drawn up in the absence of Inkatha at the Kempton Park talks.

If the present constitution, due for completion on May 9, was again drawn up entirely in the IFP's absence, "so be it".

"And I mean that, I don't speak from both sides of my mouth," he stressed.

"In fact, we are honouring the interim constitution ... we respect the interim constitution more than the ANC and its leader does. It is a matter of record that the cases (which Inkatha has taken to the constitu-



WANTS MEDIATION: Chief Buthelezi

tional court) are based on (this) respect."

In April last year Inkatha walked out of the Constitutional Assembly citing lack of progress on the international mediation agreement which coaxed the party into the 1994 poll.

The Inkatha leader emphasised that he still expected President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk to carry out their part of the bargain. Asked if his party would take part in future elections, Buthelezi said this was a matter for his party's national conference to decide.

Buthelezi's stance was welcomed

enthusiastically last night by Constitutional Assembly chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who said he would expect all political parties to regard the constitution as the "supreme basic law" of the land.

Ramaphosa said he therefore expected "all political parties" — including Inkatha — to participate in all structures set up in its name.

Asked if there was a hope of international mediation being carried out, Ramaphosa said there were "a whole lot of things under way", particularly in KwaZulu-Natal — where a provincial constitution was being drawn up — and he was hoping that what was not achieved through previous mediation efforts, would be achieved through negotiation.

Referring to a statement by De Klerk that the need for international mediation could fall away if the issues were resolved through negotiation, Buthelezi said he did not know how he could have reached that conclusion. It smacked of "the old system of dictatorship".

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Mr Danie Schutte cautiously welcomed Buthelezi's stance but said there was still a danger that a non-inclusive constitutional settlement was "a second-rate prize".

The agreement on mediation should be honoured, as a "repeat performance" of the crisis after Kempton Park would be dangerous in KwaZulu-Natal — Political Staff

Job creation a part of IFP's manifesto

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The IFP election manifesto for KwaZulu-Natal advocates the formation of a business commission to spearhead job creation at local level, and proposes that state land be hived off to the private sector.

The manifesto proposes forming crime commissions to combat criminal activity, and the extension of the SAPS reservist system "to allow for local authority volunteer reserve systems".

The manifesto also commits the IFP to a referendum on whether the death penalty should be reintroduced.

The eight-page manifesto, sent to IFP branches, has not been officially unveiled to the public. The IFP is expected to launch its campaign for the May 29 election in the next few weeks.

The manifesto states local authorities would take the initiative to create opportunities for disadvantaged communities with business plans aimed at boosting local economic activity, and by reducing "unnecessary red tape which inhibits business activity".

The business commission would encourage the "structured" development of tourism to create employment without "adversely impacting on" the environment; secure sites for small businesses at low or deferred charges; implement preferential rating systems for vocational and educational institutions; and identify areas where dere-

gulation would increase efficiency.

The manifesto refers to a single business commission, but the IFP is believed to envisage a commission for each of eight regional councils. In the case of the crime commissions, the manifesto states they would be established in every local authority to "monitor and report on criminal activity in a co-ordinated and comprehensive manner, and to produce effective programmes to combat crime".

Other proposals on crime are tougher sentences; stricter bail conditions; police salaries to be commensurate with responsibility and value of the profession; and removal of officers from desk work to do "active" policing.

The manifesto says that local government has a role to play in resolving historical disparities in land distribution and in maximising the use of available land. Local authorities should be bound "to provide formal justification for any land vacant. If a satisfactory explanation is not provided, the land should be offered to the private sector".

"Massive potential can be unlocked by harnessing currently redundant or unproductive land held by the state or its agents," the manifesto says.

However, IFP-controlled local authorities would "resist attempts by central government to nationalise communally-owned land" as the IFP believed "development of this land must be vested in communities themselves".

Mining 'not for women'

Wyndham Hartley
BD 5/3/96
CAPE TOWN — NP and ANC members agreed on one thing yesterday — women should not be allowed to work at the "coal face" in SA mines.

However, they faced opposition from their own colleagues in the mineral and energy affairs committee during a briefing on the new Mine Health and Safety Bill.

Government mining engineer Dick Bakker, briefing the committee, said that women were no longer prohibited in the new legislation from working underground. He explained that in the past it was specifically outlawed for women to go below the surface unless it was in an administrative capacity or for research purposes.

The ANC's Ismail Mohamed remarked that women were clearly genetically different from men and should not be allowed to work underground. Elizabeth Thabethe (ANC), the only woman MP present, said to prevent women from working in mines would be a breach of the constitutional freedoms which they now enjoyed.

Traditional leaders' council law rejected

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Legislation was tabled in Parliament yesterday to circumvent difficulties in the creation of a national council of traditional leaders.

The legislation was rejected by the IFP, mainly because it would prohibit council members from simultaneously holding seats in regional and national parliaments.

The creation of the council is provided for in the constitution, but its establishment has been delayed because the formation of regional councils has been stalled in

some provinces by infighting among traditional leaders. Legislation requires that all regional bodies have to be established before a national body can be formed. Council members are elected by an electoral college drawn from the regional houses.

The Council of Traditional Leaders Bill circumvents this problem by providing that each house nominate three members to sit on the national body.

IFP MP Walter Felgate said the prohibition on council members serving as MPs or members of any provincial legislature was one

reason for his party's opposition. The provision would, for example, exclude Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the council.

Felgate said discussions aimed at formulating rules for the working of the council had started last year. The rules had been endorsed by the parliamentary constitutional affairs committee.

But the legislation contradicted several agreements, including an agreement that members of the council did not have to belong to regional houses. The legislation included other clauses not previously agreed, Felgate said.

has exposed the methods of the previous government's State Security Council during the turbulent 1980s

on the Buthelezi marionette

given to Buthelezi.

De Klerk declined to comment on queries about whether he and his cabinet colleagues knew they were breaking the law when the State Security Council approved Operation Marion.

McNally put new particulars before the court — in which Malan and 19 co-accused are charged with setting up the paramilitary unit which carried out the 1987 Kwamakhuta massacre — accusing former army chief Kat Liebenberg of providing "false evidence to the Goldstone Commission during 1992" about his knowledge of the Inkatha unit trained in the Caprivi Strip.

McNally accused Liebenberg of lying to the commission "in order to conceal his personal role and the role of the Defence Force in relation to the Caprivi trainees". Goldstone's probe into the activities of the Caprivi 200, as the unit came to be known, was set up after the *Mail & Guardian* published evidence that members of this band were murdering people in Natal and the Transvaal in the early 1990s.

Another startling allegation contained in new details presented by McNally this week is that military officers involved in Operation Marion discussed murdering the leader of the Caprivi 200, Daluxolo Luthuli, because they feared he was leaking information about the operation.

Luthuli defected from Inkatha last year and provided the KZN based Investigative Task Unit with critical information which led to the arrest of Malan and the co-accused.

McNally said former Durban security policeman Major Louis Botha "intimated" to Caprivi instructor JP Opperman that Luthuli had "become a security risk in that he was disclosing details of Operation Marion to parties outside those who had become involved in such operation".

McNally alleges Botha "recommended" (to Opperman) Luthuli be killed but this advice was never carried out.



Documents reveal the conspiracy

M+CP 8-14/3/96

THE most important documents in the collection, presented to back the allegation that the accused were involved in a conspiracy to commit murder, are:

Minutes of a meeting on November 25 1985 between Buthelezi and General Therie Groenewald, then Chief of Military Intelligence. Buthelezi is recorded as saying he needs a paramilitary force to protect himself against UDF attacks as well as an intelligence unit to counter advances being made by the UDF/ANC alliance in Natal.

December 19 1985: Groenewald presents Buthelezi's requirements in a letter addressed to Defence Minister Magnus Malan and recommends that the SADF train a defensive unit of 50 to 100 men and an offensive unit of 10 to 20 men on a covert basis for Buthelezi and Inkatha.

December 20 1985: Minutes of an extraordinary meeting of the State Security Council make no mention of the offensive unit but do indicate that Chris Heunis, then minister of constitutional development and planning, and Louis Le Grange, then minister of law and order, were to help Buthelezi in setting up a security force for the KwaZulu homeland. An interdepartmental head committee of the State Security Council was set up to oversee this task which, in turn, created a subcommittee to help it.

January 14 1986: The State Security Council's sub-committee meets on this date and compiles a report for the interdepartmental head committee. It says provision must be made for Buthelezi's personal protection, the protection of other KwaZulu officials, an offensive paramilitary unit, expansion of the KwaZulu Police Force, a ceremonial military unit, and an intelligence unit for KwaZulu. This report recommends that the impression be created these forces were established according to the law governing homeland activities — a point which is disputed by McNally.

January 16 1986: The report is presented to the interdepartmental head committee and accepted subject to a few changes. However the record of this meeting, dated January 17 1986, notes that Neil Barnard, then head of the National Intelligence Service, was strongly opposed to aspects of the plan especially the plot to establish an offensive unit for Buthelezi. "Problems were encountered with the paramilitary element," says this report. "Dr Barnard from the National Intelligence Service made major objections to the creation of such a force and indicated that the political risks associated with it were so great that he could not support it."

February 3 1986: The State Security Council meets and decides that Malan and Heunis should meet Buthelezi to discuss his requirements.

February 12 1986: Groenewald has preparatory discussions with

Buthelezi. It is agreed in this meeting that the SADF provide the chief minister with an offensive paramilitary force (described as an element capable of resisting attacks by ANC and UDF members) and an intelligence capability. It was provisionally agreed that Buthelezi would personally select 200 candidates for the force.

February 17 1986: Groenewald meets Malan in Cape Town and a progress report on the conspiracy is handed to the latter. Malan orders the establishment of a task group to prepare detailed plans for the paramilitary aid to Inkatha. This task group is made up of General Kat Liebenberg, Groenewald and a number of other military officers. The task group completes a document — referred to as the Liebenberg Report — which contains most of the details about the alleged conspiracy.

April 7 1986: Malan sends a letter to Chris Heunis summarising the Liebenberg Report. However Malan omits details about the offensive unit and the letter explains that certain clandestine plans have been left out because of their highly sensitive nature — probably also because the State Security Council operated on a need-to-know basis.

April 8 1986: Malan requests Chief of Staff Intelligence Admiral Andries Putter to sell the covert programme in its entirety to Buthelezi. At about this time the project is code-named Operation Marion, while the documents state repeatedly that Buthelezi should never be perceived as a "marionette" because of his links to the SADF.

April 16 1986: Putter informs Geldenhuys by letter that the SADF was, by verbal authority, proceeding urgently with the recruitment of Inkatha paramilitary trainees and the creation of a base for them in the Caprivi Strip. This letter suggests that MZ Khumalo be the liaison officer between the SADF and Inkatha. This letter also states Buthelezi had given Khumalo instructions about the paramilitary force and notes that Buthelezi was aware of the offensive unit and wanted it to be trained and deployed with the rest of the force.

October 16 1986: Colonel Cor van Niekerk and Brigadier John More visit Buthelezi in Ulundi and report that the first 200 graduates had been trained and were back in KwaZulu ready to be deployed and that money had been deposited into the Inkatha account via Armscor channels to pay for their salaries.

• The funding of the entire operation came from a secret military intelligence fund called Comfort. The Liebenberg Report notes that the Department of Military Intelligence had R3.5-million available for the project. Putter's letter of April 16 1986 to Geldenhuys suggests R2 050 000 be paid through Armscor into an Inkatha account and made to appear as if it came from an overseas donor. This transfer was duly carried out and confirmed in a letter from More to Colonel Van Tonder dated October 26 1986.

Armscor's public relations head Abba Omar this week declined to comment on evidence that the armaments corporation was used to launder clandestine military funds. Omar claimed his office was unable to provide these details because the case is *sub judice*.

SADF 'spent R7,6-m on Operation Marion'

ARG 11/3/96

(11B)

The Argus Correspondents

DURBAN. — The South African Defence Force spent R7,6 million of taxpayers' money to bolster Inkatha against the UDF, the KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general told the Durban Supreme Court today.

All 20 people on trial have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Hugo to 13 counts of murder, four counts of attempted murder and the conspiracy to commit murder.

Before proceedings got under way Mr Mike Maritz SC, appearing for two of the accused, told the court that his files on the case had been removed from his bag in a Durban hotel last week. Mr Maritz said he was not accusing the State or the independent task unit, but he was placed at a disadvantage.

Opening the State's case Attorney-General Tim McNally said there had been much comment on the cost of the trial.

"I say that justice is a priceless commodity. Justice will be pursued in this case no matter what the cost. It is pertinent to mention that the SADF spent all R7,6 million of taxpayers' money on Operation Marion between 1988 and 1990."

Operation Marion was the codename for the training of 200 Inkatha members by Military Intelligence for the purpose of bolstering Inkatha against the alleged threat posed by the UDF.

Mr McNally said that Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the IFP and Minister of Home Affairs, was not on the State's list of witnesses "despite frequent reference to him in the documentation. It is probable that the documents will ade-

quately cover his role without a need for him to be called. This aspect will, however, be reviewed from time to time during the State's case."

Mr McNally said that the Kwamakhuta massacre was the only product of Operation Marion. He said individual Caprivi trainees had committed murders after they were demobilised in June 1989 but "they are not alleged to stand in direct relationship to the conspiracy".

Two key SADF officers who worked with the group when they allegedly carried out the Kwamakutha raid, Johan Pietier Opperman and Andre Cloete, are to give evidence for the State.

About 150 IFP supporters staged a demonstration outside the main entrance of the Supreme Court ahead of the start of the trial.

As he saw them, accused Magnus Malan's wide smile turned into a sneer and he put his head down and entered the court early today.

Striding across the carpark, the former defence minister had led a pack of his heavily guarded co-accused generals towards the dock.

Riot police, armed with shotguns and automatic rifles had braced themselves to restrain a small but pressing crowd who swore at the accused.

Any fleeting thoughts General Malan may have had that this was a group of supporters were dashed when the crowd erupted with jeers of "There's Malan — killer".

Co-accused and leading Freedom Front

● Turn to page 5.

Marion 'cost SA R7,6-m' (11B)

● From page 1.

member Tienie, Groenewald walked a few paces behind, carrying a colourful cushion with a sunflower print, prompting remarks about "sissy generals".

Moments earlier Mr McNally was warmly welcomed with cheers. ARG 11/3/96

From 6 am a crush of spectators and journalists had jostled to secure a place in the court's public gallery.

Farouk Chothia

SECURITY around Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had been stepped up since the weekend after threats to his life, his spokesman Sifiso Zulu said yesterday.

It was reported on Sunday that the shadowy Combined Right-wing Action Group was

Zwelithini security stepped up

(110) (110) BD 12/3/96
monitoring Zwelithini's movements with the aim of assassinating him in order to plunge Kwa-Zulu-Natal into a full-scale civil war.

Zulu said this report had caught the royal family by surprise, but other threats had been

received earlier.

A senior police source confirmed more SAPS VIP protection unit members had been deployed to Nongoma.

The report said the unknown right-wing group had planned to assassinate the king, with

the ANC getting blamed.

Zulu said the royal family suspected some of the threats were linked to plans to organise an imbizo between the king, President Nelson Mandela and IPF head Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Zwelithini met about 500 royal princes in Nongoma to discuss arrangements for the imbizo.

24 HOURS

Inkatha trained to work on hit lists, court told

Sapa and Argus Correspondents report from Durban.

INKATHA members were trained to draw up character profiles of people who could later be eliminated, the Durban Supreme Court was told today.

Testifying in the murder trial of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and 19 others, State witness Captain Johan Pieter Opperman told the court IFF trainees were split into offensive and defensive groups at a training camp run by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip on the Angolan border.

Captain Opperman, at the time a military intelligence officer who was second-in-command at the camp, said he trained the defensive group in codes, intelligence gathering and "the building up of target dossiers".

"A target dossier is a document which gets developed on specific individuals or buildings ... which one wants either to demolish or destroy or kill.

"The defensive group gathers information on a nominated target, and builds up information in a target dossier ... Should such a target dossier be properly developed the offensive group would then be called in to eliminate such a target."

Captain Opperman told the court instructors of the offensive group wanted recruits who were the most accurate shots.

General Malan and his co-accused, among them men who once dominated South Africa's security establishment, have pleaded not guilty to 13 murder charges

arising from the January 21, 1987 massacre of 13 people at a house in Kwamakutha south of Durban. They also face charges of attempted murder and conspiracy to murder.

The accused include former SADF intelligence chief of staff Vice-Admiral Andries Putter, former SADF chief Gen Jannie Geldenhuys and the IFF's deputy secretary-general Zakhela "M Z" Khumalo.

Captain Opperman testified yesterday that he had met Khumalo a number of times, including when he visited the secret Caprivi base.

This visit, he said, came during a strike by 206 IFF trainees who had asked for a visit by then Kwazulu Chief Minister and IFF leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Captain Opperman was told by Mr Justice Hugo yesterday that if he answered questions frankly and honestly he would be discharged from prosecution. He is on a witness protection programme of the investigators and has been kept safe in an overseas country.

Captain Opperman said he was told by Colonel Henne-Blaauw that he could join the secret operation in Caprivi, code-named Operation Marion.

He went to the Caprivi with Colonel Blaauw. They drove with Major Jacobs from an airport to the camp.

of the ANC. After the training 'ons sal the ANC opvok', Captain Opperman said in evidence.

He joined the trainees after they had had about 16 weeks. They thought they were in Israel being trained to become KwaZulu policemen. The instructors wore Rhodesian camouflage uniforms.

The Hippo camp was in direct radio contact with Pretoria.

The trainees had two leaders, Mr Themba Xesibe and Mr Daluxoto Luthuli.

Mr Xesibe was a Kwazulu policeman, but he drank a lot at the camp, was arrogant with the instructors, so was shunned by them. Captain Opperman said.

The Inkatha trainees "were highly trained. Their morale was extremely high. They as well as we enjoyed being there." Captain Opperman said.

He was the seventh witness to be called.

Yesterday, three women members of the 12 Apostles in Christ gave evidence of the morning of the massacre.

A mother who saw five of her children being murdered, Mrs Nomusa Faith-Siwela, told how she stepped onto the body of her child as she tried to get away.

Mrs Siwela and her husband at the time Mr Vusiz Muzi Thusini and their six children were sleeping in an out-house of the Ntuli home in Kwamakutha. The couple have since divorced.

Mrs Siwela told the court that on the morning of January 21 1987 she was woken up "by the noise made by guns".

After the explosions had stopped she got up to see what was going on. There was no light in the room and she was too scared to

light a candle.

"I stepped on someone," she said. "It was when I lifted this person up it was Mbusa."

He was six. He did not cry out when his mother stepped on him. Mrs Siwela told the court she could not see if he was dead.

Four of her other children - aged 10, 8, 7 and 4 - were murdered.

Mrs Siwela told the court that Nonfundo, 10, asked for water. She fetched it for her.

At dawn Mrs Siwela went in the ambulance with Nonfundo to King Edward VIII Hospital. Nonfundo died a week later.

Sancit was lying on the floor next to the door. "I noticed that he was bleeding from his head, there was blood on my hands after I lifted him up. I took the towel and wrapped it around his head."

One of the Thusini children survived. When the shooting ended she ran into the night calling out to the people responsible.

Mrs Anna Khumalo, 44, gave evidence of where the people had been sleeping in the two-roomed house, no. 1866, at Kwamakutha.

She said the evening before the occupants, mostly members of the 12 apostles in Christ church, had attended a choir practice.

Mr William Ntuli head of the house was a church leader.

About 2 am she was woken up by the noise from explosions and the smell of smoke.

"I thought the house was on fire."

She jumped up to call the other occupants.

"Something exploded".

Mrs Khumalo told the court Mr Ndwalane fell back against her and pushed her into a cupboard. Her child, who was strapped to her back, Mrs Khumalo sat there until about 5 am.

She told the court there was a lot of noise from the explosions. People outside were speaking to the attackers inside. People inside had lights but peeping through a crack in the warrobo she could not see what kind of lights they were.

One of the assailants ousted Edward VIII Hospital. Nonfundo was shouting: "Down with the law - down with the law" in Zulu.

She also heard a voice say "there's another thing on the other side of the warrobo".

It was like a thunderstorm and Mrs Khumalo was fearful. She heard a vehicle drive off.

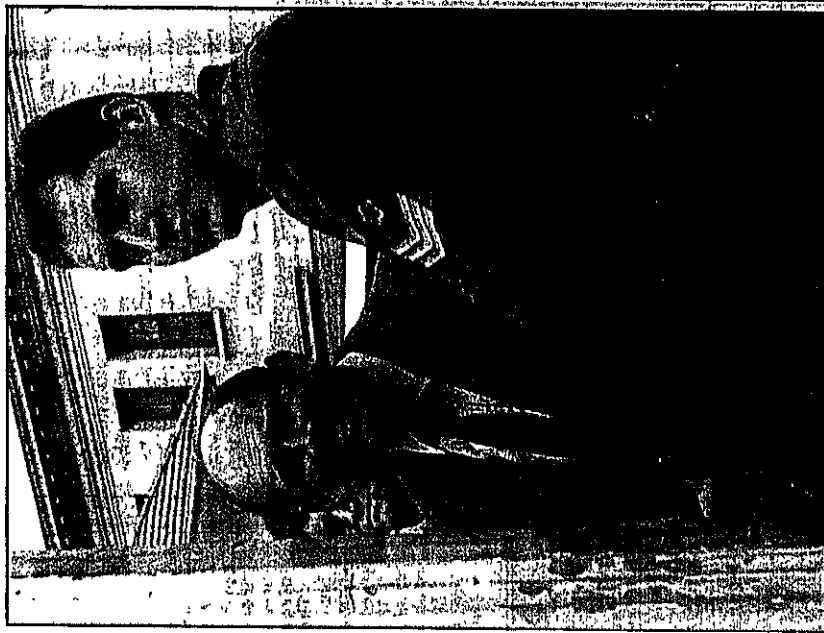
As she was leaving the house she saw a lot of blood. "These people were lying there but not saying anything."

Mrs Khumalo went straight to a Dephne Jali was a leader in the church. The two women went back to house 1866.

While Mrs Khumalo sat on the grass outside Mrs Jali went in. She brought out two children who had survived. Neighbours took the children away to clean them because they were covered in other people's blood.

Four children survived the attack.

Evidence was that Mr Victor Ntuli, the intended alleged target of the attack, was not living at home because he was kicked out because of his politics and because he was fighting with other boys in the area.



POLICE ESCORT: Former Defence Minister Magnus Malan is escorted by a policeman into military barracks across the road from Durban's Supreme Court during a break in trial proceedings. He and 19 others are appearing on charges of political murders dating back to 1987.

Zwelethini, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other traditional minister of Provincial and Constitutional Affairs, Frank ini.

(AB) (2) (4) (11B)

Buthelezi warns: Allow us our customs or the imbizo could be failure

ARL 16/3/96

NONGOMA. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was pessimistic about the proposed *imbizo* to secure peace in KwaZulu-Natal when he arrived here to discuss the matter with national and traditional leaders.

King Goodwill Zwelithini, President Mandela and Mr Buthelezi met KwaZulu-Natal traditional leaders at the king's palace here yesterday to discuss the holding of the proposed *imbizo* (meeting of the Zulu nation).

Mr Buthelezi, who earlier insisted that traditional leaders be consulted on the *imbizo* after Mr Mandela and the king proposed the meeting, warned that if the government proceeded with its intention to ban cultural weapons in public places, the *imbizo* would be a non-starter.

He said the Zulu people would never attend an *imbizo* without their cultural weapons.

This issue was to be discussed at the meeting, he said,

adding that the *imbizo*'s future depended on the outcome of the talks.

If Mr Mandela wanted attempts to bring about peace in the region to succeed, he would have to be sensitive to the customs and heritage of the Zulu people, said Mr Buthelezi.

He said it was imperative that a relationship of trust be established between all role players and that peace be restored in KwaZulu-Natal, but warned that relations between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in the province were not improving.

Politically, relations between himself and Mr Mandela also were strained, even though they were friends on a personal level, said Chief Buthelezi. "Politically speaking, relations between us are not good."

Mr Mandela and King Goodwill proposed the *imbizo* after a number of massacres rocked KwaZulu-Natal during last year's festive season. — Sapa.

CARPETS FROM

'Persecuted' Buthelezi quizzed about adviser

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A "sick and tired" Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi came under fire yesterday for continuing to employ his controversial special adviser Mario Ambrosini in defiance of a cabinet directive forbidding foreigners in such posts.

Buthelezi, during a briefing to the National Assembly's home affairs committee, was asked by DP and ANC members of the committee what the taxpayer was getting for the R28 800 Ambrosini was paid each month.

Ambrosini has been widely credited with being behind hardline Inkatha constitutional positions.

An angry minister said he was being politically persecuted over Ambrosini. "And I take serious exception to suggestions that I am doing this outside the authority of the cabinet."

He earned the ire of committee chairman Desmond Lockey (ANC) when he suggested that special advisers were employed as an "executive prerogative" sanctioned by the cabinet, and as such fell outside the scope of parliamentary scrutiny.

Lockey said the committee was empowered to inquire into any matter paid for with taxpayers' money. "We are perfectly within our right to investigate," he said.

(118) BD 20/3/96
Buthelezi said the cabinet had made a special dispensation that special advisers employed before the decision to ban foreigners could remain. He had joked at the time that this could be called the "Ambrosini amendment".

DP MP Dene Smuts asked why, if the cabinet had sanctioned Ambrosini's contract, the minister and his home affairs department had investigated the possibility of using an exemption in the Aliens Control Act to deal with Ambrosini's presence in the country. She noted that Ambrosini earned — as do all special advisers — more than the Chief Justice, and asked what the benefit was to the taxpayer.

Buthelezi said he failed to see why he had to submit to "this interrogation". He said Ambrosini worked for his department and had been with him yesterday morning during government meetings. The collective responsibility to which all cabinet members were subject meant his special adviser had to deal with constitutional matters, other departments and not simply the work of home affairs.

He said Ambrosini's contract expired in August this year. His defence of the appointment indicates that Ambrosini is likely to be reappointed.

Special advisers can be reappointed for as long as their ministers remain in their jobs.

ANC wants poll delay — Buthelezi

By Musa Zondi and Sapa

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend accused the African National Congress of threatening to delay the May 29 local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal.

In a speech prepared for delivery at an election rally at Msinga, in Ladysmith, on Saturday, Buthelezi said the ANC in the province was questioning the constitutional right of Zulu chiefs to sit on regional councils.

"The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal is threatening to delay the elections in this province because it wants to reduce the presence of *amakhosi* (chiefs) in regional councils so that they have no significant role in local government in KwaZulu-Natal."

Buthelezi said each headman was entitled by the interim constitution to sit in a regional council by virtue of his office.

"However, the ANC wants to increase the number of members of regional councils to such a point that *amakhosi* will become totally irrelevant within the work of such councils," the IFP leader said.

It was time the IFP, as the ruling party in the province, was granted the power to effectively deal with violence and intimidation.

Effective measures

"Until our province can take effective legislative and administrative measures to redress this problem which the central Government has thus far been unable to adequately address, we must ensure that our people make a special commitment in rejecting the vicious circle of violence," Buthelezi said.

He called on people to persuade friends, acquaintances and even strangers to vote for the IFP.

"We even need to go the extra step to solicit the support of those who are strangers to us and even for those who,

for misguided reasons, would be inclined to vote for the ANC, or other parties, or indeed not vote at all."

The elections should be regarded as "a great referendum" between ANC autocracy and the IFP's call for freedom, self-determination and autonomy," Buthelezi added.

On Saturday night Buthelezi told delegates at an IFP fund-raising dinner that South Africans were unwitting participants in several forms of self-censorship.

South African intellectuals immersed in the "inebriating dream of the so-called South African miracle, no longer criticised an increasingly autocratic ANC.

"This situation has prevented many of our intellectuals from recognising and exposing things which are going wrong in our country," he said.

Buthelezi said his prediction that the ANC's mode of government would become increasingly autocratic and centralist had been proven.



A member of the Inkatha Freedom Party leads his group in song and dance on the arrival of party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at Msinga in KwaZulu-Natal during the IFP's election campaign on Saturday.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Opperman to testify again

FORMER military intelligence officer Johan Opperman will again enter the witness stand in the Durban Supreme Court today when the Malan murder trial enters its fourth week.

A key state witness in the case against former defence minister General Magnus Malan and 19 others, Opperman was called to testify on the third day of the trial and has been under cross-examination by defence teams since then.

The trial began on March 4 but was postponed for a week following a legal wrangle over the submission of an

alternative charge against the accused of conspiracy to murder.

The alternative charge arose from allegations that Malan and his co-accused sanctioned a murderous operation, dubbed "Operation Mafion", against the African National Congress and its allies during the 1980s.

The accused also face charges of murder and attempted murder arising from the 1987 massacre at Kwa-Makhutha, south of Durban, allegedly carried out by trained Inkatha Freedom Party members as part of "Operation

Thirteen people, mostly women and children, were killed in the attack.

Court proceedings got off to a dramatic start both inside and outside the courtroom with testimony from two massacre survivors and angry IFP supporters staging protests outside the court.

Additional security force personnel had to be called in to guard the entrances and, at one stage, police used a water cannon to disperse the crowd.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised the trial, claiming it forms part of an ANC ploy to dis-

credit the IFP prior to local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal.

He says charges against the accused, who include current IFP deputy general-secretary Mr Zakhlele "MZ" Khumalo, were designed to blame the IFP for ongoing violence in the province.

The court has already heard detailed evidence about alleged South African military training given to the IFP and various former southern African resistance movements, including Renamo and Unita, at secret bases in the Caprivi Strip. - Sapa

'Persecuted' Buthelezi quizzed about adviser

(118) BD 20/3/96

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A "sick and tired" Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi came under fire yesterday for continuing to employ his controversial special adviser Mario Ambrosini in defiance of a cabinet directive forbidding foreigners in such posts.

Buthelezi, during a briefing to the National Assembly's home affairs committee, was asked by DP and ANC members of the committee what the taxpayer was getting for the R28 800 Ambrosini was paid each month.

Ambrosini has been widely credited with being behind hardline Inkatha constitutional positions.

An angry minister said he was being politically persecuted over Ambrosini. "And I take serious exception to suggestions that I am doing this outside the authority of the cabinet."

He earned the ire of committee chairman Desmond Lockey (ANC) when he suggested that special advisers were employed as an "executive prerogative" sanctioned by the cabinet, and as such fell outside the scope of parliamentary scrutiny.

Lockey said the committee was empowered to inquire into any matter paid for with taxpayers' money. "We are perfectly within our right to investigate," he said.

Buthelezi said the cabinet had made a special dispensation that special advisers employed before the decision to ban foreigners could remain. He had joked at the time that this could be called the "Ambrosini amendment".

DP MP Dene Smuts asked why, if the cabinet had sanctioned Ambrosini's contract, the minister and his home affairs department had investigated the possibility of using an exemption in the Aliens Control Act to deal with Ambrosini's presence in the country. She noted that Ambrosini earned — as do all special advisers — more than the Chief Justice, and asked what the benefit was to the taxpayer.

Buthelezi said he failed to see why he had to submit to "this interrogation". He said Ambrosini worked for his department and had been with him yesterday morning during government meetings. The collective responsibility to which all cabinet members were subject meant his special adviser had to deal with constitutional matters, other departments and not simply the work of home affairs.

He said Ambrosini's contract expired in August this year. His defence of the appointment indicates that Ambrosini is likely to be reappointed.

Special advisers can be reappointed for as long as their ministers remain in their jobs.

Aliens policy 'can mean huge costs'

BD 20/3/96

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet's decision to allow certain categories of illegal aliens permanent residence in SA could result in a flood of up to 12-million immigrants and a massive R80m bill to the department of home affairs.

Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, briefing the parliamentary committee on home affairs said yesterday the Cabinet decision should be reviewed in this light.

Cabinet decided last month that illegal immigrants who had long-standing relationships with SA citizens, had children in SA, were in gainful employment and had been in the country for five years, could apply for exemption and remain in SA.

Buthelezi said that while his department was preparing to implement the decision, there were serious problems.

Expenditure in the department would increase by 25%, he said.

He stressed that while it was estimated that some 600 000 illegal aliens could be affected, this could, by implication, increase to 12-million people.

He also said that determining the duration of residence in SA would be difficult and open to corruption.

The department also predicted that its staff complement would have to be increased to deal with the flood of immigrants. The almost 2 000 extra posts would cost some R80m and would affect other departments such as education, Buthelezi said.

ANC to renew battle with IFP

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The ANC signalled yesterday that its constitutional battle against the IFP was not over, saying it would challenge the validity of parts of the KwaZulu-Natal constitution in the Constitutional Court.

Senior ANC negotiator John Jeffery said that while the ANC had voted in favour of the constitution last Friday, it had been "fairly explicit" that parties reserved the right to mount a court challenge to the validity of chapters and clauses it disliked.

A constitutional expert said that it was unclear whether the court would at this stage consider the constitution. This was chiefly because the IFP had agreed to include in it a clause requiring that the provincial document be consistent with that of the final national constitution.

Jo'burg CBD will be cordoned off

Mass security plan to handle Zulu march

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

Kevin O'Grady

CENTRAL Johannesburg is expected to come to a standstill today as a massive security operation is launched amid fears that violence could erupt when about 10 000 armed Zulus march to commemorate the 1994 Shell House shootings.

Most of the CBD will be cordoned off to traffic as soldiers and policemen — including hundreds from neighbouring provinces — secure the route to be followed by the marchers from George Goch stadium east of the city to Library Gardens in the city centre.

Fears of clashes were heightened yesterday when IFP MP Themba Khoza alleged there was a high-level ANC plot — involving the SAPS, SANDF and former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers — to ambush marchers and “repeat the horror” which occurred two years ago.

More than 50 people were killed — eight of them near the ANC's Shell House headquarters — when Zulu loyalists marched to Library Gardens exactly two years ago. A march held last year to commemorate the 1994 shootings went off peacefully.

Khoza said the IFP had information from four “reliable sources” — including two senior ANC members present at the “plotting meeting” — that “forces of terror” had been assigned to provoke

the marching Zulus and that snipers would gun marchers down from nearby buildings when they reacted. He did not say which ANC members were allegedly involved in the plot and suggested journalists “ask (Safety and Security Minister Sydney) Mufamadi”. He also asked if President Nelson Mandela had “repeated his shoot to kill order this year”.

Although ANC deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus called Khoza's allegations “preposterous”, Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale said government had “received information that the march could be disrupted ... as to its veracity, that is something else all together”. The information was, however, being taken “very seriously” and security forces would do their utmost to protect all parties.

National police commissioner George Fivaz said senior SAPS officers would question Khoza on his allegations and “appropriate” action would be taken if necessary.

Carolus challenged Khoza to name his sources. The ANC would brief Mandela and consult its lawyers about what it saw as defamation.

There are also fears of a confrontation at today's march because of a ban on the carrying of certain traditional weapons in public and the SAPS's stat-

Continued on Page 2

March

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

Continued from Page 1

ed intention to disarm marchers who ignore the prohibition. Sexwale and provincial police commissioner Sharma Maharaj said march organisers had assured them that only shields and blunt sticks — not covered by the ban — would be carried. However, Maharaj said a large part of the security operation would involve intercepting and disarming people who disobeyed the ban before they started marching.

Roadblocks would be set up on roads leading to the city centre and searches would be conducted at railway stations and taxi ranks “to make sure no weapons are brought into the city”.

Despite assurances by Khoza that information on the planned attack on

The Johannesburg council's southern metropolitan substructure's CEO, Chris Ngobo, said march organisers had been required to pay a R2 500 deposit against damages and provide proof of payment of R10m public liability insurance before permission was granted for the march.

Farouk Chothia reports IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the ANC, helped by media “sycophants”, had created a climate of “hysteria, panic and paranoia” around the march. It was no different from events to mark the March 21 Sharpeville massacre and the June 16 Soweto uprising. If police were overzealous, there could be a tragedy of “devastating proportions”.

Patrick Wadula and Lukanyo Mnyanda report that businesses in downturn Johannesburg said they were confident police could handle any trouble. Banks said they would operate

Rift between Zulu king and IFP (11B) (S) grows wider Star 29/3/96 OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban - The rift between King Goodwill Zwelithini and the IFP deepened yesterday when the premier, Frank Mdlalose, rebuked the monarch for what he described as going behind the provincial government's back and asking the national Government for assistance.

The statements by the premier came minutes after the king had officially opened this year's parliamentary session in Ulundi yesterday morning.

And, to add insult to injury, the crowd which had gathered outside the legislative assembly building shouted "hamba" (Go Home!) when the king left the building.

In contrast, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the IFP leader, who arrived unexpectedly several minutes before the king, received a rousing and emotional welcome from the crowd.

Several political parties in the Kwazulu Natal legislature expressed their shock and surprise at the premier's statements, with most saying it was an inappropriate moment to make such statements when in fact the premier should only have thanked the king for his opening address.

After a short thank-you speech, Dr Mdlalose said his only concern was the continued interference of Pretoria in matters which he considered to be traditional.

"We never know how Pretoria or the central governments will want to dictate what should be done, when it should be done and how it should be done," he said.

At a press conference after the opening Dr Mdlalose denied that he had humiliated the king and said that the central government, under instruction from President Mandela, was clearly at the centre of the whole issue.

However, ANC leader Jacob Zuma said his party could not accept and added that the king "was abused at the opening".

Zuma said the ANC did not want to be party to the humiliation of the king and said an agreement must be made on how to deal with the monarch.

Democratic Party spokesman,

"We never know how Pretoria or the central governments will want to dictate what should be done, when it should be done and how it should be done," he said.

At a press conference after the opening Dr Mdlalose denied that he had humiliated the king and said that the central government, under instruction from President Mandela, was clearly at the centre of the whole issue.

However, ANC leader Jacob Zuma said his party could not accept and added that the king "was abused at the opening".

Zuma said the ANC did not want to be party to the humiliation of the king and said an agreement must be made on how to deal with the monarch.

Democratic Party spokesman, Wessel Nel said the premier's speech was "provocative and inappropriate" for the occasion.

And the PAC leader, Joe Mkhwanazi, said it would have been better to first discuss the issue with the king because "two wrongs do not make a right".

IFP censures its maverick MP

118

Sowetan
4/4/96

Furore over allegation that ANC would spark off bloodshed at march

THE Inkatha Freedom Party on Wednesday distanced itself from maverick Gauteng official Mr Themba Khoza's widely publicised claim that a March 28 commemorative Zulu march in Johannesburg would be sabotaged by the African National Congress to spark off bloodshed.

In a letter to the ANC, IFP general secretary Dr Ziba Jiyane said Khoza had not been mandated by the party to make the claim, which drew ANC threats of legal action for defamation.

"The IFP national council agreed at its meeting on November 10 1995 that Mr Khoza should not issue statements to the media, appear on television or give radio interviews on behalf of the IFP," Jiyane said in the letter to ANC deputy general secretary Cheryl Carolus, dated March 29.

The Zulu march in Johannesburg, staged to commemorate eight IFP supporters shot dead outside the ANC's headquarters on the same date in 1994, was largely peaceful.

Jiyane added: "We reject the claim that the IFP should substantiate the allegation (that the ANC would disrupt the commemoration) and have referred the matter to our lawyers."

Khoza is an MP and holds office in the IFP's East Rand branch.

In another letter indicating a souring of relations between the party and Khoza, ousted as provincial leader by Mr Musa Muyeni, IFP senator Mr Philip Powell said he hoped for a thorough

investigation of Khoza's allegations.

"I believe that this matter is best dealt with by the SA Police Service and we trust that a thorough investigation will be carried out into the veracity of the allegations made by Mr Khoza," Powell said.

After the commemorative march, Khoza said it had been peaceful because he blew the whistle on the plan to spark off bloodshed. Violence erupted during a simultaneous march in Umlazi near Durban as security forces moved in to disarm armed marchers in a bid to enforce a nationwide ban on the carrying of dangerous traditional weapons. — Sapa.

MARIO AMBROSINI

THE ZULUS' MYSTERY MAN

FM 5/4/96

If there is a person other than Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi who stands out in the heat and dust of Ulundi during mass gatherings of the Inkatha Freedom Party, it is dapper, boyish special adviser Mario Ambrosini.

His invariable designer three-piece suit and Panama hat defy the harsh African elements in much the same way as the mysterious Italian-born US citizen defies criticism and opposition from within and without the party.

Ambrosini is, in short, an enigma. As little is known about him now as when he stepped in as a constitutional lawyer advising Inkatha during its spell at Codesa. Though barred from participation when a special rule was created to bar foreigners from constitutional negotiations, he nonetheless carved himself a niche in Inkatha's inner sanctum.

Ambrosini first made an appearance in the Eighties as assistant to Albert Blaustein, a US lawyer and chairman of the right-wing Human Rights Advocates International Inc, which assisted Inkatha on constitutional matters and helped draft the proposed KwaZulu constitution of 1992. He also briefly advised King Goodwill Zwelithini during the Skukuza summit which covered the monarch's call for sovereignty over the Zulu kingdom.

The latest controversy, apart from his being seen with Jani Allan, relates to his continued employment by Home Affairs — even though he has not had security clearance from the National Intelligence Agency. In fact, his employment — his contract, twice extended, expires end-August — at State expense has been a bone of contention from the start.

The issue of Ambrosini's nationality was again used in a futile attempt to shoehorn him out of the job a year ago.

Buthelezi, though, was ordered to obtain special permission to employ a foreigner in such a senior public position.

Further fuel was added when Ambrosini took on a dual role as constitutional adviser to Inkatha's KwaZulu-Natal provincial wing. The ANC accused Inkatha of using taxpayers' money for party purposes — Ambrosini's annual salary at the time was R336 000.

But animosity seems as strong within Inkatha. He is described as arrogant, aloof and a know-all, though colleagues will not openly criticise him because of his position at Buthelezi's right hand.

This dictatorial attitude was epitomised by his — and Walter Felgate's — invasion of KwaZulu-Natal Local Government Minister Peter Miller's office last year. It was compounded by his chiding of party general secretary Ziba Jiyane for talking to the ANC when not in Ambrosini's presence.

Says a colleague: "He seems to derive pleasure in insisting that confrontation is the only solution to KwaZulu-Natal's problems with the rest of the country. His favourite term is 'hard politics.' There is no compromise in the man."

Some question Ambrosini's political acumen.

But what carries him through is total self-belief. In politics, where revenge has a long memory, this could eventually precipitate his downfall.

REAN WULTZ

ALL OR NOTHING

Basking in new-found respectability, the gambling industry is attracting keen interest. First to cash in on its manufacturing expertise — unique in SA — was equipment maker and casino operator Admiral Leisure World, listed in January



Rean Wultz

The powerhouse behind Admiral is Regina Anna — Rean Wultz, who crackles with energy and has qualifications in administration, gaming technology and casino control. Born in Vienna 46 years ago, Wultz emigrated to SA at the age of 19 and began manufacturing women's clothing. In the mid-Eighties, when SA's future looked cloudy, she travelled overseas in search of new options and returned with the Africa agency for Novomatic, an Austrian gaming equipment manufacturer and casino manager.

From clothing to gaming may seem an odd move, but Wultz says both satisfied her creative soul. "There's a theatrical quality about gaming, it's not like going to work at all."

Because the monopoly then in force in SA excluded other players, Wultz opened in Swaziland, where Admiral has a factory and runs the public lottery; Botswana, where a second casino will soon open, and Namibia. "I can supply a turnkey casino as well as a manager."

Africa provides a special challenge, since "you must provide for sophisticated and rural patrons." Wultz intends to apply for casino licences in SA once provinces promulgate their gambling laws. "We're working on concepts and land options. Position is important."

The listing has raised Admiral's profile, which should benefit sales. Certainly the market likes the share, tripling the price so far. But a concern is the high level of crime — in particular, the authorities' nonchalant attitude towards illegal casinos. "I believe in all or nothing — legalise them or close them down."

With three children ranging from five to 24, Wultz laughs when asked about leisure pursuits. "I used to have hobbies, but now my hobby is my business."



Mario Ambrosini

IFP threatens to quit govt if poll is delayed

Star 15/4/96

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**

Political Reporter

(11B) (2017)
The Inkatha Freedom Party could pull out of the Government of National Unity if local elections in KwaZulu Natal are postponed, IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday.

He accused "Marxist hardliners" in the ANC of being behind the postponement call.

Tomorrow, he and President Mandela are to meet, and they are expected to discuss the staggering, or postponement, of elections in the province.

The ANC demanded the postponement on the grounds that violence had made the holding of free and fair elections impossible.

Buthelezi told a rally in Phoenix near Durban that if the ANC succeeded in having the elections postponed, the "consequences will be very grave indeed".

"The IFP could no longer collaborate in a Government of National Unity if it were clear that the ANC was now in the hands of a clique bent on a one-party state," he said.

IFP national council member Velaphi Ndlovu told The Star that the IFP would resist all attempts to interfere with the election date.

"They said they were ready in November and accused the IFP of delaying democratisation. Well, we are ready now, as they were ready in November, and we will accept no delay.

"They cannot use violence as an excuse because the situation was much worse at the time of the 1994 elections."

A number of election candidates and community leaders have been killed over the past few weeks, and the ANC and the IFP are accusing each other of trying to win by intimidating candidates into not standing.



Looking on loneliness ... Dumephi Danisa, widow of ANC local el at the weekend. Danisa, chairman of the Umlazi Civic Associatio

Inkatha threatens to leave govt

CT 15/4/96 (11B)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: Inkatha has threatened to withdraw from the government of national unity because of differences with the ANC over the KwaZulu-Natal municipal elections.

Addressing an election meeting at Phoenix yesterday, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned of "consequences very grave indeed" if the election was delayed again.

One of these consequences could be the formal withdrawal of Inkatha's three ministers and two deputy ministers from the government.

Meanwhile, following the successful completion of a provincial constitution,

Inkatha decided at its national council meeting this weekend to return to the inter-governmental forum between the central government and the provincial legislature, ending a year's absence.

President Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi are to meet in Cape Town tomorrow to discuss differences over the poll.

Presidential spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana said last night reports from ANC structures in KwaZulu-Natal indicated that polling did not seem possible, but it was premature to say whether the elections in the province would be "postponed or merely staggered".

Well-placed sources said last night that Mandela was considering setting

up a commission of inquiry to investigate whether obstacles in the path of the elections were surmountable.

He is expected to report back on his meeting with Buthelezi to the ANC's national working committee on Thursday.

NP provincial leader Mr Danie Schutte expressed concern last night that the situation in KwaZulu-Natal could be aggravated if political parties adopted threatening stances.

He said there would be no point in delaying the poll if the underlying political causes were not addressed.

Schutte suggested that if there were problems in an area, the poll could be scrapped "in that specific area".

IFP's threat to quit GNU

(113) ~~2008~~
By Siphon Khumalo *Siphon Khumalo* 15/4/96

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that the IFP might pull out of the Government of National Unity if President Nelson Mandela postponed the local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal.

Addressing an IFP rally at Phoenix, north of Durban, Buthelezi said postponing the elections would have "very grave consequences" for South Africa.

"The IFP will no longer collaborate in the Government of National Unity if it were clear that the ANC was now in the hands of a clique bent on creating a one-party state."

"I send this message to the State President. Break from your chains, put your country ahead of your party and stand for democracy," Buthelezi said.

He said Mandela first said the elections should go ahead and then went "sharply into reverse". The President was a democrat, but now had been turned into a prisoner of "Young Turks".

Buthelezi said there was a tight-knit group of "Marxist hardliners" in the ANC who wanted to subvert democracy. This was the same group which had stopped Mandela from proceeding with international mediation.

Buthelezi warns of consequences of poll delay

IFP threat to quit govt of national unity

Farouk Chothia

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to pull his party out of the government of national unity yesterday if KwaZulu-Natal's local government elections were postponed.

Buthelezi told a Phoenix election rally that he wanted to issue a "solemn warning" that the consequences of a postponement would be "very grave".

He said that the IFP could no longer "collaborate in the government of national unity if it was clear that the ANC was in the hands of a clique bent on creating a one-party state".

He said that President Nelson Mandela had initially been opposed to a postponement, but he had buckled under pressure from radical left-wing elements in his party to support a delay to the election.

"The president is a genuine democrat, but is now a prisoner of these young Turks."

The IFP leader is scheduled to meet Mandela tomorrow to discuss the ANC's call for a postponement because of escalating violence and irregularities in voters' rolls.

Buthelezi said ANC hardliners had also forced Mandela to renege on the mediation agreement which brought the IFP back into the 1994 elections. "There is no negotiating with these kinds of people, no compromise or con-

sensus is possible."

ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma's push for a postponement was "part of a carefully planned strategy by a tightly knit elite group of Marxist hardliners" to impose their one-party state in SA.

"It seems we have vanquished apartheid leaders only to have them replaced by their brothers of a different colour," Buthelezi said.

Presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said Mandela preferred giving serious consideration to what transpired in his meetings with Buthelezi rather than what was said in public.

"We should not lay much emphasis on speeches made on election platforms. What is critical, is what will happen at Tuesday's meeting."

Mandela, meanwhile, met an NP delegation yesterday to discuss the election impasse.

NP secretary-general Roelf Meyer said the NP preferred the elections to go ahead throughout the province on May 29 but if this was not possible they should be staggered.

Regarding Buthelezi's comments, Meyer said the NP did not believe in threats which would not contribute to finding solutions.

The NP had proposed to Mandela that a multiparty team investigate the preparedness of KwaZulu-Natal for the election.

BD 15/4/96

(110)

(20/4/96)

Inkatha returns to forum to negotiate provincial powers

Farouk Chothia

BD 15/4/96 (11B) (11B)

DURBAN — The IFP is to return to the intergovernmental forum to negotiate provincial powers for KwaZulu-Natal — after withdrawing from it last year in protest against the ANC's refusal to agree to international mediation.

The IFP national council said in a resolution adopted on Friday that it would not return to the Constitutional Assembly, even to vote, if international mediation did not take place.

However, the KwaZulu-Natal government would resume its participation in the forum as soon as the provincial constitution was ratified.

Premier Frank Mdlalose and IFP MECs had been asked to "promote the protection and implementation" of the provincial constitution in the forum.

The forum is chaired by Constitutional Development Minister Chris Fisser and all provincial governments are represented on it. It deals with the allocation of powers granted to

provinces in terms of the constitution. The IFP's decision indicates that it will demand that KwaZulu-Natal be granted powers in terms of the provincial constitution, rather than the national constitution.

IFP national council member Walter Felgate said the KwaZulu-Natal government would begin drafting Bills on powers granted to it by the provincial constitution, and would pass the Bills as soon as the constitution was certified by the Constitutional Court.

One IFP source said that as the forum was likely to turn into a major constitutional battleground, a reshuffle between provincial and national MPs could take place. Some top IFP leaders, including Felgate, could switch from national Parliament to take posts in the provincial cabinet. However, the council did not raise the possibility of a reshuffle. It said the provincial government should act in close co-operation with all party structures and leaders, including MPs and senators.

ANC dismisses Buthelezi threat to quit GNU

(115) ARL 16/4/96

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. - The ANC has dismissed as irresponsible and an act of "political and cultural grandstanding" IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat that the organisation would quit the government if the KwaZulu-Natal local government elections were postponed.

ANC national executive member Mathews Phosa told a Johannesburg press conference that Chief Buthelezi was guilty

of improper conduct by speaking on a matter which was scheduled to be discussed by cabinet.

"It's wrong of him to speak and make threats on an issue which will be discussed by the cabinet. It's highly improper for him to speak on a matter on which he is supposed to give input.

He must disabuse himself from cultural grandstanding and wait for a decision which

will bind him and other cabinet members."

Speaking in Phoenix outside Durban on Sunday, Chief Buthelezi accused "Marxist hardliners" in the ANC of being behind the postponement call.

He and President Mandela were expected to meet to discuss the staggering, or postponement, of elections in the province.

The ANC demanded the postponement on the grounds vio-

lence had made the holding of free and fair elections impossible.

Chief Buthelezi said if the ANC succeeded in having the elections postponed, the "consequences will be very grave indeed".

"The IFP could no longer collaborate in a government of national unity if it were clear that the ANC was now in the hands of a clique bent on a one-party state," he said.

MECs aided Inkatha's return

(NB) Star 16/4/96

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

Pressure from provincial MECs and the legislature appears to have been the main force behind the IFP's decision to end its boycott of inter-governmental forums, sources said yesterday.

The IFP's national council decided at the weekend to end the nearly year-long boycott of inter-governmental forums and Min-Mec (meetings attended by the Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development and provincial MECs) when the Constitutional Court certifies the provincial constitution.

This is due to happen by the end of this month.

The boycott was imposed to protest against the ANC and the NP's not honouring their agreement on international mediation, and to devolve interim constitution powers to provinces.

But the ANC's three MECs

and the NP's MEC have continued holding the meetings. Even the IFP's Local Government and Housing MEC, Peter Miller, refused to honour the boycott and attended the Min-Mec meetings.

Provincial sources have said that the five IFP MECs who observed the boycott had become increasingly frustrated as they could not continue functioning effectively without communicating with the national ministry.

"They've come to the conclusion that it was a case of 'cutting off your nose to spite your face'. They were losing out on benefits to be gained by interacting with other provinces and did not know what was happening in the rest of the country," said an MEC.

Opposition parties have also engaged in a strategy of grilling MECs on developments in other provinces and on why they had not attended meetings, which could have been of benefit to the province.

I have no links with violence, says Buthelezi

(11B) Stav 22/4/96
 Cape Town — The IFP had never deviated from its commitment to non-violence, party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday in reaction to reports in Sunday newspapers which he termed a "farrago of smears and false innuendoes concerning Operation Marion".

The reports quoted documents submitted to the trial in Durban of former defence minister Gen Magnus Malan and others alleged to have been connected with the operation to neutralise IFP rivals in KwaZulu Natal.

Buthelezi told a rally that "Never have I been in any way associated with violence against anybody, for any reason, let alone political reasons".

Addressing about 400 people at the launch of his party's campaign for local government elections in the Western Cape, Buthelezi said the public should recognise the report for what it

was: another production from the ANC's "dirty tricks department".

"Because the ANC know that I am innocent of any wrongdoing, they are attempting to engineer a trial by media," he told the gathering of local government election candidates and party supporters.

Earlier, Buthelezi said his lawyers had advised him not to comment on the reports, which quoted documents that allegedly link him to covert operations against the ANC.

The Sunday Independent newspaper quoted from documents submitted on Friday in the murder trial of Malan and other senior military officers. The court heard on Friday that the documents were found hidden in a false electrical circuit box in the home of one of the officers, but no details were given of the contents.

But the Sunday Independent said the documents recorded conversations and letters showing

that Buthelezi knew about Operation Marion, a government plan to use the IFP against the ANC.

The prosecutor in the trial against Malan and the other officers has said the plan included the use of IFP supporters as a covert hit squad against ANC activists. In one document, former army chief Kat Liebenberg allegedly said Operation Marion would create "a small, full-time offensive element which can be used covertly against the UDF/ANC".

A memorandum allegedly described a command communications channel from the defence force, through personal assistant MZ Khumalo, who is on trial with the generals, directly to Buthelezi, the newspaper said.

Another document allegedly written by Buthelezi called for greater assistance against the pro-ANC forces, adding "... I need more than the authority to issue firearms". — Sapa-Reuters.

Buthelezi 'welcomed

IFP military recruits'

ET 24/4/96

(113)

DURBAN: An alleged hit squad member told the Supreme Court here yesterday that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had personally welcomed Inkatha recruits back from a secret military training course in the Caprivi Strip in 1986.

Testifying in the murder trial of former defence minister General Magnus Malan and 19 others, Mr Bhekisisa Alex Khumalo said Buthelezi had also slaughtered a beast in honour of the trainees, who were trained to kill ANC members.

"When Buthelezi arrived, we were introduced to him. He shook our hands and thanked us. He showed us a beast that he was going to slaughter on our behalf," Khumalo said.

He told the court he had taken part in the 1987 KwaMakutha massacre at the home of United Democratic Front activist Mr Victor Ntuli.

He had waited in a minibus while 10 "offensive" IFP hit squad members sprayed bullets at sleeping people inside Ntuli's house, killing 13.

The state alleges the attack was part of a covert military plan, Operation Marion, to provide the IFP with a military capacity for combat against the ANC in the 1980s.

Khumalo said IFP supporters had been flown to a secret island base in the Caprivi in 1986, where they were led to believe they were being trained for service in the KwaZulu police force.

"There were instances when our instructors told us to shoot as if we were shooting a 'Hani' or a 'Tambo' or another ANC leader," Khumalo said.

The trainees had gone on strike when they suspected they were not being trained for police duty.

"We had been told we were going to be trained as policemen ... and

would be issued with police cards."

An IFP representative had been sent to Ulundi to resolve the problem and had received instructions to continue the training, Khumalo said.

The trainees later returned to KwaZulu-Natal, where they continued their training under military intelligence officer Johan Opperman.

Khumalo said he had been ordered to join other trainees on a reconnaissance mission to KwaMakutha where they compiled "target dossiers" on two potential murder squad targets. Ntuli had been one of the targets, he said.

Shortly thereafter, Khumalo was instructed to accompany 10 "offensive" trainees armed with AK-47 rifles. They drove into KwaMakutha late at night to attack Ntuli's home.

"JP (Opperman) said my role was to ensure that it was the right house to be attacked. He said if we came across any problems we should say that we'd been sent by the president or the minister."

Khumalo said he had heard someone say "don't leave anyone".

One of the attackers had forgotten to leave a note at the scene of the massacre which read: "This is the beginning ... chapter one, verse one".

He identified six of the accused as members of the murder squad.

Earlier in the trial, Opperman testified that Ntuli was not at home on the night of the attack. He said the attack had gone "horribly wrong" and was not intended to be a mass murder.

Earlier yesterday, the court adjourned unexpectedly after a legal wrangle about Khumalo's testimony. Khumalo requested legal advice after defence counsel Mr Klaus von Lieres warned he might incriminate himself under cross-examination.

The trial resumes today. — Sapa

Buthlezi 'personally met Caprivi recruits'

Star 24/4/96

(11B) (254)

Alleged hit squad member testifies in Malan trial that IFP leader slaughtered a beast in honour of group trained to kill ANC members on their return from secret base

SAPA Durban

An alleged hit squad member yesterday told the Durban Supreme Court that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had personally welcomed Inkatha recruits back from a secret military training course in the Caprivi Strip in 1986.

Testifying in the murder trial of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 19 others, Bhekisisa Alex Khumalo said Buthelezi had also slaughtered a beast in honour of the trainees, who were trained to kill ANC members.

"When he (Buthelezi) arrived, we were introduced to him. He then shook our hands and thanked us for having returned (from the Caprivi).

"He then showed us a beast that he was going to slaughter on our behalf," Khumalo said.

Khumalo also told the court he had taken part in the 1987 Kwa-Makutha massacre at the home of United Democratic Front activist

Victor Ntuli. He said he had waited in a minibus while 10 "offensive" Inkatha hit squad members sprayed bullets at sleeping people inside Ntuli's house, killing 13.

The State alleges the attack was part of a covert military plan, Operation Marion, to provide Inkatha with a military capacity for combat against the ANC in the 1980s.

Khumalo told the court that Inkatha supporters had been flown to a secret base in the Caprivi in 1986, where they were led to believe they were being trained for service in the Kwa-Zulu police force.

He said the trainees had not known where they were and did not know the identity of their instructors. They had received weapons and weapons training and were divided up into four groups.

"There were instances when our instructors told us to shoot as if we were shooting a Hani or a Tambo or another ANC leader," Khumalo said.

They had later received ad-

vanced training in urban and guerrilla warfare, the court heard.

The trainees had gone on strike when they suspected they were not being trained for police duty, Khumalo said.

The trainees had later returned to KwaZulu Natal where they met Buthelezi and continued their training under the instruction of military intelligence officer Johan Opperman.

Khumalo said he had been ordered to join other trainees on a reconnaissance mission to Kwa-Makutha on the South Coast where they compiled "target dossiers" on two potential murder squad targets. Ntuli had been one of the targets, he said.

Shortly thereafter, Khumalo was instructed to accompany 10 "offensive" trainees armed with AK-47s. They drove into Kwa-Makutha late at night to attack Ntuli's home, the court heard.

Khumalo identified six of the accused in the dock as members of the murder squad

The trial resumes today.

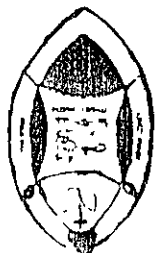
P.O. Box 21
Langa Township
7455
Tel: 53 - 5713

"Sinai Mission"
+ + +
CAPE TOWN CIRCUIT.

(Established 1892)

The Rev. D.M. Mgungo
Priest in Charge

Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Southern Africa



Gunfire brings Durban to a halt

By CRAIG DOONAN

A STREET war erupted in Durban yesterday afternoon, leaving three policemen and at least 20 civilians wounded during an Inkatha-aligned march against the ban on dangerous weapons.

Last night police were unable to give a clear account of who had been responsible for the shooting, but said several arrests had been made.

Chaos erupted when more than 6 000 hostel dwellers armed with traditional weapons marched from Curries Fountain towards the Durban City Hall. The march was organised by the IFP-aligned National Hostel Residents' Association.

Hundreds of shoppers fled in panic and shopkeepers barricaded their doors when the shooting began in



SHOWDOWN: A policeman confronts marchers Picture: MARTIN WALKER

Grey Street.

Three marchers were also wounded. Police found numerous AK47 cartridges at the scene and recovered an unlicensed firearm.

The march then proceeded to the Durban City Hall where Nahora officials handed over a letter expressing outrage at the ban on carrying traditional Zulu weapons.

Within minutes of the memorandum being handed over gunfire erupted

from within the crowd, sending people scattering in all directions for cover. A police helicopter was forced to land in the city centre to take a wounded policeman to hospital.

Police raced around the city centre with sirens wailing as they tried to locate gunmen. At times dozens of armed policemen carrying cocked rifles and handguns dived for cover or chased after groups of men with guns.

PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK: Only 8,06 winners each received a payout of R137 486,20. Numbers 1; 2; 1; 7; 9; 1.

CLAIRWOOD PARK: There were 22 winners, each collecting a dividend of R1 571. Numbers 2,3,4; 2; 9; 5; 11; 8,14.

KENILWORTH: 11 winners each collected a payout of R23 773,20. Numbers 3; 14; 5; 2; 6; 1.

ST 5/5/96

Secret memo links FW to Inkatha army

(11B) ST 5/5/96
By CRAIG DOONAN

DOCUMENTS presented in the trial of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan suggest former State President F W de Klerk may have approved funding for the Inkatha paramilitary force which allegedly carried out the Kwamakhutha massacre in 1987.

The prosecution has already produced documents which allege Mr de Klerk and former Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha were present at a state security council meeting in 1986 when Operation Marion — the SA Defence Force's clandestine training of 200 Inkatha recruits in Caprivi and their subsequent deployment in Kwazulu Natal — was discussed.

But the latest document — a top secret letter from former Chief of the Defence Force Jannie Geldenhuys which was sent to General Malan in March 1990 — says Mr de Klerk had been briefed on a broad spectrum of sensitive projects and had approved their continuation.

In the letter, General Geldenhuys says: "As you know, the present State President has been briefed on two occasions about a broad spectrum of sensitive projects and reacted as follows: 'Approval in principle has been given for the running of stratcom projects . . . the defence force must continue with the operations'."

Operation Marion is among at least 45 approved projects listed in an annexe to General Geldenhuys's letter, in which he asks General Malan to approve funds spent or due to be spent on the secret operations. Operation Marion is listed as number 41 and R6,5-million had been spent or was due to be spent on it from 1987 until 1991.

The letter contains signatures of approval for the funds of both generals Geldenhuys and Malan as well as former Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis.

Operation Marion's aim is described in the annexure as: "To put Inkatha in a po-

sition to neutralise the onslaught against it from Umkhonto weSizwe."

This evidence is regarded as vital in the state's case as the defence has argued that the project was set up to train bodyguards to protect Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha VIPs — and not to kill members of the ANC and its allies, as the prosecution alleges.

Frik Schoombee, Mr de Klerk's spokesman, said the Deputy President was not prepared to react "piecemeal" to reports about the Malan trial, but was instead preparing a submission for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

"A comprehensive submission . . . is being prepared and will be submitted as soon as it's finalised," he said.

The state has now closed its case in the Malan trial and although Chief Buthelezi's name has come up frequently in documents and in verbal testimony it appears there has not been enough direct evidence to link him to an offensive group of Caprivi trainees which was allegedly responsible for the Kwamakhutha massacre.

However, he and other witnesses may still be called by the defence.

Kwazulu Natal Attorney General Tim McNally, who led the state's case during six weeks of court sittings, said it had not been necessary to call further witnesses.

"Those witnesses who were regarded as necessary for the state's case have already given their evidence and it's important to maintain a focus in the leading of evidence. One doesn't just call witnesses for the sake of calling witnesses, one calls witnesses for the sake of proving a fact," Mr McNally said.

The trial resumes on May 14 when there may be an application for the discharge of some of the accused because of insufficient evidence.

The seven defence teams will then either close their cases or call the accused or other witnesses to the stand.

Buthelezi takes on a new image to broaden support

Farouk Choitha

DURBAN — IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been projecting a new image of himself during the KwaZulu-Natal local government election campaign: he has donned kurtahs on visits to temples, shaken hands with elderly people in old-age homes; and posed for photographs with homeless children.

Buthelezi, unlike President Nelson Mandela and NP leader FW de Klerk, did not employ such strategies during the 1994 general election, but is now doing so as he tries to build a support base outside the ranks of Zulu traditionalists.

Says an IFP election strategist: "There is a side to Buthelezi different from the one projected in the media, which we wanted to bring out. He has a sense of humour, and a deep commitment to family values."

The IFP has juxtaposed "family style" campaigning with high-profile political rallies where Buthelezi has launched attacks on all the his party's opponents — from Minority Front leader Amichand Rampans, whom he described as an ANC Trojan horse, to Cosatu secretary-general Sam Shilowa, whom he described as the "water buffalo of SA politics".

IFP election campaign deputy manager Anthony Grinker says "walkabouts" are necessary to reach out to new voters, particularly Indians, while the rallies play an important role in creating election fever among supporters.

KwaZulu-Natal is not holding ordinary local government elections: Buthelezi has billed next week's poll as one which will determine, once and for all, the "political who's who" of the province.

Some observers say that if the IFP loses a significant number of councils, its legitimacy to rule over the province would fall into question. But if the ANC sustains heavy losses, it could become demoralised and a provincial victory in 1999 would be out of the question for the party.

The election is also significant in other respects: the victorious party would be able to negotiate from a position of strength in ongoing peace talks, and in constitutional negotiations which are to resume after the voting.

Unlike the ANC, the IFP has focused on national issues while on the campaign trail, and has seized on the damaging consequences of the falling rand, including the petrol price and interest rate hikes.

Grinker says it is inevitable that national issues would be under the spotlight as the 75 local elections are being held on the same day. "The ANC is in government at a national level, and the opposition questions its track record," he says.

He says the main issue among urban blacks is job creation — something that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki also discovered at the weekend when ANC supporters responded to his pleas for peace with cries of "we want jobs" — while in the rural areas concerns revolve around basic services such as water and land-related issues.

There is some evidence to suggest that unemployment is of greater concern to blacks than continuing violence: a recent survey done by Project Vote and the National Democratic Institute showed that the dominant concern among 39% of blacks was unemployment, while 19% mentioned violence.

Grinker says the IFP has found that among whites the main issue is crime, while for Indians an additional concern is the negative effects of ANC-sponsored affirmative action policies.

He is confident the IFP will win all seven regional councils, and says the only council where the IFP is facing a strong ANC challenge is the Midlands council.

It is important for the IFP to win the council stretching from Mooi River to Maritzburg and to Kokstad, it is the largest of the seven. Observers say an ANC victory in the council would not be a surprise: 1994 election figures show the ANC won about 50% of the vote in the region, compared to the IFP's 33%.

IFP sources say ANC gains are because of the late ANC hard-liner Harry Gwala's ruthless style of politics, which has now become the hallmark of ANC provincial deputy secretary Sifiso Nkabinde.

The IFP also has two of its hard-liners in the region — Senator Philip Powell and midlands chairman David Ntombela.

Even if the IFP has fewer votes than the ANC, it could still control the Midlands council. This is because traditional leaders will gain automatic representation on the council, as it will on the others, and the IFP could also enter into an alliance with parties such as the NP. It appears that alliance politics could be a dominant feature of local government in parts of KwaZulu-Natal.

Grinker says a "hung" council could emerge in the Maritzburg transitional local council, while the IFP is likely to win Port Shepstone and Newcastle.

Some ANC sources give a differ-



IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is projecting a new image of himself during the KwaZulu-Natal local government election campaign. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ent picture: they say the ANC will win Maritzburg and Newcastle with clear majorities, but the possibility of an IFP-led coalition ruling most other local councils — including Ladysmith, Empanangeni and Richards Bay — cannot be ruled out.

Grinker is confident that most whites will vote for the IFP, but concedes it is proving more difficult than 1994 to garner the community's support for next Wednesday's elections. "Traditionally among whites, local government is a non-party political issue. We are trying to convince them that this is not the case, and they need to vote for us to stop the drift to a one-party socialist state," Grinker says.

A Buthelezi rally some months ago at the Durban City Hall was poorly attended by whites — in contrast to the crowds he pulled in the run-up to April 1994.

The spread of IFP support across the racial divide will help the IFP in the elections, particularly in Durban, because there will be an equal

number of "B" wards (for black areas) and "A" wards (for white, Indian and coloured areas), he says.

He believes the ANC will gain support in Durban's south suburbs in black townships such as KwaMakhutha, while the NP will rely on support in white areas such as Amanzimtoti.

Grinker says the IFP is trying to win all six substructures, and believes that the north, which includes only one black township (Hambanathi), and outer-west substructures, which includes Kloof and Mpumalanga, is in the bag.

Observers say that with voting populations of about 71 000 and 96 000 respectively, the two substructures are small in comparison to the north-central and southern-central structures which have voting populations of about 394 000 and 356 000. Still, observers say, an IFP victory in the two substructures would be a major boost for the party in its bid to break out of its rural shackles.

Now Inkatha considers quitting the government

118 ~~3077~~
APG 3/7/96

DURBAN. - Only days after the National Party formally quit the government of national unity, the Inkatha Freedom Party has announced it will meet this week to consider whether to stay in the government.

"Any question of our status in the government of national unity will be discussed in our national council meeting on Friday. The chances of a decision are 50-50," Inkatha secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said at celebrations in Durban yesterday of the party's victory in the local polls.

"There are strong arguments for staying in and there are strong arguments for pulling out."

Mr Jiyane said the party, led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, wanted to monitor the ruling African National Congress.

"One of the arguments against us leaving the government of national unity is that we need to monitor the central government and it is best to have ministers in the cabinet.

"If we pull out, we will be in clear opposition to the ANC and will not be held responsible for the shortcomings of the government, where we have no influence on the decisions that are made."

The NP and its six cabinet ministers formally quit President Mandela's transitional government on Sunday, nearly three years ahead of schedule.

The ANC now rules in a lopsided 24-3 coalition with the IFP, in which Chief Buthelezi holds the home affairs portfolio.

Political analysts have been predicting an Inkatha withdrawal since May, when NP leader F W de Klerk first announced that he wanted to restructure his party as a strong opposition.

● Final local election results released yesterday gave the IFP 44.5 percent of the vote in KwaZulu-Natal. The ANC held on to its position as Inkatha's main rival with 33.2 percent.
- Reuter.

IFP set to quit the GNU

South African 4/8/96

116

**By Wagnied Mishbach
Political Reporter**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is to decide at its crucial national council meeting in Durban starting tomorrow whether it will stay in the Government of National Unity with the African National Congress.

While both the ANC and National Party were reluctant to comment on the possible move yesterday, it was clear that both parties would welcome an IFP withdrawal.

IFP general secretary Dr Ziba Jiyane said yesterday that there was a "fifty-fifty" chance that the party would withdraw from the Government.

He said his party would look at "what is going right and what is going wrong" before taking a decision.

A decision to move would leave the ANC as the only party governing the country. The IFP has three Cabinet ministers and two deputy ministers.

Withdrawal would also mean that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will step down as Home Affairs Minister.

There is no constitutional guarantee that calls for multiparty participation in the Government

The move comes in the wake of the withdrawal of the National Party from the two-year-old GNU last month to become the official opposition in Parliament.

The NP has lost far more positions in the Government than the IFP would if it decides to go the same way.

Lost veteran members

The NP gave up Mr FW de Klerk's deputy president position, five Cabinet positions and three deputy ministers. The party also suffered as a result, by losing a number of its veteran members, including Mr Pik Botha, who has resigned from active politics.

Jiyane said, however, that the IFP's decision on its future role in the Government would not be influ-

enced by the NP's withdrawal. ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa was cagey about the IFP's statements yesterday but it was clear that the ANC would not attempt to hold back the IFP if it decided to leave.

"Like with the withdrawal of the NP from the GNU, a move by the IFP would actually be indicative of the maturity of our democracy. In all other normal democracies, the major political tendency is always the one at the helm of government," he said.

He said that coalition governments were a voluntary matter and not a constitutionally entrenched provision.

NP spokesman Mr Isak Retief said that the NP's decision to withdraw was "morally correct" and the IFP was now facing the same problem the NP had encountered.

"The IFP's position is no different from that of the NP. There is no constitutional guarantee which calls for multiparty participation in the executive of the Government. We thought that it was the morally correct way to do things by withdrawing and working for a true multiparty democracy from the opposition benches," he said.



IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

IFP conference to review party's position on GNU

(11B) KAW 4/7/96

By JUSTICE MALALA
Political Staff

The Inkatha Freedom Party will review its position in the Government of National Unity at its national council meeting this weekend, but would not place any "particular urgency" on making the decision.

IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane said the matter was discussed routinely by the monthly meeting since the inception of the GNU in 1994 and that if a decision to leave the body were indeed taken, it would be ratified by the organisation's national conference at the end of this month.

"The chances that we may leave are 50% either way. I can-

not pre-empt the decisions of the meeting and say we will leave or not leave, but as far as I can see there is no particular urgency to the matter," he said.

Speculation on whether the party would continue to stay in the GNU intensified when the National Party withdrew after the adoption of the constitution on May 8.

It was expected that the IFP would seriously consider withdrawing from the co-operative arrangement after it won the local government elections in KwaZulu Natal to build up a strong support provincial base.

The ANC, however, romped home with the majority of votes in the province's economic heartland, and analysts do not expect the IFP to leave the co-operative arrangement in which

it has three cabinet ministers in the Government.

"I am not aware of any connection between the election results and the decision to leave or

stay in the GNU, and the National Party's withdrawal from the GNU is of no significance to us, for we are not connected to them in any way," Jiyane said.

IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi

said last week he was increasingly "uncomfortable" with his role in the GNU. He said that if the party decided to leave the arrangement, he would respect the decision.

The party's national conference, which will take place in Ulundi on July 28, will discuss various issues and challenges facing the party and elect new national leaders.

One of the main issues likely to be discussed will be the party's drubbing in the major cities of KwaZulu Natal in last week's local government elections. The party, however, managed to win the majority of votes in the province, taking 44% - 11% ahead of closest rival the ANC.

**A 50%
chance
it will
pull out**

Buthelezi wins fight over right to pay chiefs

(118) (2000)
 PATRICK BULGER
 Political Staff
 ARG 5/9/96

IN a judgment with implications for the feud between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party over King Goodwill Zwelithini and the chiefs of KwaZulu-Natal, the Constitutional Court today upheld the IFP-led KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature's right to pay the king and the traditional leaders.

The 11 judges unanimously rejected an ANC application to the court to declare two provincial statutes on the issue unconstitutional.

The ruling was handed down by the Constitutional Court Judge President Arthur Chaskalson.

It was greeted with delight by the IFP's legal team, which is engaged in a challenge to have the new constitution rejected on the grounds that it encroaches on the power of provincial governments.

