

BLACK POLITICS — HOMELANDS

1993

APRIL — JUNE

NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt AIDS decision

GOVERNMENT will not be making the HIV infection and AIDS notifiable, in line with the AIDS advisory committee's advice, National Health Minister Rina Venter has told Parliament. She says HIV infection should be made notifiable only if linked to mass screenings, which are not feasible in SA.

MP defects to Inkatha

INKATHA gained its second MP in the House of Delegates yesterday when Tongaat representative Michael Abraham left the NP to become the fifth Inkatha representative in Parliament. Abraham is also a former DP member.

Homeland assistance

THE four independent homelands received R6,12bn in assistance from SA during the 1992/93 financial year, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday. Bophuthatswana received R2,3bn, Transkei R2,2bn, Venda R665,6m and Ciskei R914,1m.

SA gains doctors

SA GAINED a large number of professionals last year, particularly in the medical field, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday. Last year 289 doctors immigrated to SA against 35 who emigrated.

REPORTS Political Staff, Political Correspondent

Govt changes stance on VAT rate dates

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Government has announced that the old VAT rate will still apply for goods supplied before April 7 but delivered before April 28, reversing its previous stance.

The provision of a 21-day period of grace follows urgent public representations, particularly from Sacob, which argued that applying the new VAT rate to goods delivered after April 7 was administratively complex and unjust.

Opening debate on the VAT Amendment Bill in Parliament yesterday, Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said urgent representations had been received in the last few days from vendors, whose commercial practice it was to deliver goods to their clients a few days after the sale transaction had been concluded.

They argued the present provision in the VAT Amendment Bill resulted in friction between vendors and their clients, Alant said. An amendment would be introduced later in the session in terms of which the supply of goods which took place before April 1, and where the goods were delivered within 21 days, would be subject to the lower rate of tax.

Similar representations had been received concerning lay-buy sales, and an amendment would also be introduced on this issue.

The legislation would also provide that the old VAT rate would apply where the agreement had been entered into before

April 7 even though the goods were delivered at a later date.

DP MP Geoff Engel said during the debate his party would not support the Bill because government was steadily bastardising a fine system of tax collection into one that would become unmanageable.

Sapa reports he said government was shifting a greater portion of the tax base onto the poor. In addition, VAT on medicine and medical services taxed misfortune and misery, he said.

ANC-supporting Independent MP for Simon's Town Jannie Mornberg said the VAT increase from 10% to 14% was unacceptable to the ANC.

It represented an attack on the living standards of workers and the poor because it shifted the fiscal burden onto their shoulders. The increase was not only inflationary, but would dampen economic growth by reducing consumer spending when manufacturing production levels were critically low because of the recession.

The ANC supported progressive taxation which differentiated between taxing on the capacity to pay, such as a progressive PAYE system.

The organisation welcomed the exemption of basic foodstuffs, but believed there should be more relief.

Essentials, including medicine and medical services, electricity and water, should also be exempted.

General affairs expanded further

CAPE TOWN — Agriculture, health and local government became general affairs yesterday, ending an expensive, fragmented and race-based system of own affairs management, House of Assembly Ministers' Council chairman Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

The own affairs aspects of welfare, housing and works were receiving attention, and would be transferred to general affairs early in the second half of the year, he said in a statement.

An education co-ordination service had been implemented on April 1 to transform the prevailing system into executive regional departments as quickly as possible.

Functions carried out by own affairs administrations would be executed by the equivalent general affairs departments.

The old own affairs dispensation was being replaced by a more efficient, cost-effective and decentralised system.

About 10 500 members of the House of Assembly administration were affected by the transfer of functions and were being posted with the least possible disruption.

Funds for the newly transferred services had already been included in the 1993/4 budgets of the recipient departments.

The Cape Provincial Administration announced yesterday that two own affairs functions, local government and health, had been handed to the CPA.

The effect of the transfer of own affairs functions to the CPA means that 2 600 officers and posts of the administration of the houses of Assembly and Representatives now fall under the CPA.

All former own affairs Cape hospitals, some of which had been run on an agency basis up to now, and all oral hygiene services, have been transferred to the CPA. — Sapa.

Federal or unitary state is key issue

Political Staff

118 (B) (C)
INKATHA Freedom Party negotiators have convinced other delegations at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park to decide before anything else if South Africa should have a unitary or federal constitution.

This now becomes the top item on the constitutional agenda.

This was something of a coup for the IFP and it had the full blessing of African National Congress secretary-general

ARC (C) 21493
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

In the same spirit of accommodation, a Conservative Party negotiator got the negotiating forum to agree to place self-determination on the list of issues to be debated.

Mr Benny Alexander persuaded the forum to agree to debate the Pan Africanist Congress version of a constitutional assembly.

Delegates did not go into the details of the federal versus unitary debate yesterday —

they just agreed that, when the negotiation council meets on April 15, this will be the first constitutional point they start off with.

Dr Ben Ngubane, speaking as leader of the Kwazulu government team, said the form of state was the most fundamental issue of the negotiation process.

"We owe it to the people to make a great effort in facing the harsh realities of these negotiations," he said.

Threats because shops closed

By MOSES MAMETLA

BUSINESS operators in Katlehong are living in fear after receiving letters - allegedly from the local Inkatha branch - which threatened to destroy their businesses if they closed their shops on the day of Chris Ham's funeral.

On the eve of the funeral for the slain SACF secretary-general, the business operators say Inkatha members allegedly circulated orders that all shops should close on the day of the funeral - and those which closed should close forever.

However, they defied the order and closed their shops as they said it was a "National Day of Mourning".

Six of the business operators - Verania Ngwenya, Alice Silindi, James Bonongo, Salatiel Xulu, Vusi Mithombeni and Matu Malaza - told City Press this week they defied the call by Inkatha because, they felt, they were "doing the right thing".

On Monday this week they received another letter inviting them to a meeting to be held at a nearby hostel.

The shop owners are adamant that the man to hold the meeting inside the hostel was a spy, to eliminate them.

Approached for comment, Inkatha area user Thabane Dlamini said: "We will investigate the matter and if we find that our people are involved, we will take disciplinary action against them... as they would have violated our policies."



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YOU DON'T HAVE TO WAIT FOR CHRISTMAS



SUZANNE VOS read Ayn Rand "five thousand times" as a child, submerging herself in the American author's philosophy of "objectivism". Propounded in books such as *The Virtue of Selfishness*, this holds that altruism and a free society don't mix.

Vos and Rand are in a sense spiritual sisters. They both emigrated from "horribly provincial" places — Vos from Perth, Australia, Rand from a small town in Russia — both visited and became enamoured of the United States in the 1960s, a bustling, energetic island of capitalism; and both recoil at the merest whiff of communism.

To "bug-eyed" 18-year-old Vos, the recipient of an American Field Scholarship to Los Angeles in 1964, America represented the comfort and sophistication she felt she was denied in Perth.

At 46, she's worlds away from post-war Perth. In fact, she's a woman of charm and wit, indistinguishable in appearance from the northern suburbs ladies who lunch — sleek, blonde and lineless. But she has far more grey matter, as well as being strong on women's issues.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's best known white representative, she played a key role in the push for compulsory female representation at the multiparty talks which opened this week.

Vos is an animal for South Africa in the 1990s. She is the perfect icon for the wavering suburbanites whose stomachs curdle at a choice between the National Party and the African National Congress. There is an alternative. Become a white Zulu, like Vos.

Vos herself baulks at the description, in particular to the fashion requirements. "I'm definitely not one of those people who run around in Black Sash skirt, beads and home-made sandals," she insists, wrinkling her nose.

Her colleagues at the National Peace Accord find her plumed ensembles as worthy of comment as her proposals for peace. One described her outfits at meetings as being "what you might see on the hostess of a hand-icapped children's charity ball".

So she doesn't dress like a Zulu. And she doesn't speak like a Zulu ("I tried to learn; I bought all the records.") But she "totally identifies with" Zulus — and believes there are a whole lot of like-minded folk in her Sandton neighbourhood and beyond that do too.

The reason for this attraction is obvious, says Vos. "They are realists. They support personal autonomy, economic autonomy." (Vos seems to have gulped down another Rand classic, *Capitalism, the Unknown*

The blonde white Zulu of Sandton

W/M ad 2/4-7/4/93 (1/3)

Suzanne Vos was back in the news this week, pushing for a higher female profile in the multi-party talks

HEIDI KRIZ takes a look at the Inkatha Freedom Party's best known white representative



IFP's white face, Suzanne Vos

ful opposition. She says she climbed through windows to get into forbidden all-black nightclubs and hung out with Steve Biko. Eventually, she went on to establish herself as a journalist, snagging a posting in London in 1970 for the *Sunday Times*.

It was here that things soured for the golden girl. She says editor-in-chief Tertius Myburgh was unhappy with the liberal political bent of her reporting, and decided it was time she came home, declaring she had "obviously lost touch with reality".

Re-installed in Johannesburg in 1981 as Myburgh's gal Friday, she wrote a gossip column under the heading "Suzanne's Diary", complete with glamour girl photo. She was not a happy woman.

In 1984 she approached Buthelezi, who made her his media consultant. She traces her current lifestyle to that career change. (She has complained in

print about the unfair impoverishment of journalists.)

Since then, her rise has been swift. She is a member of the IFP's central committee, its highest decision-making body, and IFP representative to the National Peace Accord. She toils from her lush Sandton home, her 18-hour days soothed by the expensive art and quiet luxury of her surroundings.

She's also traded in her balanced journalistic perspective for that of the pure party animal. According to a Peace Accord colleague who has spent days at a time with her, he "can't imagine that I know the real Suzanne Vos; I know the Suzanne Vos with the Inkatha hat on". He says she is "a groupie of Buthelezi's. She mirrors his tendency to see networks and conspiracies where they don't exist."

Politically, Vos, like her Village Walk dresses, is seamless. It is this quality which makes her a formidable cheerleader, a comforting symbol that middle-class whites identify with. Her respectability compensates for the eccentricity of other white IFP backers, like animal trainer turned cultural benefactor John Aspinall, or the controversial Dr Walter Felgate, a central committee member.

Vos is the reasonable face of the IFP. Only when you listen closely, and for a long time, does her role as party automaton become clear. She thumps the IFP bible a little too loudly, discounting party trickery with fervour.

"Buthelezi's a man of absolute integrity and consistency," she cries in response to any contrary suggestion. Her boss must be very pleased with his choice.

Ideal.)

The size of the movement of white middle class people towards the IFP is hard to pin down — Vos says there were 50 000 whites in the IFP's Transvaal region last year.

In spite of its reputed size, when a reporter tried to join the IFP last year, she found the meetings and the branch leader elusive. Finally calling Dr EF Benard, Sandton branch chairman (yet another non-medical doctor in the IFP) at his office, she was told by a disenchanted co-worker that the good doctor could not be contacted at that number.

The same reporter was equally startled when asked, sight unseen, to join the executive board of the Houghton branch, which Vos says is overrun with active members.

Vos as mascot for the new-look IFP is much more convincing than Benard, and certainly more durable. She was scooped up with the family and brought along to Durban in 1968, when her father, immunologist Gerard Vos, decided to go where research seemed most exciting.

She met Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi while she was a cub reporter in Durban. She had just been voted best cadet journalist of the year down under, and was prickly with eager, if naive, indignation at apartheid. She says jokingly that she got off the plane, looked around and said "What's the name of the opposition party? I want to join it."

As a reporter for the *Daily News* in Durban, she rang up Buthelezi's house and asked for an interview with his wife, Princess Irene. But Buthelezi's "charisma was overpowering" and she was soon in the inner circle.

Vos displayed all the usual signs of youth-

Watterson joins IFP (1B)

DURBAN. — Veteran politician and Durban city councillor Derrick Watterson has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He confirmed in an interview that he had joined the party last month and said he would throw the full weight of his years of political experience behind the IFP's drive to win members in the predominantly white Durban central area.

The IFP formally launched

ARC 314493
its Durban Central branch at a private meeting of its leadership at a beachfront hotel on Thursday.

Mr Watterson was elected to a committee with the task of establishing a party structure in the region.

The former MEC and parliamentarian predicted that Inkatha would become one of the strongest party political forces in Durban. "It's attracting more and more white members every day," he said.

GOVERNMENT-ANC DEAL IS AT THE HEART OF NEGOTIATIONS

IT WAS a strange spectacle. Inkatha's Joe Matthews backing communist boss Joe Slovo, the Indian Congress's Firoz Cachalia supporting the government's Tertius Delpport and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa amicably agreeing with everyone.

What was agitating them was a subject so arcane that the nuances escaped most observers: should the issue of the form of the state of the new South Africa be discussed as a separate item or should it be lumped with constitutional principles?

After more than half an hour they agreed on the latter. Such is the nature of our constitutional negotiations — tedious and impenetrable.

But on another level they are also a charade.

At the heart of this involved process is the deal between the government and the ANC which ushers in the first phase of multi-party rule in June, elections in the first half of next year and joint rule by the most powerful parties for five years thereafter.

Struck two months ago, the deal is rarely, if ever, mentioned at the World Trade Centre — the two key players realise that unless all the par-

breakthrough to the point at which the serious work of selling the ANC-government package could begin.

Having skillfully managed to lock all the parties into a process and achieved agreement on an agenda and body for constitutional talks, the legitimacy of the process has been established.

That body will be known as the negotiating council. All 26 parties participating in the talks will be represented on it and it will meet for four days a week from April 19 until the deal has been wrapped up.

Its work will be conducted in public, reinforcing the perception that the country's future is being negotiated openly and democratically by all the parties.

But the real hard-sell will take place in a 10-person planning committee which will meet daily behind

closed doors to thrash out compromises which can be placed before the public forum.

The ANC and the government want endorsement of their deal before the end of June. That month will see the establishment of the transitional executive council, the body which will effectively oversee the holding of free and fair elections.

It will comprise a member from all the participating parties and will operate in conjunction with the government. In effect, the government will no longer have the unbridled power to do as it pleases.

With the establishment of the TEC, an election date will be set and the parties will begin their campaigns. The government and the ANC want elections to be held before April next year.

For an elected government to rule the country, the existing constitution will have to be amended substantially or replaced to allow a unity government to operate.

This will be done by the Tricameral Parliament at a special parliamentary sitting in September.

The government and the ANC envisage a new parliament comprising all the parties that poll three percent in an election. Both national and regional representatives will be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The president will be elected by the biggest party and he will choose a cabinet from all the parties that poll five to 10 percent of the vote, in proportion to their representation.

This government of national unity will rule the country for five years under an interim constitution, which

will also contain a bill of rights, while it negotiates a final constitution.

The only limits being placed on the writing of the new constitution are constitutional principles to be agreed in advance by all parties, and that it should be endorsed by two thirds of the members of the new parliament, which will double as a constitution-making body.

Constitutional principles already agreed to include an independent judiciary, a bill of rights, three tiers of democratically elected government with entrenched constitutional powers, a multi-party democracy and the accommodation of the diversity of languages, religions and cultures.



Until multi-racial elections are held, the country will undoubtedly witness incidents of shocking violence orchestrated by elements opposed to a constitutional settlement.

We are also likely to see walkouts by negotiators, grandstanding and deadlocks, even between the two key players. But the deal hammered out by the ANC and the government is on track and unlikely to be diverted.

STAFFERS 4493



Cut it short, ANC told

By BENSON NTLEMO

A STIR was caused at the funeral of Gazankulu Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi on Friday when the master of ceremonies attached conditions to an ANC official's speech.

Master of ceremonies and Ximoko Progressive Party member S Mgimeti told Mr Andrew Mlangeni, speaking on behalf of ANC president Nelson Mandela, not to speak for more than five minutes or make a

political speech. His was also the only speech not translated into Shangaan.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed the 2 000 mourners at Giyani Stadium for more than an hour.

Mr Mandela's message described Professor Ntsanwisi as a born mediator and reconciliator, but ANC supporters held a march earlier this week in protest against his burial at the "heroes' acre" inside the parliamentary grounds.

Ex-mayor joins Inkatha

By FRED KHUMALO



INKATHA staged a major coup this week when it signed up former Durban mayor Derrick Watterson.

Watterson was promptly appointed to its central city steering committee.

Watterson joins up a few weeks after former National Party MP Jurie Mentz defected to Inkatha.

Watterson signed up at the same time as Inkatha's Durban central branch was launched.

Last week, in a concerted effort to entice white and Indian membership, Inkatha launched its Highway branch which encompasses the largely white suburbs of Westville and Pinetown.

Watterson's recruitment follows that of former Democratic Party member Mike Tarr and former Solidarity Party MP Farouk Cassim.

The moves follow an emotional public meeting in the Durban City Hall a few months ago which saw Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi bare his heart to white voters. Inkatha information officer Ed

Tillett said: "Obviously Mr Watterson brings with him a wealth of experience in regional government which is going to prove very useful to the IFP."

Watterson, a stalwart of the now-defunct New Republic Party (NRP) and its ideological predecessor the United Party, is a staunch anti-communist.

He said: "The National Party has been asking me to join their ranks for years, but I am not impressed by their record or their present performance."

"Particularly worrying is their record of corruption. As a person with a clear reputation, I could not associate myself with them. As far as the ANC lot are concerned, I can't even get remotely in touch with them while they are in touch with communists. So the IFP was an obvious choice."

Watterson recently proposed a motion of censure against current Durban mayor Margaret Winter. She recently said that the more she dealt with community organisations the more convinced she was that "the calibre of councillors in a

non-racial, democratic city is likely to be far higher than at present or any time in the past."

The motion will be tabled at tomorrow's meeting of the city council.

Commenting on Watterson's decision, mayor Winter said: "Derrick hasn't belonged to a political party for a long time and I am glad he has found one he can work for."

Conservative Party councillor Duncan du Bois described the move as "surprising" because Watterson had said to him "on more than one occasion that he would remain an independent because party politics were not for him."

ANC southern Natal deputy secretary Mpho Scott said the move came as no surprise especially in the light of what he said were Watterson's attempts "to oust" the current mayor because of her work with the progressive movement.

He said the ANC did not fear Inkatha's "deliberate and concerted effort to woo white support".

"We have always been a non-racial organisation," he said.

APR 6/4/73 (11B) (113)

IFP urges Kriel to offer reward after man slain

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has demanded that a substantial reward be offered by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the weekend assassination of Kwazulu Legislative Assembly member Mr Siphwe Gumede.

Mr Gumede, 46, an MP for Ubombo in the remote Ingwavuma region near the Natal-Swaziland border, was killed near the town when gunmen opened fire on him with AK 47 automatic rifles in an attack on Saturday night.

The IFP said in a statement it hoped a reward for Mr Gumede's killing would reflect his standing in the community.

It also said the reward should conform with that offered for information

leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers of Natal Midlands African National Congress deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe, who died in an ambush between Ixopo and Richmond in October last year.

"The fact that nothing was taken from Mr Gumede's car would appear to rule out a criminal motive.

"The IFP is convinced that the assassination was politically motivated."


The IFP called on police to leave no stone unturned in apprehending the killers involved in the "cowardly and hideous" attack.

"Such an attack defies comprehension, particularly in the light of Mr Gumede's active and energetic participation in community affairs," said the IFP statement. — Sapa.

Elections this year — Buthelezi

LONDON. — Multi-racial elections in South Africa are possible within the year, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi told BBC Television elections could take place by September and that he was hopeful for the

 (11B) CT 7/4/93
future of South Africa.

"I think that all of us would like to have elections by next year, and I expect that by September, as far as I can estimate, we will have elections," he said.

"I am hopeful because the multi-party talks have started."

Chief Buthelezi, who is in London to receive newspaper awards, expressed concern about the violence in South Africa and denied that he was being sidelined from the talks for a non-racial democracy.

"There is a civil war in South Africa. While I was sleeping in London last night

10 people were killed. It is going on all the time and clearly we cannot go forward until we get on top of the violence," he said.

Chief Buthelezi also denied that he was trying to break away and set up an independent Zulu state. — Sapa-Reuter

**IFP officer
attacked** (115)

Sowetan 7/4/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's western Transvaal regional organiser on Monday claimed he had been shot at while driving to his home on Sunday evening.

Jabulani Ngubane said he was driving to his home in Tigane township at 7.30pm when he encountered a group of youths standing next to the road. A shot was fired at his car, hitting the left front door.

● Apla vows to intensify its struggle in 1993

I'll meet Mandela anywhere, anytime

Sowetan 8/4/93

113

By Lulama Luti

■ NO STRINGS I'll do anything in the

interests of peace, says Buthelezi:

P RIVATE armies like Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army could not be equated with instruments of maintaining law and order such as the KwaZulu police, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing newsmen at a media briefing on his arrival from London at Jan Smuts Airport, Buthelezi said there was ample evidence that "our members are being killed by MK cadres on the Natal South Coast".

He said this had been proved by the Goldstone Commission.

"I can't see why they have to keep private armies," he said, referring to the PAC and ANC.

Asked how far the preparations for a meeting between himself and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela were, the IFP leader said he was prepared to meet Mandela without any preconditions.

Buthelezi said he was prepared to make any effort to end violence, particularly the carnage in Natal.

"I am prepared to meet him any time without any preconditions," Buthelezi said.

"I've always said we are living in a low-intensity war in South Africa. It's been going on for seven years now," he said, adding that there were a lot of loose

cannons in all (political) organisations in the country.

Asked why he thought elections would be held in September 1994 as opposed to April as proposed by the De Klerk Government, Buthelezi said this was not practical.

"As a pragmatist I don't see how we can hold elections in such a short space of time, especially given the enormity of the obstacles we are faced with.

"But even if they could be held in April, in principle, I am not opposed to that notion. In my point of view its just not practical," he said.

112 travellers die on SA roads

C

Chief ready to meet Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he has no preconditions for a summit conference with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and would like such a meeting as soon as possible.

"I can see him tomorrow," he said.

Mr Buthelezi said he had incorrectly been reported as saying an election could be held by September this year, he had said next year.

"I'm a pragmatist," he said. — Sapa

DP warns of 'more secrets'

MARITZBURG. — Democratic Party MP Mr Kobus Jordaan would release more secret information on political figures if they tried to undermine the negotiating process, he said yesterday.

He was replying, in the parliamentary provincial committee on Natal in Maritzburg, to a demand from the IFP that he release all information on his

claims that Inkatha Central Committee member Mr Walter Felgate could be an NIS spy "or shut up".

Mr Felgate flatly denied the spy allegations yesterday.

Referring to last week's break-in at his Umhlanga home, during which intruders apparently searched his papers, Mr Jordaan said he was not scared for his safety.

CF 8/4/93
"Why must I be personally scared? I have come a long way with this thing."

He said he had been a victim of a similar break-in in Pretoria a few years ago.

On Tuesday the DP MP for Durban North, Mr Peter Gastrow, told the committee he believed the break-in was related to Mr Jordaan's spy allegations.

— Sapa, Own Correspondent

Star 8/4/93

Felgate no NIS spy - Buthelezi

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday disputed claims that his adviser and IFP central committee member, Walter Felgate, was a State agent spying on his organisation.

(113)
Addressing a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from England, Buthelezi said he had known Felgate for many years and had at times gained the impression that he was closer to the African National Congress than to the IFP.

But Buthelezi said he did not believe Felgate was a National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent as had been alleged by Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan in Parliament recently. — Political Correspondent



SLUSH PUPPIES . . . New corruption allegations have rocked the Inkatha-aligned union Uwusa, which was launched with great fanfare in 1986 and cost a whopping R1.5-million in slush funds.

Inkatha union hit by corruption claims

By SIPHO KHUMALO

CONTROVERSY still dogs the Inkatha-aligned United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa), which was funded by the police to the tune of R1.5-million and launched at a glittering May Day rally in Durban's Kings Park Stadium in 1986 to counter Cosatu influence.

This time the union's Durban office is breaking away from the rest of the union amid allegations of corruption.

Some workers at the Durban office claimed they no longer received salaries from the union.

Bhekuyise Ndebele, who described himself as a "senior organiser", said they were now paid by workers through subscriptions.

Ndebele said those still paid by the union were given a pittance by the union's national secretary, Dumisane Dlodla.

"They are not paid fixed amounts. Sometimes union workers receive as little as R60 a month

but never more than R400," Ndebele charged.

"We do not have medical schemes, leave, pension fund or end-of-year pay."

Ndebele said what was most disturbing was that after the Durban unionists had organised workers in local factories, Dlodla would come down from the head office in Empangeni and convince company managements that money deducted through stop orders should be addressed to his office.

Theft claims

"The workers are not getting the services they pay for," said Ndebele, adding Uwusa had another office in Durban which was run by a woman whose job was simply to collect money from the workers.

Dlodla denied the charges and said that the people who made them were no longer members. He refused to comment on working conditions and salaries.

Another Uwusa spokesman from

head office, Themba Gumede, said he recognised only the office run by the lone woman and said those in the other office expelled themselves when they "stole money around the corners".

Uwusa has always been embroiled in controversy with the government admitting in the wake of the "Inkathagate" scandal that they, in fact, propped up the union with slush funds. It emerged at the time that Uwusa was a brainchild of the police and National Intelligence Service (NIS).

Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods was assigned to conduct an inquiry into Uwusa in 1991. However, he was unable to investigate the union's financial affairs because it did not keep audited books. "I just ran into a brick wall," Woods said at the time.

The then Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok then announced that his department would scale down and ultimately stop funding the union.

THE recent defection of some leading figures in white politics to Inkatha has raised an interesting question in the changing face of South African politics - what future is there for white political organisations?

When Inkatha's major catch in the Transvaal, Henrie Bekker, quit the ruling NP, he said he doubted whether the party would be able to distance itself from the ghost of apartheid.

He further stated that it was unrealistic to expect large numbers of black South Africans in large numbers to join what have been predominantly white political parties.

The reasons given by Bekker for leaving the Nats were not dissimilar to those given by Jannie Momberg, Dave Dalling, and Jan van Eck when they left the DP to become the ANC's first representatives in parliament.

They said they joined the ANC to promote non-racialism and work towards the full liberation of all South Africans - a clear indictment that the DP, with its liberal tradition, was not capable of achieving this.

The Nats are reported to be split down the middle with one faction led by Kobie Coetsee, Hennis Kriel and Tertius Delpoit in favour of closer links with Inkatha while the Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Dawie de Villiers grouping favour ties with the ANC.

But only the politically ignorant would start writing the epitaph of the NP. The Nats have the material resources and a constituency that will ensure they don't fade from the political landscape overnight.

In spite of the ability of the Nats and the DP to continue, there is little doubt that after decades of white political party power, the roles are about to be reversed.

In this unfolding scenario, Inkatha could become the home of many white politicians disaffected with the policies of the NP and DP.

Inkatha also has closer ties with the CP, through their common membership of the Concerned South Africans Group.

In the space of two months, Inkatha has gained four MPs and a former mayor of Durban. The three MPs are from the white Legislative Assembly and the other one from the Indian House of Delegates.

Options

When Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz joined Inkatha, he was dismissed as a maverick and many in the NP treated his defection as something of a joke.

It was also said that given his constituency - right in the heart of KwaZulu - it made perfect political sense to bond with Inkatha.

Even the DP, who lost four MPs to the ANC last year, did not attach much value to his defection. They were soon jolted when one of their members, Mike Tarr, who represents Maritzburg North, also went over to Inkatha.

The defections of Tarr and Bekker defied what had been considered conventional wisdom in South African politics. The two represented urban constituencies and Bekker was considered *verlig*. Going to Inkatha, it was said, defied logic.

Why is Inkatha suddenly the refuge of whites? And given that there is going to be a government of national unity lasting at least until the end of this century, why are these MPs abandoning the NP boat?

That some white MPs would join Inkatha has never been in doubt. The party's position on federalism, its anti-sanctions stance and its support for the market economy is supported right across the political spectrum by the predominantly white political parties.

MPs seek power by joining majority parties

Professor Pieter Joubert of the Department of Politics at Potchefstroom University doubts that the recent defections necessarily indicate support or even preference for Inkatha's policies.

He believes that these are tactical moves made by politicians who have evaluated their future in terms of national politics and realised that their options lie with Inkatha.

"The guys who left the NP did not hold any senior positions in the party and calculated that in any government of national unity, there was no future for them.

"In Inkatha they stand a better chance of occupying senior positions," said Joubert.

According to Joubert, irrespective of what some people might think of it, Inkatha will play a major role in the KwaZulu/Natal region and that it is at regional level where the political future of the defectors might lie.

"Their move is essentially out of self-interest and not necessarily because they are sincere and believe in Inkatha. But, then, all politicians do things out of self-interest in the first place"

Whatever the motives behind those defecting to either the ANC or Inkatha, there is no escaping that the demographic reality has finally caught up with the politicians.

In this country, politicians aspiring to power do not seem to have much choice but to throw in their lot with a party with the potential of gaining a majority following.

Sinking ship

By SEKOLA SELLO

Nats deserting

C Press

11/4/93

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Buthlezi warns of impending bloodbath

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

11B

LONDON. — Even free elections in South Africa will not stop the country plunging into a bloodbath, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has told a British newspaper.

Speaking on his arrival here for an awards ceremony sponsored by The Daily Star, he said: "We have a low intensity civil war already. People are already shooting each other."

And, contrary to the cautious optimism being expressed in some quarters in Britain, he added: "The violence is going to involve the whites as well."

He painted a scenario of a "stitch-up" between President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela that excluded the Zulus and would push South Africa into a spiral of further violence.

ARG 14/4/93

And if the butchery did not stop, he feared Europe and America would not invest in the new South Africa.

"They seem to think the election is some sort of magic, but it's not," said Mr Buthelezi.

The Daily Star said his problems in South Africa include "rigged opinion polls, smear campaigns and a hostile press".

IFP slates ANC racial outburst

Political Correspondent

THE IFP in the Western Cape has challenged the ANC leadership in the region to distance itself from "inflammatory" remarks made by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba at a Khayelitsha rally.

IFP regional organiser Mr Malcolm Bagley said in a statement today: "The IFP has

taken note of the serious inflammatory speeches by Mr Mokaba. (UB) ~~(S)~~

"Selective, discriminatory slogans such as 'Kill the bull, kill the farmer' are not conducive to a peaceful Western Cape.

"The IFP demands that the ANC in the Western Cape apologise and distances itself from these remarks."

IFP rejects call for an immediate elections

Sowetan 19/4/93.

(113) (113) (113)

By Kenosi Modisane

■ Multi-party negotiations are being held to ransom, claim:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected a call by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance for the immediate holding of elections for a constituent assembly and establishment of a Transitional Executive Council.

In a statement at the weekend, the IFP's Central Committee accused the tripartite alliance of attempting to hold the multi-party negotiations process to ransom.

"We find it unacceptable that the forthcoming negotiations designed to determine the essential structure of the future South Africa should be conducted under threats of blackmail and intimidation," the statement said.

Condemning mass action

Condemning the ANC/SACP/Cosatu method of mass action, the IFP said: "The assassination of SACP secretary general Mr Chris Hani is a product of a climate of violence which has already claimed the lives of more than 250 IFP leaders.

"This climate will be exacerbated by resorting to mass action which the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance has planned for the next two

weeks."

The statement said the IFP had resolved to "reject the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance plan to use violence and mass action to hijack the negotiation process and unilaterally impose a Constituent Assembly and make demands which will prevent the establishment of true federalism in South Africa.

Critical process

"We are determined not to allow the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance to cynically manipulate this critical process for its own ends at this juncture," the statement said.

The IFP said it committed itself to protecting the rights of all South Africans to dissociate themselves from mass action and their right to continue with their daily lives, including their jobs, education and the right of free movement throughout the country.

It demanded that the Government should take adequate measures for the protection of all citizens and their property and ensure that the daily lives of people were not hindered.

Talks battle lines drawn over council

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Bophuthatswana government and Inkatha have rejected the implementation of a transitional executive council, a key ANC demand and something on which the ANC and government largely agree.

The issue is likely to be the first major hitch that resumed multiparty talks will face on Monday.

The ANC has threatened rolling mass action for six weeks in an attempt to force the implementation of the council and an announcement of a date for elections by the end of May. Government has the same timeframe for the implementation of the council.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last week that negotiations for a council would be the first item on Monday's agenda. He expected resolution of the issue would be difficult because it addressed the fundamental differences between the major parties — government and the ANC on one hand and Inkatha and its allies on the other.

At the weekend Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope told UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali his government rejected the council. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi met the UN chief with Mangope.

Also at the weekend, Inkatha's central committee reiterated its rejection of the council and said the multiparty forum should negotiate a final constitution, which should be put to a referendum before elections for a new government under the new constitution.

Mangope told Boutros-Ghali that the ANC and government had formed an alliance to force through their "secretly

□ To Page 2

Talks

agreed agenda" but the Concerned South Africans Group was intent on stopping them. He appealed to the secretary-general to "use his good offices" to assist his government and members of the group to avoid "another Somalia or Bosnia-Herzegovina".

Mangope said: "Southern Africa is poised on the brink of civil strife likely to overshadow anything being experienced in Europe or elsewhere at present."

He would fight for confederation and refused to give a blank cheque at negotiations before all constitutional principles had been finalised, including boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

Inkatha said it rejected the ANC's plan to use violence and mass action "to hijack

the negotiation process and unilaterally impose a constituent assembly, and make demands which will prevent the establishment of true federalism in SA".

It refused to accept "any quick-fix date for the holding of elections for a constituent assembly and the establishment of a transitional executive council in the absence of full multiparty agreement" on the form of state and regional powers, functions and boundaries.

Spokesman Suzanne Vos said there was no softening of the party's position on its total rejection of the need for a council and an interim government. "But that is a subject for negotiations, and we will fight for completing all talks and finalising the constitution in this forum," she said.

□ From Page 1

Boutros-Ghali meets Mangope, Buthelezi

MMABATHO. — United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali met delegates from the IFP and Bophuthatswana's ruling party on Sunday to discuss the situation in South Africa.

President Lucas Mangope led members of the Christian Democratic Party, and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi led his delegation.

"Southern Africa is poised on the brink of civil strife likely to overshadow anything being experienced in Europe or elsewhere at present," Mr Mangope said in a statement after the meeting. — Sapa

NEWS Warning that campaign could hamper negotiatio

Action a setback — IFP

Sowetan 21/4/93 ~~118~~ *118*
■ Chief Buthelezi opposes rolling pickets and demos:

THE ANC-led alliance's call for a "rolling mass action" campaign was a major setback to negotiations, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Buthelezi was speaking on his return from Rome where he and Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope met United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to discuss South Africa.

The IFP leader also condemned remarks made about him by an ANC official at a memorial service for SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

ANC southern Natal regional executive member Mr Jeff Radebe reportedly said the congress should rid the country of white supremacists, adding "phansi, Gatsha, phansi (down, Gatsha, down)".

Buthelezi said Radebe's comment was provocative and "people had been angered by it".

"We are seeking peace and reconciliation and to use the occasion, the tragic killing of Mr Hani, to attack me is despicable. We expect the ANC and SACP to clarify this. It is not good for the country."

Regarding the mass action campaign, Buthelezi said the ANC was following the same strategy as last year when negotiations were delayed.

"It is ridiculous. The delay in negotiations was caused by them and as at Codesa they are doing the same again."

The ANC "cannot ram their demands down the throats of the other parties".

Buthelezi said statements by ANC

officials at memorial services for Mr Hani were not the first time the congress had claimed it was the "government in waiting".

If the ANC felt that way "why are they then talking at the multiparty negotiation forum?" Buthelezi asked.

The Zulu nation would have to be part of a negotiated solution in South Africa, he warned.

The arrest of senior Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis at the weekend in connection with Hani's murder would not affect the IFP's position in the Concerned South Africans Group, of which the CP, IFP and the Bophuthatswana government were principal members, the party said. — SA Press Association.



focus on Democracy

MR Danie Schutte goes into South Africa's first nonracial, democratic election wearing three hats. Firstly, as Minister of Home Affairs, he is responsible for the Government's input into the elections, expected to take place by this time next year. One does not have to be a fortune teller to realise what could happen if things went wrong and fingers could be pointed at the Government.

This ties in with his second hat. He helped draft the National Peace Accord back in 1991 and has since represented the Government on the National Peace Committee. It is the task of people implementing the peace accord to help create a climate conducive to free and fair elections.

Thirdly, with the departure of Mr Jurie Mentz to the Inkatha Freedom Party, Schutte has become acting chairman of the National Party in Natal.

Schutte (45) is President de Klerk's third Minister of Home Affairs in four years. Pretoria-born Schutte served on the executive committee of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in the early '70s. After graduating from the University of Stellenbosch he joined the Attorney-General's office in Maritzburg as a state advocate.

Justice

He soon entered private practice. Schutte served twice as NP MP for Maritzburg North and was appointed Deputy Minister of Justice after the 1989 election.

He keeps a home in Maritzburg and has business interests there. In the future dispensation, politicians representing Natal "will have a far more important and prominent role to play than in the past", he said. This was because Natal, including KwaZulu, had 25 percent of the country's population.

"The province will play a more prominent role in politics than ever before."

It goes without saying that he is holding public office at a crucial time in the country's history.

"At this particular time, and with these responsibilities, I would submit, with respect, that it is a major challenge," he said.

Like many people directly involved in managing the transition, he is playing a political role of promoting his party's views, yet at the same time helping to create a neutral framework within which the elections and other processes can be conducted.

"That in itself is also a fairly challenging position."

Schutte takes a simple philosophy to his office each day. "I think one must try to do your job to the best of your ability. I still think that involvement in the political process is essentially a service, and if you do not get satisfaction

A Sowetan Correspondent reports on new Minister of Home Affairs Mr Danie Schutte's career from Afrikaner student leader to taking charge of the Government's work in the pending first democratic election. ~~22/4/93~~

Sowetan 22/4/93



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

from that, you must not stay in politics."

Schutte's main priority now is the election.

Structures

First, there has to be agreement at the negotiations forum on the election structures. Much time was spent in bilateral negotiations on this aspect.

It was envisaged that there would be an independent election commission to supervise and co-ordinate the election. It would conduct a voter education programme and eventually certify the election as free and fair. It would be responsible for drafting the election laws.

There would be a structure to conduct the election, a structure to monitor proceedings, and an adjudication tribunal.

Also, a media structure would ensure a level playing field for all the political parties in the election campaign, especially with regard to the electronic media.

The election would, by South African standards, be massive, with between 18 million and 22 million voters. In 1989 there were five million voters.

"Of course I will be standing in the first election," Schutte said, "No doubt about that."

It is difficult to say now if he will opt for the regional or national voting lists. "I will try to be of assistance wherever the need arises."

South Africa in general and Natal in particular could not be governed by one political group on its own, Schutte said. "It must be a partnership of all the main political groups. If that is valid for South Africa, it is even more valid for Natal."

For this reason he believes the NP's solution of power sharing had a crucial role to play in Natal politics.

Power sharing

"Natal will not have a stable government or prosperity unless there is power-sharing between the main groups. I do not see stability coming to Natal in a government dominated either by the African National Congress or the IFP."

Black people were beginning to realise that a Natal government dominated by the ANC or IFP would not be stable. This led him to believe that the NP "will make a good showing" in elections in Natal.

The NP had appointed several black organisers in the past three weeks and was preparing to canvass black areas. "It is my belief that when the chips are down, when the people have to decide on the future, when they have to decide on leadership, then the NP will do very well in Natal."

Schutte said IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had many attributes and had been consistent. But Schutte did feel that if Buthelezi took a more realistic approach sometimes, this "would be more beneficial to Natal and the country as a whole".

Buthelezi had to appreciate the role of the NP in the past few months. The NP was strongly in favour of regional government. Through its initiatives and bilateral discussions, it had brought about a convergence of opinion on strong regional government and on power sharing.

"The IFP has not played a role in this regard. By just being critical and by making stands you do not make a contribution in this regard, because in the end you have to change minds and opinions of the leadership of all the major parties in this country."

Schutte said the IFP "want to grab Natal for themselves".

"We say that is not workable; a power-sharing system for Natal is absolutely imperative."

The NP would go out of its way to get the IFP to come to an agreement on regional structures in Natal, he said.

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Natal/KwaZulu. (11B)

However, what is likely to be worrying IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi right now is the extent to which the transition will be speeded up — and the extent to which federal options will be undermined.

The level of support for the ANC in Natal must have seemed overwhelming during the week of mourning — the organisation admits it was taken by surprise — but it could be a mistake to read too much into this. At least 100 000 people (the ANC claims 155 000) marched through Durban — but the march was hijacked by extremists who wrong-footed both police and ANC marshalls.

They did this by starting the march an hour early and then — apparently deliberately — deviated from the agreed route. That was followed by a spree of vandalism and intimidation which left Durban reeling. The regional chamber of commerce has even called for a complete review of the policy allowing marches through the city centre, though management committee chairman Peter Mansfield says he doubts it will be possible to ban demonstrations. That, he maintains, would be going back to the “bad old days.” FM 23/4/93.

Do the events reflect support for PAC methods? Mervyn Frost, head of the department of politics at the University of Natal, thinks not. Though he does concede that there was an undisciplined PAC element in the Durban march, he says it was not a big group.

“I suspect that PAC support is still relatively negligible in the area,” says Frost. “Numbers under the PAC banner at the Wednesday march were small. Other yardsticks, such as less than impressive organisational ability and the fact that the PAC holds few rallies, support this view.”

On the question of a shift of support from the IFP to the ANC, Frost stresses: “We won’t know what the support for the respective organisations is until there is an election.”

POLITICAL SUPPORT

FM 23/4/93

Moving goal posts

If numbers attending or participating in parades, stayaways and mob violence are an indicator of political support, then the events of last week suggest that much of the Inkatha Freedom Party’s support has been yanked from under it in its stronghold of

FM 23/4/93.
The real significance of the events of the last 10 days is that the ANC alliance has a martyrdom which has boosted their cause. Furthermore, the turnout at the funeral and the generally impressive way it was conducted, will have a bandwagon effect. So, politically speaking, the week of mourning has turned out to the advantage of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.” (11B)
Perhaps more important, Frost feels, is that the consequence of the events could upset the IFP timetable for change. “The IFP seemed to have comfortably accepted a lengthy process towards the establishment of a transitional executive committee, then an election and constituent assembly. The likely consequence of the past fortnight’s events is that the whole process will be speeded up. If the IFP tries to oppose this, it will simply be seen as a spoiler.” ■



Picture: JOHN RUBYTHON.

□ **DOWNSIDE UP:** ANC supporters interrupt a meeting addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the Stellenbosch town hall this week.

ANC thrown out of Matie meeting

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

POLICE intervened when a noisy group of African National Congress supporters tried to disrupt a meeting addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the Stellenbosch town hall.

According to one report, about 20 ANC supporters prevented Chief Buthelezi from speaking for about 20 minutes. The meeting was held on Thursday night after Chief Buthelezi's talks with President De Klerk in Cape Town.

Repeated appeals by the chairman and organisers of the meeting to give Chief Buthelezi a chance to speak had no effect. The organisers then asked the police to remove the protesters.

APR 24/4/93
11B

The placard-waving group was taken out amid loud applause from the audience of nearly 1 000 people who had packed the hall.

The meeting had been organised by the Free Cape Movement (FCM), which is campaigning for a federal system of government with the Western Cape as one of the federal units.

The FCM proposes maximum autonomy for each federal unit.

Chief Buthelezi told the meeting he hoped other regions in South Africa would follow the example of Natal/KwaZulu and the FCM in seeking to build a federal-type democracy.

Buthelezi warns SA of crucial decisions

SOUTH Africa has reached a crossroads that can make or break the country's future even before new multi-party negotiations get off the ground.

This warning comes from Kwazulu leader and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the eve of next week's resumption of multiparty talks.

He said South Africa had come to a point for "final and irreversible decisions" on the choice between a federal system and a centralised authoritarian government.

His warning — voiced before and after a three-hour session of talks with President De Klerk — made it clear that Chief Buthelezi meant business.

His meeting with Mr De Klerk was one of his first major appointments since his return from Rome where he and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana had talks last Sunday with United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Although details of Chief Buthelezi's talks with President De Klerk and Dr Boutros-Ghali have not been disclosed, observers expected the fruits

■ On the eve of next week's resumption of multiparty negotiations, Kwazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has issued a warning to political leaders. South Africa, he says, is on the brink of irreversible decisions on the future form of government.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

of these could become apparent at next week's negotiations in which 26 organisations, parties and governments are to take part.

Several groups, including the IFP, have taken the stand that, before all else, the negotiators must decide if South Africa is to have a federal or a unitary constitution.

The urgency of such a decision — as he saw it — was emphasised by Chief Buthelezi this week at Stellenbosch where he addressed a meeting of the Free Cape Movement, which also was campaigning for a federal system of government.

Chief Buthelezi said: "We are faced with the question of whether or not we, as South Africans, are going to get it right the very first time.

"Just imagine that it has taken 83 years for those in power

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to admit that the Union of South Africa was a mistake. It has taken 45 years for the ruling National Party to admit that they were wrong all these years.

"Are we going to commit another blunder because of the unseemly haste with which the media and even international representatives are urging us to move to elections, just any elections?"

"Must we again live under another blunder for nearly a hundred years before we can correct whatever mistakes we commit now?"

Chief Buthelezi said that was why the IFP considered the form of state — federal or unitary — as a priority issue for the multiparty negotiations. It was an issue that had to be resolved "from the very beginning".

One of his key arguments

was that there could be no possibility of moving to a constituent assembly through a unitary formula, in the hope of being able to move afterwards to a federal formula.

"Federations have never been structured that way by unitary governments committed to absolute power and full control at the centre," he said.

Outlining the options facing the negotiators, Chief Buthelezi said: "We either can accept an uncertain process of transformation of our society which will empower the forces of mass action, intimidation and violence with the full functions of a centralised and authoritarian government — or, we have the option to struggle for an alternative process which can ensure freedom and democracy in our country with the checks and balances of a federal system."

He warned that the general direction the National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance appeared to be taking would lead to another authoritarian and possibly a totalitarian regime in a unitary state.

Chief Buthelezi rejected proposed compromise solutions based on the argument that there should be "strong re-

gions" rather than federal states.

His perception was the international community was beginning to realise that federalism was the only solution to the South African dilemma — "and we were very heartened when the government of the United States of America took an official position supporting federalism for South Africa."

However, people in the NP still seemed to have doubts, according to Chief Buthelezi.

He rejected outright any suggestion that secession of individual regions could be considered as an option in South Africa.

At a lunch for the media in Cape Town, Chief Buthelezi lashed out at the government for apparently yielding to threats, and at the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance for "holding the country to ransom by declaring a lengthy period of destructive mass action and by tabling various crucial political demands".

"We find it totally unacceptable that the forthcoming negotiations, designed to determine the essential structure of the future South Africa, should be conducted under threats of blackmail and intimidation."

Inkatha, ~~118~~
Free Cape ¹¹⁸
in alliance ^{CT 24/4/93}

Staff Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Free Cape Movement declared a federal alliance at a meeting addressed by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the Stellenbosch town hall on Thursday night.

Free Cape Movement chairman Mr Christopher Hill said the new alliance had called on all regional governments to be in a position to create interim governments in the event of a central government collapse.

Mr Hill claimed nearly 2 000 people attended the meeting, which was disrupted by heckling ANC supporters who were later removed.

A Cape Times reporter who attended the meeting was told by the town hall caretaker that it could hold 1 092 people. The reporter estimated that about 800 people were present.

"REAL" TALKS SET TO START

'Real' talk

STAR 24/4/93

11B (Bela)

After Hani assassination, a sense of urgency prevails

THE negotiation process has survived the crisis caused by Chris Hani's assassination, and "real" negotiations are set to start on Monday.

It was agreed at a two-day planning committee meeting which ended yesterday that urgency was essential.

Since Hani's murder two weeks ago, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk have made optimistic estimates about the timetable for the transition to democracy.

While the ANC wants an election date to be set and a transitional executive council (TEC) installed before the end of May, De Klerk said in Parliament this week that these issues could be agreed on "in six weeks".

It was agreed at Co-desa that a TEC and various sub-councils would level the political playing field in the run-up to the first democratic elections for an interim government.

Speaking after the planning committee meeting yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said a TEC could be negotiated within the next six weeks.

ESTHER WAUGH, Political Correspondent

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa agreed that consensus on a TEC was attainable by the end of next month. The process was under pressure and the urgency injected in negotiations would produce results.

Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin said if agreement could be reached on the "overall constitutional principles then the mechanisms for installing a TEC can be met within the deadline".

However, Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje said his government was in principle opposed to a TEC. It wanted the multiparty negotiating forum to draft the constitution and hold elections before the end of the year.

Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said his party was opposed to a TEC with executive powers.

The key issue to reach agreement on remains the scenario for the transition. The Government and ANC — and their allies — want a TEC to be installed and

elections to be held for an interim government and a constitution-making body.

The Concerned South Africans Group, on the other hand, wants the new constitution to be drafted by the negotiating forum, after which elections will be held for a new representative government.

The planning committee's meeting marked the first time key negotiators had sat down together since Hani's murder. The two-day meeting at the World Trade Centre discussed the implementation of two resolutions on violence and the transition taken at the negotiating forum on April 1. Reports on both resolutions will be presented to the negotiating council on Monday.

It is understood that the report on the transition proposes forming four technical committees to make proposals on an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission, discriminatory legislation, and a TEC.

The chairman of this week's meeting, Transkei government representative Zam Titus, said: "We as negotiators have taken note of signals ... given to us to speed up the process. We will speed up the process." However, he stressed that negotiators would not "skim over" issues for the sake of merely adding impetus to the process.

Titus said there was "enough in the report to come up with constructive suggestions on the way forward".

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available



Democracy rules

NEGOTIATORS from the three main political parties agreed this week to begin drafting legislation that will establish an independent body to manage the country's first non-racial national elections.

The agreement was concluded by the government's constitutional adviser, Mr Fanie van der Merwe, the ANC's Mr Mac Maharaj and the IFP's Mr Ben Ngubane.

Given Inkatha's opposition to the holding of elections before agreement is reached on whether SA should be a federal or unitary state, Mr Ngubane's support for the proposal on the electoral commission is significant.

It indicates a new flexibility by the IFP in forging ahead on matters on which agreement can be reached, while continuing to argue on issues on which there are major differences of opinion.

The complex proposals by the three men are constructed in a manner which will allow this to happen. The aim is to avoid clashes that might lead to any of the parties walking out of the talks before substantial agreements have been concluded.

Negotiators believe that once such agreements

EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

have been concluded, it will be difficult for any major participant to walk out without attracting considerable opprobrium.

The latest proposals were approved by the 10-person planning committee at a closed session at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

They will be submitted tomorrow to the multi-party negotiating forum, which represents all 26 parties, for final approval.

Given their approval by the diverse political parties on the planning committee, the proposals are

in run-up to voting

SITIMES 25/493

unlikely to be blocked or substantially amended.

The parties represented on the planning committee include the Bophuthatswana government, the PAC, Inkatha, the government and the ANC.

There are five proposals.

The first recommends that a committee should produce draft legislation for the setting up of an independent election commission.

This commission would be responsible for conducting and monitoring elections. It would also act as adjudicator and arbitrator on matters of dispute.

The commission would be made up of people who

are not political office bearers, and could include seconded international experts.

The commission would announce the results of the election, which would include citizens from the TBVC states, and would have the power to certify whether the poll had been free and fair.

It would also be responsible for a code of conduct committing the parties to peaceful electioneering, with penalties for offenders.

The second proposal is for the establishment of a committee to prepare draft legislation for an independent telecommunications authority and an independent media commission in the run-up to elections.

The telecommunications authority would regulate the allocation of licences and determine their conditions.

The media commission would ensure fair play in the run-up to elections by monitoring the electronic media to ensure impartiality and compliance with licensing conditions.

Laws

There would be a code of conduct for all licensed broadcasters, as well as one specifically applicable to the SABC and the TBVC territories.

The code would stipulate that all parties have fair access to air their views.

The third proposal recommends the formation of a committee to draw up a list of laws which should be repealed to allow free political activity in South Africa and the TBVC states.

The fourth proposal recommends that a committee be appointed to draft proposals on the transitional executive council using Codesa agreements as terms of reference.

The fifth proposal recommends the establishment of a committee to discuss armed formations and the defence forces.

This committee would also discuss the formation of a peace corps and measures to strengthen the National Peace Accord.

Six die after night vigil attack

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Sowetan
26/4/93

■ IFP official buried:

SIX people died and eight were injured on Saturday night when Inkatha Freedom Party members retaliated after being attacked at a night vigil for a slain IFP official in northern Natal, police confirmed on Sunday.

Two people were killed and eight were injured at midnight when unidentified gunmen attacked mourners who had gathered at a vigil for IFP regional chairman Caiphus Dlamini, Natal police spokesman Major Hamilton Ngidi said.

Some mourners then followed the attackers and killed four of them "not very far" from the tent in which the vigil was being held, Ngidi said.

The killings happened at KwaMbonambi, a town near Empangeni where political rivalry between the IFP and the African National Congress has claimed the lives of many people over the past years.

Ngidi said the shootings seemed to be related to this political rivalry. — Sapa

IFP claims of joint spying

118 2016 CT 28/4/93

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) alleged yesterday that a policeman on Natal's Peace Accord structures held "secret" meetings with the ANC's Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS), and suggested they were jointly "spying" on the IFP.

Meanwhile, the IFP has called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate claims that the SA Police were involved in an attack on mourners at a vigil for a slain IFP official near Empangeni.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet claimed yesterday that negotiations about a

merger between South Africa's National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the ANC's DIS had reached an advanced stage.

The IFP has alleged that Colonel James Louwrens, who sits on the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, held "clandestine meetings" with the head of the ANC's DIS in Natal, Mr Mo Shaik.

The SAP last night denied the allegations.

"It is regrettable that whenever the SAP has to take steps against members of an organisation it is automatically accused of siding with any opposing organisation," a police spokesman said.

Cosag warns of trouble ahead

Star 29/4/93 (118)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) yesterday gave notice that negotiators at tomorrow's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre were heading for another round of confrontation.

Speaking after their meeting in Mmabatho yesterday, Cosag members said they were con-

cerned about threats to exclude from negotiations those "retarding the process".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje said although Cosag might not be "the biggest players in the opinion of some", collectively it represented millions of people.

"Nobody should underestimate our anger just because we do not throw stones. We have

the chance to get it right," Cronje said.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, whose party circulated a statement at Monday's talks alleging a conspiracy by the Government and the ANC with regard to violence against IFP members, said Pretoria and the ANC were labelling them spoilers because they wanted some issues resolved before elections.

Three power blocs in struggle for future SA

Star 20/4/93

The future of South Africa is being debated at the World Trade Centre. Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA explains what is happening, and why.

WHEN negotiations began at the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park this week, many believed the negotiators would move with speed towards an agreement.

This would lead to a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), elections for a constituent assembly and, eventually, a government of national unity and reconstruction.

Expectations were high before Monday's Negotiating Council meeting, which proved to be a failure.

The two parties which matter most, the Government and the ANC, had told South Africans the next six weeks would be the most crucial in the country's history.

Not only would agreement on a TEC be reached, but a date for the watershed one-person one-vote election would also be set.

They had pointed out that the country continues to bleed economically, that the violence is scaring off potential investors, and that millions of South Africans are beginning to lose confidence in a negotiations process which has yet to yield meaningful results since it began three years ago.

After Monday's meeting, however, hopes began to fade.

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party's Joe Matthews had told other negotiators: "I am not impressed by talks of urgency

They leave me stone-cold."

The 104-member Negotiating Council — each of the 26 organisations and parties has two delegates and two advisers — convenes again today. Will it do better this time?

It is important to understand that there are three power blocs in the negotiations, and to know what they each want out of the process.

Until the collapse of Codesa 2 in May last year, there were two strong power blocs: the ANC and its allies on the one hand, and the Government and its cohorts on the other hand.

Siding with Pretoria on a number of issues were the IFP, the governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and QwaQwa, and some minor tricameral parliamentary parties. The ANC could count on the support of the South African Communist Party, the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, the Labour Party and the governments of Transkei, KaNgwane, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and Venda.

And so "sufficient consensus" meant an issue had to have the support of both the Government and the ANC, who would each sell it to their allies.

This explains why negotiations broke down in Codesa 2 when the ANC and the Government failed to reach agreement on the percentages needed for decisions to be taken in an elected constituent assembly.



Buthelezi . . . angered by agreement

This situation changed, however, when on September 26 last year ANC president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk signed a Record of Understanding, which included the fencing-in of hostels identified as flashpoints of violence, and a ban on the carrying of weapons, including "cultural weapons".

The agreement so angered IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he consulted fellow homeland leaders Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, as well as right-wing groups such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksonie.

Together they formed the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag). What they had

In common then was fierce opposition to Pretoria and the ANC, whom they accused of entering into secret deals. What binds them together now is their commitment to federalism — some say confederalism.

And so there are now at least three power blocs in the talks, comprising the ANC and its allies, the small but vociferous Cosag group, and the Government/National Party delegations. For "sufficient consensus" to obtain, an issue must now have the support of each of these blocs.

Not belonging to any of these groups are the Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party, which fall somewhere between the Government and the ANC groups.

For the ANC and its allies, urgency is the name of the game. The Government shares this concern, but, as the IFP's Matthews said on Monday, talk of urgency leaves the Cosag group "stone-cold".

Concessions

Observers believe the Cosag group wants to slow down the process until it can extract concessions on regional powers in a future dispensation, and have the constitution written by the multi-party forum as opposed to an elected constituent assembly.

Except for the IFP, Cosag members are small parties, and they realise that by themselves they do not stand much chance of making it into the constituent assembly, which the Government calls a constitution-making body.

If, as some observers fear, filibustering is indeed Cosag's strategy, it might further delay the negotiations process.

The problem is complicated by the fact that each of the parties represented in the forum, regardless of its size, has the same say.

That means parties like QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party, Gqozo's unpopular Ciskei government and Amichand Rajbansi's "one-man" National People's Party have as much ability to slow down the process as either the Government or the ANC. □

11B

Call to train ANC, Inkatha peace marshals

(115) RAY HARTLEY

ANC and Inkatha marshals should be trained jointly under the supervision of peace accord structures, delegates to a peace secretariat assessment of events during the burial of SACP leader Chris Hani said this week. *Blom 30/1/93*

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said the proposal was made during a meeting attended by police, ANC, Inkatha and peace accord and international observer delegates.

He said a "major catastrophe" had been averted by co-operation between marshals, police and peace monitors during the funeral, but the assessment found that advance planning should have taken place to protect "vulnerable" houses and buildings around the FNB stadium.

Delegates said police needed to consult marshals before taking action against crowds, but they also praised the police for the low-profile monitoring they maintained during most events.

He said much of the violence during the funeral had been caused by "small groups who were not always part of events".

Delegates pointed out that:

- The ANC had given insufficient notice of planned events;
- Attention needed to be paid to the dispersal of crowds and public transport after mass events;
- Marshals should be better equipped to deal with violence involving guns, stone-throwing and petrol-bombing;
- Advance information on "police contingency plans" needed to be made available to peace structures; and
- Public radio should broadcast the "logistics" of protests, such as where marches were at any given time.

Gildenhuys said co-operation between police, political organisations and monitors had improved as a result of the joint monitoring and control. "A team spirit and camaraderie was built up... you had senior NP members planning monitoring on the ground with Cosatu shop stewards."

He said the agreement reached between the ANC and police on the Friday before the funeral had been instrumental in the relatively peaceful nature of events.

IFP claim on violence to be probed

the last minute

Star 11/5/93

Talks saved at

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political
Correspondent

MULTIPARTY negotiations were pulled back from the brink at the last moment yesterday to close on a high note.

A day of drama at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park saw negotiators seesaw between exasperation and desperation.

Urgency

However, a resolution calling for urgency in the talks and for elections to be held by next April was tabled minutes before the meeting — which looked set for deadlock — ended.

The resolution will be discussed when the national council meets again on Friday.

Earlier, negotiators spent hours nit-picking. At one stage it looked as though the Inkatha Freedom Party was going to walk out. A last-minute compromise proposed by the planning committee



MDLALOSE: In close touch with Buthelezi.

saved the talks.

The negotiations deadlocked when IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose insisted on reading to the meeting a six-page document accusing the ANC and the Government of collusion in violence against IFP members in Natal. The document, distributed on Monday, called for the disbanding of all "private armies" before constitutional negotiations could continue and elections could be held. It accused the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) of killing hundreds of IFP office-bearers in Natal.

The document said the Government was unwilling to act against the ANC and MK as it did not want to "upset the bilateral appellation".

Talks

FROM PAGE 1.

regional government, the future of the homelands and the question of self-determination. ANC and Government negotiators expressed satisfaction about the progress in the last minutes of the meeting, saying the decision to create technical committees was an indication of the meeting's success.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels later said parties which were more "hesitant than others" about holding an early election had to be allowed to express their reservations.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said

the meeting had "recorded rather good progress". He expected the talks to begin tackling "substantive" issues within two weeks and that setting an election date would be "the number one item for next week".