Parliament and the KwaZulu-Natal government have been locked in a year-long political and legal battle to determine who has the right to pay King Goodwill and the chiefs.

Last year, President Mandela had the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act rushed through parliament, in a move interpreted as an attempt to wrest control of the chiefs from the KwaZulu-Natal government and from IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The 21-page judgment did not rule on whether Mr Mandela's law could still prevail

over the provincial statutes.

"That question must be left open for determination if and when it arises," Judge Chaskalson's ruling said.

But the KwaZulu-Natal Amakhosi and Iziphakanyiswa Amendment Bill of 1995 and the Payment of Salaries, Allowances and other Privileges to the Ingonyama Bill of 1995 were not in themselves unconstitutional.

The two Bills seek to restrict the king and amakhosi from receiving payment from any other source but the provincial government.

They were opposed by the ANC in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature, which had them referred to the court.

Judge Chaskalson's judgment referred to the political conflict in the province.

He said: "It is unfortunate that the political conflict concerning KwaZulu-Natal has degenerated to a state in which this (the right to pay the chiefs) should have become an issue."

He said he was not ruling on whether the provincial legislation was "desirable".

"The Ingonyama, amakhosi and iziphakanyiswa (headmen) occupy positions in the community in which they can best serve the interests of their people if they are not dependent or perceived to be dependent on political parties or on the national or provincial governments."

"This ideal is not furthered by making them the subject of conflicting national and provincial legislation."

ANC fails to block chiefs' pay

ARG 6/7/96

(11B)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. - The controversy over the payment of the Zulu monarch and chiefs took a further turn yesterday when the Constitutional Court ruled that the province's legislature was within its right to pay King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders.

The application to have two provincial statutes on the issue declared unconstitutional was brought by the African National Congress, but in a judgment handed down by Judge-President Arthur Chaskalson, all 10 judges rejected it.

Both challenges, referred to the court for a decision by the speaker of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature, were heard together earlier this year.

The court's ruling, greeted with delight by the IFP's legal

representatives, could have far-reaching implications for provincial powers, which came under strong attack in the same court during the certification hearing for the national constitution.

There is now a question mark over the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act, which was pushed through by the ANC in the national parliament last year and was seen as an attempt to shift control of the chiefs away from the IFP-controlled KwaZulu Natal government.

Mr Justice Chaskalson did not rule whether this act could still dominate the provincial statutes, saying the question should be left open for determination if and when it arose.

However, Mr Justice Chaskalson did comment on the political tension in the province, saying it was "unfortunate" that the conflict had "degenerated to



King Goodwill Zwelithini

a state" where the right to pay the chiefs had become an issue.

He said these leaders could best serve their people if they were not dependent on political parties or governments.

This ideal, he said, was not furthered by making these lead-

ers the subject of conflicting national and provincial legislation, adding that this had no bearing on the constitutionality of the provisions.

The bills challenged by the ANC were the KwaZulu-Natal Amakhosi and Iziphakanyiswa Amendment Bill of 1995 and the Ingonyama Bill of 1995.

Both the bills went before the provincial legislature to amend into legislation laws which had been passed by the then KwaZulu legislature before the 1993 constitution coming into effect.

The court held that because laws dealing with the appointment and powers of traditional leaders were within the competence of the provinces, legislation providing for the remuneration to such leaders was also within such competence.

Inkatha ignores GNU issue but wields axe

(118) Star 8/7/96

By JUSTICE MALALA
Political Staff

The Inkatha Freedom Party's national council meeting at the weekend failed to discuss its continued participation in the Government of National Unity, and instead decided to purge itself of leaders who might have been implicated in acts which might tarnish its image.

The party's national council meeting held in Ulundi at the weekend, expected to discuss the party's stance on the GNU after reports that it might leave the body, suspended member of the KwaZulu Natal legislature Thomas Shabalala from its ranks for the next two years.

It also resolved that it would

request him to resign with immediate effect as a member of the provincial legislature.

"National council made this decision as action in terms of the IFP constitution, which entitles it to take action against any member who brings the party into disrepute," the IFP said.

Shabalala was the leader of a chaotic march by hostel residents through Durban two months ago in which several people, including three policemen, were injured.

He has also been implicated in taxi violence in Lindelani, north of Durban, but has never been convicted.

Shabalala's departure brings to five the number of IFP seats which will be empty in the legislature.

Last week, Finance MEC Senzele Mhlongu announced he would retire, followed by three other MPLs.

The openings are expected to spark a major shake-up in the party. Speculation has it that it may include Arts and Culture Minister Ben Ngubane moving back to KwaZulu Natal.

The IFP is now expected to review its position in the GNU at its national conference from July 26.

On its performance in the local elections, in which it was beaten in cities but won overwhelmingly in rural areas, the party said it "emerged province-wide as the dominating party which gained more votes and more seats than any other party".

"The national council resolved

to express its appreciation for the valuable role the party's consultants, Jan Greer and Associates, played in preparing the IFP for elections," the party said.

This was in response to newspaper articles that the consultants, who were allegedly paid about R2,5-million, had been responsible for the party's wipe-out in the province's cities and towns.

The IFP reiterated its opposition to abortion on demand. However, it said abortion was justified in cases involving rape, incest or where a mother's life was in danger.

It said it accepted that abortion was a highly emotional and divisive issue leading to interminable debate.

National council suspends legislator over march

Experts praised for role in election victory

IFP may expel Shabalala, leaders warn

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

Inkatha Freedom Party KwaZulu Natal legislator Thomas Shabalala faces expulsion from the party if he continues to defy its leadership, IFP members said yesterday.

Shabalala was suspended from the provincial legislature and all party structures last week for leading a march through Durban a few months ago in defiance of an order by party chairman and KwaZulu Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose.

He has vowed not to vacate his legislature seat and his sup-

porters have said they will lodge an appeal with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They have also threatened to protest against Shabalala's suspension at next week's annual national conference in Ulundi.

Shabalala faces two years in the political wilderness after the national council suspended him from his position as chairman of the Lindelani branch, as member of the southern KwaZulu Natal regional leadership and from the national council.

But IFP leaders have threatened to expel Shabalala and root out those members who are back-

ing Shabalala.

"Those who are members of the party and are encouraging him must know they are acting against the party. We will take action against them as soon as we find them," said IFP national council member Velaphi Ndlovu.

IFP spokesman Themba Nzimande said Shabalala would be removed from the party's provincial list at the end of July and would be evicted by the police if he refused to vacate his legislature office.

"If he defies the leadership he will be sacked from the party," said Nzimande.

Star 17/10/96

PARTY DEPUTY BLAMED FOR SPECULATION

Buthelezi quashes rumours

(11B) ET 18/7/96

JOHANNESBURG: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has blamed his party deputy for spreading speculation about the future direction of the Inkatha Freedom Party, as the party's annual general conference in Ulundi looms.

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has chastised his party's deputy chairman, criticised the African National Congress and expressed concern about speculation surrounding the IFP's annual general conference.

Buthelezi said in a statement yesterday unwarranted speculation about the IFP's conference in Ulundi on July 26 had been compounded by statements attributed to Correctional Services Minister and IFP deputy chair Mr Sipo Mzimela.

Mzimela said on Monday the issue of the IFP's possible withdrawal from the government of national unity had yet to be discussed.

This and other rumours con-

cerning a possible merger with the ANC, an opposition alliance with the National Party or a simple policy of going it alone were four possible options for the IFP.

However, the way forward could only be determined by the IFP's national conference and these questions would have to be taken to it.

Buthelezi said: "As the president of the IFP, I am very concerned about the spreading of these rumours which have no basis within the internal political debate taking place in the IFP's National Council and other IFP policy structures.

"Our national council has not put any such matter on the agenda of our annual general conference."



CRITICAL: Chief Buthelezi

While the annual general conference might choose to discuss matters over and above those placed on its agenda, some of these speculations were beyond the realm of political likelihood, Buthelezi said.

The notion of a merger with the ANC had not even been considered by the IFP or ANC structures and

party spokesmen had already said as much, Buthelezi said.

"The truth of the matter is that while the ANC ostensibly talks the language of peace and spreads rumours about reconciliation with the IFP, it continues to do everything in its power to crush IFP structures and undermine our actions of governance in KwaZulu-Natal."

The ANC, for example, was still opposing the certification of the provincial constitution and had taken no steps to seek reconciliation on any of the many outstanding issues.

These include local government, remuneration of traditional leaders, protection of cultural diversity, privatisation and many of the other issues which had separated the IFP from the ANC, Buthelezi said.

Mzimela, who is in New York, was not available for comment. — Sapa

Major reshuffle predicted at IFP annual conference

Star 23/7/96

By MANDI MASHAYI

(16)

The Inkatha Freedom Party is to effect a major reshuffle of its elected representatives at the party's annual conference this weekend, party sources said yesterday.

With several provincial representatives set to leave politics over the next few weeks, there are openings in the provincial legislature and the provincial executive.

It has already been agreed within party structures that Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane will move to KwaZulu Natal to fill the gap left by outgoing Finance MEC Senzele Mhlingu.

There are also reports that Ngubane is being groomed for the premiership of the province.

The IFP's national council has mandated IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KwaZulu Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose to finalise the redeployment of people.

The theme of the conference is "Leadership and democracy by the people for the people: the challenges of structuring for the road ahead".

The conference will also look critically at the IFP's position on the South African political scene.

NP, Inkatha pledge informal co-operation

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and NP leader FW de Klerk yesterday ruled out a formal alliance between the parties in the immediate future but said "informal co-operation" would continue in KwaZulu-Natal.

Buthelezi said after a meeting with De Klerk in Ulundi that co-operation between the parties, as occurred during the drafting of KwaZulu-Natal's constitution, would continue in a bid to reach consensus on "fundamental issues". De Klerk said co-operation could take place on issues such as stronger powers for provinces, the death penal-

ty and abortion. A formal alliance was not discussed.

An NP source said the NP would discuss an alliance with the IFP at its national conference next weekend. The IFP would hold similar discussions at its national conference this weekend, though it has the option of an alliance with the ANC.

Buthelezi said suggestions that the IFP would merge with the ANC were "absolutely laughable". The parties had started a peace initiative in KwaZulu-Natal and were trying to ensure that it was not "aborted".

De Klerk reiterated the NP's stance that it would return to the government

of provincial unity in KwaZulu-Natal once the provincial constitution was certified by the Constitutional Court, if the constitution allowed for continued multiparty participation.

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose said he would leave the seat vacated by NP agriculture MEC George Bartlett unoccupied until the NP took a final decision on whether it wanted to rejoin government. Education and culture MEC Vincent Zulu (IFP) was in the meantime also acting as agriculture MEC. Observers pointed out that if Mdlalose filled the seat now he would be constitutionally bound to give it to the ANC.

Buthelezi, De Klerk agree to carry on 'informal cooperation'

NATIONAL Party leader FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi have agreed to continue "informal cooperation" in KwaZulu-Natal.

The two leaders held talks in Ulundi in the north of the province yesterday, fuelling speculation about an imminent NP/IFP alliance.

The meeting was attended by senior

(11B) (20) *Stewart 24/7/96*
NP and IFP officials, including KwaZulu-Natal NP leader Danie Schutte and IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

According to a joint statement issued yesterday afternoon, the meeting focused on the implications of the NP's withdrawal from the Government of National Unity and eight of the country's nine provincial governments.

"Mr de Klerk indicated that the NP

may participate in the government of provincial unity, depending on the certification or otherwise of the KwaZulu-Natal constitution," the statement said.

Mr de Klerk emphasised the NP's withdrawal from the provincial government did not indicate a hostile attitude towards the IFP, but rested on the issue of principle relating to the new constitution of the Republic of South Africa." - Sapa.

IFP position in GNU still unclear (11b)

By THAMI NGIDI

Senior Inkatha Freedom Party officials cautiously quashed speculation last night that the organisation would decide to pull out of the Government of National Unity this weekend.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane dismissed speculation over the withdrawal as "unnecessary" and instead said he was not allowed to talk about issues still to be deliberated on by the IFP's general conference.

Jiyane, however, denied that top leaders had already taken a decision on the issue, and that they merely needed this to be ratified by the conference, which is being held at the Eman-dleni/Matleng youth camp until tomorrow.

"There is no decision to pull out of the GNU, even if that might be discussed at the conference. No such decision has been taken," said Jiyane.

As hundreds of singing delegates gathered in Ulundi, there was speculation that the conference theme, "Leadership and democracy by the people, for the people: the challenges of structuring for the road ahead", spelt major reshuffles in the IFP's leadership positions.

Senior sources have indicated that Philip Powell will take over security and safety from Premier Frank Mdlalose, and Dr Ben Ngubane is said to be returning to KwaZulu Natal as finance MEC while incumbent Senzele Mhlungu pursues his business interests.

The highlight of today's programme will be highlighted by the presidential address delivered by Mangosuthu Buthelezi followed by the annual report to be read by Jiyane.

96/12/77
8 Nov 27/12/96

Buthelezi threatens to purge Inkatha's leadership

(118) ST 28/9/96

By CRAIG DOONAN

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi cracked the whip yesterday, threatening a purge of his party's leadership — but stopping short of criticising secretary general, Dr Ziba Jiyane.

In a hard-hitting address to the IFP's annual general conference in Ulundi, he warned that the party was not a "safe haven" for people with no constituencies and those who were "of no value to our political struggle".

He said he was particularly disappointed with MPs who had not pulled their weight in the recent local government election campaign.

His party had no time for those who wanted to be involved in "part-time politics".

"The time has also come to cut off our dead branches. Those who want to be in politics on a part-time basis, as an extramural activity, should not claim the right of political leadership."

Buthelezi said the IFP could also not tolerate internal indiscipline, personal agendas, infighting and the undermining of colleagues.

He stopped short of naming members of the decision-making national council who, instead of supporting decisions, to censure those who breached party policy, rallied behind them.

"It is my intention to ensure that there will be no tolerance within the IFP for anyone who does not conduct his or her personal or political life to the highest standards expected of the servants of the people," he said.

His warning was an apparent reference to urban-based white MPs who failed to deliver meaningful support for the IFP in the local poll.

Earlier, the IFP had said it would take a hard look at the role and functions of the secretary general's post and his office.

Buthelezi yesterday reiterated his concern at the performance of the head office, from where Jiyane has been trying to restructure the party into a formidable modern democratic force. He has been blamed by some for the IFP's dismal election showing in urban centres.

Jiyane, once a rising star



ZIBA JIYANE
No blue-eyed boy

in the party and tipped to succeed Buthelezi, has been facing an onslaught from a party faction which says he is too ambitious.

In a report delivered later, Jiyane proposed that each MP and senator be given an office to consult with supporters in recesses. He said some structures complained of a lack of service from their leaders, who may, in future have to work about 30 hours in their offices or face being reported to Buthelezi.

Buthelezi, who has openly criticised party leaders before, said the IFP's struggle for freedom, pluralism and liberation was more important than any individual.

Its brief would not be tarnished by "those who are in the struggle because of self-interest or personal ambition".

He also announced an imminent shake-up among provincial and national MPs. He and Kwazulu Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose, the party's national chairman, would consider a reshuffle to strengthen the provincial power base.

Earlier, he said Inkatha hardliner and strategist Walter Felgate would move from the national assembly to the provincial parliament, as would Arts Minister Ben Ngubane.

Senator Ruth Rabinowitz would go to the national assembly, and Senator Naren Singh would receive a provincial parliamentary post.

A reshuffle of the IFP's Kwazulu Natal cabinet positions is also in the offing, after Finance Minister Senzele Mhlungu's recent resignation.

IFP conference uncovers dissatisfaction with Jiyane

Farouk Chothia

ULUNDI — Deep divisions in the hierarchy of the IFP emerged yesterday at the party's national conference as members debated reducing the powers of secretary-general Ziba Jiyane, who was blamed for the party's poor election performance.

It also emerged that the party was likely to take up the offer from British consultants Ian Greer & Associates to retain their services free of charge until the year end to play a key role in restructuring the party.

IFP MP Walter Felgate told about 2 000 delegates that the party had realised it would not be able to do well in the 1999 general elections organised through a "centralised head office". The office falls under Jiyane's control.

"We have been paying attention to the restructuring of the party, the role of the secretary-general, the relationship between national and provincial structures and increased responsibili-

ty which will be devolved to provinces," Felgate said.

IFP sources said that, in heated behind-the-scenes debate, Jiyane was blamed for the party's poor election performance. They said Jiyane strongly denied the charges. He had made a bid for more powers and his proposal was not well received. There were bound to be checks and balances over his powers, the sources said.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was now to lead a commission to review Jiyane's role and how the party should be restructured.

IFP national chairman Frank Mdalose said there was a "long history of trouble" in the secretary-general's office in terms of personnel and duties. He said he would hold meetings with youth and womens' brigade leaders to discuss party restructuring.

Joint meetings would also be held with Jiyane, he said.

Continued on Page 2

IFP conference

Continued from Page 1

One source said it would not have come as a surprise if the moderate Jiyane had offered the conference his resignation. Jiyane blamed the failure of IFP MPs and particularly ministers to be accountable to voters for the party's poor performance.

He said only 30% of MP's had "bothered" to submit reports to him on the work they were doing. To address the "critically important issue" of accountability, he wanted ministers and MPs to spend a minimum of 20 hours each month at constituency offices.

Ian Greer & Associates director Ian said his consultancy was offering its services free of charge to the IFP to help place it on a sound footing.

He said he had "fallen in love" with the party. It was understood that Felgate was behind employing his services for the local elections at a reported cost of R2m, which Jiyane was believed to have opposed. Buthelezi invited Greer to the conference.

IFP Gauteng legislature leader Musa Myeni accused IFP Gauteng chairman Dietmar Lang of squandering funds. However, Buthelezi stopped Myeni, saying he should not "open a can of worms" at the conference's open session as it would not help the party improve its image.

Hardliners tighten the reins at IFP indaba

CT 29/7/96

ULUNDI: Inkatha emerged from its national congress this weekend with its hardliners firmly in the driver's seat after secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane and other moderates were rapped over the knuckles publicly by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Early indications that a new power bloc had emerged from the IFP's congress in Ulundi came when first the IFP's executive body — the national council — and then Buthelezi questioned the role of Jiyane and the party's head office in Durban.

Once the heir-apparent to Buthelezi, Jiyane has suddenly found himself out of favour with the IFP leader.

The imminent return of hard-liner Mr Walter Felgate and a proposal to restructure the party could see Jiyane out of a job.

Jiyane and Felgate's relationship has never been cordial.

The two clashed repeatedly and, publicly, at the KwaZulu-Natal constitutional talks during which Jiyane encouraged conciliation rather than confrontation with other parties in the legislature.

Felgate, who, with senator Mr Naren Singh and Dr Ben Ngubane, is to take up a seat in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature, gave notice to the congress yesterday that a restructuring could see the party move from a highly-centralised organisation (with Jiyane as current head) to one based on provincial leadership.

Felgate said the national council would look in the next few months at changing the IFP's constitution and the way it operated.

Jiyane publicly apologised for the shortcomings and weaknesses his office had shown and which had affected the IFP's performance in local government elections.

Buthelezi, in one of the toughest party speeches he has made, gave notice that saboteurs in the party would no longer be tolerated by the organisation. He publicly accused members of the national council of disloyalty and duplicity.

● The KwaZulu-Natal provincial government was preparing to challenge central government control of policing in the province, Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Any government could not be expected to effectively maintain law and order without powers of policing, he told journalists at the end of the IFP's conference.

Buthelezi was reacting to criticisms directed at Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose that there was no government in the province. — Political Staff, Sapa

Jiyane in battle for survival against IFP hardliners

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
AND **JUSTICE MALALA**

Ulundi - IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane is facing a tough battle for political survival in the IFP, with his powers said to be considerably curbed in a major shake-up in the party.

Jiyane, once a rising star in the IFP hierarchy, is said to have fallen victim to the party's restructuring process, which is being driven by hardliners.

The party decided at its annual conference in Ulundi at the weekend that the role of the secretary-general should be reviewed and power be devolved to provincial offices.

Another move which will rob Jiyane of power is the redeployment to the KwaZulu Natal legislature of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology



Ziba Jiyane ... criticised.

Minister Ben Ngubane and IFP hardliner Walter Felgate.

They are to spearhead a party rebuilding programme, which will encroach on some of Jiyane's prime functions.

Jiyane came in for some

harsh criticism at the conference, with some blaming him for the IFP's poor showing in urban areas in the recent local government election.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi levelled a veiled attack on Jiyane, effectively blaming him for weaknesses in the party's structures.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose also hit out at Jiyane and said there had been a "long history of trouble" in the secretary-general's office.

Jiyane defended his performance and said a lot of problems arose out of the failure of IFP MPs and ministers to keep in touch with voters. He said only 30% of MPs had submitted reports to him.

IFP insiders indicated that there had also been criticism of Jiyane during private national

council meetings. Jiyane had also tried unsuccessfully to get his powers increased in order for him to do his job effectively.

Another battle that Jiyane lost was over the retention of British consultants Ian Greer and Associates, whom the party agreed to continue using.

Justifying the move to review the secretary-general's role, Walter Felgate said it was aimed at "strengthening and rationalising the party".

"We need to strengthen provincial structures so that we can be a truly federal party."

Buthelezi will head the commission set up to look into the role of the secretary-general's office.

Ngubane is expected to step into the shoes of finance MEC Senzele Mhlungu, who is leaving politics for business.

(11B) Star 29/7/96

Inkatha Gauteng chairman Lang faces new challenge from old rival

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
AND **JUSTICE MALALA**

Ulundi.—A simmering leadership feud in the Inkatha Freedom Party in Gauteng broke out into the open yesterday when allegations of corruption, nepotism and spying were levelled at provincial chairman Dietmar Lang.

The accusations were made by provincial secretary Musa Myeni before 1 500 delegates at the IFP's national conference in Ulundi.

Speaking in Zulu, which Lang does not understand, Myeni claimed money had been collected from 29 000 squatters in Soshanguve for houses which never materialised.

He also accused Lang of

placing bugging devices in the IFP's office in Johannesburg, ostensibly to spy on his rivals. He also claimed that Lang had hired his "live-in mistress" as his secretary at the Pretoria office without advertising the post.

Lang was elected provincial chairman last year in a bitter three-way race between himself, Myeni and MP Themba Khosa. Myeni claimed that since his election Lang had not called a single meeting of his executive and he (Myeni) had had to fulfil that function.

In his own defence Lang called for a commission of inquiry into the matter. National chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the IFP National Council would start an investigation as soon as possible.

(116) Star 29/7/96

IFP hints at discarding post

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane had suggested, at a closed meeting of the IFP national council on Friday, he was willing to relinquish his post if this would help make the party a well-oiled machine for the 1999 elections, IFP sources said yesterday.

The sources said Jiyane made the offer against the backdrop of hints by the IFP old guard, including hardliner Walter Felgate, that the secretary-general's post be discarded. However, Jiyane believed the IFP should retain a secretary-general who would be involved in democratising and building the party.

Jiyane could not be reached for comment yesterday, while Felgate declined to confirm or deny that Jiyane had offered to resign.

The sources said some leaders felt there was no need for a secretary-general. The post did not exist after Oscar Dhlomo quit in 1990, but was recreated

when Jiyane joined the party in 1994.

Felgate said that the IFP should move away from a "centralised" head office, which falls under Jiyane. He declined to say yesterday whether he wanted the post scrapped.

It was understood that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would lead a commission to define the secretary-general's role and the restructuring process within the party. The IFP national council would then submit amendments to the constitution.

One source said Jiyane would have to decide soon whether "to fight on".

Felgate said Jiyane had done a "lot of hard work". However, impetus had to be given to the process of making provinces more autonomous on issues such as the management of funds.

The sources said Jiyane merely wanted MPs' parliamentary allowances for constituency work channelled to his office. Felgate and treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer wanted control of the funds.

DEAN LITC

IFP's Jiyane hits back at 'ignorant' Felgate

Farouk Chothia

(11B) BD 31/7/96
DURBAN — IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane accused IFP hardliner Walter Felgate yesterday of expressing "confused views" from an "ignorant" position when he attacked the party's head office at its national conference at the weekend.

Jiyane's comments highlighted escalating tensions in the IFP leadership. The IFP old guard, led by Felgate, tried at the conference to slash Jiyane's powers, blaming him for the party's poor showing in urban areas in the KwaZulu-Natal municipal elections.

Jiyane said he had the overwhelm-

ing support of conference delegates and his secretary-general's report had been "enthusiastically endorsed". The report criticised the lack of accountability of IFP MPs and ministers.

After the endorsement, Jiyane said Felgate had risen in "bad taste" to express "his own confused views", and had criticised the head office from a "position of ignorance".

Felgate had said the IFP should move away from a "centralised" head office, and that provincial structures should be made more autonomous on issues such as the management of funds. The IFP national council would amend the party's constitution to bring

about necessary changes, he said.

Jiyane said Felgate's views could not be regarded as those of the conference, as he was not part of a grassroots structure and was not involved in any grassroots activity. The party's democratically elected structures were "very happy" with his (Jiyane's) performance, Jiyane said.

He declined to comment on his future in the IFP.

There is growing speculation that he is considering stepping down as secretary-general.

Jiyane said he had been the IFP's

Continued on Page 2

Jiyane (11B)

BD 31/7/96
Continued from Page 1

election campaign chairman. However, the party's portfolio committee on constitutional and legislative affairs, chaired by Felgate, had taken charge of the campaign, while Felgate had said he would run the campaign in Durban. Felgate and British consultants Ian Greer & Associates, whom Felgate had reportedly hired, were now blaming him for the election failure.

Reacting to IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose's assertion that there was a "long history of trouble" in the secretary-general's office in terms of personnel and duties, Jiyane said the comment was not an attack but a reference to the fact that the office was understaffed and inexperienced.

The office needed to be empowered, and this would enable it to empower provincial structures, Jiyane said. To achieve this, funds were needed.

The IFP was short of funds and had to develop a healthier funding base in the private sector.

THE IFP national conference held at the weekend signalled that the party has failed to meet the challenge of transforming itself into a party which can flourish in democratic SA. Rather than mapping out a strategy to capture the crucial black urban vote, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi went hunting for scapegoats for the party's dismal showing in local government elections.

He turned his knife on the party's best hope: secretary-general Ziba Jiyane, and opened the way for his greatest liability, hardliner Walter Felgate, to strengthen his position. Jiyane was humiliated at the conference: national chairman Frank Mdlalose, seemingly at Buthelezi's request, forced Jiyane to read his speech on Saturday evening in mid-stream. The official reason? It was close to midnight, and too late to continue.

Yet, on another occasion at the conference, Buthelezi complained that the single day allocated for meetings of the national council was often too short a time frame for effective discussions.

During the days of the old central committee, Buthelezi recalled, the commitment of IFP leaders to their work was demonstrated by a willingness to sit for two and even three days.

It was a small but revealing example that Buthelezi, who is wont to hark back to the past, lacks the capacity to look forward and lead the IFP into a new era. At conferences each year, the IFP promises to broaden its appeal. It changed its name around the time of the 1990 reforms, and adopted a new constitution after the 1994 general elections. Yet, little real change is visible from one conference to the next.

As always, delegates gathered this year under a marquee in Ujundi to hear Buthelezi deliver a speech which started in mid-morning and went beyond lunch time. Just before sunset the gathering broke into commissions to discuss different aspects of the speech. The commissions regrouped after dark to report back on proposals they had come up with to push the party forward.

In between further reports and debate, the resolutions committee gathered to draft resolutions for adoption. The resolutions by and large reflected the "line" laid down by Buthelezi in his opening address. They were unanimously adopted. But there are sometimes surprises. For instance, Felgate brought in-

IFP conference failed main objective: how to win more votes

FAROUK CHOTHIA

(116) PD 18/96

to the open the acrimonious debate on Jiyane's future which was being waged behind the scenes.

The conference also provides observers with an opportunity to pick up indications of who is in or out of favour with Buthelezi. IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela, who previously used to sit on the leaders' platform, was relegated to sharing seats with ordinary national council members this year.

The conference is a time to praise Buthelezi. The national chairman for 18 years, Frank Mdlalose, has mastered the art.

In the opening remarks of a six-page speech, Mdlalose said: "I would like to take this opportunity ... to again dedicate myself to the service of the great leader of our nation and

SA who is being moved forward step by step by history itself to become the President of SA—Prince Dr MG Buthelezi." Later: "The president of the IFP is only as powerful as we, the IFP, make him. I intend adding power to the president during the next two years." And: "In rededicating myself to the service of the president, I am asking you, the members of the party, to back me in what I am doing." And: "It is a hard road that I have been walking for the past 18 years, and the thing that has kept me going and inspired is the vision of us finally installing our president, Prince MG Buthelezi, as president of this country." And: "I walk tall in the service of my president because I serve the honesty and decency, and I serve the political voracity, of the Prince of KwaPhindangane."

These are some, not all, the praises sung by Mdlalose. In contrast, Jiyane did the minimum required. He started by addressing his excellency, the president, and gave Buthelezi another mention only at the end of his speech by thanking the "president for continuing to provide the support, leadership and fatherly understanding and forbearance that he showed in this ending 21st year of our party".

It is against this backdrop that Mdlalose's position is secure, and Jiyane's under threat. Jiyane refuses to be a praise singer, or to be submissive to whites like Felgate who do Buthelezi's bidding.

Jiyane poses a threat to such white members: he wants an elected leadership to emerge as a prerequisite to the party gaining credibility among urban black voters, while the likes of Felgate derive their power from Buthelezi's patronage.

A strong democratic culture also threatens Buthelezi: the possibility, no matter how remote, of a leadership challenge exists. Two of the most promising black IFP leaders left in controversial circumstances. Shusiso Bengu, now Education Minister, quit in the late 1970s, and Oscar Dhlomo, now a businessman, quit in 1990. Like Jiyane, both were secretaries-general.

IFP sources say that each time a black leader emerges to build a power base removed from the patronage of Buthelezi, white members—who otherwise also engage in their own power struggles to be closest to the chief—gang up to "suppress" him.

The dominance of Buthelezi and his white colleagues explains why the IFP, in spite of being in power in

former KwaZulu for over a decade, continues to lack efficient and experienced MPs and MECs.

IFP sources say that the white "old guard" always seeks to control black leaders, which explains why known arch foe Felgate and party treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer are now united in the bid to "castrate" Jiyane.

A fight over control of the party purse strings is being waged. Jiyane wants the constituency allowances of MPs to be channelled to his office, but Konigkramer insists that the money should come under his control.

To hire a car, the sources say, Jiyane would have to make a request to Konigkramer's office. IFP structures which now fall under Jiyane would be forced to receive funding from Konigkramer.

The sources say that Jiyane threatened to resign immediately ahead of the elections, resulting in him temporarily winning the funding fight. But the battle was reopened at the weekend, and this round went against Jiyane. As a result, he is said to have again raised the prospect of his resignation.

The sources say Jiyane's office had a mere R500 000 budget for the election campaign. Yet Felgate was allowed to hire British consultants Ian Greer & Associates at a cost of more than R2m for the campaign. Party insiders believe Felgate is even considering having the secretary-general's post scrapped, and replacing it with an administrative executive made up of "professionals" (Ian Greer?) and a political executive (Felgate?).

But sources say without Jiyane there is little hope of winning new votes. "Do you think Felgate, who before the 1994 elections got us into alliances with the white right-wing, is capable of attracting a single black voter?" one IFP leader asks.

The sources confirm the perception that the search for a scapegoat for the disappointing election performance led to the conference losing sight of its main objective: how to win new voters?

If such a forward-looking mood had prevailed, questions such as whether closer relations with the ANC should be forged to increase access to urban areas might have dominated the deliberations.

Also resolutions would have gone beyond pre-election pledges to "project the IFP into all interest groups and networks...." to answering how this could be done.



JIYANE



FELGATE

IFP must prove its maturity over next three years

By **REGINALD MASHAYIWA**
Political Reporter

Traditionally, Inkatha Freedom Party conferences have always been tense affairs, always pregnant with expectations that they would end with some dramatic decisions that would cause ripples on the political landscape.

Last weekend, the IFP went into its annual conference amid much speculation that it would emerge with dramatic announcements about its position in the Government of National Unity, a possible return to the constitution-making process and a decision about jumping into bed with either the NP or the ANC.

Instead, these topics were hardly touched upon and the estimated 2 000 delegates who had gathered in Ulundi simply deliberated on rebuilding the party infrastructure.

It was, perhaps, a sign of growing maturity on the IFP's part that the debate seems to be moving beyond the party's dissatisfaction with the current process of transition. The IFP used the conference to do a much needed self-introspection and emerged convinced that it has to drastically overhaul its operations in order to improve its standing on the South African political scene.

Unlike most of its competitors, who spent the past six years adjusting to the

transition and preparing for a new order, the IFP had simply buried its head in the KwaZulu Natal sand and refused to map out a path for itself. When April 1994 came, the IFP was not mentally or logistically equipped to venture out of the KwaZulu homeland and behave like the national party that it purports to be.

Without a sophisticated research capacity and clear policies and programmes, the party has over the past two years operated as a single-issue outfit. Its sole platform has been fighting for greater powers for KwaZulu Natal and the only time it has diverted its attention from this was an opportunity to offer a knee-jerk criticism of its opponent, the ANC.

Two years into a democratic order, the IFP now finds itself static and with its support base unable to grow beyond KwaZulu Natal's rural hinterland. It has made very little inroads into the black urban working class, the most significant voting block. The support it received from some white and Indian communities in the 1994 elections has evaporated and in the local government elections these voters threw their weight behind the NP.

The IFP has, therefore, failed to move

beyond being anything more than a Zulu peasant party and, consequently, the business community that once regarded Buthelezi as the torch-bearer of free-market principles has turned its back on the IFP. Much to Buthelezi's chagrin, the corporate sector is now betting its money on the ANC and he duly castigated them for this at the weekend.

But the party seems to have come to the realisation that its position in the political mainstream is not guaranteed, and it will need to work hard to retain its support and make any gains in future elections.

There is now a sense of urgency in IFP ranks that it needs a total revamp and refocusing of its message.

With the advice of conservative analyst and close Buthelezi friend Laurence Schlemmer, the party has decided to begin its preparations for the 1999 elections immediately. Schlemmer and British consultants Ian Greer and Associates told the IFP last week that it needs to immediately bolster its party structures and create a functioning election machinery if it hopes to make a significant impact in the 1999 elections.

Ahead of the 1999 poll, one of the IFP's main pre-occupations will be maximising its bargaining chips in the current re-align-

ment frenzy taking place on the political scene. The IFP has been the flavour of the month lately with both the ANC and the National Party trying to woo it into some kind of "alliance".

NP leader F W de Klerk would love to get the IFP on his side to bolster the army ranged against the ANC, while the ANC wants to do all in its power to push the NP on to the margins.

In this equation the IFP has been the prize catch and both have spared little in their quest to prevent the IFP from falling into the other's camp.

The IFP itself has played this game wisely, refusing to commit itself to either side or to be seen to be drifting either way. After the recent local government elections, in Durban, the IFP aligned itself with the ANC which has won a convincing victory and the result was that it secured itself the deputy mayoralty of the most powerful city in the province. But in Richards Bay where the ANC had failed to get a clear majority, the IFP sided with the Nats to keep the ANC out of power.

The next three years will prove to be testing ones in the IFP's 21-year history. The way it plays its cards in the re-alignment game and its success at refocusing itself will determine whether it remains a powerful force even after its leader has gone.

■ *Tomorrow: The towering figure of Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the IFP.*

Party now finds itself in a static position

Whites win in IFP's political-muti ritual

MTC 2-8/8/96 (NB)

White strategists were the main beneficiaries at the IFP's national conference, reports **Ann Eveleth**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party stood on the brink of the 20th century last weekend, but its leadership took one look into the future and scurried back to the 18th-century domain of kings Shaka and Cetshwayo.

Joining forces with conservative British advisers mired in the Imperial mythology of the great warrior Zulu nation which defeated the mighty "redcoats", the IFP's national conference signalled a rejection of modern democratic reforms and set confrontation as its "quintessential political soul".

Shirking the soul-searching required for the party to set its feet on solid political ground for the next elections — and to chart a course for peaceful coexistence with the African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal — the IFP rallied around the strategies which have so far led it down the path of decline. Many of the party's 1995 conference resolutions were repeated and, with a wave of leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stick, failures were turned into victories of the future.

The main beneficiaries of this political-muti ritual were the IFP's white strategists — particularly constitutional negotiator Walter Felgate, who emerged from the conference stronger than ever.

The loser, on whom the party's electoral woes were blamed, was secretary general Ziba Jiyane. His modernising efforts were deemed insulting largely because the co-product of his *modus operandi* would be a far-reaching democratisation that would threaten the powers behind the party's throne.

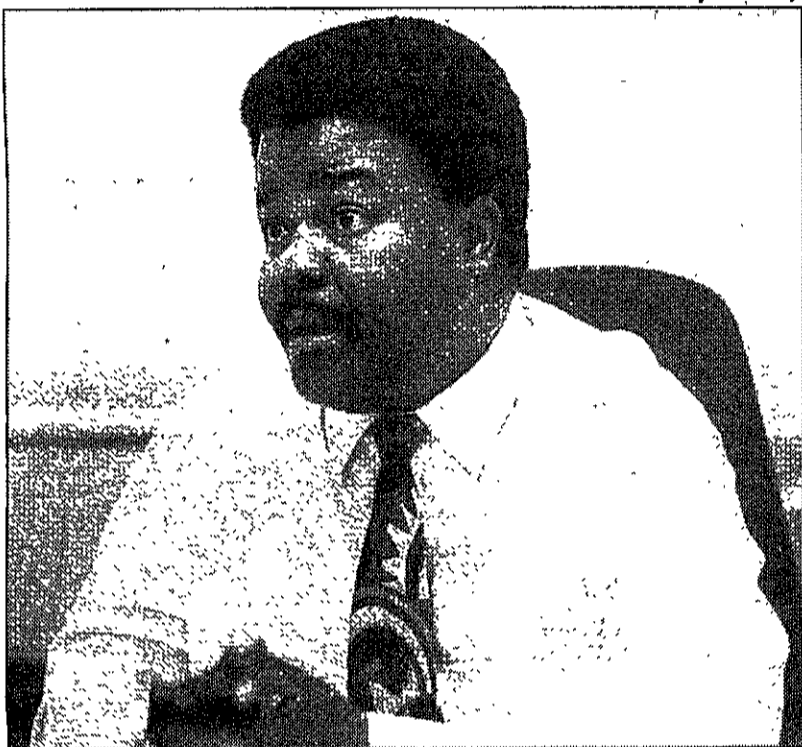
Jiyane's current battle for political survival closely mirrors the struggles which preceded the resignation of his two predecessors, Sibusiso Bengu and Oscar Dhlomo.

Patting itself on the back for the "wisdom" of its Constitutional Assembly boycott, despite the fact that this has meant failure to influence the national Constitution, the IFP resolved again to wage its battles against the central government from its "KwaZulu-Natal institutional base".

The conference called on the provincial legislature to pursue "a proactive legislative and administrative programme ... to implement the provincial constitution and secure and exercise the maximum degree of autonomy to which it is constitutionally entitled".

Like a broken record, the IFP yet again lashed out at the central government for its failure to grant the provinces exclusive policing powers, and at the ANC for its failure to honour the 1994 agreement on international mediation.

More ominously — despite a per-



Ziba Jiyane: Struggling for political survival

functory resolution "endorsing" the recent peace initiative — the party set both these points as preconditions for the continuation of the peace effort. Buthelezi said the initiative remained an "empty shell" while the ANC worried about the IFP-controlled province developing its own private army.

In fact, the peace process which had generated widespread optimism in the province recently hardly featured at the conference. Buthelezi only mentioned it on the last page of his speech — and then in the context of rejecting the "exaggerated propaganda about the so-called merger" between the ANC and IFP.

Instead of grappling with the changing domestic politics, and calling on the party's largest official gathering to help foster peace and thus transform its volatile image, the IFP put its fate in the hands of a new group of foreigners. Staunchly defending British consultants Ian Greer and Associates

against criticism that they had failed to understand the electorate, Buthelezi lashed out at members of his own party for leaking the criticism to the press. "It is a stinking lie by cranks in our own party who are disloyal to the IFP and will stop at nothing to demonise the party to which they owe a living," he said.

Like Greer and Felgate, Buthelezi focused blame for the party's poor election performance on Jiyane's office. He said it had "not succeeded in developing adequate programmes to project the IFP into communities".

Although Felgate's strategy had netted the party few tangible gains, and included huge concessions to the ANC on the provincial constitution, Buthelezi rallied to his defence. "When compared to our high aspirations, [it] falls far short ... however, when considered by itself, the KwaZulu-Natal constitution represents a gigantic



Walter Felgate: Stronger than ever

achievement in the struggle for liberation." He did not mention that it was Jiyane, in the end, who secured an all-inclusive deal with the ANC, whereas Felgate could not.

While Buthelezi decried the "lack of internal discipline, personal agendas, infighting and undermining of colleagues" which had plagued party structures, he made no reference to the invidious role of Felgate's Portfolio on Constitutional and Legislative Affairs (Pocola), or its electoral failures after wresting control of the election machinery from Jiyane's head office. Felgate's bungling of the Durban campaign, where the party secured barely 12% of the vote, was not mentioned.

While Buthelezi recognised the

importance of delivery in extending the party's support, he blamed the central government for "emasculating" the province, ignoring the millions of rands in unspent development funds in the province's coffers.

When he cited the need to "cut off dead branches" and said the party must "be driven by leaders with true constituencies", his comments appeared to be directed at the new breed of white and Indian parliamentarians who had failed to deliver votes — partly out of frustration at being told to "march by the generals of Pocola". His comments did not focus on the tier of traditional deadwood blamed by party moderates for the provincial government's lethargy, nor

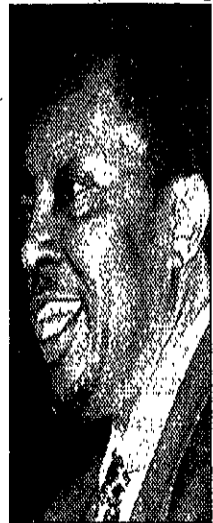
on the clique of rootless white advisers on whom he has relied.

Jiyane's bold plans to tie power to grassroots work were subverted into the tried-and-failed pledge of the party's old-style stalwarts to "restructure". Most of the proposed changes involved a renewed effort by Felgate and treasurer general Arthur Konigk to wrest control of party finances.

Wrapped in this internal bickering, the IFP failed dismally to review the image it presented to the electorate during June's provincial elections. Greer's Thatcherite Cold War rhetoric failed to convince voters to go to the polls, and his Cosatu-bashing lyrics did not win the party any support among black voters in ANC-supporting townships, but Buthelezi's conference speech still bore Greer's unmistakable influence as he attacked Cosatu for being the "labour aristocracy" responsible for the woes of South Africa's unemployed workers.

What Greer had failed to realise was that most unemployed workers depend on workers — many of whom belong to Cosatu — for their survival. In his zest to promote global Thatcherism, Greer mistook African extended families for British nuclear families.

Until Buthelezi realises that it is the black leaders within his party who are in tune with the electorate, the IFP stands little chance of building a national profile. The best Greer — or any of the white image-makers whom he has relied on over the decades — can hope to do is attempt to resurrect the dual personae which earned him international kudos in the 1980s while he was embroiled in a vicious civil war back home. But that will be much more difficult to sustain in an integrated South Africa.



Been there before: Sibusiso Bengu

succeeded in developing adequate programmes to project the IFP into communities".

Although Felgate's strategy had netted the party few tangible gains, and included huge concessions to the ANC on the provincial constitution, Buthelezi rallied to his defence. "When compared to our high aspirations, [it] falls far short ... however, when considered by itself, the KwaZulu-Natal constitution represents a gigantic

Democratise to survive?

THE answers to the Inkatha Freedom Party's problems will remain illusive until Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi allows greater democracy within the party, argues **DONWALD PRESSLY**.

IN THE wake of its municipal election setback, the ruling party in KwaZulu-Natal has quietly licked its wounds while pledging to re-evaluate its mission and its future.

While some in the Inkatha Freedom Party's leadership — including the man who headed the election machinery, Local Government Minister Peter Miller — have been at pains to point out that a municipal poll is not necessarily a referendum of political support, others have acknowledged that the loss of minority votes (Indian and white) and its retreat to a rural poor base is worrying in the context of its own desire to remain a political force.

Its share of the provincial vote in the June 26 municipal poll slipped about five percent from just over 50% in the 1994 election, which is attributed largely to that vote being shared by the National Party (which took the lion's share) and the Democratic Party.

Secretary-general Ziba Jiyane has won support for his proposal that the IFP needs to elicit an independent study to discover "what went wrong", including its wipeout in Maritzburg and poor urban showing generally, and what needs to change. "We will look at everything," he said.

Dr Alexander Johnston, head of the University of Natal politics department believes Inkatha needs to consider carefully whether the municipal election verdict can be compared with the 1994 elections and whether the support lost to other parties has been permanently or temporarily alienated. He said white voters may simply prefer voting for a white ward candidate in the area where they live, but could again happily vote for Inkatha and against the ANC in the next provincial election.

One of the party's most vociferous opponents, ANC provincial MP Dumisani Makhaye, makes no bones about his belief that Inkatha has a problem which runs to its core — it is not a tactical or leadership problem. "The IFP must redefine its mission in history, it must begin not only in word but in action to find its place within the broad framework of national liberation."

He believes that any party that hoped

(116) CT 2/8/96

to represent the black constituency had to move away from championing the interests of the feudal lords and traditional structures "because historically peasants have always been at loggerheads with them".

The IFP's 0,7% vote in Gauteng (and complete wipeout in other provinces) in the last November municipal poll was proof that "they have reached a ceiling within the ethnic vote".

Many commentators believe that there is a failure by the leadership to adapt to change, that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has suppressed internal dissent and, thereby, stifled internal debate.

National Party provincial spokesman Peter van Pletzen said the municipal poll — which showed a marginal growth for his party — was proof that the national picture was shifting towards "a two-party" political system. While it was not yet time, he believed, for a single party in opposition to the ANC combining the NP and IFP, it was the right time to consider tactical alliances with a view to achieving a provincial unity initiative in the longer term.

The obstacles to unity were that the party was beholden to "the boss". Van Pletzen believes this contributed to its implacable stances — particularly over constitutional issues — and a perception of "a farce of internal democracy". While this may not be "on purpose", it had become part of the political culture of the movement.

Johnston believes that the "high constitutional agenda" of the party had deflected its energies and had not proved to be electorally attractive. Its highlighting of the needs of its rural poor black vote may be the recipe of success in the future.

Fellow Natal University academic, Indicator journal editor Antoinette Louw believes the IFP's weaknesses included its desire to move the capital to Ulundi, perceived lack of action of the provincial government and poor track record on policing crime and violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

Perhaps the answer to Inkatha's problems will remain illusive until it takes the advice of a detractor, who wished to remain anonymous: "Democratise the party. Allow people to speak out without fear." He said it was obvious that many IFP rank and file — including MPs and regional ministers — had "good ideas" but they often failed to see the light of day. Perhaps, the biggest test of all will be: "Will Chief Buthelezi allow it?"

□ *Donwald Pressly is the political correspondent of the Mercury.*

Party boss finds himself on Buthelezi's chopping block

(118) ST 4/8/96

By CYRIL MADLALA

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's favourite expression at IFP annual general conferences is that people have been "castrated" — meaning that they have been rendered powerless politically.

If secretary general Ziba Jiyane ever wondered what his leader meant by that, he should have a good idea two weeks from now, when the national council appoints a committee to review the role of his office.

Officially, the task of the committee is to look at all the IFP's structures with a view to transforming the organisation into an "election-winning machine" by 1999.

What Jiyane and other senior leaders in the party know is that the secretary general is extremely vulnerable and is being blamed for the IFP's poor showing in the recent local government elections.

But Jiyane has had it coming for a long time, the only difference now is that forces within the IFP which normally would pull in opposite directions have combined to "castrate" him.

His present duties include overseeing the implementation of party policy and being in charge of national organisation and administration. He has the power to direct and control all IFP national structures and employees and give instructions on any matter affecting the party to any official of the organisation.

He is entitled to ask for reports and information from any party structure or official, excluding Buthelezi and the national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

A founder member of Inkatha and the first national secretary of the Youth Brigade, Jiyane has been confronted with powerful opposition ever since he rejoined the party in 1993. His rapid rise in the organisation has earned him many enemies, particularly those who have not forgotten how he sided with its first secretary general, Sibusiso Bengu, when the latter challenged Buthelezi in the late 1970s.

Jiyane subsequently left the country to join the PAC, and rejoined the IFP in June 1993. Within a month he was appointed to the central committee executive, and became



ZIBA JIYANE: Uncertain future

national spokesman. Five months later he was appointed IFP national political director and during the constitutional negotiations in 1993 was a legal and political adviser to the Kwazulu government and Inkatha delegations. He became secretary general the following year.

Among Jiyane's enemies are the leaders with solid backing in their areas, such as Mandla Shabalala from Lindelani, north of Durban, who has consolidated so much support that he single-handedly delivered a huge constituency to the IFP.

A few months ago Jiyane clashed openly with Shabalala over the latter's instigation of a bus boycott. When Jiyane visited Lindelani shots were fired, allegedly by Shabalala's supporters.

Shabalala subsequently brought the party into disrepute twice, and the national council suspended him from any leadership position in the organisation for two years.

That Jiyane had stepped on sensitive toes was clear at the national conference last weekend, when Buthelezi said: "The image of the IFP has been tarnished on many occasions by IFP members who have not lived up to (our) standards of ethics, responsibility and dignity.

"This problem has been com-

pounded by some of our leaders who, immediately there is talk of disciplining anyone, become the champions of those who come before the national council for disciplinary action."

The second group that Jiyane has to contend with epitomise what is meant when it is claimed that Buthelezi has a hold over people because he dispenses patronage. Most of them are in top positions in the Kwazulu Natal cabinet, the legislature and parliament and their very political existence is owed to Buthelezi.

Clearly not the best people for the job, particularly those in Mdlalose's cabinet, they have failed spectacularly to deliver and would have been sidelined long ago had Mdlalose as premier been able to dispose of them at will.

Jiyane's demand that these ministers and members of parliament get off their backs and start to earn their salaries has not endeared him to many people.

The third bloc in the IFP is represented by Walter Felgate, whose squabbles with Jiyane over who should be blamed for poor showing in the local government elections spilled into the open this week.

This group consists mainly of whites who have brought into the IFP much needed professional skills, expertise and international contacts such as Ian Greer and Associates, who prepared the party for the recent elections.

It is the same element that has landed the IFP with a variety of strange bedfellows and alliances, ranging from local racist right-wingers to foreigners with dubious credentials.

Faced with such opponents, Jiyane stands no chance. As he left for three weeks leave this week, ostensibly for a long-overdue break, he must have realised that the odds were stacked against him.

His battle to transform the IFP into a democratic, vibrant political party with accountable leaders will definitely cost him his job as it is presently defined.

Whether he will soldier on under these circumstances largely depends on whether he is prepared to submit himself to "castration".

Inkatha MP raises a stink with 'fishy' casino scheme

ST 418196
By CRAIG DOONAN

A HUGE row has broken out because an Inkatha MP used his party's letterhead to raise funds for a casino development on Kwazulu Natal's North Coast.

Opposition parties have described the multimillion rand plan as "fishy", questioning the role of MP Kisten Rajoo. New provincial gambling legislation restricts the involvement of members of Parliament in casinos.

Casino industry sources said Rajoo's planned R500-million development due to get under way next year was premature as there were only five licences to be handed out by the IFP-dominated provincial government, which had yet to set up its gambling board.

Tobin Prior, the marketing director of Sun International, said Rajoo would have to "extricate himself" from his public office or from the development.

Dave Winter, of the Campaign for an Open Gaming Industry, said: "It's staggering. We condemn any involvement by MPs."

Rajoo, chairman of the Kwazulu Natal Development Company which is backing the project, sent details of his plans to prospective, international and local investors on a document with an Inkatha letterhead.

Asked why he was using his party's name, he said: "I'm an Inkatha MP and we have to provide for our people. We're fighting to develop certain parts of rural Kwazulu Natal. Wherever the IFP has prominence, we'll see that there is development."

This is the second time the IFP has been involved in a row over gambling. The man who piloted the Gambling Bill, former provincial finance minister Senzélé Mhlungu, also has interests in the casino

industry. He resigned as a minister a month ago.

Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi said "the whole thing stinks" and called for an inquiry into the province's gambling legislation.

He said it was strange that Rajoo was involved in the plan when his own party had passed a law stipulating that legislators were not allowed to be linked to gambling.

Roger Burrows, the DP provincial leader, said Rajoo's casino plans should be scrutinised.

The ANC's provincial leader, Jacob Zuma, said he found it "strange" that the casino development was being planned when there had not yet been agreement on licences.

On the Inkatha letterhead, Rajoo states the development company has a 99-year lease on 25ha of prime beachfront property, of pristine quality which has not been disturbed by any development since Creation.

It says the property has been earmarked for:

- A R120-million casino, five-star hotel, motel and cabanas development.
- An R80-million housing project.
- A R30-million fun world, and
- A shopping centre.

Asked if Rajoo's use of IFP letterheads had been sanctioned, party official Walter Felgate said it depended on the nature of the development. "If it's a people's project and will end up being owned by the people, then it can be regarded as an IFP development project, not simply enriching one member."

Satchwell set for Transvaal bench

BD 6/8/96 (113)

Susan Russell

JOHANNESBURG attorney Kathy Satchwell is one of three women lawyers whose names have been put forward for appointment to the bench as judges, Judicial Service Commission chairman and Chief Justice Michael Corbett announced yesterday.

Satchwell, who made a name for herself representing fellow activists during the apartheid era, was the only attorney among the nine names announced by the chief justice yesterday chosen to fill vacancies in four Supreme Court divisions and in the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein.

Nominees for vacancies in the Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division, the Ciskei Division, Natal Provincial Division, Transkei Division and Transvaal Provincial Division as well as two vacancies in the Appellate Division were interviewed by the Judicial Service Commission in Cape Town last week.

Satchwell and another of the women recommended by the commission, senior counsel Geraldine Borchers, will take up two of three vacant posts in the Transvaal Provincial Division.

The third woman, senior advocate Vivien Niles-Duner SC, has been recommended for one of two available posts on the Natal bench.

Transvaal judges Chris Plewman and Ralph Zulman, both serving as Commercial Court judges in the Witwatersrand Local Division, were rec-

ommended for the two vacancies to the Appellate Division.

The third Transvaal nominee announced yesterday was Philip Boruchowitz SC while senior Durban advocate Philip Meskin has been nominated for the second vacancy in Natal.

The commission has also recommended that Sandile Ngcobo be appointed to the vacant post in the Cape.

Advocate M Madlanga, recommended for the vacancy in the Transkei Division, was, at 34, described in legal circles yesterday as probably the youngest appointment to the bench this century.

Association of Law Societies President Michael Pinnock said the nominations were to be welcomed generally, but particularly those of judges Plewman and Zulman, which he described as "richly deserved".

Referring to Satchwell, Pinnock said the appointment of another attorney to the bench, particularly a woman, was also to be welcomed.

Johannesburg Bar Council chairman Dennis Fine SC also welcomed the three new nominations to the Transvaal bench.

He also praised the nomination of Plewman and Zulman to the Appeal Court, describing both judges as "highly respected and experienced".

Fine said Zulman was known for his experience in commercial law while Plewman was known for his experience in intellectual property matters.

Plot to assassinate Jiyane 'foiled'

BD 6/8/96

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said yesterday that a plot to assassinate him had been foiled before the IFP national conference held about 10 days ago.

Reacting to a report on the alleged plot, Jiyane confirmed he had been informed of a meeting held to discuss his assassination and had been given the name of a person allegedly involved.

Jiyane said he had received other death threats, but took the latest information "more seriously". However, the alleged plot was not linked to publicly aired differences with IFP hardliner Walter Felgate over the role of the secretary-general's office, he said.

IFP sources said party members with whom Jiyane had clashed recently over other issues were suspected. The information became available shortly before the conference, and security around Jiyane was stepped up.

Jiyane dismissed speculation that his resignation as secretary-general was imminent, saying he would return to his office after a holiday. He did not know whether his powers as secretary-general were to be reduced.

It was understood that the IFP national council would appoint a commission at a meeting later this month to review Jiyane's powers, and those of other IFP structures, as part of a restructuring effort to place the party on a sound footing for the 1999 elections

Malan talks of training scheme to protect Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent

ARG 7/8/96

(254) (11B)

DURBAN. - A government that cold bloodedly murdered its citizens could never hope to win a war against revolutionary forces, former defence minister Magnus Malan told the Supreme Court here.

General Malan gave evidence yesterday in his defence in the trial in which he and 16 others are charged with the KwaMakhutha massacre on January 21 1987 that left 13 people dead. All the accused pleaded not guilty to murder, attempted murder and conspiracy.

General Malan was questioned by his defence counsel Sam Maritz SC. His evidence took just over two hours. The six other defence teams will have a chance to question General Malan today, and then Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally SC will cross-examine him.

Like the other accused, General Malan has distanced himself completely from the KwaMakhutha

killings. The State alleges that some of the 206 Inkatha supporters trained by military intelligence at the request of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the Caprivi in 1986 carried out the murders.

General Malan told Mr Justice Hugo the government had ordered that Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government be protected, as they had asked.

General Malan said the training was politically sensitive.

The advantage of the training to the government was that a non-violent political organisation was being made stronger.

The project was so important and sensitive that General Malan had wanted to be absolutely certain about what was to be done in terms of training and the paramilitary capacity. He had met Chief Buthelezi at a working breakfast to confirm the plans. Chief Buthelezi said he was very satisfied and asked that his thanks and those of the KwaZulu government be passed to the central government

IFP revamp under spotlight

(118) Star 14/8/96

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

The overhauling of the Inkatha Freedom Party's structures will come under the spotlight at a meeting of its ruling national council this weekend.

The council will deliberate on proposals for the restructuring of the party, and members of the committee which will oversee the process will be appointed.

The restructuring of the party is expected to jeopardise the position of Secretary-General Dr Ziba Jiyane, who is being edged out by a hardline faction, led by constitu-

tional adviser Walter Felgate.

At the meeting, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will appoint the presidential review commission which will drive the restructuring process. The commission will consist of several task groups to look into various aspects of the party's structures and policies.

The council will also set a deadline for the task groups to conclude their work.

It is not clear whether Jiyane will attend the meeting as he is on extended leave and has been advised to keep away from politics during that period.

MPs must disclose financial affairs

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The National Assembly yesterday approved a code of ethics which will compel MPs to disclose their financial affairs — a duty which Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal said would be extended to political parties, provincial parliaments and senior employees of parastatals.

During the special debate on the code in Parliament, Asmal said the intention was to deepen and broaden the duty to disclose.

It would cover the whole question of financial contributions to political parties. The intention was also to extend the duty to more influential public figures, including committee chairmen, provincial MECs and members of provincial legislatures, and senior employees of parastatals.

It was hoped that the new national culture of disclosure would result in the private sector being prepared to be more open about "emoluments, options, benefits and financial interests of its own barons".

All parties supported the code except the IFP, which abstained.

It argued that the ANC would have a majority on the code's monitoring committee by virtue of its majority in Parliament.

Other parties also raised this objection, saying it could lead to political abuse and arguing for a monitoring committee where all parties would be equally represented.

2015/8/96
In reply, Asmal said the text of the code called for decisions to be made by consensus if possible.

He personally would not serve on the committee if he had to follow party instructions.

The code requires the opening of a register of members' interests within 30 days. And 30 days after that all MPs will have to make initial disclosures.

Shares and financial interests in a company, any employer providing remuneration, directorships, consultancies, and financial sponsorships will have to be disclosed.

Any gifts or hospitality with a value of more than R350 and sponsored travel abroad, interests in property and public or private pensions will have to be disclosed.

After adoption of the code, Speaker Frans Ginwala said the assembly could truly congratulate itself on "a major step in setting standards for democratic representatives in SA".

The code will now be debated in the Senate.

The NP, on the opposition benches for the first time in 48 years, immediately accused the ANC of rigging the code of ethics, reports Reuter.

NP members accused the ANC of covering up corruption ranging from misuse of government telephones to interference with the judiciary.

Despite welcoming the code of conduct the NP criticised the rule giving the majority party the casting vote on disciplinary matters.

IFP wants explanation for death of leader

BETHAL — The IFP yesterday demanded an explanation from the SANDF for the shooting of an IFP leader on the road between Bethal and Standerton in Mpumalanga.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said yesterday that party member Petros Ntere Malahlela, 56, was shot dead on Monday during a car chase after his vehicle was hijacked.

Tillett said Malahlela — deputy IFP chairman in Mzinoni township — was hijacked by four armed men in the township at 3pm on Monday. He was apparently bundled into the back of his car before the hijackers drove off in it.

SANDF members and police pursued the car and Malahlela was appar-

2015/8/96 (116)
ently shot and killed when shots were fired at the hijackers.

Tillett said Standerton investigating officers claimed preliminary investigations indicated Malahlela was shot by an SANDF member.

Det-Const Chris Uys of Standerton police said police awaited results of a forensic report about the circumstances of the shooting; it was premature to say the SANDF was responsible.

Tillett said the IFP demanded an explanation from Defence Minister Joe Modise over the shooting.

The IFP was also, he said, considering instituting a civil claim against Modise to be awarded compensation for Malahlela's family. — Sapa.

Decision to suspend MEC stands — IFP

(11B) CP25/8/96

By CHRIS HLONGWA

THE SUSPENSION from the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature of IFP strongman Mandla Shabalala is to be formalised when the legislature meets in September, City Press learnt this week.

A defiant Shabalala — suspended for two years from holding office more than a month ago — has refused to step down and is still receiving his salary as MPL.

He has sought legal advice regarding his suspension and has mobilised supporters to demand his reinstatement.

Eric Ngubane, spokesperson for IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose, said the national council decision to suspend Shabalala stands and the matter only needed to be finalised by the legislature.

“Even when a delegation of Shabalala supporters came to Ulundi to

ask Dr Mdlalose to rescind the decision, the national chairman reiterated the council decision,” said Ngubane.

The Shabalala saga took another turn this week when Mdlalose wrote a lengthy letter in the IFP-aligned *Hanga* newspaper to challenge people who supported Shabalala.

Mdlalose said Shabalala had insulted IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi by taking part in a march through Durban streets on May after a decision was taken that the IFP would not be involved in it.

“After that march IFP leaders met in the national council and Shabalala failed to explain his insolence,” said Mdlalose.

“What has surprised us is that after that we found him speaking on TV and newspapers, brought the IFP into disrepute ... and said he had been elected into the parliament by people from Indelani and will

only withdraw from his position if those people decide

“The truth is that all members of parliament are elected by a system of proportional representation, whereby party leaders compile a list of people to represent the party. It is not through constituencies and Shabalala knows that very well,” wrote Mdlalose.

His letter was a response to a letter that had appeared in *Hanga* two weeks ago

“I appeal to the writer of that letter which appeared in *Hanga* and those who hold the same view, to accept the decision of the national council,” said Mdlalose

Shabalala is known to have boosted support for the party by recruiting thousands of followers.

□ Mdlalose is to announce tomorrow the position Ben Ngubane is to hold in the provincial legislature.

New chairman for IFP caucus

MP Ben Skosana has been appointed chairman of the IFP's parliamentary caucus in place of new Arts and Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali, the party announced yesterday.

□□□

Former political prisoners based in Gauteng will walk down memory lane and reminisce about "the dark days" when they meet at a get-together scheduled for Premier Tokyo Sexwale's house in Houghton tomorrow. They will be briefed on developments of a committee set up to look into the welfare of ex-political prisoners. For

(110) Star 30/8/96
more information, Veronica Munwana can be contacted at 833-1148 or 082 2827-128.

□□□

The Northern Province, one of the poorest provinces in South Africa, received a shot in the arm yesterday when the Development Bank of South Africa announced a R93-million allocation to the province. The bulk of the grant has been earmarked for infrastructure development in both rural and urban areas.

□□□

The funeral service of a member of the ANC

who played a crucial role in protecting the community of Katlehong on the East Rand will be held tomorrow. Tumelo "Communist" Motloung's funeral service starts at midday at house No 552 Ramokonopi West in Katlehong.

□□□

The period for receiving public comment on the draft housing bill has been extended to October 14 due to the unprecedented number of responses. Housing Minister Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele said yesterday.
- Political Staff.

Buthelezi apologises for violence

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi apologised to the nation yesterday for violence committed by his followers, but insisted he had never orchestrated a single act of political violence.

He also apologised to the ANC and President Nelson Mandela for "hurt" he might have caused the ANC leadership and immediately challenged Mandela to publicly do likewise.

"I say I am sorry to SA because, although I have never orchestrated one single act of violence against a single victim of the political violence that has cost many lives, as the leader of the IFP I know that the buck stops right in front of me," he said, after conceding IFP members had been drawn into political violence.

After launching his submission to the truth commission with a hymn, Buthelezi launched a bitter attack on the clergy in SA. In an apparent reference to the head of the commis-

sion, Anglican archbishop Desmond Tutu, he said no prominent clerics had wept at the side of IFP graves. The SA Council of Churches had not spent a single cent out of hundreds of millions of rands on IFP-affiliated organisations.

He said he felt he had to raise the issue of an apology to the nation by churches in the interests of reconciliation. He said the "political clergy" who believed the armed struggle had been necessary and who had not believed in non-violent opposition to apartheid owed an apology for supporting violence.

It would be a hideous distortion of political reality to say that South Africans had to die on street corners from bomb-thrusts in order to achieve the political victories which were now a reality, Buthelezi said.

He slammed the Katros "resistance theology" document which sought to give Christian backing to revolutionary tactics and violence as badly mistaken. Buthelezi said it had been a strange expe-

BD 6/19/96

(111B)

rence for him to be "denigrated by ecclesiastical patrons of radical political movements who, without scruple, presided over what appeared to me to be hangery of the worst kind".

Human rights organisations also came in for criticism for not voicing concern "over the chronicle of death" of IFP members. Nowhere else in the world would killing on such a grand scale go unchallenged, he said. If the ANC was correct in saying that the IFP was an apartheid surrogate, then the NP government was not responsible for killing them.

A statement by Judge Richard Goldstone that Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe had said the ANC had changed its policy with regard to violence as a political tool presented a "prima facie" case that they had been involved in political violence.

The only tangible result of the Goldstone commission was the creation of the investigation task unit which was seen as serving the interests of the ruling party, Buthelezi said.

Power shifts in IFP intended to increase electoral support

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

The Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) national council will give impetus this weekend to the party's plan to restructure itself.

According to IFP sources the main topic on the council's agenda will be the resolution adopted at the party's annual conference in July that the party needed to radically overhaul its structures in order to broaden an electoral sup-

port in 1999.

The meeting begins tomorrow and will for the first time bring IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane into contact with party rivals who want his office abolished in order to reduce his powers.

Jiyane has been absent from the IFP's head office since he went on extended leave immediately after the July conference, during which party hardliners led by constitutional negotiator Walter

Felgate manoeuvred to have the powers of his office reduced.

Jiyane said this week he was unaware of the weekend agenda as he was still settling back into work.

The Ministers' Commission set up by the conference to drive the restructuring process will report back to the national council on its progress towards establishing task groups which will look into various aspects of the IFP's functioning.

Among the things the task groups will look at is the viability of the office of the secretary-general. One of the proposals coming from Jiyane's rivals is that the secretary-general's functions should be transferred to provincial secretaries and the treasurer-general's office.

The weekend meeting will also review the IFP's submission to the Truth Commission, which is being made in Cape Town today.

(11B) Star 6/9/96

Inkatha set to enter talks on constitution

(116) (2017A)

Arrow 7/9/96

By PRAKASH NAIDOO

The Inkatha Freedom Party looks set to return to the negotiating table after the decision yesterday by the Constitutional Court not to certify South Africa's new constitution.

IFP leaders have refused to comment, saying the matter can be decided only by the party's national council, which meets today. But well-placed sources revealed there is a strong lobby by some party members to return to the Constitutional Assembly (CA). This view has been supported by sources within the National Party and the ANC.

First indications of the IFP's willingness to re-enter the fray surfaced when it made its initial submissions to the Constitutional Court. It intimated that, if the constitution failed the court's acid test, the party would re-enter negotiations.

This week there was increased speculation within parliamentary circles by some IFP members that, if provincial powers were cited as one of the reasons for the court's decision not to certify the constitution, this would open a clear way for the



OPEN COURT: The NP's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Valli Moosa at yesterday's judgment

IFP to return to the negotiations.

In yesterday's Constitutional Court ruling, one of the major reservations for refusing to certify the new text was that it did not meet all of the interim constitution's demands on provincial government.

On the issue of provincial powers, which took up virtually half the judgment, the court found that provisions relating to the powers and functions were substantially less than, and inferior to, the powers and functions of the provinces in the interim constitution.

Still on the issue of provinces, the court also found the relevant

sections did not provide a framework for the structures of local government, nor for appropriate fiscal powers and functions for local government.

The court also found that the new constitution did not provide for appropriate fiscal powers and functions for the different categories of local government.

According to the court's finding, the latter provisions were inconsistent with Constitutional Principle 18.2, which

stated the GA would not diminish the powers of the provinces. It was also a concessionary principle added as an amendment to the interim constitution at Kempton Park in 1993 to allow the IFP to enter the negotiations.

"There are some of us within the IFP who believe there is some merit in this which would allow us to re-enter the negotiations," said one party source.

He added there was an equally vocal group vehemently opposed to the IFP returning to the CA. This was something the party would have to thrash out.

TO PAGE 2

P.T.O.

Court ruling may alter IFP stance

POLITICAL STAFF

27 9/9/96
THE Inkatha Freedom Party could consider a return to the Constitutional Assembly at a regular national council meeting later this month following a Constitutional Court ruling at the weekend that the Constitution is flawed.

IFP insiders said many members believed they achieved more outside the constitutional process than within it, but that they could be influenced by the court's finding that provincial powers had been diminished.

IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane said at the weekend that the final Constitution did not give the provinces sufficient powers. The IFP council would consider the options.

Asked if this meant ending an 18-month boycott of the constitution-making process, Jiyane said: "Your guess is as good as mine."

The national council meeting is to be held in Ulundi on September 21 and 22.

The constitutional assembly must meet to redraft sections of the document before it is resubmitted to the court within three months.

IFP insiders as well as commentators in the ANC, NP and DP believe Inkatha is heading back to full participation in the assembly.

Jiyane said the party was obviously pleased by the court's ruling. "We were not surprised by it. The powers were obviously insufficient in terms of the constitutional principles in the interim constitution."

In terms of the Kempton Park agreement, the final Constitution had to comply with the constitutional principles entrenched in the interim constitution. In terms of these the powers of provinces cannot be substantially reduced.

Jiyane said the party was disappointed that the KwaZulu-Natal provincial constitution had also been sent back to the drawing board "as it had been given unanimous support by all the political parties (in the provincial legislature)".

In a statement, IFP national chairman and provincial Premier Frank Mdlalose, acknowledged that the court had referred the provincial constitution back "for further deliberations".

IFP is back - but just looking for now

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Inkatha Freedom Party has returned to the constitution-writing process, albeit only as an observer for the moment.

At a meeting of the Constitutional Assembly management committee today, IFP representative Peter Smith said the party's national council would decide next week whether to return to the process.

The IFP boycotted the Constitutional Assembly from February last year because

of failure by the African National Congress and the National Party to honour a pre-election agreement on international mediation on issues left unresolved by the 1993 interim constitution.

The assembly management committee met today to decide the way forward to resolve the eight flaws identified by the Constitutional Court last week in its decision not to certify the new constitution.

The full Constitutional Assembly will meet next Wednesday.

Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman of the Constitutional Assembly, warned that unless

negotiators could have a new text ready for the Constitutional Court by October, certification of the constitution could be delayed into the middle of next year.

Parties agreed to structure the schedule for negotiations to accommodate the IFP's formal decision at next week's national council on whether to participate.

Mr Smith emphasised he was there purely as an observer, enabling the party to have its finger on the pulse of the talks while awaiting the council's decision.

All parties welcomed the conditional return of the IFP.

ARL 12/9/96

(SMA)

(113)

IFP joins constitution redrafting today



By **PATRICK BULGER**

Parliamentary Correspondent

Cape Town - The Inkatha Freedom Party is attending today's meeting of the Constitutional Assembly's management committee which is to redraft the new constitution after objections to some of its clauses from the Constitutional Court last Friday.

It is the first time the IFP attends a formal CA gathering since it walked out early last year in protest at the ANC's refusal to agree to international mediation.

The IFP's presence at today's meeting is the second indication that the party may be having a rethink on the constitution-making process. In the first, in July, IFP lawyers argued for stronger provincial powers during the Constitutional Court's hearing on the constitution.

But IFP negotiator Peter Smith said yesterday the party would not be participating in any formal sense today but wanted to ensure that the programme adopted by the CA did not preclude the party from rejoining if it so decided after a national council meeting on September 20.

Star 12/9/96

IFP in a tight spot

Marion Edmunds

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), in a quandary after the snubbing of the KwaZulu-Natal constitution, cannot decide whether or not it should return to the national constitutional negotiating table.

And while the Constitutional Court did refer the issue of provincial powers back to the national constitution-makers for revision, the judgment allows little scope for Inkatha to push its separatist agenda in the final lap of negotiations.

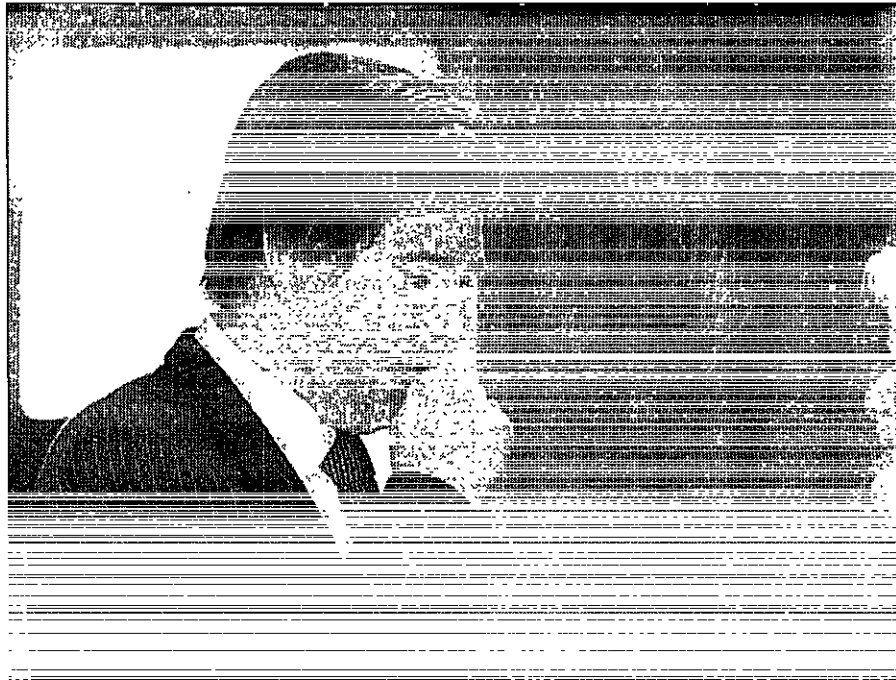
Officially Inkatha has not yet discussed the judgments, but senior Inkatha sources say they were discussed at the weekend, but no clear route had emerged.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate says decisions about returning to the Constitutional Assembly will be taken next week during the party's national council.

IFP party advisers such as Mario Ambrosini had muttered, prior to the Constitutional Court judgment, that should the matter of provincial powers be referred back to the CA, there would be reason to return to the CA.

But the cautious ruling of the court on the reduction of provincial powers does not give Inkatha much of a foothold from which to launch its arguments for greater federalism, and should it return, it would probably be a short stay, after which it would walk out again in frustration at not being able to entrench provincial autonomy.

But the provincial route has been closed down with the setting aside of the KwaZulu-Natal constitution. In crude terms, it means Inkatha will have to join the last lap of national negotiations if it wants to have any



Separatist swansong? Mario Ambrosini (left), Home Affairs adviser by day and constitutional guru by night, and Inkatha's Walter Felgate. Ambrosini's grand secessionist plan for KwaZulu-Natal flopped

PHOTOGRAPH RUTH MOTAU

(116) M+G 13-19/9/96

impact on the new South African constitutional order at all.

Certainly international mediation is no longer an option. This has been raised by Inkatha spokespeople following the judgment but time has blunted it as a lever.

"We will not open that issue," said an African National Congress source. "They know we cannot turn the debate back by two years and reopen it at that spot."

President Nelson Mandela's adviser Professor Fink Haysom said: "I think by participating in the Constitutional Court case, the eyes of the IFP may have been opened to the fact that the terrain they thought they had monopolised — the whole provincial-national debate — had been comprehensively discussed without them, and one almost got an impression that some of them belatedly thought they would have liked to have participated in it."

What adds to the party's problems is that the ANC and the NP have got so used to their absence that they are no longer missed. The problem of violence in KwaZulu-Natal has been separated from the constitutional debate through ANC-IFP peace plans, and can no longer be used by Inkatha as a veiled threat to coax a compromise from the ANC on international mediation or provincial powers.

Moreover, the IFP cannot rely on much support from the NP, which is determined to pursue its own course of action and to find common cause

The judgment in brief

■ **LOCAL GOVERNMENT:** The final text was too vague on how local government should work. Entire chapter on local government rejected. Perhaps the stiffest challenge for the Constitutional Assembly.

■ **INDEPENDENCE OF WATCH-DOGS:** Final text made it too easy for government to fire the auditor general and public protector. The interim constitution said these watchdog officials could be sacked only with the backing of a two-thirds majority in Parliament; new Constitution said 50% majority would suffice. The officials' independence is seen as a crucial check on one-party state rule.

■ **LABOUR RELATIONS:** Individual companies were not guaranteed the right to engage in collective bargaining as offered by interim constitution. Court rejected calls for guarantee of lock-out clause.

■ **SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION:** Constitution should be supreme law of the land, so clauses shielding the Labour Relations Act and the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act from the Constitution were rejected. Court also wanted stronger protection against constitutional amendments.

■ **PROVINCIAL POWERS:** Constitution had watered down several of the provinces' powers, while providing a new structure for political expression, the Council of Provinces. Not a "substantial" power cut on its own, but with potential for excessive national control "substantial" test met.

■ **PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION:** PSC's independence inadequately protected; definition of PSC too vague, making it hard to tell if provinces had been cheated of rights to set up their own PSCs.

with the ANC, as soon and efficiently as possible.

"Inkatha's return will make no difference to us," said Meyer yesterday, looking a little weary at the thought of more hours of constitution-making.

The ANC is relieved by the NP's response so far, because senior negotiators want, at this stage, to keep disputes to an absolute minimum. A frequent response from ANC members is

that most of the adjustments needed are "technical" and can be handled by lawyers rather than politicians.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin sees it slightly differently: "Lawyers can come up with the legal solutions but politicians have to take the decision. I certainly would not say that these things were merely technical because they are fundamental to the rule of law and effective governance."

Inkatha poised to re-enter the constitutional fold

(118) (2) (118)
ST 15/9/96

AN IMPORTANT concession won by the Inkatha Freedom Party from the management committee of the Constitutional Assembly this week has virtually secured the party's return to the constitution-making process.

A formal decision will be taken by the party's national council in Ulundi at the weekend.

The IFP attended a management committee meeting this week — for the first time since it boycotted the talks last year in protest against the ANC's failure to honour an agreement that international mediators be involved in the negotiations.

Although IFP MP Peter Smith stressed that he was present as an observer, the multi-party committee acceded to his request that political parties be allowed to submit their own legal opinions on what needs to be done to rectify the Constitution.

This clears the way for a meaningful participation by the IFP in negotiations on the few, but crucial, outstanding issues that have not been passed by the Constitutional Court.

Of these, provincial powers and local government are the most important for the IFP.

Participation will at least allow the party to influence constitutional developments at national level, an important gain considering the dim view that the Constitutional Court has taken of the IFP-driven constitution for Kwazulu Natal.

Refusing to certify the text of the national Constitution last week, the Constitutional Court said certain clauses did not comply with the constitutional principles, and needed to be redrafted. IFP chief negotiator Walter Felgate, who also attended this week's meeting, said conflicting

By CYRIL MADLALA
Parliamentary Correspondent

legal opinions had been submitted to the Constitutional Court by those parties which opposed certification and by those which argued that the text complied with the principles.

"Interpreting the judgment will determine how you remedy the matter. It is essential that we have a common understanding of the problem," he said.

NP chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said his party would not restrict itself to a narrow interpretation of the judgment, and would engage the other parties on matters such as provincial police powers which the court said had been reduced in the new Constitution.

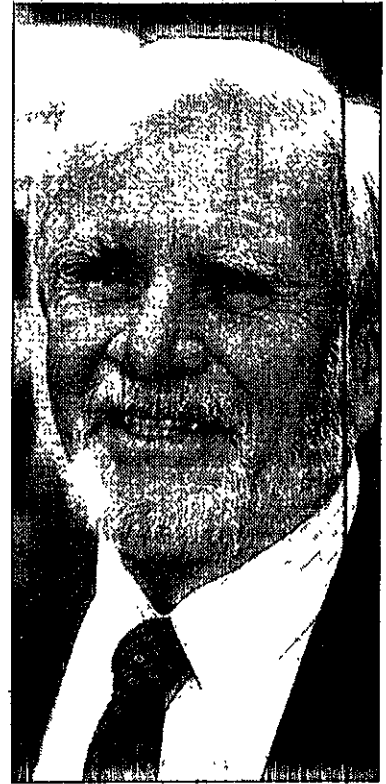
The Constitutional Assembly will meet on Wednesday to be briefed by the management committee about the judgment. Negotiations will begin when sub-committees meet next Tuesday.

The chairman of the Constitutional Assembly, Cyril Ramaphosa, said the management committee would need to report to the assembly by October 11, or the Constitutional Court would not be able to consider the amendments this year.

This would mean that the new Constitution would not be implemented in January as envisaged.

"We need to ask ourselves if we have the luxury of time," Ramaphosa said.

Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa said failure to have the Constitution certified this year would cause enormous problems from a



REMEDY . . . Walter Felgate says a common understanding of the problem is essential

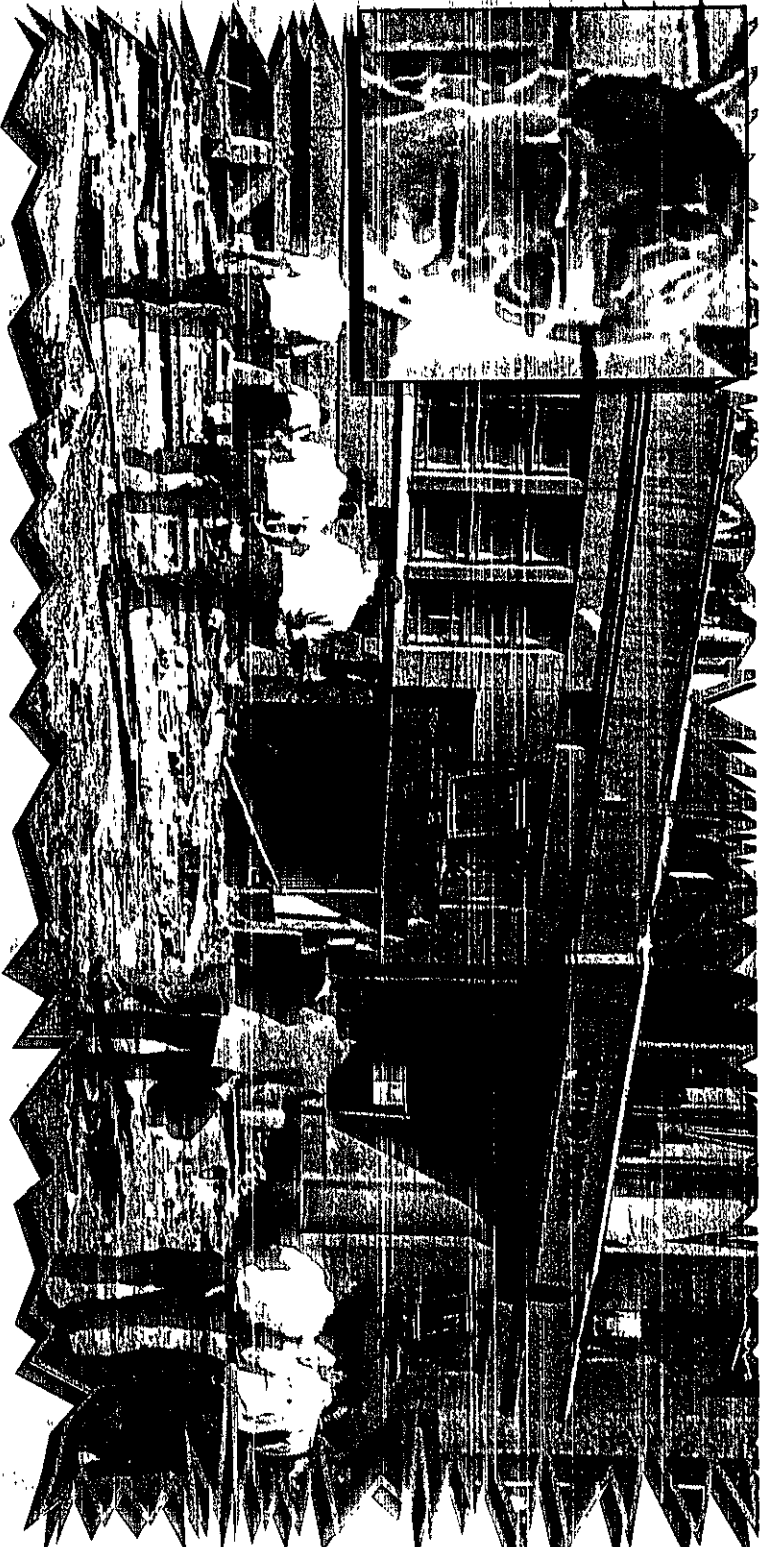
legislative point of view.

A number of laws had to be passed to give effect to the Constitution, and these had to be fitted into an already tight parliamentary schedule.

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said he would oppose attempts to rush to finalise the negotiations, and suggested that next year be targeted for certification.

Flash Back

Khomo House, the headquarters of the SA Council of Churches in Johannesburg, as it looked after it was blown up, and destroyed in a mystery bombing in the late 1980s. Former Vlakplaat commander Eugene de Kock told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday that former state president Mr PW Botha had given the orders to bomb the building.



'Cops armed IFP'

Source 18/9/96 (118)

I gave Inkatha weapons supplied by police, testifies De Kock

By Josias Charle

The weapons that were used by the Inkatha Freedom Party in its fight against the African National Congress were supplied by the police, Eugene de Kock has said.

Testifying in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday in mitigation of sentence, De Kock said he was personally involved in transactions in which huge arms caches were handed over to the IFP. In one case, R85 000 was asked for on behalf of the IFP by General Bertus Steyn.

De Kock had received R50 000 and General Nic van Rensburg kept R35 000 because he had "problems". The money was drawn from

Vlakplaat slush funds. De Kock also confirmed, for the first time, that when IFP Gauteng leader Mr Themba Khoza was arrested at a roadblock with several AK-47 rifles in the boot of his car, "his R10 000 or R12 000 bail was paid by the police".

The rifles were from Vlakplaat. "I received an order from Van Rensburg that I should make money available so that Khoza could be released on bail. This was duly done."

Khoza was also given a car bought, with Vlakplaat funds, but he later wrecked it near Newcastle in KwaZulu-Natal. The IFP was given two other cars by De Kock.

De Kock recounted that he had personally handed arms to Khoza in Johannesburg while other IFP leaders

who received arms and ammunition were (Reverend) Cebani Mkhathwa and (Senator) Phillip Powell.

Most of the "home-made" weapons used by the IFP were also manufactured on orders from the police.

De Kock implicated former security police chief General Basie Smit as the person who had authorised funds to manufacture 100 rifles for the IFP.

"Smit said we had to manufacture the weapons and he suggested that I make a false claim from the police secret fund so that we could finance the weapons deal," De Kock said.

In another startling claim, De Kock revealed he had supplied the arms that were used in attempts to

overthrow former Transkei strongman General Bantu Holomisa.

During one of these attempts, he had been approached by businessman Mr Vuyo Mbovoti.

Mbovoti told him that there was uneasiness over Holomisa as he had been put in his place by the military intelligence. Some people wanted him out and were wondering if De Kock might be of some help.

One of these people was Holomisa's former second-in-command Colonel Craig Dull.

De Kock received a "shopping list" of weapons needed for the operation. He personally took them to the Transkei and gave some to Dull.

The coup attempt went awry. Dull and several ministers were killed.

De Kock said there was a clash over who should kill Dull.

"Chris Hani said Holomisa should shoot him but the general refused and suggested that General TT Matanzima do the job. He also refused. It was left to a driver known as Whiteboy to kill Dull," De Kock said.

The convicted murderer made it clear yesterday that he was a willing officer who was always called in to "rescue" colleagues who were sitting with "minor headaches that wouldn't go away".

Most of these happened to be activists who had to be killed or be blown up. He carried out these tasks without question.

The hearing continues today. ● See Page 2

Buthelezi misled me, says IFP aide

(116) Apr 19/91

Khumalo says he believed special group would not be used against ANC

REUTERS
Durban

Lawyers for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal assistant argued yesterday he was misled by his leader on military aid given to the Inkatha Freedom Party by the apartheid-era army.

Buthelezi approached the military in the mid-1980s to set up an Inkatha paramilitary force to defend the party against attacks from the ANC.

Former defence minister Magnus Malan and 15 others, including Buthelezi's aide Zakhele "MZ" Khumalo, are on trial for the 1987 massacre of 13 people, allegedly by the paramilitary force.

"Khumalo's evidence was that he was not put in the picture by Chief Minister Buthelezi ... who was present at the preliminary decision-making and planning meetings," lawyer Jeff Hewitt said in summation of Khumalo's case.

Khumalo, whom he said was "misled and, in some instances,

lied to" about the purpose of the 200-strong group, believed they were to join the nominally independent KwaZulu homeland's police force and would not be used against the ANC, he argued.

Convicted state assassin Eugene de Kock told a Pretoria court earlier this week that further training, arming and funding of IFP members was carried out by the clandestine police unit he commanded.

De Kock said Inkatha had up until October 1993 been given

tons of weapons, which included AK-47 automatic assault rifles, mortars, landmines and missiles, to use against the ANC.

Malan has repeatedly declared his innocence in the massacre of 13 people, six of them children aged between 4 and 10, at Kwa-Makhutha near Durban, and has declined to request amnesty from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Presiding Judge Jan Hugo is expected to pass judgment in the seven-month-old trial early next month.

ANC and IFP agree to meet on constitution

Star 23/9/96 (116) (20/20)
By JOVIAL RANTAO
Political Correspondent

The ANC was ready to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party to finalise the constitution, party officials said at the weekend.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said it had committed itself to a process of bilateral and multilateral discussions with all political parties involved in the constitution-making process, including the IFP.

The statement comes after IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a two-day IFP national council meeting in Ulundi that discussions between the ANC and the IFP on finalising the constitution were necessary to ensure stability.

"In the interests of the country as a whole, it is necessary for us to meet with a delegation of the ruling party because the constitution is the law of the country."

An IFP statement said that its national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, had already received agreement for a meeting from Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The IFP call is seen as a signal of its intention to return to the constitution-making process. It withdrew from the proceedings last year when the ANC's promise of international mediation failed to materialise.

Sapa reports, however, that the

IFP did not come to a decision on returning to the Constitutional Assembly. A decision will have to be made soon because the revised draft constitution has to be submitted to the Constitutional Court by October 11.

The court rejected the first drafts of the national and KwaZulu Natal constitutions. It criticised the former which it said stripped the provinces of powers, and described the latter as "seriously flawed".

Buthelezi said the granting of powers to the provinces remained a bone of contention and he was "gratified" that the Constitutional Court had found that powers of provinces had been reduced under the national constitution.

He said international mediation also needed to be addressed as it formed an integral part of the formulation of the national constitution, he said.

Despite peace initiatives in KwaZulu Natal, no real peace existed between the ANC and the IFP because consensus on the constitution had not been reached, he said.

IFP sources told The Star their party would propose negotiating all sections of the constitution, but the ANC is expected to reject this when the two parties meet.

A date for the meeting has not been finalised.

No definite stand yet by the IFP

Political parties agree to scrap two contentious clauses from constitution

CONSTITUTIONAL Assembly negotiators yesterday quickly disposed of one of the issues in the final constitution which had been referred back to them by the Constitutional Court.

They agreed to scrap two clauses which had constitutionally entrenched aspects of the Labour Relations Act and the Truth and Reconciliation Act.

But negotiators for political parties – excluding the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is still deciding whether to return to the CA – gave notice they differed on such aspects as how widely they should address provincial powers and the appointment and dismissal mechanisms of the Auditor-General and Public Protector.

The day's proceedings were overshadowed by an early-morning two-hour exploratory meeting at Parliament between IFP and ANC

negotiators to discuss conditions for a possible IFP return.

It failed to produce any concrete decisions and the IFP team, including senior negotiator Mr Walter Felgate, Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela and KwaZulu-Natal MEC for finance and agriculture Dr Ben Ngubane, left to brief their principals – chief being IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. By late yesterday no announcement had been forthcoming from the IFP.

Felgate said earlier yesterday they had discussed with the ANC issues like flexibility around time-frames for the CA to address the aspects referred back.

Chief ANC constitutional negotiator Mr Valli Moosa told the committee plenary of CA negotiators immediately afterwards that he and his colleagues had tried to urge the IFP to attend the plenary, but they had said they preferred to report back to their principals first. – Sapa.

116

Sowetan 26/9/96

Another IFP boycott looms as request to reopen talks spurned by ANC

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The chances of the IFP rejoining the Constitutional Assembly diminished yesterday after top ANC negotiators spurned an IFP request to reopen talks on issues already certified and to extend the October 11 completion deadline.

IFP negotiators said after an exploratory meeting with the ANC that they hoped to meet the NP today before reporting back to their principals and making a final decision on whether to

end a boycott of the assembly.

One ANC negotiator said afterwards: "We told them the ANC is not prepared to look favourably on their requests." The IFP wanted to reintroduce issues already certified by the Constitutional Court and which were not among those sent back for redrafting. "The IFP issues are not new. If we cannot resolve them in the next two weeks we never will." The IFP could submit proposals on any issue, including local government and provincial powers, rejected by the court.

An IFP negotiator said his party did not want to table the whole gamut of constitutional issues dear to the IFP, but rather a much shorter list for "re-examination". These included the role of the Zulu monarchy and chiefs in local government, and schedules four and five of the constitution dealing with concurrent and exclusive national and provincial legislative powers.

The IFP would not table its broader position paper tabled in multiparty negotiations in December 1993.

According to some participants at

yesterday's talks, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the IFP he would "defend" their right to table proposals on any issues, but could not guarantee what happened to them.

The talks followed the IFP national council's weekend decision to seek talks with the ANC to discuss the process leading to finalisation of the constitution. Last week the assembly decided unanimously against reopening negotiations on the whole constitution.

The IFP team includes Walter Felgate, Correctional Services Minister

Sipo Mzimela and KwaZulu-Natal finance and agriculture MEC Ben Ngubane. ANC chief negotiator and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Vuli Mokoena was also present.

Meanwhile, two assembly subcommittees set up to deal with the issues referred back by the court met for the first time yesterday. Participants described the talks as exploratory.

One subcommittee is dealing with

Continued on Page 2

IFP
CIB
2026/9/96
Continued from Page 1

and the Truth and Reconciliation Act.

However, the NP and DP gave notice that they intended reopening the issue of mechanisms used to appoint the auditor-general and public prosecutor. The court has rejected the dismissal mechanisms affecting both positions. The issue of the Public Service Commission is expected to take up most of the negotiators' time as several policy decisions are needed.

Opposition negotiators believe the ANC's transformation plans for the public service are unconstitutional. Government began stripping the once-powerful commission of its executive powers earlier this year, transferring them to the office of Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya.

collective bargaining, states of emergency, the Public Service Commission, the public protector, the auditor-general and "immunisation" of the Labour Relations Act and the Truth and Reconciliation Act. The other deals with provincial powers, local government and the amendment of the constitution. They meet again today.

Parties agreed in principle yesterday — on the basis of the court's rulings — to scrap two clauses which would have constitutionally entrenched aspects of the Labour Relations Act

I.F.P. to return to Constitutional Assembly and end 18-month

David Greybe and Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN—The I.F.P. has decided to end its 18-month boycott of the Constitutional Assembly and will return to the multiparty negotiations today.

However, its participation did not amount to a "fill" or formal return to the Constitutional Assembly, senior I.F.P. official Walter Felgate cautioned yesterday. Such a decision could be taken only by the party's national council. But, with only a few days left to finalise outstanding issues, "we can-

not wait until the next council meeting," Felgate said.

The ANC, NP and DP welcomed the decision. However, the ANC's national executive committee yesterday backed proposals for a quick resolution to re-opening constitutional negotiations, indicating that it did not think the I.F.P.'s decision to rejoin the process would cause delays.

The ANC's most senior executive body accepted the proposals drawn up by the ANC's constitutional commission, saying "at this stage" time frames

decided on by the constitutional assembly were "advisable and desirable". ANC senator Bulelani Ngcuka said the committee expressed strong support for the deadlines set out by the Constitutional Assembly.

Ngcuka said the I.F.P.'s decision to rejoin the committee stage of the process would not delay the process if the party seriously intended to negotiate agreements. But Ngcuka said it was impossible to say without qualification that delays would definitely not occur. Ngcuka said the committee agreed

I.F.P.
(116)
BD 11/10/96

Continued from Page 1
plus the fact that Ambrosini, as the main architect of the rejected KwaZulu-Natal constitution, might have lost favour within the party.

Felgate had been, in the words of one source, "very helpful in trying to make it easy for other parties to help the I.F.P. return."

Felgate said two "teams" of I.F.P. negotiators would be present at today's resumption of negotiations in the two

assembly subcommittees set up to deal with the eight issues rejected by the Constitutional Court.

The I.F.P. teams would begin the process by tabling proposals on all aspects of the court's ruling.

He denied that the I.F.P.'s return to assembly proceedings was in conflict with the decision by his national council 10 days ago to delay a final decision until it had met the ANC.

The decision was taken within the latitude provided by the council resolution, he said.

He conceded though that "we are jumping the gun to some extent."

that discussions on the list of provincial and national powers should not be reopened because the Constitutional Court had indicated that on its own this issue had not caused it to decide that provincial powers were "substantially reduced".

Hence, as a matter of principle, the ANC felt the list of provincial and national powers should not be adjusted. But he indicated some flexibility on the question of police powers at an operational level, saying the ANC was willing to listen to the I.F.P.'s arguments on

the topic.

The committee rejected NP and DP arguments that the majority for passing amendments to the constitution should be lifted to 75% from two-thirds.

Meanwhile, some non-I.F.P. sources maintained the party's return was mainly due to Felgate winning a power struggle with fellow "hardliner" and I.F.P. legal adviser Mario Ambrosini.

They noted Ambrosini was absent at the recent talks with other parties,

Continued on Page 2

boycott

Talks boosted by Inkatha's return

By **PATRICK BULGER**
Parliamentary Correspondent

Cape Town - Negotiations on a revised constitution were boosted yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party decided to rejoin the process and the ANC gave its negotiators the go-ahead to finalise the draft by the end of next week.

Two subcommittees of the Constitutional Assembly resume their work at Parliament today. They will be joined by IFP delegates, who will be making their first input into the constitution-making process since the party began boycotting the CA early last year.

ANC negotiator, Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa, welcomed the IFP's return as "wonderful news", and said the ANC would give the IFP "the benefit of the doubt and assume its participation is positive and constructive".

The negotiators want to finalise a revised draft in time for adoption by the CA next Friday. The draft will then be sent to the Constitutional Court, which will certify or reject it on the basis of its compliance with the 34 immutable constitutional principles adopted at the World Trade Centre in late 1993.

Last month, the court rejected

the draft, finding fault with 10 provisions, particularly those on provincial powers which it said had been substantially diminished when compared with the interim constitution.

Significantly, the IFP indicated it agreed with the new timetable, saying that "while it agreed that it would serve no purpose for all the parties to attempt to renegotiate all the positions they have had to relinquish for the sake of progress", it would be irresponsible of the party not to do whatever possible to improve the constitution substantially. The IFP's return coincided with a meeting of the ANC's national executive.

Arav 1/10/96

(118) (3-1)

Protection for king and chiefs tops IFP agenda

By PATRICK BULGER
Parliamentary Correspondent

Cape Town - The IFP re-entered the constitution-making process yesterday and gave notice that it would push for constitutional protection for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and KwaZulu Natal traditional leaders.

The IFP's intention to constitutionally entrench the *amakhozi* - the traditional leaders who are IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's main support base in the province - drew an initial lukewarm reaction from the ANC.

According to experts, the role and status of the king was not one of the matters referred back to the Constitutional Assembly (CA) by

the Constitutional Court.

IFP delegate Peter Smith said he was raising the demand on behalf of his principal, presumed to be Buthelezi.

Smith told the meeting he wanted to table "an important agreement between the ANC and the monarch". The agreement he was referring to was finalised at the Skukuza summit in April 1994 in which the ANC and Zwelithini agreed to constitutional provisions to entrench the role and status of the king.

The ANC's refusal to allow international mediation on the status of the king triggered the IFP's walkout in February last year.

Importantly, the agreement also refers to the provision of a

provincial police force to protect the monarch. But in terms of the new constitution, the provinces have been stripped of their powers over the police.

The IFP, along with the NP, want police powers to be referred to the provinces. Smith said he was tabling the document as a salutary reminder that the monarch should be protected.

Apart from participating in the subcommittee on provincial powers, the IFP also took part in a multiparty meeting on local government, which the IFP views as important because it is at this level of government that the IFP seeks to entrench traditional leaders.

Two CA subcommittees are meeting at Parliament to correct

10 errors in the constitution identified by the Constitutional Court in its refusal recently to certify the May 8 draft.

The negotiators said they had made good progress in their talks and were due to begin late-night sessions to complete their work in time for the new draft's adoption by the CA next week.

Progress was reported in the areas of the state of emergency provisions, the labour relations clause, the financing powers of local government, the extension of provincial government jurisdiction over local government, and the provincial powers.

ANC sources said the party was resisting NP pressure to devolve police powers to the provinces.

(11B) Star 2/10/94

IFP again quits

constitution talks

(SMA) (IB) ARG 7/10/96
The Inkatha Freedom Party has pulled out of final talks on a permanent constitution, a senior government negotiator said today.

African National Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan said that after one-to-one talks with Inkatha, he had been told the IFP would not take part further in the work of the Constitutional Assembly.

"It is with some regret that we must announce this morning that they are not going to be part of the process of finalising the constitution from today onwards," he said.

IFP representatives last week ended an 18-month boycott of the constitution-writing process, tabling about 60 amendments which would have shifted power from the central government to provincial authorities and traditional leaders.

The assembly has until Friday to correct flaws in the draft constitution identified by the Constitutional Court. - Reuter

IFP came close to accepting ANC deal before walking out

(11B) (11A) AA CT 8/10/96
POLITICAL STAFF

THE IFP was within a whisker of accepting a package deal offered by the ANC before IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi chose to withdraw his negotiators from the constitution-making process.

The remaining parties in the constitutional committee finalised amendments to address the Constitutional Court's criticisms. "The job is done," said Constitutional Assembly chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The draft constitution seems likely to be unanimously approved by the Constitutional Assembly on Friday — but the IFP's 48 senators and MPs will not be there.

The changes considerably beef up provincial powers, particularly the provincial governments' control over provincial police services.

Parties across the spectrum expressed dismay at the IFP withdrawal yesterday, with Ramaphosa and NP chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer expressing "shock". The IFP only returned last Tuesday to the

Constitutional Assembly sub-committees after an 18-month absence from the CA.

While the party said the decision was taken by a regular meeting of the IFP national council in Ulundi on Sunday, IFP sources said that Buthelezi was insistent that the negotiators should not return to the negotiating table.

Significantly, Buthelezi told a King Shaka rally at the weekend that the media had played down the significance of the unified stance chiefs across the political spectrum (including ANC MP and Congress of SA Traditional Leaders president Chief Patekile Holomisa) had taken against the constitution.

He also railed against the decrease in the authority of chiefs.

IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said the party would continue to negotiate with other parties, including the ANC, and would seek incremental amendments to the constitution if it did not achieve its aim of a fully inclusive settlement before the Friday cut-off.

He confirmed that the party

had withdrawn from formal CA structures. "It does not look as if there is any prospect of an all-party agreement on a constitutional text, so there was no point in our continued participation."

Felgate said the IFP would be contacting Ramaphosa to propose talks between the IFP and the ANC.

ANC negotiator and chairman of the sub-committee that dealt with the strengthening of provincial and municipal powers, Mr Pravin Gordhan, said he had been told late on Sunday afternoon of the IFP's intentions.

He told the constitutional committee that during negotiations last week the IFP had honed down its demand to a core issue: that traditional leaders should make up municipalities in rural areas.

The IFP had, however, acknowledged that making the chiefs the primary form of local government not only in KwaZulu-Natal "but in the whole country" would not pass the constitutional test requiring democratic third-tier government, Gordhan said.

ANC and NP shocked by IFP walk-out from talks

Blow on eve of final constitution deals

CLIVE SAWYER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

(116) (117)
 ARL 8/10/96
African National Congress and National Party negotiators have expressed shock and disappointment at the Inkatha Freedom Party's last-lap withdrawal from the formal constitution-writing process.

The IFP pulled out from the Constitutional Assembly on the eve of committee meetings to put the finishing touches on deals to resolve issues referred back to negotiators by the Constitutional Court.

Inkatha's national council ordered the withdrawal because of its dissatisfaction over a failure to win an entrenched place for traditional leaders in rural local government.

At a Constitutional Committee meeting

yesterday, ANC negotiators said the IFP had admitted that the demand was out of line with the principles secured by the 1993 interim constitution.

The IFP said it wanted to continue bilateral talks with the ANC on the constitution, a move seen as emanating from those in Inkatha who have campaigned hard within the party to keep it in formal negotiations. But the bilateral talks will be outside the process and are unlikely to have any effect on it.

The full Constitutional Assembly will meet on Friday to vote on the revisions to the constitutional text produced by intensive bargaining over the past fortnight.

At yesterday's Constitutional Committee meeting, ANC chief negotiator Valli Moosa said he was "lost for words" at the IFP's withdrawal. Mr Moosa had told a

press briefing on Friday that negotiations with the IFP had gone well.

Roelf Meyer, chief negotiator for the NP, said he was disappointed that the IFP would not go through with the process.

Before yesterday's Constitutional Committee meeting, sub-committees produced agreements on issues for inclusion in the revised text.

Among issues settled were the right of unions and employers to collective bargaining, revised rules for amending the constitution, municipal fiscal powers and functions and protection of the Auditor-General and Public Protector from too-easy removal from office by Parliament.

Other deals covered the independence of the Public Service Commission and increased input for provincial governments into policing.

Constitution to be ratified despite IFP departure from assembly

David Grebe

CAPE TOWN — Hopes of an inclusive constitutional settlement were dashed yesterday when the IFP held the ANC round of negotiations for the Constitutional Assembly.

The IFP said it had decided to pursue its constitutional concerns with the ANC and other parties in private talks. The reason, IFP parliamentary caucus chairman Ben Shosana said, was the assembly decision that the latest round of negotiations "could deal only with matters expressly referred back by the Constitutional Court, thereby excluding our key concerns." Among these concerns is the role of chiefs in rural local government.

The ANC said nothing would delay Friday's ratification of the revised constitution at least in the assembly. IFP chief negotiator Walter Felgate said that if the assembly vote went ahead on Friday, it would show "it is a constitutional process not waiting for a multiparty settlement".

The IFP would boycott the vote, as it had the first time round, "if our positions are not included". The reworked text on the eight issues referred back by the court was adopted yesterday in the "engine room" constitutional committee by all parties except the IFP.

The implementation date of the new constitution is the only substantial issue outstanding, because of practical problems around aspects such as the budget. Parties intend to finalise the matter in the management committee on Thursday.

IFP

Continued from Page 1

weekend national council meeting Felgate had argued for flexibility on the IFP demand that the constitution guarantee traditional authorities the status of primary local government structures in tribal areas. Felgate had argued that the IFP should accept that tribal areas would have elected councils, in exchange for a constitutional guarantee that they could assign powers to traditional authorities.

IFP sources said IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, backed by his constitutional adviser Mario Ambrosini, had overruled Felgate.

Comment: Page 9

(110) ~~314~~
M 8/10/96

8/10/96
It had also decided that it wanted to increase its "bilateral delegation" for talks with the ANC from two to 20, and that there could be no compromise on its demand that traditional authorities make up the "primary" level of local government.

Farouk Chothia reports IFP insiders said there was confusion in the party on constitutional strategy as a result of deep divisions in its ranks. The sources said that at the IFP's

Continued on Page 2



Constitutional
Assembly chairman
Cyril Ramaphosa (left)
charts with Bob
Meyer, National Party
general-secretary and
the party's chief
negotiator in the CA
yesterday after the
Inkatha Freedom
Party announced it
was withdrawing from
the assembly. Bob
Meyer and
Ramaphosa expressed
disappointment and
regret at the IFP's
move. IFP leader Chief
Mangosuthu Buthe (right) whose party
quit three days before
the revised
Constitution is due to
come up for debate in
the CA.



IFP OUT IN the cold

By Rafiq Rohan

Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has missed all chances of shaping South Africa's constitutional future and could be left out in the cold for good, the IFP has pilloried out of the process.

National Congress and African National Party said yesterday.

The ANC and NP were leading to the IFP's sudden withdrawal from the Constitutional Assembly yesterday - three days before the revised Constitution comes up for debate by the 490-member CA.

Yesterday, in less dramatic style than the last time IFP MPs stormed out of Parliament 18 months ago, the party's negotiators, Mr. Vaher

Felgate and Mr. Peter Smith, did not pitch up for the all-important meeting at 11am in Parliament.

The announcement came via a simple statement from CA provincial powers sub-committee chairman Mr. Khwini Gordinat. "Regrettably, the IFP has pulled out of the process."

Narrow focus

The IFP ascribed its refusal to continue participating in the CA to the narrow focus of assembly structures, which could not address the party's key concerns.

Chairman of the IFP parliamentary caucus Mr. Ben Sisoana said last night the management committee had made it clear that the sub-committee and the Constitutional Committee

could deal only with matters expressly referred back by the Constitutional Court.

There is no point in pursuing our negotiations in these forums. At this point, the only forums in which our constitutional concerns may be addressed are in bilateral talks with other parties, which the IFP is actively pursuing," Sisoana said.

Speaking to *Sowetan* yesterday, CA chairman Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said it was "very disappointing" that the IFP had pulled out.

He expressed little optimism at the party's return to the process. "I don't think that there is a chance of them coming back," Ramaphosa said.

Sowetan 8/10/96

Meyer told *Sowetan* that he was not too concerned that new tensions would be created in troubled KwaZulu-Natal.

But he, too, agreed that there was not much chance of the IFP returning to the process.

Traditional leaders

ANC MP on the sub-committee Mr. Willie Hofmeyr said his organisation had bent over backwards to accommodate the IFP and had thought that agreement had been reached.

There was even an agreement that the role of traditional leaders could be accommodated to function on

behalf of certain local authorities. The IFP's ambivalence centres around the role of the *Amakhosi*.

The party insists that traditional leaders should have the greater authority in provincial areas.

The IFP's Felgate told *Sowetan* that yesterday his party had not pulled out. He said they wanted an extension of time and the ANC was unable to oblige.

"We participated in the committee and the bilateral talks last week and the results of those discussions were referred back to our principals. The IFP national council was notified and we were told to go back and negotiate further." But the ANC was unable to grant a time extension for further talks, he said.

I.F.P. meeting ANC for 11th hour talks to secure its demands

By Patrick Butler
Mandl Makhanya
Political Staff

APR 9 10 45
(MB) (9/94)

after walking out of the Constitutional Assembly on Monday. I.F.P. MP Ben Skosana said at Parliament yesterday they had asked the ANC for a bilateral meeting before the Friday deadline for the new draft constitution to be submitted to the Constitutional Court.

The I.F.P. pulled out of the process claiming its demands could not be accommodated by the process as it is, including the Friday deadline for the adoption of amendments demanded by the Constitutional Court. The party is seeking a special deal for traditional rulers in local government. Skosana said the I.F.P. did not believe the constitution had been "wrapped up" or that it was too late to make an impact on the final document before it goes back to the Constitutional Court for certification.

The I.F.P. would also have to examine "other tactics" to pursue its demands.

Skosana did not elaborate on what he meant but indicated that the I.F.P. would continue to seek constitutional mechanisms to accommodate traditional authorities.

Responding to the I.F.P. pull out, the ANC's KwaZulu Natal region accused the I.F.P. of engaging "in the politics of boycott and blackmail" and said it was "deserting the electorate that voted it into the Constitutional Assembly to draw up a democratic constitution".

The electorate that voted for the I.F.P. will have to review the trust they put in the I.F.P. in April 1994, said ANC provincial spokesman Dhumiseni Makhaye.

Makhaye said the I.F.P.'s demand that traditional leaders should be the primary form of local government in tribal areas was a strange one. "Why should the I.F.P. as a political party think it can speak on behalf of the traditional structures?" he said.

Gape Town - The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet today in what is expected to be the first of several meetings aimed at brokering an 11th hour deal on their constitutional differences.

The meeting in Cape Town is a last gasp attempt by the I.F.P. to secure its constitutional demands

IFP still negotiating — but informally

(IB) et 9/10/96

THE IFP would pursue a constitutional settlement informally, but would "revert to other tactics" if it failed to get its views reflected, its negotiator Mr Ben Skosana said last night.

At a press conference to explain its withdrawal from the sub-committees of the Constitutional Assembly, its negotiators emphasised that the IFP had never returned to the Constitutional Assembly.

Skosana confirmed that the IFP had approached Constitutional Assembly chair-

man Mr Cyril Ramaphosa to continue "bilateral" talks. Asked what the IFP's options would be if the constitution were passed without it, Skosana said this would be up to the IFP's national conference and council.

He said that in the previous era the majority had not just "sat back and folded their arms". Pressed to explain, Skosana said he was "not suggesting" that the IFP would use similar tactics as those employed by the liberation movements, which had opted for armed struggle. — Political Staff

Taxi boycott launched

20 15/10/96 (222)
PRETORIA — Minibus taxis serving townships around Pretoria experienced a dramatic drop in business yesterday as disgruntled commuters, backed by police and the defence force, embarked on a taxi boycott. Soshanguve community policing forum chairman Dan Mahlangu said.

The boycott was called last week to protest against the killing of commuters in the continuing taxi war. At least 16 commuters have been killed in taxi-related violence since August.

Mahlangu said about 75% of an expected 2 500 commuters joined the protest which affected the routes between Hammanskraal and Makapanstand and Soshanguve and Mabopane.

Local taxi owners also supported the boycott. Mahlangu said bus companies were supplying alternative transport. — Sapa.

Zwelithini, Buthelezi meet in bid to heal rift

Farouk Chothia

20 15/10/96 (118) (222)
DURBAN — King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are scheduled to meet at the monarch's Nongoma palace today in a fresh bid to resolve differences between them.

This will be the first meeting since President Nelson Mandela's effort to mediate between the two collapsed earlier this year as a result of differences over Buthelezi's status within the royal family.

IFP spokesman Themba Nzimande played up the significance of today's meeting, claiming the initiative to hold it had come from Zwelithini.

However, KwaZulu-Natal government sources said the provincial cabinet had initiated the meeting as part of the ANC-IFP peace process.

The sources said chiefs and members of the royal house had been asked to attend. It was in this context that Buthelezi, as provincial house of traditional leaders' chairman, was invited.

The sources said the meeting was nevertheless significant, since for the peace process to succeed, Zwelithini and Buthelezi would have to resolve the contentious issue of whether the latter was the monarch's traditional prime minister.

Meanwhile, Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom and KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose took a major step towards resolving differences over the Ingonyama Trust by agreeing at a Pretoria meeting to the establishment of a board of trustees to administer land falling under the Act.

Land Affairs director-general Geoff Budlender said there was agreement that only tribal land would fall under an amended Act.

Budlender said Zwelithini would no longer be sole trustee of tribal land. A board, acceptable to both governments and traditional leaders, would administer the Act.

In a day of fractious parliamentary educational debate in the parliamentary education committee, NP education spokesman Renier Schoeman presented a legal opinion which said the committee had no right to make changes to the Bill.

NOVEMBER 8 1996

IFP, ANCO reach out for peace

By MICHAEL SCHMIDT

INKATHA and the ANC declared war on "no-go zones" at a joint peace rally in rural Kwazulu Natal yesterday.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini told a crowd of about 11 000 ANC and Inkatha supporters at Kwa-Imba that "reconciliation is blowing through the length and breadth" of the province.

"We are winning against intolerance and violence and the people of this province must combine their forces to promote peace, development and tourism," King Goodwill said to rapturous applause from the crowd.

However, the reconciliation theme was marred by provincial IFP Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose's failure to attend the rally, along with four Inkatha chiefs.

The king was to have spoken after Mdlalose, ANC-supporting Kwaximba chief Zibusiso Mlaba, whose brother Masinga was assassinated in 1987, allegedly by Inkatha supporters and policemen, said he did not feel snubbed because he had spoken to each of the four chiefs who had had agreed to the spirit of the rally and had encouraged their supporters to attend.

"This is the first time we have met together. There are many Inkatha people here, even if there are no high-ranking members. "It is only the start and I feel very happy about the size of the crowd."

Mlaba said a common culture could act as a bond between the previously warring factions whose territory was divided by the Umsunduzi River. "We have declared war on no-go zones."

ANC provincial tourism MEC Jacob Zuma said peace had taken root in the region and that despite their war dances, Zulus were "a warm people."

The rally, which was attended by German diplomatic staff, was organised with an eye on future tourist-oriented job-creation projects in the rural valley. The area was devastated by political strife in the late 80s.

The crowd was entertained by the Mpumalanga Mass Choir, consisting of people from both ANC and IFP strongholds, led by Sambulo Nkwanyana, 24, the sole survivor of a family massacre.



THUMBS UP: Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, right, and provincial tourism MEC Jacob Zuma delight in the cheerfulness of the crowd.

S 720/10/196 (118) (2/96)

IFP, ANCO reach out for peace

By MICHAEL SCHMIDT

INKATHA and the ANC declared war on "no-go zones" at a joint peace rally in rural Kwazulu Natal yesterday.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini told a crowd of about 11 000 ANC and Inkatha supporters at Kwa-Imba that "reconciliation is blowing through the length and breadth" of the province.

"We are winning against intolerance and violence and the people of this province must combine their forces to promote peace, development and tourism," King Goodwill said to rapturous applause from the crowd.

However, the reconciliation theme was marred by provincial IFP Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose's failure to attend the rally, along with four Inkatha chiefs.

The king was to have spoken after Mdlalose.

ANC-supporting Kwaximba chief Zibuse Mlaba, whose brother Msimba was assassinated in 1987, allegedly by Inkatha supporters and policemen, said he did not feel snubbed because he had spoken to each of the four chiefs who had agreed to the spirit of the rally and had encouraged their supporters to attend.

"This is the first time we have met together. There are many Inkatha people here, even if there are no high-ranking members.

"It is only the start and I feel very happy about the size of the crowd."

Mlaba said a common culture could act as a bond between the previously warring factions whose territory was divided by the Umsinduzi River. "We have declared war on no-go zones."

ANC provincial tourism MEC Jacob Zuma said peace had taken root in the region and that despite their war dances, Zulus were "a warm people."

The rally, which was attended by German diplomatic staff, was organised with an eye on future tourist-oriented job-creation projects in the rural valley. The area was devastated by political strife in the late 80s.

The crowd was entertained by the Mpumalanga Mass Choir, consisting of people from both ANC and IFP strongholds led by Sambulo Nkwananya, 24, the sole survivor of a family massacre.



THUMBS UP: Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, right, and provincial tourism MEC Jacob Zuma delight in the cheerfully singing crowds
Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

IFP adviser's amazing

amazing speeding spree

CT. 25/10/96

11B

~~11B~~



THE CONSTITUTIONAL adviser to the IFP is to appear before the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs after it was claimed that he worked solely for the IFP but was paid by the department. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

A CONTROVERSIAL IFP constitutional adviser who incurred almost half a million rands in expenses in two years is under scrutiny after a claim that he has done no work for the department that is financing him.

Dr Mario Oriano-Ambrosini is to appear before the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs on Monday in connection with the R463 372,36 he has incurred in expenses in addition to his R28 000 a month salary.

Committee chairperson Mr Desmond Lockey said yesterday his committee had been told by the director-general of Home Affairs, Mr Piet Colyn, that Ambrosini had done no work for the department, but he had to be financed out of its budget.

Between July 1, 1994, and September 1996 Ambrosini had cost taxpayers R1 240 972,36, including a salary of R777 600, on which tax of R270 369,99 has been paid. His expenses included R173 187,57 for "public transport".

Technically, he is employed as special adviser to Minister of Home Affairs, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Lockey said Ambrosini was a constitutional lawyer, but how this qualified him to be an adviser to the Minister of Home Affairs "is a mystery to us".

"The director-general has told us he is never there for Home Affairs.

"He is the constitutional adviser to the IFP. As far as we are concerned taxpayers should not pay for this. He has absolutely no use or purpose in Home Affairs, yet his salary and expenses come out of the department's budget. What are the benefits of his employment to the department?"

Lockey said that as a result both Colyn, as the accounting officer, and Ambrosini

would appear before the committee.

"All other special advisers have a line function in their departments."

He said Buthelezi had called on businesses to employ local labour, but was not setting a good example by employing a foreign national.

Colyn has given the committee full details of all expenses incurred by Ambrosini. This includes R22 873,75 for parliamentary subsistence, R58 950,10 for "normal subsistence", R173 187,57 for "public transport", R65 680,62 for "telephone services", R6 968,11 for stationery, R121 814,41 for secretarial services, R102,58 for "private motor transport" and R620,16 for incidental payments.

He spent only R2 on "publications".

Effectively, Ambrosini has cost taxpayers R45 961,94 a month to work for the IFP, if Lockey is correct.

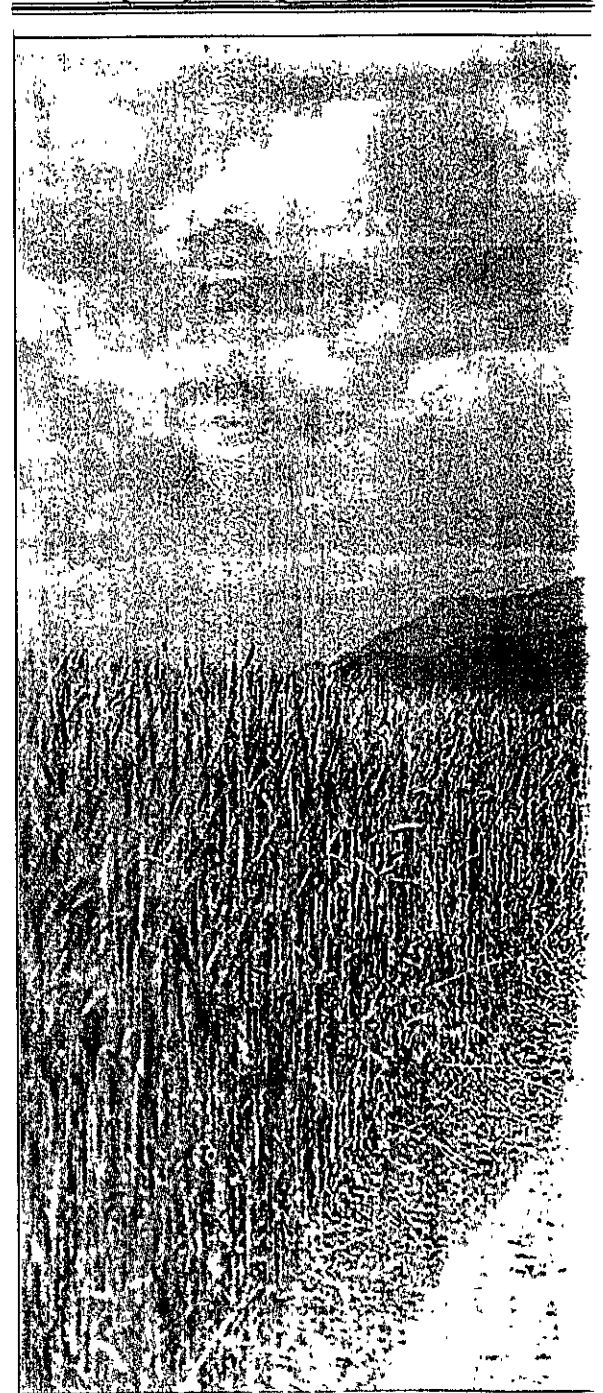
On August 16, 1994, the cabinet decided that foreigners could not be employed as special advisers without special permission, but through a technical loophole Buthelezi has been able to get around this.

● Dr Ambrosini, who recently has been romantically linked to former Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan, is jokingly described as chief "rat-smeller" for the IFP.

He has played a significant role in shaping the abortive KwaZulu Natal provincial constitution and is credited with being a key player in the IFP's withdrawal from the constitution-making process.

A native of Italy, Ambrosini is a constitutional law graduate of Rutgers University in New York state. He acted as an adviser to the IFP at the Kempton Park constitutional negotiations to end apartheid.

Ambrosini has apparently been instructed not to talk to the press.



PATH TO THE FUTURE: Jakob Willems and Carmen Pedro c

IFP adviser to be grilled on expenses claims

By BARRY STRECK

Controversial IFP constitutional adviser Dr Mario Ambrosini is to appear before the portfolio committee on home affairs on Monday following the disclosure that he had incurred expenses of R463 372.36 in two years in addition to his R28 000-a-month salary.

Committee Chairman Desmond Lockey said on Thursday his committee had been informed by the Director-General of Home Affairs, Piet Colyn, that Ambrosini had done no work for the department but had to be financed out of its budget.

Between July 1 1994 and September 1996 Ambrosini has cost taxpayers a total of R1 240 972.36, including a salary of R777 600, on which tax of R270 369.99 has been paid. His expenses include R173 187.57 for "public transport".

Technically he is employed as special adviser to Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is the IFP

leader. Lockey said Ambrosini was a constitutional lawyer but how this qualified him to be an adviser to the minister of home affairs "is a mystery to us".

"The director-general has told us he is never there for home affairs. He is the constitutional adviser to the IFP. As far as we are concerned, taxpayers should not pay for this."

Benefits

"He has absolutely no use or purpose in home affairs, yet his salary and expenses come out of the department's budget. What are the benefits of his employment to the department?"

Lockey said both Colyn, as the accounting officer, and Ambrosini would appear before the committee on Monday morning. Ambrosini had confirmed with the committee clerk that he would be present.

"All other special advisers have a fine function in their departments." He also said Buthelezi had called on businesses

to employ local labour but he was not setting a good example by employing a foreign national.

Colyn has given the committee full details of all expenses incurred by Ambrosini. This includes: R22 873.75 for parliamentary subsistence, R58 950.10 for "normal subsistence", R173 187.57 for "public transport", R65 680.62 for "telephone services", R6 968.11 for stationery, R121 814.41 for secretarial services, R102.58 for private motor transport and R620.16 for incidental payments. In sharp contrast to the costly nature of his expenses, Ambrosini has spent only R2 on "publications".

Ambrosini dismissed as "hogwash" claims that he was wrongfully funded by taxpayers. "The reports were a propaganda operation without any factual basis", he told Sapa. This was underscored, he said, by the fact that no journalist had bothered to call him before reporting on "what at best is news of marginal interest".

'Chief rat smeller' has had big say in Inkatha affairs

Dr Mario Orlando Ambrosini, jokingly described as the chief "rat smeller" for the Inkatha Freedom Party, has played a significant role in shaping the abortive KwaZulu Natal provincial constitution and is credited with being a key player in the IFP's withdrawal from the constitution-making process.

A native of Italy, Ambrosini is a constitutional law graduate of Rutgers University in New York State. He followed in the heels of his mentor, Professor Albert Blausstein, as the IFP's adviser at the Kempton Park constitutional negotiations to end apartheid.

Recently linked romantically to former Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan, Ambrosini was appointed adviser to Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi shortly after the national election in 1994.

The mystery character, who apparently has been instructed not to talk to the press, once tried to apply for Ciskei citizenship to ensure accreditation to the negotiating forum at Kempton Park. He is a US citizen.

Earlier this year Buthelezi faced a grilling by the National Assembly's home affairs committee on Ambrosini's role in advising the IFP but the IFP leader said he was subject to his instructions. Asked by a journalist once whether Ambrosini was "shadowy", the minister responded: "What does that mean?"

(118)

Star 26/10/96

Call for action on advisers

OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal has urged the Government to implement a policy decision not to employ foreigners as special, ministerial advisers and to resolve the "problem around the employment" of Dr Mario Oriano-Ambrosini.

The call was made on the eve of Home Affairs Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's special adviser's appearance today before the home affairs portfolio committee, to explain why he (Ambrosini) has allegedly received R500 000 in expenses over two years, in addition to his R28 000-a-month salary.

Buthelezi, who is not expected to appear alongside his Italian adviser, has defended Ambrosini's appointment on the grounds that he has "special legal skills".

(11B) (29)
28/10/96

'Spending machine' hits back at critics

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Mario Ambrosini, the controversial special adviser to the Home Affairs ministry, came under fire today from a parliamentary committee for his other role, as Inkatha's constitutional guru.

Dr Ambrosini, long the subject of media interest, hit the headlines again last week when he was dubbed Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "Italian spending machine" for running up nearly R500 000 in expenses in addition to his R28 000 monthly salary.

ARG 28/10/96
Desmond Lockey, head of the National Assembly home affairs committee, was quoted as saying Dr Ambrosini was paid by the Home Affairs ministry but did no work for it, spending his time as constitutional adviser to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In evidence to the committee today, Dr Ambrosini hit back that he was not a public servant: "I do not work for the department but only for the Minister of Home Affairs," he said. His contract was the same as the other 40 special advisers to various cabinet ministers, he added.

Because Chief Buthelezi, as a cabinet

(118) (118)
minister, was accountable for all Cabinet decisions, Dr Ambrosini believed, "my scope of work relates to any matter being discussed, or capable of being discussed in the Cabinet."

Answering criticism that he was not a South African citizen, he said he was not the only special adviser about whom this could be said.

"All my expenses are verified by internal administrative and accounting procedures within the department.

All are related to the scope of my contract and none has been incurred for private or frivolous reasons.

Ambrosini defends 'huge' expenses

CT 29/10/96

(11B) (11B)

POLITICAL WRITER

HOME Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's constitutional adviser Dr Mario Ambrosini yesterday defended his post and the almost half a million rand in expenses he has run up over the past two years.

Appearing before the portfolio Committee on Home Affairs, Ambrosini, who advised Buthelezi throughout the constitutional negotiations and who was retained as the minister's special adviser after the 1994 election, admitted there was an anomaly between his being paid by the department while performing as the minister's adviser in areas not related to Home Affairs.

None of his expenses had been

incurred for "private or frivolous reasons". The cabinet was reviewing the posts of advisers to ministers, he said.

Ambrosini has been criticised for appearing at events apparently related to the IFP's political affairs during office hours and was heavily involved in helping draw up the party's rejected KwaZulu-Natal constitution.

He also attended Constitutional Court sessions in July and was recently seen at the trial of former defence minister General Magnus Malan and high-ranking IFP officials.

On the Malan trial, Ambrosini told the committee: "I popped in to express solidarity with a friend."

Ambrosini also conceded that there was a perception that he

advised Buthelezi on Inkatha Freedom Party-related issues.

"I am aware of that perception and I regret the perception created in the media. Perhaps in future I should be more careful," Ambrosini told the committee.

Ambrosini said he was in the same position as other ministerial advisers who were paid out of department funds yet who did not perform tasks related to the line functions of the departments which employed them.

He referred to President Nelson Mandela's adviser Mr Fink Haysom who routinely advised the ANC on constitutional matters even though he was paid out of the president's budget.

"My employment is determined and defined on the basis of

a standard contract which is used for all the 40 full-time special advisers employed by government ministers. Neither I nor the minister have the liberty to change portions of this standard contract."

His contract specifically required him to "refrain from interfering in the administration and management of the department which is the sole responsibility of the director-general".

He said his work reflected the "range of duties and responsibilities of the minister" which "means that the minister, especially in his capacity as leader of a party participating in the government, is constitutionally responsible and accountable for all the decisions of cabinet, including those affecting other government departments".

Ambrosini defends his R500 000 expense (118) account (118)

By PATRICK BULGER

Cape town

APR 29/10/1996

Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's controversial Italian constitutional adviser, Dr Mario Ambrosini, yesterday defended his post and the almost R500 000 in expenses he has run up over the past two years.

Ambrosini, who advised Buthelezi throughout the constitutional negotiations and who was retained as the minister's special adviser after the April 1994 election, admitted there was an anomaly between his being paid by the department

Admits to payment anomaly

while performing as the minister's adviser in areas not necessarily related to home affairs matters.

Ambrosini has been criticised recently for appearing at events apparently related to the IFP's political affairs during normal office hours. He was heavily involved in helping to draw up the IFP's rejected KwaZulu Natal constitution, attended Constitutional Court sessions in July and was seen at the trial of former defence minister Magnus Malan.

On the Malan trial, Ambrosini told Parliament's portfolio committee on home affairs: "I popped in to express solidarity with a friend who, it turned out, was the subject of political victimisation."

Ambrosini also conceded there was a perception, fuelled by media reports, that he advised Buthelezi on IFP-related issues. "I am aware of that perception and I regret the perception created in the media. Perhaps I should be more careful," Ambrosini told the committee, which summoned him for an explanation of his job and expenses.

None of his expenses had been incurred for private or frivolous reasons. His expenses compared favourably with a director's during the parliamentary session, he added.

Row over R0,5-m expenses claims

(118) (229) Somerset 29/10/96

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

CLAIMS for expenses from the Government by Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's foreign adviser Dr Mario Ambrosini amount to more than R500 000.

In addition, Ambrosini earns a salary of R28 000 a month.

Ambrosini, referred to as Buthelezi's "gum-chewing Italian lawyer", yesterday appeared before the portfolio committee on home affairs to explain how he qualified for these huge amounts of taxpayers' money.

Ambrosini has been called upon to explain his huge expenses claims of R508 061,43 and whether he is also the adviser to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The committee also wants to know what he had been doing at the trial of General Magnus Malan in Durban and what role he had played in drafting the

KwaZulu-Natal constitution.

At the end of the hearing, committee chairman Mr Desmond Lockey told Ambrosini: "It remains a mystery what you do."

After more than an hour of Ambrosini grilling, Lockey said: "There is no proof of any substantial work you have done."

What is also of concern to most members of the committee is that Ambrosini has contravened terms of his contract by being paid from taxpayers' money while working for a political party - the IFP.

Ambrosini defended his expenditures by saying he was appointed on the level of a deputy director-general.

Although denying he worked as an adviser to the IFP, the committee's Mr Jannie Momberg said Ambrosini had, in fact, admitted he was working for the IFP.

● See Page 6

Mboweni cagey on Free State premier

Tim Cohen

BD 26/11/96

LABOUR Minister Tito Mboweni showered praise on SABC chairman Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri yesterday but declined to name her explicitly as the next premier of the troubled Free State legislature, saying African National Congress (ANC) "redeployments" would be known by the end of the week.

Mboweni, head of an ANC ad hoc committee established to resolve the debilitating power struggle in the Free State, said at a press conference yesterday that it was "likely" Casaburri would be redeployed to the province.

The ANC wanted to discuss national executive committee decisions with members and branches. A number of people would be resigning from the legislature and others would be taking their places.

He said there was no constitutional bar to the ANC deciding who the new members of the Free State legislature would be. The constitution allowed political parties to make a limited number of adjustments to its national and provincial candidate lists.

Mboweni said Casaburri was a person of high integrity and ability, but said was only one of several "names being bandied about".

He dismissed National Party suggestions that the fact that Casaburri's name was associated with the selection process indicated that she was not politically independent and that she should therefore resign from her SABC position.

"Just because I work for Sanlam or for Eskom does not mean that I stop being a member of the ANC," Mboweni said.

He indicated that the selection of a new premier for the province would coincide with an effort by the party to invigorate the branch structure in the province. A new membership drive had begun, he said, claiming membership had swelled from about 8 000 to 17 000 members.

Ousted IFP leader will sue

Farouk Chothia

(11b)

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal MP Mandla Shabalala would institute Supreme Court action by next week to challenge his expulsion from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), his attorney, Robinson Manzi, said yesterday.

Manzi said the IFP had presented a "very weak" case against Shabalala at a disciplinary committee hearing. IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane and IFP south coast chairman Calalakubo Khawula were among witnesses who testified against Shabalala, but they had contradicted themselves in "very many respects" under cross-examination.

IFP disciplinary committee chairman Sipo Mzimela said Shabalala could exercise his democratic right to institute legal action. He believed the IFP had acted correctly. The main charge Shabalala faced was in connection with his participation in a march held in May in Durban in protest against the banning of traditional weapons. The march turned violent, leaving one person dead and several injured.

Mzimela said Shabalala had participated in the march in defiance of the party, and that the march had cost the IFP many votes in the subsequent local government elections.

Manzi said the IFP had not informed Shabalala that he was not allowed to take part in the march, staged to support carrying of traditional weapons.

IFP threat to make Gauteng ungovernable

(11B) (17) Nov 6/12/96

Fury over coming eviction from illegally occupied East Rand township houses without alternative accomodation offer

By Mike Masipa

A large security force moved into Tokoza at sunrise today as the Alberton council prepared to make another attempt at evicting squatters illegally occupying houses in the East Rand township's Phenduka section.

Following yesterday's clashes between squatters and police, Gauteng provincial administration spokesman Themba Maluleke said they had prepared a "heavy security presence" before moving into the area around Khumalo street.

Although no further incidents were reported during the night, police said they were leaving nothing to chance, particularly after the local IFP branch yesterday threatened to make Gauteng ungovernable if the Alberton council evicted people without finding them "suitable" alternative accommodation.

Sipho Sithole of the IFP said yesterday it was unfair that the council should evict the illegal occupants and make no mention of moving them back to their houses, from which they were forced out in other sections of Tokoza.

Residents moved into the houses near the notorious Khumalo street at the height of the political violence in the early 1990s.

Sithole said the illegal occupants had widespread support across party structures in Gauteng, and the IFP would stage "destabilising" protest marches throughout the province until their demands were met.

About 1 000 Tokoza residents tried to march on the Alberton

council yesterday to protest against the evictions, but ran into trouble when police fired teargas on them after they chased council workers who were trying to evict the illegal occupants.

Police fired stun grenades at the heavily armed marchers as they tore down a section of barbed wire put in the middle of their route. Police managed to contain the marchers, who blocked a busy road leading into central Alberton and demanded the council address them. This was followed by negotiations between police officers and IFP MPL Gertrude Mzizi as to whether the marchers should be allowed into central Alberton armed as they were. The marchers refused to be searched individually.

The negotiations fell through when Mzizi and the marchers objected to the presence of Vuyani Mpofu, an ANC leader and official of the provincial safety and security department who, they claimed, was giving orders to the security forces to shoot them.

The town council refused to meet the marchers, saying they had been given the opportunity to oppose the eviction order in court but failed to do so.

Mzizi persuaded the protesters to return to Phenduka section and said "residents would solve the problems their own way".

The Gauteng housing department has declared its support for the evictions, which it said paved the way for the completion of the Katorus project, a redevelopment plan for Kaitleng, Tokoza and Vosloorus. The department said 600 houses in Phenduka had been illegally occupied. The council was going to evacuate 191 by Monday

Felgate backs ANC call to discipline IFP MP

(110) 12/16/1976

Farouk Chothia

MARITZBURG — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) KwaZulu-Natal MP Walter Felgate supported the African National Congress (ANC) yesterday in having a disciplinary hearing instituted against IFP MP Blessed Gwala for claiming that a "white cabal" controlled the provincial legislature.

Gwala claimed at the weekend that a clique of white MPs from all parties had hatched an "underground plot" to oust legislature secretary Robert Mzimela, because they did not want a black in a senior position. The "white cabal" had earlier made an attempt to sideline speaker

Gideon Mdlalose, he said.

ANC MP Mike Mabusayakhulu told the legislature's executive board that the ANC objected to Gwala's statement. Gwala had brought the legislature into dispute, and the matter should be referred to the legislature's disciplinary committee, chaired by deputy speaker Willie Mchunu (ANC). Gwala should, if necessary, be censured, he said.

Felgate agreed that the matter should be referred to the committee because it was the only way to establish whether there was truth in Gwala's claim. "If there is a cabal, I want to know about it," he said.

Gwala's comments were seen as

an attempt to scupper plans by Felgate, IFP chief whip Mike Tarr, ANC chief whip Ina Cronje and other opposition MPs to achieve greater efficiency in the legislature through a staff and administration shake-up. Although the legislature passed only about 10 bills this year, sessions were postponed on several occasions because of bungling in Mdlalose and Mzimela's offices. Bills were not published properly, and were not given to MPs's timeously. Correspondence for MPs was also often reported as "lost".

Felgate and Tarr were understood to have argued against Mdlalose chairing the board, as they believed he would not be able to cope

with the demands of the job once the national council of provinces was formed. However, they were overruled by the IFP caucus.

Felgate was also understood to have argued that Mzimela's position be reviewed, as the new constitution required that the secretary be appointed by the legislature. Mzimela had been appointed by the provincial cabinet.

Gwala said he stood by his statement. He had the "guts" to publicly say what had been "whispered" for some time. His intervention had had a positive effect as the "rainbow nation" was reflected in the appointment of the board's management committee yesterday. Its members

included Felgate, ANC MP Felix Dlamini and Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi.

Meanwhile, Mdlalose defended his purchase of a Mercedes-Benz E320 with legislature funds, at a cost of R275 000, on the grounds that his previous vehicle was "giving a lot of problems".

Mzimela said other legislature speakers had the same car, although national parliamentary speaker Frene Giniewala used her own vehicle.

The board decided to "accept" the purchase, but wanted guidelines to be set for future purchases. Mdlalose's vehicle was more expensive than any MEC's.

Buthelezi attempts to revive 'apathetic' IFP

(118) 00 19/12/96

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has suggested the party's national conference be brought forward from its traditional July date so that a new leadership can be elected to galvanise it into action before the 1999 elections, IFP sources said yesterday.

The sources said widespread disillusion within the IFP had translated into apathy, which was a matter of concern for Buthelezi.

The IFP decided at its national conference in July to appoint a presidential review commission to chart a new course in the run-up to the 1999 elections. The commission was to have completed its work in October, but held its first meeting only a few weeks ago.

The commission failed to hold regular meetings, despite the fact that it was made up of heavyweights such as national IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose, deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela, secretary-general Ziba Jiyane and KwaZulu-Natal finance MEC Ben Ngubane. The commission was chaired by IFP national MP Ben Skosana. He could not be reached for comment.

The sources said meetings of the IFP national council, the party's top decision-making body, were also poorly attended. "It has more than 100 members, but less than 50 attend," one source said.

They said apathy within the IFP had prompted Buthelezi to propose at the last three national council meet-

ings that the conference be held earlier. He also proposed that electoral contests take place for all posts, including his own, in the hope that it would bring "excitement" into the party.

However, Buthelezi's proposal was, on each occasion, met with silence. Council members felt that Buthelezi should take the next step to hold the conference, "if he really wants it".

IFP leaders were reluctant to express support for the idea, partly out of fear that it could be a ploy on Buthelezi's part to identify those who were dissatisfied with his leadership.

"He says his position will be up for grabs, but I can't see anyone challenging him," one source said.

They said Buthelezi still commanded strong grassroots support, although he was gradually losing the loyalty of key factions within the party.

Delegates to the IFP youth brigade conference a few months ago were opposed to Buthelezi having constitutional power to nominate the brigade chairman and called for elections.

Buthelezi refused, saying that in order to do so, the party's constitution would have to be amended.

The sources said Walter Felgate was the latest IFP leader to fall out with Buthelezi because he wanted to shift from a confrontational strategy to one of co-operation with the ANC. Buthelezi had earlier fallen out with treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer, Jiyane and Mzimela. Italian-American constitutional advisor Mario Ambrosini was one of his few remaining allies.

Am
C-13
outs

To
na

UM
pos
tour
roa
St
poli

an

IFP rules out alliances with other parties ^(11B)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: The Inkatha Freedom Party would not consider alliances with any party ahead of the 1999 election, even though there were now warmer relations with the Democratic Party, party spokesman Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said yesterday.

He also confirmed that the party was concerned about beefing up its organisation and might bring forward its annual July national conference to earlier in 1997.

Mr Ndlovu said talks with the leadership of the DP, ANC, NP, the PAC and the Freedom Front were part of the process of "educating" these groups about the IFP's policies.

It should not be seen as part of a strategy to form a new force, he emphasised. The IFP would foster its own interests.

Ndlovu was reacting to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's surprise letter to a weekend newspaper in which he praised the DP leader for his fight for liberal causes.

This was seen as a major about-turn from calling provincial DP leader Mr Roger Burrows "a parasite" earlier this year.

Ndlovu said a presidential review commission had set up task teams to improve the party's logistical support, membership and branch structures.

This follows the poor performance of the party in urban areas in the KwaZulu-Natal municipal elections in June this year.

The commission is chaired by Mr Ben Skosana, a national MP, and includes deputy national chairman Dr Sipo Mzimela, KZN Finance Minister Dr Ben Ngubane, and secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane.

Ndlovu, meanwhile, also confirmed that there were elements in the party who saw things "as red when they are blue" but denied reports that Buthelezi had favourites. "All members are equal to the party president... he listens to all," he said.

Insiders, however, privately acknowledge that there is a clear divide now emerging between certain white leaders in the party, with constitutional expert Mr Walter Felgate, once seen as a lieutenant of Buthelezi, now believed to be out of favour.

Mr Ndlovu said IFP chief whip Mr Mike Tarrof's referral of alleged racist remarks by IFP MP Mr Blessed Gwala to the KZN provincial legislature's disciplinary committee this week was a justified procedural action.

Gwala had said a

L **CF 20/12/96**
"white cabal" from all parties in the legislature wanted to remove blacks because they thought blacks were not up to scratch.

The party's view was that Gwala had a point when he said there were certain whites who believed they were superior to blacks, said Ndlovu.

He also agreed that the parliamentary secretary, Mr Robert Nzimela, to whom Gwala had referred, was competent for the post. Some whites within the IFP provincial caucus were known to oppose this view, Ndlovu said.

IFP working on slicker party machine for '99

By JOVIAL RANTAO
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party has embarked on an extensive programme to transform itself in an effort aimed at winning a bigger slice of the vote in the 1999 general election.

IFP national council sources told The Star that the programme had left some IFP officials feeling uneasy as it could mean that "dead wood", or ineffective MPs and MPLs, would be replaced as the party launches its biggest attempt yet to become the "next ruling or second biggest party in

the country".

The source revealed that the national council had established 10 presidential committees, all of which had been charged with coming up with refined policies which would form the foundation for the IFP's 1999 election manifesto.

The committees have been mandated to come up with policy positions on health and welfare, education, justice, police, prisons, trade and industry, constitutional development and housing.

"It's a radical shake-up and refurbishment of the party in preparation for the future. We are plan-

ning from now on how to wrestle power from the ANC, failing which we should become the biggest party and official opposition in Parliament," the source said.

The committees were set up after the IFP held an introspective seminar which was addressed by well-known political analysts and a foreign-based consultancy that advised the IFP during the local government elections.

"The party is also looking at why it has gained a lot of support in the rural areas and lost substantial votes in the urban areas. We will also investigate why our sup-

port from whites, Indians and non-Zulu-speaking Africans has been low."

The IFP has already indicated that it intends to bring forward its annual conference, which is normally held in July/August. The party's national council, its highest decision-making body in between conferences, meets next month and is expected to announce the new conference date.

IFP leader Chief Mangosithu Buthelezi has slammed the poor performance of the party's leadership and questioned the integrity of the June 26 local elections in KwaZulu-Natal.

(11B) Star 31/12/96

IFP shifts its stance towards the ANC

A wind of change is blowing through the IFP's Kwazulu-Natal provincial caucus, reports Farouk Chothia in Durban

ONCE, Kwazulu-Natal public works MEC Calani Mteywa and legislature member Walter Felgate personified the headline within the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). But the two are now spearheading co-operation with the African National Congress (ANC) in the provincial assembly and cabinet respectively.

Their "conversion" is nothing short of remarkable. Felgate once pursued a strategy of institutional conflict against the ANC, believing that it would secure autonomy for Kwazulu-Natal.

Then there have been allegations that Mteywa was a key figure in the IFP's hit squad network, the existence of which was apparently premised on the belief that violence would save Kwazulu-Natal from ANC domination.

Both men seem to have realised, albeit belatedly, that the new era requires new strategies.

Felgate seems to have realised that, since gaining power in 1994, the ANC has stopped bowing to threats of destabilisation.

The ANC passed the national constitution without the IFP's participation and, even though it is in opposition in Kwazulu-Natal, it was able to deny the IFP the constitution it wanted for the province by marshalling minority parties to its side.

Felgate has apparently concluded that the correct strategy for the IFP is to play effectively within the new rules. This requires efficiency in the Kwazulu-Natal legislature, and the building of working alliances.

He may have deduced that the soon-to-be-established national council of provinces will result in increased tensions within the ANC. Power contests will erupt between the ruling party's provincial and national caucuses. If the IFP participates constructively within the council, it will be able to exploit these tensions and help swing the pendulum in favour of the ANC's provincial caucuses. This will assist in influencing the legislative process, and increasing provincial powers.

Felgate is therefore trying to steer the IFP away from extreme positions, possibly because he is

aware ANC-controlled provinces will, otherwise, be dismissive of the party. The IFP will then be isolated in the council.

Felgate possibly also believes that some room for constitutional amendments still exists. The new constitution's weaknesses will be shown up as it is implemented. By being part of the implementation process, the IFP will be in a position to make constructive suggestions on amendments needed.

When the house of traditional leaders, led by IFP party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, proposed that the province's name be changed to Kingdom of Kwazulu-Natal, Felgate is believed to have argued against the measure.

It required courage to adopt such a stance: the name change is precious to traditionalists within the IFP, including Buthelezi.

But Felgate seemingly did not want to undo the trust he was building with former arch-foes in the ANC, nor did he want to alienate the potential allies in the NP and DP.

Felgate has possibly realised that continuous clashes with opposition parties do not only lead to acrimony, but stall "delivery" in the poverty-stricken province.

And the IFP desperately needs to deliver: it obtained 50,3% of the provincial vote in the 1994 elections. A drop of a mere 0,4% in the 1999 elections will force it to enter into a coalition government. The June local government elections, when the IFP obtained 44,5% of the vote in

the province, suggests that the prospects are real.

The best way to reverse the voting trend is to put shovels in the hands of people and food in their stomachs. Whether Kwazulu-Natal is a kingdom or a republic becomes a secondary issue.

Felgate has backed a move to open the council of provinces offices in Maritzburg, a decision which could irk Buthelezi and other IFP traditionalists.