Mdlalose said there had been a difference in approach over the technical committees. The IFP believed they would be called into being only "as and when necessary". He said the IFP feared that the technical committees might try to "do the work we have not asked them to".

Mdlalose said he was disappointed that he had not been allowed to read his speech on violence. "I'm going to consult my principals, but my feeling is that the thing is not over. I must read that speech," he said.

Members of the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Conservative Party backed Mdlalose, insisting that he be allowed to read the document.

The ANC and its allies strongly opposed the motion. A Transkei government delegate warned that if the IFP were allowed to read the document, Transkei would "rock this forum".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje asked for a 15-minute adjournment so that a compromise could be found. The planning committee then asked the IFP to table the document, with the agreement that the question of violence would receive continuing attention.

Orders

Sources said Mdlalose was in constant contact with IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi during the impasse, and that he was under orders "to read the document in the meeting or not come back to Ulundi".

After an adjournment lasting nearly two hours, the IFP agreed "as an interim measure" to the creation of a technical sub-committee to study the IFP document, discuss violence and liaise with the national peace committee. However, Mdlalose said the sub-committee could be established only after his delegation had reported back to its principal.

The negotiating council also accepted the planning committee's recommendation that technical committees be established to deal with constitutional issues and human rights.

The technical committee on constitutional issues would deal with — and report to the negotiating council — on the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional re-

At the



World Trade Centre

NEGOTIATING council delegates who fly into Jan Smuts airport pass an advertising hoarding on their way to the World Trade Centre. Selling trips to Sydney, it reads: "It's time to cross this bridge."

After two long days of negotiating, the council had clearly heeded the sign and taken its first step towards negotiating the transition to non-racial rule — even if Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa bantered about whether progress could be measured as one inch or several.

The gain came on Friday — an inch or two — when for the first time party-political games were laid aside and the Ciskei's Mick Webb, in his capacity as a member of the planning committee, persuaded the council to adopt a move he personally did not completely support.

With reasoned emphasis he talked the council through the need to set up technical sub-committees that will rope legal and constitutional experts into the process.

Their task will be to transform the raw positions of the 26 parties into submissions which will bring some much-needed structure to the debate. They will also have to marry positions which, once the clutter of rhetoric is cleared, are not always that disparate.

Seven committees will be set up to work this magic on constitutional proposals, human rights, the problem of violence, a commission to ensure independent elections, one to ensure fair media access to all parties, ridding the country of discriminatory legislation, and probably the most contentious, one which will attempt to ease the passage of the Transitional Executive Council.

The technical committees were effectively sanctioned by the council before lunch. By late afternoon it was still trying to work out what it had agreed to.

Uneasy

The IFP and Kwazulu government delegations and their allies remain uneasy about the committees, believing them to be another sign of the council putting the cart before the horse in attempting to sort out crucial issues such as violence at the same time, or even after, discussing the federalism issue.

A technical committee will also — for the moment at least — be the resting place of a highly contentious IFP statement on violence calling for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After the bizarre sight of the document being debated even though it enjoyed no status — it had been distributed but not read or tabled at that point — the planning committee cut a deal with the IFP's Frank Mdlalose and shuffled the speech off into the committee loop.

The planning committee, on which 10 delegates sit in their personal capacities to formulate proposals for debate by the council, is also the repository of all attempts at public politicking in the council chamber — but not a very secure one. It had tried to block the IFP statement at least twice before Dr Mdlalose — himself a member of the PC — brought it into the open anyway.

Whether it will stay safely in committee is moot as Dr Mdlalose is clearly

Inch by SITIMES 215198 inch talks

gaining ground

under pressure from Ulundi to read it into the record come what may.

But, not for the last time, parties to the right of the ANC were reduced to merely recording their objections or reserving their rights to revisit issues as momentum and an impatient public carried them forward.

The SACP's Joe Slovo launched his politicking soon after the council met on Monday, dropping the dreaded (to some) word "elections" into the meeting.

The smaller parties squawked and flapped at the mention of the E-word before Mr Slovo explained that all he sought was the meeting's approval for placing on the agenda the setting of a date by the planning committee.

When the planning committee met in camera to debate the matter, Mr Slovo suggested mid-April 1994; Why not early March, countered another member in the spirit of "more transient than thou".

Discussion was deferred, but Mr Slovo kept his election theme alive by introducing, just before the council adjourned on Friday, a "Declaration of Intent on the Negotiating Process".

Mr Slovo spoke in support of the resolution — which contains no advance on the government's preferred timetable of elections by April next year — in impassioned terms: "If we want this process to sparkle in the eyes of our people, we must set a date for an election."

The struggle at the World Trade Centre is only partly ideological, only partly between national and local interests; overwhelmingly it is, as was once observed of the framing of the United States constitution, between inertia and energy.

This week, inertia ruled — but momentum is breathing down its neck:

— Claire Robertson

Inkatha move delays talks on settlement

By THEMBA KHUMALO

DESPITE some progress made in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre on Friday, Inkatha has warned that it might pull out if the negotiating forum pressed ahead with a constitutional settlement without properly addressing the question of violence.

The warning came through a lengthy document which Inkatha general-secretary Dr Frank Mdlalose unsuccessfully tried to read to the delegates on Friday.

Other delegates objected strongly to Inkatha being permitted to present the paper to the forum because of the serious allegations it contained which would warrant a response from the government, the ANC and the Transkei government.

After a two-hour delay it was agreed that the document be referred to a special technical committee which will report to the forum next Friday.

The detailed document on violence, which Inkatha said was spurred by the ANC and the government "connivance" to sideline it, said it would be for the negotiating forum to hasten the fixing of an election date while violence continued unabated.

Killed with AK-47s

"The fact of the matter is that the IFP can't see its way through to negotiating a settlement if this forum continues to pretend that the violence only needs to be sorted out later.

"When is later? What happens in between? Are we to lose another five or 15 or 25 leaders? Is there to be a repeat of the nine massacres in Natal/KwaZulu that took place in the last few months of last year, mostly committed by hit squads in uniform?" Inkatha asked in the document.

It maintained that 270 of its leaders have been systematically killed with modern weapons, including AK-47s.

Among those who allegedly called for the killing of Inkatha leaders was the late SACP leader Chris Hani and several ANC leaders in Natal, the movement claimed. It said Hani had in the past publicly called for the murder of Buthelezi and members of the IFP Central Committee.

Inkatha said it found it strange that despite the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Accords and the National Peace Accord, the government was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of the "self-same cadres that are being deployed against us in SA".

It accused Pretoria of being party to another pact that put all the blame on political violence on Inkatha, whose hostel supporters were to be fenced in like animals while totally exonerating those attacking them.

The document also called for the banning of private armies, both from the left and the right and called on Pretoria "to stop treating MK with kid gloves".

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Spornner in the

C/Press 2/5/93

WORKS

Inkatha threatens to hold up talks

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA and KwaZulu delegations to the multiparty talks would withhold backing for the negotiations process until their demands were met, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate warned yesterday.

Sources at the negotiating council, which met on Friday, said they believed the two delegations were under orders from Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to move ahead on any key issue until the form of a future state had been finalised and agreement was reached on disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi, at a news conference yesterday after his return from Britain and Italy, also insisted that violence should be the first item dealt with at multiparty negotiations. "I cannot see how anyone imagines you can have a free and democratic election when people are being killed," he said.

Felgate said: "We cannot even put the negotiations process under way until the form of state has been sorted out. We will also not move on to discussing any substantive constitutional issues until the position of MK is resolved and we have effectively dealt with violence."

He warned that the planning committee was making premature assumptions about the agenda for technical committees.

Yesterday the planning committee discussed detailed proposals for the "dead-lock-breaking" technical subcommittees. The 26-party negotiating council agreed on Friday to establish at least seven technical subcommittees. Proposals for the committees include setting deadlines for reports to the negotiating council and the names of

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Inkatha

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the committee members. The council has stipulated that subcommittees are not forums "for negotiating substantial issues" but instruments to produce systematic documentation to facilitate discussion.

Inkatha's tough stance on the talks comes at a time of growing pessimism over chances of a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi to discuss violence and constitutional issues. A preparatory meeting to set the date was

due by March 5, but the renewed national negotiations forced a postponement.

ANC representative Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday it could not be left to the multiparty negotiators to organise a summit as they did not have the "intimate understanding that has developed between the two parties". The mere fact that preparations had been under way had contributed to various peace initiatives in Natal.

See Page 3

Inkatha threat to hold up talks

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations to the multi-party talks would withhold backing for the negotiations until their demands were met, Inkatha central committee member Mr Walter Felgate warned yesterday.

Sources at the negotiating council, which met on Friday, said they believed the two delegations were under orders from Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to move ahead on any key issue until the form of a future state had been finalised and agreement reached on disbanding uMkhonto weSizwe.

Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi, at a news conference yesterday, also insisted that violence should be the first item dealt with at multi-party negotiations. "I cannot see how anyone imagines you can have a free and democratic election when people are being killed," he said.

Pessimism

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Planners make modest progress

Modest progress was made yesterday at the World Trade Centre when the streamlined negotiations planning committee indicated it would begin to address issues raised by the Concerned South Africans Group, and agreed on a package of proposals to be submitted at Friday's meeting of the 26-party Negotiating Council.

Negotiators stressed that the 10-member planning committee has the power only to make recommendations to the larger forum, but were optimistic that yesterday's deliberations could lay the basis for substantive progress on Friday.

Cosag — whose main members are the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and Ciskei gov-

ernment — wants regions in a new constitution dealt with early and in detail, and wants the issue of violence pushed up the talks agenda. The spirit prevailing in the planning committee could calm Cosag fears.

The planning committee's package of proposals deals with a range of issues, including details for seven technical sub-committees,

guidelines on how to deal with demonstrations and criteria for deciding on new applicants to the Negotiating Council.

"I think we've got very good chances of making real headway on Friday," South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said after the meeting.

● To Page 3

Planners make modest progress

● From Page 1

"I will second Mr Slovo's suggestion," Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said.

"I think by Friday we should get the process really going with the appointment of the technical sub-committees."

The proposals on the sub-committees include timeframes, management, terms of reference and composition.

But Dr Ben Ngubane, a senior Inkatha Freedom Party official and leader of the KwaZulu delegation in the Negotiating Council, warned the moment of truth was still to come in multi-party negotiations.

"Substantive issues — that is where the crunch is going to come," he said.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alex-

ander — who chaired the session — said a letter had been sent earlier yesterday to all 26 parties requesting nominations for the sub-committees.

By Friday the planning committee would have finalised its proposals for the members of the sub-committees, Alexander said. The committee has proposed between three and six members for each sub-committee.

Sub-committees dealing with issues such as a constituent assembly and form of state would need more "political decision-making" and would therefore be bigger in size.

"For those matters which are purely of a legal nature, such as repeal of (discriminatory) legislation (and) prohibiting free political activity, you just need about three people.

"When it's more technical it is smaller, when it is more political it will be bigger," Alexander said. "We are also going to put forward a proposal on how to deal with demonstrations."

The IFP has already said it wants a separate sub-committee to deal with a future form of state. The party does not want the matter discussed in a sub-committee also dealing with other constitutional matters.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall attended the planning committee meeting to discuss co-ordinating efforts on violence with the National Peace Accord.

A meeting between the planning committee and the National Peace Committee was agreed to and will be arranged soon. — Political Staff, Sapa.



De Klerk . . . clear there would be many difficulties.

Star 5/5/93
SA's progress remarkable - FW

Political Staff (20/11)

CAPE TOWN - It was essential to reach all South Africans during the coming months to explain to them the significance of the coming elections, President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town last night.

Speaking at an International Public Relations Association dinner, he said it would also be necessary to create the circum-

stances in which they would be able to take part freely and meaningfully in the process.

The dramatic change in direction in South Africa just more than three years ago had turned out to be "a long-distance marathon towards our goal of a new and democratic South Africa".

There were no illusions at the outset that it would be an easy race. Given the diametrically opposed ideologies at the outset,

the deep-seated animosities and suspicions, and the legacies of prejudice, fear and envy in the society, it was clear there would be many difficulties.

But remarkable progress had been made, De Klerk said.

Nearly all the major parties in South Africa had been drawn into negotiations, and substantial agreement had been reached on important departure points and goals.

Star 5/5/93
Apartheid victims 'will not vote NP'

People who had been treated as second-class citizens all their lives were not going to vote for the National Party, Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC's negotiating team warned yesterday in an address to the Johannesburg Municipal Combined Employees' Union at the City Hall.

He told about 300 members of the largely coloured and Indian union that the National Party had been claiming the support of the majority of coloured and Indian people. (11/11)

Also addressing the meeting, the head of the ANC's local government unit, Thozamile Botha, said interim local councils to replace existing councils in black and white areas should be in place by July. (20/11)

These interim councils would be responsible for the rationalisation of services and the unifying of the budgets of the various local authorities in order to address the service crisis facing the country. - Staff Reporter.

Star 5/5/93
Mdlalose accusations referred to Goldstone

By Helen Grange (11/11)

Accusations made last month by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose that the Government was involved in a smear campaign against the IFP will be referred to the Goldstone Commission for possible investigation.

A statement by the National Peace Committee (NPC), detailing decisions made at Monday night's NPC executive meeting, said Mdlalose had raised issues relating to criminal action which fell within the scope of the Goldstone Commission and could not be dealt with by the complaints investigating committee.

In his address last Monday to the Negotiating Council, Mdlalose said Government intelligence agencies were involved in a smear campaign against the IFP and were "involved in providing support to those seeking our demise".

He also suggested that the police were deliberately neglect-

ing to investigate perpetrators of violence against the IFP.

The NPC executive on Monday distanced itself from recent inflammatory statements by Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said the NPC was very concerned with violations of the Peace Accord, which needed strengthening to further bind signatories to its terms.

The option of affording the accord legislative power to punish transgressors was, however, not being considered.

Hall said the greatest obstacles to the Peace Accord's success was the absence of a new political dispensation and the crippling socio-economic situation on the ground.

Action plans would, however, be launched to address immediate threats to peace in the form of mass action, political intolerance and broken-down relations between political parties.

Star 5/5/93
IFP plans to force talks on violence

DURBAN - The Inkatha Freedom Party is planning a programme of mass demonstrations to demand that violence tops the agenda at multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that IFP supporters would march and picket in the streets from May 15.

The first march would take place in Durban.

"The IFP's view is that violence has reached such a level that it should be tabled at the top of the agenda at the multiparty forum," he said.

His statement echoed that by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Monday.

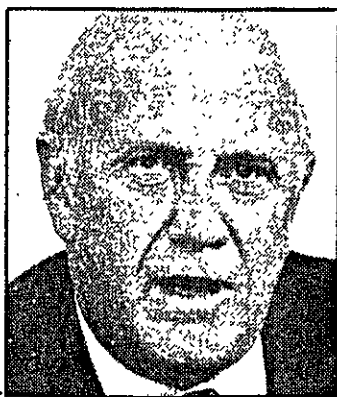
IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose attempted to read a statement on violence to last week's negotiating council, but it was referred to a subcommittee on violence.

The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. - Sapa.

Star 5/5/93

SA's progress remarkable - FW

Political Staff



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Apartheid victims 'will not vote NP'

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These interim councils would be responsible for the rationalisation of services and the unifying of the budgets of the various local authorities in order to address the service crisis facing the country. — Staff Reporter.

Mdlalose accusations referred to Goldstone

Star 5/6/93

By Helen Grange

Accusations made last month by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose that the Government was involved in a smear campaign against the IFP will be referred to the Goldstone Commission for possible investigation.

A statement by the National Peace Committee (NPC), detailing decisions made at Monday night's NPC executive meeting, said Mdlalose had raised issues relating to criminal action which fell within the scope of the Goldstone Commission and could not be dealt with by the complaints investigating committee.

In his address last Monday to the Negotiating Council, Mdlalose said Government intelligence agencies were involved in a smear campaign against the IFP and were "involved in providing support to those seeking our demise".

He also suggested that the police were deliberately neglect-

ing to investigate perpetrators of violence against the IFP.

The NPC executive on Monday distanced itself from recent inflammatory statements by Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said the NPC was very concerned with violations of the Peace Accord, which needed strengthening to further bind signatories to its terms.

The option of affording the accord legislative power to punish transgressors was, however, not being considered.

Hall said the greatest obstacles to the Peace Accord's success was the absence of a new political dispensation and the crippling socio-economic situation on the ground.

Action plans would, however, be launched to address immediate threats to peace in the form of mass action, political intolerance and broken-down relations between political parties.

IFP plans to force talks on violence

Star 5/5/93

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party is planning a programme of mass demonstrations to demand that violence tops the agenda at multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that IFP supporters would march and picket in the streets from May 15.

The first march would take place in Durban.

"The IFP's view is that violence has reached such a level that it should be tabled at the top of the agenda at the multiparty forum," he said.

His statement echoed that by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Monday.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose attempted to read a statement on violence to last week's negotiating council, but it was referred to a subcommittee on violence.

The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. — Sapa.

Concern over halt in ANC Inkatha talks

BILLY PADDOCK

MEMBERS of the diplomatic corps in SA yesterday expressed "great concern" that talks between Inkatha and the ANC had been "placed on the back-burner for the sake of multiparty negotiations".

They indicated they might take up the matter with the parties.

A joint Inkatha/ANC preparatory committee met several times to finalise arrangements for a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. But since their last meeting in February no further contact has been made.

Yesterday national peace committee chairman John Hall said the two major obstacles — Mandela's claim that Inkatha was a government surrogate and not an organisation with which the ANC would enter into agreements over violence, and the failure of MK to disband — had not been cleared up.

The summit is seen as an important step in reducing hostilities between the warring factions in Natal that have been responsible for more than 4 000 deaths in the past three years.

"It is vital that the bilateral meeting between these two parties take place as soon as possible," one senior diplomat said.

He argued that one of the main reasons for Inkatha and Concerned South Africans Group members hedging in talks at the World Trade Centre was because of their distrust of the ANC's intentions.

Meanwhile government is set to have two bilateral meetings in the next week — one with Inkatha at the weekend and another with the ANC next week to discuss constitutional matters.

There are still clear differences between government and the ANC over:

- The powers and functions of a transitional executive council and its sub-councils;
- The arrangements for a regional dispensation during the transition; and
- How to ensure reincorporation of the TBVC states.

IFP calls for armies control

JOHANNESBURG. —

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) tabled a resolution at the multi-party talks yesterday calling for the appointment of a commission to take control of and supervise the disbanding of the military wings of political parties and organisations. (118)

IFP delegate Mr Joe Matthews was not allowed to read the resolution, but tabled it, and it will now go to the Planning Committee.

The IFP also wants the government to provide a detailed report on all bilateral agreements

CRS/5/93



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Inkatha decides mass action is answer

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA, which has criticised the ANC for embarking on mass action to achieve its demands, has decided to do the same.

Inkatha's Durban spokesman Ed Tillet announced yesterday that his party was planning mass action to demand that violence topped the agenda at multiparty negotiations, and that the state's future form also be given priority. Tillet said Inkatha supporters would hold marches, pickets and placard demonstrations, starting in Durban on May 15.

On Monday, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said violence had to be the first item dealt with at talks. Inkatha's delegation leader, national chairman Frank Mdlalose, attempted twice

last week to read a lengthy statement at negotiations council meetings. First it was referred to the planning committee and, later, to a technical committee still to be set up.

Meanwhile the planning committee made limited progress on Monday and will meet again today to prepare the ground for "real headway" at Friday's meeting of the negotiating council.

The 10-member committee has agreed to a package of proposals to be put to Friday's meeting and the council is to begin addressing the concerns of the Concerned South Africans Group.

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Vrede once again town of peace

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE potentially explosive situation in the northeastern Free State town of Vrede was defused yesterday when a black consumer boycott and a counter-ban on all blacks entering the town were called off.

The ban on blacks started at the weekend after a decision by the Vrede Action Committee because residents of nearby Thambalihle township embarked on a consumer boycott last week.

At a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC NEC member Terror Lekota, who met the action committee earlier, said the parties involved had settled their differences.

"The consumer boycott and the blockade have been suspended with immediate effect," Lekota said, adding that a negotiating forum for residents of the area would be established soon.

He said meetings on Monday night and yesterday had defused the situation.

In another Free State township, Thabong, two pistols, found after a shebeen fight in April which left one policeman dead and one hurt, have become a matter of dispute between the ANC and the police.

At the conference yesterday, the two firearms were handed to representatives of the Goldstone commission, who were asked to establish their origin.

The ANC claimed security forces in the area were actively aiding forces opposed to the ANC and that the pistols were evidence of this. They claimed there was a plot to murder an ANC leader.

The police, however, denied the allegation. They said the pistols were those of two policemen who had gone to the bar, were assaulted there and robbed of them.

The police said the ANC's possession of the weapons was unlawful.

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IFP 'to take to the streets'

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party will "take to the streets" throughout Natal to support the party's negotiating stance that the spiralling violence should be placed at the top of the agenda at multi-party talks currently on the go at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg. (118)

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said a mass protest action programme will be launched on May 15 throughout all major regions in Natal.

4/5/93

Urgency called for in local govt

CAPE TOWN — Local government elections were so urgent they could be held before national elections, Local Government Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Delport told a parliamentary mini-debate this depended on rapid progress in negotiations on the form of local government. He could not accept the demand of the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) that all existing councils be scrapped. A process of reform was needed, rather than the sudden abolition of existing structures, he said.

A clear, legal and legitimate procedure was necessary to ensure lasting structures. Introducing the interpellation debate, Inkatha MP Mike Tarr said he was concerned about the lack of urgency in negotiations at local level, and many local councillors seemed to be affected

TIM COHEN

by this.

The ANC's Rob Haswell said black local government was in crisis, while many, if not all, the white local authorities were unable or unwilling to meet the challenge of "one city, one tax-base".

"They are busy budgeting for another business-as-usual year, buttressed by the belief that their terms of office will be extended," he said.

It was vital the next Local Government Negotiation Forum meeting on May 18 produced proposals for interim local and metropolitan councils.

He said the country needed enabling legislation such as a Transitional Measures for Local Government Act, and a pooling of financial resources, so as to empower interim authorities by July 1.

Interest groups want open SABC board appointments

INTEREST groups represented at a meeting called by the secretariat selecting a new SABC board yesterday called for open hearings to ensure maximum public participation in selection of board members.

Campaign for Independent Broadcasting (CIB) spokesman Dave Dison told a panel convened by Codesa judges Ismail Mohammed and Piet Schabert that the large number of nominations (more than 700) pointed to a groundswell of public interest and support for the new process.

DP MP Peter Soal said the panel's acceptance of public hearings would help establish the principle of accountability.

Lawyers for Human Rights delegate Frans Viljoen supported the call for transparency, and proposed that anyone who actively promoted racism "should be viewed with extreme caution".

Electronic Media Education spokesman Kumi Naidoo called for the appointment of seven members actively involved in education and development, while Black Sash spokesman Laura Pollecut called for a 50% representation of women.

SABC executive director Wynand Harmse suggested the election of four or five incumbent SABC board members to the new board to ensure continuity.

LLOYD COUTTS

Harmse said financial and technical skills would be required to deal with the complex operations of the broadcaster.

He said the new board would face the challenge of determining a new role for the SABC, would have to investigate ways of funding the corporation in the light of pending deregulation and would have to consider the unbundling of certain sectors of the corporation.

The new board would come under political pressure and would be responsible for ensuring the independence of the SABC.

"We should have people (on the board) who have and feel a responsibility to serve the public of SA, the whole public."

"We should have people with the required skills, but we cover 360 degrees of life. This board should see to it that the SABC fulfils its responsibility because it is a medium with great impact."

Harmse admitted that previous board members had been sympathetic to government. However, there had never been any "official" contact between board members and government. Top management appointed by the board had shown "a certain loyalty" to the board, he added.

Inkatha plans 'mass march for peace'

THE ANC must stop its "nonsense" now, because SA could not afford to allow the negotiation process to be held hostage by its demands, Inkatha-supporting Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker said yesterday.

Announcing Inkatha's "march for peace" in central Johannesburg on Saturday, Bekker said moderates were "fed up" with violence and rolling mass action.

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Carter Ndlovu said between 8 000 and 10 000 people were expected at the march. Bekker said it would be monitored by the SAP and Wits Vaal peace secretariat monitors. In-

DIRK VAN EEDEN

katha would also appoint 100 to 150 marshals and 50 monitors.

Plans to deliver a petition to ANC headquarters calling for a halt to rolling mass action were cancelled after intervention by the peace secretariat. The petition would be handed over to a senior member of the secretariat at the City Hall, Bekker said. Another petition would be delivered to SABC headquarters in Auckland Park calling for the levelling of the playing fields regarding political coverage.

IN BRIEF

**Kwazulu 'paid
for march buses'**

ANC 6/5/93
AFRICAN National Congress-aligned MP Mr Pierre Cronje is to present a document in parliament that allegedly shows that the Kwazulu government paid for buses to transport "Zulus" to an anti-ANC/South African government march in Durban in October last year.

He will release a copy of a transport requisition slip that allegedly links the Kwazulu government to the transport arrangements.

At the time the march was billed as a march of Zulus to protest against the Record of Understanding signed by the government and the ANC Political Staff. **11B** **(2)**

NEGOTIATIONS Fm 7/5/93

Under orders ~~ANC~~ ~~IFP~~ (118)

Last Friday's meeting of the multiparty negotiating council seemed set to implode when the IFP and KwaZulu delegates — clearly under instructions from Ulundi to tighten up their act — seemed set to dig in over settling the questions of violence and the "form of state" before anything else.

However, at the end of the day (and a long adjournment) progress — of sorts — was chalked up in the shape of a planning committee compromise. This was that the IFP document on violence (which the IFP's Frank Mdlalose uncharacteristically insisted he should read in full, even though it had been distributed the previous Monday) would be tabled and that the violence question would receive continuous attention.

The IFP agreed only conditionally to the creation of a technical subcommittee to deal with its document, which basically accuses the ANC and government of colluding in violence against it and of refusing to act on disbanding the ANC's armed wing, MK. Mdlalose let it pass, but said the subcommittee could be formed only after he'd reported to his principal — that is, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. There was almost a feeling of sympathy for the IFP delegates who had to return to Ulundi, having been unable to face down what were eminently reasonable compromises on their negotiating orders.

Thus they were unable to detach "form of State" from "constitutional principles" which the planning committee report, read by Ciskei's Mick Webb, had down as one item among eight (and possibly more) on which technical subcommittees, it was agreed, are to be formed.

The others: Constitution making body/constituent assembly; transitional/interim constitution (for which Buthelezi sees no need); transitional regional and local government; fundamental human rights, transitional executive council, its subcouncils, the independent elections and media committees; future of the TBVC states; and self-determination.

A declaration of intent, which says an election date not later than April should be set within five weeks, was not adopted. ■

AFTER a day spent listening to his colleagues arguing themselves into the ground over minor procedural matters, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo attempted to inject a note of urgency into the multi-party talks last Friday.

Speaking in favour of a resolution to move quickly to set a date for elections, he said: "We need to send a clear signal to the South African people that the new dawn is in sight."

After three years of negotiations, Slovo said, many people were feeling that "we are fiddling while the country burns". It was an impassioned speech that roused the bored and dwindling band of journalists into reaching for their pens.

Whereupon Ken Andrew, of the Democratic Party, responded that while his party supported the resolution, they had planes to catch. He moved that the matter be held over for a week until the next meeting of the negotiating council.

Thus Slovo's plea to "lift the spirits" of South Africa by taking a firm step forward fell almost farcically on deaf ears. The founding fathers of the new South Africa packed their briefcases and went home, having failed once again to dispel the notion of the negotiations as an endless succession of meetings and memos, delays and press conferences, incomprehensible and irrelevant to ordinary South Africans.

Friday's proceedings were held up by Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose's dogged insistence that he read in its entirety a long statement accusing the African National Congress and the government of collusion in violence against the IFP.

Everyone present had already had four days to read the statement and one was left with the inescapable impression that Mdlalose was under strict orders from his boss, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not even to think of reporting back that he hadn't read the whole document into the record.

In the end he didn't; the matter was

Briefcase brigade boards planes while SA burns

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the rightwing are hell-bent on delaying elections while thugs mow down people in bars and kill policemen. The only solution is to set an election date and get the Transitional Executive Council up and running

By
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



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116
7/5 - 13/5 / 92



Federalism might be the answer. No option can be ruled out. That is what negotiations are for: to devise the best system possible for competent administration, for development, for community life, for redistribution between rich and poor regions, for bringing government closer to the people, for building a nation, for avoiding conflict.

That is why a technical committee has been set up to deal with all the interrelated questions of constitutional principles—in an atmosphere of calm and rational debate about the principles that should guide a new South Africa.

Here the boerstaaters can unveil their maps on overhead projectors, Inkatha can argue for what IFP delegate Joe Mathews calls their "bottoms up" approach, and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo can say why he thinks the homeland ought to exist.

But the IFP has sought to block the nitty-gritty encounters where detail is discussed, preferring to wage ideologically charged debates about whether South Africa should be a federal or a unitary state.

The IFP's Walter Feilgate said it again this week: "We cannot even put the negotiations process under way until the form of state has been sorted out."

The similarity between the IFP and the rightwing is that both are hell-bent on delaying an election as long as possible, if not forever. That is understandable: the Research Surveys poll last year found that the combined Cosag vote would be in the order of 11 percent.

There are flaws and still major differences in the route that the NP, the ANC and the majority of parties at the multi-party talks are proposing. No compromise is perfect. But at least it meets the tough task of balancing black aspirations with white fears.

After three years of talks, it is time to acknowledge that South Africa has only one option and not a lot of time.

Up to now the overriding concern at the multi-party talks has been simply getting everybody on board.

agents.

But the right have no alternative vision, only a gut racism that takes them nowhere. Where are these brave people who will risk their pensions, their families, their farms, their middle-class lifestyles, and go to war for the pipe dream of a boerestaat?

Hendrik Verwoerd, junior, has been exhorting people for more than a decade to come to Morgenzon to exercise white self-determination. At last count he had attracted about two dozen families, engaged in a grim pioneer struggle to survive without their servants. A few hundred more have grown beards and donned veldskoene

South Africa where the white man can rule over himself. They collapse like cards in the face of the reality that nowhere in South Africa are whites in a majority.

Retired military intelligence general Tienie Groenewald has threatened a white breakaway state within months, but he has not even revealed where this phantom country comprising 16 percent of South Africa and where, he claims, whites are in the majority, is located. Is it the Kruger Park?

What happens, then, if the talks fail: to deliver what the white right wants because rational debate reveals it is racist in intent and nutty in content? Are these left-over securocrats firm

until MK, used interchangeably with "violence", is disbanded.

Mdlalose was not alone in filibustering. The CP's Tom Langley, who wears an expression of enduring disgust at finding himself at the multi-party talks, sourly nit-picked his way through Friday's session.

Yet just to label the Concerned South African Group (Cosag) spoilers will not make them go away. They claim that all they are trying to prevent is the ANC and the National Party roading through a high-handed deal.

The problem needs to be put another way. If we accept that the multi-party negotiations are essentially about finding a route to democracy in South

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Everyone present had already had four days to read the statement and one was left with the inescapable impression that Mdlalose was under strict orders from his boss, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not even to think of reporting back that he hadn't read the whole document into the record.

In the end he didn't; the matter was referred to a technical sub-committee set up to deal with the entire question of violence.

The logic is clear. Umkhonto weSizwe is not the only "private army" in this country, the IFP not the only party whose leaders have been assassinated, the Conservative Party not the only group whose public representatives stand accused of murder.

Yet the IFP, with breathtaking one-eyedness, persisted again this week in trying to block constitutional talks

South African Group (Cosag) spoilers will not make them go away. They claim that all they are trying to prevent is the ANC and the National Party roading through a high-handed deal.

The problem needs to be put another way. If we accept that the multi-party negotiations are essentially about finding a route to democracy in South Africa which meets the white minority's fears of black domination, what does Cosag propose?

The right insist that self-determination and a boerestaat must form part of a settlement, and their committee of generals is implicitly threatening war if it isn't.

The problem is knowing which boerestaat. At last count there were about a dozen versions from a plethora of parties and institutions, pseudo-scientific stabs at carving out a piece of

phantom country comprising 16 per cent of South Africa and where, he claims, whites are in the majority, is located. Is it the Kruger Park?

What happens; then, if the talks fail to deliver what the white right wants because rational debate reveals it is racist in intent and nutty in content? Are these left-over seurocrats from the PW Botha era capable of following the footsteps of the great Boer generals, De Wet and De la Rey? Do they have an army?

My guess is that the rightwing will be able to mobilise a lot of people around the emotional issues of self-defence, murders of farmers and threats to kill the boers. Winnie Mandela, Peter Mokaba, Tony Yengeni and Apla, take a bow! You are the right's most effective recruitment

decade to come to Morgenzon to exercise white self-determination. At last count he had attracted about two dozen families, engaged in a grim pioneer struggle to survive without their servants. A few hundred more have grown beards and donned veldskoene to help Carel Boshoff make the desert bloom in Orania.

The generals are clearly kicking up a lot of dust to enforce their demands at the negotiations, while helping the IFP block the technical committees set up to consider constitutional principles, including the viability of a boerestaat.

The IFP at least has a plan — the kwaNatal constitution, which was released amid much fanfare last year and proposes a federal or confederal constitution for South Africa.

black aspirations with white fears. After three years of talks, it is time to acknowledge that South Africa has only one option and not a lot of time. Up to now the overriding concern at the multi-party talks has been simply getting everybody on board.

But if the price we are to pay for keeping them on is negotiations stretching into infinity and appeasement of anti-democratic parties, then the major parties need to ask those parties to choose whether they want to stay in or go out.

The government has to decide whether to continue to hand the IFP a veto by insisting, as Roelf Meyer did on Sunday, that, come what may, the IFP must be part of the process.

At the end of the day, South Africa is badly in need of direction. Whites are flooding out of the country. Many townships are becoming ungovernable again. Black schools are collapsing in chaos. There is little confidence on the ground that the talks will produce anything worthwhile.

Perhaps setting an election date will not convince the young thugs who mow down ordinary people drinking in bars or who ambush police in Soweto that the armed struggle is past. But it will remove any shred of moral justification for their acts of terror.

The crunch is coming. Technical committees, scheduled to get underway next week, will tackle the hardest work of negotiations. The unflapably optimistic ANC secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, says he expects them to sit 16 to 20 hours a day, and to start producing results in a matter of weeks.

In that scenario, the Transitional Executive Council, the multi-party body that will share in the governing of South Africa during the election campaign, ought to be up and running by June.

That, and an election date, ought to begin the process of restoring morale.

Sample 715193
IFP youth march

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth League will hold a march in Johannesburg tomorrow to protest against the SABC's alleged bias against the IFP.

They will also protest against the ANC-led tripartite alliance's "rolling mass action"

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'IFP not calling for talks break'

DURBAN. — IFP presi-
dent Chief Mangosuthu
Buthezi says the IFP is
not calling for the sus-
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but is demanding that
the violence should top
the agenda. (113)

He said Democratic
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Beer had confused ran-
dom violence with the
calculated violence of
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said people should not
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suspension of negotia-
tions until the violence
was addressed. — Sapa

Star 7/5/93

IFP plans city march

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth will stage a march in Johannesburg tomorrow to protest against the SABC's alleged bias against the IFP and against the ANC-led tripartite alliance's rolling mass action which, it said, could cause violence and result in job losses.

118 The march is to start at the Johannesburg City Hall at 11.30 am and proceed to SABC headquarters in Auckland Park.

Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker, who recently left the NP to join the IFP, said organisers expected about 10 000 people to turn up. — Political Correspondent.

IFP marches 'funded'

Sawetani 7/5/93

■ MP wants assurance State won't pay for future action:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

SOUTH African taxpayers, through the KwaZulu government, funded Inkatha Freedom Party protest marches in Johannesburg and Durban last year, Independent MP Mr Pierre Cronje claimed in Parliament last night.

(IB) (Sawetani)
Cronje produced a copy of an order form from the office of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi instructing the

KwaZulu Department of Transport to "kindly provide 60 buses to transport Zulus" to take part in a march in Durban on October 10 last year.

Cronje estimated the Durban march to have cost taxpayers "up to R200 000". Another march in Johannesburg could have cost the same amount.

(Sawetani)
"Can we get the assurance from the Government that the taxpayer will not pay for the programme of mass demonstrations as announced by the IFP," he said.



SOUTH AFRICA'S AGONY: In a nation gripped by violent psychosis, drastic measures are needed to force peace on the intolerant

Star 8/6/93

Time for shock treatment

IF PEOPLE will not be tolerant willingly, they must be compelled, argues HENRY LEVER in a controversial article about ways to resolve South Africa's predicament.

THE OLD South Africa, based on apartheid, was an unjust society. The future South Africa, if present indications are anything to go by, will be nasty, brutish and ugly. A foretaste of what the future South Africa will be like emerges from trends which have become evident since the Rubicon was crossed and the country committed itself to negotiate a new constitution.

We have become all too familiar with incidents such as the burning of vehicles, the demands for assassins to be handed to the people to administer justice, the deliberate and cold-blooded shooting of a bus load of schoolchildren, inflammatory remarks to "kill the boere", attacks on the elderly and, above all, the endemic killings of IFP and ANC supporters.

In the worst days of American gangsterism, the rival mobsters could at least say that all they were doing was killing each other. For the thugs in the IFP and the ANC, however, anyone who gets in their way is fair game.

THE late Jan Hofmeyr pointed out that throughout the country's history there have been forces pulling South Africans together and others pushing them apart. We now have the best opportunity yet of coming together, but it seems to be slipping rapidly beyond our grasp.

The main culprits for the morass in which we find ourselves are the ANC, IFP, PAC, and National Party. But the Church, and more especially the South African Council of Churches, must share some of the blame. Once the country had committed itself to a negotiated constitution-making process, it was no longer necessary for churches to continue identifying with resistance movements. Their task then should have been to revert to a neutral position and ensure all parties acted responsibly and with commitment to the awesome task entrusted to them. Instead, they identified far too closely with the ANC and, as a consequence,



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Once the country had committed itself to a negotiated constitution-making process, it was no longer necessary for churches to continue identifying with resistance movements. Their task then should have been to revert to a neutral position and ensure all parties acted responsibly and with commitment to the awesome task entrusted to them. Instead, they identified far too closely with the ANC and, as a consequence, are now in danger of losing their moral authority. The basic sub-stratum of violence in South Africa is the conflict between the ANC and the IFP for control of the townships. This was recognised by the Goldstone Commission a long time ago. The IFP was at least able to recognise it, and to offer a solution. It is ironic that the one person within the ANC who came closest to recognising it (at least in public) was Chris Hani, whose death was a tragic loss in a great many respects.

To recognise the underlying cause of violence is to start the process of solving it. Central to that process will be for Mangosuthu Buthelez and Nelson Mandela to agree to differ, then to appear on as many public platforms together as possible and to help their followers understand how violence harms their cause.

The reason why the ANC will not approve of such a *toenadering* is ostensibly that it lends credibility to the IFP. But this stage has long been passed. The IFP has established its credibility and is a major political player in its own right.

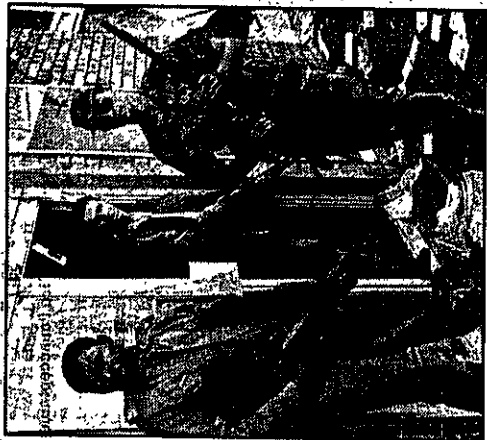
The human condition being what it is, there is a tendency to put a gloss on unacceptable actions. G.K. Chesterton pointed out that "murder" sounds a lot better if it is called something like "social sub-traction". In South Africa we call mass violence, intimidation, destruction and pillaging "mass action", reverse discrimination, "affirmative action", and mob rule and street justice, "democracy".

HERE is a tendency to say the present violence is part of a "transitional phase". South Africa is experiencing and that the majority of South Africans will adjust to blacks in government and will recognise that an accommodation has to be made, which will not be easy. But the problem is that violence is becoming endemic. The longer it lasts the more easily it becomes part of an integrated lifestyle and the more difficult to eradicate. This makes it folly to expect



SICKENING SYMPTOM: Political differences are settled with brutal finality and the average citizen has become inured to the horror.

Martial law and a joint ANC-IFP platform are keys to aiding change



IRON FIST: Martial law is seen as essential to giving the peace players breathing space.

as wide a spectrum of people as possible. It should include a Bill of Rights, a separation of powers, an independent judiciary, a wider separation between the executive and legislature that prevails now, a devolution of power to regions and entrenched clauses.

ALSO, there must be an upper house representing regions and interest groups with the principal purpose of preventing a recurrence of oppression by one group at the expense of another. But if people will not show tolerance towards each other, they will have to be coerced to do so. The constitution should be imposed unilaterally. People will grow to like it.

There is an Oriental saying that Western people fall in love and

then marry, whereas Eastern people marry and then fall in love (this may account for our high divorce rate). A similar process is likely to apply to an imposed constitution. If the system is seen to work, it will come to be loved.

It will be argued that since the ANC, PAC and the other "liberation (another evil euphemism) movements" have not approved it, they will revert to the armed struggle. However, the moral basis for their doing so, will have gone and they will be seen purely as power-seeking organisations.

Laissez faire approach: This consists of drifting along pretty much as we are doing now and hoping for the best. It is not a real alternative.

United Nations solution: This is the worst possible course. Nine-tenths of United Nations efforts to solve the internal problems of countries



BRIDGING THE GAP: Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelez in a 1991 peace drive. They must again project this image to mellow their followers.

has been either ineffectual or totally disastrous.

Emigration: A solution available largely to the more affluent sections of the population, unless you are lucky enough to be a refugee.

There is one other avenue which remains to be explored and this is more in the nature of a last hope than as an alternative solution. There are many people and organisations outside of the established political framework who possess a great deal of political clout.

These include churches, business organisations, mothers and fathers of victims, writers, artists, scientists, elder statesmen and the majority of decent and peace-loving people in all political organisations who need to muster their support in a last super-human effort to make it known to the leaders of all political forces that the nation has tolerated as much as it can.

There is much merit in locking up all the participants at the multi-party conference and only letting them out once they have arrived at a solution.

SOUTH Africa deserves far better than a simple choice between neo-Nazis on the one hand and militant trade unionists, communists and demagogues on the other. This was precisely the choice which confronted the German nation in the 1930s. Let us all hope that the similarity ends there.

The writer is a former Professor of Sociology at Witwatersrand University, Columbia University, New York, Ben Gurion University of the Negev and Haifa University.

IFP marches
Sunday, 21/5/73
for airtime

THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters led by National Party convert Jeppe MR Henrie Bekker, yesterday marched peacefully from downtown Johannesburg to the SABC.

They handed a petition to the corporation demanding "equal airtime for the IFP" and said the SABC favoured the government and the ANC.

To thunderous applause Mr Bekker called on the ANC to drop its proposed mass action programme.

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE 10 middle-aged men — seated around a rectangular table on the first floor of the shabby World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — are collectively known as the Planning Committee.

Their job is to smooth the talks-path for the 26-party negotiating council that haggles over SA's future in the full glare of the world's spotlight.

But each one of these men has a mandate from his leader — to cut the best deal possible for his party. And it is here that the compromises that will dictate the course of this country are bashed out before being scrutinised in the public forum.

When the 10 men enter the room, they leave behind them the rhetoric and antagonism that has become the daily fare of the press.

In their "personal capacities" they represent the main political forces in the country.

They are the Concerned South Africans Group consisting of the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party — but not the CP, the government, the ANC alliance with the Transkei and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

On the edges, watching the first round as the government and the ANC struggle to convince the Cosag lobby that their deal is the best course for the country, are the PAC and the DP.

The Planning Committee has less than a month to produce the goods.

Leader of the Cosag lobby is Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose, a medical doctor, the party's national chairman and the planning committee's self-appointed elder statesman.

Stubborn

Dressed in his trademark suspenders, which serve little purpose other than to adorn his robust belly, Dr Mdlalose stands back during much of the debate, graciously allowing his two partners in the Cosag alliance to get hot and sweaty over points that concern his party — in particular, regionalism and violence.

He then timeously intervenes to settle the

room, he is an enthusiastic first-time player, thriving on the process, but subdued by the courtship dance of the government and the ANC of the Cosag lobby. He takes a middle road in promoting the process, careful never to rock the boat.

His neighbour to the left is the slightly built and boyish Constitutional Minister and chief negotiator Reelf Meyer. He takes a fair and apparently honest approach in debate, always maintaining his cool when riled.

When trying to convince the participants, he seldom raises his voice and often uses a self-effacing manner.

Across the table is the ANC's secretary-general and chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa, who sometimes finds the contents of his electronic diary more interesting than the proceedings. When his intervention is necessary

— and in a manner too smooth even for a margarine advertisement — he slowly and patiently explains his party's viewpoint.

He will magnanimously concede an insignificant point to a Cosag opponent and then shrewdly scores a major advantage in the second breath.

His sometimes patronising style is offset by the Transkei's chief state law adviser Zam Tifus, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei's position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

He is admired for his thoroughness, meticulous care for detail and honest approach in seeking compromises.

His calm facilitating style is similarly found in the representative of the Indian Congresses and former Operation Vula operative Pravin Gordhan.

The picture of kind reason and wisdom, he is always tuned in to spotting the acceptable compromise and soothing raised hackles. However, when necessary, he can display the steely resolve of an underground cadre.

The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role

Plotting and planning in the 10-man committee

SI Times 9/5/93

BDA NAB TIA IIB



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
He gives a point while he scores an advantage



COLIN EGLIN
The DP man who is able to bring squabblers to heel



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He then timeously intervenes to settle the feathers with the kindly voice of Cosag reason. He can be stoically stubborn and maintains a tolerant but dignified silence at the waves of hilarity that often convulse the room.

Seated on his left is his Cosag ally, Mick Webb, the overweight and red-faced adviser to Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and a King Williams Town lawyer. He is quick to raise his hand to question any perceived slight, over-anxious to go on the attack and is undoubtedly the most dominant voice in the proceedings.

He is bolstered in his querulousness by Bophuthatswana minister of defence Rowan Cronje, a former minister under Rhodesia's Ian Smith and brother-in-law to CP MP Tom Langley.

Meticulously toupeed, he is smooth and articulate, always agreeable to ensuring the continuation of negotiations but careful to often reserve the tiny homeland's right to abstain from binding decisions.

Separating the Cosag lobby from the government representative is the PAC's Benny Alexander, neatly dressed in a suit and tie, having forsaken his grenadilla-coloured wrestling outfit and uncompromising rhetoric displayed at the talks forum last month.

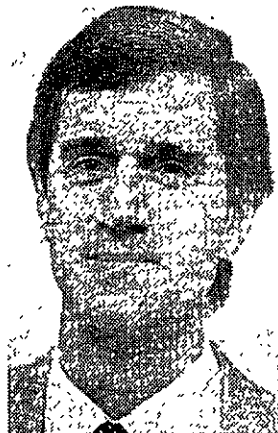
The youngest participant in the



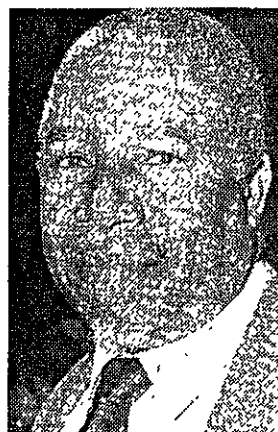
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The Minister with a cool, fair and honest approach



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The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and diligent fashion, but without the keen sensitivity to nuance that the other facilitators display.

Logical

Often forgetting to switch on his microphone, he will irritably boom forth what he sees as the most no-nonsense approach to a particular issue, and for some reason, the rest of the squabblers come to heel.

Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, habitually dressed in his tired red socks, makes his points best by leaning forwards on his crossed arms.

His arguments are always calm, reasoned and logical, never disregarding principle for consensus, but neither sacrificing progress for political gain.

The proceedings of the 10 are kept for the record by Gillian Hutchings, a seconded employee from the Consultative Business Movement.

Ever watchful over the proceedings is the CBM's Theuns Eloff, head of administration for negotiations who constantly anticipates the moment which will spell either breakthrough or chaos.

— EDYTH BULBRING



Inkatha marches on 'biased' SABC

MORE THAN 6 000 Inkatha supporters took to the streets of Johannesburg yesterday to protest against alleged SABC media bias and to call for an end to violence.

Wielding sticks, spears and bedecked in Inkatha colours, the marchers gathered at Johannesburg's City Library Gardens before marching to the SABC's Auckland Park headquarters.

Inkatha West Rand secretary Humphrey Ndlovu said the march

was to protest against the SABC's sidelining of most political parties, including Inkatha.

Memoranda to the SABC and the print media - received by corporation communication manager Willie Visagie - said the Inkatha youth did not want special favours from the corporation, but wanted fair and equal coverage.

Police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman said no incidents of violence were reported. SABC



ZOLA BUDDIES . . . Protesters hitching rides on security force vehicles during the Inkatha march on Auckland Park.

focus on talks

MASS action is a democratic right to back legitimate mandates, so argue its advocates and, although they may deny it, its opponents are also using this political tool albeit in a different form.

And to the 104 negotiators at the World Trade Centre — who include bitter enemies representing the left and right — mass action, whatever it means to its proponents, stresses the sense of urgency needed to expedite a negotiated settlement.

Contrary to expectations, progress was made by the 26-party negotiating council on Friday amid heightened mass demonstrations on the left and right.

A new dimension, though, is that the mass protest by white farmers on Thursday was against the progress being made at the World Trade Centre. Disguised as a protest against the "kill the boer, the farmer" slogan, the farmers' intention was to actually voice opposition to any future black government, ostensibly African National Congress rule.

Mass action detractors, notably the Government, however, reckon mass action is extremist and accelerates the country's plunge into civil war.

Exert pressure

The ANC and the PAC maintain that they are liberation movements and as such have to exert pressure on the Government and its cohorts to commit themselves to the eventual transition to democracy.

The ANC has suspended its armed struggle and uses mass action to back its mandates. The PAC maintains it will exchange the bullet for the ballot only when a constituent assembly is in the bag.

Said ANC legal expert and negotiation strategist Mr Mathew Phosa: "Mass action should not be juxtaposed with negotiations. People are impatient and they want negotiations to deliver freedom.

"Mass action is a fundamental democratic right to demonstrate and protest and has nothing to do with violence. There is a deliberate misinterpretation and distortion of what mass action is.

"For instance, during Chris Hani's funeral service at the FNB Stadium on April 19 Mr Desmond Smith, who lived at the neighbouring houses, arrived home to find his furniture being loaded on a truck. I have spoken to him and it was proved the culprits had nothing to do with the ANC nor were they inside the stadium at any time."

PAC negotiator and foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim said: "It is not anyone's right, let alone the Government's, to demand that mass action should stop."

While mass action may be a democratic right ordinary South Africans are praying that the bombardment from left and right does not roll into anarchy. **Themba**

Molefe explores the avenues:

Sweeten 10/5/93

He said pressure was necessary to create a climate conducive to productive negotiations.

"The Government thought it would weaken us by trying to persuade us to abandon arms. Of course, we still say there has still to be a substantive move towards democracy.

"We agree that we need to have a negotiated settlement but say that in order to do that we also need to maintain pressure on the regime. Mass action is one such pressure," said Ebrahim.

Although the PAC sees the negotiations forum divided into four distinct "groupings", it is surprisingly the ANC which says there are two sides at the table.

Ebrahim said the distinctions were of the ANC alliance, the NP/Government alliance, Cosag and the Africanists.

Phosa said it was in fact the liberation movement (ANC alliance and PAC) on the one side and the Government and its supporters on the other.

Said Phosa: "Although De Klerk supports the idea of an interim constitution and transitional executive council, he has not said he opposes a white state. Has he?"

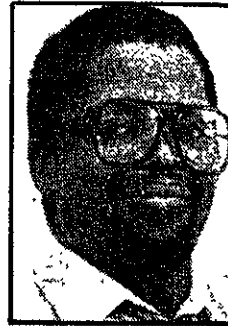
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Today, charged up by the assassination of Chris Hani, the ANC alliance wants elections now and mass demonstrations, marches and general protests are the tools with which to hasten the negotiations process.

The ANC's critics, notably the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party on the other hand, argue that apart from being out of step with the negotiations tide, mass action breeds violence and destruction.

State President FW de Klerk last week said the Government would consider its participation in negotiations if mass action continued. On Saturday he issued a strong warning against "extremists".

Chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said in Parliament that the Government would demand an end to mass action when violence is discussed



Policy grievance

A booklet of the South African Council of Churches, *Glossary of Current South African Political Terms*, defines mass action thus: "Organised political protest initiated on a national scale, or at least planned in accordance with a national strategy.

While each demonstration has targeted a specific policy grievance, the underlying objective has been perceived as an attempt to dramatise the extent of a party's political support, and thus strengthen its bargaining hand in negotiations.

The democratic right to participate in peaceful mass action was reaffirmed by the South African Government in its Record of Understanding (September 26 1992) with the ANC.

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"I am giving notice that the Government will therefore adopt the standpoint that mass action leads to violence and gives rise to a climate of violence," Meyer said last Wednesday.

This means the Government is to demand that the ANC should stop making demands.

The IFP, a leading partner in the Concerned South Africans Group of anti-Constituent Assembly/unitary state parties, has also begun its mass demonstrations to back various demands, including "fair" television coverage.

Already, the IFP has succeeded in drawing attention to a lengthy document titled "Death List" which it submitted at the negotiating council. In it the IFP accuses the Government and ANC of collusion in assassinating its leadership.

An IFP walkout was averted at the World Trade Centre two weeks ago when the negotiating council decided to refer this document to a subcommittee on violence for recommendations.

But as indeed hopes are still pinned on the World Trade Centre ordinary South Africans pray mass action from either the left or right does not roll into anarchy.



WAR GATHERING . . . Zulu women in tradition headgear gather in the foreground as IFP warriors with sticks prepare to march on the SABC's Johannesburg headquarters on Saturday afternoon.

Picture: AP

CT 10/5/93 (113) (114)

Inkatha marches on SABC

JOHANNESBURG. — Security forces on foot and in scores of armoured vehicles threw a ring of steel around the SABC here on Saturday afternoon when about 6 000 Inkatha supporters arrived to hand over a memorandum protesting against alleged bias from the corporation.

They were in position in and around the SABC headquarters as the protesters

massed in the street outside after marching from central Johannesburg.

Their leaders handed over three memoranda, addressed to the African National Congress-alliance, the print media and SABC management.

The IFP youth brigade, which organised the event, accused the SABC of marginalising the IFP and of biased coverage.

It said in the memoranda it did not want to get special treatment from the corporation, or from the print media, but only fair and equal coverage, the same as that given to the ANC-alliance.

The memoranda also called on the ANC to halt its intended mass action campaign.

Traffic police and security forces monitored the whole march. — Sapa

Cosag tries to flex negotiating muscles

Star 10/5/93

THEY have leap-frogged to the top of television and radio news bulletins over the past few weeks and have had more than their share of newspaper headlines.

And last week spokesmen for the newly formed "Committee of Generals", which seeks to unite the righting gave as one of their reasons for existence the bolstering of Cosag in multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

They call themselves the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) — because some of them cherish their territories "independences" and therefore do not see themselves as South Africans — and seek to strengthen one another's position in negotiations.

But who are they, and how did they come to be allies, these members of Cosag?

There is a strange political marriage of convenience and political observers expect it to go the way of all such marriages when the relationship among them soured and the country ceases to exist.

Cosag was formed in Sandton in October following the signing

of the September 26 Record of Understanding by President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

That agreement, which included the fanning in of hostels regarded as violence flash-points and the banning of the carrying of all dangerous weapons — including "traditional" or "cultural" weapons — angered Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He immediately suspended contact with the Government, accusing Pretoria and the ANC of having embarked on an "ethnic cleansing" campaign against Zulus.

He said while he was not against the holding of bilateral meetings between the Government and the ANC, he was opposed to agreements reached in such meetings if they had implications for people and institutions not represented in the meetings.

Buthelezi, whose relationship with De Klerk's Government was gradually cooling off met in Mbabatha with Bophuthatswana President Chief Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The three met again a week later in Sandton and extended an invitation to right-wing and homeland groups which shared their antipathy to the ANC and the Government.

Present at that meeting were

Buthelezi and his party, Mangope and some members of his government, Gqozo and members of his government, the late Conservative Party (CP) leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and his delegation, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers and his delegation, as well as delegations from other lesser-known groups such as the Afrikaner Vryheid Stigting (Avstig) and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association.

Except for the IFP, none of the organisations and parties present could claim that the Record of Understanding had any direct implications for it and its members.

Asked what binds them together, Cosag secretary Johan Ferreira told The Star what they had in common was their opposition to a unitary state in favour of a federal/confederal system. The difference between any camaraderie between IFP members with their CP counterparts on the ground



Mangosuthu Buthelezi... angered by agreement between the ANC and the Government.

— Gqozo and IFP western Transvaal leader Humphrey Ndlovu attended Treurnicht's funeral in Pretoria two weeks ago — but one can hardly imagine any camaraderie between IFP members with their CP counterparts on the ground.

AVU has defied racism and also embraces "brown Afrikaners" — coloureds — in its vision for an Afrikaner state.

All Cosag members are opposed to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly, and maintain that the multi-party negotiations forum will have to write the country's new constitution before presenting it to the populace for approval through a referendum. Only then, they contend, should elections be held.

While the IFP, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the AVU may be the better known Cosag members — being involved in negotiations — they are by no means the only ones.

With them are Professor Carel Booysse's Avstig, the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association, Action Save South Africa, the Volksseheid Komitee, Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, KaNgwane's Inkaba Party, Natal's Reform Party, KwaNdebele's Sidaway Party and Transvaal Member of the Executive Council John Mavuso's National Forum.

Although its KwaZulu-Natal constitution adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in December last year is more confederal than federal, the IFP insists it wants a federal system for South Africa.

Gqozo and Mangope do not want to relinquish the power they now enjoy in their respective territories, and would like a confederal system for South Africa. Unlike Buthelezi, they have little support in their own backyard.

Gqozo is extremely unpopular in Ciskei, and there was jubilation and excitement on the streets of Mbabatha when Mangope was ousted in a coup in February 1988 — before the then President P W Botha stepped in to restore him to office.

The CP and the AVU have support in the Afrikaner community, and both want a confederation. The difference between them is that while the CP remains racist in outlook, the



There are around 38 million people in South Africa, and the population is growing at more than 2 percent a year. By next May there'll be roughly 39 million of us, by the turn of the century 45 million, by 2020 more than 70 million, and so on. What we need is a population policy — or at least a revamped one — to curtail this growth.

Health Writer DAVID ROBBINS reports.

POPULATION development, birth control, family planning — call it what you like — is a political issue for the majority of South Africans. Not really surprising since politics here has been so essentially bound up in the numbers game.

In the 1960s, a Cabinet minister won instant notoriety by urging every white family to have another baby to bolster the Republic. Those were the days of the "swart gevaar", with the extent of the danger being, of course, in direct relation to the size of the black population.

But times have changed. Most people accept that a planned population is essential for development. The country's expanding numbers exacerbate the crises we are experiencing in education, unemployment, housing and health.

It also plays havoc with resources. How long can South Africa remain one of the few countries on the continent to produce all its own food? And it's been estimated that the country's water resources — including regional schemes like the Lesotho Highlands project and another planned for the Zambesi — can support only around 60 million people.

That's the figure at which the Department of National Health and Population Development hopes to stabilise the population by the end of the 21st century. The department's Population Development Programme (PDF) has as its other major objectives the acceleration of social and economic development and

focus on talks

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Exert pressure

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"For instance, during Chris Hani's funeral service at the FNB Stadium on April 19 Mr Desmond Smith, who lived at the neighbouring houses, arrived home to find his furniture being loaded on a truck. I have spoken to him and it was proved the culprits had nothing to do with the ANC nor were they inside the stadium at any time."

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Sawetani 10/5/93

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IFP marshals save man's life

■ Marchers ordered to respect other
people: *Sawetani 10/5/93*

By Tsale Makam

INKATHA Freedom Party marshals saved a Johannesburg man from almost certain death when some marchers, who were returning from a march in town, tried to attack him on Saturday.

Mr Simon Msibi of Berea said he was frightened when he met the "chanting group wielding traditional weapons", near Dobsonville hostel but decided to drive on.