Mteywa's role in the provincial cabinet, where he is involved in peace talks with ANC chairman Jacob Zuma, supplements Felgate's role in the legislature: for IFP to win support among the Indian and white minorities of Kwazulu-Natal, peace has to

reign in townships and villages.

Mteywa has possibly concluded that the IFP's capacity to engage in violence, be it offensive or defensive, has diminished because of the truth commission, the special police investigation units and the watchdog role played by opposition parties in the legislature.

The approach of the IFP top brass towards the truth commission is said to have led to disillusionment among IFP "foot soldiers". Buthelezi has denied responsibility for the violence, effectively leaving the ordinary members to carry the can.

The truth commission has not led to IFP members applying for amnesty in droves, but those who allegedly assisted the party's role in violence — such as former se-

curity branch chief Basie Smit — are appearing before the body. A number of them have also been forced to leave the police service.

So the IFP finds its weapons supply lines are being cut. It also finds it difficult to use its power in government to finance a military machine: unlike in the old Kwazulu-Natal government, there is now no homeland government, and there is now no apartheid democracy.

The IFP leadership has, except in the case of deputy secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo, avoided prosecution. But this could change this year. Central government plans to appoint a national attorney-general, who might be more inclined towards prosecutions than Kwazulu-Natal attorney-general Tim McNally.

Mteywa himself could be hauled before the courts. His name featured prominently in the Goldstone commission report on political violence and the De Kock and Romeo Mbeambo hit squad trials.

The Transvaal attorney-general's office is said to be compiling a case against him.

So Mteywa has a personal interest in engaging in peace talks. Unlike Buthelezi, who dismissed the talks as an "empty shell" at the party's July conference, Mteywa has not expressed reservations in public about the initiative. Instead, he has elevated its status.

The ANC's response has been to encourage the "conversion" of the likes of Felgate and Mteywa. In the provincial legislature, it en-

dorsed Felgate's election to the all post-chairman of the key national council of provinces standing committee, and is supporting him in moves to have the legislature operate efficiently.

Says an ANC source: "We could have sought to frustrate the IFP's move because inefficiency has all sorts of negative implications for them. But we want a constructive relationship because our objectives to rid the them into the new SA." With regard to Mteywa, the ANC has mooted the idea of a special amnesty deal in Kwazulu-Natal, which would not require full disclosure of specific acts of violence. Rather, it will see leaders of the two parties jointly handing over their respective arms caches and disbanding military training camps in exchange for amnesty.

But there is no guarantee that the Felgate and Mteywa conversion will last, nor that the peace initiative will succeed.

Buthelezi has to be drawn into the process. He feels betrayed by the ANC for reneging on internal national mediation, for changing its mind on voting in favour of the Kwazulu-Natal constitution and for diminishing the significance of his home affairs portfolio at national government level.

Some say that, as an olive branch, the ANC should offer Buthelezi the chairmanship of the council of provinces — a move which will have the twin effect of winning his support for the constitution while giving him room to build ties with provincial governments in order to bolster the argument for federalism. In addition, Buthelezi could be offered the chairmanship of the national council of traditional leaders.

But the thorniest issue the IFP and the ANC will have to address is how they will relate to each other at grassroots level in the run-up to the 1999 elections.

Should they put peace above democracy by recognising the existence of "no go" zones and agreeing to end voter recruitment in rival territory? The warlords who are turning into peacelords will also have to turn into democrats, as peace without democracy is unacceptable and unsustainable.



BUTHELEZI



FELGATE

Mandela takes ANC members to task over 'careerism, petty rivalry'

Stephen Laufer

BOTSHABELO—President Nelson Mandela read African National Congress (ANC) members the riot act yesterday, telling them to set aside "individualism, mindless careerism and petty rivalries," and to make sure that in everything they do, "the people come first."

Politics had to be put above personalities, Mandela said, calling on party members to "do hard work on the ground" instead of embroiling them-

selves in "paralyzing factionalism".

A great deal of energy had been consumed on intra-organisational leadership rivalries, personality squabbles and factionalising, not just in the Free State, he said.

He was speaking at the ANC's 85th anniversary celebrations in Botshabelo, 50 km outside Bloemfontein. His speech on behalf of the ANC national executive, followed in the tradition of a major policy statement each January.

The ANC leadership recently removed Free State premier Patrick

Lekota and his rivals in the provincial party leadership following months of factionalism. Lekota was replaced by Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri who yesterday called on the Free State ANC to commit itself to unity.

Lekota was greeted with loud applause as he entered the stadium for the celebrations, with the crowd ignoring his former rivals Pat Matosa and Ace Magashule, who have also been redeployed. A small demonstration at the entrance to Botshabelo called for Lekota's reinstatement as premier.

The SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco), which was critical of Lekota's removal, failed to send its expected message of support to yesterday's meeting, Mandela said that despite this, Sanco was committed to the ANC's programme for transformation.

There was a need to reaffirm the party's moral vision and strategic objectives in the run-up to the December national conference, he said. Things were not always moving as fast as the ANC might like, and there had been reverses and mistakes made.

There was no need to be defensive as there was "now tangible evidence of a new SA in the making". At the same time, it was the "mark of a serious political movement that it must, where necessary, be self-critical".

It was necessary to admit that the organisational state of affairs in the ANC and its allied formations often left much to be desired. Singling out the ANC Women's League out for particular criticism, Mandela said that because of

Continued on Page 2

ANC (11A)

Continued from Page 1
5/13/11/97

internal squabbles "we have, in the recent period, failed the women's movement and the cause of building a non-sexist society".

The ANC had a long tradition of placing the organisation above individuals, Mandela said, and it was proud of its record of collective leadership, indicating that there was a need to build a culture of debate and discussion within the ANC. Leading members have said recently that exile and underground traditions in which strategy and tactics were hammered out in intense discussions have given way to isolated work in ministries and departments since the ANC took office.

It was necessary for ANC cadres in all spheres of life to be at the centre of setting an example of discipline, commitment to transformation, of teaching and listening, Mandela said. Inside the ANC and within its alliance with the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the SA Communist Party there had to be space for debate, as unity was "not built by bureaucratic declaration".

Local councillors had to serve their communities "within the context of our moral vision and overall goals".

Mandela said the ANC intended reviving the Masakhane campaign with a greatly broadened scope. All ANC national and provincial MPs would take part in Masakhane weekends during which communities would be mobilised to renovate schools, conduct community clean-ups, and take part in anti-crime drives.

CASH CRISIS DOGS WESTERN CAPE OFFICE

ridden ANC

Creditors hounded debt-

WESTERN CAPE ANC officials have had to use public telephones after the party's phone service was cut off because of unpaid bills. Telkom is just one of many groups owed money by the party, whose debts add up to about R500 000. Political Writer **HENRY LUDSKI** reports.

THE ANC in the Western Cape faces a debt crisis running into hundred of thousands of rands. ANC provincial secretary Mr James Ngculu, acknowledging the party's financial squeeze, said yesterday that "arrangements" had been made with creditors to settle debts that had accumulated over the past three years.

The party started the year by having to negotiate with Telkom to reconnect its service after having been without telephones for several days. ANC staff had to use public telephones.

Last year's local government election campaign left the party with a debt headache reminiscent of the 1994 election when angry creditors waited for months to be paid.

Now the party finds itself in a similar position of having to fend off creditors — and their lawyers — with debts totalling about R500 000.

The largest unpaid amounts are apparently for printing costs, the use of hired cars and cellular phones and other expenses incurred during electioneering.

Ngculu said the amounts owing varied between a few hundred rand and the R75 000 owed to Allies Printing Services.

In 1994 Mr Allie Parker, whose company is known to many as the "People's Printers", experienced similar problems in getting a much larger sum from the party.

In April 1995 the party's coffers were in

(11A) CT 16/1/97
better shape when a fundraising banquet, with President Nelson Mandela as guest of honour, was held to help pay the debts. Items of Mandela memorabilia, including the shoes he wore on the day he was released from the Victor Verster prison, and a collection of other items were sold to help pay the debts.

Towards the end of last year a bus company obtained a Supreme Court judgment against the ANC's regional Women's League for an unpaid debt relating to the organisation's 30th anniversary. Court officials went to the Women's League's Woodstock offices to execute the court order.

Western Cape Women's League secretary Ms Nosipho Ntwanambi said yesterday the matter had been a "misunderstanding".

"Neither the Women's League nor the ANC have any financial problems," she said.

But Ngculu said that the party had sent creditors letters in which it acknowledged its debts.

"We assured them that we have every intention of paying them and have arrangements to settle our accounts.

"Our creditors are understandably becoming impatient and we are sympathetic to their concerns, but we have undertaken to meet our commitments," said Ngculu.

The region is again looking at fundraising activities to get it out of its latest financial bind.

More resignations rock IFP leadership

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party secretary-general Ziba Jiyane and Gauteng legislature leader Musa Myeni handed in their resignations — along with national chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose — at a marathon 15-hour meeting of the IFP's national council on Saturday, party sources said yesterday.

Their decisions plunge the IFP into its biggest crisis since the 1994 elections, and it is expected to be a blow to efforts to increase its support base in the run-up to the 1999 elections.

It is not clear whether they have also resigned from the party.

IFP sources said that Jiyane informed the council that he wanted to quit as secretary-general for "personal reasons". Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi accepted his resignation, but had asked him to remain in the post until the party's annual national conference in July.

However, Buthelezi decided that the party should, with immediate effect, stop paying Jiyane the salary of secretary-general. One source said he would still receive his salary as a mem-

ber of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature.

The sources said Buthelezi informed the council that Jiyane's salary was needed to employ new staff to back up deputy secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo, who would increasingly perform Jiyane's functions. Khumalo was acquitted on hit squad charges relating to the 1987 KwaMakhutha massacre in which former defence minister Magnus Malan was a co-accused.

Jiyane was believed to have become disillusioned with the IFP after finding his efforts to democratise and restructure the party stifled by Buthelezi. One source said relations between Jiyane and Buthelezi were "very sour".

Sources said that Myeni, also a moderate who teamed up with Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale to bring peace to the Reef hostels, believed that the IFP had no future.

His letter to the council stated he was quitting as a member of the Gauteng legislature with immediate effect.

It was unclear who would succeed him, but local government councillor Gerda Bekker had been mentioned.

The sources said there was no obvious successor to Jiyane, and the post of secretary-general might be disman-

BD 27/1/97 (11B)
tled in July. Both Jiyane and Myeni intended to move into the private sector, they said.

They said there was also speculation that IFP deputy chairman and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela planned to quit. He did not attend the council meeting, as he was "very ill" in hospital. One said it was rumoured that a deal had been made with President Nelson Mandela which would allow Mzimela to stay in the cabinet even if he left the IFP.

Mdlalose's resignation as national chairman came into effect immediately, but he was expected to remain as premier until the end of February.

The sources said that Mdlalose, who could not cope with the heavy workload and continued interference from Buthelezi, had wanted a longer transitional period to hand over the reins.

However, Buthelezi felt that a successor should be chosen as soon as possible so that he could assert his authority in the run-up to the 1999 elections.

Buthelezi chose KwaZulu-Natal finance MEC Ben Ngubane, known to be a highly capable moderate, as acting

Continued on Page 2

IFP (11B)

BD 27/1/97
Continued from Page 1

IFP chairman, making him the logical successor to Mdlalose.

Buthelezi told a rally in northern KwaZulu-Natal yesterday that there were "only" 820 days left for the elections, and the "stakes are frightfully high". The new leadership emerging within the IFP was bringing with it "new enthusiasm", he said.

The sources said Buthelezi had ap-

pointed a committee, chaired by Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews, to prepare the party for the elections. They said that Ngubane's likely rise to the premiership indicated that Buthelezi wanted good governance in KwaZulu-Natal, but it did not imply that he wanted to chart a new policy course for the IFP.

The sources said that Buthelezi sharply criticised MP Walter Felgate, even though he was absent from the council because of illness, for forging close co-operation with the ANC in the legislature.

Court rules for IFP in dispute over chiefs

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN.— The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) scored a major victory over the African National Congress (ANC) in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday when Judge PC Combrinck ruled that all chiefs could serve in regional councils in terms of the interim constitution.

The ANC lodged a legal challenge against KwaZulu-Natal local government MEC Peter Miller before last year's local government elections in a

bid to reduce the representation of chiefs on the councils.

The ANC argued that the constitution provided for the institution of traditional leaders to be represented on the council as ex officio members. This meant that only some traditional leaders qualified for representation. Miller had argued that the constitution compelled him to include all chiefs on councils automatically, a move which guaranteed IFP control over rural areas.

Continued on Page 2

IFP

(11B)

BD 28/1/97

Continued from Page 1

Miller said Combrinck had ruled that his interpretation of the constitution was correct. This was a "tremendous moral and personal victory" for him and the IFP.

He hoped that the ANC realised "once and for all" the important role traditional leaders were entitled to perform in government structures.

KwaZulu-Natal could ill-afford continued "political challenges" which complicated the task of establishing effective local government structures in rural areas, he said.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal local government head Mike Sutcliffe said the party's provincial working committee would discuss the judgment.

The committee had the option of instructing ANC lawyers to lodge an appeal, or leaving the matter to rest as the constitutional provision applied only until April 1999, Sutcliffe said.



Mdlalose

CP 26/1/97

resigns

(11B)

Inkatha stunned as premier quits for 'health reasons'

By CHRIS HLONGWA

DR FRANK Mdlalose (pictured top right) yesterday shocked an Inkatha national council meeting in Ulundi by announcing his resignation as premier of KwaZulu-Natal - and as national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

His resignation - which will come into effect at the end of next month - came as a surprise not only to the public but also to most Inkatha members.

It is understood that Dr Ben Ngubane, the provincial finance minister, will become acting premier.

It seems only Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a few others were informed beforehand.

Mdlalose (65) apparently stood up and dropped a bomb-shell by announcing his exit from the two political offices.

He cited ill-health as the reason for his resignation - but there is strong speculation that the real reason was connected to tensions between him and Buthelezi.

According to sources, the pressure on Mdlalose has been unbearable following Buthelezi's recent attack on unnamed leaders whom Buthelezi said were more interested in drawing publicity to themselves than in building the party.

The premier's resignation raises concerns about the peace process in the region - because Mdlalose, who is regarded as a moderate, has been a key figure in peace initiatives.

Mdlalose enjoys support from all political parties and recently launched a much-hailed drive against corruption in the provincial administration.

Thanks to these activities, Mdlalose's profile has lately tended to overshadow that of Buthelezi.

Mdlalose would resign formally next month, said Dr Ziba Jiyane, the party's secretary-general.

Mdlalose will remain an Inkatha member.

Mdlalose previously expressed his intention to retire on several occasions - but was persuaded by Buthelezi to stay on.

In 1993 there were strong rumours that Mdlalose had threatened to resign. He raised the matter again last year.

Following Mdlalose's announcement, Buthelezi issued a statement in which he referred to Mdlalose's intention to resign last year, and said: "We persuaded him last July to change his mind."

Buthelezi said after a report from Mdlalose's doctor he had decided not to "overburden him with too many responsibilities, as this would be a risk to his health."

The provincial spokesman for the ANC described Mdlalose as "a political colossus".

"We are shocked. Even though he leads our main political opponent, we had gone a long way with him to achieve peace. In our bilateral discussions he convinced us he was genuinely for peace," said Dumisane Makhaye.

"He had magnetism - the human face of the IFP. We hope he will continue to fight for peace in KwaZulu-Natal," said Makhaye.

A founder member of Inkatha, Mdlalose was one of the party's leaders at the ground-breaking Conference for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and represented Inkatha at the World Trade Centre negotiations.

Previously a member of the ANC, Mdlalose joined Inkatha at its inception in 1975.

He served in the KwaZulu government since 1978.

A medical doctor with a string of degrees, Mdlalose is regarded as a voice of reason in the troubled KwaZulu-Natal.

Tensions have risen within Inkatha in recent weeks over a range of issues including Buthelezi's attack on other Inkatha leaders and his rejection of a proposal for a blanket amnesty deal in KwaZulu-Natal which was hammered out by Inkatha's chief negotiator Celani Mthetwa and ANC provincial leader Jacob Zuma.



MATTHEW I

Stick gets the t

By DAN RADINKI

SOLOMON M yesterday fired African Footba (Safa) executive who said they we legal advice fro yers to deal with

The committe ine the employer ation before deci mands, acting p Oliphant said ye

"On Monday the senior coun bour Relations help us to deal demands without

Yesterday's t mittee meeting burg hotel wa most of the Safa - except for the

TO PAGE

Crisis for IFP as senior officials quit party posts

POLITICAL STAFF

ARG 27/1/97

(11B)

Durban- Political experts have warned that the crisis in the IFP could deepen after the shock resignations of senior party officials.

The departure from politics of Premier Frank Mdlalose and IFP MPs Ziba Jiyane and Musa Myeni this weekend smacked of serious divisions in the party which could have a negative impact on provincial politics, they said.

A spokesman for President Mandela said he considered the resignation of Dr Mdlalose an "internal IFP matter" but was

awaiting a formal briefing from IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, because of Mr Mandela's concern for ongoing peace in the province.

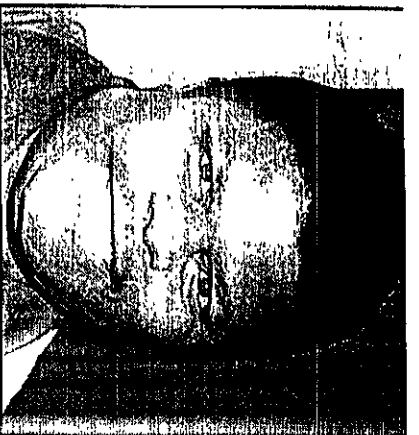
The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal has welcomed the possible reshuffling of the provincial cabinet and the impending appointment of Ben Ngubane as premier.

IFP spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu denied the party was in crisis.

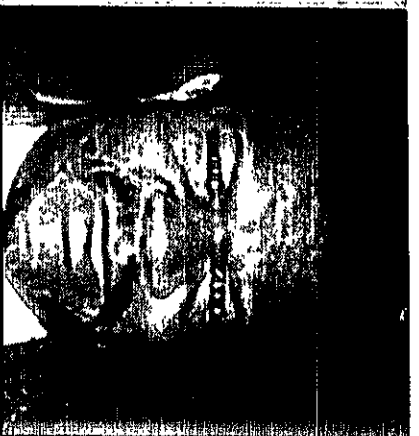
He said Dr Jiyane was ill, and had said he would not stand at the party's congress in July. Mr Myeni had asked to return to KwaZulu-Natal to be with his family but was not leaving the party.



Frank Mdlalose



Ziba Jiyane



Musa Myeni



Ben Ngubane

TWO more top IFP

Leaders quit party

By Sipho Khumalo

TWO MORE key officials of the Inkatha Freedom Party have resigned - less than 24 hours after the IFP national chairman and the KwaZulu-Natal premier Dr Frank Mdlalose stunned the party's national council meeting in Ulundi by announcing his departure.

Confusion

The two are IFP's secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane and Musa Myeni, a Gauteng leader of the party, who are said to have resigned at the weekend - throwing the organisation into further confusion.

Yesterday IFP sources, who spoke to *Sowetan* on condition of anonymity, said Myeni resigned with immediate effect while Jiyane would

leave office in July. Jiyane is understood to have wanted a statement issued on his resignation but IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi apparently ruled against it.

Insiders said some officials were disillusioned with their party's policies and felt that there was no progress because of Buthelezi's hardline stance on several issues. Jiyane and Myeni could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Jiyane's relationship with the IFP started deteriorating last year at the party's national conference, where he was blamed for the party's poor performance in the local government elections.

After the heated conference, Jiyane claimed that there were threats made against his life and took

long leave of absence.

According to our sources, Myeni is to lead a black empowerment initiative in KwaZulu-Natal.

Talking about the resignation of Mdlalose, Buthelezi said they had a partnership spanning nearly 50 years.

Buthelezi said Mdlalose had on previous occasions expressed a desire to resign because of ill health.

Right-hand man

"I have known Dr Mdlalose for too long to remember, and he has all along been my right-hand man. For many years I have loved and respected him, and on an occasion like this my heart is filled with an uncontrollable flow of emotion running the wave of decades of memories which Dr Mdlalose and I share," he said.

The African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal said it had received Mdlalose's resignation with "shock and surprise".

"The ANC had gone a long way with Dr Mdlalose and other IFP leaders to work out a peace package aimed at achieving lasting peace in the province," said ANC's Mr Dumsisane Makhaye.

Makhaye also took a swipe at the IFP, saying Mdlalose's unfortunate resignation smacked of the "deepening internal crisis" within the party.

He said this was reflected when Buthelezi a few weeks ago accused some IFP leaders of being publicly seekers at his expense and that of the IFP.

Mdlalose, said Makhaye, had begun to assert his independence

rather too much for the liking of some forces within the IFP. Meanwhile, the suave MEC for finance and agriculture, Dr Ben Ngubane, was immediately appointed acting national chairman of the party.

Successor

He is tipped to take over as premier at the end of February when Mdlalose quits office.

The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday said they doubted whether KwaZulu-Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose's successor will introduce any changes to the province, SABC radio news reported. Azapo spokesman Patrick Mkhize, however, commended Mdlalose for his efforts in stamping out corruption in the province.

118

Sowetan 23/1/97

Shock as top IFP leaders resign – and Ngubane takes over as premier

Star 27/1/97 (118) (118)

By JUSTICE MALALA
Provincial Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party – still reeling from the shock resignation of KwaZulu Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose – has been rocked by the announcements of two other top leaders that they will quit the leadership.

IFP secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane told the party's national council meeting in Ulundi at the weekend that he would not make himself available for the position when the organisation holds its annual general meeting in July.

Musa Myeni, a member of the Gauteng provincial legislature and popular leader of the party in the province, also announced he would quit with immediate effect to pursue his business interests.

Jiyane's announcement came amid growing speculation that senior leaders viewed as moderates were being hounded out of the party. Both Mdlalose and Jiyane have been castigated as being limp-wristed in their dealings with the provincial ANC and are largely held responsible for the party's drubbing in the local government elections in the province last year.

Both Myeni and Jiyane could not be reached for comment today.

IFP spokesperson Sue Felgate

refused to comment on the resignations, only saying both men should be contacted "to speak for themselves".

But sources in the party's national council confirmed that the resignations had been tendered, but an announcement had been withheld to avoid confusion among members.

Meanwhile, the party's national council yesterday flatly rejected the ANC's proposed special amnesty deal for KwaZulu Natal, in a move that is seen as the reason for Mdlalose's resignation.

Mdlalose, the third South African provincial premier since 1994 to give up or lose his position before finishing his term, was the IFP's front-man in the peace negotiations with the KwaZulu Natal ANC to end years of carnage in the province. The amnesty deal was mooted as part of these talks.

The IFP's rejection of the deal – which differs from the current national amnesty which covers crimes committed up to May 10 1994 in that it extends the date for KZN crimes – by IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi earlier this month and by the national council yesterday are seen as a direct slap in Mdlalose's face. However, he cited ill-health and "personal reasons" for his departure.

His resignation came amid rising tensions in the party which

started when the IFP lost the local government elections to the ANC last June. At the party's annual conference soon thereafter, Buthelezi promised a purge of leaders who had been "lazy" in their work. Mdlalose offered to resign at the time, his second such offer.

On the amnesty deal, the IFP said: "Our understanding of the law is that there is no constitutional or statutory provision for special provincial amnesty and such a proposal flies in the face of existing legislation. The so-called proposal therefore smacks of propaganda and political expediency.

"The IFP will not, as stated by our president, agree to any type of amnesty which obfuscates the issues of personal culpability and political responsibility for the targeted assassination of thousands of IFP members. In fact, the IFP is determined that those responsible for the assassination of its leaders, members and supporters be identified and called to account."

Meanwhile, KZN Finance Minister Dr Ben Ngubane has been appointed acting chairman of the party to replace Mdlalose, but it is not yet clear whether he will be confirmed in the position.

IFP watchers said yesterday Buthelezi himself might take the position in a bid to resuscitate the party's fortunes in KwaZulu Natal.

Inkatha leaders move to

quell party crisis fears

ARC 28/11/97

'Fighting not to blame for quit shock'

(118)

ARCUS CORRESPONDENT

Durban - Inkatha leaders tried to quell rising speculation that the party was in crisis after the shock resignations at the weekend of two senior leaders and the announcement by secretary-general Ziba Jiyane that he would not stand for re-election.

National chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Jiyane and Gauteng leader Musa Myeni yesterday denied any in-fighting.

But speculation persisted that the three - together with constitutional negotiator Walter Felgate and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela - were casualties of bitter in-fighting between hardliners and moderates.

Party members, confused by the moves, contacted newspapers yesterday demanding to know what was happening. Many felt that the IFP was in crisis.

Dr Mdlalose and Mr Myeni tendered their resignations at the IFP's national council meeting, and Dr Jiyane announced that he would step down from the secretary-general job in July. Dr Mdlalose leaves at the end of next month and Mr Myeni quits immediately.

Dr Jiyane denied yesterday that he had been pushed out, saying he had once asked to resign and there had been resistance to such a move within the ranks of the party.

He said he heard speculation that some other leaders might resign but "was not aware of these resignations".

"I decided not to contest the position again, because I just think I will not have the energy and the health to meet the demands for another general campaign. There are others in the party with talents who can do the job."

He said there were no ill-feelings whatsoever about his decision.

He said if acting IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane did become the premier there would be a cabinet reshuffle, but he had "never even considered" the possibility of sitting in it.

Mr Myeni said he would remain an ordinary member of the party and had not left because of any ill-feeling. He said he had quit his office to return to his family in KwaZulu-Natal and to pursue business interests in the province.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said that the IFP leadership viewed the resignations as an opportunity to position itself to lead the party into the new millennium.

Mr Myeni's resignation as Gauteng caucus chairman and as an MP, had not been unexpected as it had been clear he needed more time for business interests.

He had been involved in black empowerment ventures in KwaZulu-Natal. The African National Congress in

KwaZulu-Natal said the resignations and the "sidelining of Walter Felgate and Dr Sipo Mzimela from the leadership of the IFP vindicates the ANC's assertion that the IFP is in deep crisis."

Meanwhile, jockeying has begun for the four crucial provincial cabinet positions which will become available if Dr Ben Ngubane takes over from Dr Mdlalose.

These are the portfolios of safety and security (at present held by Dr Mdlalose), gambling, finance and agriculture (all held by Dr Ngubane).

The most likely candidate to fill the finance portfolio is newly elected leader of the provincial legislature Narend Singh. Former strongman Senator Philip Powell is tipped to take over safety and security, a move that may anger the ANC.

Meanwhile high-placed provincial government sources suggest Dr Mdlalose's unwavering determination to stamp out illegal gambling from as early as last year may have led to his shock departure from politics.

The sources suggest that a turning point appears to have been January 9, when IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi met casino owners without Dr Mdlalose.

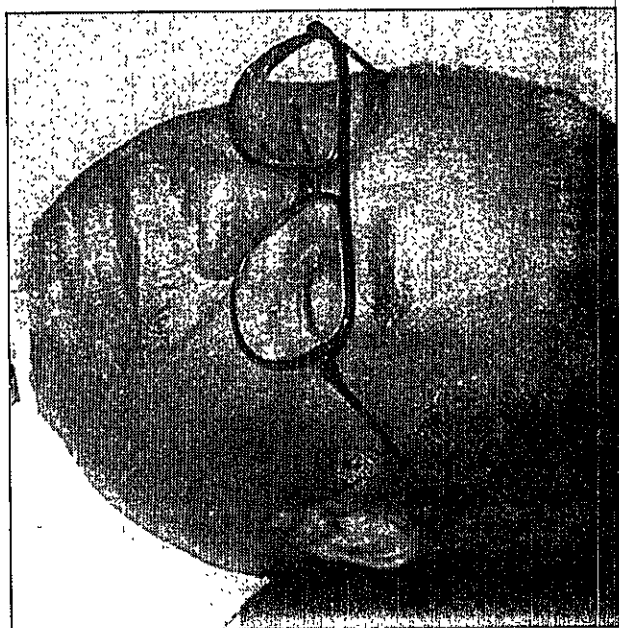
But a cabinet minister, who declined to be named, said he could not be sure whether Dr Mdlalose was axed specifically for his strong stand.



BUSINESS INTERESTS: Mr Musa Myeni



PROUD: Dr Ziba Jiyane



QUITTING: Dr Frank Mdlalose

Three quit but 'no crisis', insists IFP

OWN CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Inkatha Freedom Party leaders yesterday tried to quell speculation that the party was in crisis after the resignations at the weekend of two senior leaders and the announcement by secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane that he would not stand for re-election. The three leaders — Jiyane, national chairman and Kwazulu-Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose and Gauteng leader and MPL Mr Musa Myeni — yesterday denied any in-fighting within the party and said their reasons for quitting were genuine.

But speculation persisted that the three — with constitutional negotiator Mr Walter Felgate and Correctional Services Minister Dr Sipo Mzimela — were the casualties of bitter in-fighting between hardliners and moderates in the party.

Mdlalose and Myeni tendered their resignations at the IFP's national council meeting, while Jiyane announced he would step down in July. Mdlalose leaves at the end of February and Musa quits immediately.

Jiyane said yesterday he had not been pushed out, saying he had once asked to resign and there had been resistance.

"I decided not to contest the position again because I just think I will not have the energy and the health to meet the demands for another general campaign. There are others in the party with talents who can do the job.

"I am proud of what I have done for the IFP and there comes a time when you have to acknowledge that it is time others were given a chance," he said.

He said there were no ill feelings whatsoever about his decision. Myeni said he would remain an ordinary member of the party and had not left because of any ill-feeling. He had quit his office to return

to his family in Kwazulu-Natal and to pursue business interests.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said the IFP viewed the resignations as an opportunity to position itself to lead the party into the new millennium. Myeni's resignation had not been unexpected as it had been clear he needed more time for business interests.

The ANC in Kwazulu, however, said the resignations and the "sidelining of Felgate and Mzimela" ... vindicated the ANC's assertion that the IFP is in deep crisis.

"The resignations must be seen as a massive campaign of purging intellectuals within the party who

are beginning to question the IFP politics of being a spoiler."

Meanwhile, jockeying has begun for the four crucial provincial cabinet positions which will become available if acting IFP national chairman Dr Ben Ngubane takes over from Mdlalose.

These are safety and security (presently held by Mdlalose), gambling, finance and agriculture portfolios (all held by Ngubane). The most likely candidate to fill the finance portfolio is newly elected leader of the provincial legislature Mr Narend Singh. Senator Philip Powell is tipped to take over safety and security.

(118) CT 28/1197

Shock revelation of payments when the party was preparing to clamp down on gambling follows top-level resignations

POLITICAL STAFF

Star 28/1/97

Owners of illegal casinos in KwaZulu Natal contributed thousands of rands to the Inkatha Freedom Party shortly before the province's ruling party started preparing legislation to close down the illegal gambling industry.

IFP senior management confirmed yesterday that the Gambling Association of South Africa (Gasa) had for at least five months given the party R10 000 a month.

This latest revelation comes on the heels of the sudden resignation by provincial premier Dr Frank Mdlalose at the weekend.

He was responsible for placing the gambling legislation, which would have closed down thousands of illegal casinos in KwaZulu Natal, before the provincial legislature.

Revelation of the contributions came as the IFP was rocked by the resignations of Mdlalose and the Gauteng leader Musa Myeni, and the announcement by secretary-general Ziba Jiyane that he would not stand for re-election.

Speculation persists that the three, together with constitutional negotiator Walter Felgate and Correctional Services Minister Di Sipo Mzimela, are casualties of bitter in-fighting between hardliners and moderates in the party.

Jiyane told *The Star* he had not been pushed out, saying he had once asked to resign and there had been resistance within party ranks. "I decided not to contest the position again because I think I

will not have the energy and the health to meet the demands for another general campaign."

Several politicians claimed yesterday that one of the reasons for Mdlalose's resignation had to do with the money said to have been given to the IFP by owners of illegal casinos. When asked to comment, Mdlalose said he would wait and see what was revealed.

Several politicians, both within the IFP and from other parties, said the donations were tainted and could destroy the IFP's credibility. Some said the revelations could lead to a vote of no confidence in the provincial government or even to an early provincial election.

The party's national council was informed only this weekend of the payments made by Gasa. The party spokesman said the money was accepted on a "no-strings-attached basis" and this was made clear to casino owners.

IFP treasurer-general Arthur Königkramer said Jiyane had reported to the finance committee last year that sums of money had been received from Gasa. He said by the time the committee was informed about the payments, the money had already been spent.

Königkramer said he had no knowledge of any payments other than those reported last year.

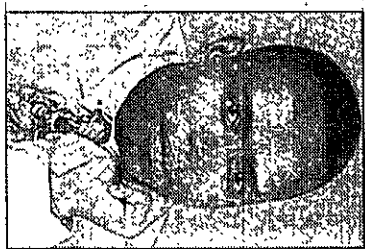
At the time of the events, the IFP national council had already decided that the secretary-general would control finances.

However, several senior party sources told *The Star* that a lump-sum payment, of about R100 000, was made to the party recently.

Illegal casinos made

contributions to IFP

(115)



IFPP departures don't augur well

Downplayed, but the situation is serious, writes Kaizer Nyatumba

(110) KAN 29/1/97

ONE IN YOUR EYE

In April 1992, outgoing Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman and KwaZulu Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose flew to the United Kingdom, as part of a South African multiparty delegation including the ANC's Mathews Phosa, to observe that country's April 9 general election.

A few days before the election, the South African delegation crisis-crossed Britain for various briefings on the British electoral system. In the course of those briefings the South Africans stopped over at the University of Manchester, where I was a research fellow attached to the European Institute for the Media at the time, and we had an opportunity to exchange greetings and talk briefly about political developments back home.

Mdlalose was one of those who said to me, when we were parting and they were getting ready to leave: "You should contact me when you get back home."

On June 16 that year the IFP scheduled a special sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, and then State President F W de Klerk was invited to address the assembly on the exclusion from the World Trade Centre talks of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Back in the country then, I drove to Ulundi to cover the legislature's sitting. I remember thinking at the time that it was extremely insensitive of the IFP to have scheduled a sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on the 16th anniversary of the brutal murder, by police, of Soweto students protesting against being taught in the medium of Afrikaans. I remember thinking it was the height of arrogance for the IFP leadership not only to have scheduled a sitting of the assembly on that day, but also to have chosen that day to invite De Klerk to Ulundi.

The mood in Ulundi that morning was ugly. Roaming outside the assembly building were members of the infamous KwaZulu Police and assault-wielding men clad in traditional Zulu attire singing songs. I began to worry about my safety. When I tried to enter the building I was blocked by a hostile policeman who told me to wait.

It was while I was waiting that I saw Mdlalose coming towards me. Relieved, I reached out to him, introduced myself - "we met in Manchester in April when you were there and you asked me to contact you when I was back," I said - and asked for his help.

To my disappointment, a serious-looking Mdlalose did not even stop to talk to me. He did shake the hand I had offered, but then immediately passed by and walked into the building. I was dumbfounded.

That impression of Mdlalose has stayed in my mind since then. It is quite unlike the very favourable impression I have of Mdlalose's colleague, the amiable former KwaZulu Finance Minister, Dr Dennis Madike (now a national MP), with whom I spent two wonderful weeks in Germany in October 1992. Madike was one of five South African politicians from different political groups - the others were the ANC's Dr Zola Skweyiya, the NP's Dr Tertius Delpoort, the PAC's Barney Desai and Azapo's Mofathegi Tale - who had attended a conference on federalism, and I was one of two South African journalists who had gone with the group. Madike proved a big hit with the group, and we all craved his company for his jokes.

But those who know Mdlalose better than I do also had good things to say about him. They say his snub of me notwithstanding, he is a very compassionate man. Indeed, his ANC counterparts in KwaZulu Natal have been largely complimentary of

him, with ANC provincial spokesman Dunitisani Makhaye, in one of his rare charitable moods, even describing Mdlalose at the weekend as "a political colossus".

Mdlalose may be telling the truth when he says his sudden resignation from his positions as ANC national chairman and KwaZulu Natal premier has to do with his poor health, but I do not believe that is the whole story. It is an open secret in political circles that Mdlalose has often been undermined by his own party leadership in his running of the province.

He has been called, by no less a person than IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a castrated man. The two men have sometimes differed sharply on a number of issues, including the writing of the provincial constitution, on Mdlalose's peace-making efforts with ANC leader Jacob Zuma, and on the controversial peace package sponsored by Zuma and his colleagues to secure a special post-May 10 1994 amnesty for the province.

We are told by IFP treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer that Mdlalose's resignation presents the party with an opportunity to restructure itself and appoint as pre-

mier someone young enough to stay on in that position after the 1999 elections in the event of another IFP victory, so that there will be continuity. That certainly makes sense, although that is not all there is to it.

Dr Ziba Jiyane, who also told the IFP national council meeting at the weekend he would not make himself available for re-election as secretary-general when the party holds its national conference this year, fell out of favour with Buthelezi as long ago as July last year. Since then he has been considering his options, especially because Buthelezi appointed a commission to make recommendations on whether or not there was still a need for the office of secretary-general and, if there was a need, on whether the office's powers had to be reduced.

IFP Gauteng Legislature MPP Musa Myant was also rapped on the knuckles at the same conference over differences he had with the IFP's Gauteng provincial leader, German immigrant Dieter Lang. He has been smarting since then.

No matter how much IFP spin-doctors try to downplay the significance of the three men's departure from office, it certainly does not look well at all. We will have to wait and see how things turn out in the months ahead.

Furore over IFP funding takes bizarre foreign turn

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

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban - While opposition parties yesterday demanded a judicial inquiry, the row over IFP funding by illegal casino owners took a bizarre turn yesterday when it emerged that an American gambler has raised more than R107 000 in pledges in the US for Inkatha's 1999 election campaign.

But he is now in a coma in a Mississippi hospital after a weekend motorcycle accident.

According to the Gambling Association of SA (Gasa) spokesman Bob Douglas, Michael Woodfield is a member of the Mississippi Gaming Commission who went to KwaZulu Natal last November to impart his knowledge to the province.

He offered to raise money for the party in America and shortly before his accident Woodfield had written to him, indicating that at least \$23 000 (R107 000) had been pledged to the IFP.

Douglas said that a Durban casino boss, and member of the IFP, David Winter, indicated that he would make a payment of R100 000 to the IFP on the strength of Woodfield's pledges. But Winter, who owns King's Casino in Durban, denied that he had paid this money into the IFP accounts and said he did not have a chance of finalising the payment of the pledges before Woodfield's accident.

While other political parties reacted strongly to the revelations, the IFP has remained quiet on the furore. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was asked to respond to the revelations, but by late last night he had still not commented.

The National Party, ANC and ACDP yesterday demanded that the IFP come clean. NP spokesman Tino Volker called on premier Dr Frank Mdlalose to urgently institute a top-level, transparent investigation into what may be perceived as attempted inducements by the gambling industry.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said his party had information that the IFP received far more than the R50 000 confirmed by the party.

Star 29/1/97

'Autocratic Buthelezi harming IFP'

ET 30/11/97

(118) 30

DURBAN: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is casting his Inkatha Freedom Party into turmoil by driving off senior members with his hardline, autocratic leadership, political analysts say.

Buthelezi is hoping to ready his party for a tough fight in the 1999 elections, but his high-handed methods are alienating senior party members, they say.

Their comments follow the resignations at the weekend of three senior members, including the party's top two officials after Buthelezi — secretary-general Mr Ziba Jiyane and chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, who is also stepping down as Premier of KwaZulu-Natal.

The official reasons given for their decisions were ill health and personal matters.

Further resignations are expected.

"There is widespread dissent in Inkatha and it is in a genuine state of crisis," said Mr Alexander Johnston of the University of Natal's politics department.

The ANC has made big gains in the



'HARDLINE': Mangosuthu Buthelezi

province, the Inkatha stronghold, alarming Buthelezi and prompting an inquest by him which effects are now being felt.

Head of the University of Zululand political department, Professor Thabo

Sabela, said Buthelezi was trying to rid the party of moderates who had gotten too close to the ANC and who had acted too independently of him.

The most prominent row has been over Buthelezi's rejection of a peace plan being discussed by Mdlalose and ANC leaders to end the bloodshed in KwaZulu-Natal.

But Inkatha MP Mr Velaphi Ndlovu denied the party was in crisis: "Inkatha is very strong and combined. We are busy putting our house in order because we want to fight the 1999 elections as a strong party. These analysts are talking rubbish."

Johnston said Inkatha could keep a role in South African politics as long as the ANC desired a broadly representative government, but doubted it could spread its power base beyond KwaZulu-Natal as long as Buthelezi was its leader.

"The quite uncompromising hostility felt by many African people towards Buthelezi means that as long as he is leader it will be quite impossible" — Reuter

Latest resignations prove that the IFP is a party in crisis

The spate of leadership resignations in the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) this week are essentially the public manifestations of a protracted war for the soul of the organisation.

Since its inception in 1975 the IFP has battled with the dilemma that has been the bane of most South African political parties: whether to co-operate in the creation of a nation or remain on the side of those who have wanted to maintain the status quo of an apartheid state.

There is no doubt that, despite its ineffectual noises in the past to the contrary, the IFP was a collaborationist party which did little else but protect its masters: the National Party-led apartheid government.

But within the IFP there have always been several leaders who have always had a tugging of conscience, who have known that the tactics so refined by the party to block change are not in the best interests of the organisation or its members.

One remembers when, during the constitutional talks in Kempton Park, Inkatha yo-yoed between playing a constructive role in the



PROVINCIAL MATTERS

By Justice Malala

talks or boycotting them altogether. When it did decide to enter the talks, it always took positions which were so hardline and inimical to negotiation that it seemed as if it had come to the meetings to spoil rather than build.

It was also in these talks that those who were on the side of progress started to emerge, and those who were bent on scuppering efforts to strike a deal started to show their true colours.

KwaZulu Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman

of the party and a long-standing associate of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was one of those seen as a dove. So, too, was Dr Ziba Jiyane.

Both will now step down from their offices in the party, the former in February and the latter at the end of July.

Speculation is rife that another of the voices of reason within the party, Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela, may be asked to quit his position. It is a measure of the good relationship he has with his ANC colleagues that President Mandela has offered to keep him in his Cabinet post even if he leaves the IFP.

Musa Myeni, who has in the past two years been at the forefront of efforts in Gauteng to quell violence between the IFP and ANC, is also leaving his provincial parliament position to follow black empowerment initiatives in KwaZulu Natal.

Those who are left are the hard men with whom Buthelezi has surrounded himself.

It is by now a well-known fact that Buthelezi still runs KwaZulu Natal, and Mdlalose's initiatives there really were rubber stamps for

the home affairs minister's decisions

Jiyane's star has been waning for some time and the IFP's drubbing at the local election last year was the final nail in his coffin.

Those who are left within the leadership now are Buthelezi's yes-men, and any dissenter will soon be pushed out. This opens up several possibilities.

Inkatha, which must realise that it is a provincial party and cannot make an impact on the national scene, may return Buthelezi himself to the province to lead as premier. In this capacity, he will ensure that support is consolidated and that the IFP once again becomes the dominant force it once was there.

The next step would be to push a strong constitutional position to give the party as much power in the province as possible, trying to rule itself with as little interference from national Government as possible.

Thus the current crisis in the IFP - and crisis it is despite all the denials - once again demonstrates that the party has not resolved the problems of its recent past, those of spoiling or co-operating

Star 30/1/97

(11B)

Buthelezi has knives out for dissidents (116)

POLITICAL STAFF

ET 31/1/97
INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has cracked the whip by demanding that all IFP public representatives must swear loyalty to their party and make a pledge that they will promote its interests as the 1999 election approaches.

A bloody purge of dissident forces in the party ranks is expected next weekend. There is mounting speculation within party ranks that its old guard is set to be replaced by younger members.

In his letter each representative is asked to fax a declaration of loyalty to Ulundi by Monday. By Tuesday every public representative must motivate why they deserve to remain employed by the party in the run-up to the election.

At the weekend each party representative will be required to answer questions on their effectiveness as national MPs, senators or regional MPLs.

Buthelezi said the written declarations were required for "consideration" by the party's national council for possible re-election as public representatives in 1999.

This follows the sudden removal of Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose as national chairman, who is understood to have been told of his imminent departure last Friday, just a day before last weekend's national council meeting.

As the rumour mill in the party goes into full swing, other senior KwaZulu-Natal public representatives are understood to be in the firing line. They include Local Government and Housing Minister Mr Peter Miller and IFP chief whip Mr Mike Tarr.

Miller was publicly rebuked by Buthelezi at last weekend's national council meeting for apparently questioning the role of Buthelezi's adviser Dr Mario Ambrosini.

The absence of Tarr and Mr Koos van der Merwe, national chief whip, was also noticed by the leadership.

hardliners, are essentially doomed because they are moderates," says one disillusioned national councillor. "They are being grilled on the constituency they represent with scant notice being taken of competence or the contribution they can make to the party. Only praise singers and sycophants of the leader are likely to remain in significant office."

Going further, he says that a national Cabinet Minister complained at the weekend meeting that the party's biggest mistake in the 1994 election was not to stick to the former members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for its lists of MPs and MPLs, because they always attended meetings, did what they were told and never questioned the authority of the leader.

Among the possible victims at the upcoming February meeting are Walter Felgate, former close confidante to party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela.

According to the FM source, "Questioning of authority or even debate is completely unacceptable. Though Inkatha operates in a democratic environment there is no such thing as democracy in the party. Jiyane is paying the price for simply trying to apply the party constitution, which is, on the face of it, democratic. But it doesn't work that way. By the same token if anyone appears to be getting too powerful they are chopped down.

"That is why there is no secondary leadership layer or even any remote indication as to who would replace Buthelezi if he suddenly disappeared"

Councillors say that during the weekend meeting Buthelezi was abrasive, demanding that people pull their socks up and that everyone report in writing what they had been doing to further the interests of the party.

"All those in the national council who don't hold office are baying for blood behind him, and those that do are being

subjected to kangaroo court procedures," claims another councillor.

Though Mdlalose and Jiyane are believed to be deeply hurt over the proceedings, both will remain in the party and echo the party line that they are winding down their workloads because of ill health.

It is, however, widely rumoured that their resignations were precipitated at least in part by confrontations with Buthelezi over democratising the party and the issue of illegal gambling.

It is certainly true that Mdlalose, and for that matter Jiyane, have had their health problems and that Mdlalose last year handed in his resignation, but was persuaded to withdraw it.

Nevertheless, observers say he seemed

stunned at the council meeting; his hollification to the party electoral review committee that he would not stand for re-election in 1999, and that, in the interests of a smooth transition, not make himself available for election as the national chairman in July, was converted — in a mere 40 minutes — into a resignation with effect from March.

Many in the party believe that Mdlalose's decision to retire was partly because of constant interference in provincial government by Buthelezi, with the issue of illegal gambling being the final straw.

Mdlalose's government had made it clear that they intended closing down unlicensed casinos by the end of last week in compliance with national and provincial legislation.

Sources in Inkatha's national council allege that the unlicensed gambling bloc boosted the party's depleted coffers with substantial donations.

But the contentious issue of unlicensed casinos was temporarily superseded by Maritzburg Supreme Court judge Noel Hurt granting a rule nisi preventing the enforced closure of 46 unlicensed casinos until a final court decision is taken. *Herb Payne*



Mangosuthu Buthelezi... cracking the whip ahead of general elections

INKATHA

(11B)

PURGING THE PARTY

FM 31/1/97

The weekend resignations of senior Inkatha officials including national chairman Frank Mdlalose, secretary-general Ziba Jiyane, and IFP Gauteng leader Musa Myeni, are only the tip of the iceberg. They could mark the beginning of a political bloodbath as the party cleans out the upper echelons in preparation for the 1999 general elections.

The marathon meeting held in Ulundi at the weekend will be resumed for three days from February 8.

Part of the process involves identifying and removing those who wish not to stand for re-election in 1999. But many worry the meeting will be the venue for a witch-hunt targeted primarily at whites and moderates.

"Every white, except one or two who, for political or financial convenience are

Inkatha Freedom Party wholly Buthelezi's creature

(116) Star 31/1/97



By **MONDLI
MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

The resignation of three senior Inkatha Freedom Party officials in the past week has led to a flurry of doom-and-gloom predictions on the party's future.

So it should. In one swoop the party lost national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane and Gauteng secretary Musa Myeni.

In any ordinary political party this would have sent party structures reeling. But the point is the IFP is no ordinary party where one can safely speculate and predict the course of events.

The persona of the IFP is the persona of its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Its culture is that of its leader. Its strength is determined by the amount of loyalty which its leader is able to gain. And Buthelezi, who wields absolute power in the IFP, is not a predictable man.

Similar gloomy predictions about the fate of the party have been made before and they came to nothing. It has survived the departure of key leaders like Dr Sibusiso Bengu, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and others.

It has survived the momentous setbacks such as its ostracisation by other liberation movements which sought to malign it by labelling it a surrogate of the National Party government.

In the early 1990s, when revelation of the IFP's collusion with the security forces' dirty tricks department came to the fore, many thought the IFP's image with its

support base had been dealt irreparable damage. This was not the case.

In the 1994 general election the party was expected to fare badly because of its late entry into the process. Instead, it scored much better than its opponents thought it would, even though it had not participated directly in the election campaign. It even went on to win control of a provincial government.

The way to look at the IFP is not within ordinary parameters. From the time Buthelezi formed the IFP in the early 1970s, along with some of the country's leading black intellectuals and leaders, he put his own stamp on it. Buthelezi outmanoeuvred many of his comrades and turned a party meant to be the ANC's internal surrogate into a vehicle for his own ambition.

Even when the ANC excommunicated him from the liberation fold in 1979, Buthelezi was still able to carry the IFP forward, with the help of the apartheid state machinery, and make it one of the major political forces of the 1980s.

The culture of the IFP is grounded in Buthelezi's own royal pretensions. He took an idea from the 1920s cultural organisation formed by King Solomon ka Dinizulu, and moulded this organisation into something that would give him power over the Zulu royal house.

From very early on, Inkatha folklore venerated Buthelezi. With the use of the KwaZulu education system and the ever-pliant Radio Zulu, Buthelezi was built up as the man who would restore the 19th century Zulu kingdom, something very close to the hearts of the Zulu peasantry.

Everything the IFP has been about since then has been about projecting this image. The IFP has invested heavily in Buthelezi's personality cult to such an extent that many of his lieutenants have faded into irrelevance.

Other leaders at national, provincial and local level have become expendable and it is immaterial who occupies their positions. Those who do, do so at the whim of the leader. If a star shines too brightly and begins to outdo that of the leader, that person should soon prepare to move out.

The one significant impact of this development is that it will strengthen the hand of Buthelezi.

Jiyane was the one man who differed openly with Buthelezi. In his role as secretary-general he wanted to turn the IFP into a modern party fighting contemporary battles and not those of a bygone era. Had he succeeded in doing so he would have undercut Buthelezi's monarchical appeal. His departure therefore bodes well for Buthelezi.

In his role as premier, Mdlalose had tried to forge closer links with the ANC in the interests of ensuring his province worked. Buthelezi's constant interference with his administration was one of the reasons he decided to step down.

Replacement, Dr Ben Ngubane, is perceived to be a moderate modernist. But the essential thing is that he is a Buthelezi man. In his capacity as party chairman he will be playing Buthelezi's game and, as Buthelezi's appointee, he will certainly do the same as premier.

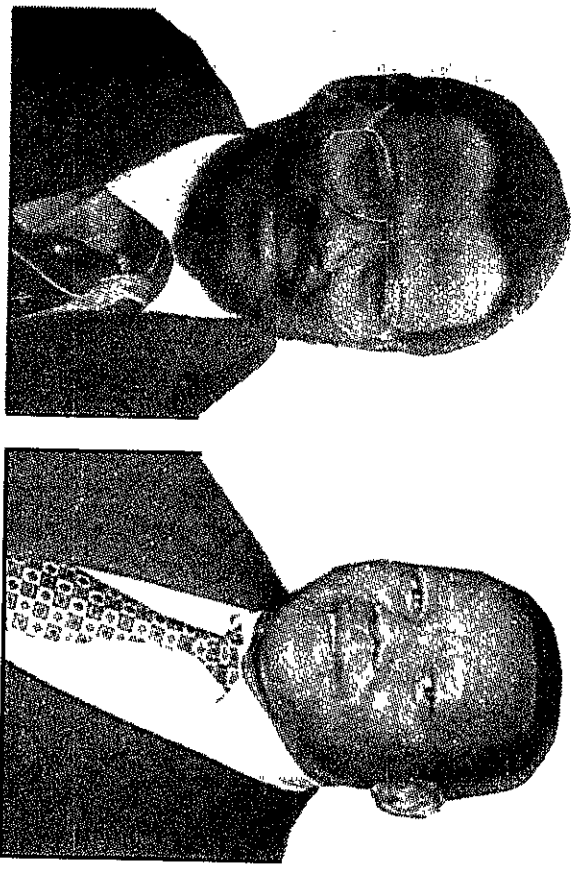
Writing off the IFP as damaged goods is way off the mark. It will prove that in the elections.

A crack in the mirror

(11B) 2/2/96 op.

Inclusive or hardline - the party must pick an image

IS THE Inkatha Freedom Party falling apart, or is it marshalling its forces along a harder line in preparation for the next election? CHRIS HLONGWA and CHIARA CARTER examine the implications of recent upsets in the party.



Issues eating away at the fabric of Inkatha

THE REASONS for the spate of resignations are:

- In-fighting which has seen vitriolic attacks on unnamed IFP leaders by Buthelezi;
- Unhappiness with the IFP's showing in last year's local government election;
- Differences between national and provincial leaders over resuming friendly relations with the ANC, including the special amnesty deal which was rejected first by Buthelezi and then by the IFP council. These differences broadened into disagreement about strategy for the 1999 elections;
- Mdlalose's unease about donations to IFP coffers by illegal casino operators;
- Buthelezi's determination that everyone should be fully on board the IFP. Mdlalose had indicated to friends that he intended to step down before the 1999 election and Buthelezi decided the premier might as well leave immediately;
- Unhappiness over Buthelezi's insistence that Ujundi become the administrative capital.

EVER SINCE rapprochement began between the ANC and the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal, premier Frank Mdlalose and ANC leader Jacob Zuma sat side by side at public occasions. So, when Zuma gained a new neighbour at the launch of an anti-corruption drive last week, it was seen as a sign that the IFP hierarchy wanted more distance from the ANC and change was afoot.

Just how great the change would be was revealed last weekend when three high-profile IFP leaders announced their resignations. More are expected to follow, giving rise to questions about the future of the party.

The IFP has been reluctant to tell the full story behind the shock resignations of party chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose and IFP Gauteng leader Musa Meyeni and the announcement that secretary general Ziba Jiyane would not run for re-election.



SHIFTLING... It was a shock when KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose, IFP secretary general Ziba Jiyane and Gauteng provincial leader Musa Meyeni bowed out. Some say the leadership style of Mangosuthu Buthelezi (top left) undermines democracy. But many feel Ben Ngubane (also top left) will make a good premier.

Why they quit the

ments as a sign that the party is falling apart, others—as an indication that the moderates have been routed by more traditional and militant members. Still others say the IFP has taken the first steps towards gearing up for the 1999 elections.

All three interpretations hold.

Much of the drama centres on IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who, to say the least, is a hands-on leader who keeps his fingers in all IFP pie.

The IFP has denied that it is facing a crisis, but there is no doubt that the resignations are a sign of severe tensions in the party.

In many ways Buthelezi is the IFP — and some party leaders have problems coping with his style, which includes over-ruling decisions taken by his top lieutenants.

Still stinging from the party's poor showing in local government elections last year, the IFP president is in no mood to tolerate dissent over direction.

And differences there are.

On the one hand are those who favour a moderate approach with co-operation between the IFP and the rival ANC and a drive to modernise the party so that it appeals to urban voters.

Tugging in the other direction are those bound to the party's rural and quasi-feudal roots.

Buthelezi does not like to carry reluctant men. His effusive praise of his long-time lieutenant, Mdlalose, at the national council meeting last weekend was a show which lacked substance — party unity had collapsed.

Indeed, there is some doubt as to whether the resignations represent a walkout or a purge.

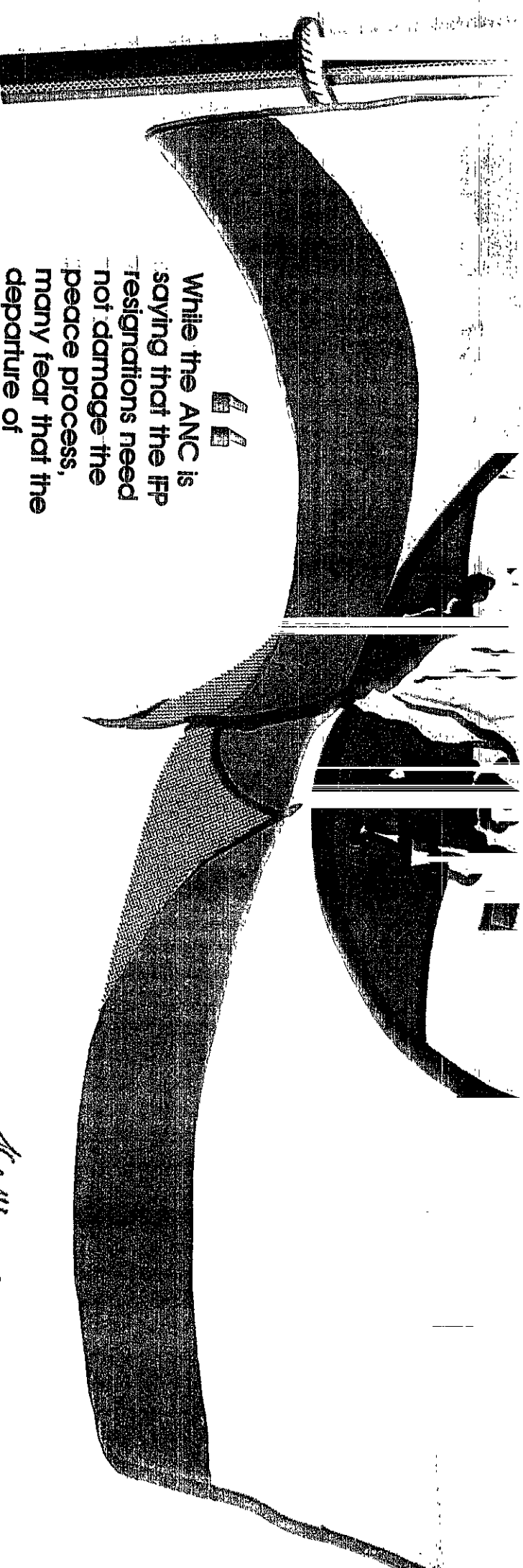
Buthelezi has his sights set on the 1999 elections.

His first requirement is that all members are fully on board and back the party's decisions, including a hardline stance on making Ulundi the capital.

He is wielding the big stick, giving rise to speculation that other dramatic resignations are on the cards.

By Tuesday, all IFP public representatives must swear loyalty to the party and make a pledge that they will promote its interests prior to the 1999 election.

The faxes of oath would be a kind



While the ANC is saying that the IFP resignations need not damage the peace process, many fear that the departure of moderates will see hawks take over — a move which might make it harder to achieve lasting peace in the province.

It is not unthinkable that others may choose to go before they are purged.

The IFP has denied that it is facing a crisis, but there is no doubt that the resignations are a sign of severe tensions in the party.

It is the provincial hierarchy which feels most of the pressure. They have the task of the day-to-day running of the province, in the course of which they need to work closely with the rival ANC and be seen as delivering to the electorate. Tensions between the IFP at a national and provincial level mirror different visions of how the party should present itself in the run-up to elections.

The softening of the provincial contingent on matters such as the proposed special amnesty for political violence (favoured by the ANC) has not met with national approval.

While the ANC is saying that the IFP resignations need not damage the peace process, many fear that the departure of moderates will see hawks take over from doves in the IFP — a move which might make it harder to achieve lasting peace in the province.

That is not the only cause for concern.

There is consternation over the IFP backing the construction of costly government buildings in Ulundi.

Revelations about illegal gambling operators funding the party have damaged the IFP's image, as has the departure of Mdlalose, who was

widely respected.

However, his replacement, former Cabinet minister Ben Ngubane, has the stature to win support from the public and the experience to govern the region.

While the IFP has weathered similar resignations in the past — notably that of former secretary general Oscar Dhlomo — more resignations and in-fighting could further batter the party's image.

There are several other factors which weaken the IFP.

While no-one in the IFP can match Buthelezi's ability to work a crowd, the IFP president must miss stalwarts like Thomas Shabalala, who has been expelled from the party.

The party's finances are said to be in a poor state and Buthelezi has noted that business is withdrawing its support.

Buthelezi's propensity for innuendo, which has seen him attack fellow IFP leaders, makes many uneasy.

Some provincial IFP leaders now fear that unless the party changes tack, it could lose the 1999 election.

But Buthelezi clearly favours a return to his time-honoured strategy of militant brinkmanship and thinks that the decks need to be cleared to enable the party to face 1999.

Who will be the next to go?

Walter Felgate

THERE is strong speculation that several senior IFP members are set to bow out.

They include the IFP negotiators during the second round of constitutional talks, Walter Felgate and Peter Miller, as well as correctional services minister Siphso Mzimela and deputy safety and security minister Joe Mathews.

Mzimela, who was rapped over the knuckles by the IFP hierarchy last year, has fallen from favour with Buthelezi. A strong personality, he is unlikely to be a "yes man".

The quiet Mathews barely features in the IFP.

Felgate, formerly a staunch member of the party, is another politician whose star has been fading steadily ever since he opted for co-operation rather than confrontation with other parties in the region.

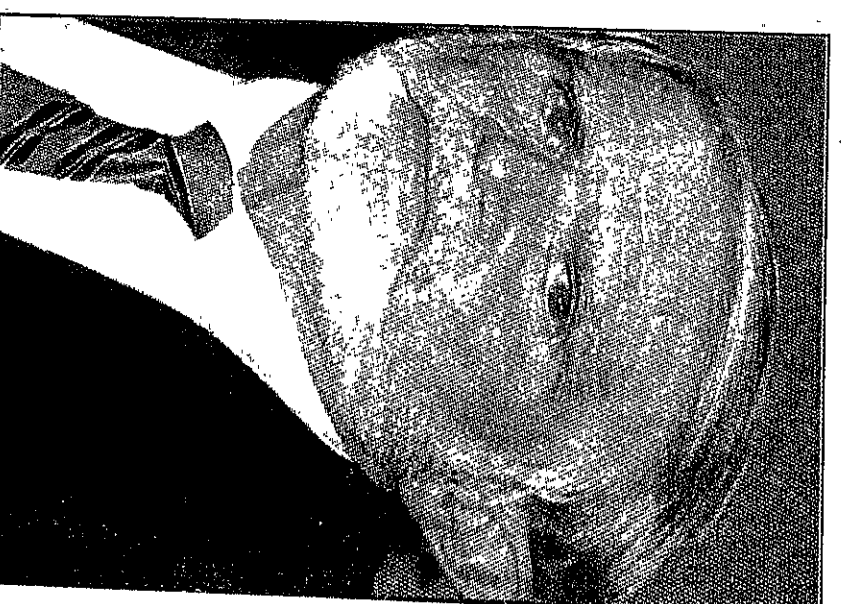
Felgate, who has a weak heart, did not attend last weekend's national council meeting — apparently because of poor health. However, according to insiders, he has so irked some leaders that his presence at the council would have been most unwelcome.

IFP chief whip Mike Tarr and local government and housing MEC Peter Miller are resented by some black IFP members of the party who feel whites hold positions they do not deserve and that they bring very few voters to the party.

The white leaders, in turn, are said to be increasingly uneasy with the lack of democracy in the party, which is virtually inseparable from



NOT A YES-MAN... Correctional services minister Siphso Mzimela may be on his way out of the Inkatha Freedom Party.



FADING... Constitutional negotiator Walter Felgate is in poor health, and is among the high-profile whites who are resented by some party members.



QUIET... Deputy safety and security minister Joe Mathews has kept a low profile in the party anyway — how badly would he be missed?

□ Mdlalose, who cited ill-health as the reason for his sudden departure, apparently was told to resign after Buthelezi got wind that the premier intended to quit before the elections.

Mdlalose is said to have doubts about the party's strategy and its chances of winning the election. He was also uneasy about donations to the IFP by illegal gambling operators. There was increased tension between Mdlalose and Buthelezi over Mdlalose's high profile in the region.

□ Jiyane, once the public face of the IFP, also played the weak health card and said the party needed "people with other talents".

His fortunes have been declining steadily since the IFP was trounced in last year's local government election.

The IFP post-mortem of the elections saw Jiyane severely criticised and it was suggested that he be removed from the position of secretary general. Since then, Jiyane has been remarkably quiet in the legislature and has not churned out party statements as he did in the past.

difficult position. They want Pietermaritzburg as the capital and cannot justify the push for expensive government buildings to be erected in Ulundi, which is a small, remote, rural town.

Previous remarks by Buthelezi about "racists, with twisted minds" who were ruining the party, have not helped.

FEAR of a dismal performance at the polls in KwaZulu Natal in 1999 was behind a series of events which culminated last weekend in the resignation of three of Inkatha's senior leaders.

Premier Frank Mdlalose, who was also the national chairman, and secretary general Dr Ziba Jiyane were the first to go. The third was Gauteng Leader Musa Myeni, a provincial parliament member who had long stated his intention to leave politics for business.

Although both Mdlalose and Jiyane had earlier indicated their intention to quit, they had no idea last Saturday morning that they would be on their way out by the end of the day.

Contrary to the official party line that they had left when they chose to, they were the first victims of a purge to which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been alluding for almost a year.

The IFP is undergoing a thorough soul-searching exercise to find out how best it can respond to the challenge of the 1999 election.

At issue is the nature of the transformation that is required to reverse the reality that the urban African vote has been lost.

Those whites and Indians who had supported the IFP at the expense of the National Party and the Democratic Party in the first election have returned to their former homes or boosted Amic-hand Rajhans's Minority Front.

Outside KwaZulu Natal, the party is virtually dead.

The search for the faults in the IFP as it is presently constituted is tearing the party apart. It is this quest that saw Mdlalose and Jiyane lose their jobs earlier than they had bargained for.

At the party's last annual conference in Umtata in July, Buthelezi warned delegates that some leaders who had been elevated to prominent positions were doing nothing for the party.

Instead, they had connived with the IFP's enemies to undermine it, he said.

He also apologised to disgruntled delegates for the omission of many grassroots leaders from the party's lists of national and provincial MPs which, it is believed, had been largely drafted by his one-time confidant, Walter Felgate.

Buthelezi then proposed the establishment of a presidential review commission that would look at all aspects of the party and make proposals.

Among the commissioner's terms of reference are that it looks at "intra-party dynamics" and suggests ways of better deploying leaders and skills and improving the strained relationship between the IFP's national and provincial structures and leadership.

It will also reappraise party structures.

The commission met for the first time on December 9 to set up task forces to look at the different aspects.

When it met again on January 10, Mdlalose and Jiyane advised that whatever was being planned for them had to take into account the fact that they wanted to step down.

Mdlalose did not wish to stand for election as national chairman at the next general conference in July, but he said that he would be available to complete his term as premier, unless the party decided otherwise. Jiyane said he would be unavailable for nomination to continue as sec-

Knives out as IFP clears decks for '99

(11B) ST 2/2/99



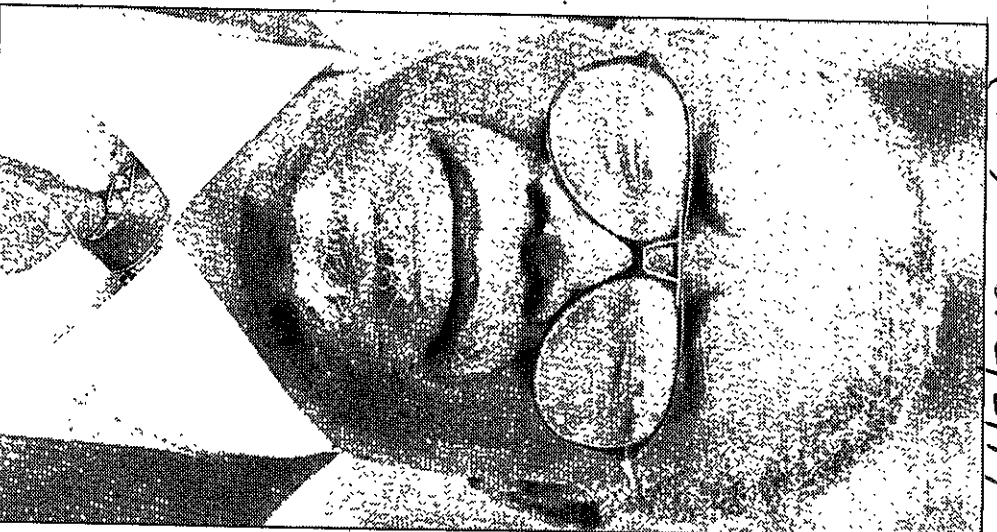
MORE PROFIT IN COMMERCE . . . Musa Myeni had long stated his intention to quit politics for business

BY CYRIL MADLALA
and CRAIG DOONAN

retary general after this year's conference.

But at the national council meeting last weekend, Buthelezi said both resignations had to be accepted immediately.

Significantly, national council resolutions heard praise on Mdlalose for his dedication and party loyalty but did not mention Jiyane, once



A DOUBLE BLOW . . . Frank Mdlalose lost both the premiership and the national chairmanship earlier than expected

tipped as a possible successor to Buthelezi. Buthelezi proposed Dr Ben Ngubane to succeed Mdlalose.

The national council decided that Jiyane would no longer have to report for duty every day, his salary would be slashed and he would lose the perks that came with the job.

The same meeting resolved that all MPs and senators would have to explain themselves to the national council next weekend, indicating what they had done for the party and, significantly,



SEEING STARS . . . Ziba Jiyane was once regarded as a possible successor to Mangosuthu Buthelezi

stating if they would be available to join the campaign for an IFP election victory in 1999.

Buthelezi wrote to each member: "Each report will be reviewed and will form the basis for additional questions which I may need to ask in order to get a better understanding of how each of our leaders is currently employing his or her time to broaden and consolidate the support base of our party."

It is highly unlikely that those found wanting will be allowed to remain in their positions until

1999. In terms of the IFP's constitution they cannot be fired, but the demands which will be made on them in the run-up to 1999, such as fervent grassroots electioneering, is regarded by some as a way to force the "dead wood" to leave.

Ailing leaders are also on their way out, among them stalwarts Felgate and Dennis Madhe.

The national council's approach suggests that it believes that what needs to be transformed is not the party's strategies or policies, but its personnel.

This is largely the attitude of traditionalists within the party, who argue that leaders who have no support should be discarded.

Their anger is directed particularly at whites who joined the IFP from the NP and the DP before the 1994 election but who found the IFP's brand of democracy unpalatable.

It is no secret that some of them are resented, even branded as opportunists, by IFP traditionalists who question their loyalty to the party and their support bases.

Jiyane is included with them for having abandoned the IFP together with its first secretary general, Dr Sibusiso Bengu, in the late 70s, only to return and sweep through the party ranks to become secretary-general in 1993.

This faction subscribes to the notion that the IFP's policies have been tried and tested over time, and that Buthelezi's political judgment is always impeccable.

This has blurred the distinction between principles and strategies.

Those who have ventured to suggest changes to strategies are viewed with suspicion. An example is Felgate, who is now out in the cold for daring to suggest last year that the IFP should go back to the Constitutional Assembly and participate in drafting the final Constitution.

Jiyane is also a victim, particularly for disagreeing with Buthelezi at national council meetings and for trying to restructure and democratise the party, moves which some members regarded as an attempt to build his own power base.

Another source of tension within the IFP is the very nature of its constitution, which facilitates what is perceived as Buthelezi's interference in provincial affairs through the national council.

The council is responsible for implementing the IFP's policies nationally and co-ordinating provincial policies.

It also exercises final control over all officials, a function for which Buthelezi, as president, is ultimately responsible.

This is the challenge that the incoming premier, Ngubane, will have to face. Like his predecessor, his task will be to carry out national council directives, irrespective of the nature of his relationship with other parties in the legislature, particularly the ANC.

Whether he will fare any better than Mdlalose remains to be seen. Few people within the IFP envy him — unless the party undergoes a fundamental transformation.

That, after all, is the party's only hope for survival after 1999. The question is whether it is the IFP's representatives or its policies, strategies and tactics that need to be changed.

Inkatha official sues for wrongful dismissal

BY CRAIG DOONAN

SACKED Inkatha strongman Thomas Shabalala is suing the party for wrongful dismissal and has vowed to make a political comeback.

The controversial former IFP MP was fired last year after a number of disciplinary breaches, including his participation in a march by hostel dwellers through central Durban which erupted in a shoot-out between police and protesters.

But this week Shabalala's lawyer, Robinson Manzi, lodged papers in the Durban Supreme Court, suing for wrongful dismissal.

"We want him reinstated both as a KwaZulu Natal MP and an IFP member with full back pay," Manzi said this week.

He said Inkatha had 10 days to respond to the court action. Manzi said he could not disclose full details of Shabalala's accompanying affidavit, but that "it basically says that when they delivered judgment they were a bunch of confused people."

A senior IFP source said a number of leaders supported Shabalala's bid to return to the party, despite his censored past.

He said they did not want the party to lose Shabalala's supporters in his Lindelani stronghold near Durban and in the rest of the province.

Once branded a warlord by the ANC, he became a prominent figure in provincial peace initiatives. Shabalala said he still regarded IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as his leader.

But he said he had also not ruled out joining another party.

He was spotted chatting to sacked ANC MP Bantu Holomisa at a Durban hotel on Friday and told the Sunday Times he would consider a future with the former Transkei ruler's planned new party or with the National Party.

Shabalala said if his court actions were successful he would only consider taking up his IFP post once he had cleared his name by telling the party's annual national conference that his dismissal had been the work of his enemies within the party who wanted to get rid of him.

Funding laws on

(118)

Cards for parties

By CHIARA CARTER

THE ROW about illegal gambling operators bankrolling the IFP has focused attention on the thorny issue of where political parties get their funds — likely to be a topic of much debate in parliament this year.

Last year, a similar row erupted when the ANC admitted it received funding from Sun City magnate Sol Kerzner before the 1994 elections. Laws about funding political parties are on the cards this year. Minister of constitutional development and provincial affairs Vali Moosa intends tabling a Bill in June

which will provide State funding for political parties — a principle established in the new Constitution.

The question of private funding for political parties is to be referred to the parliamentary ethics committee, which last year recommended that MPs disclose their assets.

Moosa said State funding for political parties was accepted democratic practice as it allowed small parties not favoured by business to compete for votes with other parties. The draft legislation would set out how this funding would work, detailing who would qualify for funding, and under what circumstances.

Moosa said parliament would have to examine the issue of private funding, including questions such as whether political parties should be

forced to disclose their sources of funding and whether they should be prohibited from accepting money from certain donors.

Without such limits, there would be nothing stopping criminal groups contesting elections — an obviously undesirable state of affairs.

The new Constitution comes into effect on Tuesday, and a string of Bills bringing the country's laws in line with the Constitution will be placed before parliament this year. But the new budget will conform to the old interim constitution.

Moosa said the Constitution introduced "co-operative governance", with the rights and powers of provincial governments constitutionally entrenched. Provincial government would be

CP 2/2/97

part of national government as they are represented in the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) that has replaced the Senate as the second house of parliament. Local government would eventually also be represented in the NCOP.

National government can intervene if a provincial government fails in its executive obligations.

Both provinces and municipalities are obliged to manage their budgets in an efficient and accountable manner — a provision which Moosa said established sound financial management in all spheres of government.

According to the new Constitution, the Bill of Rights applies between citizens, and between citizens and the State. A flurry of Constitutional Court testases is anticipated.