"I sat there paralysed with fear as one man lifted his *kierie*, preparing to strike", he said.

But an IFP marshall came to his rescue hitting the hotheads with a *kierie* and shouting at the others to conduct the march in a disciplined manner.

Mourners rampage after shots

JOHANNESBURG. — At least one man was killed and three people were injured when IFP supporters returning from a funeral went on a rampage in Tembisa on the East Rand, yesterday afternoon after two gunmen opened fire on them, police said.

Police have arrested a man in possession of an AK-47 rifle who fits the description of one of the gunmen who fired on the mourners (11/5)

An ANC member known only as Mshini was shot dead, according to Mr. Isaac Mahlangu of the ANC Tembisa Peace Desk. CT10/5/93

Police on the scene apparently saved the lives of a woman and her two daughters who were being attacked by IFP members.

Police spoke to the group's leader who calmed the mourners and urged them to return to their hostel, which they did.

Allegations of police complicity and improper conduct were received and are being investigated, police said. — Sapa

IFP warns on SA's future

ULUNDI. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the future may be too late to remedy South Africa's turmoil, and urged President F W de Klerk to discuss the nitty-gritty of negotiations with him, it was reported yesterday.

Speaking here Chief Buthelezi said there had never been so much hatred in the country as at present. — Sapa

UK Slammed for supporting IFP

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The British government must abandon its colonial policies of divide and rule — and stop supporting Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi or face further bloodshed in South Africa. This was said by veteran writer and journalist on South Africa Anthony Sampson in a hard-hitting column in yesterday's Observer.

While Oliver Tambo — who had close British connections — was being buried last month, the British government chose to dispatch its ambassador to the Foreign Office in London to "look after" Chief Buthelezi. Sampson said the "disturbing

diplomatic blunder" was both significant and ill-timed given the delicate negotiations taking place between the ANC and President F.W. De Klerk. "In South Africa, De Klerk has been forced to recognise the merits of his own past support for Buthelezi, particularly since his government was revealed to have

organised secret funding for him. Yet John Major still gives him public recognition, as virtually co-equal with De Klerk and Mandela." He blamed the British government for continuing to publicly recognise Chief Buthelezi and in doing so, lending respectability to his actions.

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Inkatha slams

ANC for snub

STELLENBOSCH
The Inkatha Youth Brigade branch at Stellenbosch University says the ANC's refusal to take part in a local march for reconciliation reflects its double agenda on peace and democracy.

It said this should be viewed alongside the ANC's disruption of the recent meeting at which IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was among the speakers.

— Sapa (112)

Star 116193

Govt-Inkatha gap narrows

The yawning gap between the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party in negotiations appears to have been narrowed by a weekend meeting. Sources at the meeting on Saturday said it had succeeded in getting rid of "misunderstandings" between the two organisations. The IFP negotiators will report to leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi today. — Political Staff. (116)

Battle lines are forming amid talks of settlement, writes Patrick Laurence

Star 11/5/93

Reality tempers the optimism

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POLITICAL conflict is looming in the coming month, which — barring superlative wisdom from South Africa's leaders — will resemble the proverbial clash between the irresistible force and the immovable stone.

Multiparty negotiations have deferred but not averted the conflict. The adoption last Friday of a declaration of intent to set a precise date for a nonracial election in the next four weeks obscures rather than reconciles the divergent interests of the main antagonists.

The irresistible force is represented, primarily, by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress Party but includes a range of political actors from the Transkei government to the Pan Africanist Congress.

Although divided on many issues, they are united in their conviction that a nonracial election for an interim parliament — an interim government of national unity should be held before the end of April next year.

A loose alliance of conservative forces, the Concerned South Afri-

cans Group (Cosag), constitutes the immovable stone; it includes the Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), the largely Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.

Cosag is strongly opposed to holding an election in the prevailing climate of violence and opposing in principle to the notion of mandating a popularly elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Commitment to set "an exact election date" in the next four weeks is linked to, and dependant on, delegates at the multiparty talks agreeing on — in the words of the declaration — "binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitutional-making process" and an "adequate time-frame" for implementing these decisions.

These fine-sounding phrases mean that the delegates will have to concur on the form of the future South African state, including the tricky questions of where — and by whom — regional boundaries will be drawn and, as important, what powers will be allocated to regional governments.

In large measure that problem is subsumed in another: who will draft the final constitution, an elected assembly, as agreed by the ANC, the PAC and the De Klerk administration, or the multiparty forum, as mooted by the IFP and its Cosag partners?

Friday's adoption by the multiparty negotiating council — like the earlier adoption at Codesa — has generated an aura of euphoria, a sense that the interlocutors are, at last, moving forward.

But optimism, however sorely South Africa needs it, must be tempered with reality.

Friday's declaration of intent must be juxtaposed with another event which took place at about the same time: the formation in Pretoria of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront and its rejection of the "present negotiating process" in so far as it is aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination.

The formation of the Volksfront signals the death knell of hopes that the fracturing of the CP last year which led to the birth of the AVU — was a prelude to fur-

ther fragmentation of the right wing and its disappearance as a potent political force.

It simultaneously serves as a warning that the CP and the AVU — both members of the Volksfront — will withdraw from negotiations if they believe that the principle of self-determination is neglected or dismissed at the multiparty talks. As Ferdi Hartzenberg, acting leader of the CP, puts it: "If that door is closed, we shall not stay there and arrange our own funeral."

The Volksfront's primary objective is to unite Afrikaners in defence of their right to self-determination. Its secondary objective is to stiffen the resolve of Cosag to defend self-determination as a general principle. Both impinge on the negotiating process.

The office of one of the former generals involved in the formation of the Volksfront, General Tienie Groenewald, contains maps which depict more than the proposed Afrikaner volkstaat: the maps, drafted by the Eenhedskomitee (Unity Committee), show the location of proposed states for the Tswanas, the Zulus and the Xhosas.

Thus the fight for an Afrikaner

volkstaat is linked to the struggle for separate states — or autonomous regions within a loose federation — for their black allies in Cosag. The quest for an Afrikaner volkstaat supplements the IFP's objective of a largely autonomous KwaNatal and demands for continued regional autonomy by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

It is the potential link between Afrikaner conservatives and above all Zulu traditionalists which makes them a force to be reckoned with. Jacob Zuma, deputy general secretary of the ANC and himself a Zulu, admits that he is worried by the prospect of an axis between these sectors of the Afrikaner and Zulu communities.

Another anxiety is beginning to haunt De Klerk's NP: continuing defections from its ranks to a reemerged Afrikaner Right. The four retired generals who were involved in the formation of the Volksfront are all former loyalists of the P.W. Botha administration. As new converts to the Afrikaner right wing, they give substance to the NP's fear.

The ANC sees the struggle for an Afrikaner state and for black ethnically based states as a bid to perpetuate apartheid in a dis-

guised form. It warns: "The people of South Africa will not fold their arms and allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia."

Significantly, De Klerk, in his most recent address to the parliament, uses similar rhetoric: "South Africa would be dragged back into the past. International isolation would return, sanctions and economic collapse would follow, violence would increase and a bloody Bosnia-like civil war could ensue."

The only difference is that De Klerk is chastising "extremists of the Left and Right, asserting that both are involved in a 'desperate' bid to disrupt the negotiations."

De Klerk concludes: "The only reasonable prospect available to South Africa — if it wishes to avoid such a catastrophe — is to proceed swiftly to the conclusion of the present negotiations and the installation of a government of national unity, drawing its authority from a new and carefully crafted constitution."

The problem, however, is that conservative forces see that as a route to servitude, not salvation. □

and included prominent businessmen. Police also announced that a 69-year-old pensioner had been arrested after allegedly shooting at a police helicopter because it was "noisy". Police liaison officer Major Andrew

Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte. The gardener was not injured. A police helicopter was then summoned to help trace the robbers and as it circled above area the pensioner shot at it with a .38 revolver.

No to multi talks

■ Azapo maintains status quo and 'intensifies struggle'

By Lulama Luti

THE Azanian People's Organisation continues to play its cards close to its chest, opting not to join the multiparty talks. *Sowetan 11/5/1985* Instead, the organisation decided at a special congress in Roodepoort at the weekend to maintain bilateral talks between itself and the Government.

The organisation also resolved to retain Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of the Central and Southern Africa Province of the Anglican Church as facilitator of the talks between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the Government on the other.

Addressing a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said his organisation believed the current multiparty talks were never intended to deliver freedom to (black) people.

"We can't be blamed for delaying the process (of negotiation). There have been negotiations for three years and nothing of significance has been achieved."

Azapo also rejected the notion of a government of national unity, saying it believed strongly that there was still a chance that the other members of the liberation movement would join ranks with the organisation and speak with one voice against the Government. Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gornolemo Mokae said: "In principle, we are not opposed to talks but what we are saying is that the regime has not pointed out clearly that it is ready to relinquish power."

The two-day congress pledged its unwavering support for the BCM and its liberation wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, saying the struggle had to be intensified on all fronts.



Reason for houses backlog

■ No national policy: THE lack of a uniform national housing policy for South Africa was partly responsible for the country's housing backlog, regional director of the Department of Housing, Mr John Africa, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing the 21st World Housing Congress, he said that until 1985 all State housing projects were undertaken without consultation.

The department's self-help programme, had provided homes for 80 000 people in seven years. — By Joshua Raboroko and Sapele

THE Kagiso branch of the African National Congress has vowed that the consumer boycott aimed at white businesses in Krugersdorp will make previous ones seem like a Sunday school picnic. *Sowetan 11/5/1985*

The consumer boycott, launched on Saturday, followed the arrest of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, in connection with the assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hanlon.

Linked to the protest action is a set of eight demands which would deter mine the resumption of buying in the white Conservative Party-controlled town. These include the resignation of all Krugersdorp city councillors, the installation of an "interim administration accountable to the democratic majority in Krugersdorp" and the provision of security for "all leaders of the people".

Three die in crash

TWO staffers at the Soweto campus of Vista University and a seven-year-old child were killed when their car collided with a taxi on the Old Pochefstroom Road in Soweto on Sunday night.

The dead are Mr Richard

and Khumalo's daughter, Mbali. Khumalo (33) of Protea North, was chief librarian at East Rand campus of Vista University. The taxi driver allegedly ran away.

Pig put in coffin

THE Nuanu firm of undertakers in Honolulu has agreed to apologise and pay about R2 million in compensation for putting a dead pig in the coffin of Mimi Goldberg, whose family's Jewish faith regards pigs as unclean.

It was an accident, the undertakers explained in a statement.

R20 000 grabbed

THREE armed men robbed a petrol station in Athlone, Cape Town, of more than R20 000 yesterday.

The police said the balaclava-clad men threatened a petrol attendant before demanding the money and escaping.

Offices vandalised

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade offices in Germiston were vandalised by unknown assailants on Sunday night, an official claimed. *Sowetan 11/5/1985*

Court frees 15 IFP members

■ No proof of involvement in
Boipatong massacre:

Sewetun 11/5/93

By Tsale Makam

THE Delmas Circuit Court yesterday acquitted 15 Inkatha Freedom Party members who were accused of taking part in the Boipatong massacre on June 17 last year.

Last month, 27 IFP men had charges against them withdrawn.

The men were facing 45 counts of murder and more than 80 charges of attempted murder.

Seventy four KwaMadala Hostel inmates were initially arrested.

A nine-month-old baby

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Yesterday's dismissal leaves the number of the accused at 32.

The Boipatong massacre, as it became known, left 45 people dead, including a nine-month-old baby.

Most people were attacked in their sleep.

Defence lawyers Mr J van Elk, Mr V Botha, Mr R Strydom and Mr J Swart yesterday asked to withdraw from the case, saying that the person funding the accused no longer had money to pay legal fees.



Threat to negotiations from extremists is growing

Shear 12/15/193

DESPITE the optimistic noises coming from the World Trade Centre, the negotiations are in fact a particularly difficult and dangerous stage.

On the one hand, agreement is tantalisingly close. The Government and the ANC, representing perhaps 80 percent of the population, have narrowed their differences to a point where they could reach agreement right now.

But the deal cannot be closed because the lesser parties in the Cosag alliance — the so-called Concerned Southern Africans Group — are holding out for demands which the major parties cannot concede.

And while the haggling continues inconclusively, it is becoming clearer by the day that delay is explosively dangerous. In the emotionally charged atmosphere following the assassination of Chris Hani and the arrest of three Conservative Party members, the radical wings of both the black Left and the white Right are whipping each other up with fiery rhetoric and threats of a race war.

Both the major parties are counting under increasing pressure



Allister Sparks

from these radical elements. As one key negotiator confided, if there is no agreement by the end of May, the ANC is going to be under heavy pressure to withdraw from negotiations.

It has to be able to show results to its impatient youth: it cannot just sit there month after month getting nowhere.

Likewise with the Government. There was a time when the National Party felt time was on its side, letting the ANC twist in the wind while it put together its own multiparty alliance.

No longer. There is a keen awareness now that the longer the talks drag on the more the Government loses legitimacy, the more the violence increases and the more the National Party loses support to the Conservative Party and, in Natal, to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

As a Cabinet Minister put it last

Friday: "The worst scenario is if the major parties reach agreement but lose control over their own constituencies. Then we'll have a very dangerous situation indeed."

So time is critical. What is needed to neutralise the wild voices of the Left and Right is for the parties of the centre to move forward fast to an agreement and then an election, giving the country a sense of momentum and letting the voters cut the obstructive minority parties down to size.

But this cannot happen as long as there are holdouts: the minority parties of Cosag for their unattainable demands; the Conservative Party for its separate white state, unacceptable because there is no part of the country with a white majority which means blacks would have to be forcibly removed from the Bopetstap or disenfranchised; and the Inkatha Freedom Party for a form of confederacy designed to set up Natal for a Katanga-style secession.

Both insist that the form of state embodying these demands must be agreed upon now, before an election, and be binding on the elected constituent assembly

which will draft South Africa's new constitution.

The reason they are demanding this up-front decision is that they know the election will reduce them to minority status, too small to achieve what they want in the constituent assembly. Which is also why the major parties will not agree in advance to such Balkanisation.

Meanwhile, the filibuster continues, with the IFP and the right wing holding out for what cannot be conceded — and as time ticks by the threat from the extremists increases.

What is to be done? Some analysts are saying the only way is for President de Klerk to move forward to an election with the ANC and other supporting parties, and if necessary clamp down on the dissenting minorities. But it is doubtful whether De Klerk has the political will to do that.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has suggested that De Klerk should hold an all-race referendum to legitimise such a move. But to hold a national referendum and a general election in quick succession in South Africa's present climate of violence is a daunting prospect.

It would also leave the problem of dealing with the dissenters unresolved. Both Inkatha and the rightwingers, with the ex-generals in command, would be certain to oppose the referendum and seek to disrupt it in areas they control.

Implicit in the suggestion, therefore, is that De Klerk would have to be prepared to crack down on the dissenters, perhaps even declaring martial law. For him to act thus against his own kith and kin would be political dynamite.

The only alternative is to try to coax the IFP away from its unholy alliance with the rightwingers. The trouble is that while this may be possible in the give-and-take atmosphere of the negotiating committee, the man responsible for the IFP's decision-making is not there.

While his chief negotiators, Frank Mdalose and Ben Ngubane, show signs of flexibility in the discussions, chief Mangosuthu Buthe remains isolated from the chemistry of the negotiating process in his capital of Umtund, surrounded by foreign advisers of dubious motivation.

There is an onus here on those international governments and agencies which have supported Buthezi over the years and inflated his ego and expectations well beyond what his support on the ground justifies.

Buthezi is in large measure their creation, just as Jonas Savimbi is in Angola, and if these countries and foundations do not want to see another disaster in South Africa as they are currently witnessing in that ravaged land, now is the time for them to use their influence on the IFP leader to let the process move forward to agreement.

They must persuade him that the near-independent status he demands for Kwazulu-Natal is a non-starter. No constitution-making forum could possibly accept such a thing as a binding precondition. Let Chief Buthezi argue for it in the elected assembly by all means, but then he must be prepared to accept the verdict of the democratic process.

Every region and every cultural group is entitled to fair consideration in the building of a new nation. But none is entitled to hold the country to ransom. □

focus on Codesa

CODESA came to an abrupt halt in May 1992 when, refusing to accept the democratic will of its fellow participants, the ANC walked out of negotiations, presented a series of untenably radical demands, and commenced a programme of mass action to back these up with force. Included in this was the overthrow of certain administrations, including the KwaZulu government, which opposed the ANC's attempts to author the negotiations process on its own.

The IFP proposed that a multiparty conference be convened to review the failure and success of both the Codesa and the peace processes so that negotiations could resume.

This was rejected outright by the ANC and later by the Government which, since the conclusion of Codesa, had decided both to appease the ANC and to try, through selective implementation of only certain parts of the earlier Codesa agreement, to engineer a deal for joint ANC-NP rule for up to five years before introducing a democratic constitution and democracy to the land.

The IFP rejected both the bilateral nature of the agreement and the agreement itself, arguing that negotiations had to be the product of multiparty agreement and inclusivity, stating in addition that the people of South Africa could not be expected to wait so long for democracy.

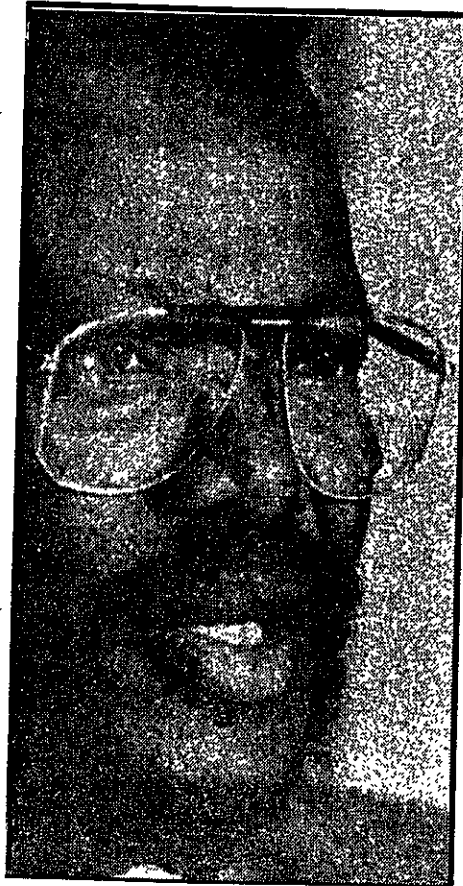
In early 1993 the IFP renewed its calls for greater inclusivity in the negotiation process and for a review of Codesa's agreements. Despite opposition to both these principles by the ANC, this was indeed the decision reached by the planning conference when it first met in early April.

Of great significance is the fact that it has been agreed by all negotiations that the multiparty forum will prioritise the key issue impeding rapid resolution of the constitutional debate — that concerning the form of the future state. The real debate and the real divide is between those favouring federalism and those favouring a unitary state, and little progress can be made until this is resolved.

This was why Codesa broke down; because the ANC was not prepared to even discuss the issue in a forum where those in favour of federalism were the majority and would automatically block the ANC's desire for a centralised, unitary state.

The KwaZulu government, on December 1 1992 adopted a proposed constitution for the State of KwaZulu-Natal as a state within a Federal Republic of South Africa. This constitution is a model of liberal democracy, whose clauses embody the very best that the world has to offer on the entrenchment of individual liberty and the State's obligations to the welfare of its citizens.

KwaZulu Chief Minister **Mangosuthu Buthelezi** gave his party's perspective on Codesa in an address to the Foreign Press Association in London recently:



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... ANC undemocratic.

The KwaZulu government and the IFP argue that the people of the regions of South Africa should determine for themselves — by means of a popular referendum — their future relationship with the central government.

It is their view, as well as that of a number of other participants in the multiparty forum, that the negotiating process should be enriched by a process paralleling deliberations at the national level on the federal constitution, and that this can best be achieved by a bottom-up approach to compliment the top-down approach.

The proposed process sees a marrying of the two, such that State constitutions representing the popular will of the people of the regions are drafted at the State level and, in so far as they are compatible with the federal constitution, are subsequently endorsed by the multiparty forum.

The IFP believes that, instead of waiting up to five years for the drafting and implementation of

a new constitution (the Codesa route), the entire negotiation, transitional and electoral processes can be finalised by late 1994 at which stage elections will be held and the new democratic governments elected. The noble mission of political liberation from oppression and apartheid for all the people of South Africa will be finally and emphatically achieved.

Other than persuading certain parties of the merits of this vision over alternatives — which is the IFP's goal in the multiparty talks — the only serious impediment to the realisation of this dream lies in the intolerable levels of political violence destroying the country, and geared towards the destruction of the IFP. This, of course, was why the IFP argued after Codesa that both the negotiations and peace processes had to be reviewed.

According to the IFP, there is no way in which a transition to democracy can be premised upon escalating violence and in particular violence linked to an undemocratic political agenda intended to render one major party impotent in the next elections.

There is a low-intensity civil war under way in which the IFP is both the major target and the major victim. Of particular concern to the party is that the forthcoming elections — which it welcomes — be fair and free. Unfortunately, politics in South Africa represent the complete antithesis of this necessary condition, and is instead best characterised as the politics of hegemony through modern weaponry in the hands of private armies and a government unwilling to deal with the problem for fear of upsetting the bilateral deal it reached with the ANC.

The IFP believes the interest of peace can best be served by the disbandment of private armies, by the cessation of the military training of guerrilla cadres; by the handing over of arms caches to an independent authority and the cessation of arms smuggling, and by the re-integration into normal life of such cadres.

Unless this happens, the peace process will fail, and if the peace process fails, negotiations will also fail. Since neither can succeed without the other, the IFP is convinced that negotiators at the multiparty forum must do everything possible to address both the new constitution and violence.

This is the basic position it has adopted in the multiparty talks and which it is confident will be accepted by the forum as the best path to a democratic South Africa.

Buthelezi's Joe has it all tied up

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The Inkatha Freedom Party is leaving nothing to chance as it prepares for the country's first all-in election, writes Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

ELECTION COUNTDOWN

JOE Matthews is a warm and likeable man and, unlike many of his colleagues in the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), enjoys the respect of some of his political adversaries.

Some people on the Left, especially in the ANC, may not like him, and may even accuse him of opportunism, but they will grudgingly concede that he has an impressive record in struggle politics.

For not only was he once a prominent member of the ANC in exile many moons ago, but he is also the son of the legendary ZK Matthews, a writer and academic who was a luminary in the ANC until his death.

That Joe Matthews fell out with the ANC and subsequently left the organisation is now history, and that he returned to South Africa in 1990 — after an illustrious legal career in Botswana — to join his old friend, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in the IFP is also well documented.

Extremely knowledgeable in African politics, Matthews's rise in the IFP, like that of his many white colleagues whose initial association with Buthelezi was as advisors, was meteoric.

The former Botswana assistant attorney-general began as the KwaZulu Chief Minister's advisor, was nominated to the IFP's central committee at Buthelezi's request, and is now the party's secretary-general — the IFP prefers the title "chief executive officer" — and chief delegate to multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

As the man in charge of the party's election strategy and campaign, Matthews knows that the fate of the IFP in South Africa's first all-in election may just lie in his hands. He is not at all unnerved by the responsibility, and believes he will be equal to the task.

The IFP, he says, will do well in the following areas, even though it does not expect to win in all of them: KwaZulu-Natal, PWV (he expects the ANC to win here), northern-western Cape, western Cape and northern Transvaal.

He says the IFP has more non-Zulu members in the PWV than it does Zulu members, and says this proves that the party is not an ethnic regional entity as many believe.

However, Matthews singles out the eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei as areas where the IFP has no presence and enjoys no support.

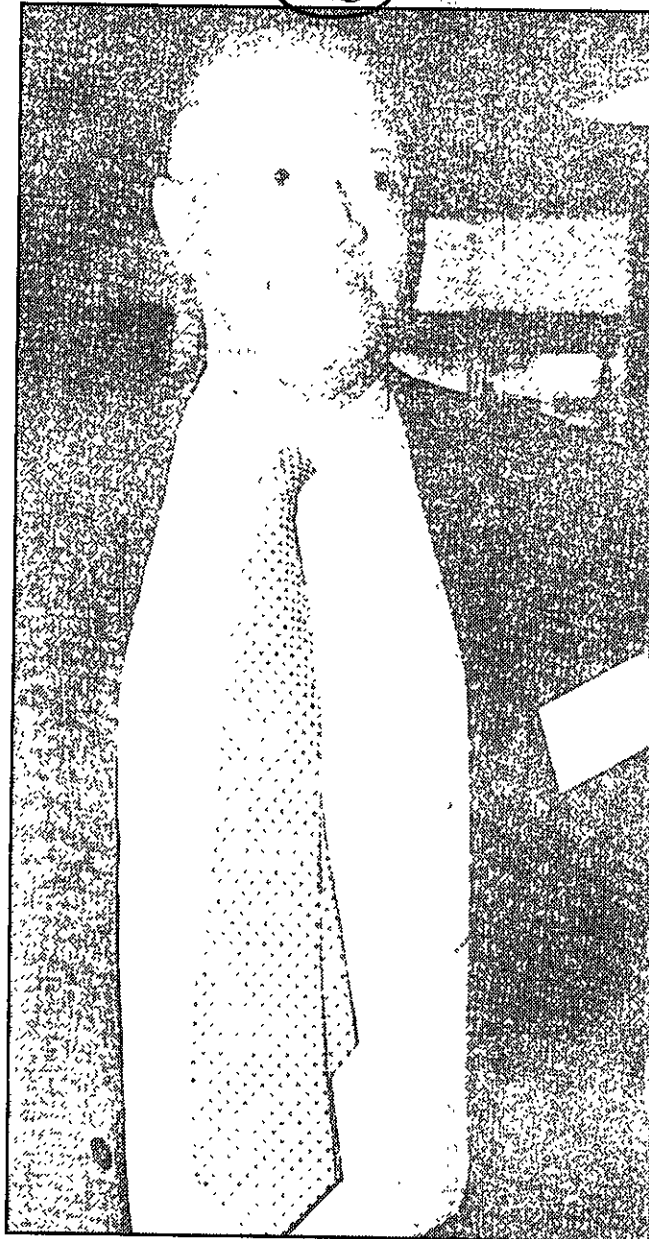
According to Matthews, the IFP, which wants South Africa to become a federation, has three objectives in the forthcoming election. These are:

- To win "sufficient support" nationally so that the party can be "an essential partner in any government coalition at the central federal level".

- To win "sufficient support" in many regions so that it can form ruling coalitions "in several states or regions".

- To win "sufficient support" in KwaZulu-Natal so that it can form a government alone or in a coalition.

More than that Matthews



Likeable . . . Joe Matthews enjoys the respect of his political adversaries, even in the ANC.

will not say. First, he refuses to give the percentage poll the IFP hopes to get nationally, and later he reluctantly lets slip that the IFP aims to get about 26 percent of the vote countrywide.

His party expects to do "very well" among whites, and he says to his and his colleagues' surprise there has been a huge swing from the National Party to the IFP in the white community.

He says the IFP enjoys support of about 4 percent

among coloureds in Port Elizabeth, and "little support" among Indians in the country. However, the party plans to embark on a massive recruiting campaign among Indians in Natal soon.

The IFP, says Matthews, started preparing for the election around the middle of last year, and has adopted "a very comprehensive campaign plan which includes all sorts of details".

Intensive research has also been done, and a R2 million

scientific poll is under way to determine the extent of support the party enjoys in the country.

For the purpose of the election, the IFP has divided South Africa into 30 regions, and has appointed teams in the different regions.

A "massive army of volunteers", whose job will be to establish an IFP presence throughout the country, is also being mobilised.

"We are assuming that the electorate will be between 21 million and 22 million. It has been established through research that the first all-inclusive election in a country has a turn-out as high as 80 percent," Matthews says.

He says the IFP plans to fight the election alone, but quickly adds that some of the parties' allies might be prepared to contest the election under the IFP banner.

Adamant

Matthews is adamant that the exercise will not be "a liberation election but a bread-and-butter one", and contends that the issues confronting the electorate will be the economic system to be adopted in the country, jobs, investment and housing.

According to Matthews, the IFP is preparing for an election early next year, but will not be caught flat-footed if the election were to be held around November this year.

Matthews says the IFP will need between R160 million and R170 million to adequately fight the election, R40 million of which will be for head office expenses.

This contrasts with the ANC's R168 million to R200 million, the NP's R100 000 and the Democratic Party's R15 million.

Although he will not say how much of the targeted amount is already in the bag, Matthews says the IFP has engaged on a massive fundraising campaign both here and abroad, and that the party will impose extra levies on its members for the general election. □

IFP calls for front against communism

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A NON-RACIAL anti-communist front including all moderate South Africans has been proposed by an MP supporting the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Jurie Mentz, MP for Vryheid, was addressing about 200 people at an Inkatha meeting in the Parow civic centre.

References to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as the only man standing up to the ANC drew applause from the audience.

He said Afrikaners could feel at home in the IFP and an increasing number of them were joining it.

Mr Mentz said an anti-communist front was needed to counter a well-planned successful transfer of power by the communists.

He also supported a strong federal system and said the IFP was opposed to authority being centralised.

The ANC as well as the National Party were trying to present the IFP as the "spoilers" in the negotiations while it had in fact always been in favour of negotiations.

It was being said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was dragging his feet when everybody else was preaching peace and wanted speedy elections.

Some of these others were preaching peace while they killed innocent people and destroyed property.

It was the ANC who intimidated with mass action and violence.



INKATHA MP: Mr Jurie Mentz, Inkatha-supporting MP for Vryheid, speaking at the meeting last night.

The IFP was opposed to communism and was in favour of free enterprise and equal opportunities and peace for all.

The IFP was not looking for half of a solution and an everlasting war. It did not want an election without violence having diminished.

Inkatha's past showed that when others encouraged sanctions and boycotts it stood by South Africa. Chief Buthelezi fought against apartheid but he fought equally hard against sanctions.

Mr Nicolaas Myburgh, Western Cape chairman of Inkatha, said the traditional white parties would be wiped out in an election.

The real choice for the voters would be between Inkatha and the ANC.

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town
 THE African National Congress, all set to woo white Afrikaners in conservative Parow, found itself pipped to the post by the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

No sooner had the ANC announced it would be entering the lion's den to hold its first-ever public meeting in the former National Party stronghold, then IFP posters sprouted, advertising a meeting in the same venue a day earlier.

IFP organisers said this week they had not planned to steal the ANC's thunder, having planned their meeting several weeks ago. It was the IFP's third public gathering in the western Cape, all of them so far held in white

Romancing the whites of Parow

W. van der Merwe 14/5-20/5/93

suburbs. Media liaison officer Cloete Breytenbach said more meetings, reaching deeper into the heart of Afrikanerdom in the Boland and along the Cape's West Coast, were planned. The ANC intends doing exactly the same. Announcing his organisation's recruitment drive among Afrikaners, western Cape ANC chairman Allan Boesak told how Chris Hani's murder had prompted a stream of calls from Afrikaans-speaking whites saying the time had come for them to join the ANC.

"We have a growing conviction that many white South Africans are totally disillusioned with the political process and the lack of leadership and vision in the NP, which cannot break with its past and can't present anything acceptable for the future," Boesak said. Ask the IFP why they're focusing their efforts on whites and the answer is almost exactly the same: "We've had a lot of calls from NP, Conservative Party and Democratic Party members, but especially from NP people who feel the party has no leadership and no credibility," Breytenbach said.

to demonstrate a commitment to non-racialism which it has so far been unable to realise on the ground.

The IFP, on the other hand, he sees as engaged in realpolitik — trying to present itself as a credible alternative to the NP, and boost Buthelezi's waning image as a national leader.

Buthelezi's appeal to whites, said Schriner, lay in his being a symbol of the tame black man, the guy you can do business with. But, he warned, it was likely this "romantic support" — similar to that whites once showed for

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi — would erode as people came to know more about the personalities involved and what was at stake.

Buthelezi offers them hope because he wants a federal system with no dominance by a central government — and he's saying the same things now he said 20 years ago." ~~He said~~

The good burghers of Parow may feel flattered at the attentions they're receiving, but would do well to closely scrutinise their political suitors' motives.

Political analyst Robert Schriner, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, sees the ANC's move as an imaginative, bold step, but ultimately a symbolic attempt

ZULU king Goodwill Zwelithini is expected to call a number of mass rallies (imbizos) — one of which would be attended by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — in a fresh initiative aimed at ending the carnage among his subjects.

This is the latest sign that Zwelithini is set to move above party politics on the question of violence.

At a rally in Wema, near Durban, two weeks ago, Zwelithini stunned Inkatha supporters by departing from his prepared speech to tell them: "I know some of you carry weapons and are involved in the violence. Enough is enough. Stop the killings."

The king's about-turn stems from a series of meetings between a "Concerned Group of Zulus", who include Inyanda Chamber of Commerce president Roger Sishi, ANC leader Jacob Zuma and Pan Africanist Congress leader Joe Mkhwanazi, and advisers of the king. Among the latter are Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and kwazulu deputy minister of works, Velaphi Ndlovu.

The initiative also has Buthelezi's support, suggesting he is prepared to share the monarch

King wants goodwill between IFP, ANCO

Wmond 14/5/93 - 20/5/93

The king of the Zulus is to rise above party politics in an effort to stem the violence in Natal.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

with the ANC.

Sources said that at a meeting last Friday, the Concerned Group and Zwelithini's advisers had agreed that the king should call mass rallies attended by members of both organisations.

The first rally, most likely in Durban, would be attended by regional ANC and Inkatha leaders. Mandela and Buthelezi, the sources said, would attend a subsequent rally — the first time that the two have shared a platform, though Buthelezi has been pressing for it since Mandela's release three years ago.

The Concerned Group and Zwelithini's advisers — who have formed a joint committee — will meet Natal businessmen today to urge them to make funds available for the rallies. "It must be a non-party initiative," said one source.

Once Zwelithini is satisfied that all the groundwork has been laid, he will call a major press conference, announcing plans for the rallies and assuming a new role in South African politics.

Both sides stand to gain by the initiative. Buthelezi, who has been increasingly marginalised in the national political scene, would once more capture the limelight.

The ANC stands to benefit by loosening Buthelezi's stranglehold on Zwelithini, in the hope that this will erode the IFP's support among Zulus.



King of goodwill ... Zwelithini

'Bread and butter' is IFP's election bid

11B ARCT IS/S/92

UNLIKE many of his colleagues in the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mr Joe Matthews is a warm and likeable man and enjoys the respect of some of his political adversaries.

Some people on the Left — especially in the African National Congress — may not like him, and may even accuse him of opportunism, but they would grudgingly concede that he has an impressive record in struggle politics.

For not only was he once a prominent member of the ANC-in-exile many moons ago, but he is also the son of the legendary Z K Matthews, a writer and academic who was a luminary in the ANC until his death.

That Mr Joe Matthews fell out with the ANC and subsequently left the organisation is now history.

That he returned to South Africa in 1990 — after an illustrious legal career in Botswana — to join his old friend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the IFP is also well-documented.

Extremely knowledgeable on African politics in the continent, Mr Matthews's rise in the IFP was meteoric.

The former Botswana assistant attorney-general was nominated to the IFP's central committee at Chief Buthelezi's request, and is now the party's chief executive officer.

■ The Inkatha Freedom Party is leaving nothing to chance as it prepares for the first all-in election, writes **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

He is also chief delegate to multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

As the man in charge of the party's election strategy and campaign, Mr Matthews knows that the fate of the IFP in South Africa's first all-in election may lie in his hands. He is not at all unmoved by the responsibility, and believes he will be equal to the task.

He would have you know that the IFP intends to field candidates throughout the country in the election, and not only in some parts of the country, primarily KwaZulu-Natal.

The IFP, he said, would do well in the following areas, even though it does not expect to win in all of them: KwaZulu-Natal, the PWV region (but he expects the ANC to win here), the northern-western Cape, the western Cape and the northern Transvaal. He says the IFP has more non-Zulu members in the PWV than it does Zulu members, and this proves the party is not an ethnic, regional entity as many believe.

However, Mr Matthews singled out the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei as areas where the IFP had no presence and enjoyed no support.

According to Mr Matthews, the IFP — which wants South Africa to become a federation — has three objectives in the forthcoming election. These are:

■ To win "sufficient support" nationally so that the party can be "an essential partner in any government coalition at the central federal level".

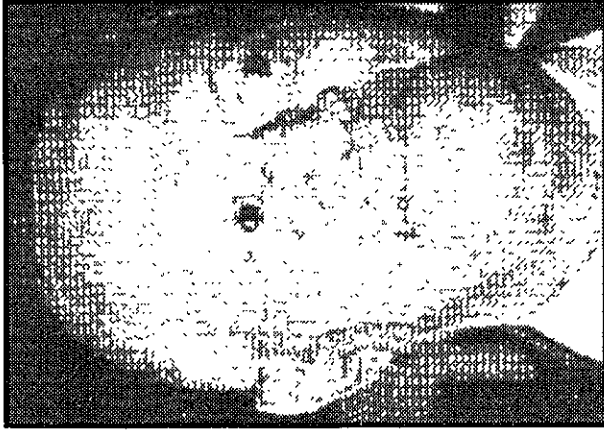
■ To win "sufficient support" in many regions so that it can form ruling coalitions "in several states or regions".

■ To win "sufficient support" in KwaZulu-Natal so that it can form a government alone or in coalition.

His party expected to gain 26 per cent of the vote countrywide and to do "very well" among whites.

He said the IFP enjoyed support from about four percent of the coloured population in Port Elizabeth, and "little support" among Indians in the country. However, the party planned to embark on a massive recruitment campaign among Indians. For the purpose of the election, the IFP divided South Africa into 30 regions, and appointed a team of people to be in charge of the election in the different regions.

Mr Matthews said the IFP planned



□ **MR JOE MATTHEWS:** Inkatha's election organiser.

to fight the election alone, but added that some of the parties' allies might be prepared to contest the election under the IFP banner.

He was adamant that the exercise would not be "a liberation election, but a bread-and-butter one", and contended that the issues confronting the electorate would be the economic system to be adopted in the country, jobs, investment and housing.

Mr Matthews said the IFP would need between R160-million and R170-million to fight the election adequately.

Although he would not say how much of the targeted amount was already in the bag, Mr Matthews said the IFP had embarked on a massive fundraising campaign both here and abroad.



**INKATHA LEADER:
Mangosuthu Buthelezi**

BRING the security forces under the control of regional government, says the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

IFP Western Cape media liaison officer Mr Cloete Breytenbach said the party would prefer that "all regional police and military be controlled by the state".

The IFP proposes federal states for a future South Africa. They see the armed forces being controlled in a similar fashion as the United States, where there are police and troops controlled by the different states that make up the federal government.

The IFP is not in favour of the proposal that the security forces be

Regional control of forces'

South 1515-15193

(11B) ~~11B~~

brought under multi-party control when the Transitional Executive Council assumes government.

In support of their decision to opt for regional control, Breytenbach mentioned several advantages of locally-based security forces.

"Particularly in the rural areas, the local population will feel easier with the security forces they know than with security forces from outside," Breytenbach said.

"In addition, security or police matters needing urgent attention can be dealt with more effectively by the region's forces.

"The region's officers will also have the advantage of knowing conditions and traditions in their area."

He added that multi-party control of forces would only be practical if certain conditions were met.

"This can only succeed if there is a very strong central controlling system, one which everyone can trust.

"The ideal would still be, in a federal system as envisaged by the IFP, to have separate state security forces, with a really professional federal force to deal with matters outside the state's jurisdiction, or to be called upon if needed to assist in local matters," Breytenbach said.

16/5/93
C/press

Tigane is a powder keg

By DAN DHLAMINI

AN ANC man was fatally shot and another wounded in Tigane yesterday.

The gunning down of Oupa Matlhoko and the injury of Oompie Sekonya by alleged Inkatha bands, comes hardly a week after the slaying of three other ANC members in ANC-Inkatha clashes that have erupted in the small western Transvaal township.

Matlhoko was killed with a shotgun on Friday, a day before yesterday's mass funeral for Kleinboo Kwaho, Daniel Secha and Hester Morebudi.

Since the beginning of the year, more than 25 people have been killed in Tigane and police have failed to arrest a killer who roams the streets with a shotgun causing havoc. They have offered a R5 000 reward for information.

IFP protests over deaths, violence

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The IFP at the weekend took to the streets in Natal in some of the biggest marches the province has seen to protest the killing of its officials and to demand an end to violence.

The otherwise peaceful demonstrations of the IFP's strength were marred by at least five incidents of violence against marchers, including two women being killed when a bus returning from a march in Maritzburg was ambushed.

Fourteen others were injured when the bus was raked by AK-47 fire outside the city, police said.

In Durban, more than 30 000 IFP supporters swarmed through the city centre en route to the SAP headquarters at C R Swart Square where regional organiser Mr Senzo Mfayela handed over a memorandum for President F W de Klerk.

At the head of the march, a group carried 280 wooden coffins, each representing IFP officials who had been killed in violence since 1985.

Other IFP marches at Estcourt, Ladysmith and Newcastle were peaceful.

● The IFP Central Committee at the weekend repeated its demand that federalism be put at the top of the agenda in constitutional talks.

NEWS Inkatha's call against "serial killings" ● Security forces raid Soweto squatter camps

IFP insists MK should disband

Sowetan 17/5/93

The Inkatha Freedom Party has reiterated its call for Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate the "serial killing" of IFP members.

At a meeting in Uthuli at the weekend, the IFP central committee expressed its concern that the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the African National Congress' armed wing) was being submerged by other considerations and was not being given the priority it deserved.

The committee noted the extent to which "serial killing of the IFP and violence against the party is undertaken to weaken our negotiating position".

PLEA TO GOLDSTONE Probe killing of our members — Inkatha:

It said the disbandment of private armies, including MK, should be given the highest priority at the multiparty talks and resolved to instruct Inkatha's negotiation team to take "whatever steps necessary" to establish this.

"Repeated requests already made to Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the status of the inquiries into the deaths of IFP members (will) be pursued."

The committee once again endorsed the need for a federal system for the new South Africa and reiterated that regional powers and boundaries needed to be in place before an election.

It noted the need, from all parties, for compromises "which will not negate essential democratic principles". — *Sapra.*



Hiding from the Black Cats

By EDDIE KOCH

THE Black Cats, a township gang accused of acting as a hit squad for Inkatha in the eastern Transvaal, have reportedly been boosted by reinforcements from kwaZulu and are targeting ex-members who have given inside information to the Goldstone Commission.

One dissident has been shot twice in revenge attacks and the homes of at least five others have reportedly been petrol-bombed. Many of the defectors are now in hiding.

A group of ex-gang members told the commission last year about how they had been recruited by kwaZulu policemen and given training at a secret military base in Mkuze so that they could carry out attacks on members of the African National Congress in Wesselson township.

A dissident who gave evidence to the commission under the name "Mr B" was shot in a leg by members of the gang in May last year. In December, soon after he had recuperated from the first attack, he was hit by a shotgun blast in the same leg.

Last week he was discharged from hospital and he is now in hiding. He says he is afraid to leave the "safe house" where he has been taken because he is on crutches and will be unable to escape if the gang discovers where he is. He is even too afraid to go to hospital to have the stitches removed and for treatment of an infection in the leg.

Lawyers for Human Rights have applied for him to be placed in a witness-protection scheme organised by the commission.

magnum tunc rēclān, mānucā sātū.

Speculation on SADF, MK amalgamation is quashed

B/PRY 17/5/93
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC and the Defence Ministry yesterday moved to dampen speculation that 12 000 members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe would be incorporated into the SADF.

A Defence spokesman said that Sunday newspaper reports stating that incorporation, up to general level, could happen within weeks was "in essence a synopsis of ideas, possibilities and speculation which are circulating around the exploratory talks".

MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise — tipped by Rapport as an SADF general — said while much progress had been made in the bilateral talks with the SADF and the SAP, no finality had been reached.

The Ministry agreed that no finality had been reached. It said that when Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee referred to the incorporation of 12 000 MK members during a speech in the Free State, it would have been as a result of speculating that if there were to be a single joint force, this is what it could mean.

"It is known that exploratory talks over a future defence force is taking place be-

tween the SADF and others — not only the ANC," he said.

"It is only logical that changes in the SADF have to be made and all military and paramilitary capabilities should be consolidated as soon as possible ..."

It is understood that the bilateral meetings during the past two years have been discussing a new defence force and MK members' role. It is also understood that not all MK members can be incorporated, because of financial constraints.

The ANC is also still insisting on some form of joint control and it is understood that until all the security forces, including those of the TBVC and self-governing states are included, no move will be made on incorporating MK into the SADF.

The decisions or recommendations of the bilateral talks will also have to go to the multiparty negotiations forum to be discussed and agreed upon as part of a transitional executive council before a new force can become a reality.

Inkatha in new call for Goldstone probe

ULUNDI — Inkatha has reiterated its call for Judge Richard Goldstone to investigate the "serial killings" of Inkatha members.

At a meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, the Inkatha central committee expressed its concern that the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe was being submer-

ged by other considerations and not given the priority it deserved.

The committee noted the extent to which "serial killing of Inkatha members and violence against the party is undertaken to weaken our negotiating position".

It said the disbandment of private armies, including MK, should be given the

highest priority at multiparty talks, and resolved to instruct Inkatha's negotiation team to take "whatever steps are necessary".

The committee again endorsed the need for a federal system for the new SA and reiterated that regional powers and boundaries should be in place before an election. — Sapa.

Star 18/5/93

IFP group barred at court

By Michael Sparks

118

About 120 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters gathered outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday but were prevented from entering the building, where Michael Phama appeared, because many were carrying cultural weapons.

On Friday Phama pleaded not guilty to 47 charges, including 21 of murder and 19 of attempted murder, after an attack on a group of Tokoza hostel dwellers in 1991.

Four women IFP supporters were stabbed on Friday when knives were used and shots fired as alleged ANC and IFP supporters clashed after the hearing.

The antagonists dispersed after policemen fired teargas.

Police said they arrested two ANC supporters with knives and an IFP supporter with a firearm.

Yesterday a smaller group of IFP supporters entered the public gallery of the court, but had to leave to be searched once police saw some were carrying knives.

The supporters went outside to join the other IFP sup-

porters, and police found four knives in the gallery.

After the IFP supporters were removed, the evidence was held in camera.

A stand-off developed outside the court, where the IFP supporters gathered on one section of the grass on Pritchard Street while about 200 ANC supporters stood on the other side of the entrance. Police and newsmen were at the court entrance, between the groups.

The Wits/Vaal Peace Committee helped to forge an agreement with police and the two groups whereby the ANC agreed to leave by mid-afternoon, followed soon afterwards by the IFP.

Both groups dispersed, apparently without incident.

Phama was allegedly part of a group who fired AK-47s on a group of 800 people going to the Tokoza stadium to attend a meeting organised by the East Rand Hostel Dwellers' Association on September 8 1991.

The gang allegedly also attacked commuters on February 26 1992, and Phama allegedly fired on traffic officers after being caught in a speed trap on March 27.

The hearing continues.

- Slovo plot suspect in court for remand

IFP expresses concern about MK

Sowetan 18/5/93

■ **COMMITTEE'S DECISION** Demands for its disbanding

are being buried under other considerations:

Sowetan Correspondent

WHILE THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party members took to the streets of the province at the weekend, the party's central committee was meeting at Ulundi where it expressed concern that demands for the disbanding of Umkontho we Sizwe were being buried under other considerations.

This was part of one of the resolutions taken at the meeting.

Possibly the most striking event during Saturday's marches was when a phalanx of IFP leaders carrying 275

coffins made its way through the Durban city centre.

The coffins were carried in memory of IFP leaders killed since 1983 — one for each of the 275 leaders killed. (113) (275)

The marches were the start of the IFP's mass action campaign to protest against the continuing violence.

In both Durban and Maritzburg there were claims that the marches there were the biggest Natal had ever seen. (275) (275)

Streets were packed from side to side but official estimates of numbers varied widely.

At the Ulundi meeting, the IFP

central committee expressed "deep concern and consternation" about the escalating violence and intimidation which it said was hampering the proper course of negotiations and the holding of fair and free elections.

The committee resolved:

1 To applaud the firm stand its negotiation team has taken in demanding the reduction of violence and the disbanding of Umkontho we Sizwe; and

1 To express appreciation to the negotiation council for receiving the IFP resolution on violence and the disbanding of MK.

1 To express concern that the MK issue was being submerged.

Strike ballot for public workers

Sowetan 18/5/93

■ **Disgruntlement over unilateral restructuring:**

THOUSANDS of municipal workers countrywide are to be balloted for industrial action against Government-initiated restructuring and wage-pegging, the SA Municipal Workers Union said yesterday.

In a statement after a weekend national executive committee meeting, the 70 000-member union warned that attempts to thwart the ballot would be met with retaliation.

It said the Samwu executive had received "extremely disturbing" reports that local authorities were "collaborating with the (President FW) de Klerk regime in implementing the Government's restructuring and rationalisation plans, as well as De Klerk's decision to peg wages".

"All worker protests have been

completely ignored. It is clearly a waste of time and energy for workers and unions to make further appeals or protests."

Samwu said it was left with no option but to mobilise its membership and public sector workers for immediate action to stop "the Government and its agents in their tracks". — Sapa.

Free State farmers demand security measures

BLOEMFONTEIN — Free State farmers gathered at police stations yesterday to demand the introduction of security measures in the province. They demanded a curfew and police searches of townships and squatter camps for illegal weapons.

Free State Agricultural Union security committee chairman Faan Malherbe said at Herzogville the measures should be carried out in cooperation with organised agriculture's security committees.

The farmers also demanded road blocks on secondary roads and control points at township entrances. Similar demands were made in Potchefstroom on Monday.

Meanwhile, ANC western Trans-

vaal spokesman Rankoa Molefe said agreements reached on Monday between security forces and western Transvaal farmers was a "declaration of war" and if implemented there would be mass action of "unimaginable proportion".

In a meeting on Monday about 250 farmers, police and the SADF agreed to "sharpen up" road blocks, patrols and searches for illegal weapons. The possibility of imposing curfews and unrest areas would be investigated.

The DP said yesterday it sympathised with eastern Transvaal farmers, but it urged them not to allow a racial war to develop.

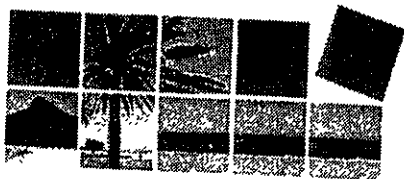
DP eastern Transvaal official Mike Waters said although farmers'

"determination to take the law into their own hands in the face of a dithering government" was understandable, they should act only in defence of their families and property.

Two more elderly couples were attacked and robbed on Transvaal farms yesterday.

A 64-year-old farmer was seriously injured outside Pietersburg when he and his wife were attacked by two knife-wielding youths. The youths escaped with firearms and cash.

And near Boons in the western Transvaal, a 68-year-old woman was raped and her 82-year-old husband shot in the shoulder. Two attackers fled with a shotgun and cash. — Sapa.



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Commission ready to probe Inkatha deaths

RAY HARTLEY

OFFICIALS of the Goldstone commission were available to meet Inkatha "as soon as possible" to discuss ways of pursuing an inquiry into the killings of Inkatha officials, Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

Goldstone said steps had already been taken to investigate the deaths.

"Inkatha furnished the commission with a list of over 200 Inkatha officials and members who are alleged to have been murdered since the signing of the peace accord. That list was handed to the SAP with the request that the incidents, known to the SAP, should be identified and relevant information given in relation to the commission," he said.

The judge said the commission informed a senior Inkatha member on May 8 that it wanted "any relevant information concerning any murders which Inkatha alleged were not satisfactorily being investigated by the SAP". There had been no response as yet.

"On May 11, the commission was informed by the SAP that the Inkatha allegations have formed the subject-matter of an investigation since November 1992. There has been contact in that regard between the SAP, the Inkatha Institute, the KwaZulu government and the SAP," he said.

Meanwhile, our Maritzburg correspondent reports that police yesterday offered a R20 000 reward in their investigation into the killing of two people in an ambush on a bus carrying Inkatha supporters at Georgetown near Edendale on Saturday night.

The supporters were returning from a peace march in Maritzburg when gunmen opened fire with AK-47s, killing two women and injuring 14 people.

Full democracy in new SA might be postponed, reports Garner Thomson

One form of oligarchy for another

Garner Thomson 20/5/93

THE fact that the two main partners in South Africa's new deal would rule without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi raises the possibility that the country's new government might have to resort to authoritarian measures to contain the resulting unrest.

This is the warning contained in the International Institute for Strategic Studies' latest Strategic Survey, for 1992-93.

Thus, a white oligarchy would transform itself, not into full-blown democracy, but into a multi-racial oligarchy, it adds. "Once again, full democracy in South Africa might be postponed and civil liberties, just beginning to emerge after decades of repression, could once again disappear." Whether or not that prophecy is fulfilled depends on whether the

Government and the ANC can strike a deal on real federalism, the IISS says. "There is every reason — save one — why federalism, with the maximum devolution of powers to regional and local authorities, should be accepted as the answer to South Africa's potent ethnic mix and its mutually suspicious and fearful minorities."

But the ANC, having striven to win the keys of Pretoria and all the patronage that entails, is "unwilling to deny itself the prize", especially as it sees in the Government's desire for federalism simply a device once more to divide and rule the black majority. Neither is it likely that Chief Buthelezi will give up without a struggle his plans for a semi-autonomous Natal-KwaZulu, it believes, although the two-day con-

ference at the beginning of March to plan for a new multiparty convention in April saw Inkatha representatives "present and conciliatory".

However, despite the success of the March meeting, South Africa's non-racial government was still far from its destination.

"In the months that lie ahead, the ANC and the Government will certainly squabble over the appropriate division of the spoils, while attempting to cope with threats as diverse as an estranged Winnie Mandela and her army of youthful radicals, the Apla terrorists, the diehard racists of the Right, the former spies of the 'dirty tricks' brigade, the Zulu imps of Inkatha, and the murderers who gunned down six Inkatha schoolchildren on the eve of the March talks," the

IISS predicts:

But those threats were the reason why, between the Government and the ANC at least, a deal has been struck and will probably price of delay. After the "nightmare year" of 1992, both the Government and the ANC appear to have decided that it is a price neither they nor South Africa can afford.

"As President de Klerk put it during his 1993 address to Parliament, every South African faced a choice 'either to support constitutional change and everything reasonably required for its success, or to retire into the laager and prepare for bloody struggle'.

"By April 1993, it appeared that, for the two main parties at least, the choice had been made." □

Mandela is prepared to meet Buthelezi

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would be happy to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini arranged the meeting.

The king appealed to both leaders last week to meet and address violence.

Mandela said he was willing to meet Buthelezi to address all aspects contributing to the current violence. "We hope that His Majesty's good offices will facilitate the proposed meeting as soon as possible. We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned we can move closer to finding a lasting

~~REDACTED~~ GAVIN DU VENAGE (11B)
solution to our country's problems."

3/10/93 2115793

Mandela has repeatedly said such a meeting would serve no purpose and called rather for a meeting of peace accord signatories. Buthelezi has said the latter should be preceded by a meeting between the two.

Last night Buthelezi welcomed Mandela's statement, but said he did not know what call he was responding to. "I await a direct communication from Dr Mandela on this matter."

Commission 'unprocedural'

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into alleged human rights violations in ANC camps may have to call back people who have already given evidence, says International Society for Human Rights spokesman Marc Gordon.

The commission, called by ANC president Nelson Mandela, heard the evidence of ANC members accused of violations before that of victims scheduled to testify.

When ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma was questioned on Tuesday, lead counsel for the defence Dullah Omar objected, saying it was "unprocedural" for an accused to answer to allegations not yet heard by the commission. *B10PM 21/5/93.*

Commission chairman Sam Motsuenyane could not be reached yesterday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC regarded the commission as independent and would not comment on the procedures.

The commission has collected 300 pages of affidavits from witnesses. However, these testimonies will not be heard or questioned until after the ANC leaders have been heard.

Gordon said all those who had already given evidence might have to be recalled to re-present evidence or to answer to allegations by former detainees who had not yet been heard.

"Given the situation in SA this may be difficult for the commission to achieve, despite being established on the personal authority of Mandela."

Jamile will not return to the government, says Buthelezi

B10PM 21/5/93.
RELEASED murderer and former KwaZulu deputy interior minister Samuel Jamile would not return to the KwaZulu government, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week.

Jamile and five others were released from prison on Monday in terms of the Further Indemnity Act. He was sentenced to life imprisonment two years ago for murder and attempted murder.

Reacting to statements by the ANC on the release of Jamile, Buthelezi said Inkatha remained silent when convicted criminals who were ANC members were indemnified.

"The ANC's leadership has perfected the use of double standards into an art. ANC criminals are always canonised as heroes."

The ANC said Jamile's release was a "cynical political manoeuvre" by government, which was trying to placate its constituency.

"The government does not seem to care at all that it is undermining the whole judicial process, and sends a message to the right-wing and third-force elements that they can proceed with criminal actions without fearing

DIRK VAN EEDEN

serious retribution," the ANC said.

Buthelezi said no evidence was heard in court to indicate that Jamile acted under the instruction of the Inkatha.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Buthelezi this week rejected multiparty control of SA's security forces and warned that KwaZulu would resist the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the army or police.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in his budget speech on Wednesday, he said the "initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected".

The KwaZulu government's demand for a federal SA included a regional security force.

Buthelezi said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to "enable them to incorporate Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SA Police and armed forces and to gain political control".

Mayor in bid to avert Cape taxi war

B10PM 21/5/93.
CAPE TOWN - Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde said yesterday he was working with the local peace committee and the Goldstone committee to try to avert a full-scale outbreak of the township taxi war again.

"We are trying to organise a meeting between the two groups within the next few days," he said.

Van der Velde said he had held a

Own Correspondent

meeting recently with one of the warring groups, the supporters of the so-called "Big Eight".

Members of the other faction, supporters of the Codeta taxi association executive, said earlier this week that most executive members were no longer sleeping at their homes for fear of attacks.

ANC, IFP battle for Zulu campus

Weekly Mail Reporter (113) w/m aul 21/5-27/5/93.

THE struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress in Natal has moved on to the campus of Zululand University. Students and academic staff are boycotting classes in protest against the appointment of Professor Charles Dlamini as the new rector.

Dlamini (41) was appointed by the university council last week. Students and staff say the council did not follow the proper procedure, but the real issue seems to be fears that Dlamini has IFP links and this could precipitate a struggle between the IFP and ANC for control of the university. Dlamini this week denied having links with any political group.

Dlamini was the first black dean of the university's law faculty. He said he would serve the interests of the university and accommodate differing points of view.

An academic who did not want to be named said the staff was divided on the issue. "IFP staff members support Dlamini," he said. "Students are being influenced by lecturers who belong to the ANC." He said students were suspicious of Dlamini because he came from Buthelezi's clan.

However, Dr Aaron Ndlovu, an ANC regional chairman and chairman of the Academic Staff Association, denied lecturers were influencing students. He said academic staff were protesting because the council had not followed the proper procedures in selecting Dlamini.

None of the academic staff who were IFP members had come to a staff protest meeting, which showed they supported Dlamini. He added that he knew that there were outside forces involved in Dlamini's appointment.

SRC president Khulekani Mhlongo said the students' rejection of Dlamini's appointment had to do with procedures and "nothing to do with politics.

"If we allow the council to appoint Dlamini they might reappoint Chief Buthelezi chancellor. Students want a chancellor and rector who do not belong to a political party."

Mandela heeds Zwelithini's peace call

Wm ait 2/5 - 27/5/93. (113) (274)
AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela yesterday said he was willing to meet Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi to address causes of South Africa's political violence.

Mandela's statement came in response to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call last Friday for a speedy end to violence. In recent weeks Mandela is known also to have come under heavy pressure from other leaders, including President FW de Klerk, to seek an accommodation with the Inkatha leader.

At a meeting three weeks ago in Wema, near Durban, Zwelithini stunned Inkatha supporters by departing from a prepared speech to say: "Enough is enough. Stop the killings."

As part of a move above party politics to contain violence among his subjects, the king is also expected to call a number of mass rallies including one which will be attended by Mandela and

Buthelezi.

Zwelithini's calls stem from a series of meetings between the multi-party Concerned Group of Zulus and advisers of the king. The formerly Inkatha-supporting monarch's shift is reported to have Buthelezi's support.

Mandela said yesterday he hoped Zwelithini's office would facilitate the proposed meeting as soon as possible.

"We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned, we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems," he said. "Our people and country yearn for peace, which is the main condition for a speedy democratic transformation of our society."

Mandela hailed the monarch's initiative as a "positive step". — Sapa and Weekly Mail Reporters

IFP 'rejects joint control'

CT. 21/5/93

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected multi-party control of the country's security forces and warned that the territory would resist the incorporation of the ANC's armed wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), into the army or police.

Addressing the KwaZulu legislative assembly in his budget speech as minister of police on Wednesday, he said the "initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected".

Chief Buthelezi said that in terms of the KwaZulu government/IFP's demand for a federal South Africa, it wanted a regional security force.

"Smaller, leaner and more efficient police forces working close to the people and within their communities are preferable to a huge bureaucratic police force at the national level."

He said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to "enable it to incorporate MK into the SA Police and armed forces and to gain political control".

"The people of KwaZulu, whom the members of this house represent, are proud of the KwaZulu Police and loathe uMkhonto as an instrument of death being directed against us by our enemies."

Buthelezi, Mandela to meet

Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela has accepted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's proposal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should meet to discuss an end to violence. **APG-21/5/93**

Mr Mandela asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible".

Responding to King Goodwill's call last week that the two leaders meet, Mr Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by the king for a speedy end to the violence which had claimed thousands of lives in the country.

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, an organisation with which many thought he had close links.

Chief Buthelezi has expressed his satisfaction with the positive reply by Mr Mandela to the proposed meeting between the two leaders, reports Sapa.

An IFP statement in Ulundi said yesterday the meeting was a necessary step towards reducing violence in South Africa.

If you thought you would be seeing the last of President FW de Klerk after next year's election, think again — the National Party has devised a way of keeping him in the government of national unity without his being demoted to the status of a mere cabinet minister.

The plan to set up a council of state to "advise" the new president, the leader of the most popular party, who will probably be Nelson Mandela, was let out this week by Inkatha Freedom Party chief executive officer Joe Matthews, in a briefing to foreign correspondents.

As things stand, the National Party and the ANC have tentatively agreed that after the first election, every party that gets more than five percent of the vote will be assured a cabinet seat. Twenty percent assures four cabinet seats, and so on.

In addition, the government is demanding that every party with more than 10 percent will get a seat on the council of state, a modification of the NP's original constitutional proposal of a rotating presidency. If the IFP attains the 10 percent mark, De Klerk's original proposal of a trika will be up and virtually running the country for the next five years.

It is thus appropriate that De Klerk and Mandela should be consummating their long-awaited marriage at the symbolic city of Philadelphia, the site of the American constitutional conference, on July 4, with United States President Bill Clinton as the best man. They will be receiving a Liberty Prize, good practice for getting used to sharing things in public.

The timing of the award could not be better. De Klerk will not want talks to bog down or collapse in June, the crunch month.

The government of national unity for a limited period is the key to the whole process, the central compromise that opens the gateway to democracy. Yet power-sharing has not even been raised in any form at the negotiating council which ground on this week with its efforts at finding consensus on more basic questions.

The definition of "self-determination", drawn up by the eminent team of legal experts in the constitutional technical committee reads rather like a bland political science tutorial.

It was presented to the negotiating council on Tuesday by constitutional fundi Marinus Wiechers who had to explain carefully, like a physicist explaining nuclear fission to a convention of boilermakers.

Though the academics on the technical committee, wary of being accused of exceeding their mandate, have been careful not to take decisions that mean anything, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa declared that the report on self-deter-

Slowly negotiating a marriage of mixed minds

Wmail 21/5-27/5/93
As Bill Clinton acts as FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela's best man in Philadelphia, negotiators at the World Trade Centre are haltingly moving towards democracy

By
PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK



mination was a breakthrough.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager agreed with Ramaphosa, saying he was glad that self-determination had at last been recognised as a right and not a favour.

But the Conservative Party's Tom Langley, flashing a dirty look at his erstwhile colleagues in the Afrikaner Volksunie, said he did not share their euphoria. In fact, he said, what he had been led to believe was a rather innocuous definition was really a "classic Soviet view of self-determination".

He cited Webster's third new international dictionary to prove that there was a definition of self-determination dearer to the heart of the CP — one that did not spring from the assumption that South Africa was a unitary state.

Solidarity between the white rightwingers had evaporated: De Jager was accepting self-determination, whatever that might mean, within a united South Africa. Langley wanted a Boer republic. One could only wonder how the Afrikaner Volksfront will be able to agree on whether to serve koeksusters or boerewors at their inaugural rally.

And what hope then for the Concerned South Africans Group cranking out a joint policy that goes beyond mutual fear and loathing of the ANC? Immediately after the debate,

Matthews made it clear that Inkatha would never support an Afrikaner state and said the demands of his Cosag allies could be met within a democratic federal state.

He dismissed out of hand suggestions that the IFP might itself secede and take kwaZulu/Natal out of the new South Africa. With the same ingenuousness that has allowed him to describe his party's route to democracy as the "bottoms up" approach, Matthews, himself a Tswana, said the Zulus were predominant in South Africa.

"We are the Serbs of South Africa", he bragged, without a hint of irony.

After the lunch break the topic of Yugoslavia arose again. South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo weighed in with warnings of what happened when self-determination was demanded in isolation from human rights as the CP was doing with its Afrikaner state. He raised the spectre of ethnic cleansing, of turning people into second-class citizens simply because of their ethnic identity.

Substantive discussions had begun. Yet there was still shadow boxing. Once again, real progress was in the margins.

For some time, the negotiators have been operating by keeping the hot

potato ahead of them. The really contentious issues have been sandwiched in a wedge of paper, pushed from negotiating forum to negotiating council to technical committee back to negotiating council back to technical committee.

The potentially divisive issue of federalism has been atomised so that the question of boundaries has been dispatched to an ideologically neutral commission whose terms are defined in such a way that the bantustans will surely disappear.

The debate on the powers and functions of regions will centre on questions such as whether it is better for the police, hospitals, roads, and so on, to be run by the central government or the regions.

On the surface, things are taking shape at an almost glacial pace. Yet it all adds up to a dramatic stride towards a settlement.

What can't be underestimated is the role of the negotiating council as a gigantic group therapy session. Here at the World Trade Centre Ramaphosa, whose sense of humour is regarded by the rightwing as the ANC's most dangerous weapon since sanctions and the armed struggle, chuckles and cracks jokes with the likes of Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje and the IFP's Frank Mdlalose. Perhaps if Buthelezi ever came to

the centre, he too might be seduced into conviviality.

The question then is: how can the rest of the country be made to share this gaiety?

The view from outside the World Trade Centre is of a place in quarantine, isolated from the rest of South Africa by a razor wire fence. Outside, a restless, fearful spirit pervades the land.

Yet, just as a battle is most intense before a truce is signed, nearly all of this — the mobilisation of the right, the assassination of Chris Hani, the consumer boycotts, the rising tide of black resistance and white fear — is not a threat, but a reaction to events at the World Trade Centre.

South Africa is making halting strides towards democracy, not just in the narrow sense of an impending election, but in the gradual acceptance of principles such as transparency and accountability. In many ways, the SABC hearings have been the first official signs of the new South Africa.

What has been most surprising was not the Broederbond past, but Big Brother Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's intolerant attitude toward American soap operas, which he told the hearing he finds "extremely irritating".

It is instructive that the man tipped to chair the board — and one of the most brilliant political analysts in this country — has such a poor understanding of the medium in which he is both player and proposed governor.

To clamp down on soap operas would spark the middle-class equivalent of a bread riot. "Give me Alf (the furry little creature who travels through space) any day before Slabbert on Sunday," was a typical response from a local viewer.

Yet it is a measure of how far we have come that a black judge can grill the former governors of the SABC about their Broederbond past, that the ANC can have open hearings into the abuse of detainees in its camps, that a group of left-liberal lawyers can advance their own ideas through the Democratic Party's Bill of Rights as a form of opposition to the ANC's stifling omnibus of collective rights.

One day soon we will wake up to find there is an election date, a deal, a transitional executive council, an election campaign. How it came about only God and a handful of negotiators at the World Trade Centre will really know.

By all means, send De Klerk and Mandela to Philadelphia — if they can make a deal they will deserve it — but send Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer to Sarajevo.

I suggest, if South Africa does reach a settlement shortly, that Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance move aside for the real pros.

Mandela to meet Buthelezi

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela has responded positively to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's appeal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet to discuss an end to violence. He has asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible".

In accepting yesterday, Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by Zwelithini for a speedy end to the bloodshed.

Buthelezi said last night he was pleased by Mandela's willingness to meet him and was waiting for the ANC leader to communicate directly with him.

He said he had not known about Zwelithini's approach.

Said Buthelezi: "This matter is of such importance that Dr Mandela should not have responded to whatever he had heard from his majesty through the media."

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, with which many thought

he had very close relations.

Mandela said he wanted to assure Zwelithini of his readiness to meet Buthelezi "with an aim to address all aspects contributing to the current violence."

"We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems," he said.

"Our people and country yearn for peace, which is the main condition for a speedy, democratic transformation of our society."

IFP rejects Star 21/5/92 multiparty

control (118) of forces

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected multiparty control of the country's security forces and warned that the territory would resist the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the army or police.

Addressing the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday in his budget speech as Minister of Police, he said the initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected out of hand.

Buthelezi said the KwaZulu government and IFP wanted a regional security force.

"Smaller, leaner and more efficient police forces working close to the people and within their communities are preferable to a huge, bureaucratically structured police force at the national level."

He said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to enable it to incorporate Umkhonto into the SA Police and armed forces and to gain political control.

IFP seeks funds from sheiks

Wjman 21/5-27/5/93. (113)

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY stalwart Rowley Arenstein is targeting Middle Eastern oil sheiks in a bid to raise money for his party's election campaign.

The Durban-based Islamic Propagation Centre Internation (IPCI) — which receives millions of petro-dollars from Arab royal families and oil sheiks — confirmed this week that Arenstein had recently approached them to discuss fund-raising.

"We gave him (Arenstein) the addresses of influential people in the Middle East," said IPCI spokesman Yusuf Deedat. "We will help anyone who can convince us."

Arenstein, seen as a close adviser of Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday: "Nothing definite has been decided. There are general discussions on ways to collect finances."

The IPCI appears to have thrown its full weight behind the IFP after the African National Congress snubbed them last year.

Deedat said the IPCI had invited both ANC president Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi to address an IPCI-organised meeting last year. Buthelezi attended; Mandela, Deedat said, did not even acknowledge receiving the invitation.

Earlier this year, Buthelezi was a guest speaker at the official opening of the offices of the Saudi government-sponsored Muslim World League in Johannesburg. League spokesman Fareed Choonara said the League was not going to help Buthelezi raise money.

Observers believe, though, that if the IFP — armed with the approval of the IPCI — goes on a fund-raising drive in the Middle East, it could raise millions of rands.

THE major concessions made by the ANC this week at the negotiating council meeting have gone a long way towards allaying the fears of Inkatha and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) about being dominated in a unitary state.

The concessions also pave the way for a breakthrough on the re-incorporation of the TBVC states, and generally speed up the process of transition.

The ANC has placed the negotiating ball firmly in Cosag's court. Inkatha has consistently argued that it is in favour of a federal option for SA. The ANC has virtually conceded to this in its submissions that regions have original powers entrenched in the constitution, with the central government having overriding powers only in areas such as security and education policy.

It has also gone a long way towards answering Inkatha suspicions that it might change its mind as soon as an interim government starts negotiating the final constitution. It has agreed that the powers and functions

Ball now

of regions can form part of the constitutional principles binding the constitution-making body. In doing this, the ANC has taken the substantial risk of alienating its more radical followers. It will have to do some hard selling to convince them this is the correct strategy.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says there is no longer any dispute over regionalism, and "we have a regional dispensation which has all the hallmarks of federalism".

DP negotiator Colin Eglin says the effect of the ANC concessions is that the powers and functions of regions will be "virtually written in stone" in an interim constitution, thus binding the ANC to carry the principle through into the final constitution.

On the face of it, Inkatha and its allies should now have little to fear in accepting a transitional executive council and an interim government.

in Inkatha's court

(118)
He contends the ANC could still amend its position in a parliament and states that until a constitutional court has been established there is no guarantee this would not happen.

Felgate still rejects the establishment of a transitional executive council. He argues that while the ANC concedes on the regionalism issue, during the transitional period it wants to curtail the autonomy of existing structures and revert to the old provincial council boundaries and system. He says the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly would then not have full control over its finance and its security forces during the run-up to elections.

DP negotiator Ken Andrew argues that Inkatha accepted such conditions at Codesa. "We cannot have all these different authorities with complete autonomy when we are trying to level the political playing fields."

One of Inkatha's allies, the Ciskei

government, says it sees no need for a transitional executive council and wants to negotiate the final constitution in the multiparty forum.

Rather than being intransigent, Inkatha and Cosag are exposing their strategy: negotiate as comprehensive an interim constitution as possible and leave as little leeway as possible for an elected constitution-making body likely to be dominated by the ANC.

Government is also hoping to achieve a comprehensive interim constitution and in this way deny an elected majority from determining the final constitution.

The ANC has to convince its constituency it can still achieve its objectives on regionalism within this forum. But in making concessions it has nevertheless locked Inkatha into the process and put pressure on its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to compromise in the interests of a speedy settlement. And the belief among negotiators is that if Inkatha accepts the deal for transition as agreed at Codesa, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei will also fall into line.

SDM 21/5/93

BILLY PADDOCK

In this move the ANC and government, which had earlier supported the ANC line that powers and functions of regions be determined by an elected body, have put forward their "reasonable offer" to Inkatha and Cosag. If it is rejected, Inkatha and Cosag will be seen as spoilers, and isolate themselves in the eyes of the international community and SA business.

While Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate agrees the concessions have essentially met his party's requirements, he balks at fully accepting them. "I will suspend judgment until we get round to negotiating the powers and functions of regions, and the regions' relationship to the central government."

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 21/5/93

(113)

INKATHA

Stealing a march

The official reason for massive IFP demonstrations in Durban, Maritzburg and other Natal towns may have been to protest at the continuing violence. But another motive was to demonstrate party loyalty in the wake of the ANC alliance's Hani marches in the region.

And, though it is generally accepted that the turnout following the Hani assassination was considerably greater than that of the IFP at the weekend, Inkatha did more than enough to prove its point. In Durban the IFP attracted about 50 000 — largely bussed in from the rural areas and indicating where Inkatha support is based — which was still sufficient to make it one of the biggest marches through the city.

Discipline counts

At the head of the procession supporters carried 280 coffins representing the number of party officials killed in political violence. While this may have been the rallying call, Natal University head of political studies Mervyn Frost stresses that the real significance is that the IFP showed that it is still a major force to be reckoned with.

"If they wanted to mount a show of strength they did so, not only in terms of numbers, but in terms of discipline. I am not aware of any incidents of vandalism or trouble . . . The IFP mounted a sizeable demonstration without incurring any damage. Discipline of that order is impressive."

But, Frost adds, what makes Saturday's events particularly impressive is that such large numbers could be rallied by the party without a specific incident, such as the Hani assassination, around which to galvanise support in the heat of the moment. "Anyone who thinks there will be a simple victory for one or other side is under an illusion," warns Frost. "Under the circumstances, ignoring the IFP would be a recipe for disaster."

It can be assumed that the IFP and its allies will press with renewed vigour for concessions on fundamental issues such as federalism.

This is borne out by resolutions which emerged from an IFP Central Committee

brainstorming session, which also took place at the weekend. Among them was a decision to explore power-sharing opportunities, though it was stressed that the IFP would continue to call for the entrenchment of regional powers, structures and boundaries before an election is held. ■

IFP seeks help from Italian MPs

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has enlisted Italian MPs to help lobby the European parliament into backing its call for a pre-election constitution in South Africa.

The IFP's representative in Britain, Mr Ben Skosana, said that the proposal was actively canvassed by Chief Buthelezi with Italian MPs and members of the country's Christian Democrat party dur-

ing Chief Buthelezi's visit to Rome three weeks ago. (116) CT22/5/93

A report in the monthly magazine, The Southern African Exclusive, said the IFP and the Bophuthatswana government were launching an international campaign aimed at delaying the country's first non-racial election.

The magazine described prospects for success in the campaign as "slim" but said they "should add grist to the federal-

ist mill" through the publicity generated. Mr Skosana said the IFP's benefactors were also attempting to persuade the European parliament to invite Chief Buthelezi to address them, probably in June or July this year.

He said people needed know what direction South Africa was taking before voting.

A spokesman for the European parliament was unable to confirm any scheduled debate on the IFP proposal.

5 Times 23 1593

Death Row plea

LAWYERS for Human Rights have appealed to the head of Venda's military council, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, not to proceed with the execution of two men tomorrow.

The men are Wilson Tshidzmetwi, 47, and Frans Tshilengo Netshirobemi, 46, who ritually murdered a two-year-old boy.

(13)

New blueprint spells out way to talks settlement

THIS IS BORTHOOM LINE FOR PACE

STimes 23/5/93

By EDYTH BULBRING and
CLAIRE ROBERTSON

LEADERS of negotiating teams at the World Trade Centre were yesterday handed a document which holds the key to a political settlement in South Africa.

The blueprint for a breakthrough is disclosed in a confidential document written by a technical committee consisting of eight legal and constitutional experts chosen by the various political parties to guide debate and help resolve differences.

With only 10 days to the deadline for setting a date for elections, the parties have been told they will have to make significant concessions:

- The ANC and its allies have been told the only way forward is for them to accept a plan protecting the interests of minorities and regions, and establishing clear constitutional principles before an election;

- Inkatha and its allies have been given notice that they will have to accept that an elected body will draft South Africa's final constitution;

- And the Conservative Party's hopes for a white homeland were dismissed as a non-starter.

The blueprint will be presented to the "group of 10" planning committee tomorrow and to the 26 parties participating in the



A DARING plan to free ANC president Nelson Mandela from South Africa's "Alcatraz" — the maximum security prison on Robben Island — has been revealed for the first time.

Hatched over a three-year period with military precision, the plan was to airlift Mr. Mandela in a helicopter flying under the South African flag on New Year's Day 1981, and to take him to a foreign embassy in Cape Town where he would seek political asylum.

Devised in the utmost secrecy,

the plan was committed to writing on sheets of fine tracing paper and smuggled out of South Africa between the cardboard layers of a colourful postcard of Cape Town.

Documents outlining the plan will be seen by the public for the first time at an exhibition organised by the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape and the South African Museum, which opens in Cape Town on Wednesday.

● Full report on Page 7



Thokoza battle

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South Africa's final const

for a white homeland were and the Conservative Party's dismissed as a non-starter. The blueprint will be presented to the "group of 10" planning committee tomorrow and to the 26 parties participating in the World Trade Centre talks on Tuesday.

The report concludes that "the key to unlocking the differences that exist and enabling the process to move forward is to develop a set of constitutional principles".

"These should be sufficient to offer assurance to those who are concerned that their interests will not be adequately protected if the constitution is drawn up by an elected constitution-making body without being so detailed as to pre-empt the work of the elected constitution-making body." The technical committee's report comes in the context of significant shifts by the ANC and the IFP this week.

Formula

Inkatha's central committee last Sunday resolved to explore ways of accommodating a suitable power-sharing formula — a concept it had been firmly opposed to.

The ANC in turn accepted that the boundaries of the regions for the purposes of elections would be decided at the multi-party talks forum and that the forum would decide the powers, functions and structures the regions will have after the first non-racial elections.

But their shifts, the technical committee says, do not go far enough.

It suggests that detailed and stringent regional safeguards contained in a definitive principle binding the constitution-making body should include:

- That regions may take the central government to court if it punishes regional opponents or intervenes in local matters beyond the scope of a list of criteria setting out when and how it may do so.

By Paul Bell

ANC, IFP in row over Tokoza massacre

Star 24/5/93

The ANC and IFP yesterday offered sharply different versions of the events that led to Saturday's clash between their supporters in Tokoza, which claimed 13 lives.

It emerged that the ANC had been warned that hostel residents were massing outside the hostel, and asked by both a peace monitor and police to take another route.

And amid a growing row over which side was responsible, the ANC has repeated its call for a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in the "racist" Alberton community from today. The march had been called to announce the boycott.

ANC PVV chairman Tok-

yo Sexwale denied yesterday that the marchers had been seeking confrontation, saying that up to a week's warning had been given of the ANC's intentions. His opposite number in the IFP, Themba Khoza, said the march had been provocative and that "the intention of certain elements was not peaceful".

By last night, a series of important questions remained unanswered:

● Why the march leaders insisted on taking a route they knew to be a flashpoint in this East Rand township, when they had been warned of a massing of hostel residents, and despite being urged by both peace monitor

Piroshaw Camay and the police at the scene to go by another route. Sexwale responded yesterday by saying the ANC would not accept no-go areas.

The ANC claims it proceeded with its march down Khumalo Street because it had been given the assurance that police would move

hostel residents back inside the hostel. The marchers would then march by as quickly as possible.

But, the ANC claims, the police failed to make good this undertaking. "Having been informed about plans for the march, police should have taken every possible measure to prevent a possi-

ble confrontation. We therefore hold the police responsible for the massacre."

● Why ANC marshals permitted marchers to carry cultural weapons. Sexwale said that, while the ANC disapproved, its supporters had insisted on carrying weapons — a situation made more difficult by the IFP's refusal to accede on this issue.

● When the IFP had been warned of the ANC's planned march. The ANC claims the

● To Page 3

Row over Tokoza massacre

From Page 1

Alberton and Tokoza town clerks and the Alberton police and chief magistrate had been warned up to a week before.

The IFP says that while it knew of the rally at the stadium, it heard of the march plans no more than a matter of hours before it took place. Inkatha MP Henrie Bekker said if the matter had been handled through the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat, they might have lodged objections and had time to avert the confrontation.

● The IFP was unable to offer a coherent explanation as to why its supporters allegedly fired on the ANC marchers.

The ANC has also charged the police with massing troops not in Tokoza, where they were needed, but in the centre

of Alberton to protect white property.

The National Peace Secretariat, deluged by claims and counter-claims, said the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat would convene tomorrow to begin an investigation.

Both the ANC and IFP — at separate press conferences in Johannesburg yesterday — called for an independent inquiry into the incident.

Both parties appeared to distance themselves from the desirability of a Goldstone inquiry. The ANC said this was an occasion on which it was necessary to "move beyond Goldstone".

The IFP confined itself to endorsing Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a moratorium on marches.

SAP Witwatersrand liaison officer Captain Wikus Weber claimed the police had attempted

to communicate with both factions, trying to get the IFP supporters back into the hostel, and trying to persuade the ANC to take another route. "We saw possible danger and tried to avert it."

He said it was difficult to say who had opened fire first, and dismissed as "ridiculous" suggestions that the SAP had been responsible for deaths among the marchers.

Police had used tear-smoke, birdshot and rubber bullets, he said. Those who died had been killed by gunshot, stab and back wounds. Sixty-one people were injured.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he believed the killings were part of ongoing attempts by "political elements in Government" to torpedo negotiations.

Mugabe may meet Buthelezi

(115) CT 2015/13
HARARE. — Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe was considering a request from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for talks on ways to end political violence in South Africa, Zimbabwe's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Nathan Shamuyarira said.

Such a meeting would be a first between the two as Mr Mugabe has shunned the IFP leader and has described him as a puppet of the white-minority government in Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter

Talking to 'puppet' *118*

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe was considering a request from Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for talks on ways of ending political violence in SA, Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said at the weekend *(118)*

Such a meeting would be the first between Buthelezi and Mugabe, who previously called Buthelezi a puppet of Pretoria.

REPORTS: AP-DJ, Sape-AFP-Router,
Business Day Reporter.

810M7 24/5793



NEWS Cops stand accused of shooting indiscriminately



ON THE MARCH ... IFP members from Tokoza hostel marched on the local police station yesterday, protesting against police misconduct during an ANC march in the area in which 13 people were killed on Saturday.

ANC, IFP air their views

By Lulama Luti

■ **TOKOZA MASSACRE:** Organisations blame police for provoking the incidents which led to

13 deaths:

Sowetan 24/5/93

THE ANC march in Tokoza on Saturday where 13 people were killed and 61 injured was organised to protest, among other things, against the continued detention of more than 30 ANC members from Phola Park.

WHAT THE IFP SAYS:

Chairman of the East Rand Hostels Association, Mr Zakhele Mlambo:

"We did not know anything about the march. The police were approached to ask the marchers to take an alternative route and not to proceed past the hostel along Khumalo Street.

"The police did not allow the march to take an alternate route. They let the march proceed.

"When the marchers were about 100 metres from the hostel gate, stones were thrown into the hostel and police opened fire (into the hostel) killing Mr Ndlinga Mazibuko who was standing

near the gate. All this time the gate was locked.

"The police are the ones who shot at and threw teargas at our people. The registration number of the (hippo) that shot at the people inside the hostel is BFD 489 B."

WHAT THE ANC SAYS:

Members of the ANC Youth League in Phola Park — Turnier Nceba, Hardat Nontume and local Peace Committee member Vincent Mtusi:

"Permission for the march was granted. It proceeded from the Tokoza stadium at around 11am. We were about 100m from the hostel when we stopped after police said we should take

an alternative route.

"We could not take an alternative route. We were at a section of the street where there are only circles. While our leadership stood discussing this, a shot rang out from the rooftop of the hostel. Police opened fire at us. Two of our members were killed instantly.

"The police continued firing at us and people started running in all directions. The police are responsible for most of the casualties. Many of those killed were shot at by the police.

"We don't have a problem with the IFP, we are not fighting them, it was the police who shot at us."

IFP demands security after *Star 25/5/93* taxi fired on

Crime Reporter and Sapa

The IFP yesterday called for extra security in Natal's Wembezi township after two of its members died and six others were seriously injured in an AK-47 attack on a minibus taxi.

The minibus, transporting 12 IFP supporters to work, was ambushed at about 6.15 am, police said. (118) (216)

Natal SAP spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said the gunman waved the minibus down in Depo Section, pretending he wanted to go to Estcourt.

As the minibus stopped, the man riddled it with bullets.

Budhram said 11 bullet holes were found in the vehicle, and police recovered 15 spent AK-47 cartridges at the scene.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet, who called for an immediate security force increase in the area, described Wembezi — an ANC stronghold — as a “hell run” for IFP supporters who had to travel through the township to enter Estcourt.

“IFP members daily have to run the gauntlet of stonings and being shot at,” he said.

King's peace role in doubt

APR 27/5/93 (113)
JOHANNESBURG. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has allegedly withdrawn as a facilitator of talks between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

So said Mr Mandela at Morris Isaacson School in White City, Soweto, today.

Mr Mandela said the king's position was now apparently that "TV got it wrong" about the planned talks and the king's role.

Morris Isaacson School, where the 1976 school protests and riots began, is today crumbling and empty and strewn with rubbish. Win-

dows are broken and the walls are daubed with liberation slogans.

Mr Mandela said his visit there was part of a tour to see for himself the state of black schools.

He said he wanted to be fully briefed when he continued his discussions with President De Klerk.

Mr Mandela told pupils there to greet him they should go back to school to qualify themselves to compete in a tough world.

The pupils, all of them in matric, said they studied every night at the school in one of the empty classrooms, but they took part in protests.

"We take action by day and we study by night," they said. — Sapa.

Hopes fade for leaders' meeting

Blom 28/5/93

WILSON ZWANE

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon to address political rivalry between their organisations dimmed yesterday.

Mandela, who had said he was happy to meet Buthelezi if King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the Zulu monarch had withdrawn as a facilitator.

Mandela said the king's position was that "TV got it all wrong", Sapa reports.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela was off.

"It does, however, complicate matters," he said.

The king apparently called on Buthelezi and Mandela in recent weeks to meet to address violence.

TIM COHEN reports that Buthelezi said Inkatha had proposed that the issue of violence should top the agenda of multiparty talks, with particular attention on the disbanding of private armies.

He told a news conference in Cape Town that whenever Inkatha raised the matter, the ANC and government were "virtually apoplectic", accusing Inkatha of trying to delay negotiations and of raising the matter prematurely.

Buthelezi said he found the "hype" about the need for an election date astonishing.

It amounted to "putting the constitutional cart before the constitutional horse".

Inkatha CE and head of the party's general election campaign Joe Mathews refused to announce the party's support targets in an election, but said the party was "playing the game to win".

If this did not occur, Inkatha hoped

to be the strongest opposition party, holding the balance of power.

Mathews said Inkatha had set itself three major objectives in the first nonracial election:

- To win a sufficient percentage of the overall vote to be an essential factor in any coalition government;
- To do well in several regions so that Inkatha would form an essential part of any coalition at the regional level; and
- To perform well in the KwaZulu/Natal region where Inkatha expected to win, either in its own right or in coalition with another party.

Meanwhile, Mandela told school children yesterday that pupil mass action was not incompatible with a call to pupils to return to class.

Addressing pupils during a tour of Witwatersrand township schools, Mandela emphasised the importance of education.

"Education is the only weapon if you want to be a leader of your people," he told them.

However, the ANC president also endorsed his organisation's support for striking teachers and urged pupils to join the "fight" for equal education.

Mandela held a news briefing at King Edward VII High School in Houghton.

□ GERALD REILLY reports council chairman Allan Powell said yesterday that the Teachers' Federal Council had requested an urgent interview with National Education Minister Piet Marais over the education crisis.

After an extraordinary meeting of the TFC's executive committee, he said the present situation was cause for grave concern.

Certain facets called for most urgent attention.

Sapa reports that Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday a public inquiry into "ways and means" of curbing violence and intimidation in the forthcoming election would be held in Cape Town in August.

On the panel are acting US attorney-general and former Watergate prosecutor Charles Ruff and Zimbabwe's electoral commission chairman Prof Walter Kamba. Other members are John Olivier

Gosatu push for child care

ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU has called on its affiliates to celebrate international children's day on Tuesday by persuading members to take their children to their work places.

Cosatu gender co-ordinator Dorothy Mokgalo said yesterday different regions were planning events as well as a two-phase strategy intended to promote Cosatu's parental campaign.

The two campaign demands were for 20 days' paid child care leave a year and subsidised child care facilities for workers.

She said both parents should be entitled to child care leave to handle school problems and look after sick children.

She said employers should take some responsibility for the provision of child care facilities.

She said affiliates were taking up the issue at individual company and industry level and would present management with demands on Tuesday.

A snap Business Day survey showed most companies were unaware of Cosatu's plans.

SA Breweries said no one under the age of 18 was allowed on its factory premises. It felt the union would not try this tactic.

AECI said chemical factories were hazardous and children would not be allowed into factory areas "for their own safety".

Pick 'n Pay said when Cosatu a few years ago had first suggested bringing children to workplaces, very few employees had complied. However, the group would accommodate children as far as possible.

An East Rand metal factory said Numsa had approached management about bringing children to work. Children would not be allowed on to the premises, and the union had agreed with the decision. A spokesman said the issues raised would be discussed.

Goldstone panel advisers named

PRETORIA — A former Watergate prosecutor and Zimbabwe's electoral commission chairman are among the members of a panel appointed to advise the Goldstone commission on election violence.

Sapa reports that Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday a public inquiry into "ways and means" of curbing violence and intimidation in the forthcoming election would be held in Cape Town in August.

On the panel are acting US attorney-general and former Watergate prosecutor Charles Ruff and Zimbabwe's electoral commission chairman Prof Walter Kamba. Other members are John Olivier

(HSRC), Prof C Shearing, (University of Western Cape), Prof T Geldenhuys (Unisa), Prof Otty Nxumalo (Zululand University), Canadian deputy chief electoral officer Prof Ron Gould, Prof J Elklit of Denmark and Ghanaian ambassador Theresa Stiggner-Scott.

□ WILSON ZWANE reports that an HSRC report has found that an effective system of rumour control will help curb violence between township and hostel residents.

In the report handed to Goldstone yesterday, the organisation said a lack of communication between hostels and surrounding communities was at the bottom of the conflict.

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IFP could form private army tomorrow

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

INKATHA had the manpower with the fighting skills to form a private army like Apla or UMkhonto. We Sizwe (UMK) "tomorrow", Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday. He told a press conference in the city yesterday there had been "a

lot of pressure" from members for Inkatha to provide some self-defence.

He said he had the manpower who knew how to fight for starting something like MK or Apla, "but I have never throughout my political career considered that or using illegal ways for implementing strategy".

The present "hasco" was because the government and the ANC had not accepted Inkatha's proposal that the multi-party forum give priority to violence and the disbanding of private armies.

Instead, Inkatha had been accused of trying to delay negotiations and of raising the matter prematurely.

He said it did not augur well if an important role-player like the PAC was to be excluded from negotiations, but stopped short of saying Inkatha would pull out of talks if the PAC was sidelined.

The insistence that an election date be announced next week amounted to "putting the constitutional cart before the constitution".

The Inkatha Freedom Party's chief executive officer and election strategist Mr Joe Mathews said Inkatha was "playing the game to win".

The IFP expected to win sufficient votes to be an essential facet in any coalition government at the national and regional levels.

11B CT 28/5/93

Star 28/5/93
Too soon for poll — Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was astonished at the optimism that an election date could be set within days.

"This hype and optimism about a date has left me astonished," he told a media conference in Cape Town. (11B)

In his opinion, a date could not be set before agreement had been reached on constitutional principles, or the commission

on both regional boundaries and government had reported.

"After that we still want a committee of wise men or women to draft a constitution in terms of the principles, and want it approved by the negotiating forum before we go to an election."

"Setting a date for an election now is putting the political cart before the political horse," he said. — Sapa.

FM 28/5/93

(11B)

At the heart of the agreement was the bringing together of ANC activists and the traditional leaders, breaking down the mutual mistrust which existed between the two groups. The leaders were encouraged to elevate themselves above politics.

Steven Collins, community conciliation and mediation co-ordinator at Idasa's Durban office, points out that the traditional leaders have feared being sidelined and stripped of their powers in a new dispensation. They naturally fought to preserve existing power bases.

Moses Anathu of the Commonwealth Observer Mission agrees but stresses that fears of marginalisation probably stemmed from a lack of communication rather than any basis of fact. "I don't believe the ANC ever planned to exclude the traditional leaders from the process of change. Whenever we've brought the ANC and traditional leaders together, it has gone like clockwork."

Clearly others have picked up on this. Collins says there appears to be a growing tendency among the Amakhosi to distance themselves from political parties. "Some are even telling their people they can join whichever political party they choose." That, says Collins, is a sign of change. Communities had in recent years become polarised with everyone being forced publicly to support one or other party.

Last weekend's Mpumalanga peace rally, attended by thousands of ANC and IFP supporters celebrating the creation of peace in the area, is tangible evidence of the change under way.

Collins also points to the establishment of the group of concerned Zulus as evidence of a growing feeling that initiatives to end violence must transcend traditional political loyalties. Hence the involvement of luminaries like the ANC's deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose in the 28-person Zulu forum which also includes PAC, business, clergy, trade union and academic representation.

Their primary objective is to encourage the king to become actively involved in the peace process on a nonpolitical basis, something he certainly appears to be doing — hence his calls for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

As Anathu says: "The king is at the highest level of traditional leaders. If he's going to take an active part in bringing about peace, we will all applaud him."

Political violence, in spite of a few widely publicised incidents, is declining in Natal/KwaZulu. According to Natal/KwaZulu regional peace committee chairman M C Pretorius, the average number of deaths from political violence is about 4,5 a day compared to more than 10 or 12 in the last couple of years.

The committee has taken several new steps to improve its ability to head off violence, among them the possibility of having marshals from opposing parties at marches. The suggestion came from the ANC and the IFP, which is encouraging indeed. ■

NATAL FM 28/5/93.

Drawing on the good

There's been a quiet political shift, largely undetected by political observers, which could signal the first real hopes of peace in war-torn Natal/KwaZulu.

Unrelated events stretching back to the end of last year could, if linked, point to a Zulu-orchestrated initiative that is gradually gathering momentum. They include the Commonwealth-brokered peace agreement at Port Shepstone last year; the establishment of the Concerned Group of Zulus; King Goodwill Zwelithini's support for talks between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his IFP counterpart, Mangosuthu Buthelezi; and a meeting of hundreds of Amakhosi (chiefs) and Izinduna (headmen) with the king at the weekend.

Initially, progress by the structures of the National Peace Accord seemed slow, despite the resources which have been poured into the region to achieve peace. Even pleas by ANC and IFP leaders seemed to fall on deaf ears. There was little point in establishing who was to blame, since each side blamed the other — both had priests and guns on their side.

Perhaps obscured in the bloodshed was the fact that a Zulu solution was needed to end the Zulu slaughter of Zulus. However, it was left to the Commonwealth Observer Mission to broker a remarkably effective peace, which, apart from a small lapse recently, has held up surprisingly well.

Leaders 'won't get together'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
Hopes dimmed yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon.

Mr Mandela, who has said he was happy to meet Chief Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the king had withdrawn as a facilitator of the meeting. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean that a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was off.

"It does, however, complicate matters," Mr Niehaus said without elaborating. The king apparently called on the two leaders in recent weeks to meet and address violence.

ST
28/5/93
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CONFLICT is mounting within National Party ranks between "reactionaries" and "realists" over how to deal with Inkatha — and this could prove the last straw which breaks party unity.

Strategy in regard to the Inkatha Freedom Party highlights deeper policy divisions within the NP, and specifically whether to seek an ethnic solution to South Africa's constitutional problems.

If Nat rightwingers did leave the party, they would probably join forces with Andries Beyers' Afrikaner Volksonie, with whom they

already have behind-the-scenes contacts. The last straw could be the failure of multi-party negotiations to satisfy demands for "Afrikaner self-determination".

The NP reformers, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly frustrated by Inkatha inroads into NP support in Natal and on the Rand. Recent polls indicate that nationally, Inkatha may have more white than black supporters.

A close inspection of recent Hansards shows that senior Nationalists have been openly contradicting each other on Inkatha, with conservatives urging closer ties with the IFP and a reformist group castigating the Zulu-based party.

When President FW de Klerk embarked on his current course of negotiations, few NP members had any doubt that they would face a future election with the IFP as an ally.

The sharp attack on the IFP during April's provincial debates by the vice-chairman of the NP's constitutional study group, Johan Steenkamp, was widely reported. But while Steenkamp has serious problems with the IFP, his chairman in the same study group, Frik van Deventer (NP, Bloemfontein-North) often walks around in parliament proudly sporting an IFP tie.

In his speech in the extended public committee on provincial affairs, Steenkamp accused the IFP of trying to project itself as the "last remaining representatives of what can be termed the noble savage". He questioned the IFP's commitment to democracy and referred to the "mediocre leadership structure". People who were "not qualified to be corporals are made generals by the IFP", he said.

He also said the party suffered a "serious lack of intellectual and academic support", adding that there are "no intelligent, educated, dynamic Zulus surrounding Buthelezi".

In the same debate senior Nat MECs in Natal — including Timo Völker, and the administrator, Con Botha — waxed lyrical about joint control of the province by the NP and Inkatha. Völker strongly defended the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in Natal which consists of members of the provincial executive council and Inkatha.

While the NP's negotiators want the multi-party forum to find consensus on a regional dis-

Ally or enemy? Inkatha could divide NP unity

WIMail 28/5 - 3/6/93

An inspection of recent Hansards reveals increasing division within the National Party over how to deal with Inkatha. By **CHRIS LOUW**

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pensation, Völker defended the IFP's highly contentious constitutional proposals.

"I believe that the regional functions and powers of Natal-kwaZulu should not be subject to any concurrent and overriding legislative powers of a central government, or for that matter of an elected constituent assembly," Völker told the committee. "The empowerment of the Natal-kwaZulu province, its powers and functions, should be by the people of Natal."

Not all Nats agree with these sentiments.

At roughly the same time, a diametrically contrasting view was expressed by another senior Nat, Chris Fishmer. In the April 6 and 7 provincial debate on the Transvaal, he said: "We are still waiting on members of the IFP in parliament to tell us why they are not interested in participatory democracy and why their constitutional proposals for Natal are still only making provision for a winner-takes-all situation. Why are they only presenting constitutional proposals for Natal and not for the rest of the country?"

Fishmer also insisted that the IFP "must still tell us what their share is in the violence and what they are going to do to stop it".

Apart from revealing the lack of any coherent strategy in the NP, the conflicting approaches of Nat MPs also serve as an acid test of their political verkramptheid or verligtheid — in other words, whether they accept that negotiations will inevitably bring democracy.

Developments since the unbanning of the African National Congress have deepened the confusion in NP ranks.

These include Inkatha's adoption of its regional constitution for kwaZulu/Natal, which displays strong secessionist elements and which was drawn up by conservative American experts with little understanding of the South African situation.

On April 7 this year, former Democratic Party MP and now Inkatha defector Mike Tarr conceded that the IFP's constitutional proposals were secessionist in nature — although he added that they were negotiable.

Verligte Nats find this assurance difficult to accept. They point to a resolution by kwaZulu that the proposals should be adopted by the Joint Executive Council and be ratified by the South

African government. This completely ignores the present negotiation process, yet from recent pronouncements by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi it has become clear that he insists on using the document as his settlement blueprint.

The folly of an Inkatha-NP alliance has been most strongly highlighted by the DP MP for Umhlanga, Kobus Jordaan, a former official of the Department of Constitutional Development and key architect of the negotiations process. During the Natal provincial debate Jordaan repeatedly pointed out that the JEA

had little legitimacy.

Jordaan based his assertion on figures relating to the last elections in kwaZulu and Natal. In the 1989 election for the Provincial Administration, 66 percent of eligible white voters cast their ballot. For the House of Delegates, there was a 24 percent turnout and for the House of Representatives a turnout of 21 percent.

The voting percentages in kwaZulu are significantly less impressive. In the 1988 election, of three million potential voters only 780 000 with Zulu citizenship certificates could vote. Five constituencies were contested and only 12 000 in fact voted.

"If anyone tells me those two groupings (the NP and Inkatha) can govern Natal/kwaZulu in the interim period and in the new dispensation, and take decisions in the process, I will say it is not possible."

In an interview in Cape Town last week, Jordaan attributed the differing approaches in the NP towards the IFP to arguments between reactionaries and realists in the party. "The reactionaries are suffering from the illusion that they still have the power to determine the country's future. They argue that democracy cannot work in Africa.

"What is needed, according to them, is an elite group who connive together, who shrewdly pull the strings in the background."

These Nats, including cabinet ministers, have strong ties with Inkatha and the AVU. Behind the scenes they are also getting discussions going with the Conservative Party. Instead of finding a constitutional solution together with the ANC, they believe they should destabilise the ANC as much as possible to weaken the organisation.

Buthelezi is aware of the conflict. This is one of the reasons why he invited the conservative Local Government Minister, Tertius Delpont, to open the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly this year, and not verligte Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

But in the end Steenkamp may prove to have the last say about the future direction of the NP's relations with Buthelezi.

The IFP, he said in April, can't save the Afrikaner. "It finds it difficult enough saving itself."

By ENOCH MTHEMBU

HAVING lost a struggle for the leadership of the organisation's key Transvaal region, Inkatha strongman Musa Myeni has withdrawn to Zululand to sulk.

And, in a roundabout reference to Inkatha involvement in violence, he told

The Weekly Mail: "I am sorry if I have done something wrong to the South African nation."

While formally still a member of the organisation, he has withdrawn from all leadership functions and is embarking on a series of private business ventures.

Myeni was involved in a battle for influence with Transvaal IFP Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza, but knew that he had lost when IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi froze him out at a meeting at which he had hoped to explain the situation.

Myeni caused severe embarrassment to the IFP and Buthelezi when it was reported last year that he had signed a pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on behalf of Inkatha. Buthelezi was forced to deny the existence of a pact, and Myeni now claims that he was "talking to the AWB on behalf of black people who were being harassed in Ventersdorp, which has now stopped".

Myeni was the IFP's foreign affairs secretary for many years, reportedly meeting Renamo leader Alfonso Dhlakama and travelling the world on behalf of the organisation.

Myeni still claims to be loyal to

Buthelezi, but what broke his political neck were allegations that he was acting unilaterally without consulting other Transvaal IFP leaders. It was also claimed that he had spoken of himself as the next chief minister of kwaZulu.

Myeni says the allegations were made by Khoza when he visited Ulundi late last year — he believes in an effort to damage his "excellent relationship of 23 years with Buthelezi".

But aside from the palace politics and protestations of loyalty to the chief from all sides, there is a

political aspect to the sidelining of Myeni: despite his militant rhetoric, he and IFP negotiations team member Suzanne Vos of Sandton are regarded as "doves," while Khoza and IFP Transvaal chairman Humphrey Ndlovu are seen as "hawks".

The split centres on the use of violence as a political weapon. Regarded as the more skilled tactician, Myeni is said to favour the selective use of violence along with negotiations. Khoza and his followers are more militant.

Buthelezi's failure to call Myeni in for a discussion on Khoza's allegations, forcing him to go to Ulundi cap in hand, are a sign that the IFP chief has come down on the side of the militants.

But Myeni still sees the conflict more personally: "If Khoza wanted to be a leader, he could have been one. I would not have competed with him, I consider myself a servant of the nation."

Inkatha 'dove' is sidelined

W/ Mail 28/5-3/6/93

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ANC/IFP rifts appear in KZP

Wimail 28/5 - 3/6/93
Weekly Mail Reporters

THE killing by kwaZulu Police of a notorious township gunman with firm links to the Inkatha Freedom Party has revealed a political split within the homeland's police force.

Mantengu Mathenjwa (21), whose gang terrorised the Empangeni township of Esikhawini for years, was Inkatha Youth Brigade secretary for the area and had been linked to political violence directed at African National Congress activists in the area.

kwaZulu Police say Mathenjwa was killed when he tried to grab a constable's weapon in an attempt to escape from custody. But his mother, an active Inkatha member, says he was killed in cold blood by policemen closely aligned to the ANC.

Many township residents also believe Mathenjwa's killing was deliberate. They say it was because it was the only practical way to rid their area of the gang. "Things have been a lot quieter since he is gone," said a young Esikhawini woman, who did not want to be named.

When shot, Mathenjwa was facing charges of murder and attempted murder.

On the surface, the rift divides the KZP into those who want to serve the community without bias and those who are prepared to enter alliances with violent gangs.

But the split goes deeper and has become political: policemen in many kwaZulu townships, particularly those close to urban areas, are finding that they are working within ANC-aligned communities. Taking a stand against the perpetrators of violence means being associated with the ANC.

Tug-of-war for the king

W/Mail 28/5 - 3/6/93

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

APPARENTLY fearing African National Congress inroads in his own back yard, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week torpedoed a planned meeting between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and 20 Natal Midlands chiefs.

The meeting had been scheduled as the climax of Mandela's tour of the Midlands last week. But it was called off when the chiefs were called to Ulundi for a "conference" organised by Buthelezi on the same day. Sources indicate that Buthelezi told the chiefs he expected them to ensure their subjects voted for Inkatha in an election.

The development took place against continued political jockeying around the figure of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, whom Mandela is wooing as the possible key to peace in Natal.

In speeches in Estcourt, Ladysmith, Dundee, Newcastle and Madadeni, Mandela attacked Buthelezi in scathing terms, but offered Zwelithini an olive branch, describing him as "the king of all South Africans, both black and white".

While Mandela did not name Buthelezi, he was clearly referring to the Inkatha Freedom Party president when he charged: "We are not like some black leaders who became great because they worked in some government institution."

Mandela said his two previous summits with Buthelezi had failed to yield results, and that he would not take part in a "publicity show" with the Inkatha leader. But he added that if Zwelithini convened a summit, he would attend it.

Mandela's key problem is that ANC militants in the province, notably Midlands leader Harry Gwala, oppose a summit initiative brokered by Zwelithini. The king could not be a neutral figure "as long as Buthelezi has a hold over the chiefs in this province or over the royal House".

Star 28/5/93

IFP to fight by-election

By Jacqueline Myburg

The IFP is making its first official bid to exercise some control in the running of Johannesburg, with the confirmation that an IFP public relations officer is contesting a council by-election next month.

Gerda Bekker (46), wife of MP Hennie Bekker, told The Star yesterday that she was confident of winning the by-election in Ward 38 (Malvern/Kensington) on June 23. She would, however, stand

as an independent candidate — and not officially under the IFP flag — since it was a whites-only election.

Bekker said the IFP had not formulated a policy to contest all future by-elections in the city.

Another independent candidate in the by-election, Barry Dunne, said an outsider did not stand much chance, but if the people wanted the IFP, he would go along with it. "But we've had outsiders come in and do nothing," he said.

Bamcwu, Num fight over membership

Buthelezi digs in heels over KwaZulu

Sowetan 28/5/93

■ **NON-ISSUE** IFP leader scoffs at possible
reincorporation of homeland into SA:

By **Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent



THE LEADER OF THE Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday dug in his heels on the reincorporation of KwaZulu into South Africa.

Speaking during a historic first Press briefing in Parliament, Buthelezi said there was a perception that KwaZulu was a creation of Pretoria and that this was wrong.

He was reacting to legislation tabled in Parliament on Monday, which when it becomes law later this year, would revoke the autonomy of the self-governing territories.

He dismissed the question of reincorporation as a non-issue.

About a possible meeting between himself and the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, as an attempt to bring peace between their respective followers, Buthelezi said that the ball was in the court of the ANC leader.

"None of us are under any illusions a mere meeting in itself would be a magic wand and stop the violence at once. But nevertheless, I thought that it would be a signal to our followers if they saw the two of us were involved in a reconciliation exercise at the top."

Peace movement

"I think that is bound to be infectious as far as our own leadership is concerned. I think it is important to create a peace movement in this country. By addressing rallies together I think we would be sending very strong signals to our members to do likewise," Buthelezi said.

He also said it was unnecessary for political leaders to rush towards an election. An election date would not be a panacea. "It wasn't in Angola".

About the arrests of PAC leaders on Tuesday, Buthelezi said that the ANC acted in haste when the movement said that negotiations must proceed regardless.

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Gwala stirring up violence — IFP

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A complaint about alleged inflammatory remarks made by the chairman of the Midlands branch of the African National Congress, Mr Harry Gwala, has been lodged with the National Peace Committee.

The Inkatha Freedom Party claims the remarks were calculated to incite violence and hatred.

Mr Gwala was reported to have made the remarks to students at the Natal Technikon in Durban on May 19.

He called on members of the South African Students' Congress to learn how to handle firearms, because if negotiations failed they must be prepared to win power through the barrel of an AK-47.

"I am not prepared to die for freedom, but to kill for freedom," he said.

The IFP said it was deeply concerned that the African National Congress's national leadership continued to allow Mr Gwala to use his senior office as a platform from which to launch "morally depraved utterances".

The party said Mr Gwala continued to flout regularly the provisions of the National Peace Accord with defiant and contemptuous impunity.

In Pretoria, African National Congress Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba received a tumultuous welcome from Medunsa students who yesterday welcomed him with the slogan he coined: "Kill the boer, kill the farmer".

Mr Mokaba addressed students together with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, Mr Gwala and Transkei ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

Buthlezi determined to see Mr M

(11) MRG 29/5/93

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the IFP, says he is disappointed that ANC president Nelson Mandela is no longer prepared to meet him on a one-to-one basis to find ways of curbing violence.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday it was vital for the two leaders to meet to set an example of reconciliation.

He was still determined to try to arrange a meeting, however.

Earlier this week Mr Mandela agreed to meet Chief Buthelezi after King Goodwill reportedly offered to act as a facilitator.

But, speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leader claimed the king had been incorrectly reported, and said the intended meeting was now off. — Sapa.

'We were told to destroy evidence'

C Press 30/5/93
By MARTIN NTSOENGOE

(118)

TWO prominent Transvaal Inkatha leaders, Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu, told their supporters at KwaMadala hostel to destroy property looted from Boipatong township soon after the impis attacked and killed about 50 residents during their raid last year.

This startling evidence was heard at the Delmas Circuit Court this week where 32 Inkatha supporters are appearing before Judge JC Smit on 45 murder and attempted murder charges related to the death of Boipatong residents on the night of June 17 1991.

They have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The state witness, who may not be identified, said soon after the township raid Khoza and Ndlovu held a meeting with the raiders at the hostel and ordered them to destroy their loot and to burn the blood-stained clothes they wore during the attack.

The witness said the meeting was held after police searched the hostel and confiscated an assortment of weapons, including AK-47s.

Their meeting, which was held at the hostel football ground, was also used as a witchhunt against hostel inmates who did not participate in the attack against township residents.

The witness identified some of the accused in court as having taken part in the attack.

The hearing continues on Tuesday.

Withdrawal of king 'not end of peace initiative'

City Press 30/5/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO



118



THE battle for peace has not been lost despite reports that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, has withdrawn as a facilitator of talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This is according to Rodgers Sishi, co-convenor of the King's Committee for Peace which has asked King Zwelithini to use his influence to negotiate peace between Inkatha and the ANC.

Mandela said in Soweto this week that the king had withdrawn as facilitator between himself and Buthelezi.

He said the king's position was now apparently that "TV got it wrong" with regard to the king's facilitating role.

The Zulu monarch said in a radio announcement that contrary to initial reports that he wanted to bring the two leaders together, he only pointed out the significance of such a meeting between the two men.

However, Sishi told City Press that the king was still involved in the peace initiative.

Sishi said his committee was slowly but surely forging ahead with preparing ground for the King to intervene as a peacemaker in the violence.

This will involve *izimbizo* (rallies) to be jointly attended by the ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Those close to the King's Committee for Peace told City Press that it was still their hope that the "ultimate culmination of their initiative" would be a summit meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

The sources said they were still hopeful that the summit was "a possibility".

Meanwhile, the ANC's Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has lambasted the initiative as having the potential to drive people back into tribalism.

Gwala said: "It is not only the Zulus who are attacked. What is worse about this initiative is that it drives us back to tribalism. This is not the approach we have used hitherto."

Gwala told City Press he was disturbed that the initiative was not canvassed with the three regions of the ANC.

Gwala said: "We must not fool ourselves that the king will help as long as (Dr Mangosuthu) Buthelezi has chiefs and the royal family in his grip."

"We think that if people could organise at Ulundi without being threatened with civil war, we would have gone a long way."

Sishi said Gwala was properly briefed about this initiative. "The ANC was also briefed at the national level. Our committee includes Jacob Zuma of the National Executive Committee. We think Gwala is being destructive."

the police but no one was wounded.

ANC's Gwala infuriates Inkatha

CITRESS 30/5/93
INKATHA filed a complaint with the National Peace Committee on Friday after alleged inflammatory statements by ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala at Technikon Natal recently.

Gwala is alleged to have said: "We call on students of the South African Students Congress to learn how to handle firearms because if negotiations fail you must be prepared to win power through the barrel of an AK-47."

Inkatha said Gwala's statements were intended to "incite violence and hatred". (116)

Mangope lashes out at ANC

BOP President Lucas Mangope says the ANC-alliance is paying students to instigate revolt at the homeland's Setlogelo Technikon.

Mangope said Bop was "in the grips of a sinister and well-orchestrated campaign to throw education into disarray". CITRESS 30/5/93

He accused the ANC of paying Student Representative Council members to disrupt the institution.

Inkatha woman necklaced

INKATHA confirmed that the woman who was necklaced in the East Rand squatter camp of Phola Park on Tuesday was Inkatha branch secretary Julia Mtshali.

An Inkatha statement said Mtshali was abducted last weekend and Inkatha officials had spent several days searching for her.

SABC board announcement soon

CITRESS 30/5/93
THE names of the new SABC Board members will be announced by FW de Klerk early next week, according to a recent government statement.

The statement said the original list "created concerns which De Klerk discussed twice with the panel".

An amended list has now been submitted.

Sisulu calls for reincorporation

CITRESS 30/5/93
THE ANC yesterday called for the reincorporation of all homelands into SA as well as the unconditional restoration of SA citizenship to all homeland inhabitants.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, speaking at Wits University, said linked to this central issue was the demand for free political activity and association in the homeland territories.

Cambodian voters defy Rouge

PHNOM PENH. — Cambodia's ruling party took a small early lead in elections here — with its bitter enemy of 14 years, the Khmer Rouge guerrillas, denouncing the poll.

The movement said it would keep on fighting.

With about 20 percent of votes counted, the Cambodian People's Party had received about 44 percent and the main opposition Funcinpec party 38 percent, a United Nations spokesman said.

The six day UN-organised election ended on Friday.

Almost 90 percent of the country's 4.7-million registered voters cast ballots, rebuffing Khmer Rouge threats to violently disrupt polls.

The Khmer Rouge radio said yesterday: "This cheating and dirty election is killing the Cambodian nation and people, leaving Yuon aggressors to occupy the country forever."

Yuon is a derogatory term for Vietnamese.

The UN mission on Saturday certified the election as "free and fair." — Sapa-AP.



Chief Buthelezi in Harare talks

HARARE. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has arrived in Zimbabwe for the first direct talks on the situation in South Africa with President Robert Mugabe.

Chief Buthelezi, in Zimbabwe at the invitation of Mr Mugabe, is leading a high powered delegation of six ministers.

He is to hold talks with Mr Mugabe who is the current chairman of the Frontline States, in Harare today on the violence in South Africa, particularly in Natal and to discuss progress on democracy.

The IFP president and his entourage were met at Harare Airport by Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and senior officials. — Sapa.

Progress of talks hinges on meeting

Star 11/6/93
By Esther Waugh
and Chris Whitfield

Today's Negotiating Council meeting is shaping up to be critical for progress in the negotiating process — including the setting of an election date later this week.

Yesterday negotiators were divided on whether South Africa would know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

Sources last night indicated that a weekend of bilateral meetings in which the Government met both the ANC and the IFP were designed to narrow gaps between various players in the process.

The success of these would depend on developments in today's meeting and hopes of an election date announcement hinge on substantial progress being made.

~~South~~ ~~11B~~
Concern

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have been confident that the election date could be set at a scheduled meeting of Thursday's negotiating forum.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose has expressed concern at the "galloping" pace of negotiations while IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described the setting of an election date at this stage as impossible.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Council that not enough time was being spent on debating vital issues.

The Consultative Business Movement last week met the ANC, the Government and Concerned South Africans Group.

The political groups were asked not to pursue their respective timetables too rigidly. The CBM was concerned that some parties were intent on speeding the process up while others appeared intent on delaying it.

Validity of data is suspect

Business Day • 116193

MR [initials]

ED TILLET

IN PORTRAYING Inkatha as the perceived "villain" of the Natal conflict, the ANC-aligned Human Rights Commission (HRC) predictably succumbs to the tempting "heroes/villains" theme in its analysis of violence trends and patterns in 1992.

Wrapped in a flimsy veneer of "neutrality", the report casually "overlooks" the mass killing of 93 Inkatha members in nine massacres during the latter half of last year, and the serial assassination of 63 Inkatha office bearers during 1992.

The HRC approach blocks information which would inform the public of the multidimensional nature of conflict in Natal. It is not simply an ideological battle of territorial supremacy between Inkatha and the ANC. It stems from a host of factors, many related to the socioeconomic deprivation wrought by apartheid.

HRC reports commonly focus on the carrying of traditional weapons, Inkatha as the alleged principal perpetrator and beneficiary of political violence, and alleged collusion between the security forces and Inkatha. The annual report, published in March, fails to explore the ANC's role in promoting violence through its strategy of "ungovernability" and

eliminating those identified as "collaborators". Nor do they document the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its link to the infiltration of sophisticated weaponry feeding the mass killing of Inkatha members.

The nature of HRC monthly "repression" bulletins is consistent with protecting and exonerating the ANC and its allies of involvement in violence while surreptitiously avoiding unflattering reports detrimental to its image. Anything connected with the alternate structures, with the "progressive", "peace-loving" and "democratic" Deviations are rarely reported. When mention of such things becomes unavoidable, reference is made to "youths", "unruly groups", "thugs" — shiftily and evasive descriptions which cannot be associated too intimately with the tripartite bloc.

Unscrambling the various deceptive ploys which promote the HRC's anti-Inkatha vendetta and reinforce Inkatha's culpability can prove fas-

inating. One such device is blame-laying. The bulk of the violence is almost always indiscriminately attributed to Inkatha members. This theme is developed further. A favourite method is to quote an Inkatha attack in isolation, by insulating it from the cause and context, and divorcing the individual act from a series of often long-standing and complex grievances. Another key method is to quote selectively from victims and observers.

A further ploy is labelling — manipulating the nature of the violence by attaching Inkatha/ANC labels to conflict best articulated in other ways. Recognising the media's need for brevity, the HRC has adopted convenient generic labels to describe conflict situations: "warlords", "imperialists", "vigilantes" for Inkatha; "com-

munity", "residents", "activists" and "progressive leaders" for the ANC. The flaws in the HRC's research methodology go far beyond the margin of fallibility. In its interpretation of conflicting reports of events which culminate in violence, the HRC invariably adopts the ANC's version. Information is derived from ANC-aligned sources only but their identity is seldom disclosed and their political affiliation is obscured.

HRC director Satoora Sadek says (Business Day, April 22): "The HRC is committed to the universal declaration of human rights and uses it as a guiding document. We are certainly not bound by the programmes or policies of any political party or organisation." She claims the assumption that the political affiliation "of a few" commissioners compromises the HRC's work is "flawed". She says commissioners were selected on the basis of their "human rights records", and "represent communities affected by political violence".