IJP MP gets 99-year land lease from Kwazulu chief for casino

Farooq Chothia

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national MP Karen Rajoo has reached an agreement with a traditional leader on the Kwazulu-Natal north coast to lease about 350ha of tribal land for a 99-year period to build a casino, it emerged yesterday.

African National Congress Kwazulu-Natal MP Mike Stuckliffe said in reaction that his understanding of gambling legislation was that public office bearers could not apply for casino licences.

He believed that it was "unimpeachable" on the Kwazulu-Natal gambling board formed last month, to refuse to consider any application that had "high political involve-

ment". Rajoo signed the "agreement of intent", in his capacity as chairman and director of Ishkweni Development Company with IFP-aligned chief M Mkhwanazi in September 1995.

Business Day also has a copy of minutes of a meeting Rajoo, Mkhwanazi and other traditional and community leaders had with then Kwazulu-Natal finance MEC Senzale Mhlungu, when they appealed to him to ensure they obtained the licence.

Rajoo was quoted in the minutes as saying to Mhlungu that they would "like to see that the Zulu nation have jobs", and that rural areas were developed. The Wild Coast Sun, owned by Sun International, did nothing for the people", Rajoo said. He told

Mhlungu that Mkhwanazi "is here to plead his case for a casino licence".

The minutes quoted Mkhwanazi as saying that his community had "ideas" to develop its area, but no funds. He said that Rajoo would "facilitate" the "acquiring" of a casino licence, and "the humbly appeals to the minister not to forget him and his people when licences are issued". They had a large vacant area near the seat that would be "suitable" for a casino, he said.

Mhlungu said they would have to make a formal application to the gambling board, which would be evaluated. The board would evaluate all applications, and "my colleagues and I in the cabinet will have the final say".

The meeting was believed to have been held before Mhlungu quit as finance MEC because he had shares in Khulani Holdings, which was part of another consortium bidding for a licence in Kwazulu-Natal.

The agreement Mkhwanazi signed committed him to letting out two plots of land of about 250ha and 100ha to Rajoo's Ishkweni Development Company. The company undertook that the property and all "improvements" to it would revert to Mkhwanazi and the tribal authority "as soon as capitalisation and profitability has been realised by negotiation and by means of a finalisation process".

The agreement stated that the company "acknowledges that it intends building on

(116) ~~572~~ 610 ~~572~~

the two properties a hotel casino complex, cabanas and motel, waterworld, funworld, Zulu and Indian theme parks, craft village, animal world, aquarium, gold courses, club houses, housing and vocational training centre, health clinic and a welfare office and community centre".

The company also undertook to build a "shopping centre with a supermarket, liquor store, hardware, butchery, drug store, fast food outlet, book store, clothing store, doctor/dentist surgery, hair salon, furniture store, craft/gift shop, television/tradio/gifts and shoe shops, bakery, gas station, tyre/exhausts/breaks shop, taxi rank, shelters and toilets".

The agreement stated that all this would

be expected, constructed and developed by the company on the understanding that at the end of the lease period, ownership therein would be vested in Mkhwanazi and his tribal authority. Rajoo could not be reached for comment, yesterday as he was believed to be on a visit to China.

Kwazulu-Natal legislature premier's portfolio committee chairman John Auliseiro said that Rajoo was legally entitled to apply for a licence, but his share in any company or consortium should not exceed 5%.

The board may view with a "degree of caution" applications made by any politician, he said. He said that to the best of his knowledge, Rajoo was acting in his individual capacity and without the IFP's backing.

Buthelezi denies purge claim

(118) BD 10/2/97
Business Day Reporter

INKATHA Freedom Party (IFP) president Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied that the three-day workshop held in Ulundi at the weekend was an attempt to purge the party of disloyal, disobedient or "dead-wood" members.

"We're not here to chop anyone; — that's absolute nonsense," Buthelezi said before the meeting began on Saturday.

This followed a recent letter sent out to all IFP members of the National Assembly and provincial legislature, which asked whether they intended standing for the 1999 elections and requested a written report on their party and constituency work.

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose, IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane and IFP Gauteng legislature leader Musa Myeni have already resigned, citing ill health and business interests as reasons.

Party sources said they believed internal disagreements and interference by Buthelezi in the running of the province were major contributing factors.

Central to the IFP leadership's alleged purge was a move to prepare the party for the 1999 elections, where it would try to extend its urban base to include black areas and regain and extend its support in white and Indian areas, as well as with business.

Cop admits selling weapons to IFP

(118)
Kwame Ninsin
6/21/97

By Simon Zwane

A CONVICTED policeman yesterday confessed that members of the police stability unit sold firearms to Inkatha Freedom Party members in Maritzburg to help them in their fight against the African National Congress in the 90s.

William Basil Harrington, currently serving an 18-year jail term for the 1991 murder of Mboniseni Jama, told the amnesty committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Edendale, Maritzburg, that it was a common police procedure to pick up ANC members, interrogate and then hand no satisfactory information could be obtained from them, drop them in an IFP stronghold to be attacked.

Sometimes the victims were thrown into the Mambasa River after being severely assaulted. Others were ordered to have sexual intercourse while IFP supporting special constables jeered at them.

"It was a general thing to take firearms from ANC members and give or sell them to Inkatha members," said Harrington.

Rifles and semi-automatic and automatic rifles were sold for R1 000 while handguns and revolvers cost between R500 and R700.

"I did not start this gunrunning in the unit. I was taught to do it by those who came before me and I also taught my juniors," he said.

Harrington and fellow police officer Frans Stephanus Erasmus were convicted in 1992 of killing Jama.

Both are now seeking amnesty for the crime. Erasmus is serving a 12-year sentence.

Jama's widow, Mrs. Ngizem Jama, blasted angrily while Harrington gave his testimony. She said she would consider if the two former policemen had told the truth.

Her son had apparently fled police harassment at Richmond before he was picked up on February 21 1992 at KwaDabulaza in Maritzburg by Harrington and his team.

Harrington told the amnesty committee that he had struggled from with his own belt to get information from him just before he was killed.

Later Jama was taken to a bush where he was shot in the head and left there to die.

Harrington said his hatred for the ANC was brought about by indoctrination at the police college.

"We were sitting with an enemy, a self-confessed communist. The three years of indoctrination against the ANC exploded inside me. I was angry. I had to fight the enemy - the ANC."

Zulu loyalists march on

Two men shot dead passing Merafe hostel as thousands start gathering at dawn to commemorate the 1994 Shell House

shootings

Jo'burg

STAFF REPORTERS

(118) Star 12/3/97

Two men, one of them a policeman, were shot dead in Soweto this morning as Zulu loyalists prepared for a march on the city centre to commemorate the 1994 shootings during an IFP demonstration at the Library Gardens and outside the ANC headquarters at Shell House.

The policeman was stationed at Protea.

Eyewitnesses said the men were shot while passing the Merafe hostel, an IFP stronghold. Police have confirmed the shootings.

Marchers from Soweto hostels

Taxi drivers, marchers trade insults

started gathering at minibus terminals as early as 7am and a shortage of taxis forced them to form long queues or use the nearest train station.

The shortage of minibuses may have been caused by earlier Zulu warnings that taxi and bus drivers must observe the day by not trading with passengers.

About 20 000 Zulu marchers were expected to converge on the Johannesburg city centre today to commemorate the 1994 "Shell House massacre" and to call for the day to be declared a public holiday.

The marchers were gathering at hostels across greater Johannesburg from dawn. A group erected a barricade of burning tyres at Wolhuter hostel in Jeppe.

Police converged on the city centre in preparation for the

march. The Gauteng Provincial Legislator building was closed off by razor wire, and so were the ANC headquarters, Shell House and Lancet Hall in preparation for the march.

In other parts of Greater Johannesburg, incidents of intimidation by marchers were reported in Tembisa where minibuses were stopped and occupants threatened for more than an hour before police managed to clear traffic.

Traffic was delayed for one and a half hours this morning as hostel dwellers blocked the main road from Tembisa and Phomolong near Kempton Park.

As early as 6am motorists who were in a hurry to get to work were forced to use alternative exit routes out of the township via Ivory Park, in Midrand or Olifantsfontein.

Police arrived at the scene at about 7.15am when the Ehlanzeni and Vusumuzi hostels inmates began to close the T-junction linking Kempton Park and Midrand, causing a serious traffic jam.

Although there was an exchange of slinging insults between some taxi drivers and the hostel dwellers who were demanding the community stay away from work in solidarity with the shootings three years ago, there was no violence.

North Rand police said several roads were blocked in the Wattville, Benoni, area but police reinforcements had been sent to the scene and no serious incidents were reported.

Johannesburg police spokesman Sergeant Mark Reynolds said a heavy police presence would be maintained at key points throughout the day.

He reported no incidents in the Johannesburg policing area at the time of going to press.

Shell House march day shows crisis of identity

(11B) Star 13/3/97
THYS DULLAART

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**

It has become just another of South Africa's plethora of commemorative days, along with the likes of Soweto Day, Sharpeville Day and Biko Day.

Every year, central Johannesburg comes to a standstill as thousands of warriors, armed with traditional weapons, converge on the Library Gardens to commemorate the 1994 killings of 11 protesters there and outside the ANC's headquarters, Shell House.

However, unlike all the other days, this one has a crisis of identity.

The Inkatha Freedom Party – whose leadership is behind the annual march – sells the day as a Zulu event. But the ANC and other parties, prefer to label it an IFP occasion.

The IFP leadership claims that the march commemorates what it calls the "Shell House massacre", in which innocent Zulus who were demanding greater constitu-



Lunging ... a marcher taunts police keeping a watch on thousands gathered to remember the 1994 Shell House shootings.

tional powers for their king were gunned down by the ANC and the police.

But, the ANC says the men

were probably killed by its security guards and police officers who were fending off the IFP supporters as they stormed the organisa-

tion's headquarters.

If the facts are allowed to speak for themselves, the original march was clearly an IFP-organised affair, and subsequent marches have followed the same pattern.

Appearing on the application form for the 1994 march was the name of one Humphrey Ndlovu, a very senior IFP Gauteng leader. And the majority of those taking part in the march were people from IFP-controlled hostels.

In subsequent marches the IFP has tried to push Gauteng-based traditional leaders to the fore to give the march a genuine Zulu feel.

However, it has been IFP leaders such as Ndlovu and provincial deputy chairman Themba Khoza who have been at the fore.

It is IFP rhetoric that gets spewed at the rallies and IFP paraphernalia that is displayed.

► **More reports, pictures**
... Pages 3 and 11

Last-ditch plan for IFP resistance revealed

M+G 7-8/3/97
(115)



Before the 1994 elections the IFP used taxpayers' money to train and arm a military force,

writes **Stefaans Brümmer**

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI and his Inkatha Freedom Party lieutenants — with help from the right wing, the police and former Vlakplaas operatives — hatched an elaborate plan before the 1994 elections to ensure the Zulu nationalist party had a military force able to resist the incorporation of KwaZulu into an African National Congress-ruled South Africa.

Interviews with three agents directly involved in the operation show the KwaZulu government, of which Buthelezi was chief minister, used millions of rands of taxpayers' money between September 1993 and the eve of the elections in April 1994 to train — arguably illegally — a reserve of up to 8 000 paramilitary fighters.

It is believed the Inkatha army was the subject of an investigation by the Investigative Task Unit which was recently disbanded. The Transvaal attorney general is investigating possible criminal charges in connection with the operation.

In spite of protestations from key IFP officials that the project had been privately funded, the KwaZulu-Natal auditor general pronounced last year that there had been about R6,7-million "unauthorised state expenditure".

There are fears the warrior network is still partially intact and could be mobilised — with an arsenal of sophisticated war matériel hidden in KwaZulu-Natal — if the Zulu nationalist movement opts for a militaristic way of dealing with the ANC-controlled central government.

In the final weeks before the elections, well over 1 000 of the trainees were temporarily incorporated into the now-disbanded KwaZulu Police (KZP), where they were allegedly to have formed the core of an unofficial army loyal to the self-governing territory's IFP rulers — despite objections from KZP commissioner Roy Doring that the appointment of the paramilitary fighters was irregular.

The training coincided with the IFP's continued absence from the

multi-party negotiations at Kempton Park and refusal to participate in the elections, a stand it reversed only a week before voting started. During this time KwaZulu and Natal were engulfed in the worst political violence in recent history.

Violence monitors say there were more deaths in KwaZulu-Natal at the time of the training. There were allegations that IFP Self-Protection Unit (SPU) graduates were responsible for much of the mayhem.

The project blurred distinctions between the IFP's party-political agenda, the then-KwaZulu government and the now disbanded KZP. The top command of the old South African Police (SAP), including then-commissioner Johan van der Merwe and his deputy, Basie Smit, allegedly knew of and abetted the project.

The *Mail & Guardian* has established that in mid-1993 an initial attempt was made under IFP central committee member Walter Felgate to revive the relatively uncoordinated and small-scale training of IFP recruits that had been a feature of the regional conflict since the former South African Defence Force (SADF) extricated itself, in the early 1990s, from its covert training and operational support of IFP warriors.

Affidavits from men who took part in the new training — and evidence from the trial of former Vlakplaas commander Eugene De Kock — suggest these were follow-ups, although without clear SADF backing, to Operation Marion, the covert programme launched in the mid-1980s by the SADF Department of Military Intelligence to create an anti-ANC paramilitary bulwark for the IFP.

Rightwing extremist former special forces soldier Willem Ratte was employed, under one Riaan van Rensburg, to do the actual training at a farm in the old KaNgwane homeland.

But the Felgate initiative fizzled out in December 1993 — disowned by Buthelezi. Meanwhile, IFP legislator and former SAP security branch agent Philip Powell had become involved in a much more ambitious programme to train IFP SPUs in September or October 1993. Powell, who has also been connected by De Kock to the SADF front company Longreach, has been tipped to become MEC for safety and security in KwaZulu-Natal. Until April 1994 between 5 000 and 8 000 men and women were trained at Mlaba Camp near Ulundi (and to a lesser extent at the nearby Eman-dleni-Matleng Camp).



Philip Powell: The IFP legislator and former SAP security branch agent was involved in a plan to train Self-Protection Units and was commander at one of the training camps

PHOTOGRAPH NAASHON ZALK

While the IFP and KwaZulu government claimed they would be deployed as defensive SPU members allowed under the National Peace Accord, witness statements suggest instruction included offensive tactics — including sabotage and ambushing. After the training courses, which lasted about six weeks, the recruits were sent to their communities with instructions to train others and form SPUs.

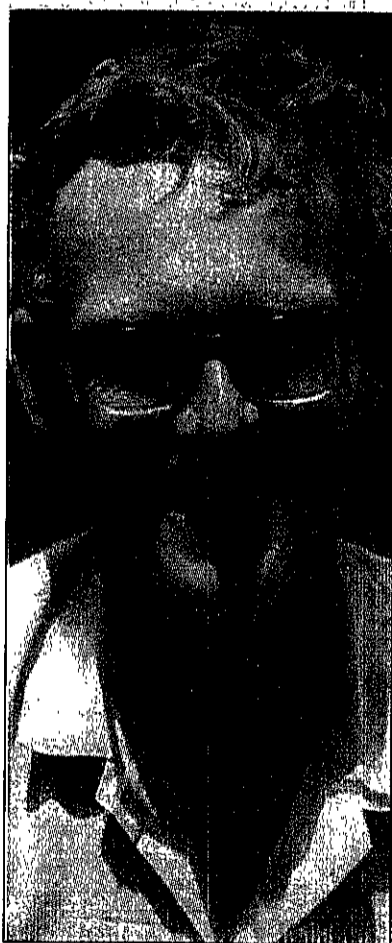
The instructors included Powell as Mlaba camp commander, deputy commander Thompson Xesibe and one M Twala — all three IFP officials. Xesibe had been prominent among the IFP recruits trained during Operation Marion by the SADF in the Caprivi. As many as two dozen more Caprivi graduates, most or all of them by then KZP members, assisted in the training, suggesting a blurring of responsibility between the KZP, the IFP and the KwaZulu government.

Enter De Kock and his crowd from the then-disbanded SAP Vlakplaas hitsquad: De Kock testified in his trial last year that on Powell's request he had obtained six truckloads of weaponry — including explosives, ammunition, mortars and grenades — from the state arms company Mechem in October 1993.

Much of this weaponry remains untraced, leading to fears that some IFP trainees may still have access to it. A number of witness statements say former Vlakplaas officer Nicolaas Vermeulen and a number of Vlakplaas askaris went to Mlaba, where they also helped with the training. Other evidence suggests a few rightwingers, including Ratte, did the same.

In the final weeks before the elections, Buthelezi's cabinet ordered that at least 1 000 of the trainees be incorporated into the KZP as special constables. The incorporation was conceived by Powell as a basis for an unofficial army, loyal to the KwaZulu government.

Incorporation of the recruits into the KZP might have been a ploy to bypass legal restrictions which pre-



Willem Ratte: Employed to train SPUs

vented KwaZulu, like other self-governing territories, from setting up its own army. Powell also feared the creation of a formal army could trigger armed intervention from the South African government. The KwaZulu cabinet, worried that KwaZulu could meet a similar fate to Bophuthatswana, appears to have accepted Powell's plan lock, stock and barrel on March 15 1994.

Then, the IFP was still holding out against joining South Africa's first democratic elections.

Soon after, the plan was in full swing. Application was made to the KwaZulu Public Service Commission for the creation of 2 000 special constable posts. Press reports at the time show that KZP Deputy Commissioner Siphon Mathe finalised a deal to collect 1 000 LM4 rifles from the parastatal Eskom at a cost of R2,1-million. The arms deal col-

lapsed two days later when an Eskom executive chanced on Powell and others loading the weapons at an Eskom facility onto KZP lorries.

The Goldstone Commission subsequently found Eskom had not officially sanctioned the deal — and that SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe had personally authorised a permit to make the "export" of the weapons to KwaZulu possible.

In early April, Buthelezi instructed Doring to speed up the incorporation process — allegedly ordering him to accept all identified trainees into the KZP immediately, and that details such as screening and further training could be done later. During is understood to have ignored the instruction, insisting that poorly trained recruits in the KZP could have serious implications for his force.

Nevertheless, 1 200 or more trainees were reassembled at Mlaba to begin additional training as "special constables". During applied for R14-million in additional funds from the KwaZulu treasury in the week before the elections, saying 1 500 extra policemen had been employed under cabinet instructions.

The IFP plan came to an abrupt end on April 25 and 26, as the vote was about to start, when the "special constables" were paid off at Mlaba and sent home. While the reason for the termination is not clear, the IFP's decision a week earlier to join the elections, Doring's opposition, and a joint SAP-Transitional Executive Council (TEC) raid on Mlaba on April 26 could have contributed. The TEC raid group believed at the time that the Mlaba trainees had been forwarned. When the group got access to the camp it was largely deserted, although some grenades, ammunition, and more than 100 firearms were found.

Powell this week denied the incorporation of Mlaba trainees into the KZP had been to establish an army, saying it was to boost the KZP's limited capabilities in case of large-scale civil unrest. He referred further comment to Buthelezi, who was not available.

Following in Buthelezi's footsteps within IFP?

Gwala is not saying, but he may well have the chiefly blessings

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Durban - Opponents of the Inkatha Freedom Party have long wrestled with the question of who will eventually replace Mangosuthu Buthelezi as party leader - and it is Muziwenkose Blessed Gwala's name that is being whispered as a potential candidate.

The 40-year-old Empangeni father of three is a stern man - not without a sense of humour, but a no-nonsense person.

For many the IFP is synonymous with Chief Buthelezi and a party without his fearsome leadership is almost unimaginable. The issue has perplexed senior members of the ANC and, after much grappling over the question, they say one of the favourites to succeed the Prince of Kwaphindangene is Blessed Gwala.

Unlike others who have been touted as successors, Mr Gwala does not feign modesty when asked if he could succeed the chief. He's not a dreamer and won't consider the question too deeply.

"I'm a man from a traditional home. When an inkosi dies people start saying:

"Oh, no, there's a problem - this is the end". But a few days later someone emerges. There are many people who can take over the presidency. You can't judge now. Chief Buthelezi has trained many people - not chancers - who understand the conviction of the party and the aspirations of the people."

For him, entertaining such thoughts is wrong, and would be inviting a dark cloud to settle over his door. Mr Gwala hunches up his shoulders and says he's strong. It's a statement of fact rather than a boast and he has more important things on his mind than to dwell on who will replace a man for whom he has an obviously deep respect and admiration.

He speaks about the prince - "mntwana" or "ndabezitha" - often, not in a sycophantic fashion. He genuinely likes the man for what he is and says they get on. Probably because in many ways they are alike - narrow minded, or principled, depending on your inclination. Confrontational or direct, whatever you fancy.

Mr Gwala recently gained notoriety in the media after he, as his leader has often done, accused a "white cabal" of trying to

run Parliament. He is adamant he is not racist: "I take a stand and I need to be firm. That is what I was taught - to be strong you must take a stand."

Raised in the hills of Eshowe, Mr Gwala's father was an acting chief, or inkosi, and his great great-grandfather was the official chief to King Dinuzulu. His passion, like Chief Buthelezi's, is the fight for control of tribal land. Without their attachment to the land, he says, Zulu people have nothing and their customs and traditions will turn into dust.

"There is a difference between Western and African democracies. There must be an Act to protect the land. The amakhosi or chiefs didn't support the IFP in the beginning but they came to the IFP for shelter because it is the party thinking of them and the institution of ubuntu (chiefdom)."

"All I want is recognition - recognition for traditional structures in the constitution. If that's sorted out, the playing fields will be smooth."

"People - some in the IFP - who don't understand that, don't have that spirit of nationalism," he says.

"Some people are fighting only to get

prominence and money. Some people will fight for the land for nothing."

Quite evidently Mr Gwala is on the same wavelength as his leader: his comments - like those of Chief Buthelezi's - are bold to the point of provocative: "I'm afraid if these issues are not addressed there will be more deaths before the 1999 elections."

The similarities between the two men are no coincidence. While Mr Gwala comes from a Zulu aristocracy of sorts, he doesn't seem to owe his prominence to royal patronage or party favour. Reports indicate that he's slugged it out in the IFP schoolyard and earned the respect of his elders, which he considers paramount.

As a child, he says he was given a hiding by his mother for spending an inordinate amount of time with his grandfather and indunas overseeing the tribal court. But, he recalls, she was rebuked for the move and he was allowed to continue his "observations".

Similar lessons were learned in his teenage years when he rose to prominence as an IFP youth leader in Empangeni, and caught the eye of Ben Ngunane, who ran a medical practice there.

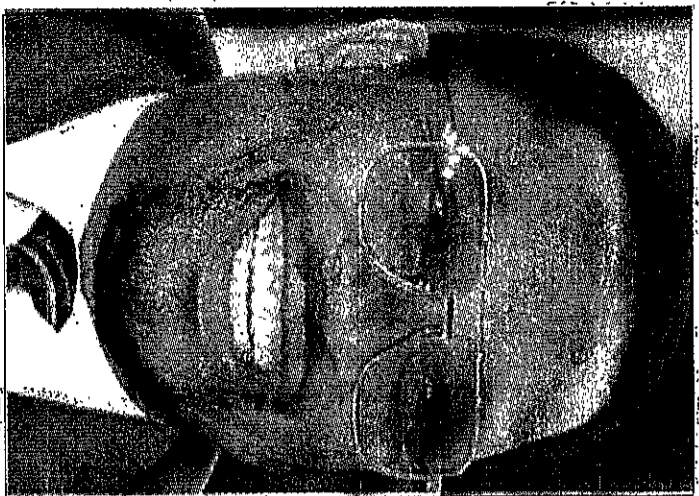
He and his future premier became firm friends and his school fees were paid for by the doctor who later introduced him to Chief Buthelezi.

In spite of being a straight talker, he is not without his own brand of shrewdness. Mr Gwala says he continued his organisational work but took careful notes of how leaders handled themselves. He has kept piles of diaries logging political events since his 20s.

More people are encountering him as he criss-crosses the province with senior IFP leaders in exhaustive party work that is testament to loyalty to Mr Euthlezi and his most tribal constituency.

Of the future, he's fatalistic. He favours the straight route. It's always worked for him. Whether he is being groomed or not, this approach has always worked.

"If there is something wrong, the right thing to do is approach the person... I listen and I follow the leader. The contact I've had with him is very good. I don't know about tomorrow. People say he is difficult. He's not. I seek his advice and he listens and gives me the green light to make my own choice."



Candidate: Muziwenkose Blessed Gwala

Dances with Zulus

(11B)

M+G 14-19/3/97

Water Quality Movement
Jim Day

THE knife in his hand was a good 15cm long. But he was pleasant when he said, "I don't want to hurt you. Just give me your money." His buddies surrounded me, four or five of them, pulled me back and to the ground and started grabbing at my pockets.

They didn't beat me, so I found myself trying to brush their hands off, as if I were covered with spiders. Lots of people were milling around, so after a few seconds they stopped, and I was able to get up and run.

I'd seen the one with the knife just a few minutes before in Jeppe Street. He and his friends tried to mug me there, too, hauling me to the ground and going for my pockets. I got away, but I made a mistake. I patted my breast pocket to see if my wallet was still there, which it was. And one of them saw me do that. "Shit," I thought.

I jogged across Jeppe, made for Commissioner Street, where I'd seen dozens of cops in riot gear loafing around earlier that morning. But before I could get there the guy with the knife crossed the street in front of me.

After the second unsuccessful shakedown, I made it to Commissioner Street at a fast walk and headed for a bright-yellow armoured vehicle where cops were cradling their shotguns. There I took a moment for quiet reflection.

I flew into Johannesburg six weeks ago from my home on the open plains of the American West. I moved into a heavily fortified commune in leafy Parkhurst with a couple of white guys who told me within an hour of my arrival not to go to the city centre unless I wanted the very South African experience of getting shot.

I'd smelled a whiff of paranoia in their advice, but on Wednesday morning, as I smoked a cigarette alongside the police, I was thinking South Africa may actually be a somewhat violent country. That's when I heard the chanting of 15 000 Zulus marching up the street.

This was what I had been sent out to cover: Zulus marching to demand that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission find out the facts behind the 1994 "Shell House Massacre" in



Jim comes to Jo'burg: Reporter Jim Day (left) went to cover the Zulu march and escaped from two muggings with his wallet intact. It's not known what happened to the driver, but the motorbike became a victim of the marchers

PHOTOGRAPHS: SIDDIQUE GAZDAR / MARK THE THIMBLE

While choppers circled overhead, the marchers passed razor wire 1.5 m high around City Hall. Library Gardens was filled; people perched in trees and on top of buildings.

I stood near the library steps. Some of the men around me had thoughtfully sheathed the tips of their assegais with corn cobs. Self-styled "soldiers" in T-shirts that said "Self-Protection Unit of KwaZulu" separated the speakers from the crowd. Then came the long speeches from Zulu royalty.

"It is with a deep sense of sorrow and sadness ... that we remember those who were mercilessly mowed down with heavy weapons of war," said Prince Vanana Zulu of Kwaminyanya in KwaZulu-Natal. "No amount of cover-up will blot out from our minds the sad memory of the Shell House Massacre."

The Inkatha Freedom Party has called for March 28 to be made a national holiday and for the truth commission to find out the facts of the "massacre". They want President Nelson Mandela to testify.

That was all fairly routine and could have been dispensed with in a press release. They gave a closing prayer and people started dancing again. Then someone got a little trigger-happy. Immediately hundreds of shots popped from all over the square, like packs of firecrackers. I saw several people shooting semi-automatic handguns into the air. One of the gunmen was a couple of metres to my right.

Some people ducked for cover and others fled. But many kept dancing, as the shooting continued. I finally straightened up and ran from the library steps toward Market Street, where police squatted among their Casspirs, aiming into the crowd as Zulus dove for cover. But the police held their fire, most of the shooting stopped, the crowd started marching toward the east, and I emerged unscathed.

Others were not so fortunate.

Police put the day's death toll at three: two people at the Merali Hostel in Soweto and a third at the George Goch Railway Station on Wednesday morning. About 18 injuries were reported in connection with the march, mostly from gunshot wounds, with a couple of assegai attacks, stone throwings and other assaults thrown in.

The ANC compared the march with the 1994 "assault on ANC headquarters" at Shell House and blamed march leaders for leaving "a trail of blood in and around Johannesburg".

The National Party backed the marchers' demands for an investigation into the Shell House shootings.

As I wandered back to the newsroom, I was thinking a day in Johannesburg has a bit more pepper than one back home on the plains. Getting mugged, ducking random gunfire, looking down some cop's gun barrel. I sat at my desk, lit another cigarette, and recovered my wallet from my sock.

IFP abandons demand for mediation

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — International mediation of constitutional differences was no longer politically practical and the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for it had been abandoned, the party conceded yesterday while insisting it would still be raised as a point of honour.

IFP veteran and Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews conceded that Inkatha's acceptance of the new constitution and the fact that its MPs were participating in popularising the constitution this week meant that international mediation was no longer practical. He stressed, however, that it remained the IFP's conviction that the ANC had failed to honour its

commitment to hold international mediation after the 1994 election and "as a point of honour the IFP will continue to raise the issue".

IFP Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Lionel Mtshali said that while his party had accepted the new constitution and was determined, through democratic means, to see it changed, it had an obligation to join the campaign to popularise the new law. IFP MPs in the field were distributing the new constitution, but were also circulating a party critique of what it felt was wrong with it.

"The new constitution carries the stigma of political manipulation and broken promises, especially the broken promise to hold international media-

tion on the outstanding constitutional issues, and does not yet represent the type of all-inclusive settlement on which a long-lasting future of peace, freedom and prosperity can be founded," Mtshali said. The IFP was a loyal opposition and was bound by its principles. Its commitment had led it to take part in the unity government and it accepted the legality of the present constitutional order, despite its reservations about the new constitution.

The IFP also criticised the newly established National Council of Provinces, saying that there were many difficulties which would stop the council becoming an effective instru-

Continued on Page 2

IFP

Continued from Page 1

ment. Matthews said the movement to and from the provinces by the premiers was already becoming a problem.

He also scotched rumours that the IFP was poised to withdraw from the government of national unity.

In its critique of the new constitu-

tion the IFP says that the protection of human rights is too weak and the limitations clause might allow rights to be infringed when it was unnecessary; that human rights during a state of emergency were not adequately protected; that the political independence of the Constitutional Court could be undermined by shortcomings in the appointments procedure of its judges; and that the provinces had been deprived of powers.

IFP to strip powers of secretary general

Ann-Eveleth

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is planning to strip all political powers from its secretary general's post in an effort to prevent future holders commanding the influence over the party enjoyed by past incumbents.

Ben Ngubane, the Kwazulu-Natal premier and IFP acting national chairman, told the *Mail & Guardian* this week that party officials had agreed that the post should be retained, but largely as an administrative position.

The next secretary general—the current incumbent, Ziba Jiyane, steps down later this year—would not be involved in day-to-day political issues as this detracts from the goal of creating a vibrant, cohe-

sive and effective party," Ngubane said.

The new secretary general would instead "serve the party's structures, ensure training goes on in the branches and that the programmes we have in terms of community involvement are implemented".

Ngubane added that no clear contender had yet emerged as Jiyane's successor.

Jiyane is expected to step down at the IFP's national conference in July after an apparent fall-out with the IFP's leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Previous holders included high-profile players such as Oscar Dhlomo, who has quit politics for business, and Sibusiso Bengu, the current education minister.

MHG 4/14/97-10/4/97 (118)

Ngubane said he has worked "very well" with Buthelezi since taking over from Frank Mdlalose. "I've made all sorts of suggestions to him. He has shown me where there are difficulties, given me alternative perspectives, but we work well," he said.

Ngubane also defended his recent provincial Cabinet appointments. He handed the safety and security portfolio to Traditional Affairs MEC Nyanga Zulu culture, Zulu history. He leads intelligence report alleging he was involved in paramilitary training.

Ngubane said he had "nothing tangible" to suggest that Nyanga really has no substance and say Ngubane was unsuitable for the post, arguing that his dual portfolios would improve prospects for rural stability. "There's a sense of neglect as far as safety and security is concerned with the rural areas compared to the cities," Ngubane said that if the fired MECs such as Prince Gideon Zulu, who faced similar allegations as Chief Ngubane, IFP supporters would be "baffled as to what possessed me. A person like Prince Gideon is absolutely revered in terms of him being a repository of Zulu culture, Zulu history. He leads the cultural events in song, in relating oral tradition and so forth.

"That man is not a lightweight among the Zulu people. So you don't go on a flimsy thing which among the Zulu people, you really has no substance and say I'm going to deal with this person by removing him from the government."

SECRET LINK ALLEGED WITH MILITARY

Spotlight on Buthelezi's 'covert' role

A REPORT prepared by the Investigation Task Board set up to probe state sponsored violence details how the board believes Inkatha became involved in covert actions of the apartheid security forces. **DONWALD PRESSLY** reports.

HOME Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been drawn into the controversy raging over the previous government's use of sinister forces to eliminate apartheid foes.

A report prepared by the Investigation Task Board (ITB) — which was commissioned by Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi to investigate state sponsored violence — sets out how it believes Inkatha became enmeshed in covert activities of the former government's security forces.

The report, in the hands of the Independent Group, says the security apparatus of the former regime had since the 1960s embraced the principles of counter-revolutionary warfare.

Central to this strategy was the provision of political and military support to "surrogate or middle forces" within South Africa and in neighbouring states.

The report, already presented in oral evidence to the commission by the ITB's head, Durban lawyer Mr Howard Varney, says in pursuance of this strategy the SA military supplied substantial support to groups such as the Mozambican opposition movement Renamo, Unita in Angola, the Lesotho Liberation Army in Lesotho, the Ciskei Resistance Movement — and to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

This strategy "coincided" with Buthelezi's long-held desire to have a military force of his own.

Buthelezi, according to the report, had "unofficial" military backup through the 121 Battalion "to which he was secretly recruiting his supporters by arrangement with the military".

He pursued his aim of setting up a more organised paramilitary force "which could be used to protect Inkatha members and which could carry out offensive actions against his political opponents", according to the report.

While the IFP leader has repeat-

edly denied his involvement in any covert military activity, he has acknowledged the need to protect his people in former KwaZulu. He also regularly cited the need for a defence against the violent activity of the ANC's then internal wing, the United Democratic Front.

A Truth Commission hearing next month will consider allegations that Buthelezi was central to a conspiracy with the NP government to create this offensive capacity.

The document presents as proof a memo from the Chief of Staff, Intelligence, Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, to the then Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

Varney says this provided certain guidelines originally made by Buthelezi (then Chief Minister of KwaZulu) requiring that there be a "definite separation between support for KwaZulu and support for IFP. Support to Inkatha apparently included security for the chief minister and other Inkatha leaders — but also "steps against" UDF-ANC.

Liaison with Inkatha was, in terms of the memo, set up with then deputy IFP secretary-general M Z Khumalo, who was a close

□ To Page 5

Report labelled a 'vendetta'

From Page 1

CT 10/4/97
lieutenant of Buthelezi's.

Financial support for Inkatha's military capacity for that year was listed as "financial support to Inkatha for the para-military force".

As part of the mid-1980s military Operation Marion, the report says, 200 Inkatha members were taken to the Caprivi Strip in Namibia, where they received training at Hippo Camp by the Special Operations component of Military Intelligence and Special Forces.

"The recruits were divided into operational groups, one of which was an offensive group of some 30 men. The trainees were instructed that their targets would be located within the UDF-ANC."

The Varney report rejects the court's view during the recent so-called KwaMakhuta trial — in which former Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan, Mr M Z Khumalo and 18 others were acquitted — that the training in Caprivi "was no more sinister than the training of guards for an agricultural society".

"The court failed to appreciate certain facts which were common cause and which made such a comparison incomprehensible. Unlike security guards, the Caprivi trainees were recruited from one side in a bloody political conflict.

"After their secret training they were deployed under the control of political role players in the same violent struggle," the report states.

Varney said interviews with their political commissar and five others who had co-operated with the board's inquiries indicated involvement in atrocities in Mpumalanga township, Isikhaweni and the KwaMakhuta massacre (in which 13 people were killed).

Last night, Inkatha spokesman Mr Arthur Konigkramer described Varney's report as "a personal vendetta".

Konigkramer said the ITB had investigated the violence in the Midlands but that there had never been an inquiry until now into the violence.

Dismissed ANC member Mr Sifiso Nkabinde was now accused by the ANC of fomenting violence and there was evidence the military and the police knew of ANC hit squads. But Varney had not acted on it.

Varney last night confirmed NP leader Mr F W de Klerk's view that a counter-revolutionary "third force" proposed by the former State Security Council in the mid-1980s had never actually been implemented as a separate force.

Police could not control IFP march, inquest told

(11B) (278)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CT 10/19/97

JOHANNESBURG: Despite a direct order from police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, police failed to set up roadblocks outside many of the hostels around Johannesburg on the night before 20 000 Inkatha Freedom Party members marched to the Library Gardens on March 28, 1994.

And the national head of the Internal Stability Division, Deputy Commissioner Adrian de la Rosa (a lieutenant-general and national head of the ISD at the time of the march), could not tell the inquest into the death of 19 people during the march, held in the High Court here yesterday, why this had not been done.

De la Rosa told Mr Justice Robert Nugent and two assessors that Van der Merwe had received a phone call from President Nelson Mandela on the night before the march, to say that the ANC was expecting trouble from IFP supporters at the hostels in Johannesburg, Soweto and on the East Rand.

No mention was made of any possible danger to either the ANC headquarters at Shell House in Plein Street or the organisation's regional headquarters at Lancet Hall,

De la Rosa said.

He said that even if the roadblocks had been set up, police would have been unable to disarm large groups of IFP supporters leaving the hostels.

"When it came to groups of thousands of IFP members who were armed, the police were not in control of the situation," he said, to laughter from IFP supporters in the public gallery.

Upon starting work that day he was aware of 13 deaths the previous night, but said it was not extraordinary at the height of those violent times.

De la Rosa agreed with Mr Danny Berger, for the ANC, that police could have prevented the marchers from passing Shell House had they blocked the streets with vehicles and razor wire, but failed to do so because no intelligence was received that the marchers planned to pass Shell House.

This was supported earlier by an admission by Superintendent Donovan Herbert that police intelligence units were so disorganised that their information had shortcomings. Additional operatives were not deployed because it was too dangerous.

The case continues today.

'Themba Khoza was on Vlakplaas payroll'

Sowetan 11/4/97 (116)

By Joe Mahela

■ NKATHA Freedom Party MP Mr Themba Khoza had been on the payroll of convicted mass murderer Eugene de Kock, the inquest into the Shell House killings heard at the Johannesburg High Court yesterday.

Presiding Judge Robert Nugent and two assessors also heard how Khoza and another IFP member, Mr Victor Ndlovu, had received guns to use against the African National Congress.

The inquest, in its fourth day, heard how Khoza and Ndlovu had been recruited by former Absa security officer Droos van Heerden, an

operative of the Vlakplaas unit.

During cross-examination counsel for the ANC Mr George Bizos, SC, asked Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Nelif if he knew whether Khoza had been arrested at a roadblock while carrying weapons.

Taking large extracts from the Goldstone report, Bizos said Khoza had been acquitted of charges relating to the possession of weapons.

Nelif said he had read about Khoza's 'gunrunning' activities in newspapers but did not have firsthand information about his dealings.

This was the second time in two days that the inquest heard about Khoza's dealings with conservative Afrikaner groups.

Earlier this week the court was told about the relationship the IFP established with the AWB before the April 27 1994 nonracial elections.

The court also heard that the Zulu march and subsequent rally in Johannesburg on March 28 1994 had been aimed at stopping the elections.

Yesterday Bizos put it to Nel that if he had known of the criminal cooperation between Third Force operations and the IFP and that Khoza would on March 28 1994 be addressing a rally aimed at stopping the elections, why he had not been extra vigilant when dealing with him?

He also put it to Nel that Khoza had been implicated by the Goldstone report with Vlakplaas dealings

involving the likes of General Bassie Smit, now commander of the South African Police Services (SAPS) and Krappies Engelbrecht.

These people, said Bizos, had been involved in manufacturing an armory on the East Rand and in Silverton.

"All these people were members of C10 (part of the Vlakplaas unit) and had supplied senior IFP members Themba Khoza and Victor Ndlovu with arms," said Bizos.

Bizos also asked Nel if he knew about the *prima facie* evidence published by newspapers and shown on televisions. Nel said he only read about it in newspapers.

He also referred Nel to a tape

recorded conversation between the ANC's Mr Joe Nhlantla and the police, in which Nhlantla sought reinforcements and objected to having their offices surrounded by IFP marchers.

He also referred Nel to a conversation in which the police told Khoza they did not want to act against the marchers but asked him to talk to them to stop them from throwing stones. Khoza had replied: "I have problems ... don't stop my people."

The hearing continues today.

● Mpumalanga premier and ANC chief legal adviser Mr Mathews Phosa and Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlantla are expected to testify on Monday.

Buthelezi moves to cut support for Shabalala

(116) BD 21/4/97

Deborah Fine

INKATHA Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi slated government and moved to neutralise support for expelled former IFP provincial MP Mandla Shabalala yesterday when he addressed more than 10 000 people at a rally in Lindelani, near Durban.

Shabalala, the IFP's former KwaZulu-Natal south coast region deputy chairman, was expelled from the party last year amid accusations that his followers were attacking public buses in an attempt to boost his taxi business. Despite his expulsion, he is believed to still wield considerable influence in Lindelani, which has traditionally been his stronghold.

Buthelezi's perceived criticism of Shabalala comes amid speculation that the former IFP warlord might be looking to form ties with expelled African National Congress former deputy minister Bantu Holomisa, whom he has met three times in recent months. Shabalala also attended a press conference held earlier this month by expelled ANC KwaZulu-Natal MP Sifiso Nkabinde.

Buthelezi's address yesterday was seen as a means to garner support for

the IFP in the coming 1999 general elections, as well as an attempt to steer support away from Shabalala and any alliance he might attempt to forge with Holomisa, who has made known his intention to create a new political party to contest the 1999 election.

Officially sanctioning James Maphalala as Shabalala's successor, Buthelezi said there was no place in the IFP's leadership for "anyone who feels they are above their own communities and who leads ... by virtue of intimidation rather than ... dedicated service". In what was seen as a stab at Shabalala, he said the IFP would not tolerate "those who, in their own selfish interests, tried to take away and even burn the buses that the people of this community use to commute to their work places".

Attacking government, he said "things are not going well in SA and are bound to become worse unless we heed ... common sense". Many people were still not "making the connection" between SA's "financial and social problems ... and the overall system of government". Only a strong, principled government could prevent the deterioration of rapidly deteriorating justice, welfare, education and health systems.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Pat Twala, executive committee member of the Khyalami Metropolitan Council and Development Planning MEC in Gauteng Sicelo Shiceka at the formal launch of the council's new name at the weekend. The council was previously known as the North East Rand Metropolitan Council.

Pictures: TYRONE ARTHUR

Attorneys slam Omar over legal aid

Susan Russell

ATTORNEYS have called on Justice Minister Dullah Omar to explain why the current crisis the Legal Aid Board faces was allowed to develop when many of the problems were clearly foreseeable and should have been prevented. **BD 21/4/97**

An editorial due for publication in the May issue of the attorney's journal De Rebus says Omar owes the public and the legal community an explanation on why the chaotic state of the board was allowed to develop.

Despite an annual budget of R300m the Legal Aid Board has been described by lawyers, increasingly infuriated by a huge backlog in payment of legal aid accounts, as being on the verge of collapse. Its deputy director, Tony Hutchinson, was suspended

pending a disciplinary inquiry earlier this year amid allegations of mismanagement by senior staff.

Board director Nic Pretorius has denied claims of mismanagement but has conceded that it could not cope with the backlog of outstanding payments to attorneys and advocates.

Pretorius told Parliament's justice committee last month that there had been an unprecedented increase in its workload and the board did not have the staff to cope. He said a request for 70 more employees was answered only after 18 months and that only 40 posts were approved.

The crisis and possible solutions will be discussed by the parliamentary committee again this week.

Meanwhile lawyers have called for a complete overhaul of the way legal aid is administered.

IFP sacks Mike Tarr and Vincent Ngema

(113)

BD 20/5/97

(504)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has sacked Mike Tarr as IFP chief whip in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature, allegedly because of his failure to support the party's push for Ulundi as provincial capital.

Its national council also decided at the weekend to axe provincial caucus chairman Vincent Ngema. Both will remain ordinary provincial MPs.

KwaZulu-Natal MP Hugh Lee is to become the sixth white member to resign from the party since 1994. More resignations were likely, a source said.

Sources said Tarr had been ousted after being accused of failing to implement party policies, particularly on Ulundi's status as provincial capital.

One source said Ngema spoke his

mind within party structures. He favoured transformation of the IFP to increase electoral support.

The sources said the attack on Tarr and Ngema was led by Arts and Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali and backed by Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela. They had IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's support.

Ngema said he was a "good soldier" of the IFP who was "easily deployable".

The sources said Ngubane had argued that the two should be kept in their posts "for a while" to avoid disruption of the IFP in the legislature. However, they were expected to quit their posts next week.

Sources said Tarr came under heavy attack for the decision last year to open offices of the National Council of Provinces in Maritzburg, and for his

reservations about building a multi-million-rand chamber for the house of traditional leaders in Ulundi.

The sources said Lee complained that the party was not providing enough support for its members who were victims of violence.

He was also chairman of the legislature's public works committee, but found requests to the department for accountability on issues such as expenditure on Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini were largely ignored.

IFP acting national chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier Ben Ngubane said no decision had been taken to replace Tarr and Ngema.

If there was no improvement on issues such as absenteeism and the failure to do constituency work, people would have to "move aside"

NEXT weekend, as they do once a year every July, hundreds of IFP faithful and invited dignitaries will assemble in Ulundi under the sweltering heat of a huge multi-coloured marquee for the party's annual general conference.

With the 1999 election in sight, the delegates will plod through speeches and reports, sway to song and dance, and finally adopt a string of predictable resolutions.

The conference is the last opportunity for the party to get its act together before the election — there will no time left after the next one in July 1998.

Yet, just as the party has consistently failed to seize the right moment in the past, this conference is highly unlikely to launch the IFP on a path to pose a serious challenge to the ANC's domination of national politics.

That is ironic, because it has spent the past year ostensibly fine-tuning its engine to fire on all cylinders ahead of the election.

Convened by National Assembly MP Ben Skosana, the IFP last year established several task groups that have been examining every facet of the organisation. They are due to report to the conference, which will ratify their recommendations.

An examination of the mandates of the task teams shows that this conference provides the IFP with an opportunity to transform itself now to grow — or to face the 1999 election as a shrink-regional force.

The IFP's last chance to gear itself up for 1999

But it is unlikely to emerge from its national conference as a serious threat to the ANC, writes CYRIL MADLALA

ST 13/7/97

(116)

One of the task groups is investigating the restructuring of the party, and there is now certainty that the position of secretary general, which Dr Ziba Jiyane will vacate at the conference, will be redefined to effectively reduce the incumbent to an administrative functionary.

There has been considerable resentment in the IFP that, through his office, Jiyane grew in political stature as the most visible personality besides leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Through no fault of his own, Jiyane was entrusted with constitutional powers that were perceived as building blocks for his own political empire.

The man tipped to take over from him if the position is redefined is an old party stalwart, Zakhela Khumalo, who in 1994 de-

clined the position because he regarded it as too political.

He told the Sunday Times this week that he preferred to remain in the background, and that he would serve only if the role was redefined, possibly to that of general secretary.

Set for ascendancy in the party is Dr Ben Ngubane, as national chairman. There is a strong feeling within the restructuring task group that it is this position that should carry more political clout to free the secretary to concentrate on administration.

Ironically, Jiyane heads the leadership development task group when his own rise as a leader has not gone down well among some of his colleagues.

It is in the leadership stakes that the IFP faces a crisis, primarily because the organisation

is run by a largely unelected, but co-opted, executive.

The stature of most of the leaders who are MPs is not directly proportional to their support on the ground, and they owe their political survival to patronage.

Jiyane's task group is expected to detail to the conference strategies to develop leadership skills, but it is not clear how the organisation will benefit from that pool of leaders because a major shake-up of the executive is unheard of in the party.

In fact, it is only secretaries general who do not normally survive for long in the IFP.

The conference is also expected to endorse the restructuring group's recommendation that there be a smaller working committee, possibly with 20 to 30 people, that will perform most of

the tasks of the cumbersome 120-member national council. Meeting once a month, the national council carries out the decisions of the conference.

The IFP will also be given a report on how to broaden its base beyond KwaZulu Natal, and to build on the remnants of support in other provinces.

Amid reports that the ANC is in deep financial difficulties, another task group will make recommendations on raising funds, while another will outline the IFP's 1999 election strategy, which should be based on the party's philosophy developed by a group led by another party stalwart, Lionel Mtshali.

At this stage it is not clear how the IFP wants to position itself for the election, particularly in the fluidity of the political situation.

Both the NP and the DP have indicated a willingness to come to an arrangement with the IFP to challenge the ANC in 1999.

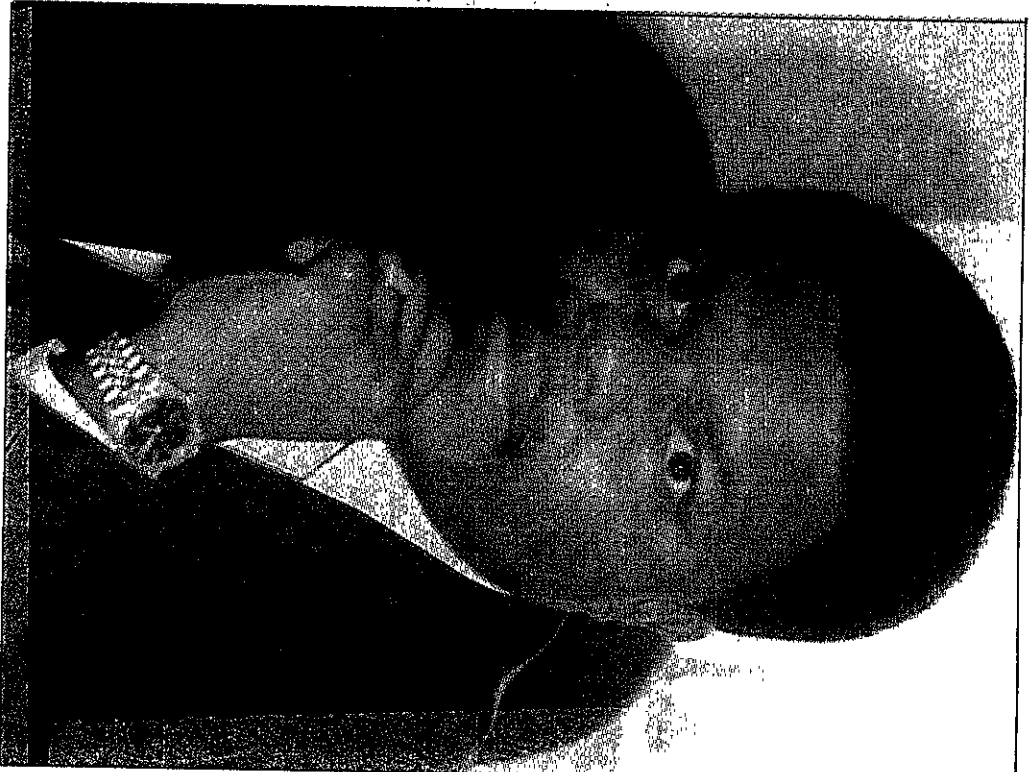
The ANC has, in turn, responded with its own overtures, particularly the KwaZulu Natal peace package, to which it has added a proposal to accommodate Buthelezi in a position that betrays his national stature.

Both the IFP and the ANC are under tremendous pressure in the province to stop bickering and work together for the benefit of what is largely the same constituency. And it will be with this in mind that the conference will consider possible anti-ANC election pacts with other parties.

The conference is, however, expected to formally endorse reconciliation with the ANC, pointing out though that outstanding issues such as the breached promise on international mediation need to be put to rest somehow.

Whether all the task groups' recommendations will be endorsed and implemented — thereby signalling the IFP's readiness to face the 1999 challenge as a renewed force — remains to be seen. It is a party that is firmly entrenched in its ways and approaches, and its way of charting untested waters.

The only certainty about the conference is that it is the leader's centre stage. Diplomat, dignitary and party faithful alike will emerge from the marquee on Sunday afternoon very much aware of that.



TOO VISIBLE: Ziba Jiyane, whose resignation will open the way for the IFP's post of secretary general to be redefined

Skint IFP shuts three offices

Mt G 18-24/7/97 (115)

Wonder Hlongwa and Mukoni T Ratshtanga

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has closed three of its 14 national offices, amid a cash crunch caused by falling membership fees. Senior IFP officials say the party, due to hold its annual conference in Umtata this weekend, has been hit by poor management and administration and a breakdown in the collection of membership fees — its main source of funds.

The officials, who decline to be named, say the party is not bankrupt — “We are just experiencing cash-flow problems” — but the lack of cash is hampering efforts to broaden its support beyond KwaZulu-Natal. The party had 20 national offices prior to the 1994 elections.

The IFP's treasurer general, Arthur Konigkranner, refused this week to say how many members the party has, or how many have paid their fees.

But he said the three satellite offices — in

Gauteng, the Free State and the Eastern Cape — had shut because they failed to support themselves. Affected staff had been redeployed.

“Why should KwaZulu-Natal subsidise other provinces?” Konigkranner asked. “Each province has to find its own funders, through fund-raising and through the membership.”

Dealing with the party's cash problems ahead of the 1999 elections will be high on the conference agenda this weekend.

The IFP's chief fund-raiser, Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews, is expected to table a series of fund-raising initiatives at the conference.

He unveiled one last weekend — drafting in former KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose to spearhead the fund-raising drive.

The party is also planning to reshape the role of secretary general into a more administrative, less political, function. The current incumbent, Ziba Jiyane, is to step down at the conference. The deputy secretary general, Zakhele Knu-

malo, tipped to succeed Jiyane, conceded the party was suffering from cash-flow problems.

He blamed lower subscription fees on the IFP's decision late last year to lift its joining fee to R10 from R3, and its renewal fees to R5 from R2. Konigkranner also refused to be drawn on the funds the party currently has in its coffers. “Those are confidential matters,” he said. “No party can reveal its funding to public scrutiny.”

● The African National Congress, which faces a similar cash squeeze, has slashed staffing in its youth and women's league offices from 16 employees to six. Both will now have to operate with only four paid office-bearers and two administrative staffers.

The party this week failed to respond to inquiries about the full extent of its cutback programme, though it emerged last week that more than 150 staff would go across the country.

Staff at the party's Shell House headquarters said there were plans to absorb some retrenched staff into government departments.

The ANC's provincial offices have so far not been affected and will retain at least three paid staffers each. It is believed, however, that the ANC is considering closing down its sub-head office in Cape Town.

Life and soul of the party stays loyal to the movement

For true believers IFP conferences are always close to the heart

ST 20/7/97

CYRIL MADLALA

ROSELINE Mgabhi, 64, woke up in her shack in Madadeni near Newcastle on Friday and packed her bags for her annual pilgrimage to the Mecca of the Inkatha religion — Ulundi.

In the 22 years of the movement's existence, she cannot recall missing any annual conference, although her travel arrangements were a little different this year.

Comrade "Magcwalubhavu" (one who fills up the bath) normally travels to Ulundi in a bus hired by her branch, but this year she budgeted R70 from her monthly pension of R430 to pay for private transport.

The reason for this added expense is that her knees are now so weak she has difficulty getting onto the bus.

By 3pm Mgabhi has arrived at Mandleni-Matlang in Ulundi, where huge tents have been pitched for the event.

She abandoned her bed in Newcastle to join hundreds of other comrades, who spend the night

sprawled on the cold floor of a nearby hall.

It is time to reminisce with friends from afar last seen in July 1996. They share their food, a flask of tea and unwavering support for the man they call "the prince".

Mgabhi is a loyal and disciplined member of the organisation. The Sunday Times travelled some 500km to speak to her, but when it caught up with her in the hall on Friday night she was firm.

"On Saturday the leader talks to us, but what we read on Sunday is different. Newspapers say things he did not say. I will only talk to you if the prince, or my regional chairman Dr Frank Mdlatose, authorises it."

Could we try Dr Ziba Jiyane, the outgoing secretary general?

"No," she says. "He might not know me. He comes from overseas."

With the formalities sorted out the next day, Mgabhi relaxes and talks about the leader and the party she loves.

It is now 7.30am on Saturday and she sits on a low wall outside the hall.

Curiously, she sports the old uniform: black

shoes and skirt, a khaki blouse and jacket and a black beret with an Inkatha badge.

Her tie is gold, black and green — the ANC colours used by Inkatha when it was a cultural movement.

Within two hours, blaring sirens and police cars with flashing lights signal the arrival of the leader, who strides confidently through a guard of honour formed by khaki-clad youngsters as he makes his way to the marquee.

The hall is packed, with little space to move.

But "Magcwalubhavu" is an institution here, and a chair is hastily arranged for her in the second row from the front.

She is transformed from an ailing 64-year-old to an energetic participant at the conference.

On stage Mangosuthu Buthelezi sways Madiba jive-style, and Mgabhi abandons her walking stick to follow suit. *Ushenge uzobusa lelizwe khona manje* — "Shenge (Buthelezi's clan name) is going to rule this country now", the song goes.

Then it is the leader's turn to speak.

A ritual in Ulundi is an



IN STEP: Roseline Mgabhi, a long-time supporter of Inkatha, gets

arrangement with SABC Television that Buthelezi first read excerpts of his speech in English, then address delegates in Zulu, translated into Sotho.

It could take a good two hours, but Mgabhi is not bored. She is listening to vintage Buthelezi, discussing serious matters of state as if he were engaging in a fire-side chat. His speech is spiced with anecdotes and his well-known quips.

This is the Buthelezi

Mgabhi came to see, as she explains outside the hall "It is not the man I like, it is his deeds. The suffering that I witnessed on farms in Paulpietersburg when I grew up is now gone," she says. "This is the man who fought for firms to come to South Africa, and he was derided. But he was right."

She says she has forgiven the white farmers who made it impossible for her to attend school beyond Std 5.

"From when I was seven years old I had to look after white babies on the farm. I could not complete my Std 5 because for the second half of the year I had to work on the farm", she says.

She grew up not being allowed to wear shoes: "The farmer said we would think we were nonas (madams) if we wore shoes." That did not stop her from ending up in prison one night for assaulting her "madam", who had ill-treated her.

"If I had graduated then I spat fire. But I knew that in had found a i.

So it was approval she listened to

● Lash out erment for curb crime;

● Accuse ment of signals to the

strategy for employment and tion out of unions and

● Renew commitment to al leadership;

● Threaten ers who did not weight;

● Welcome with the ANC;

● Reiterate truth be scrapped harms

But last was still to what she the highlight of

— group disc-

MALDIVES

TROPICAL ISLAND PARADISE

IN THE HEART OF THE INDIAN OCEAN LIE OVER 1100 PALM FRINGED CORAL ISLANDS

AirSavers

DESTINATION	RETURN FARES FROM
LONDON	R2400
EUROPE	R2400
COPENHAGEN	R2800
SYDNEY	R3980
PERTH	R3380
MELBOURNE	R3980
AUCKLAND	R4980
NEW YORK	R2799
MIAMI	R3990
LOS ANGELES	R4180
TORONTO	R3990



IFP gets set for 1999 elections

THE cash-strapped IFP yesterday began its campaign for the 1999 elections - starting by leader Mangosethu Buthelezi's refusal to allow fellow leaders for not pulling their weight, reports **CYRIL MADLALA**.

Chief executive officer Joe Matthews told a briefing in Umtata that the IFP needed R67-million to fight the 1999 election and a further R25-million to prepare for it.

Zakhele Khumalo, Buthelezi's former personal assistant and a long-serving IFP member, has replaced Dr Ziba Jiyane as general secretary responsible for administration. Jiyane resigned for health reasons.

"One person alone cannot win or lose elections," Jiyane said in his outgoing report.

"The most likely reason for winning or losing elections is how the elected MPs and provincial MPs and ministers perform their tasks.

National chairman Dr Ben Ngubane indicated that a national electoral campaign office would be set up within weeks.

... of Inkatha, gets into the swing of things at the conference in Umtata

Picture: MICHAEL WALKER

to see, as the man I witnessed... up is says. man who to come and he he was

"If I had been a comrade then I would have spat fire. But in 1975 I knew that in Buthelezi I had found a true leader."

So it was with nods of approval yesterday that she listened to Buthelezi:

- Lash out at the government for failing to curb crime;

- Accuse the government of sending negative signals to the world on its strategy for growth, employment and redistribution out of fear for the unions and communists;

- Renew the party's commitment to traditional leadership;

- Threaten tough action against Inkatha leaders who did not pull their weight;

- Welcome peace talks with the ANC; and

- Reiterate that the truth commission should be scrapped because it harms reconciliation.

But last night Mgabhi was still looking forward to what she describes as the highlight of the event — group discussions.

WEATHER AND TIDES

GAUTENG: Partly cloudy and mild.

MPUMALANGA: Partly cloudy and mild but warm in the Lowveld.

NORTHERN PROVINCE: Cloudy in the east at first with fog patches along the escarpment, otherwise partly cloudy and mild but warm in the Lowveld.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCE: Partly cloudy and mild with a strong northerly wind in the west.

FREE STATE: Partly cloudy and mild with a strong westerly wind in the south-west.

NORTHERN CAPE: Fine and mild but partly cloudy in the east. The wind will be strong northerly over Gordonia. Fog patches are expected along the coast at first.

WESTERN CAPE: Partly cloudy and mild but cloudy along the south coast with a few showers. It will clear in the north later. Fog patches are expected along the west coast at first. The wind along the coast will be moderate south-westerly.

EASTERN CAPE: Partly cloudy and mild but cloudy in the south and west with a few showers. The wind along the coast will be moderate to fresh north-easterly becoming moderate south-westerly in the south later.

KWAZULU NATAL: Fine and mild but warm in the east. The

wind along the coast will be moderate to fresh north-easterly.

NAMIBIA: Fine and warm but mild over the central high ground.

The coast will be partly cloudy and mild with fog patches at first, clearing in the south. The wind along the coast will be moderate south-westerly to north-westerly, but south-easterly in the south.

BOTSWANA: Fine and warm but partly cloudy in the east.

LESOTHO: Fine and cold but partly cloudy in the south.

SWAZILAND: Fine and mild but warm in the Lowveld.

	High/Low	High/Low
Cape Town	0308/0924	1539/2146
Mossel Bay	0333/0949	1803/2205
Knysna	0354/1001	1824/2207
Port Elizabeth	0335/0949	1803/2207
East London	0342/0955	1811/2213
Durban	0342/0958	1811/2215
Walvis Bay	0319/0921	1547/2147



PUBLISHED by the proprietors, Times Media Ltd of 4 Biermann Avenue, Rosebank, Johannesburg 2196, and printed for them by The Newspaper Printing Company at 10 Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, independent Newspapers Cape, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town; Times Media Eastern Cape, at 19

Beekens Street, Port Elizabeth, and Independent Newspapers, KwaZulu Natal, 18 Osborne Street, Durban. Registered at the GPO as a newspaper 05/12393/06.

Johannesburg: (011) 280-3000; Local and Foreign Bureaus: Cape Town (021) 262 518; Durban (031) 369-5838; Pretoria 325-5382; Port Elizabeth (041) 55-8778; Harare 705650; London 405-3742; Washington (301) 432-5705; Australia 47-514967.

Address for Johannesburg subscribers: NCS House, 14 Park Road, Richmond, Johannesburg. Tel. (011) 358-2071. Fax: (011) 726-8430. The Sunday operating hours of the Customer Service Department are 7.30am to 10am.

PRICE Natal, Gauteng, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, East London and all areas south of Sir Lowry's Pass, Du Toitskloof including Atlantis R3,95 incl VAT. Namibia R7 incl tax, Lesotho and Botswana R4, Swaziland R4,95 incl tax. Airmail on overseas rates on request.

COPYRIGHT

The copyright in all material in this newspaper and its supplements — particularly material which is identified by the symbol ©, or which is attributed to others — is expressly reserved. The Editor will, however, consider reasonable requests for the use by others of news reports but it will be a condition of such use that the source and the author of the report are clearly attributed.

The Headache Clinic

Cash-strapped IFP needs R92-m for 1999 elections ^(11B)

By Siphso Khumalo

THE cash-strapped Inkatha Freedom Party has set itself the mammoth task of raising a whopping R92 million for its 1999 election campaign.

This emerged from the IFP national conference in Ulundi at the weekend where the party met to gear itself up for the elections.

IFP chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews revealed that the cost for the election campaign was divided into two phases. The preparatory phase would cost a staggering R27 million, said Matthews, and the IFP needed R67 million for the election campaign.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi conceded that the party was broke. Buthelezi confirmed that they had had to

close some national offices as a result

"It is psychologically bad to be closing offices when the election is in the offing," said Buthelezi.

Outgoing national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the party needed to employ organisers in the Western and Eastern Cape.

Mdlalose and Matthews have been charged with raising funds for the party. Mr Arthur Konigkramer, appointed treasurer-general at the conference, would also help.

Konigkramer has strong contacts with German funders and is credited with having raised a substantial portion of the party's war-chest in the 1994 election campaign.

Buthelezi also bemoaned the fact that the IFP was not being helped by "free-riding concillors" who were refusing to contribute

part of their allowance to party coffers.

Meanwhile the IFP national council on Friday unanimously appointed Mr MZ Khumalo as the general secretary in charge of administration. The party's constitution was also amended at the weekend, making the general secretary's post more administrative than political.

Khumalo was unopposed in his bid to take over the post. A former personal assistant to Buthelezi and deputy secretary of the IFP, Khumalo was described by the council as "a man of integrity and dedication".

Dr Ben Ngubane was confirmed as national chairman, while Mdlalose was proclaimed ceremonial life national chairman.

Buthelezi retained his position as the party's president.

Sowetan 21/7/97

IFP blueprint for KwaZulu peace pact

Farouk Choithia

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national conference set five preconditions yesterday for reconciliation with the African National Congress and warned that the killing of IFP leaders was an obstacle to securing a peace settlement.

Senior party members also sent conflicting signals on whether IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would accept the second deputy presidency, and claimed that Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi was "muddying the waters" in the peace talks.

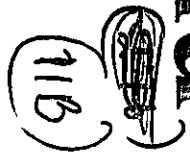
IFP national council member Joe Matthews said at a news briefing that it was "ridiculous" to suggest that Buthelezi would play "second fiddle" by becoming second deputy president.

"Who wants to be deputy? We all want to be presidents and not deputies to anyone," Matthews said.

However, newly appointed IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane said Buthelezi was a statesman who had much to contribute to nation-building and consolidating SA's institutional framework. Buthelezi declined to comment, saying no offer had been made.

The conference said, in a resolution adopted by about 3 000 party members, that it supported the peace talks with the ANC but the party had to end its "petty politicking" in the KwaZulu-Natal government. Other requirements for peace were identifying those responsible for violence, gaining recognition that KwaZulu-Natal was a kingdom, protecting the role of traditional leaders at local government level and greater powers for the provinces.

BS 21/4/97



Ngubane said while an IFP demand for greater policing powers was a hot issue, KwaZulu-Natal wanted this and wanted to be fully involved in decision-making on water affairs and forestry, which were national competences.

Buthelezi said there was no need for a truth commission; countries like Zimbabwe and Namibia had not had such bodies after independence.

Ngubane said there had been a resurgence in political violence in KwaZulu-Natal and about 12 IFP leaders had been killed in recent weeks.

Reuter reports Buthelezi said the killings were "not encouraging" and "unless we all join hands to do something about it, our noble KwaZulu-Natal peace initiative will remain no more than just another charade".

Buthelezi said it was rumoured that Mufamadi had ordered the release of some suspects arrested with illegal firearms in KwaZulu-Natal, and provincial safety and security MEC Nyanga Ngubane planned to discuss this with him.

Meanwhile, IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane wept as he told delegates he was stepping down from the post and from the provincial legislature. Buthelezi, with whom Jiyane was at loggerheads, consoled him with a hug.

The secretary-general's post has been disbanded and will be replaced by a general secretary for administration. Buthelezi said the new post would be occupied by Zakhale Khumalo, one of the accused in the KwaMakhutha massacre trial with former defence minister Magnus Malan.

Continued on Page 2

IFP



Continued from Page 1
BS 21/4/97

Buthelezi described Khumalo as an efficient technocrat who would help revitalize party structures which were in "disarray". He said Jiyane was quitting because he wanted to be his "own boss and make money". Jiyane said he would resign from the legislature on August 15, and was involved in several business ventures.

Frank Mdlalose, who quit as national chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier earlier this year, appeared to be making a political comeback. Buthelezi said he was the party's "national chairman emeritus" and would be

playing a leading role in raising funds in the run-up to the 1999 election.

Matthews said the IFP needed R25m for election preparations and about R67m for the campaign itself.

Buthelezi said there had been a drop in funds raised from membership fees and some local government councillors were refusing to contribute a percentage of their salaries to the party in defiance of a decision.

A conference resolution said disciplinary action would be taken against members who failed to meet obligations to the party or did not stick to policies.

Expelled ANC member James Mahlangu told the conference his Intando yesSizwe Party would look at forming a working relationship with the IFP.

'Apostle of hope' wants to turn IFP tide

Chief Buthelezi cracked the whip during Inkatha's annual conference in Ulundi, accusing some of his officials of poor performance. Jovial Ramamo and Ramonema Mabose attended the conference and report

Inkatha has drawn up a battle plan to rescue itself from the weakest position it has found itself in since its formation 22 years ago.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) went into its weekend conference in parlous straits: depleted coffers, a membership that was not paying subscriptions and some elected officials guilty of poor performance (or non-performance), as well as not contributing a percentage of their pay to the party as required.

It was clearly a time to crack the whip. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and national chairman Dr Ben Ngubane did just that when they addressed conference.

Buthelezi declared he had run out of patience and would no longer tolerate those who thought they could get a free ride. He was sick and tired of IFP members seeking to create conflicts and disruptions within party and those who did not follow its policies.

"In spite of my repeated appeals, pleas and admonitions, there are still some people who are not attending meetings in which they're required to work as members of the national or provincial legislatures. There are also people who attend meetings without being sufficiently

prepared and without reporting to their colleagues.

"I'm also extremely disappointed by some of our representatives in local government structures who are letting our party down and not fulfilling their contracts with the people they represent, and yet who are very eager about their remunerations. There are some leaders who up to now refuse to give a percentage of their allowances to the party, as we all do," Buthelezi said.

In what could be seen as a radical reconstruction, Ngubane suggested that those appearing on the party's list of the next elections should be those who had distinguished themselves for effectiveness in spreading the IFP message.

Delegates adopted a resolution which called for party discipline to be strengthened and for disciplinary measures to be taken against those who violated party policies.

Participating in an election is a hugely expensive exercise and the IFP which has been forced to close regional offices because of the lack of funds, is to lobby for financial support to help foot its R92-million budget for the 1999 elections.

All party structures are to



LINDSAY YOUNG

Chief Buthelezi... tired of the dead wood.

start fund-raising through sports events, raffles, cultural festivals and bazaars. Members were also requested to contribute to the party's election fund.

"In terms of the preparatory stage for 1999 we need R25-million and for the election itself we will require R67-million," said party stalwart and Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews.

The IFP also plans to establish a national electoral campaign office, which besides preparing for the elections, would consider the allocation of constituencies to members of the national and provincial legislatures.

The IFP also identified its strengths and weaknesses and consequently unveiled a plan to restructure the party in

(118) Kowaleban
23/7/97
post of national chairman,

order to win the hearts and minds of South Africans. Emphasis was placed on party branches which were identified as being key to the new constituencies. Ngubane said it was important that branches should assist IFP members and supporters to organise themselves at places of work, study, play worship - where there was any significant activity.

"Branches should be organised on the basis of small wards and manageable units of residents who can constantly be of service," Ngubane said.

In a move aimed at jacking up the party's administration and removing the office of secretary-general from being entangled in "internal politics", the IFP disbanded the portfolio and replaced it with the general-secretary's office which will solely be responsible for administration.

Zakhele Khumalo, a former personal assistant of Buthelezi, who survived the Inkathagate financial scandal and was recently acquitted in the KwaMakutha murder trial, was elected to replace Dr Ziba Jiyane, who quit as secretary-general to join the private sector.

Khumalo's appointment to this post, and indeed Ngubane's elevation to the

Despite reassurances to the contrary, Jiyane's resignation and Mdlalose's retirement earlier this year, as both KwaZulu Natal premier and chairman, caused a discomfort where moderates were seen to be sidelined.

Not only was it important for the IFP to ensure that both Jiyane and Mdlalose reiterated their commitment to the party, but they were given special status throughout the conference, constantly being seen to be playing an important role, if only to put fears of dissent to rest.

Task forces formed to help transform the party gave a special mandate to branches to transform politics into activities of social assistance and solidarity. They also emphasised the need to identify and develop new IFP leadership in areas in which the party was establishing itself.

The IFP has formed branches in the NP-dominated Western Cape, the ANC-dominated Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga.

The numbers at the conference was an indication of IFP faithfulness in the country; faithfuls who were prepared to give up their beds for a cold cement floor.

The occasion was also one for the IFP to enlorge and heap praises on Buthelezi, who was described as an "Apostle of Hope" for SA.

Winds of change blowing waves through the IFP

AT THE Inkatha Freedom Party's weekend national conference in Umtata it became clear to observers that the party believed it had a winning formula in the 1980s and early 1990s — and it needed to return to this era in order to record successes in the 1999 elections.

The conference saw the disbandment of the post of secretary-general — vacated by Ziba Jiyane — and the creation of the post of general secretary for administration, occupied by Zakhela Khumalo. This is a reversion to the period between 1990 and 1994. Then, there was no secretary-general but there was an administrative secretary — a post which had also been filled by Khumalo.

The fall of Jiyane suggests the IFP has slowed — if not halted — efforts to democratise and modernise. The chairman of the women's and youth brigades are appointed by party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the opportunity to amend the constitution to make them elected posts was not taken.

The youth had pushed at their conference last year for such an amendment. Buthelezi, after initially stonewalling, had agreed to consider such amendments. Yet the youth did not table the amendment at the weekend — some say simply because of "laziness" on their part, others because they knew the amendment would be rejected.

With Khumalo becoming the general secretary for administration, the IFP will revert to consolidating its rural support base and he will unquestioningly implement the orders of Buthelezi who regards him as an efficient technocrat.

Khumalo previously acted as Buthelezi's personal aide in the KwaZulu government, took blame for the Inkathagate scandal by claiming he accepted government funds without Buthelezi's knowledge, and was accused in the KwaMakhutha massacre trial with former Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The power shift from Jiyane to Khumalo could see the IFP moving its head office from Durban to Umtata, as was the case in the 1980s, reinforcing the perception that the party is returning to its rural roots.

The IFP seems to believe that mobilising the rural vote is the key to its success in KwaZulu-Natal in 1999, as it had been in the 1994 election. This does not mean that the IFP will not seek urban voter support. While Khumalo will lead the initiative to consolidate rural support, newly elected national chairman Ben Ngubane — a suave modern-day politician — will lead the urban advance with the support of Durban-based "spin doctors", seemingly hoping to rebuild a dual persona.

The IFP projected such a profile in the 1980s, when Buthelezi was seen as a Zulu leader and an international statesman by many whites and western governments. At the conference, Buthelezi sought to charm journalists: he thanked them for making the long journey to Umtata and apologised for being late for the two media briefings he hosted.

This was the Buthelezi of the 1980s: wooing journalists, rather than antagonising them as he had in the 1990s, to the detriment of his profile and that of his party.