The evidence suggests otherwise. Given the board's composition, it is hardly surprising that their research methodology reflects a pro-ANC bias. Upon closer examination, one finds such ANC luminaries as Chris Dlamini (SACP executive member), Pius Langa (ANC human rights lawyer), Diliza Mji (National Medical and Dental Council) as well as Titus Mofolo and Dullah Omar (ANC NEC members), to mention a few. Subscribing patrons all tend to be organisations with close ANC links or sympathies. Amid evidence to the contrary, Sadek's indignation appears shallow and unconvincing.

Held up to scrutiny, the validity of HRC data emerges highly suspect. The HRC has exploited the fact that economic survival has dictated the dynamics of shoestring budgets and skeleton staff complements in modern newsrooms. Increasingly office-bound, hopelessly undermined, newspapers' journalists are only too eager to be spoon-fed.

In the process, timeless liberal cornerstones are being destroyed. They are being whittled away as fast as leaders are being snuffed out.

Tillet is based at the Inkatha Information Centre.

LETTERS

announced by all in the business and

8-19-1169
Buthelezi in Harare
ZIMBABWEAN President Robert Mugabe and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi held their first direct talks in Harare yesterday. They were expected to discuss the violence in SA. The meeting was held at Mugabe's invitation (116)

Buthelezi: No poll date this week

□ 'Peace, justice and prosperity only if South Africa is a federal state.'

ROBIN DREW
Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has ruled out the likelihood of an announcement this week of an election date, saying this is unrealistic.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader, who had day-long talks with President Robert Mugabe in the Zimbabwe capital, said agreement in the negotiating forum had to be by consensus.

"I am saying that though I am not there in person I doubt that consensus can be reached. An election date is contingent on reaching agreement on constitutional principles on which discussions have not yet taken place. So I do not think it is possible in the next two days to reach agreement. It seems to me an impossibility however much we desire it," he said.

Chief Buthelezi emphasised that an election date would not be a magic wand. It did not mean everything would blossom and fall into place and end all the violence.

The IFP leader said a very important stage had been reached in the talks, but there first had to be discussion and



BRIDGING THE GAP: Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe, right, and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi before the talks. The OAU asked Mr Mugabe to help end the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC.

agreement on constitutional principles and the time-frame and this had not taken place.

He said his party was deeply concerned about violence and it was an issue that had to be properly addressed.

"We feel South Africa can only have the chance to

achieve peace, justice and prosperity if it is a federal state. This is the road we have travelled for a long time," he told a news conference at State House.

Some progress had been achieved in the talks so far and last week a commission had been set up to look at the issue

of regions, their boundaries and functions.

"We believe this is an important step forward because this issue must also be settled beforehand," said Chief Buthelezi.

He spoke of the low-intensity civil war in South Africa and said it was imperative this be addressed now.

He said his meeting with Mr Mugabe had advanced the prospects of a meeting with ANC leader Nelson Mandela which he believed was quite vital to help end the violence.

It would be childish to think a face-to-face meeting would end the violence but it would contribute towards ending it, he said.

For the leaders to meet and address peace rallies would be an example for their followers.

President Mugabe told news-men he would be in touch with Mr Mandela and with the PAC. He saw his job as that of a broker trying to bring the parties together but he could not say if he would be successful.

Mr Mugabe said he was very happy with the discussions which had been very open and honest. He spoke of the need for the people, "especially the leadership" to get to grips with the issue of violence.

Mr Mugabe has had previous meetings with Mr Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu but this was the first session with Chief Buthelezi. The two men first met when they were students at Fort Hare University 40 years ago.

11B RAGS 116/92

NEWS Mandela, FW meet as talks reac

Mugabe speaks to the IFP's Buthelezi

Sowetan 11/6/93

■ Zimbabwean leader asked to effect peace among groups:

HARARE — Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and the leader of Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday began their first direct talks on the situation in South Africa.

The closed-door meeting at State House is at the invitation of Mugabe, who as chairman of the Frontline States and who was asked by the Organisation of African Unity to try and bring South Africa's anti-apartheid movements together to speed up moves towards majority rule.

Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, flew into Harare

on Sunday with a six-man delegation on his first official visit to Zimbabwe.

The delegation includes Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, deputy secretary-general Simon Gumede, central committee members Denis Madide, Lionel Mtshali and Dr Ben Ngubane and Buthelezi's legal adviser, Mr Joseph Matthews.

The meeting is also being attended by Zimbabwean Vice President Simon Muzenda, Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and National Security Minister Sidney Sekeramayi. — *Sapa*.

'No poll date this week'

Star Africa Service

HARARE — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday ruled out the likelihood of an announcement this week of an election date, saying that this was simply unrealistic.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader who had day-long talks with President Robert Mugabe in the Zimbabwe capital, said agreement in the negotiating forum had to be by consensus.

"I am saying that though I am not there in person I doubt that consensus can be reached ... in the next two days. It seems to me an impossibility however much we desire it," he said.

Buthelezi said he would like to emphasise that an election date would not be a magic wand to solve problems. It did not mean everything would blossom and fall into place and end all the violence.

The IFP leader said a very important stage had been reached in the talks. But there first had to be discussion and agreement on constitutional principles and this had not taken place.

He spoke of the low-intensity civil war going on in South Africa, and said it was imperative this be addressed now.

His meeting with Mugabe had advanced the prospects of a meeting with ANC leader Nelson Mandela which he believed was quite vital to help end the violence.

It would be childish to think a face-to-face meeting would end the violence but it would contribute towards ending it. For the leaders to meet and address peace rallies would be an example for their followers.

Mugabe told newsmen he would be in touch with Mandela and with the PAC. He saw his job as that of a broker, trying to bring the parties together but he could not say if he would be successful.

focus on **Bosnia**

FROM the Far Right to the black Left, South Africa's squabbling politicians agree on one thing — war-ravaged Bosnia provides a fine metaphor for their own country.

For some, the ethnic slaughter in the former Yugoslav republic is a premonition of their worst nightmare.

Others, seize on the UN-touted concept of ethnic self-determination as a solution to their own plight.

"The people will not allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia," the African National Congress said in May response to threats of secession from the white Right.

Meanwhile the white Right, in the form of Mineworkers Union chief Peet Ungerer, said:

"We are at ease with the implementation of an ethnically based settlement similar to the UN peace plan in Yugoslavia."

President FW de Klerk, meanwhile, warned that if he gave in to the demands of the radical Left or Right "violence would increase and a bloody Bosnia-like civil war could ensue".

As in the former Yugoslavia, the issue most likely to drive South Africans to civil war is the refusal of some ethnic groups to be dominated by members of other groups.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, has hinted that he would consider secession for Natal where most of his followers live.

Ethnic cleansing

Buthelezi, who has himself raised the Bosnia spectre with accusations that the constitutional proposals of De Klerk and the ANC amount to "ethnic cleansing", has drawn up an autonomy plan for Natal.

Early in May, leaders of the white right wing said Afrikaners would consider secession if constitutional negotiations failed to deliver on their demand for self-determination.

The threat came from a former general in the South African Defence Force, who said the white-led army would never obey orders from a black government to fight its fellow-Afrikaners.

Self-determination, or regionalism, is one of the key issues under discussion at the talks on a transition to democracy. A total of 26 groups, including the right wing, Government, ANC and Inkatha, are taking part.

Both Inkatha and the rightist Conservative Party have rejected the ANC's vision of a unitary state with a strong central government, saying their demands for self-determination are not negotiable.

In a departure from the Yugoslavia metaphor, Buthelezi said attempts to force a unitary

The former Yugoslav republic provides a chilling example of what could happen in South Africa. *Sapa-Reuter* spoke to leaders about this gloomy prospect for the country that has not known peace in the past decade.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... secession a possibility.

state on his followers would make the civil war in Angola look like a picnic.

Professor Mike Hough, a political scientist at the University of Pretoria, said those who referred to another Bosnia in South Africa were over-dramatising. But the possibility of full-scale civil war could not be ruled out.

Worst-case scenario

"People used to refer to Lebanon, now they use Bosnia — they're worst-case scenarios of what could happen in a racial, ethnic conflict like that in South Africa.

"But we're still quite a way from civil war in South Africa. You have to have two armies for that and we only have one."

Hough said the defence force could split into

Sowetan 2/6/93
There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on



factions that would turn upon each other if there was a government collapse or if the right wing carried out its secessionist threat.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the right wing and black opposition would never reach consensus on regionalism

Colour divisions

"There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on.

"Things look very ugly — the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid is beyond repair."

In public at least, the ANC is optimistic it can reach agreement with the white Right on regionalism.

"Negotiations are about finding one another," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said recently.

"We've developed a very progressive and reasonable position on regions — those who have listened to our policies, have found sense in them. We look forward to convincing the Conservative Party."

One of the right wing parties at the constitutional talks, the Afrikaner People's Union, said this week it had achieved a breakthrough on regionalism in talks with the Government.

The AVU, more moderate than the Conservative Party, said it was greatly encouraged to hear from the Government that Afrikaner self-determination could be accommodated in its constitutional proposals

Election date still in doubt

Hope as talks reach vital stage

Star 2/16/93

By Chris Whitfield
and Esther Waugh

Negotiations were given fresh impetus towards a settlement last night — but the chances of an election date being announced this week still hang in the balance.

A majority of the 26-party Negotiating Council agreed after five hours of meetings to a resolution providing for a two-phased transition and an elected constitution-making body bound by agreed principles.

The resolution adopted by the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre also provides for interim regional governments and a transitional constitution.

The IFP's Joe Matthews said it wanted to consult its leadership on the resolution.

The Conservative Party and the Bophuthatswana government reserved their positions to allow for consultation with their leaders.

In another significant development President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are due to meet today in Cape Town. They are certain to discuss the transition process.

The leaders met on Monday in Pretoria. It is under-

stood the appointment of the SABC board and the Government's position on entrenched permanent power-sharing were among the topics under discussion.

Top Government and ANC negotiators met last night after a three-day bilateral meeting at the weekend.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night left the Negotiating Council describing the resolution as "a major breakthrough in terms of putting the negotiations process on a firm footing and also agreeing that there would be a two-phased process".

Determined

In terms of the resolution, the transition will be divided into the drafting and adoption of an interim constitution by the negotiating forum and of a final constitution by an elected parliament.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the Government was still determined to secure an election date tomorrow.

But he said it depended on progress during tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting, which has replaced a proposed negotiating forum meeting.

In effect the resolution adopted yesterday bridges

the demand for a two-phased process and for entrenched constitutional principles being binding on the final constitution-making body.

The resolution instructed the constitution technical committee to make recommendations on:

- The powers, structures and functions of regions during the transition.
- The constitution-making process to be followed.
- The procedures to be followed in the drafting and adoption of a transitional constitution by the multiparty forum.
- The procedure to be followed in the elected constitution-making body.

Initially there were tense moments at yesterday's meeting.

Before any debate on the crunch issue of the transition could begin, the CP, complained it has not been given an opportunity to argue its case for a confederation to the technical committee on constitutional matters.

All parties were to send written submissions to the committee. It then compiled a report based on the submissions.

It was finally agreed that the CP should make written submissions to the committee, which would advise the Negotiating Council whether oral evidence was required.

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Council clears hurdle on new constitution

Buss. day 216193
BILLY PADDOCK

THE negotiating council made substantial progress yesterday in accepting a government- and ANC-brokered two-phased approach to drafting a constitution.

The implications of this are that Inkatha has conditionally accepted the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for an interim government to draft the final constitution. 216193

Inkatha's acceptance follows the ANC concession that the powers, functions and structures of regions will be entrenched in the constitution. (118) (118)

The negotiating council resolved that it had not made sufficient progress for an election date to be set at tomorrow's meeting, as originally proposed. It would meet on June 25 for a decision on a date.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met yesterday and may have been trying to work out an appropriate date for an election. They will meet again today for talks on the negotiations process.

It is also understood that the negotiating council may make recommendations tomorrow regarding a date.

Progress yesterday covered:

- Instructing the technical committee on constitutional matters to make recommendations on the powers, functions, and structures of regions during transition;
- Details of the constitution-making process to be followed, including the structures needed for that purpose;
- Procedures for drafting a constitution for the transitional period and its adoption by the multiparty negotiating forum; and
- Procedures thereafter for an elected constitution-making body to draft and adopt a constitution. (118) (118)

Yesterday's unanimously agreed compromise resolution implies that a transitional executive council can be established in the period leading up to elections for an interim government. Inkatha and Bopu-

To Page 2

Constitution Buss. day 116193 From Page 1

thatswana, however, reserved their position on certain details. In return, government and the ANC conceded that a fairly comprehensive interim constitution be drafted in accordance with binding principles agreed in the multiparty forum.

These principles will also provide for justiciable fundamental rights, the structures of national and regional government and their respective powers, functions and authority. (118) (118) (118)

Also yesterday, after the PAC and government failed to reach agreement in face-to-face talks, fears arose that the PAC might be forced out of the negotiating process.

The PAC issued an ambiguous four-page report calling for mutual cessation of hostilities and claiming that it had no war against women or children. It was unclear on the position of white men, especially farmers who it said were mostly members of commando units.

Government has insisted that the PAC cannot negotiate peace while waging an armed struggle. It has called on the PAC to enter into bilateral talks with the aim of suspending the armed struggle or placing a moratorium on it.

The parties agreed to meet tomorrow to try to break the deadlock.

Says N2 victim

warned — my par-
approve of us driv-
N2. But since there
en any recent inci-
st quite safe," she

er, Mr William Lan-
a school inspector,
angry about the in-

uld see the car — I
at it with all the
said.

Miss Langenhoven is a dieti-
cian at the Medical Research
Council.

Her mother, Mrs Grace Lan-
genhoven, said she was "dev-
astated" that her child had
lost her eye but that Deidre's
positive attitude was "giving
her the strength to cope".

Deidre is to undergo surgery
to rebuild her cheekbone, and
will be fitted with an artificial
eye.

Arms cache found at school

JOHANNESBURG. — Three AK-47 rifles, a shotgun,
a 9mm magazine and ammunition were discovered at
the caretaker's quarters of an East Rand primary
school early yesterday.

Four people were arrested after policemen
searched the room at the Enkangeni Primary School
in Actonville, near Benoni.

Independence a '15-year game'

CT 3/6/93

By BARRY STREEK

THE government had played games with the "in-
dependence" of four homelands for 15 years at
the taxpayer's expense, Democratic Party caucus
chairman Mr Colin Eglin said yesterday.

The minister and successive deputy ministers
of Foreign Affairs had given the same unsatisfac-
tory replies to the same questions about financial
control of TBVC funding for 15 years, he said.

They had been years of financial misdirection,
misappropriation, shady deals, R1 million
bribes, shadowy characters, shady companies,
military coups and military governments.

Within these realities, it was inappropriate for
the Department of Foreign Affairs to control
these homelands' finances.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr
Renier Schoeman, said the financial controls in
these homelands were tighter than ever. It was
not true that the issue had received very little
attention over the last 15 years.

Call for ANC, IFP summit

DURBAN. — The ANC in south-
ern Natal issued a comprehensive
eight-point plan for peace and po-
litical tolerance yesterday and
called on Mr Nelson Mandela and
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to
prepare for their summit as a mat-
ter of urgency.

The organisation called on both
the ANC and the IFP to "preach
the right to free political activity
and an end to the militarisation of

politics".

The peace document was ap-
proved at the weekend by repre-
sentatives from the organisa-
tion's 126 branches in the region.

Regional chairman Mr Jeff Ra-
debe mooted joint rallies and said
local organisers of both groups
should "creatively involve them-
selves and their supporters" in
nurturing tolerance.

On the question of the Mandela-

Buthelezi summit, the organisa-
tion suggested that the two
leaders hold an initial meeting
and then give further instruc-
tions to the committee preparing
for the summit.

Responding to the programme,
the IFP said the proposals "might
prove constructive" but that it
would "reserve judgment until
we see more tangible signs of the
ANC's commitment to peace".

ANC Natal branch calls for Mandela-Buthelezi meeting

Russ. day 316/93

THE ANC southern Natal region yesterday joined Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in calling on ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi urgently to defuse violence.

However, the ANC national office said in a statement yesterday that while the meeting was desirable, essential preparations had to be made to ensure it succeeded.

Sapa reports that the southern Natal ANC leadership outlined a peace plan in Durban to engage Inkatha in joint initiatives to bring an end to Natal violence.

Inkatha has cautiously welcomed the move.

The main stumbling block to a meeting between the two leaders appears to be that the ANC wants a commitment from Inkatha that it will allow the ANC to freely organise and conduct rallies in KwaZulu.

The national office's statement said it welcomed Mugabe's initiative, which followed a decision of the OAU ad-hoc committee.

It said the discussions of the preparatory committees had progressed well, except in dealing with free

BILLY PADDOCK

political activity, where the Inkatha committee members had been tied up with constitutional negotiations and had not been able to meet regularly.

The ANC region's plan is to call for an "initial peace meeting" between the two leaders to prepare for a formal summit.

Southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe said the first meeting should aim to instruct the ANC/Inkatha preparatory committee, appointed at the end of last year to remove obstacles to a summit, to complete its tasks by a set date, and to instruct its regional counterparts to consolidate the peace process.

After the formal summit, the ANC and Inkatha should convene joint peace rallies where free political tolerance and an end to the militarisation of politics should be advocated.

Radebe said a summit was not the answer to Natal's war, but the leaders needed to be seen together to accelerate the peace process and to encourage political tolerance.

Inkatha said in a statement: "If the ANC's rationale is truly to put an end to

violence, we must accept that today's proposals by the ANC might prove constructive".

However, it questioned why the ANC had proposed the plan through the media instead of the regional peace accord structure, and said ANC supporters "continue to wage war on us".

"We must therefore treat the ANC's call with caution," Inkatha said.

Our Durban correspondent reports that the ANC Youth League has proposed a paramilitary youth peace corps be established to balance the existing security structures' bias during an interim government.

ANC Youth League publicity secretary Phakamile Mankahlana said the corps should target the masses of unemployed youth. Such a corps would help prepare blacks to trust future police structures.

Southern Life rejected Masterbond, says agent

Russ. day 316/93

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Southern Life rejected the offer of involvement in a property equity participation scheme proposed by Masterbond agent Thomas Hosking, Hosking told the Nel commission of inquiry yesterday.

The scheme was eventually accepted by Fedlife.

Hosking, who acted as Masterbond agent in Port Elizabeth, had about R1m personally invested in the group at the time of its collapse. He said Fedlife agreed to gear the scheme on a two-to-one basis after its actuary and development manager had studied it. Fedlife eventually loaned R18m of its pension and annuity funds to investors in terms of the scheme.

Hosking told the commission he learnt later there were no assets in Club Mykonos Investment Holdings to underpin the scheme as was claimed in the information document. Higher than normal commissions of between 5% and 10% were paid to agents for selling the units in the scheme.

He said he had had great confidence in the project and had relied on the expertise of former Masterbond chairman Koos Jonker, who projected an internal rate of return of 34%.

THIRTY
DOUBLE
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OFFICE NUMBER:



TIGER O

WHAT IT TAKES TO GROW

IFP in Pretoria launch

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has targeted Pretoria for a membership drive and a branch is to be launched this month. *Sowetan 4/6/92*

Chairman of the launching committee Mr. Tabu Hcunis said interest was mounting among many whites who were disillusioned with the National Party and wanted to join the IFP. The launch meeting will be held in the Verwoerdburg City Hall on June 17.

(113)

Playing tight and loose 11B

Commonsense is at last beginning to dominate the federal debate

We may not come to be known as the Federal Republic of SA, but it is almost certain that a new constitution will accommodate strong regional authorities as part of a three-tier system of government.

Aside from being the key to producing a lasting political settlement, the practicality — political, economic and social — of some form of regional government has become common cause.

Still to be resolved are the precise powers and functions of regions. The actual boundaries are not really contentious; a nonpartisan commission is to be formed to investigate them. The critical aspect is the precise relationship between regions and central government: under what circumstances may the centre override the region?

Fortunately, the gap on this issue has been greatly narrowed at negotiations. A workable compromise will probably be struck — perhaps this week.

It has gradually dawned on the protagonists that, in practice, as the Consultative Business Movement's report on regions in SA last year argued, "there are no absolutes as to central versus regional powers, but rather a continuum of greater or lesser powers and responsibilities." In short, words

like "federal" and "regional" can mean pretty much what you want them to mean; the trick is make sure that everyone agrees on those meanings and feels happy.

The big breakthrough on regionalism came last month when the ANC finally agreed to the demand that regional powers — or at least the principles governing them — should be constitutionally entrenched. In return for the ANC's concession on regionalism, it appears that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party has dropped its opposition to the need to set up a transitional executive council.

This suggests that the process of transition can now go forward — even though the setting of an election date by the multiparty negotiation forum by this week's deadline hung in the balance.

Inkatha's position has been that it wants the "form of State" (federal, confederal, regional or unitary), including regional boundaries and powers, to be determined before an election; and that these should be constitutionally entrenched and beyond the reach of an elected constitution-making body.

The ANC, of course, sticks to its belief that the precise formulation of regional

powers and functions should be left to an elected constituent assembly — though its work will obviously be constrained by parameters predetermined at the negotiations. So, if the ANC, for instance, wanted in future to take away or amend entrenched regional powers, it would need a specially large majority, 67% at least, to do so.

But the ANC has for practical purposes accepted the regional idea — as a check and balance on the centre, as a means of bringing government closer to the people and to achieve more effective government. And with signs of its youthful constituency growing rapidly impatient with a drawn-out transition (some talk darkly of a pre-Bolshevik situation in SA), the ANC is holding the prospect of an imminent agreement in both hands.

The ANC bottom line is that the centre should ultimately have the power to override regional governments on matters deemed to be repugnant to the national constitution. It also believes the centre should be the repository of powers not specifically allocated to the regions (the concept of residuality). But these are eminently reasonable positions — and include the proposal that a constitutional court would adjudicate in such disputes.

federal government.”

This is at variance with both government's and especially the ANC's view, which has it the other way round — giving the central government the power of ultimate override. Where Buthelezi wants residual powers vested in the member states, the ANC places these at the centre.

The IFP stresses its belief that federalism and territorial autonomy cannot be solved through majority rule.

However, this begs the question of whether most people in KwaNatal want the kind of federal autonomy Buthelezi and the IFP are pressing for. To that extent at least, there's a certain logic in the ANC's insistence that in the end only an elected body

can write the constitution.

Unless the negotiators opt for confederalism or a unitary state, the outline of a regional dispensation that has emerged is as near to a federal system that anyone could reasonably expect.

A little more give-and-take ought to resolve the outstanding issue of power-sharing between regions and the centre — which in a modern state is neither black or white, after all.

Meanwhile, negotiators will have to be on their guard against approving a system which represents a compromise between the various political players — but which turns out to be inefficient or even unworkable in practice. As the *Penguin Dictionary of Poli-*

tics expresses it, “federalism is often seen as a complex and cumbersome method of government because it involves a number of potentially overlapping jurisdictions . . .” Whatever form our system eventually takes, and whatever it is called — if it has to be called anything — that kind of confusion must be avoided.

Theoretical clarity is essential: if hard choices must be made, let them be made in advance rather than fudged in the interests of compromise.

It is worth noting that most constitutional systems with federal features have created an enhanced role for the judiciary, in order properly to adjudicate disputes between central and regional authorities. ■

April 27 is target day for election

By Chris Whitfield and Esther Waugh

South Africa has a tentative date for its first democratic elections — April 27 1994.

But negotiators are still some way from agreeing that the nation will go to the polls on that day.

A dramatic 2½-hour debate on the issue in the Negotiating Council last night ended with the majority acceptance of a compromise resolution. It said the council would discuss the issue on June 15 and recommend to the negotiating forum meeting on June 25 that the date of an election should be April 27 next year.

However, the resolution left the final decision to the Negotiating Council meeting "with a view to maximise consensus".

And it left room for an even earlier date if a final settlement in talks allowed for it.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had tabled a resolution calling for the fixing of the April 27 date after fierce debate on whether it should even come before the council.

He argued that sufficient progress had been made in talks to warrant the setting of a date. He also warned of growing expectations across the country and "unpredictable consequences" if setting a date was delayed.

Star 4/6/93
IFP and CP not happy, but 17 give nod

After extended debate and objections from most delegates of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa proposed the compromise.

Most Cosag members continued to express opposition and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje explained later that while he had no opposition to determining the date, he felt several fundamental issues should be resolved first.

The KwaZulu government flatly rejected the resolution due to what it called "manipulation of the process".

The Conservative Party reserved its position and must now be perilously close to walking out.

CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs told The Star he would have to report back to the party leadership, but warned that "the Afrikaner

people" could not go along indefinitely with a process that continually adopted positions it could not agree with.

In sharp contrast, the Government, the ANC and 15 other parties were upbeat about the progress. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had been a long struggle but thought "the resolution is enough progress for now".

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate, who reserved his position because he did not have a mandate to accept a specific date, said the end of April target date should not have been adjusted.

The IFP had no objection to any election date, but felt this should be set only once "we can properly do so and be sure it is attainable".

Both the Democratic Party and the PAC suggested March 31 as their preference but did not get any other support.

They felt important issues had been deliberately skipped in an attempt to settle an election date. Earlier debate on constitutional principles that would be entrenched in a future constitution had been cut short, and debate on a technical committee report on violence would also have to be continued at the next meeting.

Other issues not addressed were the independent media commission and independent electoral commission.

● The talks — Page 3

CP objects, but Inkatha goes along

April 27 set

down as date

Russ. Day 4/16/93

for elections

APRIL 27 next year was provisionally agreed to last night as the date for SA's first nonracial election.

The 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park passed the resolution with sufficient consensus, despite stiff opposition from some members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) alliance.

After initial protest, Inkatha and Bophuthatswana agreed to a compromise resolution that the date be set, but that it be finalised only on June 15, when the council meets again to debate its merits. Four parties objected — the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, KwaZulu and Ciskei.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo made the proposal to set the date on behalf of the 10-member negotiations planning committee. He admitted, though, that there was not unanimous support for the proposal.

Slovo, in motivating the proposal, said there was "a visible sigh of relief among the vast majority when we declared that we would set an election date today. Failure to set it will have a serious negative effect in the country and trigger responses that will be unpredictable and spread a feeling of betrayal."

This proposal encountered instant opposition, mainly from Cosag, but government and the NP supported the view that a final decision should either be taken at the next council meeting or that "consensus would be maximised."

Inkatha's Walter Felgate said much was at stake "and the process of finding each other and reaching agreement is in jeopardy if we try to rush this process now on the basis of party political interests."

The DP's Colin Eglin said: "There has

BILLY PADDOCK
and WILSON ZWANE

been significant progress and if we set the date tonight, it will be a clear signal to the world."

In other business yesterday, the technical committee on violence recommended joint multiparty control of all armed formations, implemented in a phased way.

The committee said its proposals should be considered in the light of the objective to establish "impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA". It proposed that in the short term all parties with arms or armed formations establish proper control over them, conduct an audit of all weapons and personnel and establish mechanisms for bringing them under the supervision of "a joint multiparty agency".

During phase two, after the establishment of a transitional executive council, a joint agency should be established, and a distinction made between statutory and non-statutory armies and police forces.

The committee said policing functions had to be clearly distinguished from military functions, and that the various armies should play no role in the election process while police fulfilled normal law and order functions. "The multiparty agency must ensure effective supervision, including clear identification of personnel, weapons and locations and the circumstances and manner in which any armed formation or members of any armed formation may be deployed in peacekeeping functions."

During phase three it would be the responsibility of an elected government to

To Page 2

Elections

Russ. Day 4/16/93 From Page 1

integrate, disband and rationalise the various armed formations and introduce comprehensive measures for integrating their members into society.

The committee made a variety of other recommendations to help eliminate violence, including the strengthening of the peace accord to ensure parties abided by its terms. It also recommended that all parties not yet signatories to the accord be put under pressure by the negotiating council to join the peace effort.

With regard to mass action, the committee endorsed the Goldstone commission view that it was a fundamental right to protest and demonstrate, but it recommended that all organisations adhered to a strict code of conduct to ensure these did not lead to violence or intimidation.

The technical committee on constitutional issues said allocating powers and functions for regions was particularly difficult when the nature of the final constitutional order had not yet been settled. It was therefore more advisable to make these flexible, subject to the supervision of a

constitution-making body and a government of national unity.

The committee set five criteria for dividing powers between national and regional governments:

- The level where there was most control over the quality and delivery of services should be the level responsible for the execution of the programme or the delivery of the service;
- National government should not encroach on the territorial, functional or institutional integrity of the regions;
- In the event of a dispute over concurrent powers, precedence had to be given to national government;
- Where it was necessary for the maintenance of national standards, economic unity or national security, or where one region's action prejudiced the interests of another, the national government should be empowered to intervene; and
- The essential principles of the constitution and fundamental rights should apply to all organs of state at all levels.

See Page 3

ANC decision on rally welcomed by the IFP

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday lauded the postponement of an ANC rally that was to have taken place on the East Rand on today, saying the move had probably saved lives.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was to have addressed the rally at Huntersfield stadium, Katlehong, at noon. The ANC leader said he would have made "a major speech on violence and the current political situation in the country".

But senior IFP Transvaal leader Mr Humphrey Ndlovu expressed reservations about the rally, saying it could lead to even more violence.

"The area (East Rand) is still tense after recent violence," he said.

"We in the IFP have lost many people to violence these past two weeks. We have been on the ground to try and calm temperatures and we fear the rally could spark more conflicts. It is better to try calm things down before planning events like the ANC rally."

But after being informed the rally

had been postponed, Mr Ndlovu said:

"This is a very good thing that has been done. It is not our wish to see people dying. Many of our people who lost relatives in the East Rand violence two weeks ago have still not buried their dead. We know through our ears on the ground there is still much ill feeling in Katlehong and other areas." (IB) (IB)

"We congratulate the ANC for their decision...it has probably saved lives...let us have rallies when conditions are calm." ARG 5/6/93

The statement announcing the rally had been postponed made no mention of IFP concerns, although Mr Ndlovu said he had earlier contacted ANC officials to express reservations about the gathering.

The ANC said the rally had been postponed "to a date to be announced soon".

The organisation added:

"The rally was postponed to give more time for thorough preparations and organisation of the event." — Sapa.

● Homeland's chief negotiator under fire

Buthelezi, Mandela meeting hits snags

Sowetan 4/6/93

■ PEACE PROGRAMME Natal Midlands

leader says time is not ripe for summit

A BID BY THE ANC Southern Natal region to clear the way for an early meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has run into trouble with the more militant Midlands ANC region.

Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala said on Wednesday night that a meeting between the two leaders could not happen until a number of issues had been cleared.

These included the preconditions set by the ANC, among them the banning of cultural weapons and fencing off of hostels.

Gwala said a document from the

Southern Natal region outlining its eight-point peace programme had been presented to him but he needed time to study it. (11B)

He chastised the region for "rushing into peace" without thorough preparations, adding that his region found a number of the points "problematic".

Gwala said he was not sure whether a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi at this stage would achieve anything.

Gwala added that the preparations would ensure that peace was sustained.

He said the Midlands would study the Southern Natal document before taking a final position on whether it would support it or not.

The ANC Southern Natal region on Wednesday pointed out that a report that the three Natal ANC regions had committed themselves to the programme was incorrect.

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Vow by ANC and IFP chiefs turns war zone into a haven of peace

St Times 6/6/93

11B

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A LONG-STANDING pact between an African National Congress chief and an Inkatha Freedom Party chief has brought peace and rising prosperity to 70 000 people in a battle-scarred area of Natal.

When ANC regional executive member Chief Zibuse Mlaba, 37, of Ximba, and Kwazulu Legislative Member Chief Bangubukhosi Mdlubi, 59, of Manyavu, got together in February 1991 to talk peace, the event went almost unnoticed.

Notorious

But it was the start of one of the first and most amazing peace initiatives in South Africa because it turned around the desperate lives of their people and offered them a future.

The two beautiful rural Kwazulu areas ruled by the chiefs are part of the Mpu-



PEACE ... Chief Bangubukhosi Mdlubi (IFP) and Chief Zibuse Mlaba (ANC) shake hands in friendship

mulanga area in the notorious Table Mountain region of the Natal Midlands.

Late in 1989 a war between ANC youths in Ximba and IFP men in Manyavu broke out and quickly escalated.

By the time the two chiefs made their peace pledge more than a year later, hundreds of people had been killed and thou-

sands of refugees had fled the area.

In one battle alone, at the height of the trouble early in 1991, the ANC lost 50 men and the IFP lost dozens of its fighters on an open killing field.

Last Sunday that same battlefield was used by members from both areas to celebrate the completion of the first phase of a R10,5-million water project being constructed by Umgeni Water, and a community centre that will serve thousands of people.

The development project was funded by the Port Natal Joint Services Board.

Eskom has also moved into the area and electricity has been installed in hundreds of small huts.

After peace broke out the two chiefs went to industrialists in the area and got back jobs for scores of men who had been unable to go to work for months because they were too scared to cross into enemy territory.

Gunmen

A school for 1 000 students was recently built by the Independent Development Trust in Ximba.

Chief Masinga Mlaba is the brother of the Natal secretary of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), who was assassinated by gunmen in 1988.

Chief Mlaba said: "Nobody is forced to join any particular political party. We haven't had fighting here for years and the crime rate is right down."

"The building projects in the area have helped keep the peace because we often talk to each other about the projects and they create jobs and a bit of prosperity."

Chief Mdlubi, who had his tribal court and the shop in his area burnt down during the fighting, said people who had fled to other areas were "flocking" back.

Secret document used by Inkatha a fake — SACP

SI Times 6/16/93

Sunday Times Reporter

A DOCUMENT being used by Inkatha to claim collusion between the National Intelligence Service and the ANC and its allies is a fake, according to the SA Communist Party. (118) (119)

Inkatha has obtained a document which purports to be an internal SACP memorandum. The writer alludes to a political settlement having already been concluded between the ANC alliance and elements within the government.

The writer says these elements, including the National Intelligence Service, have been responsible for disruptive actions aimed at Inkatha, the Conservative Party and elements within the military. However, SACP spokesman Jeremy

Cronin said the document was a skilful fake written by someone who was obviously familiar with debates taking place inside the party.

The document had as its target not so much the SACP, but State President FW de Klerk, the intelligence service and National Party negotiators.

"It appears to be an attempt to curry favour for military intelligence and the SADF in right-wing and Inkatha circles, and would suggest a serious split in Mr de Klerk's intelligence community," Mr Cronin said. (120)

The document was first published in the right-wing Aida Parker Newsletter, he added.

● See Page 20

An unhealthy alliance

SITewes b16193

BEN NGUBANE says members of the National Intelligence Service are acting in cahoots with the ANC

ALTHOUGH this week saw signs of constitutional progress, it would be a mistake to assume that everything is now smooth sailing. Violence in particular remains a critical problem, and the IFP insists that this be tackled now if constitutional consensus is to be transformed into concrete, institutional progress.

At the multi-party forum on April 26, the IFP demanded an end to ANC violence against the IFP (over 285 of whose leaders have been assassinated) and government connivance in the marginalisation of the IFP. Dr Frank Mdlalose made the following charges:

"But even more disturbing than the ANC's campaign of violence against the IFP is the fact that there is collusion at the most senior levels of government ... we find it totally incomprehensible of the government that:

- It has seemingly failed to establish who is behind these serial killings of our leaders;
- Via the fiscus, it helps fund MK's training in Transkei;
- It has long tolerated the deployment from Transkei of trained MK assassins;

● It was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of cadres being deployed against us;

● It signed an agreement blaming the IFP for political violence while exonerating our attackers;

● It agreed to the banning of traditional accoutrements while legitimising others' military training;

● It helps others distance themselves from gun running and suppresses disclosure of information on hit squads;

● It threatens one course of action with the PAC but continues to negotiate with the ANC whose military wing has been proven to be involved in violence; and

● Its intelligence agencies are involved in providing support to those seeking our demise."

As serious as they are, these charges are merely the reflection of a more deep-seated problem. In essence, dominant sections of the regime and ANC have reached a mutual "accommodation" on key aspects of the transition, which nothing and no one is to be permitted to derail.

One of the government's major concerns is thus to help secure the image of a moder-

ate ANC as a responsible partner in government.

This accounts for the government's preparedness to help the ANC out of tight spots, its playing to the gallery over Apla, and its deathly silence over MK's activities against the IFP.

However, even more sinister in pointing to what is going on behind the public facade of "open" negotiations, is the fact that important elements within the state are actively working to marginalise the IFP — a charge corroborated by an SACP "not for circulation" document in November 1992.

The document refers to the "mutual recognition" between "advanced elements" in the regime and the ANC.

Significantly, the document refers first to the marginalisation of internal threats (within the state) "through a large number of surgical tactical blows by this 'most advanced' section", and second, to actions against other organisations, especially the IFP.

"These actions on the part of elements within the regime extend, for example, to the continuing disruptive actions aimed by the re-

gime's National Intelligence Service against ... Inkatha."

The document itemises NIS support for pro-ANC newspapers; its liaison with certain journalists; its role in building the anti-IFP Contralesa in Natal; and its responsibility for Inkathagate.

Indeed, the SACP explicitly acknowledges that "the implications of such actions have been made to us by some of these regime elements".

This kind of duplicity is deeply disturbing, not only for its impact on present violence and present negotiations, but also for the future.

What strategies are being jointly pursued by NIS and the ANC's intelligence service? What kind of democracy are we bringing into being? What plans are being hatched to deal with opponents in the future?

The IFP says enough is enough. As our massive protest marches on May 15 amply demonstrate, we are sickened by the conniving, by the collusion against us, and by the implications for the future. We do not accept this agenda and we will not permit it to be implemented.

□ Dr Ben Ngubane is an executive member of the IFP central committee.

Sowetan 7/6/93

Buthelezi, Mandela agree to meet

INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela have agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks," Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced yesterday.

He said in a statement the meeting, to be held at his official residence 'Bishopscourt', would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and himself. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate said he hoped the meeting would hap-

■ Talks in Cape Town 'within weeks'

pen within the next few weeks.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at Pietermaritzburg. I then met Mr Mandela at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee."

Bishopscourt summit plan

CT 7/6/93

INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks", Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night.

He said in a statement that the meeting, to be held at his official residence, Bishopscourt, would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and himself.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said he followed up his discussions at those meetings with telephone consultations later yesterday; both leaders had accepted an invitation to meet at Bishopscourt.

"The date and time of the meeting are still being discussed. I would like it to take place as soon as possible. I certainly hope it will happen within the next couple of weeks," he said. He is due to leave for London today on an overseas visit but would cancel whatever engagements were necessary to return for the meeting. — Sapa

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Mandela, Buthelezi to meet

Tutu opens the door to peace

Star 7/6/93

(S) (IB) (S)

Staff Reporters

In what could be a major boost for peace, Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night that he had brokered a long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Tutu hoped the meeting would take place within weeks at his official residence, Bishopscourt in Cape Town.

He said in a statement he and the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, would chair the talks.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos and African National Congress spokesman Carl Niehaus last night could not contact their respective leaders to confirm the agreement.

Vos said should such a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a



Nelson Mandela



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories.

National Peace Accord media liaison officer Val Pauquet said the Peace Accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mandela and Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

National Peace Secretari-

at chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said last night that Tutu's "excellent" news significantly enhanced the prospects of peace.

"It will help a lot for the cause of peace. It will send a message of peace from the very top leadership of two most important organisations," he said.

Tutu said the Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttal would arrange the date of the meeting in discussion with Mandela, Buthelezi and Mogoba.

Tutu leaves today for an overseas visit, but he said he would drop everything to return for the meeting.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at the consecration of Bishop Peter Harker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand. I then met Mr Mandela yesterday at celebrations organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee.

"I afterwards followed up discussions at those two meetings in Maritzburg with telephone consultations."

Tutu arranges watershed talks

~~113~~ (113) ARC 7/16/93
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has brokered a long-awaited meeting between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Archbishop Tutu said he hoped the meeting would take place within weeks.

He said and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba would chair the talks.

The leaders would meet at his official residence, Bishops-court, in Cape Town.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus could not contact their leaders last night to confirm the agreement to meet.

Ms Vos said should a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories.

Ms Val Pauquet, spokesman for the National Peace Accord, said the accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

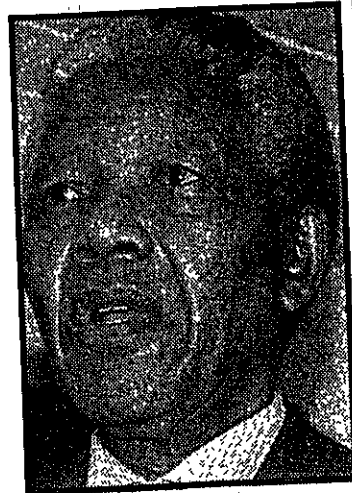
National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said Archbishop Tutu's "excellent" news enhanced the prospects of peace significantly.

"It will help a lot for the cause of peace in South Africa. It will send a message of peace from the very top leadership of two most important organisations."

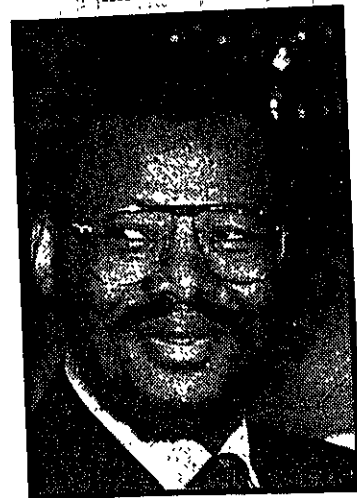
Archbishop Tutu said Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttall would arrange the date of the meeting in discussion with Mr Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and Dr Mogoba.

Although he was leaving today for an extended overseas visit, he would drop everything and return for the meeting, Archbishop Tutu said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi at the consecration of Bishop Peter Harker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand, in Pietermar-



Mr Mandela



Dr Buthelezi

itzburg. I then met Mr Mandela at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee.

"I followed up discussions at those two meetings with telephone consultations later."

He said both leaders had agreed to the meeting.

The Archbishop originally planned to be overseas for six weeks, but would interrupt his visit if a meeting between the two leaders was set up before his return, said press officer Mr John Allen.

Archbishop Tutu will be in Britain until June 18.

"He then planned a three-week holiday in Norway, followed by a working week in the United States before returning to South Africa," Mr Allen said.

IFP youth leader found murdered

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha
Freedom Party Youth Brigade
Western Transvaal chairman
Paul Dintoe, 17, has been found
dead in Ipelegeng township at
Schweizer-Reneke in the West-
ern Transvaal.

His body, which had multiple

(11B) stab wounds, had been dumped
near an old mine.

A police spokesman said the
motive for the killing was not
known.

The IFP was shocked and
dismayed at the "senseless"
killing, said spokesman Mr
Humphrey Ndlovu.



NEWS Mandela and Buthelezi agree to a date ● Trial

ANC, IFP heads to meet

Sowetan 8/6/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

A FINAL date for a summit between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be announced this week — pending the two leaders' approval.

The date was proposed to Mandela and Buthelezi yesterday during separate meetings between them and the conveners, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba.

In a joint statement from Cape Town yesterday Tutu and Mogoba said they had proposed a date to the two at a meeting yesterday.

■ Summit brokered by Tutu, Mogoba accepted willingly:

~~11B~~ (11B)
“We are now negotiating with the two leaders on its acceptability.”

“We believe we will be able to announce a date for the meeting later this week,” the conveners said.

The summit is expected to be held next week at Tutu's official residence, Bishopscourt in Cape Town, and would be chaired jointly by Mogoba and Tutu.

Couple of weeks

Tutu, who brokered the meeting, announced on Sunday night that Mandela and Buthelezi agreed to the summit “within a couple of weeks”. He met Buthelezi first on Saturday and Mandela on Sunday.

In an earlier statement Mogoba, who is also vice chairman of the National Peace Accord, said he was delighted at the news of the intended meeting.

He described it as a breakthrough in relations between the ANC and IFP.

“We are hoping there will be a positive spin-off in the work of the committee and secretariat of the National Peace Accord, as well as that of the Goldstone Commission,” Mogoba said.

The ANC yesterday said it welcomed the initiative by Tutu.

In his statement Buthelezi said he agreed to the meeting but objected to an ANC statement which he said wanted to put preconditions to the summit.

Buthelezi-Mandela talks date expected this week

(115) 28/6/93
Political Correspondent

A DATE for the long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could be announced later this week.

Following consultations with the two political leaders, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Stanley Mogaba said in a joint statement yesterday that they expected to announce a date for the encounter in the next few days.

The ANC welcomed the initiative taken by Archbishop Tutu to arrange the meeting but insisted that the organisation "doesn't want a meeting for the sake of a meeting".

Mandela-Buthelezi talks 'positive'

Political Staff

11B (11) ARG 8/6/93

A MEETING between African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be "positive", President De Klerk said today.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev. Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church are to host a meeting in Bishopscourt, Cape Town, between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Star 8/16/93

IFP-ANC meeting on track

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to meet in two weeks' time in Cape Town for the first time since 1991.

Methodist Church presiding bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, who will be a chairman at the meeting, confirmed yesterday that a specific date had been proposed but no agreement had yet been reached.

Mogoba and his co-chairman, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said they expected to announce the date this week.

The ANC has indicated it wants the agenda to include

free political activity throughout the country, including Natal and KwaZulu; public display of weapons; fencing of hostels; and the IFP's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded.

Buthelezi said he would meet Mandela at Tutu's home without any preconditions.

He stated: "I assumed that our agenda for the meeting would be mutually determined between Mr Mandela and myself and would revolve around the main issue, which is stopping the violence.

"I find these unilateral demands of what the agenda for the meeting should be once again puzzling and I do not understand if this means that I should agree to the listed issues beforehand," he said.

IFP deaths: Goldstone call

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate the "serial assassination" of its leadership following the killing of another three at the weekend.

● Three ~~high court~~ men have been arrested in connection with the massacre of five people last Friday.

● The African National Congress has slammed a police raid of members in Applesbosch. — Sapa, Own Correspondent



Govt denies Slovo's claim over gun permit appeal

LOYD CUTTS

GOVERNMENT yesterday denied that it had refused SACP chairman Joe Slovo a firearm permit to force him into applying for permanent indemnity.

"That is simply not true at all," Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He also confirmed that the issuing of licences to ANC NEC members Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Mlahlanhla and Alfred Nzo last week was being investigated.

Slovo — the subject of several assassination plots — was refused a permit last week and said he had been told he would be granted one if he applied for permanent indemnity. He has accused government of at-

tempting to put pressure on the ANC into accepting the Indemnity Act, which the organisation has rejected.

Police said last week that Slovo had been denied a permit because he only had temporary indemnity and was linked to investigations into violent crimes.

Kasrils, Mlahlanhla and Nzo all have only temporary indemnity from prosecution.

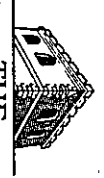
Kotze said the issuing of firearm licences was a policing matter. "Government did not refuse the firearm licence nor grant them to Kasrils and others. The police did, in the normal course of their duties.

Obviously the guiding principle is that each individual has certain rights and the police have the responsibility of ensuring the policy is carried out equitably.

"In the present situation it is alleged the police broke their own policy by granting firearm licences. An alleged inconsistency in that policy is now being investigated, and it's got nothing to do with government," Kotze said.

A spokesman for SAP headquarters in Pretoria confirmed yesterday that the incident was being investigated by SAP commissioner Gen Johann van der Merwe.

She said the investigation would last a few days.



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Fraud charge against Dali Mpoju withdrawn

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE fraud charge against the former deputy head of the ANC's social welfare department, Dali Mpoju, was withdrawn in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday.

Mpoju had been accused of misappropriating hundreds of thousands of rands from the department, which Winnie Mandela headed. The ANC had said more than R400 000 had disappeared while the two were in office. Mpoju had denied the allegations.

Mpoju was fired for financial mismanagement in May last year, and six months later threatened le-

gal action against the ANC. He said he would take the matter to the industrial court, claiming unfair dismissal. Although a conciliation board was set up and one meeting held, Mpoju did not take it any further, said an ANC source.

Mpoju claimed he and Mandela were victims of a smear campaign aimed at anyone close to her, in an effort to take control of the ANC.

Yesterday an ANC spokesman declined to comment.

Inquest is postponed

PORT ELIZABETH — The inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe and three other political activists was postponed to June 14 yesterday after a request by the SAP's legal counsel.

P J de Bruyn applied to Judge N Zietsman to postpone the case due to unforeseen circumstances. The application was made with a view to expediting the matter, he said.

Legal counsel for the families of the deceased George Bizos SC objected to the length.

Zietsman said the delay was regrettable but he would grant the postponement. — Sapa.

Inkatha calls for probe into 'assassination plot'

Business Day 9/16/93

DURBAN — Inkatha has called on the Goldstone commission to investigate the "serial assassination" of its leadership following the killing of three IFP leaders at the weekend, reports Sapa.

An Inkatha statement yesterday said the partially burnt body of Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman of the preleging branch in the western Transvaal, Paul Dimtso, 17, had been found by police near an old Schweizer-Reneke mine on Sunday.

He had been abducted from his home on Saturday night and his body had multiple stab wounds, the statement said.

Mkhombiseni Buthelezi, 48, branch chairman at Ekuseyeni ward, Kwa-Matwa, near Empangeni in Natal, was shot dead on Sunday, and the third killing was of an Inkatha organiser in Ozwathini's Emathuhini ward, Inkatha said.

The total number of Inkatha office bearers killed since 1985 was now 295.

"The targeting of Inkatha's lower level leadership for assassination is symptomatic of a politically inspired strategy to emasculate Inkatha prior to elections," the statement said.

Police have arrested three men in connection with the killing of five people in one of three attacks which claimed 11 lives last week in the Ntshamhlope area near Estcourt, in the Natal Midlands.

The suspects will appear in court today.

Our Maritzburg correspondent reports that seven people have been arrested following a crackdown on illegal firearms and wanted criminals by Greytown police and the SADF in the Appelsbosch area early yesterday.

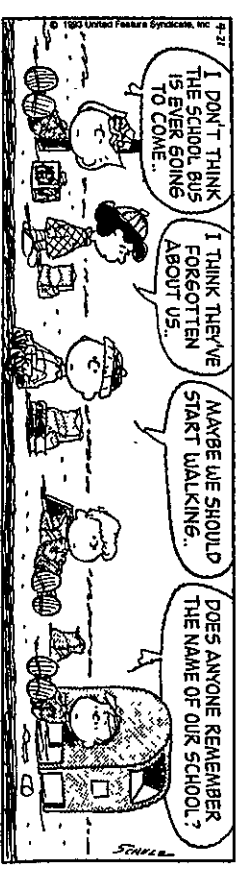
The ANC Natal Midlands slammed the raid as "a concerted attempt to destabilise the ANC in the Midlands in preparation for a major attack by Inkatha."

ANC deputy chairman Blade Nzimande condemned the use of white farmers in SADF operations and demanded that "the SADF stop allowing white farmers to perpetuate their violence by giving them army uniforms."

"We warn white farmers and the security forces that their brutalisation of ANC members will not be tolerated," he said.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



June 9 1993

Nats' loss

could be *Star 9/6/93* gain for IFP

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is poised to lose a Transvaal MP — probably to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is also understood that the IFP could gain another member from the House of Delegates — not an NP MP.

An announcement will probably be made on Monday. The moves come amid speculation that some senior Nationalist MPs are poised to quit politics when the current Parliament ends early next year.

A reliable NP source said yesterday that "lots of my colleagues are going to move out" but added that they would not be leaving the NP.

Tony Reeves, House of Representatives MP for Klipspruit West, said last night he was "not happy" in the NP, which he joined last year after eight years as a Labour Party MP.

He cited the handling of the recent education crisis as a source of his discontent.

The NP leadership was "not even looking at rectifying wrongs" such as housing, he said. He had not yet made up his mind whether to join the IFP.

NP sources have indicated that some senior MPs from the eastern Cape may quit Parliament soon.

One is reliably understood to be Sakkie Louw, Nationalist MP for Newton Park. He could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

Probe urged Star 9/16/93 as more IFP leaders die

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate the "serial assassination" of its leadership after the killing of more IFP leaders in Natal. (IB) (S)

It said the targeting of its lower-level leadership for political assassination was "symptomatic of a politically inspired strategy to emasculate the IFP prior to elections and render it incapable of contesting elections".

The IFP statement said nine IFP leaders had been killed in the past month, six of them in Natal, bringing the total toll to 294.

On Sunday another IFP leader, Mkhombiseni Buthelezi (48), branch chairman at Ekusayeni ward, KwaMthethwa near Empangeni, was killed. His death came shortly after another IFP leader, Ndabanzini Nzama, died at the hands of members of the Internal Stability Unit, allegedly when he fired at members of the ISU who were searching for illegal weapons.

The IFP has claimed Nzama's death was not accidental but part of a plot to "eliminate" him.

MULTIPARTY negotiations have seen the tabling of widely disparate proposals for redefining SA's regions. The parties' motives differ markedly.

The NP's primary motive is to limit the powers of a majority government, and it has voiced a rather equivocal policy of "regionalism based on sound federal principles". The DP has traditionally been concerned with limiting the powers of the centre, and advocates an unqualified federalism. The ANC, while it has recently made important concessions, wishes to ensure that the centre retains its power over the regions, but concedes that a certain (and as yet undefined) degree of political power should be vested in regional authorities.

In stark but predictable contrast, the Inkatha Freedom Party tends towards a confederalist approach to promote the autonomy of Natal-KwaZulu. Finally, there is little doubt that the homeland administrations wish to retain their power bases intact, while the CP and others to the right are concerned with maintaining Afrikaner identity.

Given the divergence of motivations, the potential for regions to be delineated on the basis of short-term political goals seems high. A further worry is that, to break a possible constitutional deadlock, the negotiating parties might settle for compromises that give short shrift to rational economic planning.

Wrongly and hastily planned regions could well be a recipe for disastrous and violent fission along ethnic, racial or party political lines. By contrast, many positive developments could flow from intelligently and sensitively constructed regions: the deepening and extension of democracy; the integration of regional sentiments into national politics; and the amelioration of regional economic imbalances.

Yet, an elaborate federal structure with well-entrenched regional autonomy may not be conducive to development. Economic reconstruction requires a strong central government with the power and compe-

Regional policies must aid the cause of economic growth

B/Doy 9/16/83
GAVIN MAASDORP

tence to implement national development strategies, to engage in appropriate fiscal planning and to promote regulatory harmony.

The delineation of regions depends on the purpose they are intended to serve. Will the dominant purpose be to take account of population composition, or historical experience, or functional economic flows, or a rationalisation of existing administrative jurisdiction?

If (as it should be) the major concern is for economic reconstruction, and the need for economic growth, then solid recommendations can be made about the nature and structure of a future constitutional system.

Legitimate government functions in an economy are limited to three areas: the allocation of resources for the provision of public goods; the stabilisation of the economic environment; and the correction of distribution of income and wealth society deems inequitable.

Economists agree that central government is the appropriate level for policy-making aimed at influencing the distribution of income and wealth. In the provision of services, however, other levels of government clearly have a role to play. The stabilisation function concerns fiscal and monetary policy. In both unitary and federal systems, it has to be

carried out at the central level.

Experts have recommended regional autonomy for regional development policies. But what powers are necessary? Should regions be free to diverge from national policy in promoting regional investment incentives for industries and tourism? The question of which level of government should be given the ability to declare export processing zones is a related concern. The same applies to devolution of control over airports and harbours.

The fiscal relationship between the centre and regions is a crucial one. SA has an extremely centralised system of taxation with the central government raising about 93% of total taxes. However, regional and local authorities do need some degree of fiscal autonomy. Whatever jurisdictions are devolved to the regions, they require sufficient revenue to carry out their functions. But should limits be set on their expenditure levels and powers of taxation?

Provincial income tax was abolished in 1970, and the regional administrations have become more dependent on transfers from central government. These transfers need to

be equitable. Different regions have different needs stemming from such factors as population sizes, rates of urban growth, resource endowments and economic potential. It is desirable, to avoid disputes, that a simple, clearly defined formula for fiscal transfers from the centre should be evolved; these transfers should not be made ad hoc.

There are some interesting examples of fiscal transfer mechanisms in federations such as Malaysia and Australia, where central governments have the major taxing powers and then distribute funds to the regions. In Malaysia the distribution of funds is constitutionally guaranteed whereas in Australia the Commonwealth Grants Commission controls most of the grants given by the federal government to the states.

It appears that the Malaysian system has been more successful because the transfer of funds is tied, constitutionally, to a mechanistic formula. In Australia, by contrast, the federal government has been able to fix the levels of funding to a particular state's acceptance and implementation of federal policy — which has led to a controversial undermining of state autonomy.

Fiscal transfers are clearly important to minimise inter-regional income differentials. The aim should

be to mitigate the extent of inequality by financial transfers from the centre. Some regions are likely to continue to lose inhabitants to regions of greater economic opportunity. It is in the national interest that these people should have equal educational opportunities to enable them to compete from an equal position for jobs in the cities. Thus it is important that social service standards be similar across regions.

An agreed formula for fiscal transfers would be critical: no central government should be able to penalise, or discriminate against, any region for political reasons.

Because SA is a nation of many peoples and cultures, the centre needs sufficient powers to hold the nation together and direct its economy through fiscal means.

On this basis, among the economic functions which it appears critical for the central government to retain are monetary policy, fiscal policy, foreign trade policy, regulation of financial institutions, transport and communications and the maintenance of national standards in terms of education, health and pensions.

The delineation of regions is likely to be based on an amalgam of homogeneity, functional economic flows and existing administrative criteria. SA has a plural society and regions should help, not hinder, the process of building, for the first time, a democratic society in the country.

The number of regions should be minimised bearing in mind that the system is costly, especially if the regions are federal states.

In financial terms, a federal system is a costly form of government. Each state has its chief executive, ministers, legislatures and the "paraphernalia, pomp and pageantry" that politicians love so much. While these costs might be offset by sociopolitical benefits, the general policy should be minimal government, and the policy of regionalism should be in line with this goal.

□ Prof Maasdorp is director of the Economic Research Unit, University of Natal, Durban. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of *Optima*.

SPOT DESK

coloureds in the DP's case) looking for a new political home. ■

ANC/INKATHA

Making a date

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has either played a diplomatic masterstroke or boomed in announcing that a Mandela/Buthelezi meeting is to take place within a fortnight.

Within hours of Sunday night's dramatic

FINANCIAL MAIL • JUNE • 11 • 1993 • 39

CURRENT AFFAIRS

announcement — that he would chair the meeting jointly with the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Stanley Mogoba, at Bishopscourt in Cape Town — it became clear that the endorsement of the meeting was less than universal. Even the setting of a date won't guarantee the meeting against political one-upmanship in the form of a last-minute withdrawal by one of them.

However, John Allen from the archbishop's office is confident that the meeting will proceed. He says Tutu is in no doubt that the ANC and Inkatha presidents agreed to the summit after separate discussions and follow-up phone calls at the weekend. "They even agreed to the archbishop announcing the meeting on Sunday night and are happy with the way it was done," he maintains.

But Monday saw the first signs of scepticism. While welcoming Tutu's initiative, an ANC information department statement warns that a meeting will be pointless unless certain differences are resolved. These included long-standing disputes over freedom of political association in Natal/KwaZulu, the public display of weapons, fencing of hostels and the IFP's insistence that MK should be dissolved.

These are the same issues which for months have stymied the chances of a get-together by the two leaders, in spite of the efforts to pave the way by a combined ANC/IFP task force. Known as the Preparatory Committee, its sole function is to iron out the differences and set a date for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit.

The ANC statement prompted a swift response from Buthelezi. He pointed out that though he'd agreed to the meeting, it was on the basis that there were no preconditions. This is confirmed by Allen, who says there are none. "The archbishop proposed that both leaders should submit lists of everything they want discussed. On that basis everything which concerns and worries them will form the basis for the agenda."

Wits University political studies head Alf Stadler says: "My initial reaction on hearing about the meeting was that if I were a gambling man I wouldn't put too much money on it taking place. This is partly because of the history of breakdowns in the intentions to meet, plus the fact it seems one of the two, possibly both, actually don't want to meet. Mandela is acutely conscious that a meeting puts them on a level which might appeal to Buthelezi. However, the danger for the IFP leader is that, though shrewd, he could be upstaged by Mandela." ■

The problems are deeper than these official divides. There are other underlying factors mitigating against a meeting, not least of which is continued grassroots opposition in Natal, though this is generally denied.