Inkatha could be returning to its rural roots, writes Farouk Chothia

BD 26/1/97 (11B)

In the 1980s, the IFP did not have the Ziba Jiyanes, Peter Millers and Farouk Cassims in the party. The party old guard now possibly believes that their recruitment was a mistake: the unity which existed under Buthelezi's leadership disappeared after their arrival as they were among those who clashed with the old guard.

The recruits were given seats in Parliament and the provincial legislatures at the expense of long-standing IFP leaders such as the James Zulus and Sgoloza Xolos, who — unlike the newcomers — can galvanise grassroots support.

The drafting of the 1999 election lists is likely to be with input from branches, where loyalty to Buthelezi

is strong. So there will be more blacks — stalwarts, loyalists and activists — on the lists and the presence of whites and Indians, as well as dissenters, will be reduced.

The IFP seems to believe that, in some ways, little has changed with the electorate since the 1980s. The white and whatever Indian support it then had — and needs to regain for

1999 — still wants opposition to the ANC. This group will feel let down if Buthelezi becomes second deputy president. They want protection of their language, culture and education. They supported the IFP in the 1980s when it was a cultural movement, which also acted as a political party standing up to the ANC. There were then fewer minority group representatives in the IFP, but they still supported the party. The feeling is the IFP is that they will again do so.

Improving socioeconomic conditions is important to retain the IFP's existing black support base and to penetrate ANC support. The IFP hopes that Ngubane's elevation to the KwaZulu-Natal premiership will help as he is more efficient than his predecessor Frank Mdlalose.

As the IFP is cash-strapped — and nervous about its strength in KwaZulu-Natal with opinion polls indicating a drop in support — it is likely to concentrate its energies on winning the province in 1999. However, it hopes that any success Ngubane scores in the provincial government — coupled with a polished image of the IFP and Buthelezi — will spin off into some electoral support elsewhere in SA.

If Buthelezi becomes second deputy president, it will benefit the party in the eyes of black voters throughout SA. He would be seen as making a contribution to help improve socioeconomic conditions.

Significantly, Buthelezi did not rule out the possibility of an alliance with the ANC. He said that he did not believe in "opposition for the sake of opposition", and the key issue was addressing the question of poverty.

IFP members believe he will turn down a second deputy presidency before the election, but accept it if it is offered after the election.

The IFP's reversion to the pre-1994 period does not mean it will wage a violent election campaign in 1999. The party seems to have concluded that there is war fatigue and a peaceful election is in its interest.

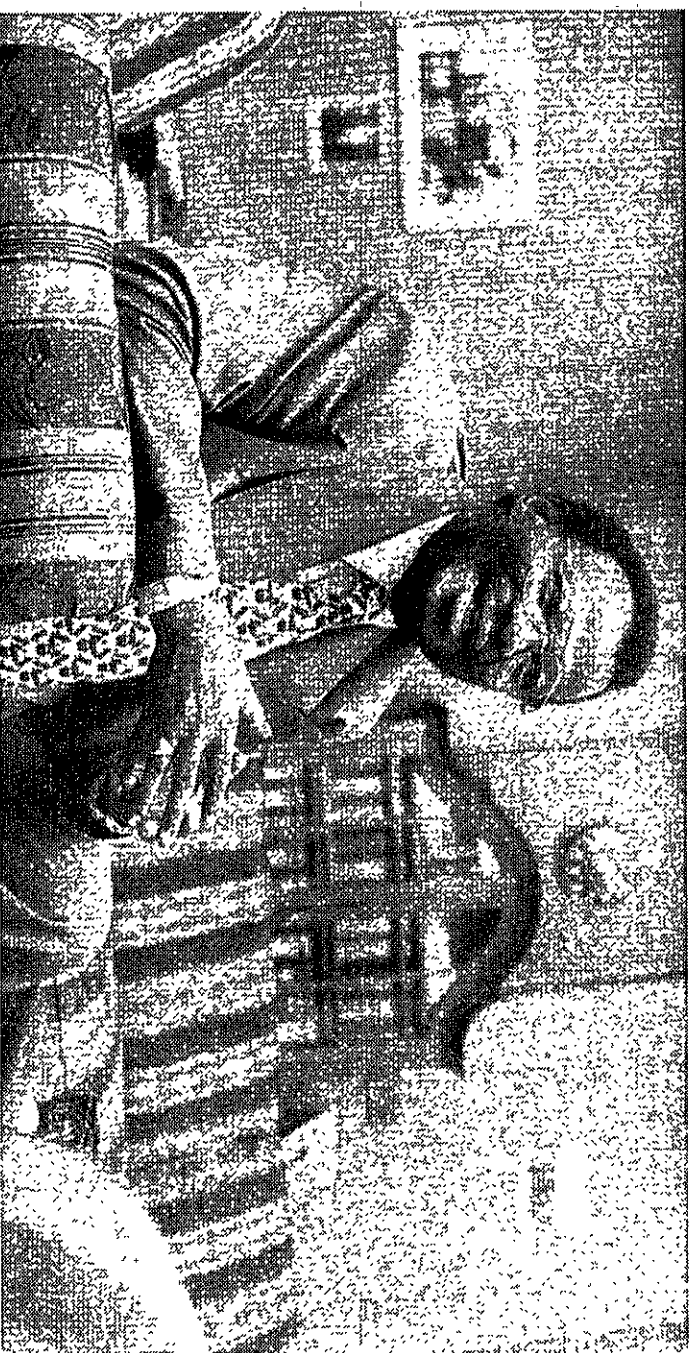
If local government elections are also held in 1999 — as Constitutional Development Minister Vali Moosa suggested this week — the IFP believes it will do better. NP and DP voters are considered more likely to give one of their votes, possibly the provincial one, to the party.

Some of the most important demands of the IFP in peace talks with the ANC are entrenching the powers of traditional leaders at local government level, and granting KwaZulu-Natal greater powers over policing and the public service.

IFP power in these areas during the reign of the KwaZulu government was the key to the party's success in the 1994 elections: the chiefs, the police and the rest of the public service mobilised support for the IFP, and played a significant role in the running of the elections.

If the IFP can increase the influence of these three groups in the new KwaZulu-Natal government, they will be in a stronger position to help the party in the 1999 poll.

After all, who but the chiefs would ensure people vote? Who but the security forces would transport ballot boxes? And who but public servants would assist the independent electoral commission in administering the poll?



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

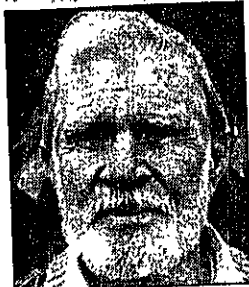
Inkatha hardliner joins ANC

~~30/11/97~~
CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

(11B)
Walter Felgate, controversial Inkatha Freedom Party hardliner and long-serving lieutenant to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today joined the African National Congress.

Mr Felgate, long seen to be at the centre of Inkatha's brinkmanship in boycotting Kempton Park negotiations, threatening to boycott the 1994 elections and keeping the party out of the Constitutional Assembly, said he had become "totally estranged" from Chief Buthelezi.

His defection was prompted by



Turned: Walter Felgate

ARG 14/8/97
his strong disapproval at the IFP's decision to withdraw from the Kwazulu Natal peace process in protest at allegations about senior Inkatha leaders having known about hit-squad activities.

Mr Felgate today accused the IFP of being undemocratic and said he was tired of working within the confines of confrontation politics.

He was welcomed into the ANC by S'bu Ndebele, Kwazulu Natal MEC and provincial deputy ANC chairman, at the party's headquarters in Durban.

Grinning from ear to ear, the newly dubbed "comrade Walter", accepted an ANC membership card, T-shirt and cap designating his new political colours.

9 232.1	1 026.1	7 520.3	19 008.60	4 991.3	15.10	7.3710	1.8373	0.2134	4.6585	1 510.0	1 519.50	326.15	326.15
↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	MOVE	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕

Hotline from 7:00am to 7:00pm
 (011) 726-8430
 (021) 406-9171
 (031) 368-5838

IFP fighters ask commission to subpoena Buthelezi

Ferouk Chotia

DURBAN — Legal representatives of former Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) paramilitary fighters called on the truth commission yesterday to subpoena IFP leader and former KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to answer charges that he had been aware of their covert hit squad activities.

The hit squad members call coincided with a demand by Buthelezi yesterday that the commission be scrapped because "history will show that it did nothing to either reveal the truth or to reconcile people

Former paramilitary fighter Daluxolo Luthuli's legal representative, Angus Stewart, said at a commission hearing there was overwhelming circumstantial evidence against Buthelezi. It "certainly justified" the issuing of a subpoena to Buthelezi, in terms of the truth commission legislation, SA Defence Force's covert training of 200 IFP members in the Caprivi.

John Willis, the legal representative of three other hit squad members, said Buthelezi was among IFP leaders who could be guilty of a serious breach of the law.

Willis conceded that it had not been proved that Buthelezi was directly implicated in hit squad activities, but "on balance must have known what his personal assistant (Zakhele Khumalo) his senior KwaZulu Police (KZP) officers, fellow IFP leaders and IFP footsoldiers were up to."

Stewart said Buthelezi was the KwaZulu minister of police at all material times. The KZP's role in carrying out "hits" and cover-ups was well-established. Buthelezi never intervened to stop the hit squad activities, and it was inconceivable that he did not know of them, Stewart said.

Despite all the evidence against him, Buthelezi had never come forward to explain his role, he said.

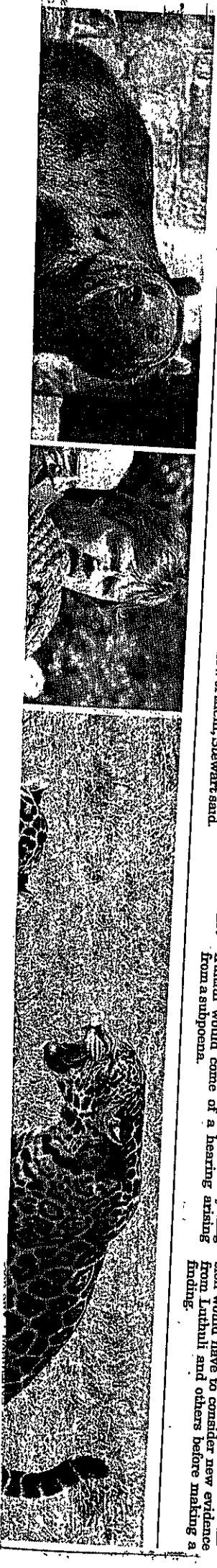
"He remains on the outside, always attacking the process of investigation or prosecution," Stewart said.

Commissioner Richard Lyster said the commission had still to decide whether to subpoena Buthelezi, but he doubted this would happen. He said Buthelezi was in an "adversarial mode" in relation to the commission and it was unlikely that anything fruitful would come of a hearing arising from a subpoena.

BD | S | 197 (116)

Buthelezi said in an open letter published in newspapers yesterday that the Caprivi training had been examined during the trial of former defence minister Magnus Malan in the Durban High Court. Judge Jan Hugo found there was nothing illegal in the training and there was no evidence of hit squad activities.

Lyster said that it was possible for the commission to make a finding different from the court ruling. He said the commission would have to consider new evidence from Luthuli and others before making a finding.



Felgate sold soul to devil, says Buthelezi

BD 15/8/97 (1B)

Farouk Chothia

INKATHA Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused his former right-hand man, Walter Felgate, of selling his soul to the devil by joining the African National Congress (ANC).

Sapa reports his comments came after Felgate's shock defection to the ANC and his accusation yesterday that Buthelezi was an undemocratic leader who was holding SA to ransom through his confrontational style of politics.

In a Network Radio News interview Buthelezi said Felgate, who he called a "modern-day Faust", was no loss to the IFP and "only time will tell at what price he sold his soul to the devil".

Buthelezi also claimed that Felgate had taken three car loads of files — "which he had no right" to take — from the IFP's Ulundi offices on Wednesday.

IFP national council secretary Sue Felgate joined Buthelezi in denouncing her ex-husband, saying he had "betrayed" Buthelezi.

Felgate said he had defected because he expected the IFP to win only 1.5% of the vote in Gauteng in the 1999 elections. There was a "massive migration" of IFP support to the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal's urban areas. The IFP had an unelected leadership which would count against it in the elections.

Felgate made the announcement at the ANC KwaZulu-Natal's Durban head office under the banner: "Once ANC, always ANC." ANC leaders, including KwaZulu-Natal deputy chairman Sibusiso Ndebele, referred to Felgate as "Comrade Walter". "We crossed swords a lot, but there is cross-pollination in politics," Ndebele said.

Felgate, who was Buthelezi's speech-writer and confidant for about 20 years, was the first white to join the IFP. He was seen as a hardliner who led the IFP into boycotting the constitution-making process.

Felgate said yesterday: "I want to be part of the new SA; to rediscover being free; to rejoice in our new democracy."

He said Buthelezi's demands on the powers of chiefs at local government level was "holding politics to ransom. Buthelezi is leading the amakhosi up the garden path. What he is promising them, he can never deliver."

In the IFP he did what his "boss" instructed him to do. Buthelezi "forces" decisions on the IFP, Felgate said.

He had been "totally isolated" last year when he negotiated compromises with the ANC during the KwaZulu-Natal constitution-making process.

Felgate said that IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane's announcement last week that peace talks with the ANC had been suspended was "unforgivable. When I saw the peace process being thrown out of the court by the chief (Buthelezi), together with everything else, it was too much for me."

Buthelezi hit back, saying that when he followed Felgate's advice he paid a "high price" because it led to his vilification in the media.

Buthelezi said he did not want to say much about Felgate's commitment to peace, but Felgate knew that he did certain things "without my authority".

Sue Felgate said he could not come to terms with his "diminishing utility" to the party, and the ANC would not

Continued on Page 2

Felgate

(1B)

BD 15/8/97

Continued from Page 1

benefit from "this high profile, provocative and controversial person".

Felgate said he had no expectations and the ANC could "use him as it wished to". ANC KwaZulu-Natal secretary Siphso Gcabashe said Felgate would help build "vibrant" party branches in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

An ANC source said there was concern about Felgate's safety. A threat

analysis was being done to determine whether he needed protection.

Gcabashe said Felgate's defection was the first of many.

Sources claimed Felgate had pre-empted a decision to sack him this weekend as a KwaZulu-Natal MPL because he had been on sick leave the whole year. The sources claimed three national MPs, including Dennis Maddie and possibly Themba Khoza, were to be sacked.

See Page 11
Comment: Page 13

Felgate shows survival can be a political belief

The political defection of Walter Felgate is analysed by Farouk Chothia

(11B)

BD 15/8/97

WALTER Felgate's defection from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to the African National Congress (ANC) shows how artificial the ideological schisms between the two parties are.

Felgate was seen as the leading ideologue within the IFP, who crossed swords with the ANC throughout the constitution-making process.

He projected himself as a die-hard federalist and free marketer, charging that the ANC wanted to recreate the Soviet Union in SA. He was also a feudalist who demanded that hereditary chiefs be given executive power in democratic SA.

To achieve these objectives, Felgate pushed the IFP into an alliance with the white right wing. He even opposed the concept of a government of national unity, believing it was a strategy to co-opt the IFP.

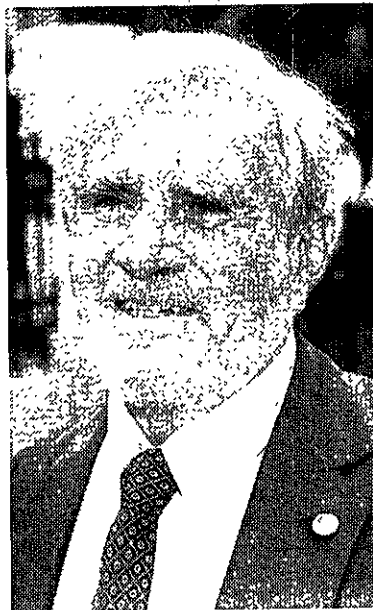
If Felgate, now 67, was disillusioned with the IFP, one would have expected him to simply retire from politics. He has twice had heart surgery in recent years — including a triple by-pass operation — and his wife Rose suffers from cancer. The two could enjoy the rest of their lives sailing and collecting shells, which are pastimes of Felgate.

Instead, Felgate has joined the ANC — not even Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum or Roelf Meyer's New Movement Process.

His decision indicates that his ideological positions did not come from beliefs. Rather, they were intended to ensure the IFP's, and his own, survival. He championed the cause of the chiefs as they were the key to IFP victory in KwaZulu-Natal, and he fought for federalism so that there was a weak ANC-controlled central government.

Felgate has now calculated that the IFP is on the way down: it lost the constitutional battle, and its poverty-stricken supporters are defecting to the ANC because they want food — not feudalism and federalism.

In a sense, Felgate — a political animal — is following them. After all he lost his status as Buthelezi's speech writer and close confidant to Italian-American constitutional expert Mario Ambrosini. His influence within the IFP de-



FELGATE

rived from Buthelezi's patronage. When the two fell out last year, he also risked losing his seat in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature. Some say that he pre-empted such a decision, which was to have been taken at an IFP national council meeting this weekend.

Felgate fell out with Buthelezi early last year when he was charged with the task of negotiating a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal with the ANC.

He started out doing Buthelezi's bidding, putting forward, with Ambrosini, extremely hardline positions aimed at usurping central government's powers and having the Zulu king — rather than an elected legislature — choosing the provincial premier.

Felgate failed in his mission to secure such a constitution, resulting in him earning the wrath of Buthelezi. He concluded that the ANC was so powerful that it was better to have it as a friend rather than an enemy.

Felgate's defection is a major blow to Buthelezi: he brings with him more than 20 years of secrets the IFP leader shared with him, and will be well placed to advise the ANC on how to deal with him.

Felgate has already started attacking Buthelezi, claiming he is not allowing democracy to flourish and is unwilling to take the IFP out of its confrontational mode. Such an attack is ironic, given

that Felgate had long colluded with Buthelezi to stifle internal democracy and efforts to achieve reconciliation with the ANC.

Still, Felgate's defection comes as a surprise. It was not the peace-seeking Frank Mdlalose, or the moderniser Ziba Jiyane defecting. It was Walter Felgate, a white man, who joined an ANC — which is apparently becoming increasingly "Africanist"; a white man who wanted strong opposition to the ANC but now wants to help it strengthen its grip on power.

If Felgate can defect to the ANC, then anyone else can — and the swallowing of the IFP by the ANC becomes a real possibility.

After all, the IFP is believed to have done a survey recently which shows that its black membership — though not the white — prefers an alliance with the ANC than with any other party.

Those who believe in conspiracy theories will argue that Felgate's defection was stage-managed with Buthelezi's involvement, that it is a step towards the IFP merging with the ANC.

After all, we are now reminded that Felgate was once an ANC member, as was Buthelezi and other IFP leaders. The IFP was formed with the backing of the then exiled ANC because it wanted an internal front. The two parties split in 1979. The reasons which caused the split no longer exist, nor is the ANC banned. So, it is logical for IFP leaders to rejoin the ANC, we are repeatedly reminded.

It is a point Felgate brought sharply into focus when — sitting behind a banner declaring Once ANC always ANC — he said: "I have come home."

If he is still ideologically at odds with the ANC, he need not worry as the party is a "broad church", a point ANC KwaZulu-Natal deputy chairman Sibusiso Ndebele made when he said: "The ANC embraces all ideological tendencies, except racism and tribalism."

It is an open secret that many senior black IFP members saw Felgate as a racist, but he has presumably convinced the ANC otherwise. So, is it a matter of time before Buthelezi — fearing that his political career is also coming to an end — convinces the ANC that he is not a tribalist?

FELGATE 'A TRAITOR'

Defection joins Buthezi

ZA

DURBAN: Walter Felgate blames the lack of democracy within the IFP and the party's withdrawal from the KwaZulu-Natal peace process for his decision to cross over to arch rivals the ANC.

IFP stalwart Mr Walter Felgate's surprise defection to the ANC yesterday sent shockwaves across the political spectrum, with some of his senior IFP colleagues launching blistering personal attacks on him.

The 67-year-old Felgate, who cited alleged dictatorship within the IFP and the party's suspension last week of the provincial peace talks as some of the reasons for his action, said he had now chosen to spend his last days working for change in the country.

"I have a choice about the way I die. I can die waiting for democracy or I can die doing something for change," he said.

While the implications of this dramatic walkover have yet to sink in, it was widely felt yesterday that the departure of the man who was once considered the closest confidant of Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, would deal a devastating blow to the IFP and its leader.

However, political commentators have said that Felgate's surprise defection was more of an act of defiance than allegiance. Felgate started his political career with the ANC and it was felt that for him as an "old-time activist" it was fundamental to go back to his roots.

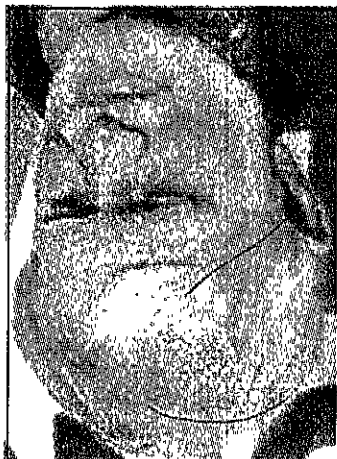
The IFP, clearly upset by the announcement, also made several veiled threats about continuing negotiations with the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal.

Buthezi, in a radio interview, started off by accusing Felgate of removing papers from his office and said his departure was no loss to the party. He said Felgate had been playing a minimal role in the party for the past year.

Buthezi added that the fact

9/18/97

(11B)



DIVING FOR CHANGE: Former IFP stalwart Walter Felgate

FAMILIES DIVIDED BY POLITICS — PAGE 3

that Felgate had not been given a ministerial post by the IFP was one of the possible explanations for his departure.

Yesterday's announcement, made at ANC headquarters in Durban, saw a relaxed, broadly smiling Felgate arrive together with the party members, Felgate proudly produced his shiny new ANC membership card and told journalists: "I cannot make my smile any bigger".

After the initial euphoria, he launched into a scathing attack on the policies of the IFP, which he called confrontation-style politics, and also had some tough state-

ments about Buthezi.

He said the final straw preceding his departure from the IFP was the party's withdrawal from the KZN peace process:

"When I saw the peace process thrown out of the cot by the chief (Buthezi), it was just too much. Unless we normalise multi-party democracy and we learn to live with each other, we are never going to have a stable South Africa," he said.

Felgate also blamed the lack of democracy inside the IFP, and his impression that the party structures were in shambles, as a catalyst for his departure.

"Decisions in the party are forced by the chief, there is no democratically elected leadership in the party. I have been arguing inside the party for the need to change the party for the need to

the new South Africa, to rejoice in freedom. This was not possible within the IFP because of "enormous pressure" to work within the confines of the politics of confrontation.

He said that during the 1996 provincial constitutional negotiations he was under pressure from Buthezi to secure everything the IFP wanted in the constitution, or else "make sure the constitution fell away".

Felgate said the negotiations eventually reached a compromise over the role of amakhosi (chiefs) and this was twice backed by the parliamentary caucus of the party. However, at the party's national council meetings Buthezi allegedly slammed the compromise.

"I was left totally isolated, no one backed me because the chief had said no."

He also accused Buthezi of leading the amakhosi "up the garden path" because he would never be able to deliver on his promises.

Turn to Page 3

ANC welcome 'Comrade Walter' into their ranks

CT 15/8/97 (11B)

□ From Page 1

"I have become estranged from the man I worked closely with for 20 years," he said.

In his reaction, a clearly delighted Ndebele said Felgate had "chosen to be part of the broad democratic church of the ANC".

ANC provincial secretary Mr Sipho Gcabashe said the organisation "welcomed Comrade Walter" and said the ANC expected many more people to defect to the party.

"I am quite sure we have started to sweep the floors. We will welcome anybody who wants to bring about change," he said.

IFP caucus spokesman Mr Blessed Gwala, said Felgate could well turn out to be a modern-day Dr Faustus.

"Time will tell what the price for his soul was," he said.

"The announcement by Walter Felgate that he will join the ANC comes as no surprise to many in the IFP.

"We are surprised at the ANC's uncritical acceptance of him into their ranks, as his actions will act against the ANC's best interests in their present negotiations with the IFP. This demonstrates how far the ANC will go in (its) efforts to discredit the IFP," Gwala said.

He said the ANC must decide whether it wished to be party to Felgate's last desperate attempt to destabilise the province or if it had any real commitment to reconciliation with the IFP.

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Wesel Nel said he found it quite extraordinary that the arch-proponent of the most extreme forms of federalism and enemy of socialism should abandon the IFP for the centrist and socialist ANC.

The National Party said the move was a setback for multi-party democracy.

"It is a sad moment when opposition parties are weakened because it improves the chances of a one-party state which South Africa can ill afford," spokesman Mr Danie Schutte said. — Political Staff

Defection places spotlight on families divided by politics

POLITICAL STAFF

THE description of the defection of Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former right-hand man, Mr Walter Felgate, as "a betrayal" by his former wife, Sue, has placed the spotlight on marriages and families divided by political allegiances.

In a move believed to be sanctioned by Buthelezi, Mrs Felgate issued a statement saying the switch was "of Shakespearean dimensions ... not only for me, but I believe also for Walter" and told the tale of "a once great man who over the last few years has not been able to come to terms with his diminishing utility in IFP politics".

"It is extremely sad to have to say that Walter's departure from the IFP is not a loss to us," she said.

Although the couple were divorced before the last national election — and Felgate then married his part-time secretarial assistant, Ms Rosemary Butler — the

two continued to share their loyalty to Inkatha until Felgate announced his return to the ANC yesterday.

Mrs Felgate is IFP deputy mayor of Ulundi, secretary to the party's national council and Buthelezi's media spokeswoman.

Another KwaZulu-Natal couple, NP provincial leader Mr Danie Schutte and his wife, Maritzburg city councillor Mrs Alpha Schutte, recently publicly displayed differences over the resignation of former NP secretary-general Mr Roelf Meyer.

Although Mrs Schutte remains in the NP, she has said she believes the NP should disband sooner rather than later to forge a new movement. Her husband is not of this view.

Other families divided by politics are the De Klerks and the Verwoerds. Former NP prime minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's grandson, Wilhelm, is an ANC member and his wife Melanie is an ANC MP.

Former President F W de Klerk's brother, Wimble, was a founder member of the DP.

Felgate dumps IFP

(11B)

Sowetan 15/8/97

By Siphon Khumalo

INKATHA Freedom Party chief strategist and hardliner Mr Walter Felgate yesterday defected to the African National Congress in a move viewed as a major setback for the IFP.

Felgate, a confidante to the IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his speech writer for years, announced that he was fed-up with the party.

Smiling and waving his new ANC membership card, Felgate said the decision for his defection was for a number of reasons.

He said the turning point was the

decision by the IFP last week to "throw out of court" the peace process.

"It was too much for me," he said.

Felgate said he had hoped that they would be able to achieve provincial consensus with the ANC in 1996.

"But on the night it was supposed to be achieved, the chief (Buthelezi) warned that if he did not get what he wanted for amakhosi, the process should not go forward," said Felgate.

Felgate said since the 1994 elections there had been a "massive migration" from the IFP to the ANC

"IFP structures are in shambles and I am by no means the first to move. Others will follow."

Felgate said the IFP "lacked democracy within its structures" and decisions were forced on the party by Buthelezi. Felgate said the party had no elected executive.

"I have been arguing for a need to change but was met with resistance. Up to this time there is no elected executive in the IFP."

"I want to be part of the new South Africa. I want to rediscover being free and rejoice." Provincial secretary Mr Siphon Gcabashe said Felgate would be drafted to work with ANC branches in Richards Bay.

Buthelezi roasts defector Felgate

OWN CORRESPONDENT
AND SAPA

Durban - Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) defector Walter Felgate was a modern-day Faust who sold his soul to the devil when he joined the ANC, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Felgate announced yesterday he had joined the ANC. He said the IFP's withdrawal from the peace process was the last straw for him.

Buthelezi said he was no loss to the party and hinted Felgate was involved in activities that did not promote peace.

"Only time will tell for what price he sold his soul (to the devil)."

He suggested Felgate defected because his political ambition in the IFP had been thwarted.

Buthelezi said Felgate was absent from politics for almost a year because of illness and his role in the party had become minimal.

Buthelezi said Felgate had never brought in one single new member, apart from his daughter and his wife.

"I challenge him to give 10 names brought to the IFP by him."

Buthelezi said when he followed Felgate's advice he had often paid the price and was vilified by the media.

Buthelezi hinted Felgate did not have a clean

record in promoting peace.

"I don't want to say much about that because there are some things Felgate knows that he did without my authority, which I will not enter into.

"Of all people, it cannot be Felgate who talks about peace, because before the elections he wanted to do certain things."

IFP caucus spokesman Blessed Gwala said: "We are surprised at the ANC's uncritical acceptance of him, as his actions will act against the ANC's best interests in their negotiations with the IFP."

Felgate's former wife

Sue, who is deputy mayor of Ulundi, took the unusual step of issuing a statement widely believed to have Buthelezi's backing.

"After the 18 years that we spent together, not only in marriage but in a daily dedicated working partnership in the struggle for liberation, (this) has left me feeling betrayed."

Democratic Party spokesman Wessel Nel said he found it "quite extraordinary" that the arch proponent of the most extreme forms of federalism, and an enemy of socialism, should abandon the IFP for the "centrist and socialist ANC".

(11B)

Star 15/8/97

Felgate starts memoirs that could put

AKG 16/8/99

BEZUWU MPOFI

Durban — While waiting to be deployed in his new-found political home in the African National Congress, Walter Felgate, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former blue-eyed boy, will be writing the memoirs that could be an even greater bombshell than this week's damaging betrayal.

Mr Felgate yesterday denied as "lies" claims by Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he stole documents from Uthandi this week. He said he had collected speeches he had written for the former chief minister which he intended to use in his memoirs.

"I did not steal any documents from Uthandi. All I have are his speeches, which are public anyway, and I am going to use them in my book. I will definitely be critical of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Buthelezi. Maybe that is why he is worried about them."

Mr Felgate said the book would be a collection of his experiences in politics from 1974 until 1994, in which he would also trace the history of South African party politics. He said at the moment he considered himself an ordinary card-carrying member and was waiting for the ANC to fall him what to do.

Mr Felgate said he had had enough of the IFP and he didn't care what people said about his role in the party because it was "all malicious lies".

He said he found it very strange and ridiculous that Mr Felgate should claim to be the champion of democracy when in fact he had stifled democracy within the IFP.

He said Mr Felgate did the IFP a lot more harm than good, especially during the constitutional negotiation period.

the only party with a future in this country. At the moment I am just waiting to see what role they will assign me. But I will do anything they tell me to."

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the ANC structures were yet to deploy Mr Felgate. "He has immense experience and is an intelligent man. His role will definitely be commensurate with his capabilities. He is a capable man."

Meanwhile IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane said the party was angry and felt betrayed at Mr Felgate's defection to the ANC on the grounds that the IFP had ceased to be a democratic party.

Buthelezi on the spot

Inkatha puts peace

back on agenda

ST 17/8/97
(11B)

THE IFP said yesterday it was resuming peace talks with the ANC in KwaZulu Natal writes CRAIG DOONAN

Negotiations were suspended just over a week ago in protest at Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings in the province

Inkatha chairman Dr Ben Ngubane said in Ulundi that the party would talk to the ANC to find a "creative alternative" to the truth and reconciliation process in the province

Inkatha initially said it would resume peace talks only after an alternative to the truth commission which the party claims is biased against the IFP was created for KwaZulu Natal

But sources said that pressure from business in the province and a perceived loss of investor confidence had forced the IFP to rethink

IFP chairman Ben Ngubane said the commission hearings, which have heard claims that some of the IFP's top leadership either knew about or sanctioned hit-squad assassinations, had undermined reconciliation and peace efforts

The ANC welcomed the IFP's return to the reconciliation process

Asked whether the ANC would agree to finding an alternative to the truth body, the ANC's provincial spokesman, Dumisani Makhaye, said the organisation was ready to sit down and talk

Felgate taught IFP unit 'ambush work'

Buthelezi gave Felgate R100 000 to train paramilitaries

CRAIG DOONAN

INKATHA defector Walter Felgate received over R100 000 from the party for the paramilitary training of Inkatha recruits in 1993, the IFP's president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Buthelezi said Felgate wanted the money for training he was doing with an unnamed rightwinger.

"He took over R100 000 for people he had recruited. As far as I am concerned, he started the training so he can't appear to make himself purer than pure," Buthelezi said.

The IFP leader said he was unaware of the exact type of training that took place and added that leading Freedom Front official Tienie Groenewald, a former SADF general, "knew about it".

Felgate confirmed yesterday he had received about R119 000 from Buthelezi to set up a "civil defence" and self-defence unit.

"Before 1994 we set up a number

of SDUs. I established a camp near the Mozambique border for civil defence training — there's nothing wrong with that," Felgate said.

"I established the Dinizulu Camp for civil defence and ambush work; there's no mystery about it."

He explained that "ambush work" involved strategies to disrupt the 1994 election by setting up road blockades, had the IFP not contested the poll.

"It was a simple self-defence training camp," he said

Meanwhile, Buthelezi, speaking at an Inkatha national council meeting in Ulundi, said intelligence sources had informed him that certain IFP officials from Durban and Maritzburg were also planning to leave the party.

"It would give us some elbow-room if these people, who Mr Felgate referred to, were to leave now to enable us to plan without them," Buthelezi said.

Felgate has said that a number of his former colleagues in the IFP, who were disillusioned, were plan-

ning to leave the party.

Asked if he believed reports that Felgate may have been either an intelligence agent or a spy for his political opponents, Buthelezi said he had received documents claiming this some time ago.

"I had this accusation in the past, in black and white, but he denied it," Buthelezi said. "I didn't believe it. I felt people were trying to drive a wedge between us."

Buthelezi again questioned the ANC's reasoning in "parading" Felgate before the media, saying his accusations and allegations against the IFP were harming reconciliation efforts between the two parties.

"What they are doing right now is jeopardising our rapprochement. Felgate is really muddying the waters," Buthelezi said.

Reacting to calls to have him subpoenaed to answer allegations made to the Truth Commission that he knew about hit-squad activity, Buthelezi said: "I dare them to. We will see what happens."

He declined to elaborate.

New lease of political life for a 'dying man'

CYRIL MADLALA
Political Correspondent

THE significance of this week's defection by Walter Felgate is not so much that he is joining the ANC but that he is leaving the IFP.

He departs with a wealth of knowledge about the inner workings of the IFP. Despite the party's dismissals of him as a "dying man" who was no longer of great use, his contribution to the evolution of IFP thinking cannot be ignored. Felgate now admits that the hardline approach, so stubbornly and fruitlessly pursued by the IFP dur-

ing the negotiations, was wrong and was bad for the country.

But he says now that he was merely articulating the official party position and that the delegation he led out of the talks at Kempton Park was carrying out its mandate.

Felgate, 66, told the Sunday Times this week that he had battled to convince Buthelezi to stop insisting on attaining the unattainable. "I told him from day one that international mediation was a non-starter, that the Constitutional Assembly process made it unnecessary."

But, Felgate said, Buthelezi was already committed to the politics of confrontation.

Felgate told how he was asked by former ANC president Oliver Tambo to help him to "destroy" Buthelezi after a breakdown in talks in 1979, but he refused.

He said he did not accede to Tambo's proposal because he was working for black unity.

Instead of working to destroy Buthelezi, he says, he decided to work with him.

He has denied allegations linking him to intelligence work.

Felgate would not be drawn into discussing his personal relationship with Buthelezi, except to say: "He is not now what he was then (when they started to work together)."

Known for years as Buthelezi's confidante, Felgate did not even bother to tell his former boss of his shock decision.

Chances are that it would have been an acrimonious encounter because Felgate now confirms most of the shortcomings that observers have consistently cited as the IFP's undoing — lack of democracy in the appointment of the executive, unwillingness to challenge Buthelezi, and persistence with confrontational politics, even when the odds were stacked against the party.

Felgate said local government elections had shown that supporters were leaving the IFP in droves, while Buthelezi con-

tinued to lead chiefs "up the garden path" with his demands for their powers at local government level to be guaranteed in the Constitution.

"It just cannot happen. He is building up to a confrontation over something that is constitutionally impossible," Felgate said. "The party has no future."

He denied that he was sulking because he had been sidelined in the IFP and said he had not been afraid to challenge Buthelezi over certain issues.

"I am not bitter," he said. "I want to be part of the new South Africa, to rediscover being free, to rejoice in our new democracy"



PARTY ANIMAL: IFP defector Walter Felgate finds a new political home
Picture: MICHAEL WALKER

THE country's political arena received a major jolt this week with the announcement that top Inkatha man Walter Felgate has decided that he sees his future more in tune with ANC policy. CHRIS HLONGWA reports on his defection and the possibility of more disturbances ahead for the party.

(110) 17/8/94

WHEN Frank Mdlalose resigned his posts of party chairman and KwaZulu-Natal Premier in January, coupled with the stepping down of Gauteng leader Musa Myeni, there was much speculation that many more top leaders were also planning to desert Inkatha.

It became clear that the party was suffering one of the deepest cracks yet seen in the two decades of its turbulent life.

The party was clearly falling apart.

And rumour now has it that Correctional Services Minister Siphon Mzimela and Deputy Minister of Safety And Security Joe Mathews may also be thinking of packing their bags.

Word also has it that chief whip, Mike Tarr, and local government and housing minister Peter Miller are restless as well.

Top white leaders in the party are said to be increasingly uneasy with the lack of democracy in a party which they see as virtually inseparable from the dominating personality of party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

And it should be recalled that almost a year ago City Press reported that Walter Felgate - Buthelezi's righthand man and the first white to join the party - was beginning to make negative noises about the state of the party. Now, eight months later, he has dropped the bombshell. Announcing he is defecting to the party's powerful rival, the ANC, we see a shellshocked party running for cover.

And, if Felgate can leave, who may not follow? The rumour mill is now in full swing.

Despite denials several names of people previously believed to be on the way out, but who have not yet taken the step, still crop up. Strong personalities like Mzimela, a man who doesn't fit the role of being a Buthelezi "yes man".

Sources believe he is still out of favour with Buthelezi and was rapped over the knuckles by the party hierarchy last year.

Tarr and Miller are reportedly strongly resented by some black members of the party who feel, as they also have about Felgate, that the three hold positions they do not deserve, having brought no real constituencies of their own to the party.

The whites themselves have had to endure being called the "white cabal" and "racists" - even from the the party leader himself.

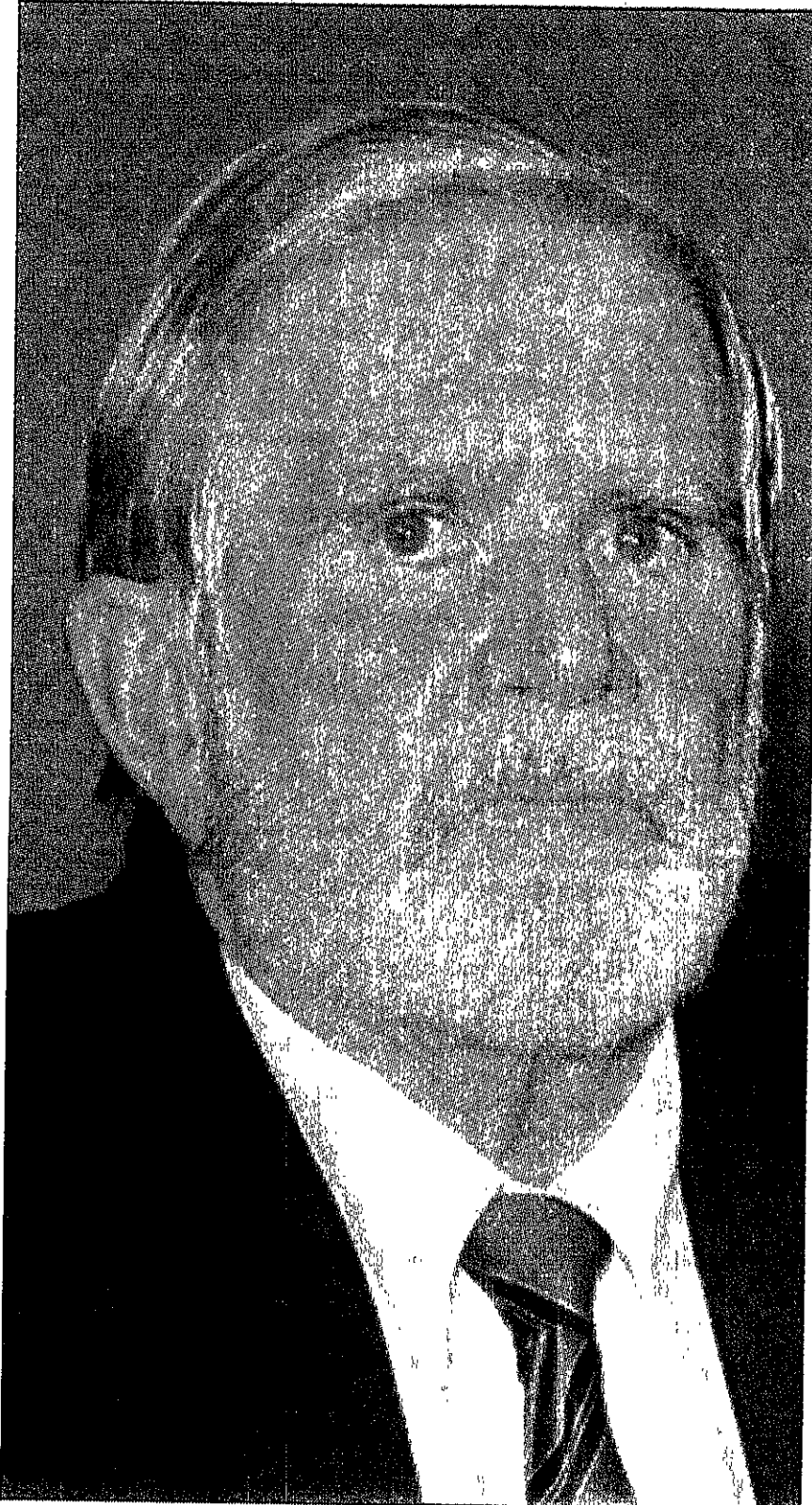
As was pointed out by Felgate on Friday, there has been a growing undercurrent of dissatisfaction with many members over the lack of democracy and the dictatorial style of the leader of the party.

Meanwhile, Joe Mathews keeps his head down; but sources say if he doesn't leave on his own accord he might well be pushed - a fate that may well be shared by others as well. And during this weekend's national council meeting, ending today, we may well see the big stick being wielded.

It is no secret that this possible punitive action may be the result of "workshops" - as one party spokesman described two previous council meetings - when chairman and provincial premier, Ben Ngubane, was instructed to speak to "some members about relinquishing their positions in the party".

One of them is Dr Dennis Madide, a long-standing leader and a member of parliament. He is expected to know his fate, by today. Unsurprisingly, health reasons are being cited, as in the case of Dr Mdlalose, as the reason for his being effective. He suffers from diabetes.

He was not the only one who was approached by Ngubane, but a spokesman for the party has declined to reveal others who may be discarded.



IT'S TIME TO DEFECT... Walter Felgate, once Buthelezi's righthand man, announced this week in Durban he is leaving Inkatha - for its main rival, the ANC.

A future full of cracks and possible purges

But it is believed that Themba Khoza, a former firebrand and presently a member of parliament in Cape Town, could be also facing the sack.

Others have chosen to quietly fade away. Like Dr Ziba Jiyane, a rising star of yesteryear who, after much criticism from hardliners, including the Felgate of old, bowed out as secretary-general and party spokesman and went into business.

While still a member of the all-powerful national council, Jiyane was not even aware on Friday that there was council meeting at Ulundi this weekend.

"Oh, is it this weekend... but I would not be able to attend," was his response.

And he wouldn't be drawn on the Felgate bombshell, except for saying it was "such a sensitive... controversial matter". But he did say he would be announcing his new business venture next month.

It appears that whatever way they leave, leave they will. Felgate, while saying more players will follow him out of the party, cautioned that there won't be too many.

"But as we approach the 1999 elections you will see," he said.

Felgate

Felgate will have to return documents — Buthelezi

(116) 00 18 | 8 | 97

Farouk Chothia

UTLINDI — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed yesterday that he would do "whatever is necessary" to force Walter Felgate to return three carloads of documents he had taken from Uthandi before defecting to the African National Congress (ANC).

Buthelezi's threat came against the backdrop of Felgate's disclosure that he was writing a book on politics, dealing with the period 1974 to 1994.

Buthelezi said the documents included minutes of the former KwaZulu cabinet, and memorandums he had exchanged with Felgate. The documents had been accumulated over 17 years, when Felgate was employed by the former KwaZulu government as a research officer.

Felgate had signed a contract with the government they would not be published without "my authority", Buthelezi said. Dr Ben Ngubane said the documents now belonged to the new provincial government.

Felgate said Buthelezi was being malicious. Buthelezi could do nothing about the fact he had the documents. The KwaZulu government was nonexistent and Buthelezi had no authority to speak on behalf of the new provincial government.

Felgate said the documents would be kept at his Uthandi house and office. He brought them to Durban before defecting because, he said, "having access to them in Uthandi at this point would be somewhat difficult".

He said the documents were mainly speeches of Buthelezi and the IFP leader had copies of them. He also gave the KwaZulu government copies of everything he had written for it.

Felgate said the documents would provide background material for a book on politics he had started writing, covering the period 1974 to 1994.

Buthelezi said Felgate could exercise his prerogative to write anything, but should remember "we also have human rights".

Referring to the relationship of about 20 years, Buthelezi said: "The (Felgate) found it easier to tolerate me than the three wives he left."

The Sunday Tribune quoted ANC chairman Jacob Zuma as saying that Felgate might be given a seat in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature. Felgate said he knew nothing about this. The ANC could "deploy" him wherever it wanted to.

Meanwhile, Ngubane said the IFP would resume peace talks with the ANC tomorrow, but "we are not out of the woods yet".

There were major differences over the truth commission and "we are hoping against hope for a solution", he said.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumi-bani Makhele said the ANC welcomed the fact that the IFP had seen the "folly" of its decision to pull out of the talks.

Ngubane declined to say what proposals the IFP would make to the ANC to resolve differences to break the deadlock over the truth commission, but he referred favourably to the reconciliation process in Chile.

The commission in Chile had been made up of people from both the old and new government, and operated for a short while. It concentrated on finding missing people and recovering the remains of the dead.

Johannesburg water



'Felgate took documents'

(11B) *recovered* 19/8/97

By Siphso Khumalo

A WAR of words has erupted over "car-loads" of documents allegedly carted away from the Inkatha Freedom Party offices in Ulundi by defector Walter Felgate who joined the African National Congress last week.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend that Felgate breached an agreement by taking "confidential" documents.

Felgate has allegedly left with three car-loads of documents of the work he produced during his past 20 years with the IFP.

Buthelezi said these documents are the property of the KwaZulu-Natal government and the party would do whatever it takes to retrieve them.

Felgate is reported to be on the verge of publishing damning memoirs of his 20-year stay at the IFP.

Buthelezi has dared Felgate to forge ahead and do whatever he wants to do, as long as it was within the confines of the law.

"I am not easily frightened. I am an

old man. Threats like these do not worry me. I don't care. I know that he is broke and can do anything to get money," said Buthelezi.

He described Felgate as a bitter man who left because he could not secure any cabinet post in either the provincial or national governments.

Cabinet post

Buthelezi said when he was asked by President Mandela to submit three IFP names for cabinet posts, Felgate had expected to be among the three.

"Now that he has failed to get any of these positions, he is like a jackal, who, when it fails to get hold of grapes, says those grapes are sour anyway," said Buthelezi.

He said: "Felgate never brought any people except his wife and daughter. There were no members of the party that were actually recruited by him."

Buthelezi said he also found it extraordinary that Felgate, who had worked with him for 20 years, had suddenly discovered that there was no democracy in the party.

Felgate's memory a hot item

Felgate could be the truth commission's way into IFP history, writes Ann Eveleth

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission wants to talk to Inkatha Freedom Party-turned-"comrade" Walter Felgate.

The commission said it hopes Felgate will be willing to testify informally, but is prepared to subpoena the former IFP strategist if he refuses to appear.

Felgate, whose shock defection to the African National Congress last week was a blow to his former IFP colleagues, has already said he will not apply for amnesty.

But his 24-year stint as IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's confidant makes his memory a hot item for the commission, which has so far struggled to get information from within the ranks of the party.

Ironically, Felgate has now lost the protection of the IFP's boycott of the commission — the ANC has committed itself to the process. If Felgate refuses to co-operate with the commission, it would be a flagrant violation of ANC policy.

Felgate has a lot to answer for: he admitted at the weekend that he used R119 000 given to him by Buthelezi in 1993 to set up a "civil defence" training camp near the Mozambican border. He said recruits to his "Dinizulu camp" received training in civil defence and "ambush work" aimed at setting up roadblocks to enforce the IFP's planned anti-election campaign.

The Network of Independent Monitors said this week Felgate's training camp was most likely located in the Ndumo Game Reserve, as reports linking Felgate to paramilitary training in the area had first surfaced in 1993.

While Felgate claimed there was "nothing wrong" with the training he arranged, this runs counter to long-standing ANC claims that the self-protection units trained by the



Before the crossing: Walter Felgate (right) talks to fellow white IFP adviser Mario Ambrosini

party in 1993 and 1994 had fomented political violence in the province.

Felgate was first directly implicated — together with Buthelezi and IFP KwaZulu-Natal MP Phillip Powell — in efforts to set up hit squads by notorious right-winger Riaan van Rensburg in October 1994. Van Rensburg identified Felgate as the "driving force" behind alleged plans to set up a hit squad to target ANC leaders in the run-up to the 1994 poll.

Van Rensburg, then co-director of Pretoria-based security firm Crusader Consultants, claimed he had not been fully paid for his role in housing and training 60 "ex-Hippo" Caprivi-trained IFP members recruited by Felgate and trained at a camp near Louis Trichardt.

He claimed the hit squad was to target ANC national and KwaZulu-Natal chair Jacob Zuma, then ANC KwaZulu-Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala, ANC MP Blade Nzimande and ANC Ladysmith leader Ebrahim Rassool.

The *Mail & Guardian* understands the commission wants to question Felgate extensively about his role in the training, and about the information he may have on the

IFP's Caprivi trainees.

Ironically, it was under Zuma's leadership that Felgate was last week welcomed into the ranks of the ANC. Felgate and his new leaders made much last week of his work with the ANC in the 1970s — before the 1979 split between the two parties — but an *M&G* investigation this week revealed this role as minimal.

Felgate's one-time colleagues recalled his primary involvement with the ANC involved a late 1970s scheme, backed by Dutch funders, to bring Buthelezi, then ANC President Oliver Tambo and Christian Institute leader Beyers Naude together. A plan was set in place to smuggle Naude, then banned, out of the country with the help of a Canadian pilot recruited through the Canadian anti-apartheid movement.

The bizarre plan fell apart when Naude and his wife, Ilse, decided at the last minute not to go. Felgate caught the plane instead, and after it landed in Mozambique he was arrested.

Despite this fiasco — which the ANC declined to confirm as it was "still debriefing" Felgate — the party hopes to gain from his defection.

IFP MP Senzo Mfayela said: "The only reason the ANC would take Felgate is because they would go to any lengths to get information to destroy Buthelezi. Felgate's defection is a very public chunk in the armour of IFP loyalty and as one IFP MP put it "The IFP has always had this congenital bond. When something like this happens it loosens that grip and people who have been edging themselves out see there is life outside the party."

It emerged this week that if the IFP experiences further departures, it will be in spite of, rather than because of, Felgate's defection.

IFP MP Suzanne Vos was "sad" about the move, but said: "Those people who felt they had to leave the party have already gone." And MP Inka Mars pointed out that Felgate's heyday as a key constitutional negotiator for the IFP had long since passed and his utility diminished during a series of illnesses in recent years.

Many black IFP members see Felgate's departure as an opportunity to increase pressure on Buthelezi to accept their advice to reduce his reliance on white advisers

IFP president 'very sore' ~~##~~ (11B) over Felgate

Sowetan 25/8/97

Chief Buthelezi accuses ex-IFP man of
'foul-mouthing' him in the name of the ANC

By Siphon Khumalo

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has lashed out at his detractor Mr Walter Felgate, accusing him of bedevilling President Nelson Mandela's reconciliation initiatives between the IFP and the African National Congress.

Buthelezi made this accusation at the weekend - a day after he and Mandela had held hands in Hluhluwe - where Mandela made an impassioned appeal for peace to the villagers.

Speaking during a sod-turning ceremony at Hluhluwe at the weekend, Mandela urged the villagers and people of KwaZulu-Natal not to engage in violence on the basis of their political affiliation.

However, Buthelezi, addressing a rally at Ntshangwe on Saturday, said there were those in the ANC who had pushed Felgate between him (Buthelezi) and Mandela.

Buthelezi said he told both Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki that he was "very sore" about the Felgate incident.

Felgate was Buthelezi's adviser and key IFP strategist for more than 20 years. He recently defected to the ANC, however, in a move that seems set to have caused further tension

between the two organisations.

Buthelezi accused Felgate of "foul mouthing" him in the name of the ANC.

He said while it was Felgate's democratic right to move to the ANC, what was "despicable" was his "ransacking" of records in the house where Buthelezi's documents were kept in Ulundi.

"When the annals of this country are recorded in future, it will be recorded that the connivance of the ANC leadership in KwaZulu-Natal with Mr Walter Felgate at this time was one of the biggest setbacks for real reconciliation between the ANC and IFP," said Buthelezi.

He said he could not "for the life of me" believe that it was more important for the ANC leadership in KwaZulu-Natal to do the things they had embarked upon with Felgate than achieving reconciliation between the ANC and IFP.

At Hluhluwe, Mandela invited Buthelezi to the podium where he held his hand up to the villagers that no one was going to divide them. "There is nobody who can come between the two of us. Nobody can separate us. I urge both ANC and IFP supporters to follow our example. We both want peace; we do not need the killings," Mandela said.

concession to young lions

Buthelezi ousts brigade chairman as

BD 8/9/97

Farouk Chothia

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to bow to demands at the weekend to allow elections for the party youth brigade chairman and deputy chairman, but made a concession to the pro-election lobby by ousting long-standing chairman Musa Zondi.

Buthelezi faced unprecedented opposition at the youth brigade conference held over the weekend in Ujundi, after some members objected to him having the power to appoint the brigade chairman and deputy chairman.

A member of the pro-election lobby

warned Buthelezi in a statement that if he reappointed Zondi, a National Council of Provinces member, it would mean he had "no respect for his young lions".

The youth did not want Buthelezi to "impose yes-men" on them.

Buthelezi told conference delegates that the IFP constitution did not allow elections to take place for the two posts. He had asked the youth to suggest a constitutional amendment at the IFP's national conference held in July, but "no one promoted such a proposal".

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution, backing Buthelezi and denouncing attempts to project him as being in-

olved in "undemocratic practices".

The resolution described the media statement as a "poison letter" drafted by IFP "enemies". They had resorted to "dastardly and diabolic" acts in order to sow "confusion and division" within the brigade.

It was understood that all IFP members denied knowledge of the statement, which was faxed to the media anonymously.

However, Buthelezi compromised to the pro-election lobby by replacing Zondi with KwaZulu-Natal south coast school principal Muntomuhle Khawula, who was seen to be acceptable to all factions. Zondi, who had been chairman for over a decade, was made honorary life chairman.

The pro-election lobby also objected to apparent plans by Buthelezi to appoint National Youth Commission member Otto Kunene as deputy chairman. Buthelezi dropped him in favour of IFP Women's Brigade secretary Zanele Magwaza.

It was understood that youth brigade publicity secretary Zenzele Phakathi, who had been a close ally of former IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane, was a key figure in the pro-election lobby.

Buthelezi was believed to have met Phakathi and other members of the pro-election lobby on Saturday evening, where they were criticised for raising the issue.

In line with tradition, elections were

held for other office-bearers posts and the rest of the executive.

The only nonKwaZulu-Natal resident elected to the executive was Gauteng's Bonginkosi Dlamini.

Kunene, who was elected secretary, defended Buthelezi's right to appoint the chairman and deputy chairman. He said this practise was compatible with an African-styled democracy, where "you elect a leader in the president and you give him the right to appoint".

Kunene said the pro-election lobby could raise their proposal through the appropriate channels. However, the conference showed that their view was not shared by

the majority of the youth, Kunene said.

The term of office of the new executive would last three years, while previously it had lasted for only one year.

Sapa reports that in his speech to the brigade Buthelezi said the truth and reconciliation commission would not succeed in rewriting the history of the conflicts of our past which are known to our people from first-hand experience.

Buthelezi said that history had been written "in blood and suffering of our victims who were called upon for the ultimate sacrifice because of our unwavering commitment" to the principles of nonviolence, democracy, federalism and pluralism.

A resolution at the ANC national conference urging the ruling party to woo the IFP to join forces with it could present a dilemma for the IFP. CYRIL MADLALA examines the options

INTRICATELY linked to the very survival of the Inkatha Freedom Party as a political force is the likely future role of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a player of any consequence on the national stage.

But within a political party not nurtured in the culture of discussion papers about tactics and strategies, the possible options available to the IFP after the 1999 election have not been explored publicly in any meaningful way.

If they are being discussed by the membership at all, the IFP's choices remain shrouded in secrecy for fear that they could be misunderstood by the powers that be and by those who seek to ingratiate themselves with the leadership by misinterpreting the motive for a discussion of these crucial matters.

In more ways than one, the ANC's national conference will have a direct bearing on the IFP's approach to the 1999 election.

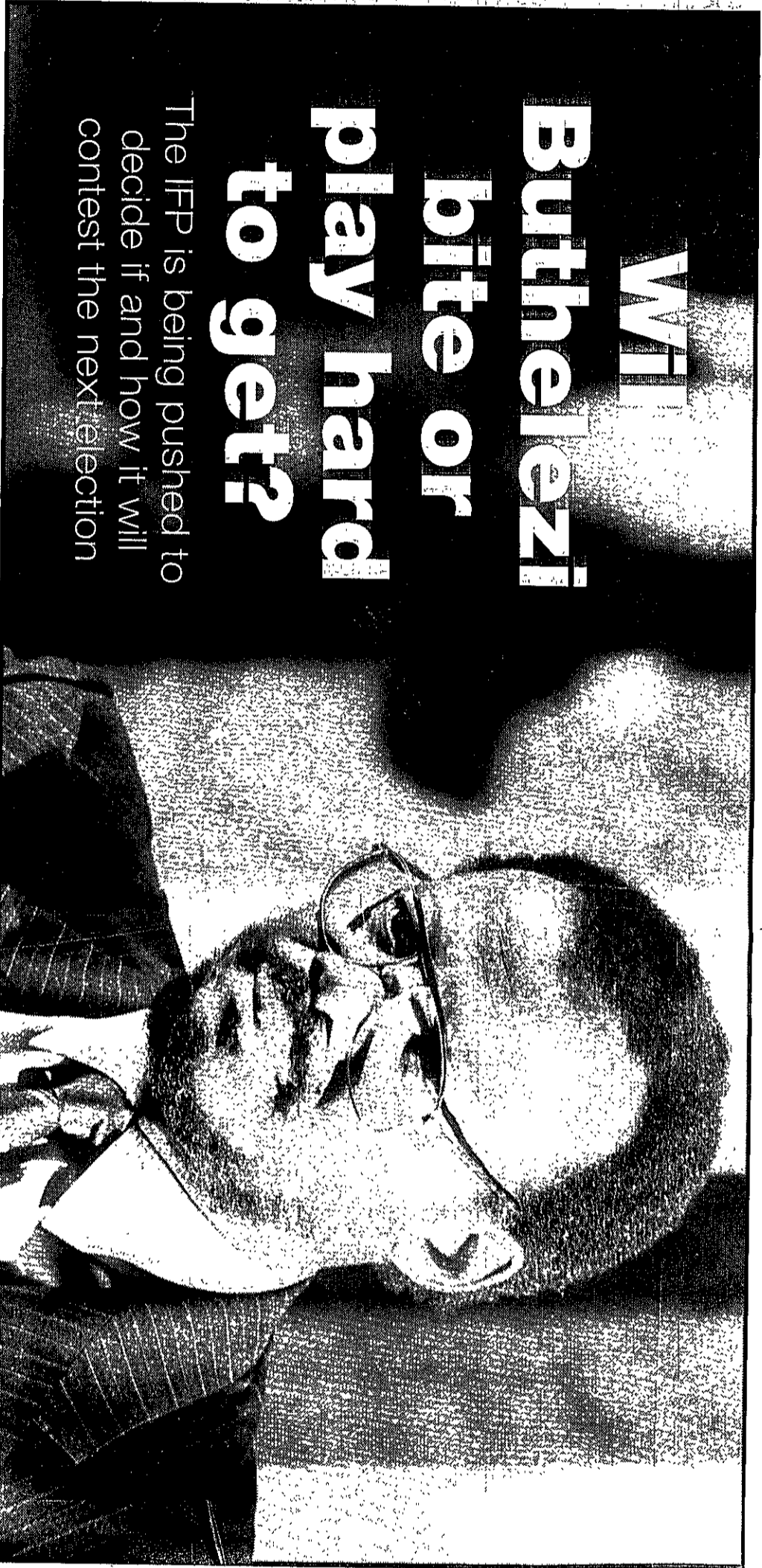
Firstly, if — as is almost certain to happen — ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma is removed from KwaZulu Natal to take up a position nationally, his departure will be felt as much by the IFP as by the ANC in the province.

His appeasement policy towards the IFP may have taken root, but that does not guarantee that his successor as provincial ANC leader will be as accommodating. He, or she, could be from the school of thought within the ANC that believes the IFP has reached its zenith and cannot grow any further unless there is a major shake-up in its thinking, strategies and leadership style — an unlikely development.

In that case, the thinking goes, the ANC does not need to bend over backwards to be nice to the IFP.

A lot, however, hinges on how both parties read the political trends in the province and how they rate their chances of success at the polling booths, cognisant of the fact that there will be no constitutional obligation for a government of national or provincial unity after the next election.

The only certainty about the 1999 election is that the IFP will not dislodge the ANC nationally, which means the top leadership of the IFP who are serving in the government of national unity will be without their present ministerial jobs.



Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Will Buthelezi bite or play hard to get?

The IFP is being pushed to decide if and how it will contest the next election

That in itself is not a crisis.

However, while ministers are equal in stature, some are clearly more equal than others. Therefore, while Sipo Mzimela, the Minister of Correctional Services, and Lionel Mtshali, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, will become ordinary MPs with ease, it is difficult to picture Buthelezi in that role in Cape Town while the real power of the IFP remains with his KwaZulu Natal premier.

But then there is no certainty that the IFP will win in that province, which raises the possibility that Buthelezi could end up as an ordinary member of the provincial legislature.

In the midst of this scenario, comes the proposal by the ANC's Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Peter Mokaba. The resolution he will table for adoption at the ANC's national conference next month will urge the organisation to "encourage" Buthelezi to rejoin the ANC together with his followers.

This is a boost to tentative moves already made by the ANC leadership towards Buthelezi.

In its proposal for a peace package for KwaZulu Natal, the ANC has said to the IFP: "The ANC recognises that the president of the IFP, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has an important role in the national politics and in ensuring peace, stability, national reconciliation, nation-building and the prosperity of South Africa, and therefore has a meaningful contribution to make."

"The ANC believes that (his) stature befits that of national leader. His role is national and therefore a position and a responsibility needs to be found for him at a national level."

What this entails exactly has not been spelt out, but there have been suggestions that he could be offered a position as South Africa's deputy president.

Buthelezi's ego could, however, be a problem if his supporters were to perceive the ANC's overtures as some form of underhand ploy to co-opt him. So far, there has been genuine enthusiasm and excitement from the IFP rank and file whenever Mandela has asked Buthelezi to act as president, a gesture construed as an acknowledgement by Man-

dela of Buthelezi's leadership qualities.

It then becomes a matter of how the ANC sells its proposals to the IFP, and Mokaba makes a strong case to back his suggestion for the ANC conference.

The former fiery youth leader argues that Buthelezi and almost all senior IFP leaders are former members of the ANC, and formed the IFP as a cultural liberation movement with the blessing of Oliver Tambo, the late former ANC president.

A fall-out between the two organisations subsequently led to bloody conflict in KwaZulu Natal which left more than 10 000 people dead.

Mokaba — who, as president of the South African Youth Congress, was at the forefront of campaigns by the mass democratic movement to isolate Buthelezi and the IFP politically — says: "I used to believe that the best way to deal with the situation in KwaZulu Natal was to destroy the IFP and I worked passionately with comrade Harry Gwala to achieve just that."

Gwala, the late KwaZulu Natal Midlands leader, was vehemently opposed to efforts to find a peace-

ful solution to the violence between the IFP and the ANC, arguing that violence was the only language the IFP understood.

Central to Mokaba's argument is that there is no political basis for the fact that only African lives have been lost in the conflict.

"At the end of the day, it is only Africans who are dying in a struggle for power among the powerless and a bold step is needed in order to achieve peace in KwaZulu Natal. We need to come out of our past prejudices, and reflect the truth about what divided us. Buthelezi must be encouraged to rejoin the ANC together with his followers," Mokaba says.

The ANC and the IFP have the same constituency and they seek to achieve the same goals, he says. "I do not see the IFP as a weak organisation, and we have not defeated it. But we need to talk peace by being one, and isolate the enemy."

Mokaba is canvassing support for his proposal among the youth and other members of the ANC. Besides the fact that the ANC conference still needs to endorse his proposal, how the IFP responds

to it depends on the party's assessment of its options.

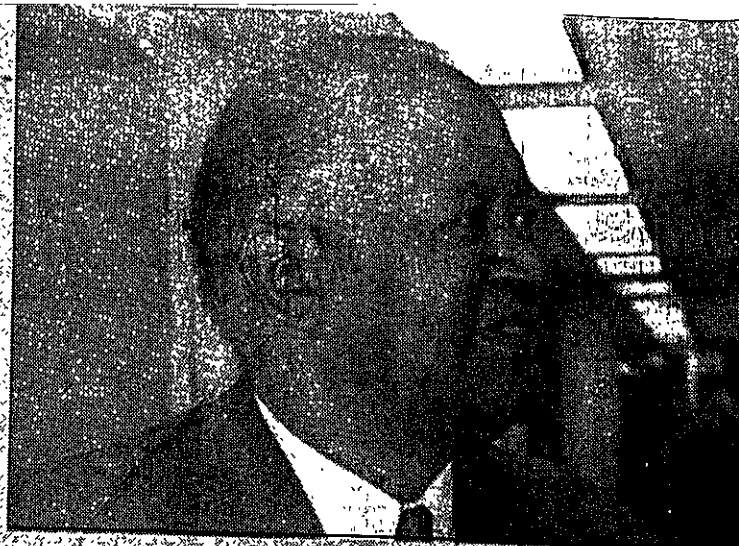
The National Party and the Democratic Party continue talks to explore possible areas of co-operation, but each would love to have the IFP on their side.

But relations between the IFP and the ANC have thawed remarkably in recent times, and there has been a convergence of ideas on how to address the needs of their common constituency. In Parliament the ANC has found an ally in some controversial and groundbreaking legislation, such as the Education Laws Amendment Bill.

But how this coming together of minds translates into an election strategy for the IFP remains unclear. For now, the IFP has all the options in front of it, but soon it will need to decide how it will approach the election vis-à-vis its relationship with the ANC.

The big question is whether Buthelezi will risk being consigned to regional politics or be tempted by the ANC's offer — which at least guarantees that he remains a political player of national significance.

(11B) ST16/11/97



IFP'S JOE MATTHEWS... Severely criticised by the party for his performance in national government. Pic: ZB MOLEFE

IFP leaders come under fire for soft approach to ANC

By JIMMY SEEPE

STRONG divisions and dissatisfaction within the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) Central Committee have emerged over the performance and conduct of party leaders in the national government, City Press has reliably established.

Two senior IFP leaders, who are also Cabinet ministers, were severely rebuked in the central committee last weekend over their co-operative and soft approach when dealing with the African National Congress (ANC) in national government.

The two ministers - Correctional Services Minister Sipho Mzimela and Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews - along with several members of parliament, are said to have been severely criticised, as the party made an assessment of its year's performance in government.

Leading the assault allegedly is the party's top brass, supported by its president and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelez and the organisation's disciplinary and Arts, Culture, Science and Technology minister, Lionel Mtshali.

Party members who were criticised called on the party to look at their submissions and contributions during the year.

The motion to call for a party commission is alleged to have been suggested by IFP MP John Bengu. However, it is understood that the party decided not to go ahead with the proposal.

It is understood that the two ministers were singled out because of their soft approach to the ANC. It is alleged that their non-confrontational approach to discussions and policy issues has reduced the party's profile.

One party leader, who asked not to be named, said both

decided to "subsume" to the party's whims. There is a tendency to pursue confrontational politics even where common policy agreement can be reached.

The IFP is still trying hard to find a good and strong platform to use against the ANC during the run-up to the 1994 elections, apart from the issues of slow delivery of houses, crime and policing matters.

A team of foreign experts, consisting of former Conservative advisers from Britain and possibly the United States, have been approached to devise an election strategy for the party.

The Dutch government has contributed large sums of money for this purpose.

Proposals by ANC leaders to try and find a role for senior IFP leaders beyond the 1999 elections, especially its president, is receiving greater attention within party structures.

Meanwhile, three IFP MPs tabled a Private Member's Bill in the National Assembly last week, paving the way to amend the Constitution and allow parliament to approve legislation imposing the death penalty.

The Bill, in the name of IFP MP Peter Smith, seeks to amend sections of the constitution prohibiting the treatment or punishment of any person in a cruel, inhuman or degrading way. IFP chief whip Koois van der Merwe said:

"The Bill inserts the word 'executed' into the section, and will make it clear that the constitution does not outlaw the death penalty.

The amended section would, however, still ensure that the administration of the death penalty complied with the requirements of humanity and lack of cruelty to those convicted of capital offences. Van der Merwe

Mzimela's call for ANC-IFP merger 'completely astounds'

Farouk Chotia

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday ruled out a merger with the African National Congress (ANC), saying he was "completely astounded" that IFP national deputy chairman Sipo Mzimela had made the suggestion without raising it within the party.

Mzimela wrote in the Sunday Times that the ANC and IFP should unite by 1999 — 20 years after they split — as a "fitting tribute" to President Nelson Mandela's lifelong commitment to freedom and to "restore the dignity of all black people".

He is the first senior IFP leader to publicly support a merger, mooted by ANC deputy presidential candidate Jacob Zuma more than a year ago.

Buthelezi said the would wait for the IFP national council, scheduled to meet next month, to pronounce on Mzimela's suggestion. However, Mzimela's style of handling it amounts to an abortion of the whole idea that he has put forward, Buthelezi said.

Buthelezi said he had never heard of any party where a senior member publicly expressed a view on a matter of such importance without canvassing his colleagues. "I am completely astounded by it in view of the fact that as national deputy chairman of the IFP, Dr Mzimela has never expressed such sentiments at national council meetings," he said.

An IFP source said that while the idea of the merger would be debated by the council, Mzimela's decision to air his view publicly would be discussed by the IFP's 38-member national coordinating committee, which oversees the affairs of the party between council meetings, on Thursday, because it was a "very serious matter".

The source said Mzimela would be asked to justify his decision to go public with the proposal. He would also be asked to explain a column in The Natal Mercury last week in which he praised Mandela's negotiating skill in averting a racial bloodbath in SA and defended Mandela's track record in government.

There was speculation this year

that Mzimela, who was holding private talks with Mandela, was planning to quit the IFP. He denied it at the time and could not be reached yesterday.

The ANC wanted a "peace summit" to be chaired by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Buthelezi, to take place before the ANC's national conference in two weeks. But the IFP source said the summit was "very unlikely" at this stage. The IFP first wanted peace conferences at grassroots level and differences over issues such as the role of traditional leaders resolved.

Buthelezi

Mzimela 'risks disciplinary (11b) steps' from IFP

Fayouk Chothip
DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national deputy chairman and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela risked disciplinary action, and could even be forced to quit following his call for a merger with the African National Congress (ANC), IFP sources said yesterday.

The IFP-owned Uanga newspaper, which generally reflects the view of the party leadership, launched a blistering attack on Mzimela yesterday.

It described him in a report as a "praise-singer" of President Nelson Mandela and criticised him for changing his name from Siphiso Sipo to "please the Americans", having lived in the US.

His proposal for a merger was intended to introduce "one-party system" in SA, the report said.

IFP sources said Mzimela had no allies in the party, so even those who favoured a merger would not defend him. Some members walked him to resign, believing he would cause far greater damage to the IFP by remaining in the party.

Mzimela would lose his post as correctional services minister if he quit the IFP.

The IFP national co-ordinating committee was to have discussed Mzimela's decision to make his proposal for a merger public yesterday, but the meeting was postponed by a week.

Mzimela's conduct would ultimately be referred to the national council, which would have to consider what, if any, action to take against him.

The council criticised him on two previous occasions for making public comments that were not in line with IFP policy.



Prof Chris Barnard, right, and former theatre nurse Peggy Jordan, left, at the opening yesterday of a museum at Cape Town's Groote Schuur hospital, the venue of the world's first heart transplant 30 years ago.

50 000 firearms lost, stolen in under two years

Bonlie Ngyiyaza

A TOTAL of 50 585 privately owned and state firearms were stolen or lost, between January 1 last year and November 10 this year, Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews said in Pretoria yesterday.

Of these, 12 218 were state-owned, he told a media briefing to announce a strategy to deal with the problem of the proliferation of firearms in SA.

He said 27 401 of the total had been recovered. It was estimated that there were about 4-million illegal and 3,76-million legally owned firearms in SA.

Last year, about 41% of murders and 76% of robberies involved firearms.

The government strategy singled out for scrutiny the tracing and recovery of stolen firearms; dealing with illegal firearms; and investigation into allegations of mismanagement, maladministration and corruption in the central firearms register.

A key issue would be reducing the number of legally owned firearms because theft and loss meant they were used by criminals to commit violent acts, Matthews said.

Additional firearm investigation units would be established, more re-

sources given to existing ones and co-ordination between units improved.

Government would centralise the issuing of permits to import and export firearms, improving control over their movements across SA borders.

Matthews also announced stricter measures including the appointment of a designated firearms officer at station level; linking the SAPS, SANDF and the citizens' registry to ensure that stolen firearms were not reregistered elsewhere; establishing a countrywide audit of firearm dealers; and blocking the serial numbers of all stolen state firearms to prevent reregistration.

Don wants R1,2-million

Mungo Soggot

The man at the centre of the state oil scandal, Don Mkhwanazi, has asked the government to more than triple his salary to R1,2-million a year. Mkhwanazi, who works part-time at the Central Energy Fund as its non-executive chairman, recently sent a written proposal for an increase to the Department of Minerals and Energy.

If he is awarded the increase Mkhwanazi will be one of South Africa's highest paid civil servants, setting an extraordinary precedent for other government officials and parastatal heads.

The deputy director general of the department, Dr Gordon Sibiyi, declined to comment.

It is understood that some officials in the department and the minerals and energy ministry are unimpressed with Mkhwanazi's proposal, but have yet to decide whether to accept it.

Earlier this year Mkhwanazi asked the department to include a luxury 4x4 car in his package, but was persuaded to withdraw his request.

Mkhwanazi became the fund's executive chairman in March, when he took over from Roy Pithey. Pithey, who has retired, was paid R337 000 and received neither a car nor pension fund. Pithey had no other jobs and worked full time at the fund.

Mkhwanazi has been less focused on his state job, spending much of his time at his Durban office, where he runs the National Empowerment Trust. He also sits on numerous boards, including that of the Industrial Development Corporation.

His main contribution to the CEF has been to appoint Emanuel Shaw II and Emanuel Shaw III to advise him on the restructuring and privatisation of the fund's assets — an appointment which is now the subject of an inquiry by the Minerals and Energy Department.

Shaw II and III are being paid R2,4-million a year in installments paid quarterly in advance — in addition to a \$1 000 a day allowance

for work done outside the country, and R2 500 a day for work done outside Johannesburg. They also have access to a R50 000 expense account.

Since the scandal surrounding their appointment broke at the beginning of last month, Shaw has spent several weeks out of the country.

He accompanied Liberian leader Charles Taylor on a trip to Taipei and then spent some time in Monrovia, from where he launched an unsuccessful bid to interdict the *Mail & Guardian* and helped Mkhwanazi compose an advertisement to hit back at the allegations against them.

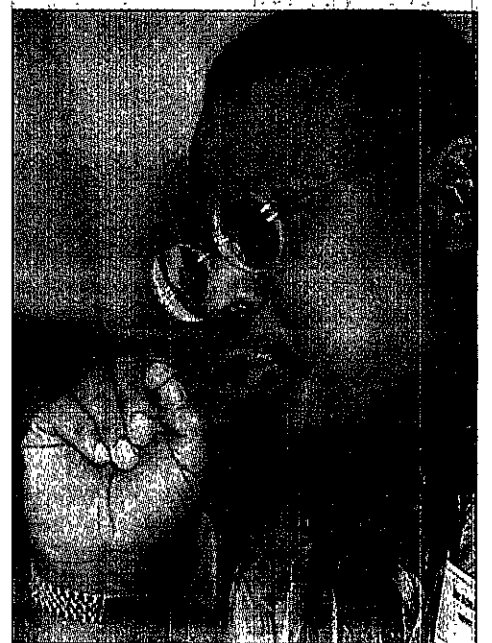
Shaw is "ambassador extraordinaire" to

MHC 12 18/12/97

Liberia, economic adviser to Taylor, and was recently appointed chairman of a presidential commission into Liberia's banking sector. Taylor is understood to have announced recently that the Bank of Liberia had only \$17 000 left in the kitty. Mkhwanazi's representative said later Mkhwanazi denied all knowledge of the proposal.

Meanwhile, Allcot Daventer, the second most senior financial man at the fund, resigned this week — following his boss, Sarel Cilliers, who stepped down last week in the wake of the Shaw scandal.

Another fund, another Liberian, PAGE 6
New order follows the bad old ways, PAGE 33



The Don: Mkhwanazi values his services very highly. PHOTO: SIDDIQUE DAVIDS

Kerzner book suppressed

Mail & Guardian reporters

The Johannesburg High Court has upheld Sol Kerzner's bid to stop the publication of *Kerzner Unauthorised*, a controversial biography of the casino magnate written by veteran financial journalist Allan Greenblo.

The book included details of Kerzner's stormy break-up with beauty queen Anneline Kriel and contained sensational allegations about his relationship with the National Party and former Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope.

The book was due to go on sale on October 27 but was withheld pending the judgment, which was delivered by Transvaal deputy judge president Monis Flemming on Thursday.

Greenblo's publisher, Jonathan Ball, said the judgment appeared to be a "comprehensive rout", and said he would be considering his options after studying it in detail. "The book is effectively prohibited from publication in its present form."

Ball's Johannesburg lawyers, Jacobson Rosin & Wright, said the judgment could hold serious implications for media freedom in South Africa. A representative said that unlike United States courts, which have generally prohibited restraints prior to publication, the Johannesburg High Court appeared to have taken a different route "despite the impact of our Constitution".

Greenblo said he would withhold comment until studying the judgment.

PREGNANT? BREASTFEEDING? YOUR SMOKING CAN HARM YOUR BABY

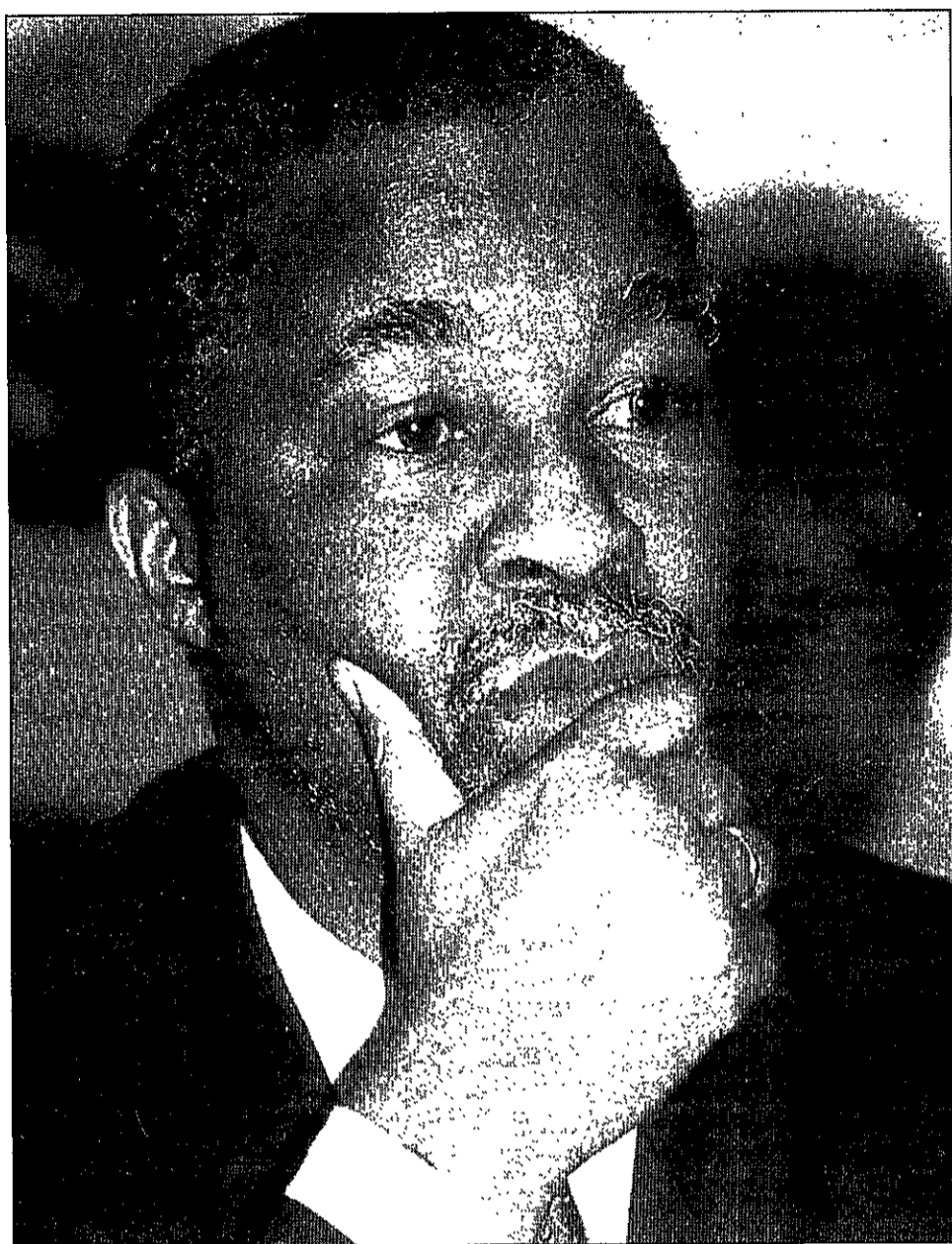
15 mg tar 1,4 mg nicotine As per Government agreed method



Sold in Germany, U.K., France, Australia, Netherlands, Spain, Greece, Malaysia, Guadeloupe, Canada, Austria, Martinique, New Zealand, Monaco, Singapore, Ireland, San Marino, Canary Islands, Switzerland and U.S.A.

AMERICAN CIGARETTE COMPANY

With the ANC's 50th national conference fast approaching, supporters will be out in



Thabo Mbeki: 'A highly intelligent man who will not do anything stupid.' PHOTOGRAPH: THEMBA HADEBE

Memories of

Govan Mbeki fills in a few pieces of the puzzle which constitutes his son, and South Africa's next president, to David Beresford

Govan Mbeki's voice offers a hint of a chuckle when asked where the African National Congress offices are to be found in Port Elizabeth. "At 344 Govan Mbeki Avenue," he answers. "Main Street," says the taxi driver disconsolately, muttering on about the pretensions of the new gang at the city hall.

The deification, or at least municipalisation, of living politicians is frowned upon by the ANC in the new South Africa; the name of Nelson Mandela is striking for its absence from street signs. But if anyone is to be subject to such honour in his lifetime it might as well be Mbeki. After all, he can claim to be part of the legendary trio — Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki which "liberated" South Africa.

That characterisation of him is likely to be eclipsed in the near future, however. For 55 years Thabo Mbeki has been "Govan's son". But next week Govan Mbeki may have to start getting used to the label "Thabo's father" as his succession to the leadership of the ANC brings him one step closer to the South African presidency.

But if the son is about to eclipse the father in fame, he is a long way from being "better known". As he has moved ever closer to the supreme prize in South African politics, Thabo Mbeki has seemed to become increasingly reclusive — ironically so, in view of his championship of the government communications service.

The truth is that South Africa is about to be ruled by a man whom the country simply does not know.

Is he a father? One of the standard works of political biography says he is not. Another gives him two children. He is the son of one of the country's best known communists, but just about all that is known about his ideological stance is contained in the speech he made on the adoption of the new Constitution: "I am an African."

Fathers are of course not the most reliable sources for objective information on a son and Govan Mbeki — whose life as an anti-apartheid activist, including his years in prison, did not allow for a close paternal relationship — is probably less informed than most. But he does fill in some of the early gaps in the jigsaw puzzle which is the life of the man who would be king.

Royalty does not seem to be in Thabo Mbeki's blood-stream, as it is in Mandela's case, but he can claim at least a degree of pride in his ancestry. His grandfather was a tribal headman from the Ciskei, a convert to Christianity whose people were moved in the 19th century from the Ciskei to Mpukane location, on the edge of the Kei River, to act as a buffer between British colonists and the warring Xhosa chiefs.

Govan Mbeki was the youngest of five children by a second marriage. He himself had four children by Epainette, of whom Thabo was the second oldest.

Lekota and Tshwete battle for the chair

Wally Mbhele

With Jacob Zuma undoubtedly assured of election as African National Congress deputy president after Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's chances were rendered virtually nil, the battle for the party's national chair will be a focal point at its 50th conference.

Having declined his nomination for the chair, Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa has left the contest to Minister of Sport and Recreation Steve Tshwete and former Free State premier Terror Lekota.

In the past, the national chair has been more of a ceremonial position than an influential portfolio. But this year it looks set to become a position worth contesting.

To some, the battle will be about restoring Lekota's pride and settling scores for the humiliation he suffered at the hands of some ANC leaders — including Tshwete — when the party's leadership intervened last year in the heat of the Free State leadership crisis. To others, it will be an opportunity for Tshwete to reassert his authority and seniority over Lekota.

Some in the ANC believe its tradition of electing a senior generation of leaders does not allow Lekota to challenge Tshwete. But there are others who argue that performance rather than age should qualify candidates for senior positions.

Tshwete and Lekota are equally respected, influential and powerful leaders with good track records in their own right — raising fundamental differences of opinion among ANC members about who should be the next chair.

Lekota is backed by six of the nine ANC provinces. Gauteng, Free State, Mpumalanga and the Northern Province will be key to se-

curing him victory as they will have some of the biggest delegations at the conference.

Tshwete's support comes from his traditional Eastern Cape base, backed by the KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape provinces. He also has the support of the ANC Youth League.

However, following Tshwete's recent public outbursts against Madikizela-Mandela, it is understood that the ANC Women's League is reconsidering its support for him. The league is said to be "wounded" by the way Tshwete handled her criticisms of the government.

Lekota should receive support from Madikizela-Mandela's supporters in the Eastern Cape who are going to vote with their consciences. He also recently received the backing of the Mpumalanga province as a bonus.

It has also emerged that the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party have decided to throw their support behind Lekota.

In spite of the ANC's Cheryl Carolus denying the existence of a Cosatu list, the *Mail & Guardian* has a copy of this list and can confirm that it is circulating among organised workers. Cosatu has identified a number of leaders — many of them in Parliament — it hopes to encourage its members to support for election to the ANC national executive committee.

The list includes Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to succeed President Nelson Mandela, Kgalema Motlanthe for secretary general, Thenjiwe Mthintso for deputy secretary general and Pravin Gordhan for national treasurer.

Cyril Ramaphosa's name is strangely absent from Cosatu's list. But it is believed the ANC Youth League will support his election.

Cosatu's backing of Lekota sets the scene for fascinating political theatre. Relations between Lekota and Tshwete soured last year when Tshwete was sent to help heal the Free State leadership rift. It is understood that Lekota believes Tshwete was not impartial in his handling of the tensions, and Tshwete described Lekota in a report as "stubborn and troublesome".

The perception that the ANC national office imposes leaders not elected by popular choice, will finally count against Tshwete — seen as the national office's "hit-man". However, his track record and popularity as Shell House's "Mr Fixit" cannot be easily ignored.

Can new leadership heal

Sechaba ka'Nkosi and Wally Mbhele

Never in its history has the African National Congress approached its national conference as deeply divided as the party appears to be at the moment. The greatest challenge the ANC faces next week is not from its opposition, but its membership.

President Nelson Mandela's departure as ANC president is already a foregone conclusion. But can the new leadership under the present Deputy President Thabo Mbeki heal the growing rift between factions in the party?

Since 1994, the ANC has been plagued by internal problems, ranging from a lack of discipline to internal leadership squabbles.

The handling of elections of provincial leaders has not only alienated branches from the national leadership, it has raised fears that the ANC is becoming authoritarian.

It is uncertain how long the movement can continue to sweep tensions within its alliance under the carpet. It says it seeks to be more than a party of mass support, and more than an electoral machine. It also seeks to be a movement of mass participation, remaining left of centre. But how long can it balance these goals with the demands and responsibilities of governing the country?

With the adoption last year of the unpopular growth, employment and redistribution strategy — which moved the ANC's economic policy far to the right — some are suggesting that the party is no longer a broad movement encompassing the poor and disadvantaged, but that it has moved to the centre-right of the political landscape.

The ANC acknowledges that the past few years have seen a shift in the class realities of the society. "We have seen a rapid development of a new, black, upper-middle class. The

gap between the richest 10% of blacks and the majority has grown very rapidly," one of its discussion papers reads.

This is one of the dilemmas the party's membership has been trying to grapple with, exacerbating the ANC's difficulty in mobilising the grassroots.

In recent months, rallies have failed to attract many people. Only the Northern Province and the Free State have reported a steady growth in branch membership. In other provinces, rank-and-file members have begun to openly question the ANC's performance in the government.

Mbeki and his new leadership will have to grapple with this discontent within their ranks. In the Eastern Cape, largely perceived to be the ANC's traditional home, disturbingly high

numbers of disgruntled members have joined Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer's newly formed United Democratic Movement.

Some ANC members are questioning how accountable their leaders are to their members. They believe there is not sufficient consultation before positions are adopted by the party. They say there

is not enough room for criticism and the ANC is unable to deal with dissension without harming the image of the party.

So, when more than 3 000 delegates converge on Mafikeng in the North West province for the 50th national conference next week, it will be to seriously examine the ramshackle state of the party and to chart a route to take it into the 21st century.

"We must ensure that both ideologically [in the values and policies we develop] and organisationally, the new powers, wealth and privileges do not become an end in themselves, but are used in the service of the national democratic struggle," says the ANC in one of its conference documents.

Some suggest that the ANC is no longer a broad movement encompassing the poor and disadvantaged, but that it has moved to the centre-right of the political landscape

force to signal the changing of the guard from Mandela to Mbeki

a man who would be king

Govan Mbeki is uncertain about the circumstances of the death of his younger son, Jama. The young man studied law at Roma University in Lesotho and took an LLB at Leeds. He then moved to Botswana, married and had three children.

At some point in the 1980s — Govan Mbeki is unsure of the date — Jama Mbeki went to visit an old friend from his student days. Jama Mbeki did not realise his friend had changed sides: when he arrived in Lesotho the security forces were tipped off that the son of Govan Mbeki was in town and he was killed.

"We have not been able to trace where they buried him," says Govan Mbeki simply. He was not to be the last of the Mbeki clan to vanish mysteriously.

Govan Mbeki's main recollection of Thabo Mbeki's boyhood is that he was a voracious reader. "My wife used to complain that Thabo did not like manual work. He used to spend all his time at books." Govan Mbeki's library was not large, but it was worthy — with works on Marxism-Leninism, his own early writings and his set-work books from Fort Hare where he took a BA degree and a diploma in education. He also recalls that Thabo played the piano and the flute, but says he has long since given them up.

Attending a Presbyterian-Methodist primary school, Thabo Mbeki went on to Lovedale College in Alice. The ANC's biography says he completed his studies at home after "his schooling at Lovedale was interrupted by a strike in 1959".

Govan Mbeki says bluntly that he was expelled, but — with the fine disdain of a revolutionary who has spent his life thumbing his

nose at authority — confesses that he does not know the details other than that it was "student politics". He is equally vague as to when his son joined the ANC and South African Communist Party, observing that the boy "grew up in them". It is recorded elsewhere that he joined the ANC Youth League at the age of 14.

Thabo Mbeki went on to do his "A" levels at a private Johannesburg college when he was elected to his first recorded post as an official — secretary of the African Students' Association, the short-lived student wing of the ANC.

It was around this time that he fathered a son, Monwabisi — his only child. The boy vanished mysteriously 21 years later.

According to his mother, Nokwanda Mpahlwa, the young man set out for Durban in 1981 in search of other members of his family and was never seen again. She appealed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last year for help in finding what happened to him, but Govan Mbeki says they have made no progress.

Thabo Mbeki did well enough at his "A" levels to win a place at Sussex University. He left South Africa without papers in 1962 and was the subject of a diplomatic incident when he was picked up in Southern Rhodesia. He was to have been deported back to South Africa, but — after six weeks in prison and intervention by the

British government — was allowed to go to Tanganyika where he was granted political asylum.

Moving on to Sussex he took a Master's degree in economics, with a thesis on small businesses in Ghana and Nigeria.

In 1970, Thabo Mbeki's mother got intimations that her son was on the move when their house was placed under intense surveillance. He had vanished from London and the South African security forces assumed he had gone home, underground. In fact he had gone east, to Russia, for military training and a grounding in communism at the Lenin Institute.



For 55 years Thabo Mbeki has been 'Govan's son'. Next week Govan Mbeki may have to start getting used to the label 'Thabo's father'

Thabo Mbeki's relationship with the communist party is a confusing one. None of the official biographies acknowledges his membership of the SACP, but he is believed to have been a staunch member — being elected to the

politburo in 1979 and again in the mid-1980s — until his return to South Africa in 1990.

Govan Mbeki offers no more detail, but attributes his son's resignation from the party to "pragmatism" in anticipation that he would be assuming a leadership position.

Does he believe his son is still a Marxist? "He imbibed so much of it he can't expel it from his mind," the veteran communist observes.

Certainly pragmatism would seem to mark Thabo Mbeki's rise to the leadership of the ANC;

first as political secretary to Oliver Tambo, then as head of the departments of Information and Foreign Affairs and finally as deputy president.

Pragmatism might be an explanation for the way he has blown hot and cold over Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, and for the friendships he is said to have enjoyed with the likes of Sol Kerzner.

If Mandela is to be taken literally in his avowals that Thabo Mbeki has been effectively running the country for some time, perhaps he can even be credited with the *realpolitik* which has recently replaced the diplomacy of morality in South Africa's foreign policy. In fact, the only departure from pragmatism which stands out where Thabo Mbeki is concerned is his vision of the "African renaissance".

Does this make an "Africanist"? "Labels don't help us," reproaches Govan Mbeki, pointing out that Africanist was the term used to describe those who formed the Pan Africanist Congress. "I don't think Thabo is anywhere near what the PAC was when it broke away from the ANC in 1959. But he is an African."

What sort of a president will he make? "Thabo grew up in the ANC and the policies of the ANC have been consistent, even before 1912, in regarding South Africa as one country and the people of South Africa as one people," Govan declares in the ringing tone of a party loyalist.

Pausing, he adds: "He's a highly intelligent young man who, I believe, will not do anything stupid." It was as much a declaration of hope as a statement of experience — from a father who, in common with much of the rest of South Africa, does not really know his son.

the ANC?

A) M+G 12-18/12/97

The best means for ensuring this objective, according to the ANC, is keeping the party's mass participatory character. "This is the best antidote to the danger of our organisation being transformed into a narrow, professional machine, enjoying support, but not empowering mass participation."

The ANC says it believes its strategies are not beyond criticism. "We must have a cadreship and leadership who are humble and prepared to listen to constructive criticism. Part of being a cadre also means an ongoing process of self-criticism, evaluation, learning and self improvement."

But the priority for Mbeki, as he seeks to take not just the party but the country into the 21st century, is to restore control and discipline within the ANC.

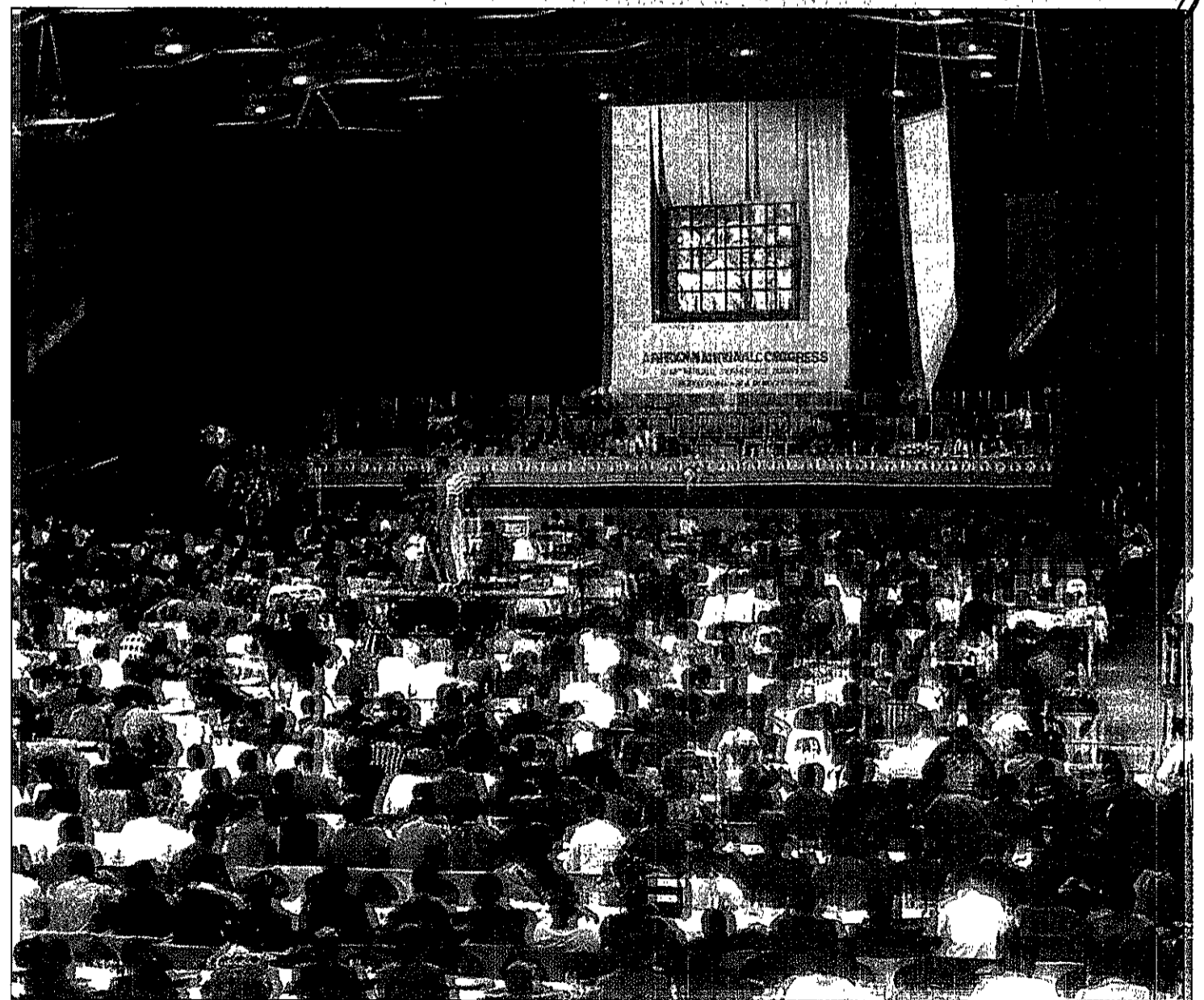
As the ANC approaches its next hurdle, the 1999 elections, the question will arise whether the tripartite alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party holds.

Cracks within the alliance began surfacing last year with the SACP and Cosatu publicly voicing their displeasure at what they perceive to be the ANC's deliberate shift to the right at the expense of reconstruction and development.

Elements within Cosatu and the SACP have already raised their preference for the alliance to last only until 1999. Beyond that, support for a "progressive left-wing opposition" and a socialist youth wing is gaining ground within the two structures.

A leading ANC figure Peter Mokaba has voiced genuine concern about the contradictions in the alliance. In a robust critique of the role of communists within the ANC, Mokaba has called on the conference to examine the alliance with the SACP.

These are some of the issues Mbeki has to grapple with in the next year. During his four years as an understudy to Mandela, he has



Meeting of the minds: The ANC's 50th national conference, to be held next week, is expected to be quite different from those held in the past. PHOTOGRAPH: NIGEL DENNIS

learned how heavy the mantle of leadership is.

For now, ANC regions have rallied behind Mbeki for the position of ANC president because of his age and hands-on approach to organisational matters. He does have real support in the organisation, and has managed, for the moment, to silence many of the

critics who had earlier challenged him.

"If you are always part of the discussion and open about what you believe in, people who are not happy with such positions can easily label you a manipulator. But we know him as a firm and capable leader who reads and analyses everything before adopting a posi-

tion, and he is also in touch with some of the issues that take place on the ground," says Eastern Cape provincial secretary Humphrey Maxhegwana.

The question everyone will be asking after next week is: how long will Mbeki manage to keep the show together?

Another fund, another Liberian

Mungo Soggot

Two eminent businessmen resigned last year from an investment fund set up by Don Mkhwanazi after he paid himself and a Liberian consultant huge salaries and the fund's first venture flopped.

Mkhwanazi founded the National Empowerment Trust in 1994, together with the National Empowerment Trust Investment Fund, which he chaired.

But the two most prominent members of the investment fund's executive — vice-chair Oscar Dhlomo, a leading Durban businessman, and Gibson Thula, head of the Diamond Board — quit last year.

With start-up funds of R5-million, Mkhwanazi proposed paying himself a one-off

fee of R144 000 and a monthly salary of R45 000. He is also understood to have made handsome payments totalling at least R500 000 to his Liberian consultant, Ethelbert Cooper. Mkhwanazi also proposed that the fund pay for Cooper's relocation to Durban.

Cooper is a close associate of Emanuel Shaw II and a director of International Advisory Services (IAS). IAS was set up last year by Mkhwanazi's lawyers and was awarded the R3-million contract to advise the Central Energy Fund, which Mkhwanazi chairs. Shaw II and his son, Emanuel Shaw III, occupy offices at the energy fund's Sandton headquarters.

It is unclear where Mkhwanazi raised the investment fund's start-up cash and it is also unclear what the rest of the money was spent on. Mkhwanazi's main plan at the time was to start

a new venture in the financial services sector together with another established player.

It is understood that before the relationship could be consummated, the deal flopped, and Mkhwanazi turned his attention to investing in a Malaysian bank after Dhlomo and Thula quit.

In March this year Mkhwanazi announced that the trust had signed a joint venture with Malaysian group Killinghall Berhad to set up a new bank in South Africa, the Southern Bank of Africa.

Mkhwanazi has already earned the nickname "Mr Malaysia" and his affinity for the Asian country is obviously shared by his Liberian associates. Two of the listed directors in Shaw and Cooper's IAS company are Malaysian.

A member of the investment fund's execu-

tive who did not resign with Dhlomo and Thula was Sizwe Nxasana, the senior partner of accountants firm Ntsaluba Nkonki Sizwe. This firm is being paid at least R1,2-million to conduct a highly controversial probe of the state oil company's books.

Minister of Minerals and Energy Penuell Maduna awarded Ntsaluba Nkonki Sizwe the job without a public tender. At the time, Maduna is understood to have been in close contact with Shaw who gave the minister informal advice.

Mkhwanazi's empowerment trust itself — as opposed to the investment fund's executive — included a string of prominent figures including Sipho Tshabalala, the director general of the Department of Public Enterprises, and Keith Kunene, an attorney who is now a member of the board of the Central Energy Fund.

Several attempts were made to reach Mkhwanazi this week with questions being faxed to his Durban home and office.

New order follows bad ways, PAGE 33

And yet another Liberian drug link

Stefaans Brümmer

A close associate of Emanuel Shaw II, the controversial Liberian adviser to South Africa's Central Energy Fund, was investigated by Dutch authorities on suspicion he participated in a crime syndicate that used West Africa as a transit point for massive drugs shipments to Europe.

Dutch investigators say they are no longer pursuing Shaw's associate, Dutch-born Gus Kouwenhoven — known in some circles as "the Godfather of Liberia" — but others in the same circle remain in custody in Holland. They are expected to stand trial next year.

Kouwenhoven was the recipient of a letter penned by Shaw in which the Liberian politician documented a string of corrupt schemes they had pulled off together. Shaw recorded how he had helped his business partner take control of Monrovia's biggest hotel, the Hotel Africa, and rewrote Liberia's gambling laws to favour Kouwenhoven.

In May, members of Holland's organised crime police and other specialised units arrested nine alleged syndicate members after more than a year's investigation. A police statement at the time said the syndicate was suspected of having smuggled more than 100 tons of "soft drugs" — thought to be mainly Pakistani hashish and with a street value of about R1,2-billion — to Europe since 1992.

The statement said the drugs, hidden under cover of loads of frozen fish, had been transported by ship to the West African coast, where it was loaded on to other vessels destined for Europe. The syndicate was linked in a Dutch court last week to another drugs syndicate at the centre of a messy affair that led to the resignation of Holland's justice and interior ministers four years ago.

The Dutch investigators' interest in Kouwenhoven raises fresh questions about Shaw's murky background. The *Mail &*



Taylor-made: Charles Taylor's (left) accession to the Liberian presidency has been good for businessmen like Shaw. PHOTO: AFP

Guardian reported two weeks ago that another associate of Shaw's, Mark Wolman, is thought by South African police to have been involved in the hard drugs trade before he was brutally murdered near Cape Town a year ago.

South African-born Wolman shared oil and other business interests with Shaw in Liberia, the Dutch Antilles and elsewhere. Kouwenhoven was also a partner in some of these. Shaw's passport was found in Wolman's briefcase when the police discovered his body.

There is no evidence Shaw participated in

or knew of the drugs operations. But again Liberia has emerged as central to a large-scale criminal operation.

Under President Samuel Doe, Liberia was cited as a money-laundering hub for the Nigerian drug trade. The country suffered an acute lack of governance during its eight years of bloody civil war, which ended when warlord Charles Taylor was elected president earlier this year.

A number of those arrested in Holland had extensive Liberian links. They include Paul

Romijn, who had business relations with Kouwenhoven in Hotel Africa and logging operations; André Blonk, who earlier worked at the same hotel; and Peter Siebok, who was later released.

During the war Siebok, Romijn and Blonk operated fishing boats from Liberia, while Blonk also mined gold in a Taylor-controlled area. Both Shaw and Kouwenhoven are close to Taylor. Shaw is Taylor's "ambassador extraordinaire" and both travelled with Taylor to Paris last month.

South Africa not ready for the millennium

M&G reporter

Telecommunications Minister Jay Naidoo's bold plan to counter the year 2000 computer crisis may be too late, computer industry sources warn.

While the United States is expected to achieve compliance by July 1999, South Africa is thought to be at least a year behind in preparations for the year 2000 problem.

Although Naidoo's plan is broad and far-reaching, the time frames could be too tight for ensuring compliance by various sectors of the economy and government to avert chaos at midnight on December 31 1999, when com-

puters' internal clocks, changing over, mistake the year 2000 for 1900.

The "millennium bug" is caused by year dates in computers being entered by early programmers as two digits, instead of four. "1997" therefore appears in a computer's internal clock as "97".

Naidoo's plan, unveiled this week, will see a national co-ordinating committee in place by the end of January. The committee will have seven sub-committees to ensure compliance in the government, the financial sector, parastatals, the information technology sector, industrial and other computer users.

The committee will be made up of 10 pri-

ivate- and public-sector professionals, and will report monthly to a Cabinet ministers' committee, chaired by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and convened by Naidoo.

"It would have been a good start two years ago," says Professor Ken MacGregor, of the University of Cape Town's computer science department. He says if a census of what compliance conversion needs to be done will only be completed by April, according to Naidoo's plan, then a strategy to deal with the problem could only be formulated and realistically put into practice in the third quarter of next year.

"You suddenly have 15 months to convert all the programmes, when it really should have

started a year ago. It's going to need a very aggressive conversion strategy," he says.

The assessment — by means of a questionnaire — would analyse all levels in the various sectors of the economy and government. It would also estimate the financial, economic and technical implications for the country.

Naidoo says the financial sector is the most advanced in coping with the millennium bug, with the Reserve Bank co-ordinating projects. "But," says the source, "the lack of concern in South Africa is very worrying."

MacGregor says one advantage of beginning so late is that automation processes have been developed to remedy the year 2000 problem in large mainframes, the predominant source of the coding problem because most institutions rely on them. Even then, booking time through the centres which perform the conversion may be very difficult, he says.

Mzimela expects to be dumped by IFP

Star 13/12/97 (11B) 6/1/97

Durban - Correctional Services Minister Dr Sipo Mzimela said yesterday that senior members of the Inkatha Freedom Party, including its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, appeared to have decided to get rid of him.

He also said he does not expect any fairness or objectivity when the party's national council meets to discuss his fate next month.

The IFP deputy chairman is under fire from within the party after his recent call for a merger with the ANC, and an acerbic exchange in the media with IFP MP Albert Mncwango.

The party's 95-member national coordinating committee, which met in Ulundi on Thursday, referred the dispute to the council meeting on January 24 and 25.

However, the committee expressed its disquiet about Mzimela's views, which it said did not reflect IFP policies, and said there was a clear difference between him and the other members of the committee.

Asked if he felt he had been treated fairly by the committee, Mzimela said: "No, no, not at all. There have been clandestine meetings. The whole thing was orchestrated and managed. Judging by what happened, they have made up their minds to get rid of me." "They" included Buthelezi, he said.

Right to opinions

Asked what he thought would happen in January, he said: "It depends on them."

"I'm a member of this party, and I still maintain I have a right to express my opinions openly."

"I'm sure they are going to use the time to caucus. They are going to come back and say this is the feeling of the party, and so forth. So I don't expect any fairness or objectivity."

But he also said there were "certain technicalities" his opponents had not considered, and that things were not as simple as they seemed. He declined to elaborate.

Mzimela said the committee had avoided the issues he had raised in the press - which centred on ways to alleviate black poverty - and had instead gone out of its way to attack him personally.

He said the committee had not discussed the issue of whether Mncwango "had lied", when claiming in a letter to a newspaper that Mzimela had previously been criticised and censured by the national council.

He still maintained he had done nothing wrong, having merely expressed an opinion. - Sapa

New-look IFP will have more African leaders

Pule Malebeleli

AFRICANIST Expressures are likely to reduce the number of whites and Indians on Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) election lists when the party finalises nominations at the end of next month.

Insiders said that the approach before the 1994 elections — when a number of whites and Indians made it as MPs and members of the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature without a meaningful support base — had come to an end.

There will no longer be free riders this time around. Party policy dictates that nominated leaders must have branches before being included on lists, one source said.

Another source said the IFP had been "overzealous" in 1994 in trying to represent all races. This had resulted in a disproportionate number of whites and Indians occupying influen-

Party was "overzealous" in 1994 in trying to represent all races

tial positions.

Some insiders said this had been to the disadvantage of African leaders who had been in the party for a lengthy period, including a number who had served in the legislative assembly of the KwaZulu-Natal province.

"We were never able to build structures and bring votes. There has only been marginal support coming from minorities thus far," the source said.

There would be more competition for inclusion because of "young African performers" waiting on the sidelines since 1994. "This time it is going to be a little different. Performers with established branches will compete with skilled (whites and Indians). It is only through competition and attrition that the party will arrive at a better list for next year's elections."

However, the source cautioned against the wholesale exclusion of minority groups, saying it was important to accommodate people with skills.

IFP spokesman Blessed Gwala described as "a blue lie" assertions that representation of whites and Indians would be downgraded. Inkatha had not yet discussed its electoral lists.

Gwala himself suggested in a document last month that whites and Indians occupying influential positions in the legislature should be replaced by Africans.

He described the legislature's environmental affairs portfolio committee, on which IFP MPs Maurice McKenzie and Henry Combrink serve, as being white dominated.

He alluded to the need to replace Moosa Motala as transport portfolio

10/11/94

(119)

committee chairman and complained that Farouk Rehman, who served on the education portfolio committee, concentrated mainly on issues affecting the Indian community.

An IFP member said the "Africanists" in the IFP were not anti-white or anti-Indian, but believed that minority race group members should not dominate the party. The party was believed to be working on a quota system, so that those who lacked a constituency but were loyal and skilled could be elected.

Johann Ngcobo, the IFP's national campaign manager, said there would be no "free riders" after the list process was completed, but denied that Indians and whites would be purged from the party.

Ngcobo said the nomination date

had been extended from November 30 to December 29 to give branches more time to make nominations. Branches would have to recognise the need for adequate representation for women, youth and minorities.

Once nominations were received, they would be sent to the national campaign management executive committee, headed by IFP chairman Ben Ngubane. The committee would then send the list to a party structure known as the "kitchen". Once everything was "cooked", the national coordinating committee would prepare final lists for approval by the national council, the highest decision-making body of the party.

Ngcobo said the process was likely to be completed by the end of next month. The IFP planned to delay publishing final lists as long as it could to avoid discouraging leaders who failed from mobilising support for the party.

BLACK POLITICS INKATHA

1998 - 1999

Buthelezi blunders blew it for IFP, (11B) says top defector

ARG 3/1/98

DONWALD PRESSLY

Walter Felgate, former chief constitutional planner for the Inkatha Freedom Party, has delivered a blistering attack on his former boss, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, accusing him of misreading political trends and of "blundering" into the new South Africa.

In a move which could constrain moves to strengthen co-operation between the IFP and African National Congress, Mr Felgate, who resigned from the party late last year to join the ANC, has also accused the IFP of being internally undemocratic.

In turn the KwaZulu Natal Premier and chairman of the party, Ben Ngubane, has accused Mr Felgate of "racist disdain" and of never having a grassroots constituency.

In an article commissioned by the South African Institute of Race Relations in its publication *Frontiers of Freedom* Mr Felgate, a former lieutenant of Buthelezi, said the IFP leader should be "left behind in history".

The former chairman of the IFP's parliamentary caucus and until September a provincial MP in KwaZulu Natal has accused the IFP of misreading support in the black community for sanctions, failing to back a legitimate armed struggle against apartheid and misusing rural chiefs to bolster its declining electoral base.

The man who played a leading role in the boycott of the Kempton Park constitutional negotiations and the later negotiations in the constitutional assembly also believes now that Inkatha missed its cue.

"Had we moved into the final constitutional negotiations and had Inkatha taken up its position as an opposition party that could expand its domains by addressing issues that the voting public wanted addressed, we would have a very much simpler scenario to face."

Mr Felgate left Inkatha and joined the ANC, citing frustration with the leadership.

Rumours of his impending appointment by the ANC to Parliament have not been confirmed.

Mr Felgate also said Buthelezi "is painfully aware of the extent to which he lost the support of business and opinion-makers in the late 1980s".

The Inkatha leader "did not read the *toenadering* between big business and the ANC as heralding anything significant".

In response Mr Ngubane has also emphatically stated that the IFP is proud of many of its alleged weaknesses, including commitment to free market forces "to promote social justice", and unwillingness to conduct collective street and factory militancy.

Mr Ngubane added: "We still believe that the majority of black people and big business did not endorse the armed struggle and sanctions."

But Mr Felgate went on to say: "He (Buthelezi) did not see black South Africa supporting the armed struggle and sanctions. He did not see that PW Botha and later FW de Klerk were stringing him along in the latter part of the 1980s while they were negotiating with Mandela in prison."

Releasing a private letter allegedly written by Mr Buthelezi, Mr Felgate quoted him as saying: "It is a fact of life that people can dissent like the IRA and Sinn Fein without caring whether they are in 10 Downing Street or not one day, but do things as a matter of principle."

In response to his statement that the only struggle South Africans now had was the parliamentary struggle, Mr Buthelezi apparently retorted: "What then of the IRA and Sinn Fein? Felgate comments: "That is scary stuff for anyone who knows Buthelezi."

Mr Ngubane said accusations that IFP support was artificially channelled through amakhosi (chiefs) "shows a racist disdain for the intelligence and political awareness of rural masses who are increasingly identifying with the IFP because of bread-and-butter issues such as land, community powers, order and social discipline".

But Mr Felgate said it was tragic for South Africa that in Inkatha there "is no democratic check on what Buthelezi does".

■ KwaZulu Natal ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the debate between the two men would not harm relations between the organisations.

"If that was so, then really there would be no democracy. Even within an organisation there are moments where you severely criticise each other."

Asked if a possible alliance between the ANC and IFP would include Mr Buthelezi, Mr Makhaye said the two parties faced the same goals of transformation and reconciliation, and that unity was needed first. "If that unity includes Inkatha, then it must include its president."

'He (Buthelezi) did not see that PW Botha and FW de Klerk were stringing him along'

ate, I
iting
m us
our d
y anc
sterr
at w

WALTER FELGATE

18

7

Leader's speech ignored

By JIMMY SEEPE

DELEGATES attending the Inkatha Freedom Party one-day conference last weekend in Durban are said to have infuriated their party leader - after ignoring his lengthy speech; designed to set the tone of the conference.

The marathon speech by Homes Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which dealt with a wide range of issues affecting the party, was meant to be the "discussion paper" for the party faithful.

But delegates who were tasked to follow the contents of the speech and later make inputs chose rather to discuss other matters not related to it.

City Press has learnt that an angry Buthelezi - and other senior officials - after listening to the deliberations that followed, realised that delegates were apparently disinterested in what their leader had just said.

The speech, which was billed to set the party's platform for the year, clearly failed to impress the delegates.

It is also understood that they were ordered to start discussing the speech - three hours after it had been completed.

The conference is said to have



ARE YOU LISTENING? ... Inkatha's Buthelezi.

been called in order to chart the party's direction for this year.

However, it failed to come up with any substantial issue, after almost 10 hours of discussion.

Frustrated members of the legislature in the province are said to have felt that they had wasted their

time during the discussions.

Unlike the African National Congress conferences, which are usually marked by discussions on a number of papers prepared by delegates on policy issues, at the Inkatha conference not a single paper was delivered and prepared by the organisation's leaders.

Other delegates also expressed regret and frustration about the "state of affairs" in the organisation and said the party's role in setting the tone on important issues, was declining.

At the end of the conference, the party failed to adopt any resolution coming from any commission it had set up - and instead appointed a three-member committee, to study tapes of discussions coming from the committees.

The three-member committee has been tasked to sift through the discussions of the various party provincial and national leaders to determine whether they can find sufficient content matter to forge into a resolution.

Party leaders are expected to gather again later in the month to debate some of the resolutions that had emerged from the conference floor.

Mzimela gets IFP's vote of no confidence

Farouk Chothia (11b)
26/1/98

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party national council passed a vote of no confidence in Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela at the weekend, but left party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to decide whether President Nelson Mandela should be asked to sack him from the cabinet.

IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane said yesterday the council "withdrew" its confidence in Mzimela at a meeting in Uthandi because he breached protocol and discipline by backing the idea of a merger with the African National Congress without canvassing his colleagues on the issue.

Ngubane said the council had expressed its views on Mzimela, but did not have the "competence" to decide whether Mandela should be asked to replace him with another IFP member in the cabinet.

He said the IFP's national conference, scheduled for later this year, would have to decide on Mzimela's future as party national deputy chairman.

Sapa reports the IFP described in a statement the idea of a merger as "bizarre", and accused Mzimela of failing to assess the merits of the proposal before expressing support for it.

Reconciliation between the ANC and IFP had not yet been achieved. Violence was continuing, and many differences between the two parties remained unresolved, the IFP said.

Mpumalanga gets tough with its towns

26/1/98

time frames or have the local government department "take such steps it deems necessary to place the finances on a sound footing again" followed several attempts to persuade its council to put its affairs in order.

"They were given some time from last year and they kept on promising that they would get themselves on a sound footing. But instead of the graph going up, it kept going down," Sono said.

Padayachee said the ultimatum to Amersfoort required it to appoint at least one municipal finance expert, who should revise the town's operating budget to reflect the anticipated rate of nonpayment of rates and service charges, before Thursday.

Other orders included that the town implement strict credit control policies within one month, reduce staff and operating costs within six months and introduce a capacity-building programme for councillors and officials within 60 days.

Sono said that in Amersfoort there was "no collection of revenue, no sound administration and nothing which says there's real governance taking place there".

The MEC decided to intervene because "he could not allow people on the ground to suffer" because of the way in which the town was being managed.

Kevin O'Grady

MPUMALANGA towns that are not on a sound financial footing are to be given ultimatums to take steps to rectify their finances or face the provincial government taking control of their affairs, says local government MEC Craig Padayachee.

The first of these ultimatums was delivered to the Amersfoort town council last week, and several more towns which were "in dire financial straits" would follow, Padayachee said.

His spokesman Gerald Sono said the financial affairs of all the province's 52 towns were under investigation and ultimatums would be given as the investigations were completed. He could not say which towns were likely to be affected.

However, Sapa reports Padayachee saying that only four Mpumalanga towns — Sabie, Volksrust, Piet Retief and Middelburg — did not need financial assistance.

Sono said the province was "investigating all towns because even though at face value they might appear financially sound, you don't know what might happen two months down the line".

The ultimatum to Amersfoort — to comply with 20 instructions within stipulated

MINISTER GETS VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE

Mzimela awaits fate after proposing ANC, IFP merger

QT 26/1/98 (11B)

DURBAN: IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will only decide what to do about Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela after a meeting with President Nelson Mandela.

CORRECTIONAL Services Minister Dr Sipo Mzimela of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) may have to start counting his days soon as the party's national deputy chairman and minister after party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced yesterday that he planned to meet President Nelson Mandela to discuss Mzimela's future.

A vote of no-confidence in Mzimela was passed by the party's national council at the weekend. The council also ordered him to retract "defamatory statements" he had made in the media against party members who had called for his resignation.

Mzimela, who has been in the dock for

months for suggesting that his party and the ANC merge to "restore the dignity of all people in this part of the world and beyond", will have to wait until after the meeting to hear his fate.

Although council members passed the no-confidence vote, they do not have the power to cast the final decision, which is left to Buthelezi.

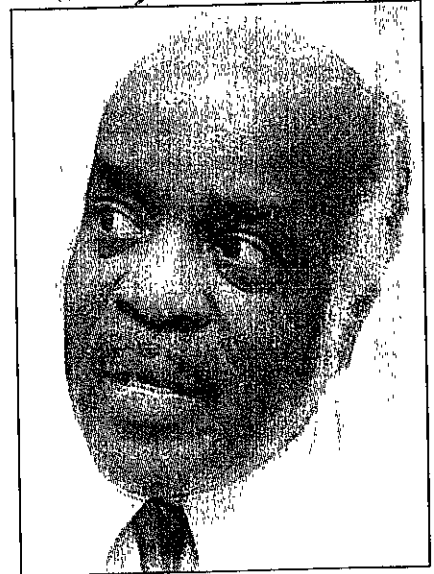
Buthelezi said he respected the decision taken by council but would not make any hasty decisions and would discuss Mzimela's future with Mandela.

According to the Constitution, if a party decides to replace a minister in the national cabinet, it has to inform the president before going public.

The merger topped the agenda of the two-day meeting at Ulundi, where Mzimela was given an opportunity to give his reasons for making the call before consulting the IFP and for later publicly rebuking fellow members who criticised his move.

The council also accused him of failing to assess the merits of such a "bizarre proposal".

Although Mzimela was said to have unreservedly apologised for the way in which he handled the matter, his apology received scant recognition from the council.



FUTURE UNCERTAIN: Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela. **FILE PICTURE**

It later issued a statement saying that among various resolutions reached, Mzimela was required to retract publicly the statements he had made in the media against fellow members, including national MP Mr Albert Mncwango, whom the minister had called "an upstart from the backwoods".

Mzimela has been under a cloud since late last year when he boldly supported ANC national Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs Mr Peter Mokaba's call for an IFP-ANC merger. — Own Correspondent

Rebuked Mzimela may quit

DONWALD PRESSLY
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

MINISTER of Correctional Services Dr Sipo Mzimela, shaken by his Inkatha Freedom Party's no-confidence vote but unrepentant about suggesting that the ANC and IFP should merge, is considering whether to resign from the cabinet.

The Anglican cleric and politician, one of three IFP members of the cabinet, says he is reflecting on the IFP's vote of no confidence in him as minister and as its deputy national chairman.

Mzimela, a former Inkatha representative in Washington, was consulting friends and colleagues yesterday.

Emphasising that it was "too early to say" if he would keep the job as minister, he said he would "digest and consider all the ramifications and make a decision".

At the IFP national council meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, Mzimela was instructed to apologise to the party for making the "bizarre" suggestion that the ANC and IFP should merge before the elections next year.

Mzimela said yesterday that although he did not regret making this suggestion, he had apologised to the council. "I think, in the new South Africa, one is entitled to one's opinion. I was not talking IFP policy or claiming to be writing on behalf of the IFP. These were my personal opinions."

His favouring a merger was in line

with Deputy Environment Affairs Minister Mr Peter Mokaba's initial support for the idea. "The ANC saw that as (Mokaba's) own opinion and not ANC policy."

Asked if he enjoyed his job as minister, Mzimela said he had considered it "a major challenge". He paid tribute to the Department of Correctional Services staff. "They are doing a pretty decent job."

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend that he would not take any "hasty decisions" about Mzimela's future, but would have to consider the vote taken by the national council. It is understood that he is to meet President Nelson Mandela soon, though presidential spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said he was "not aware" of Buthelezi's having sought a formal meeting.

The IFP national council, whose meeting ended yesterday, criticised Mzimela for creating the "erroneous perception" that the ANC leadership had not failed to deliver on its promises.

If Mzimela resigns or is asked to do so by Buthelezi, the IFP leader can appoint a replacement after consulting Mandela. The president, however, has the discretion to choose the Inkatha minister's

portfolio and may choose to shuffle his cabinet.

Prime contenders would be IFP national caucus chairman Mr Ben Skosana or one of the two deputy ministers in the national administration, Mr Joe Mathews, Deputy Minister of safety and Security, and Mrs Eileen Shandu, Deputy Minister of Public Works.

ANC spokesman Mr Mlungisi Ndhlela said it was puzzling that the final word on Mzimela's fate would come not from an IFP structure but from the party's leader.

"It also puzzles me that whenever there is an accusation that Chief Buthelezi owns the IFP as his personal property, such statements are flatly denied ... The process of taking disciplinary action against Dr Mzimela does not assist this denial."

Mzimela's crime had been "to dare call for unity of the main black parties, against poverty and the

continued domination of the socio-economic life of South Africans by whites", Ndhlela said.

"What must be understood is that the extent to which a party tolerates or limits internal democracy more or less reflects the extent to which it will tolerate or limit democracy in society."



APOLOGY: Sipo Mzimela

ET 27/11/98

(116)

Merger idea points to minister's axing

MAN 27/1/98

(11b)

Mzimela says his suggestion is only his personal opinion, then thanks correctional services staff

POLITICAL STAFF
Cape Town

Inkatha Freedom Party Correctional Services Minister Dr Sipo Mzimela looks set to resign this week as a member of the ANC-led Cabinet, unrepentant about his suggestion that the ANC and IFP should merge.

The Anglican cleric-cum-politician, one of three IFP members of the Cabinet, says he is still pondering the party's weekend vote of no confidence in him both as minister and as its deputy national chairman. He said it was too early to say whether he would keep the job as minister.

Mzimela, who is a former Inkatha representative in Washington, was also instructed by the IFP national council meeting in Uthundi to apologise to the party for making the "bizarre" suggestion that the ANC and IFP should merge.

ident Mandela's leadership. The suggestion evoked the ire of the IFP leadership, including party president and Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Mzimela said he did not regret making the statements, but confirmed that he had apologised to the council. "I think that in the new South Africa one is entitled to one's opinion. I was not talking IFP policy or claiming to be writing on behalf of the IFP. These were my personal opinions."

Mzimela, who left the national council meeting early, said his support for a merger was in line with Deputy Environmental Affairs Minister Peter Mokaba's initial backing of the concept. "The ANC saw that as his own opinion and not ANC policy," he added. Asked if he had enjoyed the job as minister, Mzimela said he had seen it as a major challenge. He paid tribute to Correc-



Dr Sipo Mzimela ... one is entitled to one's opinion.

tionnal Services Department staff, many of whom he had installed. "They are doing a pretty decent job."

Buthelezi said at the weekend that he would not make any hasty decisions about Mzimela's future, but would have to consider the vote taken by the national council. It is understood he will meet Mandela soon.

The IFP national council meeting ended in Uthundi yesterday. It slammed Mzimela for creating the "erroneous perception" that the ANC leadership had not failed to deliver on its promises.

Presidential spokesman Joel Neshitenzhe said he was not aware of any formal meeting being requested by Buthelezi.

Mandela returns from a visit to Uganda today. If Mzimela resigns, or is asked to do so by Buthelezi, the IFP leader can appoint a new minister after consultation with Mandela.

The president, however, has the discretion to choose the Inkatha minister's portfolio and may choose to reshuffle his Cabinet.

Prime contenders for the Cabinet position would be IFP national caucus chairman Ben Skosana or one of the two deputy ministers in the national administration: Joe Matthews, who is at present Deputy Minister of Safety and Security, and Eileen Shandu,

Deputy Minister of Public Works.

The new incumbent would hold the job for just over a year, until the national election, which must be held by July 1999.

There is no provision for a unity government after that period.

ANC spokesman Mlungisi Ndhlela said it was puzzling that the final word on the fate of Mzimela would not come from an IFP structure but from the party leader.

"It also puzzles me that whenever there is an accusation that Dr Buthelezi owns the IFP as his personal property such statements are always flatly denied. The process of taking disciplinary action against Mzimela does not assist this denial."

Ndhlela said Mzimela's main crime was "to dare to call for unity of the main black parties, against poverty and the continued domination of the socio-economic life of South Africans by whites".

IFP (118) 30/1/1998

Mzimela hauled over the coals

Talk of merger with ANC forces a public apology, but he keeps his post

The inquisition turned on its chief inquisitor when Inkatha Freedom Party national councillors spent eight hours condemning the actions of party deputy chairman Siphosizwe Mzimela at a private meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

Mzimela, chairman of the party's disciplinary committee and seen as the hatchet man when other senior members displeased the party, was cut down to size by his peers. They censured him with a vote of no confidence and forced him into a humiliating apology. His sin: publicly suggesting without consultation the unification of Inkatha and the ANC.

Mzimela's performance and health during the past year have concerned party leader Mangosutho Buthelezi. Mzimela is reported to be disgruntled with the party, the reprimand was also a reminder to councillors of the perils of stepping out of line in Inkatha.

Among the witnesses of Mzimela's fall from grace were the ghosts of witch-hunts past, including former provincial premier and party chairman Frank Mdlalose, former general secretary Ziba Jiyane, Peter Miller and Mike Tarr.

It was, nevertheless, surprising to many of his peers that despite the condemnation, Mzimela's status in the party and his position as Correctional Services Minister (one of three Inkatha Ministers in the GNU), remain intact.

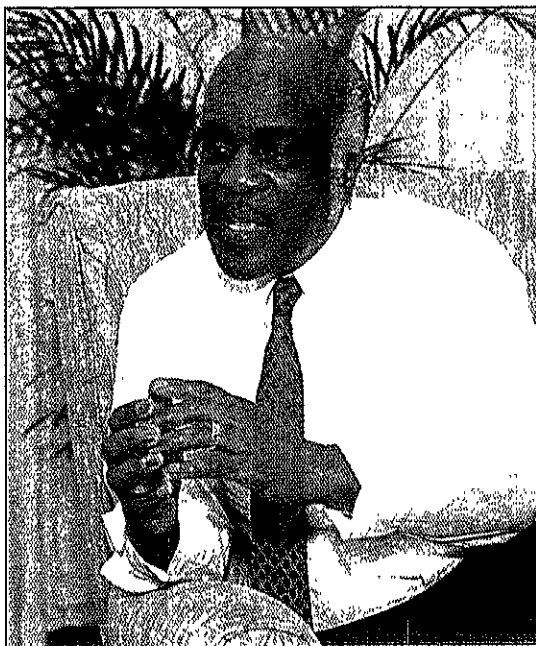
That could change quickly. The national council decided to leave it to Buthelezi to decide on the errant official's fate. Though Buthelezi says he won't be rushed into a decision, party chairman Ben Ngubane's comment that Mzimela has already been punished suggests no further retribution.

Former Inkatha member Walter Felgate says that Buthelezi is unpredictable and could go either way. "He has a tendency to keep a threat as close to him as possible so he's unlikely to throw Mzimela out of the party. He could, at a wild guess, spin the issue out until the party's mid-year annual congress. Either way, however, whether Mzimela stays in the party or leaves,

Buthelezi has got what he wanted," says Felgate, now an ANC member.

Mzimela would not comment but Felgate believes the shorter the time he stays with Inkatha, the longer will be his political life. "The problem is that few politicians will jump unless they have somewhere to go."

Making the whole episode even more curious is the fact that 18 months ago Mzimela led low key talks at a national level with Thabo Mbeki on closer co-operation between the two parties, and it is perhaps understandable that Mzimela endorsed the concept in a November *Sunday Times* article after it was mooted by ANC firebrand Peter Mokaba. He stressed that he was expressing his own opinion rather than the party line.



Siphosizwe Mzimela . . . cut down to size by his peers

The article brought swift and stinging rebuke and denial from Buthelezi which then prompted Mzimela to claim that the knives were out and people in Inkatha were baying for his blood. He anticipated expulsion at the weekend showdown.

In a further twist, prior to Mzimela making his apology to the national council, he apparently phoned Mbeki who was travelling in West Africa, and tried (unsuccessfully) to call President Nelson Mandela.

Though he told the council the call was unconnected with his apology, councillors speculated that it was a last minute check to see whether the ANC had a place for him or if he would be able to hold on to his ministerial post in the event of leaving Inkatha. If that was the case then the answer to both questions was undoubtedly "no".

Herb Payne

SEX, LIES & THE WHITE HOUSE

Can Slick Willie tough it out?

Even if Clinton survives, anxious Democrats may see him as a liability

For years they've called him the Comeback Kid. But just how embattled US President Bill Clinton is going to bounce back from this latest crisis is what is intriguing the armies of commentators who roam Washington.

With the White House ringed by satellite trucks of the world's television media, the atmosphere resembles that of a medieval siege.

For almost a week, it was hard to find a talking head who would confidently predict a Clinton escape from the doubly damaging charges that he conducted an adulterous sexual relationship with intern Monica Lewinsky (21), and then told her to lie about it under oath.

Yet as the second week of the scandal began, the first indications that the President may have just enough "wiggle room" to make another escape *a la* Houdini began to creep into the national debate.

Interestingly, it was not his allies in the Democratic Party who expressed the belief that the President could ride out the remaining three years of his term — but some of his most vociferous opponents in the right wing of the Republican party.

Terry Eastland, a former special prosecutor (like Clinton's tormentor Kenneth Starr), this week gave the President a better than two-thirds chance of shaking off his adversaries. "I would predict that Clinton will prevail," he told the *FM*. "The odds are perhaps 60%-70% that he will finish his term."

Byron York, one of Washington's best known conservative investigative reporters — and no admirer of Clinton — takes a similar view. "The President has a legal training and an astutely legalistic mind. He will say to the American public, 'I am just dying to tell you my side of the story but unfortunately the whole matter is sub-judice'."

The argument is a simple one. If Clinton can prevent any more scantily clad spectres from flying out of the White House closets, he will hunker down behind the lawyerly argument that nothing can be said until the Paula Jones sex harassment case goes to court. That date is firmly scheduled for May 27 — a comfortable four months away.

Mzimela's cabinet post appears safe ... for now

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he did not plan to meet President Nelson Mandela to discuss his party's vote of no confidence in Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela.

This means Mzimela's ministerial job is safe for the moment, as the constitution requires Buthelezi to consult Mandela before Mzimela can be sacked from the cabinet.

However, there is a strong indication that Mzimela is on probation in the IFP — because he backed the idea of a merger with the African National Congress (ANC) without canvassing his colleagues — despite his “unqualified public apology and retraction” at a recent IFP national council meeting.

“Why must I meet (Mandela)?” Buthelezi said when asked.

“It is not necessary.”

He said a statement by IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane at the weekend was the “latest authoritative word on this matter”. He was “not prepared to amplify on the statement”, but the media would be

B05/2/98 (110)
informed if anything changed.

Concerning Mzimela, Ngubane said: “An apology is something more than a few words uttered at a meeting.

“A genuine apology is a change of conduct which results in a different type of political behaviour.”

While the national council had no confidence in Mzimela at present, it could regain its confidence in the IFP minister if his apology “grows over time into a new approach to politics and he reforms his way”.

Giving credence to the view that Mzimela's job was safe for the moment, Ngubane said: “For this reason, the resolution of the national council could not draw an immediate consequence following from the no-confidence motion, because one must see how the living apology, rather than the few words spoken, can indeed repair the damage done to the IFP's image and constituency.”

The IFP national council “withdrew” its confidence in Mzimela at a meeting in Ulundi at the end of last month because he had, it resolved, breached party protocol and discipline.

IFP not opposed to merger with ANC

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Both Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and IFP cabinet colleague Sipo Mzimela spoke yesterday about closer co-operation with the African National Congress (ANC), neither ruling out the possibility of a merger.

Mzimela, on probation in the IFP for publicly backing the idea of a merger without canvassing his colleagues, told a parliamentary briefing: "If the parties were to merge, it would be good for the country." However, he said a merger "does not mean one party must disappear into the other".

While he believed a merger was beneficial, there were alternatives for co-operation as shown by coalition governments elsewhere.

Mzimela believed there were more advantages than disadvantages to a

merger. "When I analyse the parties, I see little difference between them."

Sapa reports that at a separate news briefing Buthelezi did not rule out an alliance or election pact, but said there were no immediate plans. "There is a whole year before elections; no one can predict what will happen."

He declined to comment on the implications for multiparty democracy of an alliance between the ANC and IFP.

Mzimela said he did not agree that a merger would be inconsistent with multiparty democracy. SA already had seven parties, and he predicted more by next year's election.

In December, Buthelezi dismissed as unrealistic a merger with the ANC in the current political climate, saying political violence was continuing, as were constitutional differences. He indicated yesterday that the future of Mzimela, who is IFP deputy national

chairman, was secure after his unqualified public apology and retraction at a recent IFP national council meeting.

Buthelezi said the matter had been dealt with in a "very dignified manner" by IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane, who in response to Mzimela's apology said the matter depended on how his deputy conducted himself.

Mzimela said there was a "distinction" between his censure for not first consulting his colleagues on the matter, and a debate about his "personal views" in favour of a merger with the ANC. He said he had not discussed the matter with the ANC. He did not think the IFP "should be afraid" of discussing the issue, and suggested the best forum would be the IFP national council.

Mzimela is the first senior IFP leader to support a merger publicly, mooted by ANC deputy presidential candidate Jacob Zuma more than a year ago.

Mzimela awaits Buthelezi's wim

(11B)

After the IFP national council's vote of no confidence in him for supporting an ANC / IFP merger, Mzimela's IFP career rests in one man's hands, writes
CHRIS HLONGWA.

HE ONCE wrote a book *Whither South Africa?* The title could now be adapted to *Whither Sipo Mzimela?* after the IFP national council in Ulundi gave him a thumbs-down last Saturday for his support of an IFP/ANC merger.

Buthelezi, it appears, insisted that IFP deputy chairman and Correctional Services Minister Mzimela restate his support for the proposal that caused his dramatic and decisive repudiation. After Mzimela was roundly condemned for the "bizarre" proposal and forced to apologise to Buthelezi and the IFP national council the council passed a vote of no confidence in one of its highest ranking members and one of only three IFP ministers in President Nelson Mandela's cabinet.

The decision has put Mzimela's political career in the IFP at the mercy of Mangosuthu Buthelezi — who could, at best, demote him.

Mzimela said later he did not regret his stance. His support for the merger was directed at ending the rivalry between the ANC and IFP and ultimately ending the bloodshed that has devastated the province for almost two decades.

He has, it is understood, been speaking to President Mandela or Deputy President Thabo Mbeki about the latest developments.

Mzimela apparently finds it difficult to understand the condemnation by IFP members concerning a subject which "is widely and openly discussed inside and outside South Africa".

Buthelezi, after being handed the resolution on Mzimela by the national council, said he would not act quickly or rashly.

Never before has one's future depended so heavily on one man.

Were he to leave the political stage to devote more time to the priesthood, the political arena would lose one of its most colourful and controversial protagonists.

Some call him a maverick and unprincipled, others independent-minded, because since May 1994, he has made some turbulent speeches.

He slammed the idea of providing condoms for prisoners and supported a bill preventing juvenile delinquents from being held in prison for more than 48 hours.

He is also on record as supporting the legalisation of dagga as "an African tradition".

Mzimela's habit of speaking his mind has seen him rapped over the knuckles by Buthelezi on more than one occasion.

Speculation was that he would not last in the largely undemocratic IFP atmosphere.

The IFP is regarded as the pri-

vate fiefdom of the overpowering Buthelezi. The national council was not democratically elected, but appointed by Buthelezi himself.

Ironically, even while castigating Mzimela, the council tried to address the matter of its undemocratic image by commenting on its vibrant internal democracy, "once again demonstrated by the manner in which the party has debated, tolerated and finally handled the embarrassment of his conduct".

Mzimela's CV reveals a cosmopolitan, educated man. Born in Durban and raised in an ANC family, he wanted to become a priest but trained instead as a teacher at the famous Adams College near Durban.

He took part in non-violent struggles but in 1960 when the government began attacking peaceful demonstrators, he became disillusioned and left.

In an ANC camp in Tanzania, the organisation decided he should undergo further education rather than military training.

He studied in Czechoslovakia but became disenchanted with communism, and went to West Germany where he obtained an advanced degree in business and rejoined the church, becoming an ordained priest.

He later read for a doctorate in Ethics at New York University, and at the same time held office as deputy ANC representative to the United Nations in the US.

He moved to Kenya to teach and work with South African refugees. There he became disillusioned with the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance and resigned from the ANC.

In 1987 he returned to the US and founded the South African Education Fund for South Africans studying in America.

In 1990 he was appointed IFP representative to the US and four years later, minister of works in the former KwaZulu.

Mzimela is the author of a booklet, *The Truth About Inkathagate*, and three books — *Apartheid, South African Nazism, Whither South Africa?* and *Marching to Slavery: South Africa's Descent To Communism*.

In the latter he attacked President Mandela as a criminal and opportunist.

However, his support for the merger emanated

from a profound respect for the president, whom he said should be thanked for his immense contribution to the country.

□ The IFP appears to be embroiled in a mass exodus of office bearers. High-profile leaders moving away from the party's centre stage include former KwaZulu-Natal premier and party national chairman Frank Mdlalose; Gauteng leader Musa Myeni and former secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane; Dr Dennis Madide, a member of the national parliament; Walter Felgate, Buthelezi's right-hand man and the first white to join the party, and most recently Ed Tillet, an IFP spokesperson for the past six years.

Others who are believed to be on the way out are Deputy Minister of Safety and Security Joe Mathews, chief whip Mike Tarr and Local Government and Housing Minister Peter Miller.

But they have all strenuously denied that they are thinking of packing their bags.



MAVERICK MINISTER . . . The sword of Damocles hangs over Sipo Mzimela's head.

Mzimela steps down from IFP post

ET 2/4/98 (110)

DURBAN: Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela has been relieved of his duties as the Inkatha Freedom Party's deputy chairman due to ill health, the IFP announced yesterday.

IFP spokeswoman Ms Laretta Ngcobo said Arts and Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali had been appointed acting deputy chairman

until such time Mzimela was fit to resume his duties.

Ngcobo denied the decision to temporarily replace Mzimela had anything to do with his call last year for a merger with the African National Congress.

Mzimela was berated by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his call last year for

the IFP to merge with the ANC.

"It has nothing to do with that situation. He is just ill."

With regard to Mzimela's duties as Correctional Services Minister, Ngcobo said it was an issue to be dealt with by national government, which would have to decide whether or not he was fit to continue in that post. — Sapa

Ngubane under pressure from senior IFP officials

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal premier Ben Ngubane appears to be under pressure within the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), with some senior members suggesting that party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi become the provincial premier candidate for the 1999 elections, an IFP source said yesterday.

It was understood that IFP secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo was among IFP members who made the suggestion at a recent national council meeting.

Ngubane said yesterday that there was not "really" a discussion on the matter, and it would be inappropriate for him to comment further as council matters were confidential.

The source said Khumalo was Buthelezi's close confidante and it was unlikely that he would have raised the matter without the IFP leader's approval.

However, this did not mean Buthelezi wanted to be the premier candidate. Broaching the

possibility was aimed more at keeping Ngubane "on his toes" in the provincial government, and to remind him "who the boss was", the source said.

Khumalo denied raising the possibility and said he had "no problem" with Ngubane.

He said the IFP had formed a commission several months ago, under the chairmanship of iNdllovu regional council chairman Johan Ngcobo, to prepare for elections. Khumalo said R50m had been mentioned as the amount required to wage the election campaign.

Ngubane, the IFP national chairman, was an ex-officio member of the commission, he said.

Observers said that Ngubane had reduced his government responsibilities.

He recently relinquished the finance and gaming portfolios to local government MEC Peter Miller.

Ngubane seems to be assuming a higher public profile and promoting the IFP's policies in the run-up to next year's elections.

The latest evidence of this was

his address to the Institute of Race Relations last week, where he launched a stinging attack on central government policies.

The IFP envisioned development rather than transformation, as transformation led to the drafting of legislation which reintroduced "racial classification in the name of employment equity", Ngubane said.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said only a leader who had no future in a predominantly black party would express such a view.

It seemed as though Ngubane was seeking a "job in the white establishment, maybe the business sector", Makhaye said.

Ngubane dismissed his claims as "absolute twaddle".

Meanwhile, the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal was planning to hold a conference in July where a decision would be taken on who its provincial chairman would be.

Makhaye said that the general feeling within the party was for the chairman to qualify as the premier candidate.

ND 20/4/98

(118)

115

ter Dullah Omar phah shah passed the
awaw gurnam tu tu in nadi amam
saw

the permit they health
gurnam gurnam gurnam gurnam

ANALYSIS

Mzimela saga exposes who is who in IFP

Are some people more equal than others in the Inkatha Freedom Party and its race the dividing criterion, asks Dumisani Makhaye

80 6/5/78

SIPD Mzimela, Inkatha Freedom Party minister of correctional services and recently demoted IFP deputy national chairman, seems to be in hot water again over his May Day call for blacks to vote "as one" in coming elections. He is threatened with being hauled before an IFP disciplinary committee and a possible expulsion from Parliament.

Not long ago, Mzimela called on the African National Congress and the IFP to merge to present a common front to deliver to their constituency — the poorest of the poor — and to end political violence, especially in Kwa-Zulu-Natal. Common fronts in the face of a national catastrophe — the apartheid legacy — are not unknown in modern history. Take the example of Europe after the Second World War where patriotic political forces had to close ranks in the face of the national tragedy. They had to unite before they separated.

For saying the obvious, Mzimela was roasted alive not only by his own party but also in many editorials and by white parties. The IFP national council "unanimously" passed a vote of no confidence in him for having made a statement on a policy matter without first consulting IFP party structures. Is this lack of party discipline?

After this episode, Mzimela was replaced by Lionel Mshali as the IFP's deputy national chairman on the grounds that Mzimela was too sick to chair IFP national council meetings occasionally and yet fit enough to head correctional services. Mzimela said there must have been a mis-

understanding between himself and the IFP delegation because they were not conversing in Zulu but in English. He claims to have been suffering from "a bout of politician's". Strong words indeed.

Let us see how far party discipline goes within the IFP. We have not been favoured with the IFP policy position on the co-operation between the IFP, Freedom Front, National Party and Democratic Party to oppose the ANC. We therefore assume that the IFP has no such position.

Jurie Mentz, a former NP MP who crossed the floor to the IFP on the eve of the 1994 elections, wrote in a Durban newspaper last month that "the consolidation of opposition on principled grounds becomes not merely necessary but also urgent. The outlines of a consolidated opposition are already clear. The IFP is its backbone.... Add to this the qualities of political and organisational skills which the NP, DP and Freedom Front can bring together and it is evident the opposition parties have the makings of a government in waiting...."

Indeed, this smacks of racism. The IFP, presumably with a black majority, must provide the brawn while the DP, NP and Freedom Front, presumably with white members and leadership, must provide the brains.

We do not hear any word of censure against Mentz by the IFP and the media. Is it because

he was articulating the IFP policy of uniting with white rightwing parties against the ANC? Is it really an IFP position? Where is party discipline when it comes to Mentz? Perhaps the answer lies in the difference between the surnames of Mzimela and Mentz.

Let us take another example. IFP treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer claimed on television that if the use of Afrikaans was reduced on television, there would be a blood-bath. Is this IFP policy? If not, what is being done to Konigkramer?

A few weeks ago, a Sunday Tribune article claimed that Konigkramer had worked for apartheid intelligence and some foreign intelligence services, spying even against his own leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The IFP spent more than R100 000 on advertisements in newspapers refuting that allegation. That is how far the IFP goes to defend one of its own.

The names of many black IFP leaders, including Buthelezi, have been justifiably or unjustifiably dragged through the mud claiming their collusion with the apartheid security forces in the murder of our people. An example is the recent truth commission hearings in Richards Bay. We have perused newspapers trying to find IFP adverts refuting those allegations. There are none. Is it true that IFP leaders are equal but white leaders are more

equal than others?

Recently, the appointment of Lt-Gen Si-phwe Nyanda as head of the SA National Defence Force was welcomed by all political parties, including the NP, Freedom Front and DP, even though these parties had some reservations. All of a sudden, the IFP's Phillip Powell came up with a statement condemning Nyanda's appointment. Was Powell articulating the IFP's position? If so, it would indeed be strange because the IFP never complained when white generals such as Constand Viljoen, Magnus Malan, Kat Liebenberg, and Georg Meiring were promoted to that station.