The Human Sciences Research Council's head of conflict analysis, Tony Minnaar, explains: "Even if Buthelezi and Mandela may be keen to meet, the ANC regions are dead set against anything which might enhance the IFP or its leader's credibility — unless the IFP pays the price in terms of

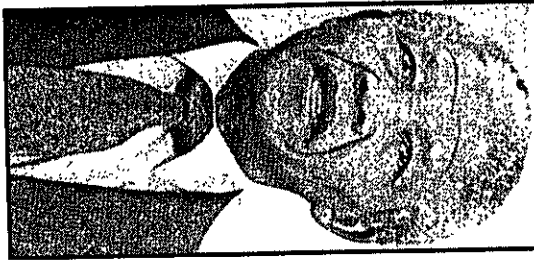
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major concessions." From an ANC national perspective, Minnaar adds, anything reasonable which could reduce violence and speed up the transition process is desirable.

"Violence has hampered this process, but the ANC is under pressure to show results and stem the growing membership flow, particularly of the youth to the PAC ranks," claims Minnaar. "Nevertheless, I will only believe that the meeting will take place when the two leaders actually sit down together."

Even if they do, Minnaar questions whether they can stop the violence. "There are on both sides too many little power bases and loose guns with a vested interest in violence. They do little more than pay lip service to the political parties and are therefore not amenable to any kind of discipline." ■

ANC/Zulu talks soon?



□ BUSY: Mr Nelson Mandela is to make time.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

TOP-LEVEL discussions were still being held yesterday about an agenda for an historic summit meeting between African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expected to be held in Cape Town soon.

The long-awaited summit, which could be a major boost for peace, is being brokered by leaders of the Anglican and Methodist churches, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Stanley Mogooba

presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Dean of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa. A date for the meeting will be announced as soon as agreement on the agenda is reached. A statement issued yesterday by Bishop Mogooba and Bishop Nuttall.

The statement said: "The two leaders are both in favour of the meeting and we are satisfied that their parties are committed to giving top priority to reaching agreement on the agenda."

Earlier this week, Archbishop Tutu and Bishop Mogooba said in a statement they expected to announce a date for the meeting by the end of this week.

Mr John Allen, has said the Archbishop would interrupt his visit if a meeting between the two leaders was set up before his return.

Archbishop Tutu said earlier he hoped the meeting would take place within weeks at his official residence, Bishops' court, in Cape Town. His statement was hailed as "excellent news" and as a "significant advance" by South Africa's official peace-makers, including National Peace Secretariate chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

The proposed summit meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi has been on the cards for years — ever since Mr Mandela was released from prison in 1990.

At times, serious tensions arose between the two leaders, making the chances of a meeting seem increasingly remote.

In recent months, pressures mounted on the two leaders to settle their differences once and for all and to get together to ensure a peaceful political settlement and an end to violence.

As long ago as February this year, new moves were afoot to bring the two leaders together. At that stage, the target date for the peace summit was about mid-March, but the time came and went, and there was no summit.

In ANC circles, it was claimed that exhaustion was forcing Mr Mandela to delay his hectic schedule. There was also said to be unhappiness among ANC supporters that the summit was being hastily put together at a high level without taking into account the

views and feelings of people at grassroots level.

About that time, Chief Buthelezi confirmed in the KwaZulu legislative assembly in Ulundi that he was prepared to meet Mr Mandela "anytime without pre-conditions".

The KwaZulu leader was responding to an earlier announcement by Mr Mandela that he would meet Buthelezi only on condition he was certain such a meeting would be fruitful.

Mr Mandela had said on the last day of a three-day Natal Midlands tour that such a meeting would be possible if there was an agreement on the banning of "weapons of death", the fencing of hostels and free political activity in KwaZulu.

□ **READY:** Chief Buthelezi is prepared for talks.



□ **READY:** Chief Buthelezi is prepared for talks.

Arch 12/13/93 (113)

no more ... from ...

13 ministerial representatives get the chop

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night announced the scrapping of the 13 ministerial representatives, appointed seven new MECs and re-placed a Solidarity MEC in Natal with a National Party MP.

He said another NP MP, Mr Aubrey Thompson of South Coast, would be retiring at the end of the present session of Parliament and

two other NP MPs were considering their positions.

Mr De Klerk said he was not aware of any other NP MPs considering retirement or joining other parties such as Inkatha.

However, the IFP yesterday said defections of NP MPs to Inkatha are on the cards. Inkatha nominated MP Mr Fa-

rouk Cassim said not only NP members had expressed interest.

An Indian MP would announce his support for the IFP at a public meeting in the Durban City Hall on Monday evening and a House of Representatives MP would join the IFP at a prestige dinner in Johannesburg on Tuesday night.

Mr De Klerk said two MPs, Mr Piet Coetzer of Springs and Mr Philip Saunders of Eastern Free State, who is also chairman of the House of Representatives, had been appointed MECs.

The other new MECs are Soweton businessman Mr David Chune-yane and the Transvaal's NP secretary Dr Lucas Nel, former

Grahamstown mayor Mrs Martha Ockers; a former NP candidate in elections in Natal, Mr Rudi Redinger, and the first black to join the NP, Mr Daniel Makhanya, also in Natal.

He added that Mr Sattie Naidoo, NP MP for Durban Bay, would replace Dr D Raja (Solidarity) as an MEC in Natal. — Political Staff

CT 12/6/93

11B



**Date for ANC,
IFP talks soon**

27/12/93
Political Staff

A DATE will be announced soon for a meeting between KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, a spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night.

He said a date will be set as soon as agreement had been reached on the agenda for the talks.

Inkatha will be biggest party, says Buthelezi

Star 15/6/93

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party intends winning elections in the Natal/KwaZulu region and will demand autonomy in certain areas of government in a future federal state. (IB)

Addressing a public meeting in the Durban City Hall last night, the IFP president also predicted that his party would become the single largest party in South Africa.

"When the election comes, you must know that as far as this region is concerned (Natal/KwaZulu), we intend being the next government. We already govern and do so very successfully. Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretoria, not by Umtata."

He said the people of the

Natal/KwaZulu region rejected centralised power or a unitary state.

"We reject anything but federalism. We will no longer be told what we can or cannot do. In those areas of government that can be exercised by us, we are demanding autonomy," Buthelezi said. (IB)

He told the multiracial audience of about 1 000 that the IFP was on the road to becoming the "single largest political force" in the country.

His party could not cope with the demand for new branches across the country, Buthelezi said.

His address followed the inauguration of nine IFP branches in predominantly white and Indian residential areas around Durban.

NEWS President's speech draws sharp criticism • Sowetan-Pick 'n Pay workshop held

News in brief

Sowetan 15/6/93 Benny takes leave

THE controversy surrounding Pan Africanist Congress secretary general Mr Benny Alexander took another turn yesterday when he renewed his commitment to Apla and announced he would take three weeks' leave.

His announcement of leave follows reports that he had been axed from the organisation's negotiating team because of his support for the PAC's military wing.

Alexander, however, said he would represent the PAC in the negotiating council until Friday and then return to his seat after his vacation. - *Sapa*

Sowetan 15/6/93 White homeland

THE Government is to propose a separate geographical region within a single South African state where self-determination can be addressed.

A senior Government source last night said the proposal still had to be fleshed out, but he expected it would be tabled at multiparty negotiations in about a week's time.

The Government was planning several steps to address the image of legitimacy of the negotiations pro-

Sowetan 15/6/93

ess, particularly in the eyes of the white rightwingers, the source said.

In the first instance the Government planned to propose that inputs to the 26-party negotiating council could be made even after next Friday's meeting.

Great show tonight

A Sowetan/Caltex Massed Choir Festival rehearsal for participating Pretoria choirs will be held at the St Albans Cathedral tonight at 6pm.

Some of the choirs, to be led during the rehearsal by Professor Mzilikazi Khumalo and Mr Richard Cock, are the Garankuwa Community Choir, Mabopane Adult Choir, Pretoria Adult Choir and the Bernard Mizeki Martyr.

Le Grange apology

IN yesterday's *Sowetan* on page 8 a picture was incorrectly captioned. The man identified as Mr Gus Warwick was in fact Mr André le Grange, chief executive of the Development Bank of South Africa. We apologise for any inconvenience caused Mr Le Grange.

FW clings to power

THE African National Congress portrayed State President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday as a desperate man trying to cling to power as his party collapses around him.

The ANC was commenting on a weekend proposal by De Klerk to limit the power of the country's next president, widely expected to be ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus described De Klerk as a "desperate man trying to cling to power as his (ruling National) party is falling apart".

De Klerk said in an interview at the weekend that he was optimistic democracy negotiators would soon agree on guidelines for governing the country after the first nonracial elections provisionally planned for April 27 next year.

ANC DISTURBED De Klerk's

remarks on presidency evoke response:

He said one of the most important proposals was that the new president should not be able to make fundamental decisions without the agreement of the "inner cabinet".

"An executive committee will manage the cabinet and will on the basis of consensus, agree on the joint policies of the government of national unity which will then be accepted by the cabinet," De Klerk said.

"They must agree on a programme of action for five years which will become a sort of Magna Carta of the government

of national unity, and against which all other decisions will be tested".

Niehaus said: "These are the actions of a desperate person whose party is losing support and who is trying to cling to power at all costs."

"He will be an executive president, not a ceremonial president. Exactly how decisions are going to be taken is still a to be debated. But the ANC abides by the democratic principle that decisions will be taken by a two-thirds majority. Proposals of an inner cabinet are out of this world," he said. - *Sapa-Reuters*

Natal 'won't be ruled by Umtata'

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party intends winning elections in the Natal/KwaZulu region and will demand autonomy in certain areas of government in a future federal state.

Addressing a public meeting at the

Durban City Hall last night, the IFP president also predicted that his party would become the single largest party in South Africa.

"When the election comes, you must know that, as far as this region is concerned, we intend being the next government. We already govern and do so very successfully... Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretorians, not by Umtata," he said.

He said the IFP was on the road to becoming the "single largest political force in the country". - *Sapa*

IFP ADV DAVUPPNIW and PANDIPRIS



Peace groups fear ANC, Inkatha clashes at rallies

PEACE organisations yesterday expressed concern that clashes could break out between Inkatha and ANC supporters when the two organisations commemorate the 17th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising at rallies in the East Rand township of Vosloorus tomorrow.

The ANC's rally will be addressed by the organisation's Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and the Inkatha gathering by Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza.

Neither organisation is holding rallies in surrounding townships and this could boost the numbers attending the Vosloorus rallies.

Inkatha senior official Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday that his organisation would not switch its rally from Vosloorus "just because the ANC will be holding a similar rally in the area".

And sources close to the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat said the organisation had been caught off guard by Inkatha's eleventh hour announcement that it would hold a rally in the township.

They said Inkatha had yet to furnish the secretariat with details of their rallies.

These details are essential if agreement is to be reached on issues such as policing and choice of routes.

Sources expressed concern that

WILSON ZWANE

violence could break out unless steps were taken to avert confrontation.

Ndlovu said the secretariat was "not God". He said Inkatha could not have provided the secretariat with details of its rally in Vosloorus without having first secured a venue. This was done only on Sunday.

The organisation was due to provide the secretariat with details of its rally yesterday.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa called on all people commemorating the day to do so "with the dignity it deserves".

Mamoepa also called for peace monitors to be out in full force to ensure that "peace reigns supreme" during the services.

He also urged police not to act in a manner which might ignite violence.

Mamoepa pointed out that the agreement which the ANC PWV region and Inkatha reached in March — on the eve of Sharpeville Day commemorations — should serve as a guide for tomorrow's activities.

In terms of the agreement — brokered by the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat — Inkatha and the ANC vowed to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner. The parties also agreed on routes their respective followers would use.

Ndlovu said it was about time that members of the ANC and Inkatha

held rallies in the same area without police having to keep them apart.

Hundreds of thousands of black workers are expected to stay away from work tomorrow, AP-DJ reports.

Cosatu said it expects all of its estimated 1.2-million members to stay away.

Cosatu threatened it would take industrial action against employers which did not recognise the day as a paid holiday.

Sacob estimates the stayaway will involve 80%-100% of workers across the country.

Labour consultants Andrew Levy & Associates predicts more than two thirds of the estimated 6-million black workers will stay away.

Sapa reports the Johannesburg City Council said yesterday officials anticipated a stayaway tomorrow and added the action may disrupt some services.

Council solid waste director Gys du Plessis requested Johannesburg householders who normally have their refuse collected on Wednesdays to keep their rubbish inside their properties until next Wednesday.

He added: "A June 16 stayaway may also disrupt other services such as clearing sewer blockages or repairing water leaks."

□ The ANC's western Cape region is to call for a stayaway tomorrow.

The future of law to be debated

CHIEF Justice Michael Corbett and Judge Richard Goldstone will be two of the speakers at a one-day conference on the future of SA law in Johannesburg on Monday.

The conference, at the Standard Bank Arena, has been organised by law firm Webber Wentzel to celebrate its 125th anniversary and is co-sponsored by Standard Bank.

A senior ANC legal adviser will also take part in the conference, which will debate where SA law is heading and how it should be adapted to meet the needs of a changing SA.

Webber Wentzel senior partner Peter Reynolds said the conference would look critically but positively at SA's legal system. "We wish to anticipate, in a meaningful forum, what

will become of law in this country as we emerge from our troubled past into a new era. We want to play our part in guiding this country's legal system along what we believe to be the proper channels."

Reynolds said until now the debate on the future of law in SA had been confined largely to legal circles.

"The Webber Wentzel conference is open to the general public and will bring the debate into the public arena. All interested parties will be exposed to the views of respected and informed jurists, from the most senior of our judges to experienced practising attorneys facing clients on a day-to-day basis," Reynolds said.

Nujoma off to US

WINDHOEK — President Sam Nujoma left Windhoek yesterday for an official state visit to the US.

He is the first African president officially invited to the US by the Clinton administration.

Acting US ambassador to Namibia, Howard Jeter said the visit was tacit recognition by the US that Namibia had done "a very good job with democracy efforts" since independence.

Nujoma will spend 12 days in the US. Apart from meeting state officials, he will be interviewed on CNN, dine with the Congressional Black Caucus leadership and receive an honorary doctorate from Central State University in Ohio, before returning home via a human rights conference in Vienna. — Sapa

NP lashes out at Inkatha

Political Staff

RELATIONS between the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party are heading for a new low, with the NP lashing out at IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for his attack on the NP at a public meeting in Durban on Monday.

NP media director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the NP was amazed at the attack in the

light of on-going discussions between the NP and IFP.

The chief minister said the government should remember that the black majority, which made up two-thirds of the potential voters in the country, was the same black majority that for decades was suppressed and brutalised by the National Party. "The NP had overstayed its welcome," he said.

"All surveys show that the IFP is continually losing black support and that they may no longer represent even the majority of Zulus," said Mr Van Schalkwyk. **16/6/93**

"This has apparently convinced Chief Buthelezi that he must turn his attention to the NP support base to neutralise the IFP's loss of Zulu support. We believe this is counter-productive." **(2044) (118)**

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Inkatha to defy ban on East Rand march

B/Day 16/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

INKATHA supporters would defy a police ban today and march from Thokoza to Vosloorus, where both the ANC and Inkatha were scheduled to hold June 16 commemorative meetings, Inkatha official Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

Ndlovu said he had received a report at a peace secretariat meeting that the Inkatha march was to be stopped by police because no permission had been obtained.

Nevertheless, the march would go ahead because Inkatha had been told in the past that no permission was needed for marches proceeding to legal meetings.

Wits-Vaal peace secretariat officials made frantic efforts yesterday to avert potential clashes between Inkatha and ANC supporters on the East Rand.

Secretariat official David Storey said between 150 and 200 monitors would be deployed in more than 17 areas on the Reef including Sebokeng, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Thokoza, Soweto and Johannesburg. Inkatha and the ANC would jointly monitor events in Vosloorus and other areas.

The secretariat had convened discussions on preventing violence at which the two parties and the police were represented, he said. Agreements on policing and monitoring of events were being concluded at local level.

"We are hoping that people will commemorate the day peacefully and exercise restraint and tolerance. If a situation of conflict does occur, we appeal to people to co-operate with the monitors," he said.

ANC NEC member Harry Gwala would address rallies in Sebokeng, Vosloorus and Tembisa, an ANC spokesman said.

Inkatha Transvaal organiser Temba Khoza was scheduled to address a Vosloorus rally.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba would address a rally in Orlando Stadium, Soweto, while ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale would speak at the Johannesburg City Hall.

Police public relations chief Maj-Gen Leon Mellet said police were prepared for any eventuality.

The ANC and Inkatha agreed to monitor rallies jointly in Natal, while the police and peace accord officials would form joint operational centres, Sapa reported.

Reuter reported the ANC's main Natal rally, at Curries Fountain, would be addressed by Betty Shabazz, widow of US campaigner Malcolm X.

Comment Page 6

Drought aid likely to exceed R100m

B/Day 16/6/93

PRETORIA — Taxpayer support for farmers in drought disaster areas this year amounts to tens of millions of rands and could rise sharply before winter ends.

According to the Agriculture Department's financial assistance directorate, drought aid this year is likely to exceed last year's R100m, especially if summer rains are delayed.

A National Drought Disaster Committee spokesman said 78 districts had been declared disaster areas. This would increase before the end of winter and probably into summer.

The Red Meat Producers Organisation (RPO) said a third of the 9 000 stock farmers failed to qualify for aid in terms of the stock farmers relief scheme launched this month.

At the end of last week about R60m in this financial year had been paid to 1 715 Karoo stock farmers.

This did not include R15m paid to eastern Cape farmers and R12m to 359 Transvaal farmers. Free State stock farmers received another R10m.

RPO spokesman Jan de

Jager said stock farmers were marketing millions of rands worth of breeding stock to survive.

Abattoirs were inundated with stock offerings and prices had sunk to the Meat Board floor price that did not cover production costs.

De Jager said the extent of slaughtering of breeding stock would set the industry back years.

Despite farmers' distress, meat processors and others in the trade were still importing meat.

The RPO had asked government to raise the import levy and to close loopholes in the system.

Meat Board GM Pieter Kempen said cold storage available to the board was more than 80% full mostly with carcasses lifted from the market at the floor price. He expected pressure to continue at least until end July.

He said the problem was not so much heavy marketing, but lack of consumer demand which had declined steeply in the past few months.

GERALD REILLY

To each his own — ANC

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE ANC would fight for the right of people to be equal and yet remain different, ANC NEC member Albie Sachs said yesterday.

He told the German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg that even though all citizens of a future SA would have equal rights, there was no single SA culture or way of life and no one would be bound to be identical to anyone else.

"We come to the new SA as we are," he said.

The future SA would be pluralistic, with the different cultures enriching the social fabric of the broad SA society.

The ANC believed that different languages and cultures had to be protected in a Bill of Rights.

But political mobilisation around these issues would lead to civil strife as had happened in Bosnia.

Regions of a federal state could not be drawn around ethnicity, as ethnicity in SA was not geographically bound.

Sachs said that one of his biggest mistakes was believing that the state could solve all social problems.

Election date debate proceeds

Inkatha-led walkout jolts talks off track

B/Day 16/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK
and ALAN FINE

MULTIPARTY talks were thrown off track yesterday by a walkout by members of the Concerned South Africans Group "to consult their principals" shortly before closure of proceedings and just before scheduled discussion on an election date. (11B) (11B)

Signs of the impending temporary crisis, which followed a KwaZulu threat to filibuster proceedings, emerged in the morning with an Inkatha/KwaZulu initiative, backed by Cosag, insisting that negotiations be halted until their demands were met.

The debate also became a serious test of the concept of "sufficient consensus", in terms of which decisions are taken. (11B)

Inkatha introduced a resolution which ruled out progress according to the agreed agenda. It proposed that negotiations on constitutional principles not proceed until parties were "provided with a clear alternative" concerning unitary versus federal state principles, as well as the processes which would lead to attaining each goal. It said any final determination of an election date would have to wait "until the negotiation council has adopted a final decision on the form of state and on the process on constitutional development which would lead to elections". (11B)

In a statement to the council, KwaZulu government representative Ben Ngubane warned that if other parties failed to agree they would be "politically responsible for the withdrawal from negotiations by KwaZulu". His group would adopt a "constructive form of filibustering" to get its way.

After a three-hour meeting, the planning committee proposed referring the matter to a technical committee, which failed to

satisfy the Inkatha/KwaZulu delegations.

During debate on the Inkatha motion, DP representative Colin Eglin pointed out that precisely the issues of concern to Inkatha would have been debated had the day's agenda not been thrown off course. The only way to get to discussing the form of state would be through a thorough debate on the constitutional principles.

When the proposal came to a vote, it was supported by eight parties, mostly Cosag members, and opposed by 16, including government and ANC blocs and the PAC.

When the chair ruled that the proposal had failed because it had not attained "sufficient consensus", the ruling was challenged by Inkatha/KwaZulu. When appeals by Cosag representatives for an early adjournment (which would have precluded discussion on an election date) were refused, they staged their walkout.

The discussion on an election date proceeded without the six Cosag delegations — Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

All parties present apart from the PAC agreed to put the April 27 election date resolution to the negotiating forum in 10 days' time for debate and finalisation.

□ Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said last night he hoped the walkout was "a hiccup", but added that no firm date for Inkatha's return could be given until a full discussion of the crisis had taken place in the organisation. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha would be "the last people to delay talks".

Mandela, Buthelezi meeting delayed

BISday 16/10/93

WILSON ZWANE

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon dimmed yesterday when it was disclosed that their organisations had not made enough progress on the ANC's demand for free political activity.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said a preparatory committee, consisting of representatives from his organisation and Inkatha, had made good progress towards reaching agreement on most items for the agenda for the two leaders' meeting.

These included the public display of dangerous weapons, the fencing of hostels and the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The committee had, however, not made substantial progress on the ANC's insistence that the leaders' meeting should discuss free political activity throughout SA, including KwaZulu.

Mamoepa attributed this to the fact that KwaZulu

negotiator Ben Ngubane, a key figure in the discussions, was tied up in multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Hopes for an early meeting between the leaders ran high last week when Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it would be held within a couple of weeks.

However, the organisers, who include Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba, said the date for the meeting would be set only after the two organisations had agreed on the agenda.

Tutu is currently in London for anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston's 88th birthday celebrations. Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall is standing in for Tutu in the organising of the talks.

Buthelezi reaffirmed his willingness yesterday to meet Mandela.

Mamoepa said it was the ANC's view that the meeting should be a product of work done by the preparatory committee. But there was no indication on when a meeting might take place.

No compromise on federalism, says chief

By Brendan Templeton

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night warned, just hours after IFP negotiators walked out of multiparty talks, that his party would not compromise on its federalism demand.

He would not discuss the walkout at a press conference in Johannesburg, saying he had not been briefed on it.

Speaking later at a fund-raising dinner, Buthelezi said regionalism was "quite unsuited to the disparate nature of the cultural traditions making up our society".

People should be free to decide if their regional leaders should have powers autonomous

of a central government.

He also doubted the ability of opposing parties to co-operate in a constituent assembly.

Instead, he called for an election to be held next year according to guidelines led by grassroots opinion.

But he emphasised that the garnering of that opinion should take place on a regional basis.

The constitution-making body should have mechanisms which would compel it to implement federalism in a region if its inhabitants opted for it.

Transitional executive councils were needed to act as watchdogs to ensure that the playing fields were levelled fairly, he added.

IFP to defy ban on Soweto Day march

CT 16/6/93 Own Correspondent (113)

JOHANNESBURG. — IFP supporters will defy a police ban and march from Thokoza to Vosloorus today, where both the ANC and IFP are scheduled to hold June 16 commemorative meetings, IFP official Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

He said he had received a report at a peace secreteriat meeting that the IFP march was to be stopped by police because no permission had been obtained.

The march would, however, go ahead because the IFP had in the past been told that no permission was needed for marches proceeding to legal meetings.

Wits-Vaal peace secreteriat staff made frantic efforts yesterday to avert potential clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.

A number of rallies will be held here today including one at Orlando Stadium which will be addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Peter Mokaba.

Mbeki slams IFP's US advisers

27/7/69

From SIMON BARBER
WASHINGTON — AN C
foreign affairs director Mr
Thabo Mbeki yesterday
blamed the IFP's American
constitutional advisers for ob-
structing agreement over the
degree of federalism to be con-
tained in a new constitution.
In Washington for talks with

the Clinton administration
and congress, Mr Mbeki said
the ANC wanted "real power"
to be devolved to "elected re-
gional assemblies", but was
not prepared to see South
Africa turned into a feder-
ation of sovereign entities.
"Thanks to the advice the
IFP gets from white American

(11B)
academics, they are proposing
to carve up the country with
each region drafting its own
constitution."

Mr Mbeki said this approach
was based on an "historical
fiction". South Africa was "not
a federal country made up of
sovereign states that subse-
quently surrendered sov-

erignty to the centre, as was the
case when America wrote its
own constitution."

Nonetheless, Mr Mbeki
stressed that the ANC recog-
nised the need for "strong re-
gional governments". Devolu-
tion, he said, was necessary to
keep government "close to the
people".

NEWS Eight killed on C

Cosag back in negotiations

Sowetan 17/6/93

■ Talks go on at World Trade Centre:

By **Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

~~10/6/93~~
11/6

THE Cosag alliance will return to negotiations at the World Trade Centre today after walking out in protest on Tuesday, Mr Walter Fellgate of the Inkatha Freedom Party confirmed yesterday.

Cosag — made up of the IFP, the governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaner Volksunie — walked out after they failed to push through their proposal that the form of state be agreed upon before an election date is set. Fellgate said yesterday that the form of state was primary and that the IFP and KwaZulu government, as do the other Cosag affiliates, felt that until this was determined it would be futile to continue with talks.

He said Cosag would today propose that the technical committee dealing with constitutional principles should attend expeditiously to the question of federalism and the form of state before talks could proceed.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC yesterday said it was unfair for a single party "to negotiate on the basis that unless its particular proposals are accepted by everybody else it would not continue with further negotiations".



Message of peace . . . Nelson Mandela greets supporters in Orlando yesterday at the ANC's main June 16 rally, a gathering of its youth league. He told the crowd that negotiations were the only way forward. Picture: Joao Silva

Cosag Star 17/6/93 going back to talks

By Esther Waugh
and Chris Whitfield

Amid indications that the Concerned South Africans Group was returning to the Negotiating Council today, the majority of its members registered at the World Trade Centre early today.

At 8.45 am only the Conservative Party had not arrived, except for a member of its support staff, Corne Mulder. (S) (S)

Indications last night were that Cosag would return after it staged a walkout on Tuesday. (S) (S)

The Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu governments, Inkatha Freedom Party, and the CP confirmed yesterday that Cosag would arrive at Kempton Park today.

They left the Negotiating Council on Tuesday after a resolution that a federal state be placed on the agenda — was not carried.

Today's meeting was scheduled to start at 8.30 but by 9 am the 10-member planning committee was still meeting. (S) (S)

Cosag is likely to reject the election date decision taken by the council after it walked out.

And in another development, which could encourage right-wing participation in the process, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer in Parliament last night confirmed the Government's intention to propose a federal state in which Afrikaans-speakers could exercise self-determination.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said last night the party and the KwaZulu government were "in" to talks today but

move would depend on proceedings. The IFP

sist that the form of state and violence top the agenda the demand that led to Monday's Cosag walkout.

ranskei

Willard in the chest, killing him instantly.

The attackers then entered the house and demand-

Pick n Pay

Southern Transvaal Discount Supermarkets

T HAD its comic moments — such as Amichand Rajbansis clumsily handled all round. But the initiative by Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Centre on Tuesday signals a crucial — and possibly decisive — test of strength between the right and the ad hoc ANC/NP partnership.

Inkatha and the rest of Cosag, who orchestrated the exercise between themselves, can be thankful that finesse and slick presentation is not a prerequisite for success.

As DP MP Colin Eglin rather bruntally pointed out, the Inkatha resolution to the multiparty talks effectively demanded that the negotiating council halt debate on constitutional principles and procedures until those procedures and principles have been satisfactorily dealt with. Inkatha's proposal interrupted debate on those very issues — it was the next item on the agenda.

But the communique goes even deeper, for the ANC has made substantial concessions to the Inkatha position. These emerged publicly last month in the party's submission to the constitutional technical committee at the talks. The ANC accepted that regional governments should have "original powers" — the essence of federalism.

In addition, the ANC accepted that the multiparty conference rather than an elected constituent assembly should have the task of determining the powers, functions and boundaries of regions. And various technical committees have been for the past few weeks devising details for the negotiators to debate.

The significance of the ANC concession was illustrated by the response of Inkatha strategist Walter Felgate. "Inkatha should have very little problem in accepting this position," he told Business Day at the time. His only reservation was that Inkatha was unwilling to take it on faith. He said it had to be "written in stone" to prevent the ANC changing its mind at a later stage — not an unexpected reservation, given the depths of distrust between the two

Cosag filibuster sets the scene for a battle of wills

ALAN FINE

Bldcay 17/6/93

parties, and Inkatha would be entitled to ask for guarantees.

But this is hardly sufficient to justify Tuesday's events. And while the ANC position leaves much room for debate on detail, that debate has hardly begun. None of which is sufficient to explain Tuesday's events.

One possibility is that not all Inkatha strategists — including Joe Matthews who has partly usurped Felgate's central role and was a prominent participant in Tuesday's debate — take Felgate's view, though it appears logical and clear.

The Inkatha resolution also mentions the need for a constitutional process which would permit "ground-up democracy building". This is a bit rich coming from a party where even the most minor tactical decisions have to be okayed by the chief minister's office in Umlund.

What it appears to refer to specifically, though, is the right of regions to adopt different regional constitutions to suit their own needs — such as the KwaZulu/Natal proposal. The constitution-makers call this concept "asymmetry". While Inkatha's main negotiating partners have not explicitly agreed to this, indications are that it would not be ruled out provided those regional constitutions were in line with centrally determined norms on democracy and human rights.



Inkatha negotiators Joe Matthews and Frank Mdlalose.

All this leaves the impression that, whatever the motives of Inkatha and its Cosag allies, Tuesday's pretext was a fairly flimsy and clumsy device. Nevertheless, unless one assumes it was done out of sheer bloodynindedness, there must be some explanation behind the orchestrated confrontation.

The explanation lies, perhaps, in certain passages from the KwaZulu position statement delivered by Ben Ngubane at Kempton Park on Tuesday, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's follow-up statement yesterday.

The KwaZulu government, said Ngubane, "has reached the end of the road in tolerating the manipulation of this process". Added Buthelezi: "The IFP and the KwaZulu government drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process."

In other words, the ANC and NP continue to drive the process. But Cosag, led by Inkatha, see themselves as equal partners unwilling to accept whatever bones are tossed their way in response to their

complaints. The ANC/NP dominance of the process is symbolised by the election date issue, and that is why the Cosag group has linked it to the filibustering campaign. Ngubane warned was about to begin.

There is logic in the Cosag position that an election cannot be held until the process leading up to it, and a post-election constitution, have been finalised.

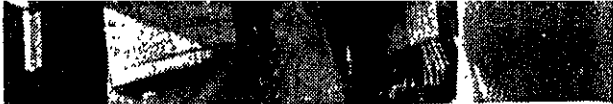
Pressure for the firm setting of an election date arose because of the ANC's own constituency problems, disenchantment at the slow pace of negotiations which was exacerbated by Chris Ham's assassination. While there may have been a point in setting an informal target date, the ANC has made a fetish of it — inviting Cosag to make it a target of a filibuster. The election date issue could itself delay the election.

In judging the likely outcome of this test of strength, it can be argued that Cosag parties, while important to a settlement, are ultimately dispensable, even though the costs would be huge in some cases.

The test of this at the talks is the "sufficient consensus" definition. That is why Cosag attempted to put it to the test on Tuesday. It wants to know whether it has the clout to push through an issue or, failing that, to block one. In reality, "sufficient consensus" has no technical definition. It is determined by the prevailing balance of power.

In weeks to come, the smooth negotiators will become the key figures: the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and government's Roelf Meyer on the one hand, and Inkatha's Matthews and Frank Mdlalose, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje and the Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager on the other. To them, the future must already be fairly clear — multiparty technical committees have already caught its essence.

They will have to flesh out the detail and then sell it to their less accommodating leaders and/or supporters. This is crucial because the one factor that could put the process in jeopardy is a mistreading on the part of those leaders and supporters of their negotiating strength and how far they can push their opponents.



A group of ANC supporters protest against the confiscation of outside Voosloorus Stadium on the East Rand, soon after ANC addressed a June 16 rally.

Inkatha advisers 'obstruct agreement on federalism'

Blay 17/6/93

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki yesterday blamed Inkatha's American constitutional advisers for obstructing agreement over the degree of federalism to be contained in a new constitution.

In Washington for talks with the Clinton administration and Congress, Mbeki said the ANC wanted real power to be devolved to elected regional assemblies, but was not prepared to see SA turned into a federation of sovereign entities. (22) (11) (118)

"Thanks to the advice Inkatha gets from white American academics, it is proposing to carve up the country, with each region drafting its own constitution and leaving the central government those powers it doesn't want." Mbeki, who appeared to be referring principally to Prof Alfred Blaustein, said this approach was based on a "historical fiction".

Inkatha and its allies were digging in their heels over the issue as "they don't believe they have the strength to play an important role in central government after elections," he said.

However, Mbeki stressed that the ANC recognised the need for "strong regional governments".

The ANC was ready to discuss the division of powers — which should be exercised "concurrently" by the centre and the regions. He predicted the end result would be a united SA with "federal elements".

Inkatha and allies to return to talks

17/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK

^{Biday}
THE Concerned South Africans Group, which staged a walkout of constitutional negotiations on Tuesday, held a series of meetings yesterday to devise a strategy for today's talks.

All six parties that walked out 10 minutes before the end of Tuesday's session have said they would be back at the talks today. But it "would not be plain sailing for the ANC/NP alliance", one Inkatha source said. (118) (118)

A senior government source said its negotiators would not meet Inkatha or KwaZulu delegates in bilateral meetings unless their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was present. This was because assurances that federal principles were still firmly on the table had not reached "the Inkatha strategist and decision-maker". (118) (118)

At Tuesday's talks it was evident that the Inkatha negotiators were under regular and direct instructions from Ulundi.

The Cosag group met last night after an earlier Inkatha executive meeting. Buthelezi also summoned the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a special meeting.

In a statement Buthelezi said the Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations "drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process of constitutional development". Millions of South Africans did not want to see the negotiations going on for another six years.

He claimed that the constitutional principles under consideration at the talks "will be incompatible with a true federation", with all technical committee reports centred on an interim constitution and a constituent assembly. This process of establishing a final constitution would be

□ To Page 2

Talks

Biday 17/6/93

□ From Page 1

completed only by 1999. (118) (118)

The ANC and government countered this, saying they had informally agreed that the interim phase would last only until April 1996 at the outside. (118) (118)

Buthelezi claimed the future form of state and a federal option had been sidelined by the negotiating council; Inkatha wanted this addressed immediately. Inkatha also wanted the council to consider a single phase transition where the final con-

stitution was negotiated in the current forum and not finalised by an elected body. He said the Inkatha alternative would finalise the constitutional process by 1994.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and DP negotiator Colin Eglin said there was no reason for Cosag members to walk out. It was impractical to negotiate a form of state if they would not discuss constitutional principles.

● See Page 6

As soon as the youths outside Mamelodi's HM Pitje Stadium heard us speaking Zulu, they started to talk about us. My Sesotho was not good enough to understand them well — but it was obviously negative.

As a Zulu-speaker from Natal, I went to the soccer match between Amazulu and Sundowns a fortnight ago with hostel dwellers from the Jeppe hostel in Johannesburg — also Amazulu supporters. I queued separately, and all around me I could hear people complaining about the Zulus at the match.

"These Zulus, they've come here in numbers," commented one man in *tsotsi taal*.

The 300-odd Amazulu fans had not planned to sit together — but the reaction was so hostile that they all moved to the east stand. There, to keep up their spirits, they started to sing war songs associated with Inkatha, starting a small stampede in which seven people were hurt. "These Zulus are starting their war now," I heard someone say.

By the end of the match, tensions were so high that conflict could not be avoided. Youths moved outside, and started to attack the cars of Amazulu supporters, while inside, the hostel dwellers had to be herded into the change-rooms for their own protection. "Amazulu amabari! (Zulus can't think)" the comrades were chanting.

When we got to the parking lot, we found our minibus had been burnt, along with two others belonging to Amazulu fans. Police with Casspirs had to escort us out of the township.

One Jeppe hostel dweller foresaw what would happen. Speaking on the way to the match, he said: "We're sick and tired of being called Inkatha just because we support our home team. Amazulu belongs to the Zulu king, not (Inkatha leader Mangosuthu) Buthelezi."

Life is becoming increasingly difficult and dangerous for Zulus living in the PWV area, irrespective of whether they belong to Inkatha, the African National Congress, or no political party at all. Most youths in the PWV townships now see no difference between being Zulu and being an Inkatha supporter.

During the recent ANC-Inkatha war in Thokoza-Katlehong, "Baba" Mazibuko was

'His sin is that he speaks proper Zulu - in Jo'burg'

W/Mail 18/6 - 24/6/93

Zulu-speakers in the Transvaal are being intimidated and harassed by those who believe that all Zulus are Inkatha members.

ENOCH MTHEMBU

is one of them



shot dead and his house was burnt down. According to his Sotho neighbours, with whom he was very popular, he was a traditional Zulu with two wives who wore *isidwaba* (skin shirts) and *isicholo* (grass hats) — but he was apolitical.

"Most of his friends were traditionalists," said a neighbour. "On weekends they used to sit outside and drink Zulu beer. People were not accepting him because he lived a different life."

Jabu Vilakazi, originally a resident of Sebokeng, told *The Weekly Mail* that he and his family had been forced to move to Spruitview on the east Rand because of harassment by "comrades".

He and his family were not political, he said, but from 1990 they had been harassed all the same. When an aunt decided to join Inkatha "for protection", youths had arrived at his house and asked for his son. Finding him out, they had then demanded the keys to his van, which they took and burnt.

Said another Zulu-speaker interviewed in Johannesburg, who asked not to be identified: "If a Zulu-speaking person has done wrong, people just take it for granted that he's Inkatha. Some people at work say we get employed because we don't participate in strikes."

Sikhosana Methesele (29), a Zulu-speaking security guard from Zola in Soweto, who described himself as a Christian, said that even long-established township residents like himself were "not trusted".

"This is despite the fact that I can speak Sesotho. I often hear people talking about us in the trains."

Soweto resident Fikile Gumede said that he had lived in Soweto for 10 years, but that "things suddenly changed. People in taxis talk bad about us openly. In some sections, like (mainly Venda and Shangaan) Chaiwelo and (mainly Pedi) Mapeta you often hear people say 'ke Inkatha' if you speak Zulu.

"Zulu used to be like an official language, but now all that is history. People have turned against us, even though many Zulus are not politically minded."

Another man, who asked not to be named, said he had encountered anti-Zulu prejudice when burying his sister last year at Avalon cemetery in Soweto. "There was a comrade funeral going on there at the same time. As soon as they heard us speak-

ing Zulu, they started to abuse us."

Soweto taxi driver Themba Mhlongo (23) commented that people "were unkind" whenever violence erupted on the Reef. "I don't have a problem — most drivers are Zulus," he said. "But people sometimes behave differently, especially after incidents like the violence in Thokoza."

Zulu schoolchildren are particularly hard hit, as they have to study with young "comrades". "My family was torn apart because of regular threats to my kids. They were forced to leave school; they're staying with relatives in Soweto," said Ntombi Mthembu, of Spruitview. Next year she plans to move them to Newcastle in Natal.

The saddest story heard by *The Weekly Mail* concerned a Zulu-speaking pupil at the multiracial Kensington Secondary School in Johannesburg. According to Std 7 pupil Bianca Mzobe, a boy there "is being harassed and isolated by other black pupils because they regard him as Inkatha, while he is not.

"White kids, they don't understand why he is being isolated because they can't differentiate between our languages. This boy doesn't feel good about what is happening; he says he belongs to the ANC."

Said Bianca, herself Zulu-speaking: "His sin is that he speaks proper Zulu from Durban — now he is trying to change his accent to speak like us. You must be proud of what you are; it is wrong what they are doing."

IFP extends olive branch to Indians ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

W/Mail 18/6-24/6/93.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

CUTTING into the traditional support base of the National Party and Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party this week announced the launch of seven branches in Natal's white areas and, for the first time, set out to woo Indian voters in earnest.

At a meeting of about 2 000 people in the Durban City Hall this week, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi offered an olive branch to Indians, saying they had no reason to fear the IFP.

He tried to shed the IFP's image of being anti-Indian, stating: "Both I and the IFP have been vilified, through blatant lies and propaganda, as anti-Indian. We have been accused of being tribalist, of being narrow Zulu nationalists and of being intolerant of minorities, especially the Asian minority. These are outright lies."

However, a new Indian recruit to the IFP, House of Delegates MP Farouk Cassim, conceded that Inkatha leaders had in the past made anti-Indian statements.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail*, Cassim said: "They were spoken at a time of raw emotion. The IFP is now giving us the hand of friendship. We must take it."

At the meeting, attended by a sprinkling of Indians, the IFP announced that it has launched two branches in Indian areas on the North Coast: one in Stanger and the other in Tongaat.

University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) political scientist Professor Douglas Irvine said the IFP's decision to target Indian votes was an "attractive political option. It makes a lot of sense because the Indian community is conservative in large numbers — though it is more likely to go with the NP as guaranteeing them order in the future."

Recently, Buthelezi seems to have concentrated more on addressing white audiences than black — a possible indication that the IFP does not believe there is much prospect of growth in the black community.

Irvine believes Buthelezi would be extremely successful in wooing the white vote in Natal. "There is this very powerful social and political myth that Zulus and whites in Natal understand each other. It could have a major impact (in elections)."

At the mass meeting, Buthelezi was swamped by English-speaking whites as he left the hall. At the request of a white supporter, he even chanted: "We love the boer. We love the farmer."

Mandela set to meet Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to come face to face publicly for the first time in more than two years at a dinner here tonight a representative of their parties will receive the first Africa Peace Award.

Launched by the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (Accord) and the Africa Leadership Forum, the award will go to the community of Mpumalanga outside here.

No harm in IFP tie - rector

18/6/98
SKW
By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The newly appointed Unisa rector and adviser to the Inkatha Freedom Party, Professor Marinus Wiechers, does not believe his long association with the IFP will have any impact on his new post.

He said in an interview he was not a member of the IFP or the Broederbond.

He said that directly after the establishment of the Democratic Party, he was a member of the party and its governing body for 12 months, but that his membership had since lapsed.

He admitted to having "come a long way" with the IFP since he served as the chairman of the Buthelezi Constitutional Committee in 1979. "I have a lot of experience and understanding for the region's issues," Wiechers said.

But the Unisa constitutional law professor was adamant that he was not involved in politics. "I am a negotiator. I see myself as a constitutional lawyer and a South African. I don't take political sides. I stand for liberal democratic values."

Wiechers said he hoped there would not be a backlash from Unisa staff and students about his association with the IFP.

He expressed unhappiness with the "unconstitutional positions" adopted by the KwaZulu government and IFP at Tuesday's meeting of the Negotiating Council.

Turning to Unisa, where he has been lecturing for 33 years, Wiechers predicted "many, many changes".

He added: "We will look at the representative nature of its governing bodies. We will launch equal opportunities programmes on a large scale and we will assist with community and literacy programmes."

Negotiators sidestep Cosag delaying move

Star 18/6/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

A second attempt this week by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to flex its muscles in the Negotiating Council was sidestepped yesterday, and the debate on constitutional principles finally got under way.

Attempts were made earlier by Cosag to use procedural issues to delay discussion.

Progress, however, was due only to a compromise resolution leading to a "win-win" situation, said Government negotiator Roelf Meyer.

In terms of the compromise, Cosag's concerns would be considered by the technical committee on constitutional matters while the other 20 parties could get on with discussing constitutional principles.

KwaZulu government negotiator Dr Ben Ngu-

bane described the compromise as a "victory for negotiations".

Cosag walked out of talks on Tuesday after a resolution to place federalism and a single-phase transition on the agenda was not carried. (116)

Senior Government sources last night expressed surprise at the IFP's position this week.

The party had previously agreed to a two-phased transition; however, this week it firmly backed a single-phase approach.

Cosag members arrived at the World Trade Centre yesterday had planned to submit to the Negotiating Council statements on self-determination, the form of state, the process of sufficient consensus, and the election date.

Cosag also objected yesterday to sufficient consensus — the form of decision-making in the council — and rejected the proposed election date of April 27.

'Save the Boer' chant from Pretoria's IFP

Pretoria Correspondent

"Save the farmer, save the Boer" echoed round the Verwoerdburg Town Hall last night with the launching of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Pretoria branch. (113)

About 600 people, including 100 whites, gathered at the hall to launch the new branch and unveil the party's new slogan of "Peace, Prosperity and Prayer".

Hennie Bekker, IFP Transvaal chief co-ordinator and MP for Jeppe, lashed out at the exhumation and burning of IFP organiser Ishmael Wishy Bojozi's body by a mob allegedly including an ANC organiser.

"We demand from the ANC that they investigate and report on this," he said.

He also expressed concern about the ANC Youth League still chanting "Kill the farmer, kill the Boer" at a rally on

June 16 after the ANC's executive committee had called for its banning.

Bekker said the IFP — "a slumbering giant which is just waiting for the right moment to awake" — had already started its election campaign.

Referring to this week's walkout by Cosag from the Negotiating Forum at Kempton Park, he said the IFP was not a spoiler, "but it is impossible to set a wedding date without even knowing what the bride looks like".

Proceedings were briefly interrupted when right-wing leader Piet "Skiet" Rudolph warned the IFP's Zulu followers to be wary of the whites who had joined their party.

A six-member launch committee for the IFP's Pretoria branch was established under the chairmanship of Tabu Heunis.

IFP, Bop to remain at talks

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in the occupation of the World Trade Centre on Friday, the CP has been told.

IFP assurance

This assurance, made by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and

Bophuthatswana Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronjé, was given to the CP yesterday.

Conciliatory mood

In a meeting with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg which the IFP said had been planned before rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre on Friday — in Ulundi on Monday, Buthelezi reportedly said the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, who is a member of the

party's negotiating team, was among those roughed up by rightwingers on Friday. Although an IFP source said the CP had apologised "for what happened on Friday", CP chief negotiator Mr Tom Langley on Monday night denied this and said Buthelezi had accepted the CP was not involved in the fracas. "After the meeting Cosag is now stronger than ever," Langley said.

Cronjé said yesterday he also accepted the CP had not been part of the violent invasion of the World Trade Centre and that Bophuthatswana would remain part of Cosag.

ANC/govt move helps to avert crisis in talks — for the moment

By [redacted] 18/1/93

BILLY PADDOCK

A CRISIS in constitutional talks was averted yesterday when government and the ANC acceded to a degree to Inkatha's demands that alternative federal options be examined.

However, negotiators believe the crunch will still come — possibly next week when the negotiating forum debates an election date and issues pertaining to the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Sources in the Concerned South Africans Group indicated that they were planning either to ensure that the forum did not meet or to walk out of the forum.

A government source said the first indication he would have of the forum's likely success would be on Tuesday. The main aim was to make as much progress as possible before the forum met to defuse any "legitimate" opposition to setting the election date.

Yesterday morning the opposing sides were pitched during the fray, but by the lunch break they were trying to re-establish trust as they "tested each other's positions" on constitutional principles.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer put forward a compromise

proposal effectively allowing government and the ANC to continue with their agenda of discussing constitutional principles, which Inkatha wanted to prevent, while directing Inkatha's concerns to a committee.

The ANC/government move entailed the negotiating council instructing the technical committee to examine the need for regions to draft their own constitutions and the options for such constitutions.

A senior government source said negotiations had won the day. "Our aim is to

move forward, make space and create time to find possible solutions," he said. He warned against overoptimism, saying the next few days would be crucial.

Real progress was, however, made in the area of controlling violence. This came in the form of a declaration which the council will debate today.

In tabling the declaration, chairman Colin Eglin said the planning committee had drafted it after "dramatic" progress in face-to-face discussions between government and the PAC "in the last week".

The declaration on cessation/suspension

of hostilities, armed struggle and violence states that the country urgently requires stability and peace in order to progress to a democratic and harmonious future.

It states that as from today (June 19) "we, the parties subscribing to this declaration, commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

It is understood that the PAC would be prepared to sign the declaration.

See Page 8

'Civil war may be option'

CT 19/6/93
JOHANNESBURG —
IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he believed in a federal system for a democratic South Africa and warned civil war might be the only option if this goal was denied.

"I have never believed in violence. I never accepted violence as a way of solving problems. But what will be will be," he was quoted as telling foreign correspondents.

Asked if he was prepared to lead his people in revolt, he replied: "If it is the only option, to lead my people through these dark waters, then it will be the option I will follow."

Later Chief Buthelezi denied he had said he would go to war if a federal system for a democratic South Africa was not adopted.

"What I said was there was already a low-grade civil war in KwaZulu, and that this would get worse if federalism was not considered," he said.

— Sapa

72-hour ultimatum to PAC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC has been given 72 hours to accept a declaration committing all 26 organisations at the multi-party talks to the suspension of the armed struggle and other forms of hostility and violence.

Unless the PAC accepts the declaration, the government will ask the Negotiating Council to suspend the organisation from the talks, government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said: "This situation (the PAC's armed struggle) has got to come to an end."

The PAC is "optimistic" it will be able to reach an accommodation with government on the issue, PAC negotiator Ms Patricia de Lille said last night.

Ms De Lille said she believed it was possible for agreement to be reached on a "total or all-round cessation of hostilities". ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also warned the PAC to sign the declaration. He said the 72-hour break given

to the PAC would be its "very last opportunity" to sign the document.

A source stated yesterday that the PAC was under enormous pressure in the Planning Committee from the ANC and the SACP to sign on the dotted line.

It is thought that the ANC believed it would only be possible to rein-in ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba — and end the chant of "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" — once the PAC suspended its commitment to

the armed struggle.

The source said there was pressure from government "but the real tough stuff is coming from the ANC and SACP".

President F W de Klerk told police cadets at a graduation parade in Pretoria yesterday that negotiators would insist that any political party that killed police and civilians stop if it wanted to be part of a negotiated settlement.

He slammed as "arrogant" an Apla announcement made in Namibia on Thursday.

'Civil war may be option'

Own Correspondent

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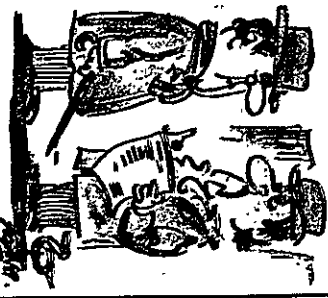
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"What I said was there was already a low-grade civil war in KwaZulu, and that this would get worse if federalism was not considered," he said. — Sapa

Crack of dawn



I see Absa wants R23 million for its Hour Bay dune property site. It goes to show Absa doesn't make the heart grow fonder.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Pagel appeal date awaited

By IAN GAULT

THE Western Province Rugby Football Union is awaiting a date for the appeal over its banned prop Garry Pagel.

WPRFU president Mr Ronnie Masson said yesterday all matters had been attended to in lodging the appeal, and only a date for the hearing was needed.

The SA Rugby Football Union is expected to respond soon.

Mandela and Buthelezi fail to meet over dinner

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not attend a peace award dinner last night — dashing hopes that the dinner would see the first public meeting between the two men since 1991.

At the dinner former Nigerian president General Olusegun Obasanjo awarded the first Africa Peace Award to the Durban township Mpu-malanga — where an historic truce has held out in what was one of the most strife-torn areas in the country. Yesterday it was reported that Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba

was in the process of finalising the date for the meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

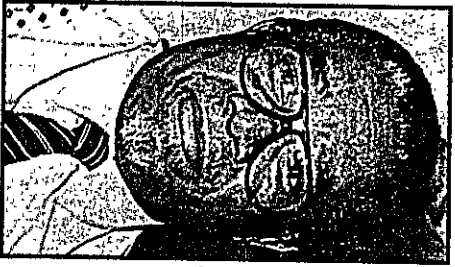
Chief Buthelezi indicated at a civic luncheon in Randburg yesterday that they will meet in a few days.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who brokered the proposed meeting at Bishopscoort in Cape Town, is in the United States at the moment. Chief Buthelezi said Bishop Mogoba who was making arrangements to him this week — Own Correspondent, Sapa

... for Durban

Moments of levity amid the horse-trading

Steer 1916/98



MDLALOSE: Sensing trouble, he appealed for patience and understanding.

THE "new" South Africa might be slow in coming, but its gestation is not without its share of levity... at least for those at the World Trade Centre who are debating our future.

Despite the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) walk-out of Tuesday's Negotiating Council meeting, much banter was exchanged by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdalalose — who chaired yesterday's meeting — and ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa. When he got Mdalalose to smile, Ramaphosa said: "It's good to see you laughing."

Laughter was the stuff needed to lessen the palpable tensions flowing from Tuesday's

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

meeting. Sensing trouble, Mdalalose had appealed to council members to "be patient, understanding and tolerant of one another's views."

Negotiations, he said, did not take place among people who agreed but involved those who had differences. He had hardly finished speaking when "constructive filibustering" — added to our rich political lexicon by the KwaZulu government's Dr Ben Ngubane — began in earnest. Debate about the day's

agenda lasted 35 minutes, with COSAG members demanding to be allowed to report back to the council on consultations with their principals.

A few more new phrases slipped into negotiators' vocabularies: to "friendly amendments" and "points of information". Ramaphosa added "a point of privilege".

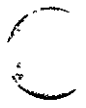
When it was disclosed that yesterday was IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews's birthday and a Labour Party delegate's wedding anniversary, SACP chairman Joe Slovo jokingly said one of his cousins was getting married.

● See Page 10



RAMAPHOSA: The ANC chief negotiator managed to get Mdalalose to smile.

1916/98 (IB) (IFP)



Mokaba defends use of 'kill' slogan

Staff Reporter

DEFIANT ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba yesterday defended his use of the controversial chant, "kill the Boer, kill the farmer", but stopped short of actually using the slogan.

Addressing about 2 000 people outside the Guguletu Civic centre, Mr Mokaba said the ANC was determined to des-

troys white supremacy and was not apologising to anyone for this.

The slogan refers to the entire system of white domination and not individuals, he said.

"I'm saying to the Boers go to the African people. That is your salvation. If you do not there is no home for you in South Africa," he said.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC

could still toyi-toyi without using the slogan and then led the crowd in a toyi-toyi.

Earlier, the ANC's Western Cape secretary, Mr Benny Yengeni, slammed Mr Benny Alexander, PAC general secretary, for accusing the ANC of selling out at the negotiation forum.

He challenged Mr Alexander to a public debate and said:

"Benny Alexander is naming but a right-wing opportunist and a demagogue. We, the members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, are tired of Benny Alexander. He must direct his anger against the enemy, not the ANC."

He asked people in favour of the controversial chant "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" to raise their hands. All the people raised their hands.

Consumers

Spend more

JOHANNESBURG — Consumers spent more in real terms and the fall in investment spending slowed down in the first quarter this year — fuelling optimism that the economy is moving out of recession.



Security tightened for tennis

OWN CORRESPONDENT LONDON. — Security plans to deal with an IRA bomb at the Wimbledon tennis championships which start today include an emergency mortuary with 400 body bags.

The bags are stored in an indoor tennis court — officially designated "A"

Advocate charged

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN. — An advocate here, Ms Jennifer Wild, has been charged with attempted murder and dealing in cocaine after an incident in which a policeman was shot and R25 000 worth of cocaine was confiscated at her home.

● Full report — Page 3

Historic meeting set

WITH an estimated 15 000 people dead in eight years of political rivalry and South Africa's constitutional talks at a crucial phase, the face-to-face meeting everyone has been waiting for has at last been set.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet on Wednesday.

Making the announcement yesterday, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Church of the Province Bishop Michael Nuttall called on "all people of faith" to pray for the meeting.

According to a statement the talks will be chaired by Bishop Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Archbishop Tutu, in Europe at the moment, plans to break his programme to return for the talks. A venue for the talks is still to be announced and an agenda has not been finalised.

Meanwhile ANC and IFP spokesmen were unable to confirm the meeting.

The ANC's Mr Carl Niehaus said the issues of free political activity throughout South Africa, the carrying of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels "would clearly be under discussion".

Asked about these issues, IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said they were old politics and Mr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela should get on with things that really mattered. — Sapa

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet this week

Go-ahead for peace talks

Star 21/6/93

Staff Reporter

The meeting violence-racked South Africa has been waiting for is to take place near Johannesburg on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishops court, Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue would be more convenient in view of time constraints.

It will be the second meeting since Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29 1991 in Durban.

Since then, the country has been in a spiral of violence which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers. Political rivalry between the two parties, however, goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15 000 people have been killed, Sapa reported last night.

John Allen, Tutu's spokesman, told the media last night: "The objective (of this meeting) is peace."

No details of Wednesday's agenda, decided upon by a joint preparatory committee, have been released, but it is expected that issues such as free political activity, the disbandment of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, public display of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels will be on the list.

"The agenda is still being discussed and has not yet been finalised", Methodist Church spokesman Ruth Coggins said.

The ANC has until now brushed aside calls from Buthelezi for a meeting, saying it was unlikely the two individuals could solve the complex violence issue and that unless such a meeting was well prepared, it could exacerbate the situation rather than improve it.

The IFP's point has been that if Buthelezi and Mandela could publicly join hands and declare their commitment to peace and tolerance, this would go a long way to convincing their followers this was the path to follow.

In their joint statement, Mogoba and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Dean of the (Anglican) Church of the Province, thanked Inkatha and the ANC for their "hard work in arranging the meeting".

ANC and IFP spokesmen welcomed the news.

Carl Niehaus of the ANC said the meeting was long in the offing and there had been a lot of preparation.

Walter Felgate of Inkatha said Buthelezi and Mandela should "get on with things that really mattered" and not "old politics" — as he described some of the expected issues on the agenda.



Frosted fencing . . . today is the shortest day of the year — and the sea certainly making itself felt. This scene outside Johannesburg yesterday shows just how far below freezing the mercury dropped. Picture: Jos

Midwinter chill will linger

Sub-zero temperatures before dawn, and crisp, cold days will continue this week in the PWV area, marking the winter solstice.

It will warm up to a maximum of 24 deg C in Pretoria by Wednesday — but a Weather Bureau spokesman said the chill would be back over the region again by Thursday.

The weekend was the coldest in the central interior so far this winter, with the mercury dropping to well below

freezing at most places. The lowest temperature of -9 deg C was recorded at Trompsburg, in the Free State, early yesterday, while -8 deg C was recorded at Ficksburg, Hendrik Verwoerd Dam, Edenburg and Hobhouse, also in the Free State.

It was -7 deg C in Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom. At Phillipolis, Verkeerdevlei, Jagersfontein and Bethlehem, the mercury dropped to -6 deg C, and at Hertzog-

ville, Baln's Vlei and Hof to -5 deg C. It was Klerksdorp, Postma and Kuruman. Prior to the Cape, with 4 deg the only place in the where the weather of Bloemfontein repo temperature above in

The weather office would remain cold next few weeks, with night temperatures falling well below freezing at most places at the next few days. —

Pupil and driver killed in triple smash on N1

By Peter Davies

A school pupil and the driver of a sedan were killed in a three-vehicle smash on the N1 concrete freeway near Roodepoort early today.

A Nissan Skyline, a Mercedes and a minibus carrying schoolchildren collided at about 7.30 am on the south-bound section of the highway between DF Malan Avenue and 14th Avenue.

According to Lappies Labuschagne of the Roodepoort Traffic Department, the

minibus, while travelling north, missed its turnoff and attempted a U-turn through a traffic island.

It collided in the south-bound lane with the two sedans. A child and the male driver of the Skyline were killed. A second pupil was critically injured and 17 others taken to hospital.

Emergency vehicles from Randburg and Roodepoort were soon at the scene and a portion of the freeway was closed while paramedics freed the injured.

Shopkeeper murdered

A Portuguese shop was stabbed to death western Transvaal's Saturday afternoon robbers who broke after he closed, police

Menezes Francis who lives in Bedford the East Rand, was a at about 1.20 pm while the day's takings.

A neighbouring owner found Francis body lying in a bag with four stab wound chest. The robber R1 000. — Crime Rep

Crucial week ahead for negotiators as parties threaten

walkouts

NEGOTIATORS face a crucial week in constitutional talks as they try and make adequate progress to report back to the parent body on Friday. While avoiding an irreparable confrontation that could see another walkout by some parties.

ANC and government negotiators are resolutely pursuing their goal of getting the negotiating forum to agree on Friday to the establishment of a transitional executive council — despite strong opposition from the "Concerned South Africans Group. There are indications that the Cosag parties want the meeting to be postponed or failing this, plan to walk out if the provisional election date of April 27 is ap-

proved by "sufficient consensus".