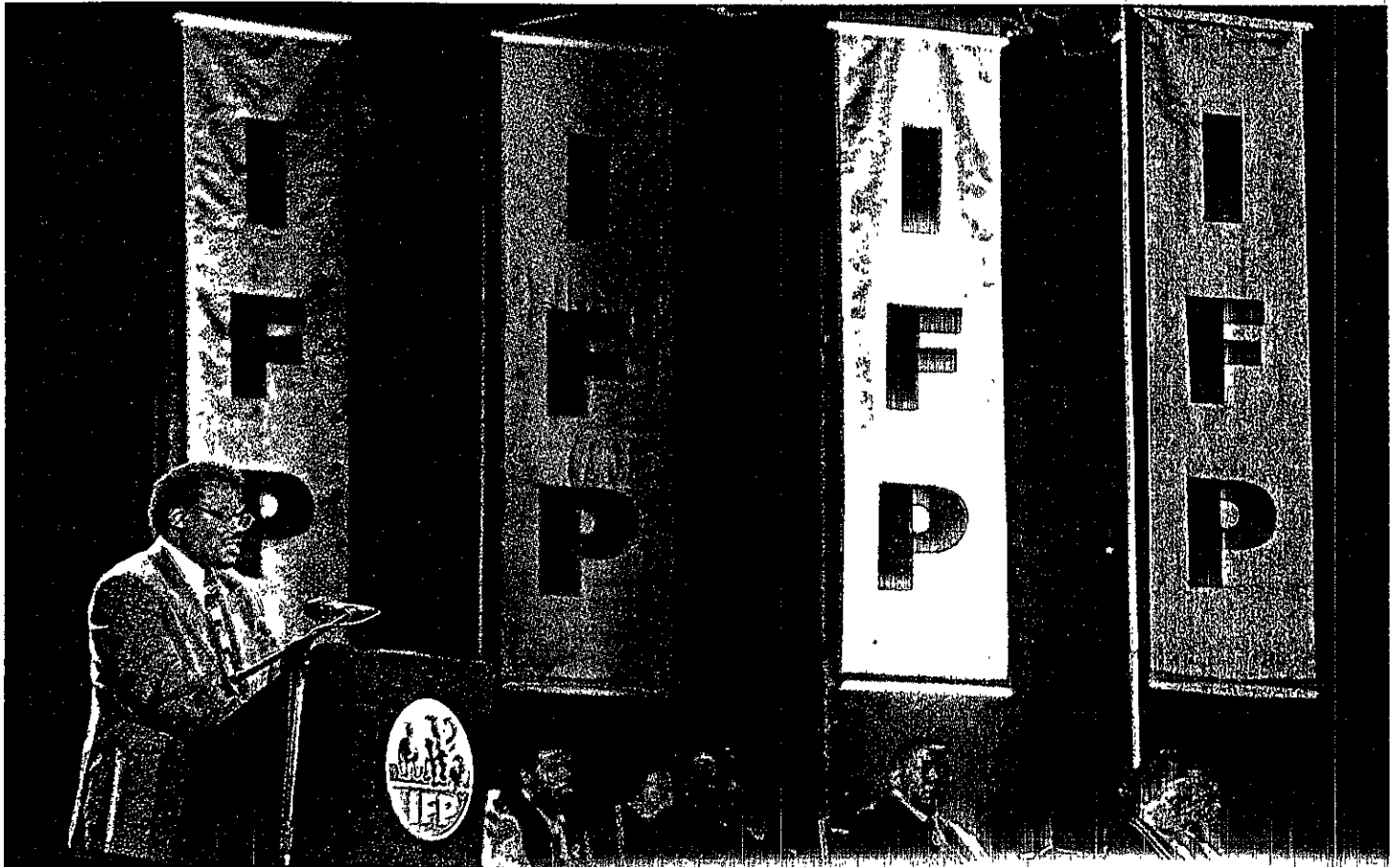
What is it that the IFP was getting from the white generals that they fear will be stopped by this distinguished black officer? One hopes Powell was not expressing the view of the IFP's collective leadership but his personal opinion. But we have learnt from the IFP itself in the case of Mzimela that expressing personal opinions in the IFP is a treasonable offence. One hopes we will see action against Powell.

This analysis leads us to ask who the force is in the IFP which provides ideological, political and organisational leadership. One knows that the main force, as opposed to the principal force, is the rural poor. But is the principal force really articulating its true interests or is the rural poor being used as a stepping ladder for alien white privileges?

□ Makhaye, ANC KwaZulu-Natal MP, is writing in his personal capacity.



POLITICS



JUMBO FACE-LIFT: Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a weekend ceremony in Durban to unveil his party's new logo.

PICTURE: THE MERCURY

Buthelezi unveils IFP emblem of 3 elephants

JOHANNESBURG: Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Mangosuthu Buthelezi unveiled the party's new emblem yesterday to supporters who gathered in Library Gardens.

Buthelezi told his supporters the emblem, a family of three elephants, represented the IFP's commitment to bring power, courage and determination to government.

"We have chosen the elephant as our new party emblem because we want to bring to the country a strong but kind leadership for a stronger but kinder country," he told the gathering.

Buthelezi, accompanied by KwaZulu-Natal Premier Ben Ngubane, IFP MP Ruth Rabinowitz, diplomats from Zambia, Zimbabwe and Brazil as well as local IFP leaders,

told his supporters they had gathered "to bring together people of goodwill in a new struggle for hope, integrity, morality and discipline".

"Today the circle of Inkatha Freedom Party is growing wider and wider and is bringing together all South Africans of goodwill and sound morality," he said.

Buthelezi said South Africans were eager to hear the IFP's mes-

sage which they had not heard before the 1994 elections as the IFP had joined the electoral process only seven days before.

"Several problems confront our country and many of them could have been mitigated had the IFP been heard on time. Too much suffering has been endured because what the IFP had to say was not heard and accepted." — Sapa

ET 17/6/98

(110)

IFP's newly unveiled logo symbolises prosperity, stability

By HOPEWELL RADEBE
Political Reporter

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday unveiled the party's new emblem, a family of three elephants, saying it represented the party's commitment to prosperity and political stability.

"We have chosen the elephant as our new party emblem because we want to bring to the country a strong but kind lead-

ership for a stronger but kinder country," he told about 300 supporters and diplomats at the Johannesburg Library Gardens.

The IFP's elephant logo symbolised its commitment to use power for the good and benefit of poor communities, Buthelezi said.

He said central Government should let provinces be responsible for most policy formulation and day-to-day decision-making.

(115)
"Co-operative governance has become co-optive governance and provinces have become oxen dragged by their noses in a centrally driven and unified process of formulation," Buthelezi said.

"The IFP wants to empower people and not to relegate them in opposition ... it is not our bidding to become an opposition party, but to challenge SA to bring governance down to where it belongs, to the people."

IFP changes its logo to emphasise independence

Farouk Chothia
and Primarashni Pillay

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has adopted a new logo to emphasise its independence as a political party in the run-up to next year's elections. Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it the weekend.

His comments suggested that the IFP had ruled out the idea of a merger with the African National Congress (ANC) before the elections, nor was it keen to form an alliance with opposi-

tion parties

Buthelezi and IFP national chairman Ben Ntshane unveiled the new logo of three elephants at values in Durban and Johannesburg over the weekend. The elephants replace a logo made up of a three-member team.

Buthelezi said the elephant also encapsulated the IFP's commitment to family values.

"The elephant is very powerful, very gentle... The elephant looks after itself and its young," he said.

The IFP, Buthelezi said, had also

chosen the elephant as it symbolised the party's desire to bring "power, courage and determination into the government of the country."

SA needed a strong president, but also strong premiers who would keep his powers in check.

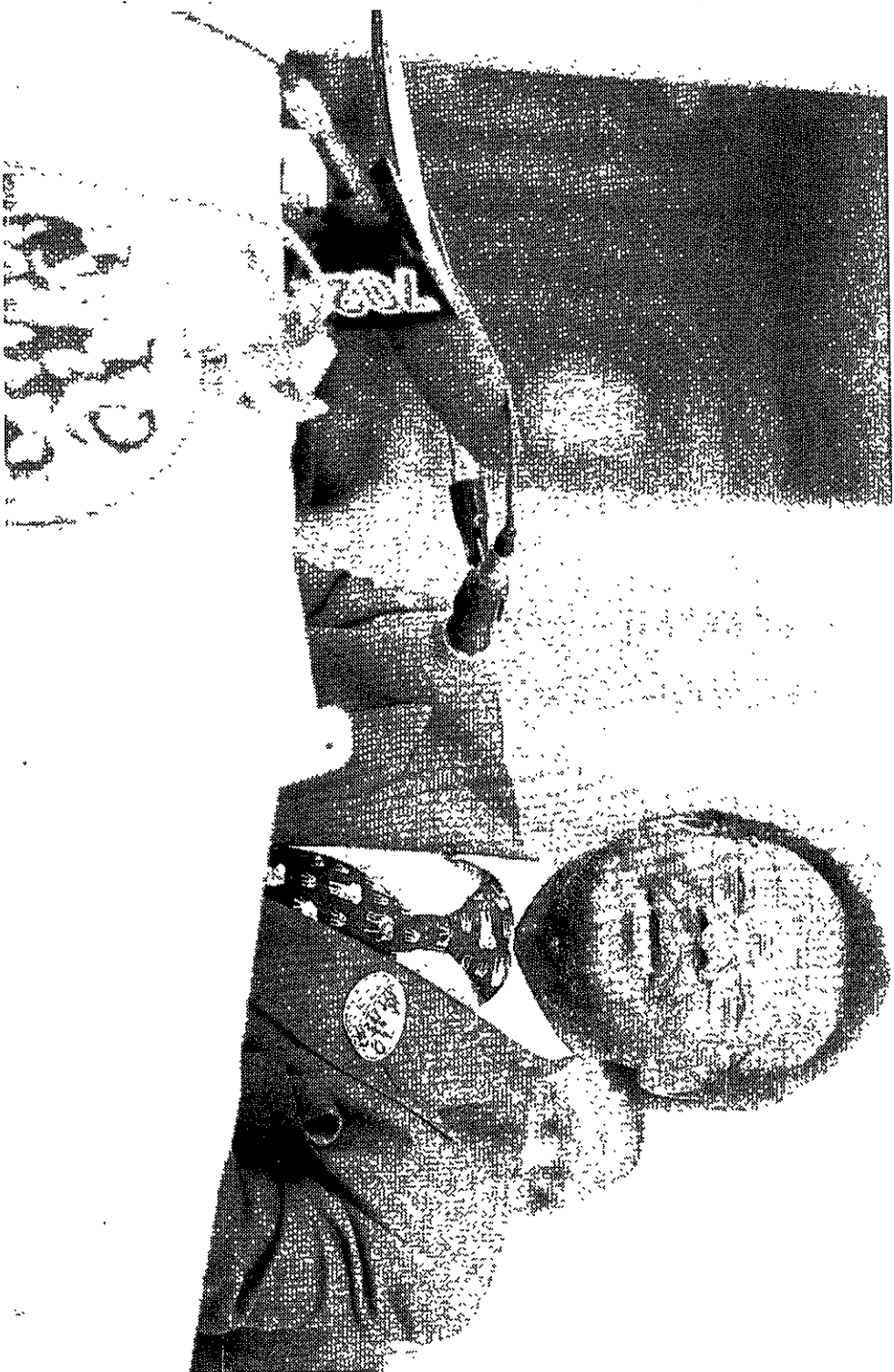
He said the man politician seemed to be "incubated" by the "merit-go-round" of political realignment but the IFP wanted to emphasise its independence.

The IFP supported the emergence of a national consensus on values and a

vision for SA, but differences among parties, particularly on the implementation of policy, would remain.

Joblessness was the biggest challenge facing SA. Central government had adopted the correct policy to accelerate the growth but the policy had become "paralysed".

Growth targets had fallen behind because of "ambivalence" on the part of central government. SA needed a government which would not be intimidated by trade unions and "communist cliques", Buthelezi said.



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed supporters at the launch of the party's new logo at the Johannesburg Library Gardens yesterday.

Picture: Trevor Samson

IFP ... a party for all

THIS WEEKEND the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will hold an historic annual general conference. To appreciate the significance of this forum, one has to understand where Inkatha comes from and what we have struggled to achieve over the past 23 years.

The IFP has always seen itself as the rightful heir of the original legacy of our liberation movement, before it took the ill-fated turn of the armed struggle.

We have always believed in self-help, self-reliance, non-violence, passive resistance and negotiations. We have remained true to this liberation strategy as originally devised by the founding fathers of the African National Congress (ANC). The IFP came out of the stable of these values and ideas.

The ANC leadership in exile, who promoted the armed struggle, created a new power base for our liberation movement, sidelining many of our community leaders.

In a quest for political hegemony within the liberation movement, the armed struggle turned against the other components of our struggle and the political opponents of the ANC leadership in exile.

The IFP opposed this process because we saw how it subverted our otherwise stable communities and we predicted that it would leave behind a legacy of violence and rebellion.

As a result of our principled position, the IFP became one of the major targets of the armed struggle.

Because of these internal political dynamics within the liberation movement, some segments of the liberation movement erroneously considered the IFP an enemy.

Other segments, those who were opposing liberation, looked upon the IFP as an ally.

The last two years have brought to light the truth of the past and have seen the development of a reconciliation process between the IFP and the ANC, which has my full and unqualified support.

However, we should not gloss over the political violence of the past and the present and the important real issues which affect the country. We must examine thoroughly all these issues.

The IFP has seldom been concerned about issues of alignment and the politicking of posturing. We have always kept our eyes fixed on those few objectives which we deemed crucial to our mission and to South African politics.

Our objective is simple. We have always wanted a new country in which we can build sufficient opportunities for all South Africans to conduct a free and dignified life in a framework of freedom.

For us the only relevant political question at any given time has been: How do we get closer to this objective?

(119)
The IFP's annual meeting will focus on creating opportunities for all South Africans, Inkatha Freedom Party leader **Mangosuthu Buthelezi** explains.

Sowetan 17/7/98



IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says South Africans should be self-reliant.

We believed that the 1994 elections should have marked a fresh start and a clear breakaway from the legacy of the past. For this reason the IFP sought to establish a completely different type of government structured on the basis of a maximum devolution of power and pluralism.

We did so not because we are enamoured with any particular form of government, but because we realised that the proper functioning of government is an essential component in the equation of prosperity.

We were right because the government's centralised and top-heavy organisation explain its insufficient delivery.

The IFP has always sought to bring people together because we believe that in the end the type of profound change needed to redress South Africa's dramatic social and economic imbalances requires the contribution of all.

I brought together people from across racial and ethnic divides about 15 years before the day of our liberation when I established the Buthelezi Commission. Its goal was to promote an institutional process of transformation in which the more affluent segments of our population could become responsible for the poor.

Political liberation has left open some of the

major issues of transformation. These must now be addressed with the same spirit of transformation and negotiation which inspired us in the past.

During the first legislature, the IFP has tried to focus debate on the broad and bitter issues of transformation. Promoting economic growth is the government's first and most important responsibility.

Our fight against poverty and crime depends upon the economy's status. During the past three years I have often urged Parliament to adopt hard economic options.

We need to separate the people of goodwill who are willing to build a new country and make the required investments and sacrifices from those who wish to take advantage of the present situation for self-promotion, greed and personal ambition.

We need a new pool of shared values which recognise the importance of discipline, productivity, self-help and self-reliance. The time for the euphoria of liberation is over. We must now focus on the real issues.

Against this background our conference will try to speak not only to our constituency, but to the whole of South Africa and to all political leaders who have integrity and a sense of responsibility.

We do not see this conference as an opportunity for the IFP to speak to the IFP for the IFP's sake. We see this conference as an opportunity for the IFP to speak to all the people of goodwill for the sake of South Africa.

What we have to say may not be what many people may like to hear, but I hope that it will be a message that people will recognise as true and necessary. Our message is one of hope through responsibility and collective efforts.

I hope that all South Africans will follow attentively my message at the conference because it carries an important warning which the country must heed if we are to succeed. I want the country to succeed as the alternative is not even in my book.

It would be improper for me to speak ahead of time, but I feel that our conference theme encapsulates the challenge of South Africa. The theme is: "The IFP in government to build a new South Africa with the effort of all and for the benefit of all."

(Chief Buthelezi is president of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Minister of Home Affairs.)

Mzimela loses leadership post

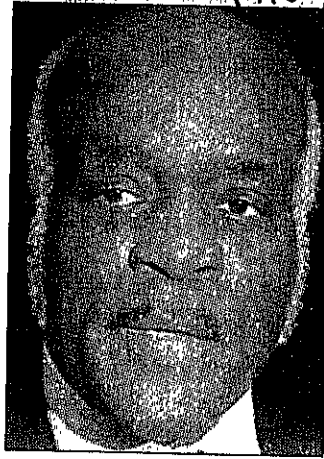
BY JOVIAL RANTAO
Political Correspondent

Ulundi - Relations between Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela and his party, the IFP, have totally broken down and Mzimela might be removed from the Cabinet.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he had had several discussions with President Mandela to discuss the political conduct of Mzimela, who landed himself in trouble when he wrote an article advocating a merger between the IFP and the ANC.

Mzimela was yesterday removed as national chairperson and replaced by Dr Lionel Mtshali, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

Buthelezi said relations be-



Ousted ... Sipo Mzimela

tween the party and Mzimela had collapsed to an extent that the minister was not on speaking terms with the party leadership.

"He doesn't greet me or

talk to me. He doesn't speak to anyone," Buthelezi told a press conference.

He said Mzimela had refused to meet with the IFP component of Parliament's portfolio committee on correctional services, which had wanted to question some of the decisions the minister had taken.

Mzimela had also failed to attend a meeting to resolve the impasse between committee members and himself.

The meeting was to be chaired by Mtshali.

Mzimela had also raised the ire of the IFP leadership by asking Sports Minister Steve Tshwete to stand in for him during his absence instead of entrusting the responsibility to one of his IFP colleagues.

MONTHS OF SECRET TALKS WITH ANC

CT 21/7/98
**IFP rules out merger,
but pledges support**
(110)

THE ANC'S VIGOROUS COURTSHIP of the IFP and its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has paid dividends. **JOVIAL RANTAO** of our Parliamentary Bureau reports.

ANC president Thabo Mbeki has outmanoeuvred opposition parties by securing the support and co-operation of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi and the IFP have been the subject of vigorous political courtship by opposition politicians eager to reinforce opposition to the ANC. At one stage Mbeki himself agitated for a merger between the ANC and the IFP.

Buthelezi has ruled out a merger with the ANC but said he was more than willing to play a role in the governance of South Africa after the 1999 elections. He said a merger was not necessary for the parties to work together for the benefit of all South Africans.

Buthelezi's statement follows months of secret talks with Mbeki, during which his future role and that of the IFP was discussed. Although Buthelezi has not been offered the second deputy presidency, his future role in government has been raised with him by

Mbeki, who appealed to him to remain in the government after the 1999 election.

Mbeki, sources said, had told him that the ANC would not be rigid about what kind of government there would be after the election, nor would Buthelezi's role be affected by the outcome of the election.

"He wants it to be dictated by what the government wants to achieve and not by the provisions of proportionality," a senior government official said.

Following the discussions and the role that Mbeki and Buthelezi have played in and outside South Africa, the deputy president attended the IFP's 23rd conference and was impressed with the content and tone of Buthelezi's speech.

At the conference Buthelezi declared his intention to remain part of the government. He made it clear that the ANC and the IFP

should rise above their political differences to bring about the changes necessary for national consensus.

In a clear indication of the role that the IFP would play, Buthelezi said it was it absurd to think that the party of goodwill should be in opposition to the government of the country.

"The IFP is asking the people of South Africa to support it to remain a force in government and to carry their voice, their moral fortitude

and their commitment to our future into the governance of the country," he said.

Besides having been asked by the ANC to stand in as acting-president on nine occasions, Buthelezi has been working with Mbeki on

consolidating the peace process in KwaZulu-Natal, on addressing the concerns of the Afrikaner community and in helping to restore peace and stability on the African continent.

Co-operation between the ANC and the IFP would put paid to the hopes of the re-alignment of opposition politics to prevent a stronger ANC after the 1999 elections.

*Buthelezi's
role will
not be
affected
by the
election*

IFP pragmatic as moderates take charge

Sechaba ka'Nkosi

The newly elected African National Congress chair in KwaZulu-Natal has vowed that next year's elections will happen on non-violent terms — or not at all.

S'bu Ndebele, who took over the reins from outgoing provincial party chair Jacob Zuma this week, said his first priority would be to make sure violence and intimidation play no part in the general elections.

"No party will be able to win these elections on the basis of violence," Ndebele said, adding that any results influenced by violence should be deemed invalid. "If necessary, South Africa can go on without KwaZulu-Natal. We will wait until our elections are free and fair."

Despite continued peace talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party, fears are high that the province may experience a return to the violence that haunted the 1994 elections.

A ready many of KwaZulu-Natal's rural areas are tense, and over the past few months a number of violent deaths have been reported in Gilebelands, Lindelani, Izin-gotweni, Nongoma and Richmond. However, Ndebele said the ANC-IFP

ated with violence in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng in the 1990s to lead its election campaign.

As the party plotted the future during its 23rd national conference in Ulundi last week, Phillip Powell, David Ntombela, Nyanga Ngubane and Mario Ambrosini did not feature prominently.

IFP president Mangosuthu

Buthelezi made it clear during his address to the conference that the party has moved away from anti-African National Congress rhetoric to a more pragmatic approach.

Reminding delegates that the presence of ANC president Thabo Mbeki and treasurer general Mendi Msizungu at the conference did not mean differences between the two

parties have been sorted out, he warned that the elections would not only be based on those differences.

"We cannot allow this election campaign to become an opportunity for mud-slinging and for an escalating trading of political insults," said Buthelezi. "We must allow debates to flourish, which undoubtedly requires free and robust polit-

ical criticism when it is due. "However, we should avoid calling on the electorate to vote for the dog that barks the loudest, for he is not necessarily the one who will bite the hardest in the end."

Moderate heavyweights such as Lionel Mtshali, Joe Matthews, Faith Casa, Ellen kaNkosi Shandu and the relatively unknown Ben Skosana were assigned the crucial provinces of the Eastern Cape, North-West, Northern Provinces, Mpumalanga and Gauteng respectively. The task of retaining the IFP stronghold in KwaZulu-Natal has been left to Ben Ngubane, the provincial premier and the party's national chair.

The sacking of Minister of Correctional Services Sipho Mzamela as the party's deputy national chair and a scathing attack on the ANC's provincial leadership were also seen as strategic sacrifices by Buthelezi to make to appease the membership.

This year's gathering was marked by an absence of the drama and rhetoric that has characterised previous IFP conferences.

The role of traditional leaders, the devolution of more powers to provinces and the attitude of the party towards the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were mentioned as points thwarting hopes of a merger and long-term co-operation between the IFP and the ANC.

Buthelezi told delegates political hatred is still part of the agenda in some ANC circles. "This is a painful reality that we cannot wash away and which is jeopardising the possibility of national consensus."

IFP election committee head Joseph Ngcobo admitted that while the party cannot wish for an outright victory in all provinces, it is happy to focus its energies on consolidating areas which could give it the potential to shed its image as a province-based, predominantly Zulu party.

"We have decided to use our own structures from all levels of government to ensure we win the elections next year. At the moment some of those structures are already in operation and some are still being nurtured," said Ngcobo.

Conspicuously absent from the party's election programme was the exact role traditional leaders are expected to play in the campaign. The fact that most traditional leaders are openly aligned to the IFP is seen by opposition parties — particularly the ANC — as a stumbling block to permanent peace in the province.



S'bu Ndebele: 'No party will be able to win these elections on the basis of violence.' PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY RALSCOPPAUL

Much of the party's new election strategy lies in increasing its number of rural voters. It is a task which brings the party up against the *amakhosi* (chiefs).

In his final speech as ANC provincial chair at the party conference last weekend, Zuma identified the urgent need to resolve the role of traditional leaders in the province. The issue is a thorny one, as many of the traditional leaders have a perceived allegiance to the IFP.

These leaders have an immense following in rural areas, which could translate to votes if they are granted executive powers in Parliament.

The ANC and IFP are still at loggerheads over the extent of political powers that the *amakhosi* should be given. Zuma said both parties need to agree on a role for the *amakhosi* which will "not undermine their dig-

ity and status but enhance it, while [they do] not operate as ordinary elected politicians."

Zuma said the official ANC line is that "involving traditional leaders in the hurly-burly of modern politics is degrading to their positions".

Ndebele said this week: "Any *inkosi* should be above party politics. If [chiefs] want to participate in politics, they must elect an acting chief to take on their responsibilities while they are in their elected positions."

The ANC is also focusing on attracting votes from minority communities. "Six votes make a difference. You can even win the elections by two votes," Ndebele said.

The ANC has already devoted considerable energy to wooing the Indian vote. Indians number less than a million in South Africa, but most of them live in KwaZulu-Natal.

New man talks tough

For the new ANC chair in KwaZulu-Natal, peace is a priority, writes Swapna Prabhakaran

talks about peace will reach a conclusion within the next two months.

"We have moved from a situation of war to a situation of no war, but we do not yet have peace," he said. "Establishing peace is the route to democratisation of the province — absolute, unconditional peace."

Ndebele, the man most likely to become premier if the ANC wins the province, is aware the key to his priorities would be the ANC's ability to penetrate rural KwaZulu-Natal — long considered an IFP stronghold. He is also aware the threat of violence has previously inhibited the party's campaigns in those areas.

Once peace is established, along with a strictly enforced code of conduct for both parties, those areas will become open hunting grounds for much-needed votes.

"In the last elections, the IFP got 1.8-million votes; we got 1.2-million. Under conditions of peace, the chances of the ANC are extremely good. We are quite confident we will win the elections," Ndebele said. The ANC is sure of the support of the urban majority, and local government election results show that its support base in the cities is enormous.

The newly elected African National Congress chair in KwaZulu-Natal has vowed that next year's elections will happen on non-violent terms — or not at all.

S'bu Ndebele, who took over the reins from outgoing provincial party chair Jacob Zuma this week, said his first priority would be to make sure violence and intimidation play no part in the general elections.

"No party will be able to win these elections on the basis of violence," Ndebele said, adding that any results influenced by violence should be deemed invalid. "If necessary, South Africa can go on without KwaZulu-Natal. We will wait until our elections are free and fair."

Despite continued peace talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party, fears are high that the province may experience a return to the violence that haunted the 1994 elections.

A ready many of KwaZulu-Natal's rural areas are tense, and over the past few months a number of violent deaths have been reported in Gilebelands, Lindelani, Izin-gotweni, Nongoma and Richmond. However, Ndebele said the ANC-IFP

'Defiant' Mzimela axed

ET 31/7/98 (118)

ANDRE KOOPMAN

CORRECTIONAL Services Minister Sipo Mzimela has been axed at the request of Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, following consistent defiance of Buthelezi and IFP leadership.

He is to be replaced by IFP parliamentary caucus chairperson Ben Skosana.

President Nelson Mandela agreed to a request from Buthelezi to withdraw Mzimela from the Cabinet, a government statement said yesterday. Skosana's appointment would take effect as soon as formalities had been finalised.

Mzimela has come under heavy flak from his party recently for announcing a possible IFP/ANC merger. He was increasingly sidelined by the parliamentary caucus



HOT SEAT: Ben Skosana

and was axed as national deputy chairperson of the IFP at its conference earlier this month.

In an interview shortly after his appointment Skosana confirmed that Mzimela had been axed at

Buthelezi's request and said the decision had been taken at the IFP's national council.

Mzimela had been fired not primarily because of his merger statements, but because of the manner and timing of his pronouncements.

He could not be reached for comment yesterday but his spokesperson Bert Slabbert yesterday said he did not know whether Mzimela would stay on as an IFP member of Parliament.

Mzimela has been praised by MPs for his work as Minister of Correctional Services.

Skosana said yesterday soon after his appointment that he felt "humbled" but was "appreciative that my own president has confidence in my abilities". He looked forward to his new job.

R10m legal aid for IFP

(116) (116)

M+G 10-16/7/98

The taxpayer footed the bill for the 177 IFP participants in the Shell House inquest, writes Mungo Soggot

The Legal Aid Board paid almost R10-million for the Inkatha Freedom Party's legal representation at the Shell House inquest last year — as much as the board's annual allowance to university legal aid clinics.

The IFP confirmed this week that the 177 applicants who received legal aid in the inquest belonged to the party and were represented by seven legal teams, each with at least an advocate and an attorney.

The board cannot fund political parties. It said it paid applicants in their private capacities.

The inquest, in the Johannesburg High Court, probed the deaths of 17 people killed in an IFP march on Shell House in March 1994.

The African National Congress did not receive any financial assistance from the board for its legal team. A representative of the ANC's legal team confirmed the ANC had footed legal bills for all members.

ANC participants in the probe — 13 allegedly involved in the shooting and 30 additional witnesses — were represented by one team of four advocates and two attorneys.

The board said this week it paid the 177 applicants an average of R56 000. Senior legal aid official Peter Brits said the pay-outs ranged from R27 390 to R84 906 a head, stress-

ing the board could not pay for the party or for senior officials who were too wealthy to qualify for the taxpayer's assistance.

The IFP's chief whip, Koos van der Merwe, said one of the advocates from the seven teams also represented the party and senior officials who would not have qualified for legal aid.

The taxpayer's bill for the inquest also included the police bill for two advocates and an attorney, who cannot be funded by the board.

The inquest found that no one could be held criminally liable for the deaths. Judge Robert Nugent rejected most of the evidence presented to the inquest, saying it was unreliable.

The Legal Aid Board, which has an annual budget of R300-million, is due to be revamped by a team of lawyers and interested parties awaiting the go-ahead from Minister of Justice Dullah Omar to transform the legal aid system.

The team has already clashed with the existing board, calling on the chair, Judge Chris Plewman, to resign. Plewman's term of office expires in September.

One of the changes being proposed is to set up new legal aid clinics countrywide which will be staffed by law graduates, who will be obliged to do a one-year internship.

Tony Richardson, the co-ordinator of the legal aid transformation team, says that the 21 university legal aid clinics in South Africa — which are co-funded by the Legal Aid Board — will probably be expanded as part of the new legal aid system.

Richardson said the Shell House pay-out equalled the amount the board paid these clinics, which struggle to secure other funding.

C

Mzimela dismissed as IFP deputy chairman

Farouk Chothia

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national conference yesterday ratified Sipo Mzimela's dismissal as party deputy chairman, with leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi hinting that he also risked losing the post of correctional services minister.

Buthelezi told a media briefing at the weekend that Mzimela was not on talking terms with him, or anyone else in the IFP. Mzimela did not have the "basic courtesy" of greeting him and

even when you greet him, he does not respond", Buthelezi said.

When Mzimela was absent from Parliament, he asked African National Congress (ANC) ministers — rather than his IFP colleagues — to answer questions on his behalf. He also had Sports Minister Steve Tshwete, rather than an IFP member, act as correctional services minister when he was ill.

Buthelezi said the IFP component of Parliament's correctional services

BD 20/7/98 Continued on Page 2

Mzimela (110)

Continued from Page 1

BD 20/7/98
portfolio committee had made numerous attempts to meet Mzimela to discuss problems they had with some of his viewpoints. Mzimela refused to attend the meetings. He did not attend the national conference either.

The conference approved a decision taken by the party's national council in March to pass a vote of no confidence in Mzimela and to replace him as deputy chairman with Arts and Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali.

Buthelezi had discussed the "delicate" issue of Mzimela's presence in the cabinet with President Nelson Man-

dela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki several times, but he could not divulge details.

Observers pointed out that Mzimela's relationship with the IFP began plummeting last November when he publicly called for a merger with the ANC, sparking a row with the party.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi said there could be an agreement for the IFP to continue co-operation with the ANC after the elections.

ANC leader Thabo Mbeki was given a warm welcome at the conference, with delegates bursting into chants of "Mzizi, Shenge (the respective praise-names of Mbeki and Buthelezi) — bring us peace". Mbeki said the IFP and ANC benefited from participating in a government of national unity.

More blood spilled as IFP fighting rages on

CP 20/9/98 (110)

Police arrest 11 and seize 30 guns



SNUBBED ... Supporters ignored Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for peace at Lindelani on Friday.



POWER STRUGGLE ... A High Court has ruled that IFP strongman Mandla Shabalala be reinstated.

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was snubbed by hundreds of his warring Lindelani supporters who attacked each other with stones and sticks moments after he made an impassioned plea for peace.

The factions fought each other as they were leaving the Thomas Mandla Shabalala Stadium following a brief speech by Buthelezi who had set aside his commitments for the day to urge peace among his followers.

The groups glared at each other and passed hostile remarks during the Friday meeting which was aimed at bringing them together after Wednesday's massacre of six members.

Buthelezi expressed concern about how the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would fare in next year's general elections - just 200 days away - when it was so divided.

Earlier in the day, when IFP spokesman Blessed Gwala asked councillor Victoria Shabalala - wife of one of the protagonist in the bloody conflict - to lead the hymn, followers of rival, local IFP chairman Michael Zulu, grumbled. Buthelezi intervened immediately and called for "one of the women" to lead the singing.

IFP members have been involved in deadly internal squabbles that seem out of control.

Hundreds of people have been driven out of the gun-flooded area, where even youngsters carry R1- and R5 rifles.

At the centre of the power struggle are deposed strongmen Mandla Shabalala and Michael Zulu.

Shabalala said about 60 people had died since April, in the continuing war for control of the sprawling Lindelani squatter settlement - one of the largest IFP strongholds in KwaZulu-Natal.

In his first visit to the area since the violence began, Buthelezi urged the police to arrest those behind it.

"Rumours that some leaders are behind the violence are a disgrace."

A poll puts ANC support in KwaZulu Natal at 41,8

percent compared with the

IFP's 19,3 percent, writes

CHRIS HLONGWA

He said a political solution "by itself does not seem to be sufficient to prevent violence".

Police and the army arrested 11 people this week and seized more than 30 guns in a joint operation between police and the army.

"More people will be arrested. You will be arrested. All criminals will be arrested," Safety and Security MEC and IFP leader Nyanga Ngubane, told the crowd.

Chairman Michael Zulu was recently released on R1 500 bail after his alleged involvement in an attack on Shabalala's brother and the latter's girlfriend.

Buthelezi urged his supporters to isolate self-styled leaders.

Mandla Shabalala has been rejected by the party's national council even though he recently won a High Court application to be reinstated to all the positions he held before he was expelled.

This was amid allegations that he had brought the IFP into disrepute for leading a bloody march in Durban two years ago.

Said Buthelezi: "Elections of IFP structures were held in this region and we are now mourning the deaths of some of those officials who were democratically elected to represent the will of the IFP in Lindelani."

Among those shot dead this week was Harriet

Khumalo, secretary of the Women's Brigade.

A meeting of all Lindelani leaders was planned for yesterday (Saturday) at the KwaMashu council chambers.

Shabalala doubted he would attend as he needed to make burial arrangements for those that had been killed in the violence-torn area.

He said he did not attend Friday's meeting, which was named after him, because he felt his presence would increase tensions.

Buthelezi also expressed concern over the killing of IFP leaders on the South Coast. He felt the killings had not received enough attention in the media or from the party's own structures. It is believed that many of the killings on the South Coast were a result of internal party conflict.

A recent Markinor opinion poll reportedly showed that the African National Congress (ANC) now enjoys more support in KwaZulu-Natal than the IFP.

It says the ANC has 41,8 percent support against the IFP's 19,3 percent.

A further 100 policemen will be sent to Lindelani and the South Coast tomorrow, adding to the already heavy security force presence there.

Buthelezi said he had been in contact with the national defence, and safety and security ministers regarding the violence on the South Coast.

In a recent statement, the IFP called on the people of KwaZulu-Natal to assist refugees who were driven out of the Lindelani area after their homes were burned and people killed.

Large numbers have fled the area following the recent attacks.

IFP purges its ranks of suspected warlords

Separating politics from personal gain within party structures is proving difficult and deadly, writes Farouk Chothia

(110)

DD 2/11/98

THE assassination of Michael Zulu, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) chairman in Durban's Lindelani informal settlement at the weekend, shows that the IFP faces a problem similar to that of the African National Congress (ANC) in Richmond as it seeks to rid its ranks of suspected warlords.

Zulu's assassination has been widely linked to the expulsion from the IFP two years ago of Shabalala, a local warlord who allegedly played a central role in the 1980s conflict with the ANC.

The IFP then chose Zulu as Lindelani chairman, but Shabalala never recognised him as leader. The ensuing power-struggle claimed many lives. When he died, Zulu was facing an attempted murder charge. Shabalala is facing the same charge.

Both men were released by the courts on bail. Zulu was barred from entering Lindelani in terms of his bail conditions. It was in a nearby area that he — and an unidentified person accompanying him — were fatally wounded on Friday when unknown gunmen opened fire on their car.

Network of Independent Monitors field worker Qobs Mfeka says there is a perception in the community that the courts are not evenhanded. Shabalala's bail conditions do not prohibit him from entering Lindelani, and he still lives there.

Violence has continued on and off in Lindelani for the past two years. Mfeka says that since May, more than 40 people have died. The violence is not only about the control of territory, but has also erupted over development programmes initiated by the new government in the area.

There are allegations that in Lindelani, as in other parts of KwaZulu, politicians fuel violence to promote private business interests. Shabalala was expelled from the IFP after his supporters allegedly burnt Putco buses to channel more business to his taxis — a charge that he has vehemently denied in the past.

Yesterday, Shabalala mourned the death of Zulu. Shabalala's claim that Zulu was his protégé shows the shifting alliances in KwaZulu-Natal politics: staunch allies become fierce opponents, or vice versa.

Another example of the shifting alliances was yesterday's joint visit by IFP leaders Blessed Gwala and David Ntombela and ANC leaders Jacob Zuma and Bheki Cele to Kwa-Makhutha to launch an anti-crime campaign. The township, south of Durban, is the place where 13 ANC supporters were killed in 1987 by a hit squad allegedly linked to the apartheid government and its one-time ally, the IFP-controlled KwaZulu homeland government.

Events in Lindelani have followed

a similar pattern to Richmond, where the expulsion of former ANC leader Sifiso Nkabinde turned the town into a bloodbath until a 1 000-strong contingent of security force members moved in earlier this year.

Lindelani does not have a police station, though a satellite station was opened earlier this year.

Police spokesman Bala Naidoo says that a 15-member task team is investigating Zulu's death, about 80 policemen are patrolling Lindelani, and additional policemen are on stand-by in the event of a flare-up.

A third figure caught in the cycle of violence is Victoria Shabalala, wife of Mandla Shabalala, who remains an IFP member and who serves on Durban local government structures.

Last weekend, a large crowd attended a peace meeting where Victoria and Zulu agreed to bury the hatchet. Mandla Shabalala did not attend the peace meeting, but he is in talks with senior IFP leaders in a bid to be reinstated as a member.

Like Nkabinde in Richmond (who was acquitted of multiple murder charges earlier this year), Shabalala has embarrassed his former political allies in court. The Durban, High Court ruled recently that the IFP unfairly dismissed Shabalala from the party, and it should pay him the salary he forfeited since he lost his seat in the legislature.



Left: Flashback - Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (left) and Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi during a ceremony at Blood River on December 16 1998.



Below: Former president of the South African Rugby Football Union Louis Luyt

IFP Whites' exodus

Conservative members prepare to leave party

Sowetan 14/1/1999

By Jimmy Seepe

SPECULATION is rife in Inkatha Freedom Party circles that conservative members who joined the party in the run-up to the 1994 election might leave the party.

Party insiders told *Sowetan* this week that most of the IFP's white conservatives - who hoped to turn the party into a formidable force against the African National Congress - had now realised that would not be possible.

Thing are expected to come to a head in coming weeks when the party starts preparing its list of candidates for both provincial and national government representatives.

Insiders said most of the conservatives were now looking at joining the newly launched party

of former South African Rugby Football Union supremo Dr Louis Luyt.

Luyt formed the Federal Alliance party, hoping to attract disillusioned white conservatives from the New National Party, Democratic Party and IFP.

There is also speculation that some of them could join the Democratic Party as it is now seen as the only challenge to the ANC and is seen as an embodiment of white values.

Some of the members are said to be adopting a wait-and-see attitude. Sources said they wanted to see if they would be included on the party's list.

The possible exodus from the IFP comes at a time when the relationship between party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC presi-

dent Mr Thabo Mbeki is at an all-time high. Buthelezi is tipped to become the country's Deputy President after this year's election.

During the past month, a serious rift developed between IFP's senior white members and its black leaders. Most of the whites, who in the run-up to the 1994 election acted as the party's spokesperson, have now been silenced.

Concern among other conservatives in the party has been heightened by suggestions that the IFP could reduce the number of white MECs and MPs who joined the party without delivering a constituency.

But a more serious rift in the upper structures of the party is said to be between KwaZulu-Natal MEC for finance Mr Peter Miller and Premier Ben Ngubane over the granting of gam-

bling licences.

It is alleged the rift centres around whether one of the licences should be given to Add-Venture World consortium, headed by former ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, or one run by former IFP general secretary Dr Oscar Dloomo.

Apparently Miller would like the licence to go to Ramaphosa's consortium while Ngubane favours Dloomo's company.

Last week, Ngubane forced Miller to provide an extra R4 million in funds after it became apparent that the provincial legislature would have to stop work without additional funds.

The legislature ran out of funds last year and had to plead with Miller's office for more funds. The office argued that it was given R43 million instead of the R53 million it had requested.

Unrepentant Mzimela sticks defiantly to his guns

BD 19/2/99 (11B)

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party MP Sipo Mzimela, charged with breaching the party's constitution and code of conduct, stuck to his guns yesterday, saying South Africans would not survive if they employed politics of "cowardice".

Mzimela's outburst came after he was told to appear before a disciplinary inquiry headed by KwaZulu-Natal premier and IFP chairman Lionel Mtshali next Wednesday.

Mzimela was sacked as the IFP's deputy chairman and correctional services minister after falling out with the IFP leadership.

The IFP's decision to charge Mzimela comes in the wake of an attack on the party by Mzimela in a weekend newspaper article in which he accused it of being a dictatorship.

Mzimela's attack came after the sacking of Ben Ngubane as KwaZulu-Natal premier by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi a few weeks ago.

Mzimela said the charges levelled at him were not specific.

"The net is cast quite wide but I am going there with an open mind," he said.

Asked to comment on the state of his relationship with Buthelezi, Mzimela said he had not seen Buthelezi since last year.

He said some of his colleagues in the African National Congress, of which he was a member before defecting to the IFP in the late 1980s, had told him while in exile about "things" happening inside the country relating to the IFP, but he had chosen to ignore them.

"It was only in 1994 when I came back that I came to realise what kind of an organisation this is," he said.

Mzimela said he recently bought the truth commission report and studied the volumes.

"What the report said about KwaZulu-Natal and IFP totally disgusted me," Mzimela said.

"Whatever (feeling) I had (for the party) started to cool off. I still cannot believe what the report says, but it is there in black and white."

He denied that he planned to defect to the United Democratic Movement, saying he had not had any contact with the organisation. Mzimela said he was still an IFP member.

The IFP could not be reached for comment.

Dramatic changes in KZN IFP leadership

By CHRIS HLONGWA

IN the most dramatic political comeback in KwaZulu-Natal in recent times, controversial former Inkatha leader Mandla Shabalala will be sworn in as Inkatha member of the parliamentary legislature at Ulundi tomorrow.

The Lindelani township strongman has been in the cold for more than two years since he was expelled by the national council for allegedly bringing the party into disrepute by leading an unsanctioned march through Durban which ended in a shootout with police.

He fought his expulsion in the Pietermaritzburg High Court and after a lengthy trial won an order to be reinstated into the party.

CP 27/2/99
Now he not only has his position back, but will also get more than R1 million, including compensation for salaries and allowances he would have enjoyed in the last two years if he had been a member of parliament.

"I'm IFP and the IFP is me," said Shabalala yesterday, dismissing speculation that he was ever likely to join forces with the United Democratic Front after his expulsion.

"All is forgiven now, I've put everything behind me," he said.

He said his main wish now was to take part in the peace structures "since I know violence from the inside".

Lindelani has experienced terrible violence since his expulsion.

Shabalala, one of the most effective organisers of the party, could

(11B)
boost the dwindling support of the IFP.

He said he already has a political programme to fight the forthcoming elections.

Shabalala replaces Bellinda Barrett, who defected this week to the Democratic Party, saying the party "was promoting only Zulu nationalism at the expense of other races".

As Shabalala moves back, and as Barrett moves out, the future of former national chairperson Dr Sipo Mzimela hangs in the balance after he suggested the party leadership was lying about the reasons for Dr Ben Ngubane losing the premiership of the province.

He labelled the IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi a dictator.

Mzimela will face the disciplinary committee on Friday.

POLITICS

IFP expels Mzimela for violating party protocol

(11B) BD 25/2/99

Article on 'dictatorial' Buthelezi led to former minister's expulsion

Farouk Chothia and Sapa

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) yesterday expelled MP Sipho Mzimela from the party after finding him guilty of violating party discipline.

The decision followed an article Mzimela wrote in the Sunday Times earlier this month, accusing IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi of being dictatorial over the dismissal of Ben Ngubane as KwaZulu-Natal premier.

After his expulsion, Mzimela denied that relations between himself and Buthelezi had deteriorated to the point where they no longer greeted each other.

"This is not true. You see what he wants is not for me to say hello to him ... but rather to kneel down and bow for him. I refuse to do that to anybody, except God," Mzimela said.

Mzimela was once a close confidant of Buthelezi. After they fell out,

he lost his post as correctional services minister and IFP deputy chairman. Ironically, Mzimela was once also chairman of the committee which expelled him.

IFP chief whip Koos van der Merwe, who chaired the committee yesterday, said Mzimela faced two charges — bringing the party into disrepute and failing to attend party meetings. He was acquitted on the latter charge after producing a medical certificate which exempted him from meetings.

However, Mzimela was found guilty on the former charge. He committed a serious offence by writing the article in the Sunday Times. He brought the party into disrepute, and sought to injure the reputation of the party and its officials. The only applicable punishment was immediate expulsion, Van der Merwe said.

Mzimela described as preposterous claims that he brought the party into disrepute.

"When I returned from exile in 1994 I found the party already in disrepute," he said.

Mzimela said he, along with former IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane and Buthelezi's former close aide Walter Felgate, had tried in vain to modernise a "political dinosaur".

He expected a few more intellectuals to quit the IFP as the party's culture stopped them from speaking out, and openly questioning issues.

United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa said the party wanted to sign up Mzimela as a member. The UDM could, he said, benefit from Mzimela's experience in politics, and he could form part of its "intelligentsia".

Mzimela confirmed holding talks with Holomisa and UDM deputy leader Roelf Meyer. The talks centred on the "ins and outs" of the UDM.

He needed to take advice from family and friends, before deciding on his future, Mzimela said.

bid to scuttle KZN peace

ANC provincial chair S'bu Ndebele believes that the commission should not only investigate the alleged training of hit-squads for the ANC by Excalibur security company, but also allegations that Khulani Security (formerly Springbok) is providing military training to the IFP.

The situation is further complicated by allegations that a National Intelligence Agency report has named several IFP leaders allegedly involved in providing military training in the province. The agency's senior manager, Dennis Nkosi, said intelligence agents had discovered mobile training units in the province, providing evidence of a third force.

"Mtshali comes as a hardliner bent on consolidating party political power rather than governing the province. I don't think there's still massive support of people who are still inclined on hard-core politicking as underlined during the pre-1994 election," said University of Durban-Westville political scientist Dumisane Hlophe.

"The bulk of political mentality has shifted to matters of development. We may be moving to an electoral choice based on the ability to deliver, rather than the mainstream political rhetoric we saw before the 1994 elections."

His sentiments are echoed by Ndebele, who said: "Even in the IFP there are too many people who are tired of war. Peace has powerful enemies who are well placed even in the security forces, but it will prevail."

Ndebele wants Mufamadi's inquiry to examine all evidence ranging from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's investigations to information placed before courts and the provincial legislature.

This, according to Ndebele, should improve the prospect of free and fair elections. "The question of peace must move as speedily as possible and must be made compulsory, as is the case in Gauteng," said Ndebele, adding that those who fall out of the peace settlement should meet the full might of the law.

The shaky KwaZulu-Natal peace process is a product of many months of tough negotiations between the ANC and the IFP following the ANC's rejection of the provincial results of the 1994 elections, which the party believed was irregular.

Following President Nelson Mandela's intervention, the ANC accepted the results and both parties started looking at ways of achieving peace in the province. "The ANC really thought about where we want to take the province," said Ndebele.

May 27 1996 was to be a turning point where all parties would reach a formal agreement denouncing violence. This would be followed by a delegation from both parties to brief their principals in Cape Town. "We could not believe it ourselves," recalls Ndebele.

Support for the initiative was secured from Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Buthelezi before a delegation from both parties met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to tell him that "the war is over".

At the provincial ANC conference in December 1996, a special amnesty for the province was mooted. This was discussed at the presidential level of the two parties, followed by one-to-one meetings between Mbeki and Buthelezi.

The two agreed on co-operation between

the IFP and ANC before a team of three senior leaders from each organisation was appointed to work on the modalities of peace before this year's elections.

Members of this team include ANC secretary general Kgalema Motlanthe, treasurer Mendi Msimang and deputy chair Jacob Zuma. Senior IFP officials who form part of this committee include Mtshali, former IFP Youth Brigade leader, Musa Zondi and the Reverend CJ Mthethwa.

That process made significant progress until the IFP's withdrawal of Ngubane as KwaZulu-Natal premier. However, there are those in the ANC who believe Mtshali's position could be a mere strategy for elections.

"The stakes are too high for any party to back out of the peace initiatives. Peace is going

to prevail even though we can be at the height of our anger," insisted Ndebele.

According to Hlophe, KwaZulu-Natal does not need a typical political party animal. "It needs a diplomat like Ngubane.

"Mtshali has already alienated himself from other political parties. He came to the province through stormy waters caused by Ngubane's departure.

"He should have attempted to calm down before making any major decisions. He should have concentrated on winning the hearts and minds of his political rivals."

Hlophe lamented the perceived departure and demotion from the IFP of talented intellectuals like former premier Frank Mdlalose, Oscar Dlamini, Ziba Jiyane and Mzimela in favour of the perceived party hardliners.

MTG 5-11/3/99

(116)

Moderate: Ben Ngubane has been replaced as premier by a hardliner



Racist editorial comment embarrasses the IFP

Durban - The IFP yesterday called for drastic disciplinary action over the publication of an editorial in Tuesday's *Ilanga* newspaper.

The editorial, written by *Ilanga* editor Amos Maphumulo, expressed hope that maybe one day an African woman would be blessed with giving birth to an Idi Amin in South Africa.

It also accused the Indian community of oppressing blacks and of fuelling black-on-black violence in the past by

providing black youths with firearms.

A translated version of the editorial from Zulu into English said: "There is also no doubt in my mind that foreigners such as whites and Indians in this country are praying on a daily basis so that black people never unite because they want to suppress them and rule over them for ever."

The IFP owns the Mandla Matla Publishing company which owns *Ilanga*.

IFP spokesperson Musa

(110) Shar 26/3/99
Zondi said: "This editorial is highly embarrassing to the IFP and we regard it as nothing short of internal sabotage."

He said the IFP had a large Indian constituency, which it deeply respected. "We are concerned that whoever was responsible for the writing of this editorial is playing with fire and is fanning the flames of anti-Indian feelings among Africans.

"In a province such as KwaZulu Natal, which has been engulfed in violence for a very

long time, any such reckless ideas or careless and racist words may have the power to spark further violence."

Zondi described the editorial as the ranting and raving of someone who had lost his mind.

The IFP caucus in KwaZulu Natal called for the dismissal of those responsible for the editorial. "Racist remarks such as those in the editorial have no place in South Africa or any other decent society," the caucus said in a statement. Sapa

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

TAMING THE ELEPHANT

Could the IFP lose its independence and identity after June 2?

FM 14/5/99 (110)

Though the IFP only just made it on to the ballot paper for the first democratic elections in 1994, it may not feature on many post-millennium ballots. Despite an upsurge in violence in IFP-controlled KwaZulu-Natal in the run-up to the June 2 election, the ruling ANC and the IFP have already formed a new black power bloc, one which could see the smaller partner, Inkatha, lose its raison d'être as politics moves increasingly to this new centre.

Nationally, the leaders of the ANC and IFP speak the same language and, often, you cannot tell the sound-bites of one from the other. Both talk of "national consensus", "delivery" and the need for black "economic freedom".

On the hustings, any talk of a merger between the two is forbidden, but it's an open secret that IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take a top position in the next government.

First prize for him would be the Deputy Presidency, though his supporters also moot the possibility of the Foreign Ministry. Both are suitably high profile jobs "befitting his stature".

The way in which the IFP has been brought into the fold and neutralised in the past five years is a feat of political finesse in which the peace has been the biggest gain, despite sporadic outbreaks of violence in KwaZulu-Natal

Take, for example, last Sunday's election rally at Alexandra near Johannesburg, where Buthelezi addressed a packed stadium in the early Nineties and on the eve of the last election, Alex was a Gauteng satellite of the war in KwaZulu-Natal IFP turf was clearly marked. From the hostels, its urban impis trained their guns on young comrades who, in turn, planned hits from their trenches. You entered the no-go Alex zone of "Beirut" at your peril

Five years later, Beirut is a memory and the atmosphere is festive. The IFP's rank and file are less brittle, more confident. The IFP's political space is not contested in

this ANC stronghold. A hawker sells portraits of Buthelezi for R10, the master of ceremonies wishes all women a happy Mother's Day and a dance troupe called the Five Roses takes to the floor while traditional weapons are used as the accompaniment of dance alone.

To roars of approval, Shenge (Buthelezi's honorific title) tells the crowd that "the IFP elephant is not tamed", that it is still a federal giant, and that if power were devolved, Alex wouldn't languish in squalor next to wealthy Sandton because its community would be able to control its own resources and plan for itself.

He adds, vaguely, that the ANC is being distracted from the Growth, Employment & Redistribution (Gear) macro-economic strategy by its trade union and communist allies.

That was the extent of the fire in the 70-year-old chief's belly on this election trail. He and ANC president Thabo Mbeki have gone out their way to be nice to each other. Their entente is not only about peacemaking, but a realignment of politics and black power in SA.

Buthelezi's IFP will emphatically not be

part of any coalition of opposition parties. Instead, it paints for itself a role as a loyal opposition after June

"In this country you need a loyal opposition," says IFP spokesman Musa Zondi. "You need a corrective opposition, not an opposition that stands in the way of government executing its mandate. We need 10-15 years to effect transformation before we can become a normal democracy."

This convergence has been evident in parliament, where, contrary to its philosophy, the IFP has voted with the ANC on matters ranging from affirmative action to a new water law

In its party literature and the media, the IFP is reclaiming a history in the liberation movement. Accentuating all it has in common with the ANC, including race and a working-class support base, the two parties brush away all that has so bitterly divided them, including ideology, hit-squads, and the role of tribal chiefs

For its services as a loyal opposition (and potential counterweight to the ANC's anti-Gear alliance partners, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party), Buthelezi is



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

- * Born 1928
- * Installed as chief in 1953
- * Traces his line back to King Senzangakhona, the father of Shaka
- * Made chief minister of self-governing KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (1972).
- * Inkatha's leader since 1975, Buthelezi nominates its national council. Shows no signs of grooming a successor.
- * Is presently Home Affairs Minister.
- * Chairs the KwaZulu-Natal House of Traditional Leaders.
- * Has been acting President 11 times since 1997. It is a role he savours, seeing himself as an elder African statesman.
- * Tipped to become SA's Deputy President under Thabo Mbeki.

touted for the Deputy Presidency, while one or two Inkatha heavyweights could also be appointed to the Cabinet under Mbeki.

The sprightly Buthelezi declares "there's nothing definite" about the Deputy Presidency, but says the IFP in government can help cement a lasting peace in the country. It's a role he will relish, judging by the 11 occasions on which he has served as Acting President.

Urbane, intelligent and occasionally charming, Buthelezi has always envisioned for himself a far bigger role than his rural KwaZulu-Natal stronghold allows.

In the Seventies and Eighties, he jetted about the world's capitals as the favoured voice of business and thrived in that role. Now he can see himself both as an elder statesman, like Nelson Mandela, and a lieutenant to Mbeki.

Buthelezi reminds interviewers: "I'm younger than President Mandela was when he left jail, and my people are not yet free." The IFP seems to view the Deputy Presidency as a lifeline to ensure it is not confined to the backwaters.

But the depth of political accommodation the IFP can expect on the national stage will be determined by its showing at the polls. According to opinion surveys, its prospects are dismal: the Opinion '99 and HSRC surveys released earlier this month both give the IFP a mere 4% of the vote nationally.

Even in its provincial KwaZulu-Natal stronghold, the surveys point to coalition government. The Opinion '99 survey puts ANC support in the province at 38%, with the IFP lagging at just 20%. In addition, survey respondents gave the IFP-led provincial government a massive thumbs-down.

While Buthelezi says "I never like to be seen to be debunking polls", his aides maintain that the party is once again underpolling. In the 1994 election, the IFP received three times more votes than similar surveys said it would. Even ANC members question the accuracy of the survey figures for the IFP.

"In surveys, the IFP remains a controversial choice," says Mario Ambrosini, a political adviser to Buthelezi. The agents of pollsters are usually young, educated and urban, he explains. To the typically rural and relatively unsophisticated IFP voter, they are seen as agents of the State and consequently IFP supporters will claim an ANC allegiance or none at all.

It's a view shared by pollster Bob Mattes of the Institute for Democracy in SA, a partner in the Opinion '99 survey, who

believes the IFP might do better than the polls suggest because it can capture a large proportion of undecided voters.

"A lot of IFP voters hide in the 'don't know' column. Those who perceive themselves to be in a minority, especially in a conflict situation, will often shut up and not speak," Mattes says.

Party insiders also complain privately that the highly publicised deal with the ANC has dampened grassroots enthusiasm for the election and lost the IFP ground.

So the IFP upped the ante.

Buthelezi replaced the dove, Ben Ngubane, with the hawk, Lionel Mtshali, as premier of KwaZulu-Natal. Provincial autonomy and Buthelezi's almost forgotten call for international mediation on his constitutional demands were brought back on to the IFP agenda, and he urged Mbeki to emulate Tony Blair's devolution of power to Scotland and Wales.

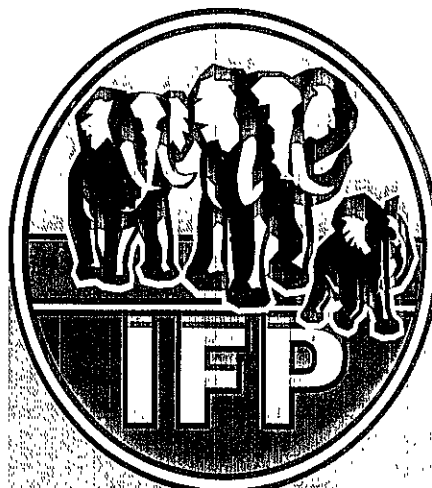
The party moved to seal the support of the *amakhosi* (chiefs) with promises of better resources. And it vowed to press for deep constitutional amendments through the constitutional review committee, where party honcho Musa Zondi serves as the deputy chair.

"The entire IFP campaign became more aggressive," observes Cheryl Goodenough of the Helen Suzman Foundation.

So, the slumbering elephant is up and marking its turf.

But how successfully it can do so after the election is hard to see because that turf is narrowing.

In the Eighties, much differentiated Inkatha from the ANC: the armed struggle, sanctions, socialism and federalism. The parties now coalesce on most policies.



INKATHA'S ROOTS

1928 — Inkatha kaZulu formed to fight Jan Smuts's Native Affairs Bill. Its founding fathers include ANC legends like Pixley kaSeme, John Dube and Josia Gumede.

1975 — Mangosuthu Buthelezi resuscitates Inkatha kaZulu as a cultural organisation, now called Inkatha Yenkululeku Yesizwe. Exiled ANC gives Buthelezi the thumbs-up to start the organisation.

1975-1991 — Inkatha accepts Zulu self-government in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Buthelezi eschews homeland independence; opposes sanctions and the armed struggle. Inkatha and ANC supporters begin a war that continues today.

1991 — "Inkathagate" Revelations of State logistical and military support for Inkatha dent its image and worsen relations with the ANC, which has just been unbanned.

1994 — Becomes the Inkatha Freedom Party. IFP enters election race in final week after holding out for international mediation. Polls: 10.5% of the vote. Wins KwaZulu-Natal in a vote count viewed as expedient. Enters Government of National Unity. Violence is largely quelled.

1999 — Polls give IFP 4% support nationally, and suggest the ANC is closing the gap in the province. But the bigger question is: has a deal been struck? Will a coalition (in KwaZulu-Natal) with Buthelezi as Deputy President?

While Buthelezi says "I am a federalist and I will die one", his party must structure their quest for federalism in a negotiating framework determined by the ruling ANC.

Its package of constitutional demands will be unpacked by the committee chaired by Mbeki confidant Willie Hofmeyr and dealt with "thematically".

Both nationally and provincially, the party is likely to be in coalition with the ANC. While its strategists suggest this will give the IFP a national presence and craft for it an identity as a loyal opposition, this might backfire.

Inkatha's identity already appears increasingly hazy, its positions contrary.

Says veteran IFP observer John Kane-Berman of the SA Institute for Race Relations: "I've always been in two minds about whether the IFP should be in government, but it's been a good thing because it's promoted peace in KwaZulu-Natal." Now, however, Kane-Berman questions whether the IFP can survive at all if it remains in government.

Inkatha also lacks a line of succession, even though Buthelezi is 70. Leaders who showed mettle like former secretary-general's Ziba Jiyane and Oscar Dhlomo, and the two national chairmen Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane, have been consistently sidelined.

The problem for any party in winning greater support is this, Kane-Berman avers: "You must differentiate yourself from the ANC. You must capture the imagination of a growing number of people with credible policies."

The IFP, to the contrary, seems to be losing its distinctive identity which it might regret after time?

Ferial Haffajee

IFP declares end to fighting

star 12/1/99

(115)

Leaders deny knowledge of huge KZN weapons discovery

VENILLA YOGANATHAN, ERIC NDIYANE, JANI MEYER AND CHARLES PHANLANE
Durban

In the face of yesterday's chilling discovery of an enormous stockpile of dangerous weapons, "big enough to launch a full-scale war", IFP leaders are denying any knowledge of a covert operation.

Rallying around IFP MPP Phillip Powell, who yesterday led police to the biggest arms cache to be found in South Africa, the party has reacted by declaring an end to fighting in KwaZulu Natal.

Yesterday's dramatic developments coincided with the province's long-dormant peace process finally getting a kick-start, with the ANC and IFP agreeing to sign a base document this Friday to work towards peace and reconciliation.

But in a more significant breakthrough for peace in KwaZulu Natal, police discovered about two truckloads of 38 different types of "war ammunition" in Nqutu, about 20km outside Vryheid.

The weapons, which had laid buried "for years" under a pile of concrete, were blown up in the presence of Commissioner George Fivaz and the national director of prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka.

Ngcuka said the discovery of the high-calibre weapons, part of the six-ton cache which former hit-squad boss Eugene de Kok had given to Powell, has come as a huge relief to those committed to peace in the province.

In a prompt reaction yesterday, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the arms were collected and hidden without any authorisation on his part. He denied any knowledge of



Phillip Powell

De Kock's arsenal

- 8 RPG 7s
- 188 RPG rounds
- 1 Uzi
- 7 zip guns
- 2 AK-47s
- 1 G3
- 1 R-1 and 1 R-5
- 1 RPD
- 1 Dragonov
- 420 detonators
- 36 trip flares
- 8 rolls of cortex
- 5 rolls of fuse
- 4 312 detonators
- 4 400 long band magazines
- 180 cases of pentolite (400kg each)
- 1 484 M791 rifle grenades
- 928 M26 handgrenades
- 140 anti-personnel landmines
- 10 grenades for 103 rifles
- 272 60mm mortar bombs
- 100 thunderflashes
- 39 anti-tank mines
- 13 cases of PE4
- 3 cases of Sheetax
- 3 cases of PE9
- 10 cases of TNT flakes (200kg each)
- 560 rounds of 7,62 x 51mm for R-1s
- 5 rounds of 7,62 x 39mm for AK-47s
- 2 000 rounds of 7,62 x 25mm

the matter.

KwaZulu Natal IFP Minister of Safety and Security, Nyanga Ngubane, also said that yesterday was the first time he had heard of the arms cache.

But IFP spokesperson Reverend Musa Zondi said Powell

had earlier this week informed party leaders about his intention to inform the police.

He said it was no secret that Powell had been authorised by the former KwaZulu government police to run training at the Mlaba camp.

"We knew he handled some weapons there," he said, but claimed the party had not known the "details of the operation. It was a delicate thing".

Up to 8 000 Self Protection Unit members were trained at the Mlaba camp, according to the TRC report.

Reverend Zondi was adamant that Powell had "committed no crime", saying he hoped police would react to his disclosure with "good faith".

Ngcuka's office has indicated that Powell could be granted indemnity from prosecution if he co-operated fully with the investigation.

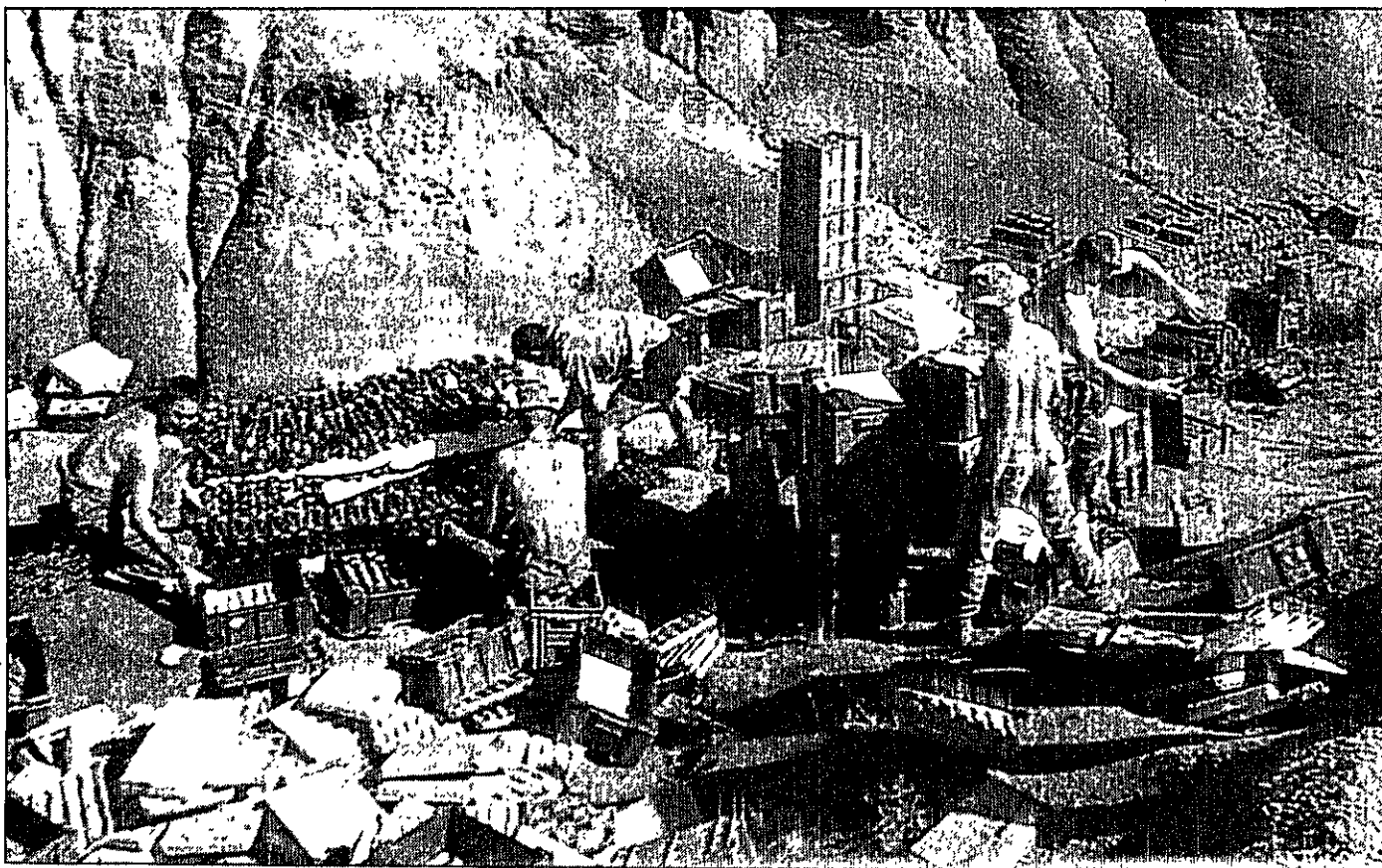
But he said it was clear Powell had not been acting alone. "Certain persons will be in court very soon."

In the TRC report, Powell, Buthelezi, General S M Mathe, Captain Leonard Langeni and members of the KwaZulu legislature and cabinet (not named) were listed as persons who knew of, and supported the project's unlawful aims.

Powell said all the arms which were not used in training were safely stored before the 1994 elections and never opened until this week.

Yesterday, as the explosion of the weapons reverberated for miles around rural KwaZulu Natal, Ngcuka said: "Thank God we have destroyed some of these things before they could reach wrong hands."

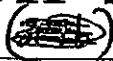
KZN parties to
high peace code
1999.6



EXPLOSIVES... Police explosive experts prepare part of the arms cache that was discovered this week at Nquthu in KwaZulu-Natal. The weapons were pointed out by IFP strongman Philip Powell for demolition. Pic: NATAL WITNESS

Powell's guns: SPU and SAP links

By CHIARA CARTER



plained about a lack of co-operation from the police.

Powell wrote: "If the Department of Police are unable to supply the ammunition then it is suggested that other avenues be examined."

De Kock, at his own trial, said that Powell had told him that he had found a person in Durban who could get better homemade guns.

An intelligence report alleged Powell sold ammunition to IFP members in Patheni and had loading equipment to make ammunition at his home.

De Kock told investigators he delivered six truckloads of weapons to Philip Powell for use in the SPU training project. He said that four KwaZulu government trucks were used on 1 October 1993 and another two trucks on 20 October 1993.

De Kock was introduced to Powell by members of the Durban security branch, while he was on holiday in KwaZulu Natal.

De Kock later went to the police weapons store at Armscor subsidiary, Mechem, to collect ammunition.

According to the amnesty application of Mechem official Johann Ver-

ster, De Kock phoned and asked for all the weapons.

This was apparently approved by Mechem manager Theo van Dyk. The armaments De Kock collected were not only former Vlakplaas weapons but also arms from Mechem.

Another Mechem employee, Martinus Gouws, made a statement in which he listed the weapons and explosives given to De Kock on one occasion - including RPG7s, mortars, hand grenades and cord igniters.

De Kock was no longer in the employ of the SAP at the time but he told investigators that he had used an old police ID card.

De Kock two weeks later collected yet another load of weaponry and also fetched arms stored at a privately-owned plot. The first load was collected by four KZ police trucks allegedly driven by Erick Mbhele, Jethro Ndlovu, a Mr Mhlongo, Sgt Mthimkhulu and Patrick Mbambo.

The second load was delivered to Powell at Ulundi, and Vlakplaas operative Snor Vermeulen helped store the weapons. The arms cache found this week was linked to Powell's Mlaba training camp.

Powell was the driving force behind the Self-Protection Unit training project and was also the Mlaba camp Commander. The camp's origins lie in a meeting on 25 August 1993 which decided to set up a Self Protection Unit training project financed by the KwaZulu government.

Between October 1993 and April 1994, 5 000 to 8 000 IFP recruits were trained at the Mlaba and Emandeni Matleng camps. About 1 200 of these trainees were recalled in April 1994 to be trained as Special Constables. Statements made to the TRC suggest these recruits received training in offensive methods and in the use of unlawful weaponry.

A former Mlaba trainee alleged that they received instructions on how to construct home-made bombs, sabotage vehicles and set alight a bus in a manner which would prevent most passengers from escaping.

Instructors included former Vlakplaas members (including De Kock and Snor Vermeulen), Askaris, right-wingers and Caprivi trainees.

At least some of these people are alleged to have recently restarted training projects in the province

(118) RE CP 16/5/99

ANC slams IFP for failing to discipline Phillip Powell

ED 19/5/99

(11B)

**Pule Molebedi
and Sapa**

DURBAN — The African National Congress (ANC) in KwaZulu-Natal has condemned the decision by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) not to discipline its controversial leader Phillip Powell after he revealed a large hidden arms cache last week.

The IFP's national council came out in support of Powell, saying the acquisition of the weapons should be placed within the context of the conflicts of the past, which was characterised by a low intensity civil war "resulting from unwarranted and murderous ANC attacks on the IFP".

The council condemned statements made by the ANC leadership in the province seeking to criminalise certain IFP members.

Provincial ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday that it was unfortunate that the decision not to act against Powell might be interpreted by many as condoning crime.

He said the stance might also be seen to be based on the fear that Powell would implicate senior IFP leaders in gun-running and political violence.

Makhaye said the ANC be-

lieved the law would take its due course with regard to Powell and other political leaders involved in gun-running and political violence irrespective of their political affiliation.

Meanwhile, Chief Calalakubo Khaluwa, a senior IFP official in KwaZulu-Natal, appeared briefly in the Maritzburg regional court yesterday afternoon on charges of possessing illegal firearms, ammunition and explosives.

Arms cache

Khawula handed himself over to police investigating gun-running in Maritzburg early yesterday morning.

He was accompanied by his legal representative and members of his family.

Khawula was sought by police in connection with the arms cache found in KwaHlongwa near Hibberdene on the lower south coast on Friday afternoon.

The area falls under Khawula's chieftainship.

Prosecutor Cherine Lakhi asked that Khawula be taken to a local hospital as he was ill.

She also asked that the case be postponed until today for a formal bail application.

Khawula's attorney Laurence de Klerk appealed to the court that Khawula be released because he had been arrested on a warrant issued outside the area in which the arms were found.

Khawula's son, Muntomuhle Khawula, president of the IFP youth brigade, confirmed that his father was freed after he had handed himself over to police yesterday.

The arms cache, which while not large in quantity but found to be quite potent, was discovered concealed in a forest in Hibberdene on the south coast and was carefully preserved for quick offensive deployment.

It consisted of five M-791 anti-personnel rifle grenades, 200 rounds of R1 assault rifle ammunition and six M26 fragmentation hand grenades.

The family was however, expecting police to issue a new warrant of arrest.

Khawula, a known south coast strongman, had taken a low profile in politics recently following his deteriorating health.

He was not included in the IFP's electoral list for the same reason and had stopped attending legislature sessions as an MP late last year due to ill health

IFP Youth brigade purge on cards

Pule Molebeledi

ULUNDI — A purge of the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) Youth Brigade is on the cards after the brigade was publicly rebuked by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday.

The reprimand followed reports that there was unhappiness in the brigade with Lionel Mtshali, the IFP's national chairman.

IFP youth brigade chairman Mntomuhle Khawula said yesterday an investigation was likely to be launched to find out which of the brigade's executive members had called for the delinking of the position of party chairman from that of KwaZulu-Natal premier, which Mtshali also holds.

The brigade's executive committee was likely to meet on August 12 to discuss this "embarrassment", Khawula said.

Buthelezi took the 6,000-strong

IFP delegates by surprise when he stopped in the middle of his presidential address on Saturday and asked the entire brigade executive to come forward and explain its opposition to Mtshali's leadership.

Khawula and his executive reaffirmed their unqualified support for Mtshali, and came one by one to the conference podium to pledge their allegiance to him.

S'thembiso Mbatha, the IFP's Paulpietersburg district chairman, was also ordered to apologise to the conference for his public call last month for the replacement of Mtshali as KwaZulu-Natal premier.

The conference passed a resolution backing Mtshali, who replaced Ben Ngubane as KwaZulu-Natal premier in February.

In his chairman's report, Mtshali said he had expected fierce opposition from the African National Congress (ANC) when he assumed the premiership, but "little

did I anticipate rejection from some elements in the IFP family".

Buthelezi complained about the "endemic" problem of disloyalty displayed by members of the IFP's national council who talked to the media about party matters.

He said "one-upmanship" within IFP structures had cost the organisation dearly in the recent June 2 elections.

"You will notice that in those areas where leaders are engaged in this infighting, the party did not do so well," Buthelezi said.

He also complained that most leaders did not work hard enough during the elections. "We (have had) an opportunity at this conference to be alone as a party; we should have used it to undergo a purging process," he said.

The conference expressed support for the coalition provincial government with the ANC, but said the IFP had to maintain its policies

(11B)

BD 2/8/99