It is widely expected that the CP will walk out this week as it becomes increasingly evident that it will not be able to negotiate a separate Afrikaner homeland under a confederal option.

After seven weeks of negotiating, the parties have set a contested provisional election date, have broad agreement on general constitutional principles; a report on fundamental human rights; draft legislation on an independent sectoral commission and media commission that still requires debate and broad agreement on combating violence.

A senior government source said that as

BILLY PADDOCK

a result of last week's events when the Cosag parties walked out after spending a full day filibustering on an agenda item, the negotiating council was way behind schedule. Friday's meeting was tied up with the council trying to resolve the problem between government and the PAC.

Government and the ANC will want to send their leaders to Philadelphia next week with an agreement on a transitional executive council and a firm election date so that US President Bill Clinton can announce the lifting of remaining sanctions.

SIMON BARBER reports from Wash-

ington that Clinton's plan to unveil a major package of proposals designed to bolster the SA economy when he awards freedom medals to President F. W. De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela in Philadelphia on July 4, remains conditional on agreement being reached on a firm election date and the creation of a transitional executive council.

The package is expected to include the removal of all remaining economic sanctions at federal level — most importantly the US veto on IMF and World Bank lending to SA — according to diplomats and US officials.

Clinton will also call on state and local

Walkouts

struction bonds" designed to raise capital for housing, education and transport.

The negotiating council meets three days in a row from tomorrow. The first day is likely to be spent catching up on the reports from the technical committees.

The debate on the process that will be followed in drafting a final constitution is likely to result in heated debate as the Cosag parties reject the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for a constituent assembly.

The government source said he could not understand what Inkatha was up to because it had agreed in bilateral meetings with government to the two-phased process. On May 28 Inkatha's Walter Felgate had confirmed this in the presence of the full Inkatha delegation.

"We then had a further meeting with the ANC on May 29 where we came to an understanding on the nature of this process and we could then move a resolution on June 1 that instructed the technical committee to draft regional powers and func-

From Page 1

tions on the basis of a two-phased process." Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has since reneged on this agreement and government is trying to devise a strategy that will keep Inkatha to its word.

An ANC-allied negotiator at the weekend said he was "extremely cautious" about what they could achieve this week and warned that there would still be a great deal of filibustering from the Cosag parties.

He said there had been a request to Kwa-Zulu to drop its formal statement that they would enter into "constructive filibustering", but this had been to no avail.

"We will have to find a way to restrict the opportunities available to them to continue this strategy and forge ahead. If the crunch comes then it must come and they will have to face the consequences."

The government source said while they would be attempting to push the pace of the talks this week, caution had to be the order of the day and "we must try and avoid a head-on confrontation".

To Page 2

authorities to remove their restrictions on US investment in SA, and announce that he will be urging leaders of the G-7 nations to co-ordinate what one US official called a "significant mobilisation of resources" for post-apartheid reconstruction.

Clinton may also say that he is urging agencies like the Export Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to step up efforts to promote SA trade and investment.

One option under review is the provision of government guarantees that would encourage US pension funds and other institutional investors to invest in SA "recon-

Buthelezi ready to meet Mandela

6/12/92 21/11/92
WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dispelled doubts that he had reservations about Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu facilitating a meeting between himself and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In an interview on Friday, Buthelezi said he had turned down an invitation to attend a summit of black leaders at Tutu's official residence, Bishops court, in November 1990 because of certain views Tutu held.

However, those views had been addressed during Tutu's subsequent visits to Ulundi. (118) (118)

He said he was expecting his meeting with Mandela to take place "within days". Items to be on the agenda had been dealt with by Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

Tutu's spokesman John Allen said the church leaders were waiting to hear from the organisations before announcing a date for the meeting.

At a function — hosted by Randburg mayor Brian Crail — earlier on Friday, Buthelezi took a swipe at ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, saying his "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan "was grossly irresponsible".

APR 21/6/93

Rival leaders to talk on Wednesday

The Argus Correspondent (118)

JOHANNESBURG. — The meeting which violence-torn South Africa has been waiting for will be held near here on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishops court, Archbishop Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue as, in view of time constraints, it would be more convenient to hold it near Johannesburg.

It will be the second meeting since Mr Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29, 1991 in Durban.

Since then the country has been in a spiral of violence, which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers.

But political rivalry between the two parties goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15 000 people have been killed.

Archbishop Tutu called on all Anglican bishops to hold a prayer vigil on Wednesday.

The Anglican leader leaves Oslo today and is expected to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow.

the news in brief

Hangings will not start now

Sowetan 2/11/93
HANGINGS will not resume summarily now that members of Parliament have voted in its favour. A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice confirmed this yesterday. During a special debate and consequent vote on Thursday night, National Party and Conservative Party MPs voted 125 to 55 in favour of lifting the moratorium on hangings, which has been in place since February 2 1990. (202)

Pole held in central Italy

A Polish man armed with a 30cm knife and a tear-gas grenade was arrested yesterday morning in Foligno, central Italy, minutes before Pope John Paul II was due to pass by, Italian police said. The 33-year-old man, whose identity was not been revealed, was arrested on the route laid out for the Pope on a pastoral visit to the central Italian town.

Consumer confidence falls

Sowetan 2/11/93
CONSUMER confidence in South Africa has plummeted to its lowest level in eight years, Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research says in its latest survey released yesterday. According to the survey, Black consumer confidence also dropped to its lowest level since 1986. (228)

Date set for talks

Sowetan 2/11/93
INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will meet for talks chaired by Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Wednesday, according to a statement from the Methodist Church and the Church of the Province yesterday. The meeting is expected to focus primarily on the ongoing violence between IFP and ANC supporters in Natal. (113)

Cold spell will remain

THE Weather Bureau yesterday reported that it will remain cold for the next few weeks with temperatures remaining well below freezing at most points at least for the next few days. - Sapa

Tutu returns for ANC, IFP summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is interrupting a five-day holiday in Norway to co-chair the summit tomorrow between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Methodist Bishop Stanley Moga will also chair the meeting.

Both clergymen have been instrumental in bringing about the meeting.

The meeting follows the death of another 32 people in weekend clashes between African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in Natal.

Asked what the government

hoped would flow from the meeting, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said: "We would like them to recommit themselves to peace, to make it possible for their followers to be more tolerant."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said that Mr Man-

del and Chief Buthelezi had to show that they were capable of rising above party loyalty, of putting national interests first "because their followers are so heavily involved in the ghastly violence".

Buthelezi, Africanist Congress leader Prince Makwetu was positive about the prospects of a successful summit.

Sowetan 7/16/93

Buthelezi, Mandela agree to meet

INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela have agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks," Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced yesterday.

He said in a statement the meeting, to be held at his official residence 'Bishopscourt', would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and himself. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate said he hoped the meeting would hap-

■ Talks in Cape Town 'within weeks'

pen within the next few weeks.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at Pietermaritzburg. I then met Mr Mandela at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee."

Star 22-16-93

Big money, big talk in poll stakes

(116)

SOUTH Africa's first all-in election, tentatively scheduled for April 27, will be a mega-bucks affair.

And, judging by the optimistic predictions — sometimes bordering on the incredible — the different political parties and organisations have been making, it seems that South Africans will have to cast multiple votes if the parties are to get what they each hope for.

Indications are that the historic election will be the dirtiest and most acrimonious.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress plan an all-out attack on the National Party's abysmal apartheid record and gross human rights violations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party will be portrayed as a puppet of the Government, and the 1991 "Inkathagate" scandal will not help matters.

The ANC will be haunted by allegations of torture and widespread human rights violations in its camps in exile, despite its two commissions of inquiry into the claims.

The albatross around the PAC's neck will be the attacks

by its armed wing on white civilians, even though this is not likely to cause much damage to the organisation since it is difficult to conceive of whites who will be queuing up to cast their votes for it.

The election will be expensive, with most contestants planning to spend liberally.

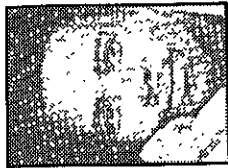
Most ambitious is the PAC, which hopes to raise R190 million for the election, 60 percent of which will be used on the big day itself. Secretary-general Benny Alexander says the PAC will have more than 900 "precinct commanders" working in each township in the country, and will need an estimated 190 000 volunteers to do door-to-door canvassing.

Next in the big-money stakes is the ANC, which hopes to raise between R168 million and R200 million, and the IFP, which plans to amass between R160 million and R170 million, a third of which will be for head office expenses.

As ANC election "general" Popo Molefe explains, the ANC will recruit 180 000 election volunteers as "foot soldiers", and will have one volunteer for every 100 voters.

ELECTION COUNTDOWN

Most of the parties planning to fight South Africa's first nonracial election predict victory for themselves, reports Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.



from the public purse and return to it R2 million confiscated from Black Consciousness organisations when they were banned in October 1977.

Some of the parties make bold predictions about their chances at the polls.

The ANC expects to win the election convincingly, and has not doubt it will poll not less than 60 percent of the vote.

The NP hopes to emerge from the election as "the biggest single party", says Coetzer, and the PAC is convinced it will be the majority party after the election, according to Alexander.

Despite Azapo's huge financial handicap, deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa

says it "would not fear that our people will not support us in an election".

Surprisingly, the IFP is much more realistic than the others, with chief executive officer Joe Matthews revealing that it aims to get about 26 percent of the national vote. However, the IFP will go all out to ensure it wins "sufficient support" in KwaZulu/Natal so that it can form a government alone or in a coalition in the area.

Also realistic is the DP's Ken Andrew, who says his party expects to poll around 16 percent of the vote: 25 percent of the white vote, 40 percent of the coloured and Indian vote, and 10 percent of the black vote.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Moolman Mentz says it is "too early" for his party to grant interviews about its election plans as it is not yet clear whether the election will be for a unitary state, a federal system or a confederation.

The Conservative Party is opposed to an inclusive general election, and wants a separate state with sovereign powers for whites. □

**New MECs
take office**

PRETORIA — New members were sworn in as members of their provincial executive committees in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal yesterday.

At the inauguration ceremony for the four Transvaal members — Lerate Mthunyanane of Soweto, Lele Mthiba from Lebowa, Lucas Nel of Pretoria and former journalist Pieter Coetzer — Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough said the executive committee had been increased to 10 members. In Natal Dan Makhanya and Rudi Redinger were welcomed as members of the executive committee by Natal Administrator Con Botha.

And in the Cape, Martha Olckers, former President's Council member and a government negotiating team member, has become the first female Cape provincial member of the executive committee.

Olckers was sworn in by Deputy Judge-President J.J. Fagan at the Cape Provincial Administration offices yesterday.

She takes over the Tourism, Nature Conservation and Museums portfolio. — Sapa.

Buthelezi outlines hopes for meeting

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he hoped that his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow would contribute towards defusing violence between members of their organisations.

Asked whether he wanted the meeting to result in joint strategies to curb violence, Buthelezi said he and Mandela had agreed at their meeting in Durban in 1991 on the necessity of good joint strategies.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the meeting of the two leaders would send out a signal to their followers, which should start "moving them towards bringing down violence".

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that Schoeman said: "We would like them to recommit themselves to peace to make it possible for their followers to be more tolerant."

"It would be a major achievement if their meeting helps to bring down the level of violence."

The two leaders will meet in Johannesburg at a venue still to be disclosed by church leaders.

The meeting will be chaired by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who is arriving from London today, and Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The question of joint rallies by the two leaders will also be discussed.

118 119
WILSON ZWANE

Buthelezi has said he expects the meeting to last more than one day.

The agenda for the meeting had not been finalised by yesterday. But the ANC has said the meeting should discuss — among other things — Inkatha's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded, the fencing of hostels and the public display of dangerous weapons.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu was upbeat yesterday about prospects for the meeting. PAC leaders had tried for some time to persuade Mandela and Buthelezi to agree to the meeting, he said.

"We wish them well. This is what we have been striving for all along."

DP leader Zach de Beer said Mandela and Buthelezi had to show that they were capable of rising above party loyalties.

It was crucial that they put the interests of the nation first "because their followers are so heavily involved in the ghastly violence". He added: "The eyes of SA and the world will be on them this week. If they can meet the challenge, they will have deserved high places in the new SA."

NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday both leaders had the ability to provide strong leadership on the issue of violence if they refrained from using the event for party political advantage.

PA/
net
fan
ant

A case of balderdash and Buthelezi-bashing

B/Say 22/6/92

(118)

I AM amazed at the lengths to which Buthelezi-bashers are prepared to go. An example is Billy Paddock's article "Buthelezi the unpredictable" (Business Day, June 18).

It is balderdash to say the stand taken by the KwaZulu government delegation at the negotiation council on June 15 came directly from me. Since multiparty negotiations began in April, the delegation made it clear the first issues to be resolved were the form of state and government. The technical committee, clearly under manipulation, was sweeping these issues under the carpet.

These issues were discussed by the IFP central committee on June 12. Our delegations were given clear mandates by the central committee (not just by me) to raise the issue of the form of state before it completely disappeared. On June 14 the issue was discussed by Cosag at its meeting in Pretoria. It was emphasised to all Cosag delegations that this issue had to be raised the following day.

I see nothing unpredictable in all this. Consultations were democratic and involved the collective wisdom of all concerned — not just the decision of Buthelezi.

On June 17 I received from President F W de Klerk a letter in which he assured me they were on our side on the federal formula issue. I also received a copy of Roelf Meyer's resolution at the negotiating council on June 17 which was passed unanimously by the same council which

rejected a similar resolution just two days before. Meyer's resolution contradicts Paddock's argument that the issue was now on the table.

As a hard-bitten politician, I accept that one must be criticised, even severely. But lies and calculated vilification campaigns are unacceptable. I am accused of trying to deprive De Klerk and the ANC of the "kudos" of announcing major progress in talks when they visit Philadelphia. Paddock states as fact that "it is known that Buthelezi was livid over the awards" given to Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. I challenge Paddock and Business Day to state when, where and to whom I expressed this anger.

I wish to assure Business Day that I spend no sleepless nights over its allegation that I felt excluded because of the September 26 so-called record of understanding. We objected as a party, and formed Cosag to oppose the imposition of ANC/NP bilateral decisions on SA.

Nothing will stick which does not have the blessing of all parties. This is a question of democracy. All these years we opposed the white government's unilateral rule. We will not accept it now merely because this time they are partnered by the ANC/SACP alliance.

I am the most consistent politician in this country. All the ideas I have about the future of this country date back more than two decades. I cannot understand what is so unpredictable about me. I have rejected the armed struggle and sanctions for more than three decades. I started negotiations two decades ago.

I have often stated that I do not mind if the election is held even this year, so long as the first things have come first — agreements on constitutional principles, a full Bill of Rights and the issue of regions, their functions, boundaries and their entrenchment in the constitution.

I regret that Paddock did not ask me what I thought, rather than relying on this cheap thumbsucking and disinformation from my political enemies. As a black who has been subjected to the ordeal of having white men tell me what I think and want all my life, I never thought I would be subjected to this sort of thing even as we were poised to enter a new SA.

The person to whom Paddock spoke in the IFP delegation was, in any case, absent from both the central committee and Cosag meetings to which he referred.

We held some of the biggest marches seen in many cities in our region on May 15. The people gave us, their leaders, the message that they want the issue of federation and form of state dealt with as priority issues. All I do is to try to carry out my constituency's wishes.

It is the media which has repeatedly suggested that if we do not rubber-stamp ANC/NP bilateral agreements we should be left out of the negotiations. I appeal to Business Day, and to the media in general, to be constructive and to help the peace and negotiating processes.

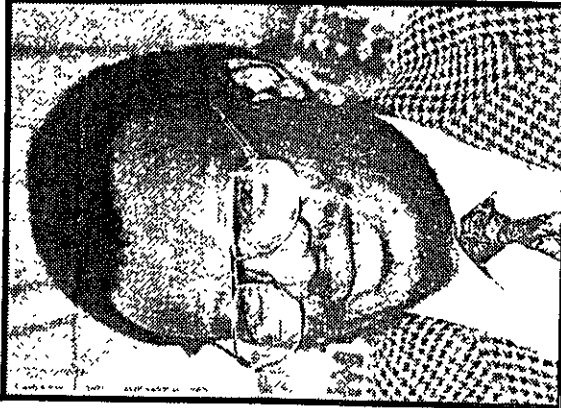
BILLY PADDOCK replies: Mr Buthelezi makes a number of errors of fact. First, the text of KwaZulu delegate Ben Ngunane's speech was clearly marked as having been faxed from the Ulundi office of Buthelezi's adviser Mario Ambrossini on the day it was delivered — June 15. Inkatha and the KwaZulu delegations also phoned Ulundi from the talks before they walked out.

Second, my article clearly stated that the negotiating forum, including Inkatha and KwaZulu, decided that the best way of dealing with the form of state was in conjunction with looking at the constitutional principles, which the technical committee has unanimously reinforced.

Thirdly, Buthelezi has been wrongly informed. It was his two delegations, Inkatha and KwaZulu, and not the negotiating council, that rejected Meyer's resolution and then accepted it two days later.

Finally, having failed for three months to secure an interview with Buthelezi, I asked Ambrossini and Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos for comment last Tuesday on the matters raised. I am still awaiting a reply.

The KwaZulu/Natal federal constitution flows from my efforts of more than two decades. It is therefore utter nonsense to state that I only recently produced it because, as alleged in the article, I am re-establishing myself and my party as significant players able to hold the process to ransom.



□ BUTHELEZI

LETTERS

'SADF hid facts about Zulu training'

□ Goldstone report says De Klerk was not given full details about camp in Caprivi

ARG 23/6/93

Political Staff

THE Defence Force did not give President De Klerk the full facts about its training of 200 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, the Goldstone Commission has said.

Mr Justice Goldstone's report on the training at the Hippo camp was released yesterday.

The IFP supporters were recruited by Mr M Z Khumalo, who was then the personal assistant to Chief Buthe, the report said.

Brigadier Mathe, then Acting Commissioner of the Kwazulu police (KZP), told the commission that there was an urgent need for personnel to protect VIPs, buildings and installations because of African National Congress terrorism.

The KZP did not have sufficient funds for training. Brigadier Mathe claimed that Mr Khumalo told him that a private company would arrange and pay for the training.

"Only later when Brigadier Mathe visited the trainees in Caprivi did he learn that the source of funds was Military Intelligence.

"The plan was to absorb the recruits into the KZP. Chief Buthelezi, who was Minister of Police, was aware of the training," the report said.

Mr Khumalo told the commission that the Kwazulu authorities had approached the SADF "and that it agreed to train the recruits".

Mr Khumalo and Brigadier Mathe "each place the responsibility on the other" over who arranged for the SADF to train the 200 recruits.

The SADF told the commission that at the beginning of 1986, the Army was approached by the Kwazulu authorities about security.

The training was financed from the Defence Budget secret account.

Although none of the trainees became SADF members, the SADF paid their salaries. After six months' training, they returned to Kwazulu and had no direct contact with the SADF.

The report said: "The evidence as to the activities of the trainees after their return to Kwazulu is highly unsatisfactory. The probability is that the majority of them were kept idle.

"The majority are still employed by the KZP."

The Goldstone Commission had received information linking the Caprivi trainees with recent violence and intimidation.

"The secret training in the Caprivi in 1986 is unfortunate and has added to the suspicion and perceptions of political bias on the part of the KZP and SADF," the Goldstone report said.

It said there was "a grave error of judgment on the part of the SADF".

"The secrecy of the project had the consequence that very few members or senior officials of the Kwazulu government or police were aware of the project and this led to the inefficiency and lack of control which were the hallmarks of the whole exercise.

"When the matter became public in consequence of disclosures in the Weekly Mail, the SADF informed the State President that the purpose of the training of about 150 Zulus was for security and VIP protection."

This did not reflect the full picture.



WINTER SOLSTICE:

Yesterday was the shortest day of the year and this scene, outside Johannesburg on Monday, shows graphically that temperatures were below freezing.

**3 in court
after baby
'buried alive'**

**Ambush killing
of brothers:
Four in court**

The Argus Correspondent

Buthelezi, Mandela talk at secret venue

Star 23/16/98

By Shirley Woodgate

A silent prayer swept across South Africa this morning as Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela met face to face on the East Rand for crucial talks.

The two started their talks, brokered by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, under stringent security which saw even the location of the meeting kept secret.

On the agenda — as bloody violence flared in Natal and from Khayelitsha to Kaitleng — was peace.

A smiling Nelson Mandela arrived early to be greeted by the two church leaders.

He said: "There is a will on the part of both the IFP and the ANC to make a breakthrough and put an end to the killings. Our leaders have called and we have responded."

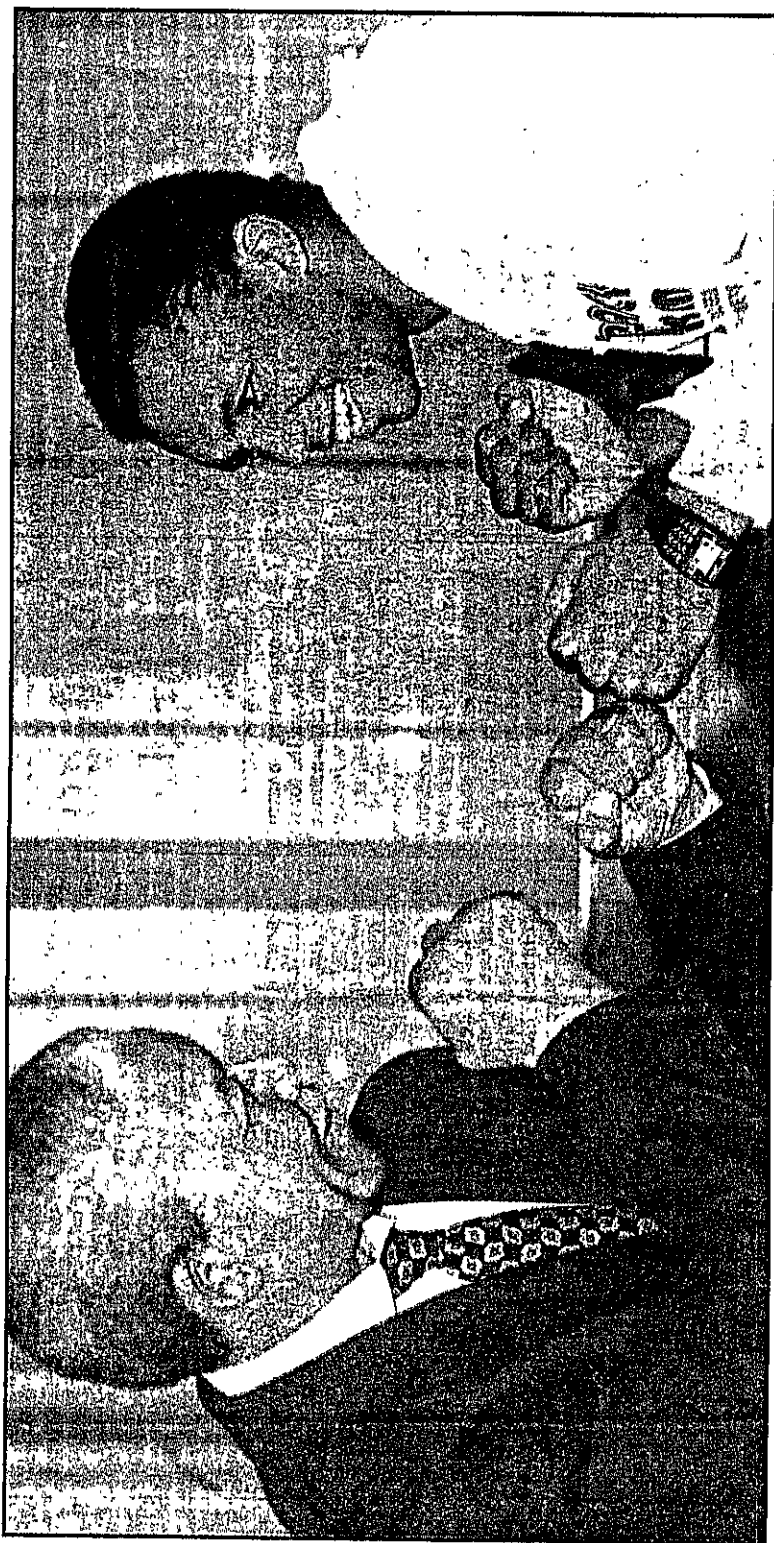
Archbishop Tutu said after entering the conference room that both leaders were on the same side in opposing apartheid. (AP) (1/6)

Both wanted a democratic solution; now they could demonstrate to the world that they were allies.

Shortly afterwards, the IFP delegation, including Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and Walter Feigate, arrived to be warmly greeted by both clerics.

Next to arrive was Cyril Ramaphosa.

Buthelezi received the same exuberant greeting from Tutu and Mogoba and said his meeting with Mandela was more than symbolic. He said the present situation was vastly different from that in 1991. Although the IFP was poles apart from the ANC politically there was still no reason for their supporters to kill each other.



Beat him, brother . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela takes time off yesterday to wish Dingaan Thobela well for his world title fight against defending World Boxing Association champion Tony Lopez on Saturday. Report — Page 30.

Picture: Karen Sandison

Mandela, Buthelezi summit venue 'secret'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet today to discuss rivalry between their organisations, but journalists have been asked not to make public the venue of their meeting.

Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said today's meeting would centre on the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC and their leaders.

Methodist Church of SA spokesman Ms Ruth Coggin and meeting co-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba said the clergy who brokered the meeting did not want the venue disclosed for security reasons.



Star 23/6/89

'SADF kept Inkatha info from FW'

By Martin Challenger
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The SADF did not give President de Klerk the full facts about its training of 200 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, the Goldstone Commission has said.

Mr Justice Goldstone's report on the training at the Hippo camp was released today.

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Brigadier Mathe, then Acting Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police (KZP) told the commission that there was an urgent need for personnel to protect VIPs, public buildings and installations because of ANC "acts of terrorism".

The KZP did not have sufficient funds for this type of training. Mathe claimed that Khumalo had told him that a private company was prepared to arrange and pay for the training.

"Only later when Mathe visited the trainees at Caprivi did he learn that the source of the funds was Military Intelligence. The plan from the beginning

months training, they returned to KwaZulu and had no further direct contact with the SADF.

The report said that because of administrative and financial problems, the KZP were unable to incorporate most of the trainees before June 1989.

"The SADF continued to pay salaries to the recruits until their incorporation into the KZP. Bridging finance for that purpose was paid by the SADF to the KwaZulu authorities over a seven month period in 1989."

Unsatisfactory

The report said: "The evidence as to the activities of the trainees after their return to KwaZulu is highly unsatisfactory. The probability is that the majority of them were kept idle. A small number were used for the protection of Dr Buthelezi and IFP offices.

"When the matter became public in consequence of disclosures in the Weekly Mail, the SADF informed the State President that the purpose of the training of about 150 Zulus was for security and VIP protection. This does not reflect the full picture. Had the full extent and wide-ranging nature of the training been disclosed at the time, the negative result of the information which subsequently

came to light would have been averted, the report said.

There was no evidence at all to suggest that the SADF provided the training to help establish "hit squads".

However, "the nature of some of the training, the secrecy of the project, the lack of candour when the truth began to emerge and the connection of trainees with acts of public violence continue to fuel the perception that the SADF was assisting the KwaZulu government and that IFP leaders built a private hit squad facility for use against the UDF and later the ANC."

Although some Caprivi trainees could be involved in some current acts of violence there was no evidence to suggest that such involvement was a direct result of the training they received at the Caprivi, the report said.

The inquiry was made necessary by the secrecy of the training and the unwillingness of the people involved to invoke public disclosure when the inevitable leaks began to emerge.

The commission said it was the people involved who created the secrecy and kept from the public what what was being done with public funds who were responsible for incorrect inferences that other people drew.

Row erupts on eve of municipal by-election

Star 23/6/93

By Cyril Madlala

With only a few hours to go to the Johannesburg municipal by-election in Malvern/Kensington, a bitter row over canvassing tactics erupted between Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker and independent candidate Barry Dunne.

At the centre of the storm are four letters published in a local newspaper, all backing Dunne to take over from Richard MacArthur (National Party) who has emigrated to Germany. Bekker's wife, Gerda, is contesting today's election with

Dunne and Tony Wasserman (NP) in what could be an important test of white support for the IFP.

Yesterday, a pamphlet signed by Bekker was distributed door-to-door in the area. He said this was a bid to "level the playing field" after the Bedfordview and Edenvale News published readers' letters supporting Dunne.

He said the appearance of the letters was a predetermined, orchestrated and malicious attempt to boost the image of Dunne to the prejudice of other candidates.

Dunne dismissed the pamphlets as "typical political propaganda claptrap" which did not worry him as he had nothing to

prove to the voters. "They know my character and my record, and I have nothing to gain out of this election but a humble seat in the city council," he said.

But Bekker insisted that the letters, submitted by individual ratepayers, created the impression that they expressed the viewpoint of the ratepayers' association.

In addition, at least one letter was not even drafted by the person who submitted it, he claimed, but he refused to identify the signatory.

"We are going to win tomorrow, and it is going to be the most historic day in South Africa because it is the IFP's first participation in an all-white

election," said Bekker. The result would prove that, contrary to opinion polls, the IFP was not being marginalised, he said.

Dunne said he had had no influence on the writing of the letters and no say in the running of the newspaper that carried them.

"I am astounded by Bekker's interference. It is obvious that Mrs Bekker should have addressed the articles, and it only proves how politics and politicians want to dictate the way we live," Dunne said.

Gerda Bekker was not available for comment. The polling station at the Malvern Primary School is open from 7 am to 9 pm.

They've met

APR 23/6/93 (115)



TALKS START: ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi pose for photographers shortly before they started their talks at an East Rand church venue today.

THE Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A silent prayer swept across South Africa today as Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met today for crucial talks.

They started their summit, brokered by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, under stringent security. Even the exact location of the meeting place in the Kempton Park conference centre was kept secret.

Peace topped the agenda as bloody violence flared across the country from Crossroads to Katlehong.

A smiling Mr Mandela arrived first to be greeted warmly by Archbishop Tutu and Dr Magoba.

Mr Mandela said: "There is a will on the part of the IFP and the ANC to make a breakthrough and put an end to the killings. Our leaders have called and we have responded."

Archbishop Tutu said the leaders were on the same side, opposing apartheid.

Both wanted a democratic dispensation; now they could demonstrate to the world that they were allies.

Soon afterwards the IFP delegation, including Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and Mr Walter Felgate arrived to warm greetings from Dr Magoba and Archbishop Tutu.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa arrived soon afterwards.

Chief Buthelezi was given the same exuberant greeting by the bishops.

He said his meeting with Mr Mandela was more than symbolic. The present situation was vastly different from that in 1991 when they last met.

Although the IFP was poles apart from the ANC politically, there was still no reason for killing one another, he said.

"As a Christian I feel hopeful about the meeting with Mr Mandela today. I am hopeful as I would not be here if I was not a Christian and believed in peace."

The summit follows another bout of gruesome violence in trouble-torn Natal, where at least 45 people have died since the weekend.

Observers said the recent spate of violent attacks in Port Shepstone, Bergville and Esikhawini near Empangeni conformed to a pattern of similar attacks on the eve of peace talks and major constitutional changes.

The 1991 meeting between Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi was followed by sporadic incidents of violence in Natal.

This meeting was widely regarded as a failure and the two men will want to make sure today's summit sends a message of hope to battle-weary South Africans and the international community.

ANC sources said they resented Chief Buthelezi's "condescending attitude" at the 1991 meeting when he read out a long statement castigating various ANC leaders criticising him and the IFP in the past, and demanding an apology from them at the beginning of the meeting.

Mr Mandela angered Chief Buthelezi last year when he told the United Nations that the IFP leader allowed himself to be used by Pretoria, and called the IFP a "surrogate" of the government.

Chief Buthelezi refused to meet Mr Mandela and demanded an apology from the ANC.

When this did not materialise he laid a complaint with the National Peace Committee, which failed to resolve the dispute.

● See page 4.

Hopes high for

Sowetan 23/6/93

peace

~~11A~~ 11B

HOPES for peace and a reduction in the level of violence are pinned on today's summit between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The two leaders begin crucial talks outside Johannesburg today in yet another bid to stem the carnage among their supporters.

Some 15 000 people have died since the early 1980s, mainly in Natal, as members of the two groups have battled it out over political turf.

Since the weekend, at least 45 people have lost their lives in horrific violence in Natal, adding greater impetus to the meeting.

Since Mandela's release in 1990, the two leaders have met twice.

They first met on January 29 1991 at Durban's Royal Hotel, after which they again held discussions, also in Durban, in April that year "to iron out personal differences", an ANC southern Natal spokesman said.

But both meetings failed to halt the inter-necine violence.

The latest indaba, brokered by church leaders and to be chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist President Bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, will be held behind closed doors at an East Rand church venue.

The agenda is not known but pressing issues that have emerged over the years include the IFP's insistence that the ANC's armed wing,

Umkhonto we Sizwe, be disbanded and the ANC's demands for free political activity in KwaZulu, banning the carrying of "dangerous weapons" in public and the fencing-off of hostels.

Until now the ANC has spurned IFP calls for a further face-to-face presidential meeting, charging that the violence in Natal was far too complex for the two individuals to clear up.

On the other hand, the IFP insists that a joint meeting would send a strong signal to supporters of both organisations to end the killing.

The IFP further says a series of joint rallies by Mandela and Buthelezi would cement the initial agreement emanating from a personal meeting.

The meeting has instilled much hope in major political parties across the spectrum.

Most have welcomed the impending talks, with the Government saying the meeting would send a firm message to the ANC and IFP supporters.

However, not all share the fervour the meeting has engendered.

Head of the Centre for African Studies Mr Eugene Nyathi expressed scepticism that a mere meeting would call ANC-IFP supporters to order at grassroots level.

"I am sceptical that anything other than just symbolism will be served by this meeting. I have a feeling both parties recognise very little will be achieved although they must see the public relations value of attending such talks."

Tutu's spokesman, Mr John Allen, said: "The objective of the meeting is peace." — Sapa.

Election still a sticking point

Pledge to renew quest for tolerance

Biday 24/6/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday recommitted themselves to taking urgent measures to ensure political tolerance among members of their organisations.

They also committed themselves to working towards the establishment of impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA.

But they spent a large part of the meeting disagreeing on whether April 27 1994 should be ratified yet as a date for SA's first nonracial elections.

Mandela said the ANC would continue to persuade Inkatha to accept the date. Buthelezi reiterated Inkatha's position that a date should not be set until there was agreement on constitutional principles.

In a joint statement, read by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the end of the nine-hour meeting at the Kempton Park conference centre, they said they committed themselves to creating a climate of political tolerance.

"Both the ANC and Inkatha recognise the right of people to assemble and give expression to their grievances and the parties they support provided that such manifestations are in keeping with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord."

They agreed that when either party convened a demonstration, protest or any form of mass action, it would ensure that:

- It had given priority to the need to promote peace;
- The action would avoid deliberate provocation, damage or injury;
- All reasonable steps would be taken to ensure no weapons were carried with unlawful intent;

WILSON ZWANE

Peace accord structures would be kept fully informed;

Good faith negotiations would occur with all relevant parties and the security forces regarding the proposed action; and

Provision would be made for effective communication between relevant parties during and after the action.

To promote "healthy and constructive" interaction between their organisations, they committed themselves to "strengthen and expedite the work of the joint liaison structures between our two organisations". The structures would monitor the implementation of the agreed programmes.

The two leaders pledged themselves to the holding of joint rallies and agreed that a meeting of signatories to the peace accord should be convened urgently.

On armed formations, they said violence and legitimate law enforcement should be addressed in the context of the transition, and committed themselves to making constructive contributions to negotiations on multiparty control of armed formations.

Tutu and Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba were enthusiastic about the meeting, which they said took place in a spirit of mutual respect. Mogoba said the meeting had laid the foundation for the resolution of problems.

Mandela said "active steps" would be taken to ensure that the agreements would filter down to grassroots level, while Buthelezi said although violence would not end overnight, the meeting's "symbolism" would contribute to peace efforts.

● Picture: Page 3

Chief's speech wor(l)d record

JOHANNESBURG. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has made it into the 1994 Guinness Book of Records for delivering the longest speech, it was reported yesterday. (113)

He delivered the tongue-crippling address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly between March 12 and 29. (1246)

Chief Buthelezi spoke for 11 days, averaging 2½ hours a day. — Sapa 93

Big 2 may 'bury the hatchet'

AKG 24/6/92

structures" would also be held.

Tensions eased, but SA poll date remains unresolved

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The marathon Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi summit yesterday took a significant step towards easing tensions between the ANC and IFP — but deadlocked on the critical issue of the setting of an election date.

The church-brokered meeting at the Kempton Park Conference Centre ended after nearly nine-and-a-half hours of deliberations with the leaders agreeing to share joint platforms and other steps to "bury the past and look to the future".

Mr Mandela said afterwards they had "made a great deal of progress" in the talks and the meeting itself would send out a positive signal to supporters.

But he acknowledged that "there remain some possible sticking points which will have to be resolved" and hoped negotiations would remove IFP concerns.

Dr Buthelezi said the discussions had been held in a good spirit and although he did not think it was "a magic wand that will make violence vanish", it would make a "major contribution".

But it was clear afterwards that the meeting was unlikely to contribute much towards immediate progress in negotiations — and



LEADERS MEET: ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at yesterday's meeting.

could leave the ANC president largely empty-handed for his meeting with United States President Bill Clinton early next month.

Chief Buthelezi had dug in his heels on the election date — tentatively set in negotiations for April 27 next year and one of the conditions to the lifting of remaining US economic and trade sanctions.

The IFP president insisted that agreement first be reached in negotiations on principles that would be part of a new constitution before the KwaZulu government and IFP would get on board.

"We did not achieve the break-

structures" would also be held.

There was also agreement that free political activity should be allowed in all areas. "We recognise that if we are to set an example of reconciliation for our people, we must make it clear that both the ANC and IFP support free political activity and reject the concept of no-go areas," they said in the statement.

The ANC has campaigned for free political activity in KwaZulu, but last night Chief Buthelezi emphasised that he had never personally forbidden a gathering by any organisation in the territory.

They reiterated agreement that there should be a prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons to political meetings and rallies.

In another step likely to improve relations they committed themselves to take active steps to ensure agreements were implemented at all levels of support.

The organisations' negotiators would also establish constructive bilateral relations in an effort to resolve "constitutional differences".

Chief Buthelezi was upbeat about the effect of the meeting on negotiations, saying "they should go much better than up to now". But ANC sources said that while the agreements would improve relations between the organisations' negotiators, immediate hopes for progress with IFP support had been dashed.



Negotiating forum delay

112 CT24/6/93
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The failure of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to agree yesterday on an election date led to the negotiating forum being postponed for a second time this month.

It is scheduled to meet tomorrow.

Instead, it is likely to meet in a week's time, with a commitment from all parties to make sufficient progress so that the forum can decide on a date and the process of writing a final constitution.

At the multi-party talks yesterday, the PAC refused to clarify its position on suspending the armed struggle, blaming the media for "causing the confusion".

PAC delegate Ms Patricia de Lille, when called on by NP delegate Dr Dawie de Villiers to clarify the PAC's position, said the government was "overreacting to our statement last night and as we will be meeting them tomorrow there is no need to deal with it here".

However, the council decided it was necessary for the PAC to respond.

Claiming the media created the confusion, she said: "We are not prepared to answer to any reports by the media, which is in any case owned by the government or the liberal press."

'Hope' after

leaders meet

CT 24/6/93



SUMMIT ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Buthelezi shake hands at a summit yesterday. Picture: AP

Political Correspondent JOHANNESBURG.—A gruelling nine-hour meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday

Still no date for election

failed to produce an agreement on a date for South Africa's first democratic elections.

But the hugely significant and long-awaited summit, although "grim" and "stormy" at times according to some sources had "brought hope to this land", the head of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Magoeba, said last night. The two leaders had been "accepting and gracious towards one another" at the meeting in Kempton Park, he said.

Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela hurried the hatchet and pledged themselves to peace, also at grassroots level, and agreed on the necessity of free political activity throughout the country.

They will hold joint rallies in violence-torn areas and together exhort their followers to lay down arms.

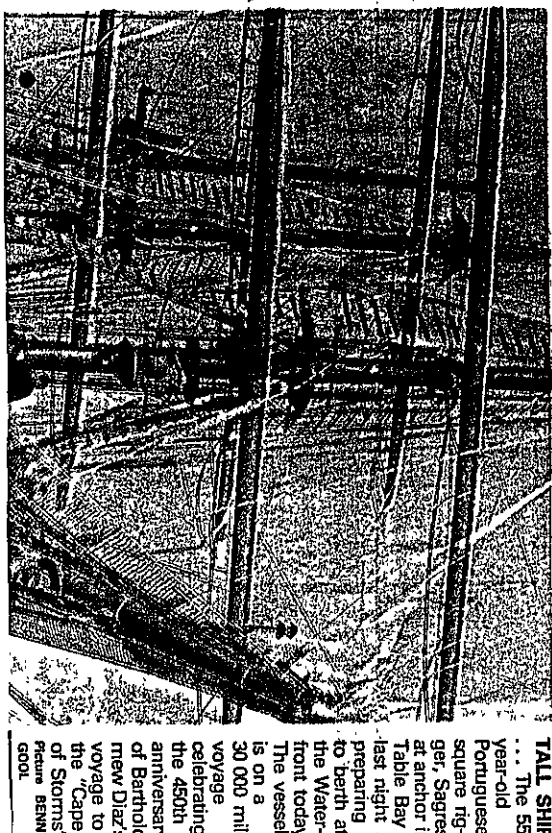
Following the meeting, the ANC and IFP agreed on each others' right to exist, while they also accepted the need for a meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to be convened as soon as possible.

They still differ substantially on the issue of the election and the carrying of so-called traditional weapons at Inkatha rallies.

A positive Mr Mandela said after the meeting that although there had been several sticking points, "the very fact of our meeting today is an achievement in itself because when you discuss the important issues — and even if there is not agreement — after such discussions you cannot be the same".

Also yesterday at the World Trade Centre, the 26-party Negotiating Council announced that tomorrow's scheduled meeting of the expanded Negotiating Forum to finalise an election date had been postponed to July 2.

DIAS VOYAGE TRACKED



TALL SHIP ... The 55-year-old Portuguese square rigger, Sagres, at anchor in Table Bay last night preparing to berth at the Waterfront today. The vessel is on a 30 000 mile voyage celebrating the 450th anniversary of Bartolomeu Diaz's voyage to the "Cape of Storms". Picture: BERNARD GOUL

Caprivi training: FW kept in dark

Bl Day 24/6/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The SADF had not fully informed President F W de Klerk of the secret training 200 Inkatha supporters underwent at a Caprivi camp in 1986, the Goldstone commission has found.

In a report published yesterday, the commission said information passed on to De Klerk by the SADF, and known by Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Minister of Police Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "did not reflect the full picture".

The investigation into the "Hippo base" trainees was launched in February last year following allegations that, with SADF backing, they had embarked on hit squad activities against ANC-aligned organisers.

The commission said the full extent and wide-ranging nature of the training had not been disclosed to De Klerk, who had been told the purpose of training "about 150 Zulus" was "for security and VIP protection".

The secrecy of the project had fuelled the perception that the SADF was helping KwaZulu Police and Inkatha leaders to build a private hit squad facility, the report said.

While the commission found no evidence that the SADF had provided training with the specific purpose of establishing hit squads, the inference could be drawn that the 200 trainees "were not trained solely for VIP protection", the report said.

The commission pointed to a number of aspects uncovered during the investigation which it described as highly unsatisfactory.

These included the inability of the KwaZulu Police to produce a single file concerning the training or subsequent deployment of the trainees, the lack of any SADF documents regarding financial support for the project, and the "inefficiency and lack of control which were the hallmarks of the whole exercise".

The commission described the nature of training given to the personnel and the lack of any subsequent control of trainees as a "grave error of judgment on the part of the SADF".

The report also dealt with allegations that the SADF had funded violence in black townships through a series of front companies while the SAP was alleged to have trained and organised the violent "Black Cats" gang near Ermelo.

In neither of these investigations was evidence uncovered supporting the allegations.

Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe said in a statement yesterday the findings were welcomed. The manner in which the police had handled cases involving the Black Cats — described as deplorable — were being investigated internally, he said.

SADF chief Kat Driegenberg said while the situation and its secrecy dated to a period when the defence force was involved in fighting terrorism, the commission had found no evidence of current SADF involvement in violence.

For Tactics N° 2

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AFRICA, I.F.P. peace

South African 24/6/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

YESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezzi paved the way for greater tolerance and peace between supporters of the ANC and I.F.P.

They failed, however, to reach agreement on other major issues, including the ratification of April 27 next year as an election date.

After nine hours of negotiations, the two leaders emerged exhausted, but no closer, in real terms, to each other than before the meeting.

The postponement to July 2 of tomorrow's Negotiating Forum meeting, which was supposed to have ratified the election date, has been blamed on the stonewalling by the I.F.P. and its allies.

Political observers remarked that Buthelezzi's flustered had made the meeting of the Negotiations Forum "rather futile".

Buthelezzi said last night he was not prepared to give his support for the election date before his party's demands on constitutional matters such as

federalism were met first.

"As far as we are concerned we believe that the first things should come first. If the things that should be done first appear, we'll go along with the date," he said.

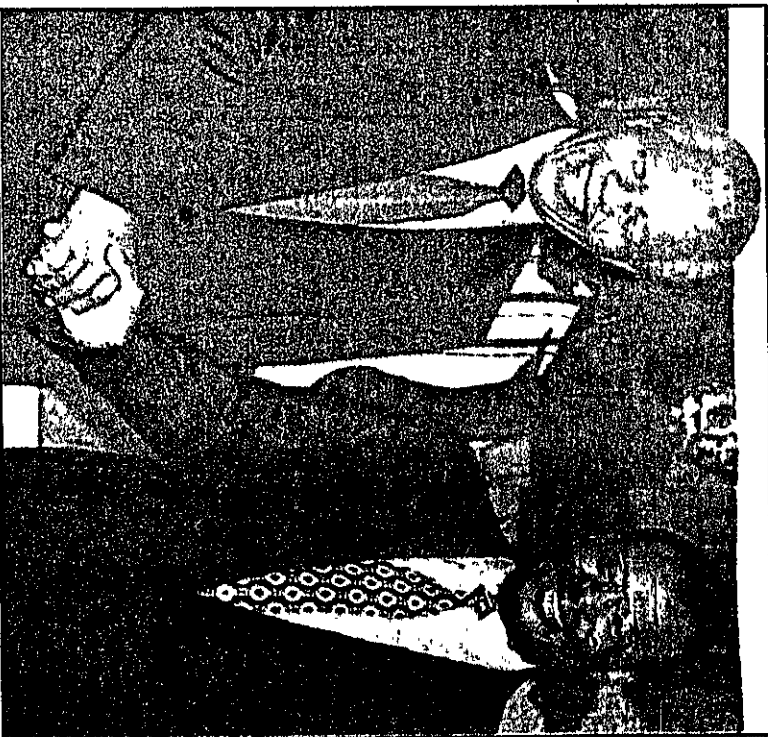
Mandela said after the meeting that he had hoped to take "a confirmation of the proposed election date" to the meeting of the OAU in Egypt on Saturday and to US President Bill Clinton next week, but that this was now impossible.

"I sincerely hope that by Friday we will have been able to remove the tears and concerns of all those political parties, including the I.F.P. over the election date," Mandela said.

A joint resolution however, paves the way for greater tolerance between supporters of the ANC and I.F.P. They agreed on the necessity for free political activity throughout the country, agreed on each others' legitimate right to exist; accepted the need for an urgent meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to be convened as soon as possible; agreed to address joint rallies; a prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons at certain political rallies and meetings and that the two leaders would visit places and persons affected by the endemic violence in the country.

on peace

Shake to end bloodshed



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezzi shake hands before their meeting at Kempton Park on the East Rand yesterday to discuss ways of ending the violence which has claimed thousands of their supporters' lives. Hopes for peace and a reduction in the level of violence in the country rested on the outcome of the meeting.

pic: ASSOCIATED PRESS

KNOWLEDGE
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Training of soldiers criticised

Sowetan 24/6/93

THE secret training in the Caprivi by the SA Defence Force of 200 Inkatha supporters was unfortunate and added to the suspicion and perception of political bias by the KwaZulu police and the SADF.

This view is contained in the Goldstone Commission report, released yesterday, of the inquiry into allegations concerning front companies of the SADF and the training by the army of Inkatha supporters in the Caprivi in 1986.

Hit squads

There was no evidence to suggest that the SADF provided the training for "hit squads" being established, the report said.

However, the nature of some of the training, the secrecy of the project, the lack of candour when the truth began to emerge and the connection of trainees with acts of public violence all continued to fuel the perception that the SADF was assisting the KwaZulu government and IFP leaders in building a private hit squad facility to use against the UDF and later the ANC. — Sapa.

Inkatha gains

'NP voters'

GAVIN DU VENAGE

INKATHA was eroding the white support base of the NP, independent candidate Gerda Bekker said yesterday after losing a municipal by-election to another independent candidate.

Bekker, however, soundly beat NP hopeful Tony Wasserman. 2516193

The Malvern/Kensington by-election was won by independent Barry Dunne, with 630 votes. Bekker received 360 votes while Wasserman managed only 212 in the 23% poll.

The by-election was called to replace NP councillor Richard MacArthur who moved abroad recently. (118) (2000)

Bekker said although she campaigned as an independent, it was a "fully fledged Inkatha campaign" using party slogans.

Bekker, who is married to Hennie, a former NP MP who recently broke ranks to become an Inkatha MP, said the slump in support for the NP in what had been one of its "traditional strongholds" showed that whites were losing faith in the party.

Dunne said he thought that many of Bekker's votes came from former "staunch NP supporters".

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Inkatha slams CP call for white homeland

Billy Paddock

INKATHA's Joe Matthews yesterday shook the Concerned South Africans Group by telling the CP it was at the negotiations for the wrong reasons.

"It must take a lot of patience for a lot of us here that right now we are not discussing the freedom of blacks but rather the freedom of whites. The basic reason we are here is to determine the emancipation of the black majority," he said. (113) (113)

This followed an impassioned plea from CP delegate Fanie Jacobs who said his demand for an Afrikaner homeland should be looked upon favourably.

Matthews said Afrikaners had been in power for more than 40 years and did not partition a separate white homeland. "The Thomlinson commission looked at the issue and Verwoerd rejected partition."

He said the only reason a white homeland was becoming an issue was because of impending democracy. "We have to face the fact that the majority of people in the country are impatient with the idea of breaking up the South African state."

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo argued that the council should not hold out false hopes for the CP. "This council will not sanction an ethnic state."

Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that government and the PAC would hold another bilateral meeting on Monday at the request of the PAC in a bid to resolve their differences. Sapa reports. The two parties adjourned their talks yesterday to allow the PAC to consult its principals.

"They are not ready to respond to our questions," a senior government source said yesterday.

● See Page 4

IFP, ANC engage in political horse-trading

W/Mail
25/6-1/7/93
THIS week's 10-hour summit between African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had more to do with efforts to find a constitutional accommodation than with peace.

It is unlikely the meeting will have an impact on the carnage in Natal and the Reef, but it has paved the way for bilateral talks on constitutional issues between the ANC and the IFP.

IFP sources said this week that the organisation was prepared to accept April 27 as an election date, even though this seemed the major sticking point at Wednesday's summit, and to concede the ANC's demand for a Transitional Executive Council. It might even participate in an ANC-led government of national unity.

But this would be in exchange for ANC acceptance of IFP proposals for a federal system of government.

The trade-offs are expected to take place in a series of bilateral talks in the run-up to a meeting of the negotiating council next week.

Significantly, Buthelezi was flanked by his top constitutional negotiators and advisers at the meeting, including Joe Matthews, Frank Mdlalose, Walter Felgate, Ben Ngubane and Suzanne Vos. Central committee member Velaphi Ndlovu was the only person in the IFP team involved in Natal peace talks. He

11B
The meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi may have had little to do with peace, but it went some way towards resolving constitutional problems.

By **FAROUK CHOTHIA**

serves on the Natal/kwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

Mandela did not have a single Natal representative on his delegation. Instead, he took chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise and three Johannesburg ANC leaders involved in peace talks — Jacob Zuma, Sydney Mafumadi and Bhaleka Kgositsile.

This has fuelled speculation that the real purpose of the meeting was to pave the way for the ANC and IFP to find common constitutional ground rather than getting bogged down in historic disputes over violence.

The militant ANC Natal Midlands region cautiously welcomed the announcement of bilateral talks.

On peace, both sides seem to be pinning their hopes on the National Peace Accord and agreed that its signatories should meet soon.

With 38 Natalians having died last weekend, the Natal/kwaZulu RDRC announced a meeting of all Peace Accord signatories in the Natal Mid-

lands sub-region for next month. Meetings of the northern and southern Natal sub-regions would follow.

The Mandela-Buthelezi indaba failed to produce any new peace proposals. Instead, they recommitted themselves to freedom of political activity; that no areas would be no-go zones for either the ANC or IFP and that they would seek to ensure their followers did not carry weapons in public, except on cultural occasions.

The summit, however, failed to break the deadlock around the key issue of an election date, with Buthelezi sticking to his guns that there should first be agreement on constitutional principles.

IFP sources later indicated that they were prepared to make concessions to the ANC. Mandela's decision to meet Buthelezi had facilitated this process. "If federalism and devolution of power are addressed, we have no problem with the proposed election date," said a source.

In private, other IFP sources suggested they may also compromise on their demand that the multi-party negotiating forum draft a future constitution. The sources said the IFP now accepted that a transitional executive would be installed as a forerunner to an election for a constituent assembly.

The IFP rejected the concept of a government of national unity, but was willing to change its stance, he added.

Goldstone's punch falls short

Despite strong evidence, a report by the Goldstone Commission reserves judgment on the involvement of the security forces in a 'third force'.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER**

THE Goldstone Commission has issued a major report on security force involvement in violence reaching back to 1986, confirming a series of exposures first carried in *The Weekly Mail* last year.

But despite strong evidence, the 40-page report — sent to President FW de Klerk at the beginning of June and released by his office only on Wednesday — stops short of confirming the systematic establishment of a "third force" by kwaZulu Police (KZP), Military Intelligence and certain South African Police units.

The report includes the following findings on the creation and training of an Inkatha squad by the South African Defence Force:

- 200 young Inkatha members were trained by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi strip in 1986.
- The project was funded by the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) out of a secret defence budget account.
- DMI continued to pick up the salary tab for the 200 men until June 1989, when they were formally incorporated into the KZP.
- The men were recruited by MZ Khumalo, at the time personal assistant to kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
- Buthelezi, also minister of police at the time, was aware they were being trained by the SADF.
- Recruits were trained in the use of AK47, G3 and Uzi automatic weapons, Tokarev pistols and RPG7 rocket launchers. They were instructed in urban guerrilla warfare, including the demolition of buildings and attacks with handgrenades and smoke devices.
- A "Mr Anthony" taught them how to interrogate captured persons using both violent and aggressive methods



Two editions of *The Weekly Mail* that exposed security force involvement in a 'third force'.

and gentle or protective approaches. They were taught surveillance techniques and how to abduct people.

● Lectures were given on the African National Congress as the enemy of Inkatha and the kwaZulu government.

In criticising the manner in which the SADF and the KZP responded to allegations by former Caprivi strip trainees, the Goldstone report inadvertently points to weaknesses in the commission's own investigation.

Judge Goldstone calls "the inability of the KZP to produce a single file concerning the training or subsequent deployment of the trainees" and the "inability of the SADF to produce a single document concerning the training of or subsequent financial support" for the trainees "particularly unsatisfactory". But he does not say why the commission did not use its authority to seize the relevant documentation.

This would have been crucial because the commission accepted claims by the KZP and the South African security forces that the vast majority of the trainees had been idle

ever since returning from the Caprivi.

As a result, the commission failed to establish a direct link between the training of the 200 Inkatha men in the Caprivi with an upsurge of violence in places as far apart as Howick, Pietermaritzburg and Ermelo in the eastern Transvaal — despite evidence that members of the unit had been in all of those places immediately prior to or during bloody conflicts.

Says the commission report: "Although certain Caprivi trainees may be involved in some current acts of violence there is no evidence to suggest that such involvement was a direct result of the training they received in the Caprivi." This finding appears to disregard several detailed submissions to the commission during its 32 days of hearings in Cape Town and Pretoria between February and September last year.

For one, evidence was given by Caprivi trainee Vela Mchunu that he was hidden by KZP captain Langeni at the back of MZ Khumalo's shop after a magistrate's finding that he had been involved in the murder of three ANC-

aligned trade unionists in Howick. He also said that he was later hidden by the Caprivi group's "commissar", Daluxolo Luthuli.

The Goldstone commission boils this down to "Vela Mchunu one of the trainees testified that he was involved in certain acts of violence". And the report comments it "can however not find that he committed those acts as a direct consequence of his training at the Caprivi".

Relying on the statement of a "Mr C", the commission finds "there is no evidence at all to suggest that the SADF provided the training for the purpose of hit squads being established".

No mention is made of Kombis bought for the use of people allegedly doing nothing, nor of several detailed submissions by Mchunu and others. He told the commission of deployment of the group by Luthuli, who would take recruits to Ulundi to be paid and who picked him up in Hammarsdale in Natal, a violence-torn area, whenever "he needed me".

Luthuli on several occasions assembled a group of Caprivi graduates in

Hammarsdale and gave them instructions. The instructions were confidential, each receiving his orders without the others hearing.

Apparently not wanting to let the security forces off the hook completely, the commission suggests that perceptions of their involvement in the systematic generation of violence in recent years are not entirely unfounded: "The nature of some of the training, the secrecy of the project, the lack of candour when the truth began to emerge and the connection of trainees with acts of public violence, all continue to fuel the perception that the SADF was assisting KZP and IFP leaders build a private hit squad facility for use against the UDF and later the ANC."

Turning to the link between some Caprivi graduates and violence by a gang calling itself the Black Cats in the eastern Transvaal township of Wessleton, near Ermelo — first reported by *The Weekly Mail* — the Goldstone report finds that:

- The Black Cats were a criminal group involved in the violence in Wessleton who became members of Inkatha
- They received training in kwaZulu after their homes were burnt.
- There was no evidence that MI was involved in their training
- Members of the KZP, trained in the Caprivi, visited the Black Cats in Wessleton, but it was not established that they were involved in any criminal activities themselves during these visits.

● Members of the Black Cats bombed the house of a human rights lawyer in Wessleton.

● Statements directly implicating gunmen from kwaZulu as having been responsible for opening fire in August 1990 on mourners at the funeral of an ANC member killed by the Black Cats were left out of SAP dockets handed to the prosecutor.

Once again, the commission is equivocal in its findings regarding security force complicity in the spiralling violence. And it scrupulously avoids the conclusion that the kwaZulu links of the Black Cats could indicate the existence of a strategy of violence

generation in-volving Inkatha, the KZP, the SADF and the SAP.

But the report does say "there was every justification for the perception by many people that the SAP were working with the 'Black Cats'". At best for the SAP, ineffective and inefficient policing created the justifiable perception of such complicity in the minds of many members of the Wessleton community.

Ultimately, the commission's report leaves final judgment on the existence of a state-backed Inkatha/SADF/SAP third force to others, although it hints at such a force as it expresses concern at "the perceptions which are created by current events viewed against the background of conduct which may have occurred prior to February 2 1990".

No better example can be found than the training of the Caprivi trainees and certain criminal conduct committed by them since their return from Caprivi. "Whether there is a direct link or not is irrelevant to the conclusions which many people will draw or the perceptions which will be created."

Think of it as Nostradamus with evidence.

Finance Week

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Please indicate clearly your link with or interest in Psychology as this will be used as a guideline for the issuing of invitations.

'Scene set for new pledge for peace'

By Ray Hartley 25/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

THE meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had opened the way for a long-awaited meeting of national peace accord signatories, senior peace officials said yesterday.

Peace committee chairman John Hall and peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said in a statement that the encounter had signalled a "fresh commitment to peace".

"The scene has been well and truly set for a meeting of all signatories of the accord to follow the example of Mandela and Buthelezi to reaffirm their commitment to the principles laid down in the document and to the urgent implementation of measures to topple the barriers to peace," they said.

"The peace officials noted that most of the points agreed on by the two leaders were contained in the peace accord.

"Agreement on the prohibition of the carrying of dangerous weapons at political meetings is welcomed, as are the provisions laid down relating to political gatherings such as marches and rallies."

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba were to be warmly congratulated for having initiated the event. "The role of the church and religious bodies as peacemakers in society cannot be too highly commended.

"A most meaningful result of the nine hours of discussion on the East Rand yesterday must surely be the consensus of both leaders to bury the past and resolve to maintain ongoing, open lines of communication," they said.

Such communication removed a huge obstacle in the way of peace and would be reinforced by the appearance of the two leaders on joint platforms, they said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the joint ANC-Inkatha preparatory committee would look at how to implement the agreements reached at Wednesday's summit. No date had been set for a visit to Ulundi by Mandela and a reciprocal visit to ANC headquarters in Johannesburg by Buthelezi, he said.

● Comment: Page 2

11B

MEETING OF THE YEAR

(118)

FM 25/6/93

The consensus before the Wednesday meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi was that both had too much to lose politically by not showing tangible gains when they emerged. It was felt that planners must have prepared a minimum position which they could agree on and present as progress.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande cautioned that expectations in his violence-torn region were not high. He felt there was a risk of the meeting damaging Mandela's image and concerned that the summit would cloud the real causes of violence, which he

believes are still apartheid-linked. Nzimande also noted the similarity between the run-up to this and the previous indaba — which failed to stop violence.

But the University of Natal's Mervyn Frost believes substantial agreement must have been reached beforehand. The two would, he thought, have two separate agendas, one public and the other confidential. The problem with their first meeting in 1991 in Durban was that there was no structured plan. This time Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu would have done much homework.

Summit fuels peace hopes in ANC, IFP

Star 25/6/93

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

The summit between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi was warmly welcomed yesterday and appears poised to reap results in violence-ravaged Natal.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said the talks between the ANC president and IFP leader had "undoubtedly given invaluable impetus to the peace process".

The joint commitment by the leaders after their 9½-hour Kempton Park meeting to "bury the past" and maintain ongoing lines of communication had the potential to remove a "huge obstacle on the way forward", Hall said.

Campaign

"Furthermore, their appearance on joint platforms around the country — especially at community level — will publicly reinforce this resolve."

In the first indication of movement at regional level as a result of the meeting, the ANC's southern Natal branch vowed to start a peace campaign to support the agreements.

Dumisani Makhaya of the ANC region's department of information and publicity said the organisation would be seeking

regional meetings with the IFP, business community and church leaders in the drive for peace.

"While we welcome the meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi, we are saying it must go further," he urged.

Makhaya's sentiments were shared by Ed Tillet of the IFP's information centre in Durban.

He told *The Star* the IFP was "without a doubt committed to the (peace) process" and would set no preconditions to meetings between regional leaders.

But he cautioned that while the organisation was "buoyant" in the wake of Wednesday's summit, agreements struck at the January 1991 Buthelezi-Mandela summit had not been followed through.

The IFP hoped supporters on the ground would take up the sentiments expressed by the two leaders and follow the same path, he said.

Meanwhile, sources inside the talks indicated that several hours were taken up with constitutional matters, and that while no agreement could be reached on the fixing of an election date, there was progress in some other areas.

They said the IFP moved significantly closer to accepting a transitional executive council, but retained certain preconditions such as the acceptance of principles to be binding on a new constitution-making body.

Sticky beliefs gum up the negotiating process

El/Boy 25/16/93

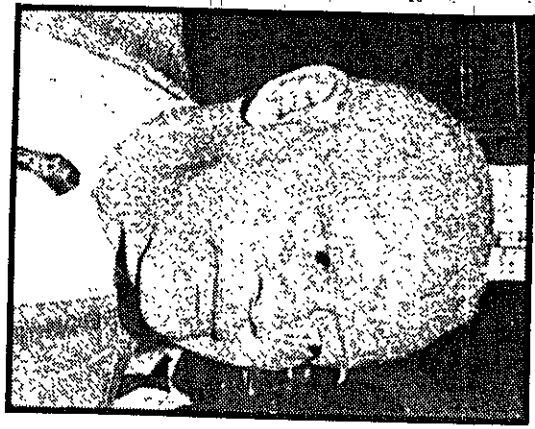
GEORGE Orwell said: "It is at times of great uncertainty that people cling to the most lunatic beliefs."

That is why the negotiating forum scheduled to take place today has been postponed for another week — to give parties like Inkatha, the CP, the Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana the opportunity to come to terms with the new reality facing them — partition does not work.

It is precisely because of the beliefs held so doggedly by the Inkathalead Concerned South Africans Group that sufficient progress has not been made despite Inkatha effectively having gained what it wants — regional autonomy. A member of the technical committee on constitutional issues says openly that the regional proposals amount to a clear federal option without the name being attached.

The forum had to be put off because no effective decisions could have been taken without government and the ANC bulldozing the process. That would have meant serious confrontation and a breakdown in talks, for at least a period.

It became clear that when ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi could not "cut a deal" at their



□ MATTHEWS

summit on Wednesday, at least on an election date, that the forum would have to be postponed. If the two leaders could have reached agreement, at least on an election date, the forum would have been able to go ahead with Inkatha pulling its Cosag allies along. The negotiating council has not

BILLY PADDOCK

been able to do enough work on substantive issues and convince Cosag that its fears and anxieties are being accommodated. There have been too many delays due to trying to sort out difficulties between government and the PAC and Cosag's filibustering.

Yesterday CP delegate Fanie Jacobs made an impassioned plea for confederation. Even his Cosag colleague, Inkatha's Joe Matthews, could not go along with this and said that it was time the negotiating council realised what the parties were here for — the emancipation and freedom of the black majority.

The negotiating council, in attempting to live up to its undertaking to make the process as inclusive as possible, has ensured that it could not meet its self-imposed deadline. By entertaining lengthy debates on issues and beliefs which, according to SACP negotiator Joe Slovo "this council will never sanction", negotiators are raising false hopes because the alternative is to lose some par-

ticipants, in particular the CP. It is understood that the reason government and the ANC have not taken a tougher line is because Cabinet has not yet been able to agree on when to get tough with Inkatha.

The question is whether the next seven days are going to change the position substantially. Most ANC and NP negotiators are not optimistic that the "difficult parties" will change their positions. However, there are some who express hope for progress.

It is understood that there will be a flurry of bilateral and trilateral meetings in the next week — predominantly between government, the ANC and Inkatha — to try and thrash out the problem areas. Through a careful look at the constitutional principles, and especially regional powers and functions, there is a hope that Inkatha will accept a two-phased transitional process and endorse the provisional April 27 election date.

This will be backed up by the technical committee's sixth report which proposes a compromise solution on the regional question. The report calls for an equilibrium, or balance, between the two approaches, to be established. The

committee says this equilibrium could be attained through:

- First, the adoption of general constitutional principles pertaining to regional autonomy;
- Then the council should decide how the principles pertaining to the regions should be incorporated and applied in the transitional (pre- and post-election) period;
- If regional governments are instituted for the transitional period, the constitution-making body could ensure that these regional constitutions conform with the national constitutional principles adopted by the multiparty negotiating body; and
- It could be possible for the constitution-making body to approve the coming into operation of regional constitutions before the adoption of a final constitution.

According to negotiators, there are two other considerations that have to be taken into account: a need to guarantee Buthelezi a place in the next coalition cabinet; and the need to broaden the Natal/KwaZulu regional joint executive during the transition to accommodate KwaZulu government ministers.

A difficult week lies ahead. Success will depend on the extent of Cosag's flexibility.

LETTERS

Insinnace than namo micht not have



KwaZulu constitution spells out 'South African duties'

SOUTH

26/6 - 30/6/73



THE CONSTITUTION of the state of KwaZulu/Natal adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last year presupposes that the area will be a separate state in a Federal Republic of South Africa.

The KwaZulu government is using the Inkatha Freedom Party to promote its constitution and federal principles in South Africa on its behalf.

The document states in its preamble that the state of KwaZulu/Natal is a sovereign member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa.

It also spells out the rights and duties of the Republic of South Africa and the sovereign state of KwaZulu/Natal.

According to the document, the Republic of South Africa exercises exclusive legislative, administrative and judicial functions and powers in, among others:

- Monetary systems and foreign credits;
- Nationality, immigration and emigration;

- International relations;
- Defence against foreign enemies;
- Organisation and administration of justice.

The regions have legislative and administrative power to oversee:

- Social assistance;
- Health;
- Public education;
- Protection of the environment;
- Forestry;
- Tourism.

The constitution proposes that the state has legislative and administrative power in any matter in which the region has not exercised its jurisdiction. The regions should have financial independence and autonomy within the limits established by state law.

"The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly strongly believes that only a federal system with residual powers in the states and internal regionalisation can ensure long-lasting freedom and democracy in South Africa and a

correct system of checks and balances," the constitution's preamble reads.

"The region of KwaZulu/Natal is held together by strong historical ties and commonality of interest and perspectives which justify and demand the self-determination of the region in the form of a federal state within the Federal Republic of South Africa."

CROSS-TALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and rational reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.

SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.



Mangosutho Buthelezi

CROSS TALK

The Inkatha Freedom party adds its voice to the debate surrounding the powers which should be given to regional government under a new constitution:

Federalism is the road to freedom

South 2616 - 3016193

By Farouk Cassim

FREEDOM is not a word. It is a God-given right. If freedom comes in the day but is stolen from us in the night, we will have gone to bed free only to awake the next morning in the old chains of bondage and servitude.

The Inkatha Freedom Party wants a lifelong guarantee on freedom. The IFP believes that when men and women are free, genuinely free, only then will they concentrate on creating wealth, music, art and a stable society.

The IFP believes that you are the captain of your own destiny. You are the decision maker for the kind of roof you want over your head, the education you want for your child, the hospital you want for your community.

Decision making at the level of the people is people's power. In politics we call it subsidiarity. Subsidiarity is the bedrock of federalism.

At the end of Codesa 2 it was agreed that the powers of the regions would be entrenched in the constitution.

Professor Kader Asmal (Crosstalk June 12) is partly right about what should have followed: clarifying the respective powers that the centre and the regions should have.

I say that he is partly right because he is conditioned to the thought that once the negotiators had carved the cake between the centre and the regions everyone should have been delighted.

The question that remains is whether liberation, freedom, uhuru on the one hand and the carving up of power on the other hand, is compatible with genuine democracy.

I detect that what the ANC is saying is that there is a need to consolidate power, to increase power, to maximise power. Power, like alcohol, makes men drunk and then they are very dangerous.

The IFP seeks to curb power. Even if the IFP becomes the next government, it is vitally important to recognise that sovereignty rests in the people.

Therefore an IFP government or any other government must have adequate curbs placed on it so that it is totally free to do all the good it can for the people but that it is restricted



Farouk Cassim

from doing serious harm to the people.

Power must reside with the people, not with the representatives of the people. Too much power in the hands of politicians is the sure and shortest route to dictatorship.

Give your money to someone and it is gone. Lend it and you might get it back. Secure it and it's yours for keeps. So too, it should be with the power you have.

The IFP favours federalism because libre for libre federalism takes you further and faster on the steep road of freedom. It is like being on a jettiner. Centralists are offering a bus ride to a destination which will never be reached.

We are proud to be federalists because we have an open agenda and we offer ordinary people the right to decide for themselves, not to have decisions thrust down their throats.

A free people in a free South Africa is what we seek. Freedom is power. Freedom is motivation. Freedom is the oxygen that makes pol-

itics live. Freedom is what will make South Africa the envy of Africa. Freedom is what will bring investors to our shores.

Federalism offers a belt and braces to guarantee that freedom will live and that tyranny will be tramped underfoot.

The question people ask is whether federalism is the same as confederalism. I ask if a guarantee is the same as a warranty? One is genuine, the other is a fake.

A confederation is a loony arrangement. It must be rejected by everyone in South Africa. The IFP totally and unreservedly rejects confederation as a solution for South Africa.

Confederation will undermine the gains of the struggle of the people of South Africa. It will, moreover, thwart democracy.

It was bad enough producing a passport when going through Transkei. Can you imagine how horrific it will be to travel from Cape Town to Johannesburg and to return via Dur-

ban, East London and George with six to nine border crossings?

What then does the IFP want? The party insists on a permanent union of states with specific powers devolved to the geographically defined states. The IFP wants a federal republic for South Africa like that which obtains in the USA or in Germany.

The IFP agrees that it is right and necessary that South Africa should be strong and united when facing the world and yet it should create room for democracy to be expanded and diffused within the borders of the country.

We want an indestructible union composed of indestructible states. Provided that nothing the centre does is repugnant to the states and nothing that the states do is repugnant to the centre, each sphere will have the scope to promote happiness, freedom, prosperity.

The big doubt is whether the promise of liberation, freedom, uhuru, democracy and peoples' power will materialise in South Africa. If these materialise adequately, we shall have peace and plenty in our land.

International experience shows that country after country is going the federal route. Belgium is the latest. No federal republic, on the other hand, is going the other way.

Free people don't need political bottle feeds. They resist others doing for them what they can do better for themselves.

The IFP and everyone who seeks federalism for South Africa set the following objectives for themselves:

- devolution and not delegation of powers
- subsidiarity and not subordination
- co-operation and not coercion
- unity and not autonomy
- egalitarianism and not elitism

The Inkatha view is that people must rule and not be ruled. If the struggle is won, it must be won for the widest number of people for the widest good of all.

The width of democracy is judged by the slice each citizen had in decision making. Can anyone settle for less? Can they? Can we? Should they? Should we?

Farouk Cassim is a member of the IFP central committee, member of the IFP negotiating team and a member of parliament.

De Klerk 'was not told the full truth'

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THESE were no evidence to suggest a secret South African Defence Force project for training 200 Inkatha supporters was aimed at establishing "hit squads".

The SADF, however, committed "a grave error of judgement" by giving the training without having any regard to the subsequent control and deployment of the trainees.

These are among key findings of the Goldstone Commission in its 40-page report on its probe into allegations about front companies of the SADF and the training of Inkatha supporters in the Caprivi Strip in 1986. The report was released this week.

The commission also found no evidence to suggest any involvement of the front companies in current or recent violence.

Allegations to this effect were published in the Weekly Mail in January last year. The newspaper's informers claimed the recruits were trained to be used as "hit squads" in black townships.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone reported that the commission's investigating committee, under his chairmanship, unanimously reached certain conclusions. These included:

■ Details of secret military training of 200 Inkatha supporters in Caprivi in 1986 have been revealed in an inquiry by the Goldstone Commission. The report, released this week, throws some light on the reasons for the top-secret project.

■ The secret training of Inkatha supporters had to be seen "in the circumstances that prevailed in 1986 and in the light of the government policies of that time".

■ The fardness, if not refusal of co-operation, in disclosing the facts and details of the training by both the SADF and the KwaZulu government had the effect of adding to suspicion and negative perceptions.

■ The committee did not agree with a submission by counsel for the SADF that if it gave training to people it could not be held responsible if such people "thereafter go out and employ their skills for illegal purposes".

■ Because of the secrecy few members or senior officials of the KwaZulu government or the KwaZulu police were aware of the project. This inevitably led to "the inefficient-

cy and lack of control which were the hallmarks of the whole exercise."

It was also found that when the matter became public as a result of disclosures in the Weekly Mail, the SADF did not give President De Klerk the full facts about the training of the Inkatha supporters.

Had the full extent and wide-ranging nature of the training been disclosed at the time, the "negative result" of the information which subsequently came to light would have been averted.

The investigating committee also concluded unanimously that there was "no evidence at all" to suggest the SADF provided the training for the purpose of establishing "hit squads".

The denial of a witness, "Mr C", in this regard was accepted by the committee as truthful.

"Mr C" — one of the Inkatha supporters recruited for training — testified before the commission on the training he had received. He said it included:

■ The use of weapons, including the AK-47, the Uzi, the G3 and the Tokarev. They were taught how to fire, dismantle and reassemble these weapons.

■ How to use and fire RFG7 rocket launchers

■ Instruction in urban and guerrilla warfare

■ How to attack buildings using hand grenades and smoke grenades. Structures made of corrugated iron and plied sandbags were repeatedly repaired and rebuilt after being destroyed during practice exercises

■ Instruction by a "Mr Anthony" on how to interrogate captured persons, using "both violent or aggressive styles as well as gentle or protective styles"

■ How to abduct people, as well as surveillance procedures.

■ Lectures on "the ANC as an enemy of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the KwaZulu government. The secrecy of their training was impressed on them.

Mr Justice Goldstone reported that the evidence of "Mr C" was not materially placed in issue either by counsel for the SADF or counsel for the KwaZulu government and the IFP. The evidence was also not inconsistent with the version contained in a memorandum from the SADF.

"Mr C denied unequivocally that the purpose of the training was for membership of 'hit squads'," the commission reported.

Reasons for the training were outlined in evidence by Brigadier Mathe, then Acting Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police (KZP), and Mr M Z Khumalo, then personal assistant to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Brigadier Mathe claimed that because of "ANC terrorism" there was an urgent need for personnel who could protect VIPs and public buildings and installations in KwaZulu. Not enough funds were available to KwaZulu for such training.

According to the SADF version, the army was approached about the beginning of 1986 by the KwaZulu authorities about the security situation in KwaZulu. The requirement was to train people for the protection of the Chief Minister, other VIPs, protection of buildings and the gathering of intelligence.

Against that background the SADF decided to train 200 people from KwaZulu for the purposes mentioned. The training was to be arranged by the Intelligence Department out of the secret account of the defence budget.

None of the trainees became members of the SADF. Their salaries were, however, paid by the SADF. They were not provided with arms. After the training they returned to KwaZulu and they had no further direct contact with the SADF.

File 2616/93 (11B)

Inkatha eyeing Indian voters?

By SIPHO KHUMALO *CIPress 27/6/93*

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi seems to have set his sights on wooing Indian voters.

For this mission Buthelezi has commandeered the services of an almost fanatical new Inkatha recruit, Farouk Cassim, the 49-year-old House of Delegates MP who defected from the Solidarity Party in February.

Cassim has already made a dramatic rise within the predominantly Zulu political movement, sitting in Inkatha's powerful decision-making central committee.

Buthelezi has also appointed Cassim to the election committee and he has been co-opted into Inkatha's negotiation team. *(118)*

In an interview with City Press this week Cassim described himself as an "educationist" and a "political theorist" whose speciality was "constitutions of the world".

Natal University political scientist, Prof Meryvn Frost, said Buthelezi was now clearly involved in electioneering. "He's looking for votes," was Frost's synopsis.

Frost said it was not clear how successful Buthelezi was going to be with Indians because there had been hostilities in the past.

Cassim told City Press that he was already "staggered" by the support shown by Indians towards Inkatha.

There are 700 000 Indians eligible to vote in the forthcoming election - some four per cent of the total vote and theoretically 20 seats in the parliament.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi tried hard to exude an air of camaraderie this week.

They shook hands, beamed heartily for the cameras and tried to be as happy as punch as they stood before a phalanx of media corps and observers at the Lutheran Church conference hall in Boncroft Park, Kempton Park, this week.

But even the best choreographed act could not hide the strains, nay, the widening gulf between the two at both a personal and inter-party level.

Although both organisations renewed their commitment to political tolerance and peaceful co-existence at the end of this week's peace summit, the second in as many years, hopes of both organisations' members smoking the peace-pipe look dimmer.

Scratching a little deeper into the impeccable veneer of reasonableness both leaders displayed at the summit, the unpalatable reality is that differences between the two organisations are getting deeper, wider and more complex.

The 10-member negotiations planning committee had a full grasp of these deepening differences when it proposed, a few hours after the inconclusive Mandela-Buthelezi meeting, the postponement of a crucial Multi-Party Negotiating Forum meeting.

The forum meeting, which would have come two days after the Mandela-Buthelezi talks, was expected to endorse April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first democratic elections.

The date, proposed by the Multi-Party Negotiating Council and favoured by the ANC and its Patriotic Front allies, is strongly opposed by Inkatha and the Concorced South Africans Group.

The Inkatha leader warned on TV soon after his meeting with Mandela of an Angolan-type civil war in this country if the issue of federalism (which Inkatha and Cosag favour) was not resolved before elections.



WIDE GAP... Hours after the Mandela-Buthelezi summit the Inkatha leader was warning on TV of an "Angolan-type situation".

C/Roads 2716193

ALL TALK, NO ACTION

that the ANC and its allies were in a "strong position to carry the day on this issue".

Even the government, which is in agreement with the ANC on the provisional election date, seems to sense this deepening problem. Following the postponement of the forum meeting, a government spokesman is reported to have stated that there could not have been fruitful discussions on Friday (election D Day) as no meaningful proposals could have been made to the forum.

With the country's first democratic elections already on the horizon, the gap between Inkatha and the ANC can only widen. This, tragically, is likely to express itself in more bloodshed.

The extent of this gap, and the growing complexity of their relations, was illustrated when both sides admitted that merely meeting - even without an agreement being made - was a great achievement.

Yet any agreement would have sent a powerful message to the soldiers on the ground that a new understanding is emerging between the senior political leadership.

No one expected that the conclusion of the talks would usher in a new spirit of friendship, but there had been a ray of hope that at least there could be agreement on a few important issues.

But after the nine-hour marathon talks, both parties could not produce anything tangible except a sop to the masses - an undertaking - which is neither binding nor enforceable. Buthelezi correctly refers to it as a statement of intent.

This is largely a rehash of their "historic" Royal Hotel agreement in Durban two years ago, the spirit of which is breached more often than observed.

Talk of civil war fires in the face of this week's principles, which, among other things, state that "none among us should see it necessary, no matter how serious the point of disagreement, to resort to violence". Some of the issues on the agenda at the Mandela-Buthelezi talks were equally illuminating. To outsiders, the summit was principally about peace and reducing the level of violence between the two parties.

It does not seem like a lot of time and energy was expended on these issues. Instead, extraneous subjects which rightly belong to the forum, such as an election date, seem to have taken up much of the discussions. Mandela acknowledged that the most contentious issue had been the question of an election. He said the two parties would have to hammer out this question in order to obtain a position.

"Although there was no breakthrough in this respect we hope that in the next few weeks we will increase movement in sorting out this problem."

It will take a lot more than a few good words from the leadership of the two parties to resolve these deepening differences. As things stand, the best that can be said about the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting is that it took place. To credit it with anything more would be misleading.

ATTACK WILL HARM THE CP

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

WHEN the AWB thugs who rampaged through the World Trade Centre struck Faith Gasá, they tangled with the wrong woman. *STimes 27/6/93*

Mrs Gasá, an Inkatha Freedom Party delegate and outspoken champion of women's rights, was dragged from her vehicle, slapped, manhandled and sworn at "in the language of deep racial hatred", she told the Negotiating Council on Friday.

Fighting back tears, Mrs Gasá told of the "obscene way these things were said, the racial hatred".

But her anger and pain are not the consequences those who hit her will fear most.

The AWB members who abused her belong to the Afrikaner Volksfront, which is dominated by the Conservative Party.

The CP belongs to the Concerned South Africans Group, which is dominated by the Inkatha Freedom Party. *(IB)*

And IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated last night that his party could pull out of Cosag because of the attack. *(IB)*

If Cosag collapses, the CP will be left without alliance or support in the talks.

A sweet and



SMILES AND SCOWLS... Nelson Mandela and Magosuthu Buthelezi at the summit Pictures: JOE SEFALE

S Times 27/6/93

Sour Summit

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE nine-hour summit behind closed doors this week between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to establish a peace truce between their warring parties was conducted in an atmosphere of gracious cordiality.

But the two leaders, who addressed each other throughout as Madiba (Mandela) and Shenge (Buthelezi) — terms of great respect — failed to reach agreement on three crucial issues which would have strengthened constitutional talks.

Powers

A thick file of past complaints and grievances against the ANC was tabled and then ignored after a reconciliatory statement by Mr Mandela.

But while the meeting established more cordial terms between the leaders, buried the past and laid parameters for establishing a peaceful relationship, three issues need to be resolved.

Despite a proposal by Mr Mandela that Mr Buthelezi agree to a conditional election date of April 27 next year, Mr Buthelezi insisted the thorny question of region-

alism had to be resolved first.

This was despite hours of argument which left Mr Mandela hoarse.

Mr Buthelezi would also not agree to the principle of establishing a transitional executive council until its powers and functions had been agreed to.

But delegates were confident the outstanding constitutional issues which would have contributed to breaking the deadlock at multi-party talks would be resolved in the agreed-to bilateral talks between the parties' negotiators.

A third issue still disputed concerned dangerous weapons.

While the two agreed that dangerous weapons should be banned at political rallies, Mr Buthelezi

could not agree that traditional weapons were part of this category.

A delegate at the talks said Mr Mandela asked Mr Buthelezi why it was now necessary to carry traditional weapons when it had not been necessary when they addressed meetings together in the 50s.

Mr Buthelezi's response was that a Zulu could not be deprived of his traditional weapon.

Peace negotiator and ANC executive committee member Sydney Mufamadi said he believed the successes of the meeting were downplayed by disappointment over the failure to reach agreement on the April 27 election date.

Eleven crucial issues that set the parameters for building peace among the

members of the two parties included:

- Commitment to strengthening the Peace Accord and an endorsement of a meeting of signatories to ratify new proposals on peace;
- Commitment to free political activity and the rejection of no-go areas;
- Commitment to the principle of freedom of assembly in the framework of guidelines set for mass action by the Peace Accord. This was particularly significant, given Inkatha's opposition to mass action;

Disputes

● Agreement in principle to reach agreement on a constitutional framework for dealing with armed formations. This was also important for both parties as it was an agreement to resolve their dispute over the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Kwazulu Police;

● Commitment to resolving disputes in the Peace Accord;

● Commitment in principle to the concept of a peace corps;

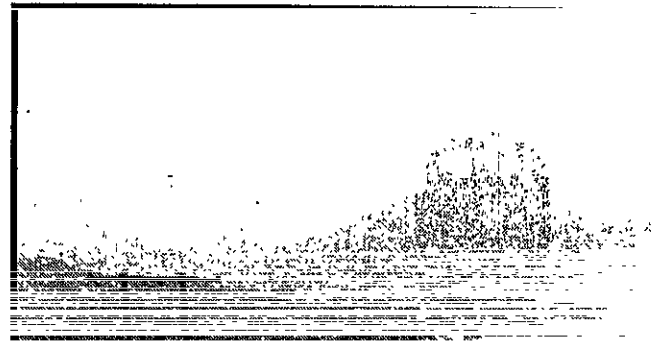
● Commitment to strengthening and establishing joint liaison structures;

● Commitment to symbolic visits and joint rallies; and

● Bilateral constitutional talks.

CHIEF WITH AN OPEN AGENDA

CIPress 27/6/93



ALLIES ... KwaXimba chief Zibuse Mlaba (forefront) Inkatha-supporting neighbouring KwaNyevu clan.

By SIPHO KHUMALO

DIMUNITIVE chief Zibuse Mlaba, who reigns over the hilly Ximba tribal valley in the Natal Midlands, is a different kind of ruler.

While chiefs in Natal have often been seen as symbols of the old order and a bulwark against the ANC's growing influence in the region, Mlaba is not like that at all.

The 33-year-old Mlaba, chief of more than 70 000 tribespeople, does not subscribe to those views. Instead, he sees himself as an agent of peace and progress in his area.

Mlaba is not popular with the KwaZulu government because he has not only associated himself with the ANC, but also holds a position in its Natal Midlands executive committee.

Mlaba is also Natal secretary for the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa). KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has recently warned chiefs about Contralesa, calling it an "ANC front".

Mlaba's neighbour, chief Mhlabanzima Maphumulo of Table Mountain, who was also a prime mover

behind Contralesa, was assassinated in 1991. Mlaba took over from his brother, Bhekumsinga Mlaba, who was hacked to death in 1988.

However, despite being an active ANC leader, Mlaba lives in harmony with neighbouring Inkatha chiefs.

Because Mlaba is an ANC supporter, he receives no support from the KwaZulu government.

He said: "The people of KwaXimba have learnt to develop themselves through their efforts. We

'My people learned how to develop on their own'

are a strong community who believe in self-reliance. People have learnt to be on their own," says Mlaba.

Mlaba is not only concerned with organising chiefs for both Contralesa and ANC, but he also cares about the development of his people.

A fortnight ago Mlaba officially unveiled a water project he brokered with the Umgeni Water Board and the Joint Services Board. The project, to pump clean water into the valley, will cost R10-million. Mlaba has also negotiated with the Independent Development Trust to help finance development of the area.

Eskom is currently busy with the electrification of the area while Telkom has installed more than 3 000 telephones.

Senior tribesman Kwenza Mlaba, an attorney, said: "He is the most popular chief in this area. This is because when he was enthroned there was a lot of violence in the area, but he worked tirelessly to stop it.

"Now he has been concentrating on developing the community. This has endeared him to the people."

For the ceremony to celebrate fresh and clean water, Mlaba chose a very symbolic venue - a small strip of land which used to be the battlefield between his people and those of neighbouring KwaNyevu and its Inkatha chief Bangubukhosi Mdluli.

Fighting is now a thing of the past between the two groups.

Mlaba had arranged a peace meeting with Mdluli and a long-lasting deal was worked out.

At the water ceremony Mdluli, who was at Ulundi, sent a delegation of his senior headmen to represent him.

Why does Mlaba want chiefs to join the ANC?

He said: "I think it is important that chiefs should be exposed to all political views. For the ANC it is also crucial that their position is explained to the chiefs. We need to map out a possible role that they could play in a new South Africa."

'Fears of whites must be respected'

Sowetan 28/6/93

WHITE South Africans' fears of the future had to be taken seriously and eliminated by addressing the issue of minority group protection, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"We must take white fear seriously ... we must accept that it could be terribly destructive. We must accept that we need to deal with it and ... eliminate it," the Inkatha Freedom Party president told about 5 000 supporters at a Durban rally.

Protect group rights

Chief Buthelezi said the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed with the African National Congress that group rights were best protected by the protection of individual rights in a Bill of Rights.

However, the ANC refused to grant protection to minority groups, he charged.

"If minority group protection can be made compatible with individual rights and a Bill of Rights, then there is nothing wrong with minority group protection."

South Africa was faced with the challenge of fostering reconciliation in the country as without this, there would be no political settlement, he told the crowd at Durban's Curries Fountain Stadium.

Criticised rightwing violence

Earlier, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader again criticised the rightwing violence at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday, saying

the incident was a "crude reminder that the birth of a new South Africa will not be without its own pangs".

"Even that ugly incident will

not stop the birth," he added.

The country should not pander to racism and white demands. Instead, the future had to be determined by whites and blacks

Referring again to the question of future government in South Africa, he reiterated the IFP's rejection of a strong unitary government, saying even the best possible democratic model could not be forced on different population groups if they disagreed with it — Sapa.

Buthlezi warns of white fears

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — South Africa faced decades of revolution and counter-revolution if the "terribly destructive" fears of the white minority were not addressed, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi warned yesterday. (118)

Speaking at an IFP rally, he said racial conciliation was the "very first requirement of a political settlement".

Chief Buthlezi said Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre was "ominous" and he slammed the assault on IFP women's leader Mrs Faith Gasa by right-wingers.

● The fracas at the talks venue has spotlighted the IFP's affiliation to the Concerned South Africans Group, to which the Conservative Party belongs. But the IFP yesterday denied earlier reports that it was to reconsider its links with the CP.

IFP denies report

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Walter Fellgate has denied a news report that his party is reconsidering its alliance with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to which the Conservative Party also belongs.

The CP, the Afrikaner Volkfront, and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, led Friday's violent occupation of the World Trade Centre.

(11B) AFG 28/5/93

Take white fears of the future seriously, says Inkatha leader

1112
Area 28/6/93

□ Buthelezi urges minority group protection at big, disciplined Durban rally

DURBAN. — Fears of the future by white South Africans had to be taken seriously and eliminated by addressing the issue of minority group protection, according to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"We must take white fear seriously... we must accept that it could be terribly destructive. We must accept that we need to deal with it and... eliminate it," the IFP president told about 5 000 supporters at a Durban rally yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP agreed with the ANC that group rights were best protected by the protection of individual rights in a Bill of Rights. However, the ANC refused to

grant protection to minority groups, he charged.

"If minority group protection can be made compatible with individual rights and a Bill of Rights, then there is nothing wrong with minority group protection."

South Africa was faced with the challenge of fostering reconciliation in the country as without this there would be no political settlement, he told the crowd at Durban's Curries Fountain stadium.

Earlier, the IFP leader again criticised the rightwing violence at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday, saying the incident was a "crude reminder that the birth of a new South Africa will not be without its own pangs".

"Even that ugly incident will not stop the birth," he added.

"The country should not ponder to racism and white demands. Instead, the future had to be determined by whites and blacks.

On violence, Chief Buthelezi welcomed his recent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela, but cautioned he was not completely confident their joint undertaking to end the carnage would work.

He explained that "loose cannons", such as ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba and Southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe, who both had recently denigrated him, threatened peace accords.

He told the crowd, however, that peace accords should not be broken by the IFP.

"We must put all temptations to react violently to ANC provocation behind us. We must not

allow ourselves to be provoked into anger that produces violence."

Referring again to the question of future government in South Africa, he reiterated the IFP's rejection of a strong unitary government, saying even the best possible democratic model could not be forced on different population groups if they disagreed with it.

To this end, the ANC's Harare Declaration should be rejected as it was not an "instrument" of reconciliation but one of conflict.

"Whites will not accept the Harare Declaration. Whites will bugger up the Harare Declaration if it is forced on them," said Chief Buthelezi, adding that if this happened, the conflict in Mozambique and

Angola would be "child's play" in comparison.

Chief Buthelezi also voiced his support for a multiparty democracy.

"We are not campaigning to make sure that only we can win (elections). We are campaigning to make sure that democracy will win."

IFP organiser Senzo Mfayela said that the rally was part of Inkatha's election campaign and the IFP leader also urged the youth to step up voter education programmes and ensure people applied for identity documents in preparation for next year's expected elections.

The crowd was largely disciplined and spears and other dangerous weapons were replaced by sticks and shields carried by traditionalists. — Sapa.

Gunmen in car kill 12 in Sebokeng

B/Day 28/6/93

THEO RAWANA

TWELVE people were killed when four gunmen driving along a street in Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle, shot at pedestrians on Saturday night, police said yesterday.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Lt Gerrie van Rooyen said police were alerted to the bullet-riddled bodies of two men and a woman lying in the street at the township's Zone 8 about 9.30pm. The body of another man was found not far away.

Police later found another eight victims, who had apparently been shot in the massacre in Zone 8. They were taken to Sebokeng hospital where they all died.

Two other critically injured victims are still in the hospital.

Van Rooyen said it was reported that a white car with what appeared to be four black occupants drove along the street while the occupants shot at pedestrians. The motive for the attacks was not known, he said.

In Cape Town the bodies of two men, shot in the head, were found metres apart in Nyanga township, Sapa reports.

An explosion rocked the Rustenburg Magistrate's Court on Saturday afternoon during clashes between police and ANC supporters. Twenty people were arrested. Windows of the court house and adjacent

Receiver of Revenue offices were broken. Earlier, about 500 people had gathered nearby to march into Thabane township in Bophuthatswana.

This was despite an agreement at a regional peace committee meeting on Friday that the planned ANC march would be called off. ANC members had agreed to place officials at the gathering point to inform people of the cancellation, police spokesman Maj Hannes Wehrmann said.

The crowd, which refused to disperse, threw stones at police and two SAP members were slightly injured. Police fired two teargas cannisters and rubber bullets.

After dispersing, the crowd regrouped further away and broke windows of local businesses. At this time the explosion went off at the nearby court building.

ANC regional spokesman Rankoa Molefe, referring to Saturday's events and Friday's violent occupation of the World Trade Centre by right-wingers, accused police of double standards.

"While thousands of heavily armed neo-Nazis were indemnified from arrest yesterday (Friday) after creating havoc ... at the World Trade Centre, unarmed marchers were shot at and teargassed," he said.

White fears 'have to be taken seriously'

B/Day 28/6/93

DURBAN — Fears for the future by white South Africans had to be taken seriously and eliminated by addressing the issue of minority group protection, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

"We must take white fear seriously ... we must accept that we need to deal with it and ... eliminate it," the Inkatha president told about 5 000 supporters at a Durban rally yesterday.

Buthelezi said Inkatha agreed with the ANC that group rights were best protected by safeguarding individual rights in a Bill of Rights. However, the ANC refused to grant protection to minority groups, he said.

The Inkatha leader criticised the rightwing violence at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday, saying the incident was a "crude reminder that the birth of a new SA will not be without its own

pangs. Even that ugly incident will not stop the birth".

Buthelezi welcomed his recent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela, but cautioned he was not completely confident their joint undertaking to end political violence would work. (118) ~~3000~~

He said that "loose cannons" like ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba and southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe, who had both recently denigrated him, threatened the peace accords. However, the peace accords should not be broken by the IFP, he said.

Referring to the question of a future government, he reiterated the IFP's rejection of a strong unitary government.

He said even the best possible democratic model could not be forced on different population groups if they disagreed with it. — Sapa.

Entry alone can profit companies

Business Day Reporter

COMPANIES should not underestimate the benefits of entering for the SA Non-Listed Company Award, says a merchant banker who has helped several companies with their entries in recent years.

"It increases the value of the company from the perspective of all stakeholders, from staff to customers," said First Corp merchant bank vice-president André Roux, who is in charge of the company's investment banking activities.

Roux helped last year's winner, mining and crushing equipment manufacturer Nordberg, compile its entry document.

"A good performance in the competition gives employees a sense of pride in working for a successful company, and enhances the standing of the company in the eyes of customers and suppliers."

The same message has

DP lets fly with anti-IFP

salvo

ARG 29/6/93
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party today declared electoral hostilities against the Inkatha Freedom Party as political groups form battle lines and ready their polling machinery for next year's historic ballot.

Formally announcing the IFP as a political opponent, it indicted the party with human rights violations and gave notice that it can expect no mercy in the election campaign. In an unprecedented DP lashing for the IFP, it:

- Spoke of "stark contrasts" between IFP word and deed;
- Accused it of restricting freedom of assembly, expression and association;
- Charged that it permitted effective one-party rule and lack of democracy in Kwazulu;
- Noted that it had supporters involved in violence;
- Said the DP had different interpretations of federalism.

Mr Mike Ellis, chairman of the DP's Natal coastal region, said his party would therefore conduct itself towards the IFP in the same way it did other political opponents.

Differences between the DP and IFP have in the past been played down by both sides, but recent Inkatha criticism of the DP leadership has generated increasing resentment among Democrats.

Turning on the National Party, Mr Ellis again voiced suspicion about how Mr Renier Schoeman, chairman of the Port Natal/Ebodhwe region of the NP and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, came to possess a copy of the minutes of a DP meeting.

He said Mr Schoeman's explanations had so far been unsatisfactory. His attempts at discrediting the DP were also futile. "Mr Schoeman should not try to take the focus off the very real problems his party faces, almost on a daily basis, by making silly suggestions about the DP."

Democratic MPs have queried whether the minutes were stolen from the home of Mr Kobus Jordaan, MP for Umhlanga, in a burglary at his home some months ago.

CP summoned
by Buthelezi
CT 29/6/93
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Conserva-
tive Party leader Dr
Ferdinand Hartzenberg and
senior party members
met Inkatha Freedom
Party president Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi
in Ulundi yesterday to
discuss last Friday's
right-wing assault on the
World Trade Centre.

Although IFP officials
were tight-lipped on the
meeting, it is believed
that Dr Buthelezi called
the CP to the KwaZulu-
Natal capital to express his an-
ger at the abuse of
senior IFP negotiators
during the fracas.

IFP, Bop to remain in Cosag

Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in the occupation of the World Trade Centre on Friday, the CP has been told.

This assurance, made by the IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Bophuthatswana's Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje, was given to

the Conservative Party yesterday.

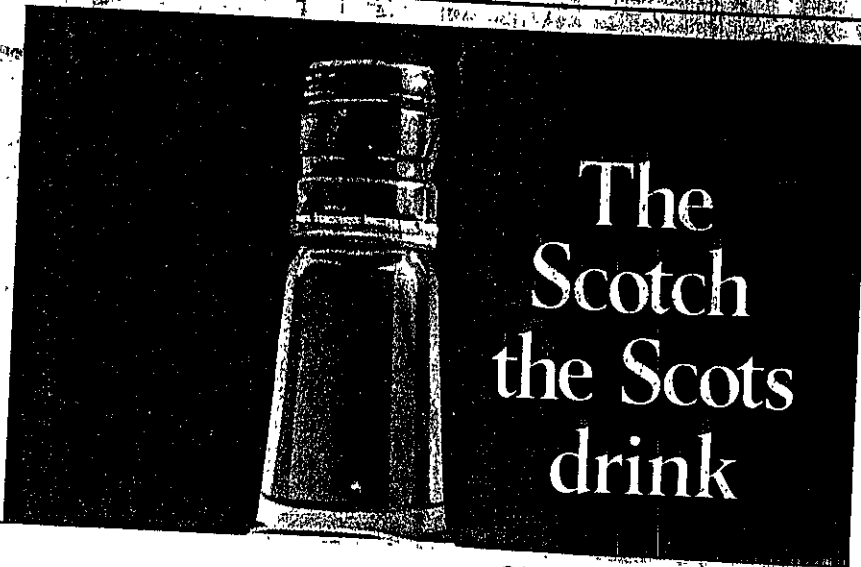
In a meeting with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg — which the IFP said had been planned before rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre on Friday — in Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi reportedly said the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, who is a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those who was roughed up by the rightwingers on Friday.

Although an IFP source said the CP had apologised "for what happened on Friday", CP chief negotiator Tom Langley last night denied this, and told The Star Buthelezi had accepted that the CP was not involved in the fracas.

"After the meeting Cosag is now stronger than ever," Langley told The Star.

Cronje yesterday said he also accepted the CP had not been part of the violent invasion of the World Trade Centre, and that Bophuthatswana would remain part of Cosag.



The Star Tuesday June 29 1993

IFP and Bop to stay in Cosag

Political Staff

(118) (118) (118)
THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in Friday's occupation of the World Trade Centre. (118) (118)

This assurance was given yesterday by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje. MRG 29/6/73

Chief Buthelezi is reported to have said at a meeting in

Ulundi with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg that the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those roughed up by the rightwingers on Friday.

CP negotiator Tom Langley denied apologising to the IFP and said Chief Buthelezi accepted the CP had not been involved in Friday's events.

"After the meeting Cosag is stronger than ever," said Mr Langley.

IFP 'insult' alleged

DURBAN — ANC leaders in Natal yesterday described Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's commitment to the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) as an insult to black South Africans.

Buthelezi met Conservative Party leader Pieter Hartzberg in Durban yesterday and reaffirmed Inkatha's support for Cosag, which

93
violent
y ne-

negotiations venue outside Johannesburg last week, during which senior Inkatha official Ms Faith Gasa was "roughed up".

"In both Afrikaner and African culture you never assault a woman," said Southern Natal ANC secretary Mr S'bu Ndebele. "I felt humiliated as an African and a Zulu on Buthelezi's embracing of Hartzberg."

Northern Natal ANC secretary Mr Senzo Mchunu said: "What Buthelezi is doing is an insult to black people in general." — Sapa



IFP disowns poll smear fax

DURBAN. — Inkatha has distanced itself from an anonymous fax circulating here claiming "the ANC, SACP and NP alliance" intends to hold elections before a constitution has been drafted.

The fax, sent to the offices of several political parties and other individuals, calls on recipients to campaign against this.

NP director of information in Natal, Mr Johan Steenkamp, said yesterday the contents of the document were based on either ignorance or deliberate falsehoods. — Sapa

Negotiating parties B/Day 30/6/93 declare a deadlock

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) declared yesterday that they were in deadlock over the process of drafting a new constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We reject out of hand the single-phase process in which this undemocratic, unelected body drafts a constitution. And in our rejection we have introduced a deadlock of major proportions."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said: "We say 'no' to an elected constituent assembly writing a constitution. We have a deadlock."

He said: "Today for the first time we are starting to face the real issues. There is no way out but to find a compromise, but we cannot do it at this stage of the process."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer intervened and said the technical committee on constitutional issues had proposed that the parties seek equilibrium. "I appeal to Inkatha that they have no choice but to consider the equilibrium proposal."

In its report, the committee said the two opposing positions were incompatible and could be bridged only by compromise.

The report reinforces a two-phased transition in which the negotiating forum decides on binding constitutional principles which have a justiciable basis as a mandate to the constitution-making body. It binds the constitution-making body to drafting the final constitution within the

limitations it imposes.

At the same time, it stills the fears of Cosag parties by providing for regional constitutions with their own legislatures and executives.

Ramaphosa tabled a motion stating that the equilibrium proposal "offers the best possible basis for finding agreement on the constitution-making process".

The negotiating council decided it would debate, but not decide on the resolution until today, allowing parties to discuss the issue and consult their principals.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said the DP was prepared to compromise because the principles would be binding on an elected body and the powers and functions of regions would be determined by the negotiating body.

He said those parties like the ANC, which had wanted an elected body to draft the new constitution, had made considerable concessions over the past weeks. Referring to Cosag and Inkatha, he said: "I would like to ask, what are you prepared to compromise on in bridging the gap?"

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said: "If there has to be a parting of the ways, so be it." He said Inkatha was clearly afraid of placing the future of the country in the hands of the people by facing an election.

He said negotiators had to resolve the deadlock within the next 48 hours.

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1993

JULY

One step closer to interim govt

New deal on constitution ends impasse

Biday 11/1/93

BILLY PADDOCK
and WILSON ZWANE

A BREAKTHROUGH in the negotiating process was achieved yesterday when political parties agreed on a process to draft a new constitution.

After a full day of confidential meetings between parties to reach common ground, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee to draft a "constitution for the transition". This step will allow for the election of an interim government which will finalise the constitution and govern the country during the transition.

In essence, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans Group parties get their strong regional government powers and functions entrenched in an interim constitution, while the ANC and government and their allies get the two-phased process involving an elected constituent assembly.

The agreement follows Tuesday's deadlock between Inkatha and the ANC.

The interim constitution will provide for an election on a proportional representation basis for an interim government which will finalise the constitution, legislate and govern during the transitional phase. This must include a national and a regional component and must provide for the election of regional legislatures and establishment of regional governments in the transition.

The powers, functions and structures of the regions will be entrenched in the con-

stitution, which should also include fundamental human rights on a justiciable basis. There should be a constitutional court/tribunal to ensure the justiciability of the constitutional principles, fundamental rights and of the constitution itself.

The council agreed that no parties tied themselves to the interim constitution until it was fully discussed and agreed. Agreement will depend on consensus in the council on constitutional principles, including provision for strong regional and national government. (30/1/93)

The principles will be binding on the elected constitution-making body and be justiciable. The commission on regions has to finalise its recommendation on regional boundaries for regional elections during the transition phase. (11/1)

The negotiators also have to reach agreement on transitional structures (such as a transitional executive and an independent electoral commission) and on the interim constitution and the repeal of discriminatory legislation. (11/1)

The CP opposed the resolution; Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions; and Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the Bophuthatswana government agreed on the direction of the process but wanted to see "the exact words" used in the constitution.

NEWS Hundreds protest a
Sowetan 2/1/93

Walkout denied ⁽¹¹³⁾

BOTH the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu delegations left the negotiations chamber at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park last night before the start of a crucial debate on a transitional executive council.

IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate denied they had "walked out", saying the two delegations were on their way to Ulundi to consult "with our principals". — *Sapa*.

C



nded a Community Development Foundation seminar at the of the armed struggle in the transitional period and post-MP Johan Vilonel, left, Phillip Powell of Inkatha and Phil na is on the right.
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Biday 2/17/93
**Rising unemployment
 'strains fund's resources'**

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Increasing unemployment and the consequent unprecedented payout volumes from the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) has placed an enormous strain on the fund's resources.

It is understood that, at a meeting of the UIF Board last week, recommendations to bolster its finances and slow the drain were made to Manpower Minister Leon Wessels.

Sources said the fund was draining away at a rate of about R45m a month. In May, payouts totalled R162m from R119m in the same month last year, while income declined to R109m from R112m.

At this time last year, the fund's resources amounted to just over R1bn. Since the beginning of the year, this had been reduced by more

than R200m.

The sources said the options available to strengthen the fund included raising worker and employer subscriptions, currently 0,9% of a worker's earnings, and scaling down benefits.

Other options included raising the threshold at which payments were compulsory to above the current income level of R55 000 and greater government support.

Currently 6,8-million employees and 180 000 employers subscribe.

The number of applications for benefits in May totalled 71 000, up 6 000 from last May, while the number of beneficiaries totalled 233 000 (210 000).

Subscription income now failed to cover payouts.

Biday 2/17/93
Population predictions

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — SA's population would increase by more than 40% within 20 years, Unisa's Bureau of Market Research has predicted.

In a report released yesterday, it estimated that the total population of SA, including the TBVC states, would rise from 38-million currently to more than 54-million by 2011.

The growth would have a major impact on the composition of the population and could signal an appreciable improvement in black living standards, the report said.

While the proportion of the economically active population (between 15 and 64 years) was expected to expand considerably, the number of dependents would drop.

In 1991 there were 80 economically dependent blacks for every 100 eco-

nomically active. This figure would fall to 58 dependents per 100 by 2011.

"Provided the jobs are available, this decline in the dependency ratio will bring about an appreciable improvement in black living standards," the report said.

All population groups would experience a decline in fertility and mortality and would age accordingly.

Up to 90% of the population increase would occur in the black sector, with annual increases in the total population peaking in 1996-2001 before beginning to taper off.

In all population groups, the growth rate would decelerate over the 20-year period, the report said.

Biday 2/17/93
Inkatha complains about SADF

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on the Goldstone commission to investigate alleged assaults by security force members of its supporters at Mpushini, in the Umbumbulu district outside Durban.

Inkatha said yesterday it had received widespread complaints of assaults and harassment — allegedly by SADF soldiers carrying out weapons searches — from residents in Mpushini.

The Natal/KwaZulu regional dis-

pute resolution committee said it would look into the allegations immediately.

A Goldstone commission spokesman said he had not received an official complaint by Inkatha or a request for the assaults to be investigated by yesterday afternoon.

A Durban SADF liaison officer said she had become aware of the complaints only yesterday and would respond later. — Sapa.

Biday 2/17/93
Week's toll in SA is 67 lives

JONATHAN DAVIS

POLITICAL violence nationwide claimed 67 lives and left 20 people injured in the week ending Tuesday, the Human Rights Commission said in its weekly report released yesterday.

The death toll was lower than the previous week's, when 78 deaths and 55 injuries were reported.

Most of the past week's violence occurred in the PWV region, with 29 deaths, and included massacres in Sebokeng, where 12 people were killed, and in Evaton, where six people were shot dead.

Violence-related deaths in Natal were down to 26 from the previous week's 46. The report said the focus of violence had shifted from the Midlands to the south coast, and 13 people were killed at Murchison on June 20.

Eight people died in the western Cape, one was killed in the eastern Cape, and two people died in an attack at Khutsong in the western Transvaal.

Two members of the SAP were killed during the period, the report said. A member of the crime intelligence service was shot dead in Katlehong, and another policeman died in Crossroads.

The day Inkatha suddenly recognised reality

2/10/93 217/93

EQUILIBRIUM and reality suddenly struck home this week in the minds of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) negotiators. And they had to compromise.

The compromise has made it possible for an interim constitution to be ready by mid-August, with a transitional executive in place and sanctions officially called off by the ANC.

The seeds of the compromise came from the technical committee that has repeatedly warned negotiators they were on essentially two incompatible paths and had to all move and find a bridge.

They came up with the equilibrium proposal last week and refined it further on Monday.

The proposal marries a two-phased process of interim government elections, in which a constituent assembly would finalise the constitution, with the regional demands of Inkatha and its allies in Cosag.

It entrenches strong regional government in the interim constitution and holds out the possibility of regions having their own constitutions. A technical committee member said last week if the idea of equilibrium and the full meaning of this could get through to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a settlement would be possible.

Most Inkatha negotiators are entitled to believe they have got just about everything they wanted.

Why did it take so long? What caused the turnaround in the past 48 hours that could not have happened 10 days earlier?

Maybe Buthelezi's pique at not being part of the US medal ceremony with President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela had worn off; the process had been sufficiently delayed to prevent agreement on a transitional executive, denying his political opponents the kudos that would have come to them this weekend with an announcement by President Bill Clinton that sanctions were lifted.

Another, more likely, explanation is that the power axis among the Inkatha negotiators has shifted. This depends on which group has Buthelezi's ear, and the "more reasonable" Joe Matthews and Frank Mtshalose are moving into ascendancy over the more hardline Walter Felgate and his foreign adviser Mario Ambrossini.

BILLY PADDOCK

It is clear that when Matthews or Mtshalose are negotiating, there is a more conciliatory approach and a search for solutions than when Felgate is in the chair, fighting tooth and nail on every possible point.

It is also understood that Matthews left the negotiating chamber on Tuesday evening to phone Buthelezi; that on Wednesday the green light was glowing in Umhudi and Buthelezi decided "it is time to seek a compromise".

Felgate stormed out of the World Trade Centre on Wednesday. His departure came after an altercation with Cosag partner Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana, when it was decided that Matthews would be the Inkatha negotiator in the bilateral and multilateral meetings that preceded the compromise.

Cronje played an important part in the turnaround. A shrewd politician, he paved the way for a resolution "to break the deadlock" on Tuesday night.

A decision on the resolution was never taken, but it was the basis of

Wednesday's breakthrough. It said the equilibrium proposal was the best way forward after Felgate had rejected the technical committee's report and proposal.

Reality struck home on Tuesday night. That night's "deadlock" was clearly fabricated.

There was no evidence of it developing any differently from the preceding weeks, but suddenly ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa launched an attack on Felgate and declared a deadlock. SAGP negotiator Joe Slovo did likewise and said: "We need another Lewis Carroll to write Alice in Wonderland or rather Felgate in Kwazulu."

They were clearly indicating to Inkatha that they had to join the real world. The ANC and its allies had compromised as much as they could and were not going further.

Over the past seven weeks the ANC and its allies as well as government became increasingly irritated with Inkatha's filibustering and holding out on a settlement, while they were conceding ground.

The DP's Colin Eglin said the DP and other parties had made considerable concessions. "I would like to ask those parties

that reject the two-phase approach — what are you prepared to compromise?" Eglin said.

Cronje called for parties to sleep on the proposal and discuss it on Wednesday. He said it was a very important document with implications that could be seen more clearly the next day.

He, also, was intimating that it was time to caucus and discuss the proposal with principals. He knew the time had come to compromise.

There had been lobbying at a variety of levels all week and it became clear to all in the chamber that the equilibrium proposal was the closest they were going to get to one another. The parties had succeeded in avoiding a breakdown once more by last-minute, quiet negotiations rather than fighting in the open.

Wednesday's deal makes today's forum meeting easier and more likely to succeed. Parties are likely to approve April 27 1994 as the election date for the interim government. But this is likely to be combined with a declaration based on Wednesday's deal that several conditions, including justiciable principles of regional government, had to be met before the elections could take place.

Natal peace prize winner

Against all the odds in war ravaged Natal, the head of the Commonwealth Observer Mission in Durban has succeeded in bringing the ANC and IFP together. By FAROUK CHOTHIA

FORGET about Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and FW de Klerk. It's time to meet South Africa's most successful grassroots peace-maker. He is, incidentally, a foreigner — Ghanaian-born Moses Anafu.

In the eight months that he headed the Commonwealth Observer Mission (CoM) in Durban, the genial 45-year-old Anafu succeeded where local peace mediators had tried and failed: brokering peace in rural Natal between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In the strife-torn district of kwaNdwalane, near Port Shepstone, both the ANC and the Local Dispute Resolution Committee made overtures to chief Aaron Ndwalane. Facing murder charges, and with the reputation of being a "warlord", Ndwalane spurned their olive branch.

Yet, Anafu had success — not only in kwaNdwalane but also in the districts of kwaMavundla, Ezingolweni, Ndwedwe and Umbumbulu.

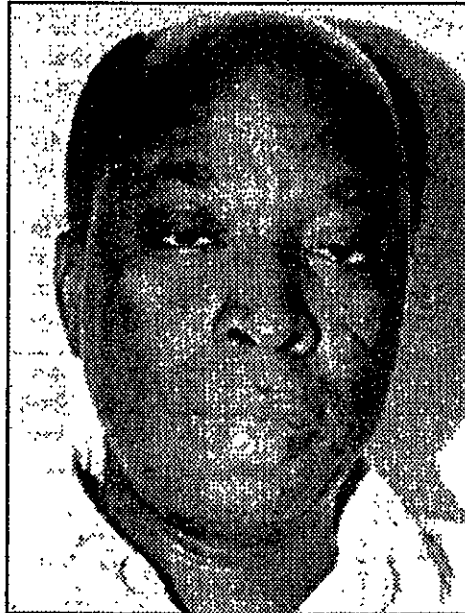
Explaining the reason behind his success, Anafu said: "I come from a chiefly family (his father was a chief) so I was quite familiar with protocol. When I arrived here, I noticed that the chiefs were conspicuously absent from the peace process — and you could not bring peace to rural Natal without their whole-hearted involvement. We therefore put the chiefs at the centre of the whole process."

After urging Ndwalane to adopt a neutral stance, Anafu gave him the role of peacemaker in the community and helped him to restore his authority over his subjects. Ndwalane called peace meetings between the ANC and IFP, earning the respect of both sides.

This was a far cry from the days when the chief, under fierce attack from ANC-supporting youth, was forced to flee his territory. Ndwalane returned later with his warriors and ruled with an iron fist, driving ANC youth away.

At the height of the violence in the 1980s, about 50 people were dying each month in his area. Violence has now declined sharply, with few deaths recorded.

Elaborating on his methods, Anafu said: "I told the chiefs what they already knew: that no matter what misgivings, anxieties and fears they may have of the future, as fathers of the community they needed to take the lead — and not only to support the peace process. When two of their sons fight, they needed to mediate — not to take sides."



Keeping the peace ... Moses Anafu

He has also tried to allay the fears of chiefs, citing the case of pre-independence Ghana, where chiefs earned the ire of Nkrumah for co-operating with the British colonial rulers. "Nkrumah had said that chiefs would either have to side with the people or one day they would have to run away and leave their sandals behind.

"But far from abolishing the chieftaincy, chiefs prospered under a national government. The present king of the Ashanti tribe, for instance, is a barrister and was once Ghana's ambassador to Rome," said Anafu.

He takes a sympathetic approach to chiefs, believing their "co-operation" with the British in Ghana and with the National Party government in South Africa must be seen in a historical context. "In Ghana, the Ashantis fought the British intermittently between 1800 and 1900, when the British finally put down the last Ashanti uprising. The Ashanti king was exiled to the Seychelles with his senior chiefs until 1925. The minor chiefs, seeing what happened to the bigger chiefs, caved in. It was a humiliating experience for the chiefs. They conformed outwardly, but in their hearts of hearts they could never have loved colonial rule.

"In South Africa, the defeat of the Zulu kingdom couldn't have been a badge of honour for subsequent Zulu monarchs either. I won't be surprised if they feel the same (as the Ghanaian chiefs of pre-independence)," said Anafu.

He hopes that South Africa's political parties will not turn chiefs into a "political football" in an election campaign.

"They would be more useful playing a healing role. Throughout Africa, their role has been a standard one: to represent the spiritual well-being

of communities."

He does not believe chiefs should join either the ANC or IFP. "If there are divisions, the chiefs should bring the two sides together — every other thing is of secondary importance."

He believes South Africa should look at other West African countries when it maps out the future of chiefs under a new constitution.

"In Ghana, we have a National House of Chiefs and we have Regional Houses in the 10 regions. But they do not have a political role — nor do they seek one. They are part of our cultural heritage — and we treasure them as such," said Anafu.

Even though he has convinced chiefs — who provide the IFP with support at grassroots level — to accommodate the ANC, Anafu has not had any confrontation with IFP leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "In every meeting I have had with him, he has promised me his wholehearted support. He told me that if I encounter any problems, I should approach him," said Anafu.

Much to the anger of local peace mediators, Anafu has now left Durban to take up a new post in Johannesburg from this month.

Sources close to him said he was reluctant to move — but that he had had to give in after immense pressure from Commonwealth general-secretary Chief Emeka Anyoukou. This, sources say, reflects the Commonwealth's new focus on upcoming elections, and downscaling of its peace role.

"As the general-secretary's special representative in South Africa, I have to be close to where the politicians are," said Anafu.

This has sparked concern that the various initiatives he has spearheaded in Natal could flounder — though Anafu brushed the fears aside. "My heart will always be in Natal. What we have built, we will not allow to fall apart. I will keep my ear to the ground and assist wherever I can. When necessary, I will come to Natal," said Anafu.

He added that an earlier decision to close the Durban office of CoM has been overturned: new monitors would be based there.

Anafu — who boasts a doctorate in history — confirmed that the Commonwealth intended playing a more prominent role in South Africa in the run-up to elections. "We intend adding new dimensions to the evolving situation," he said.

This would include sending in "election experts" to assist the Independent Electoral Commission, to send in "media experts" to ensure that media coverage is fair to all the political parties and to run training programmes on mediation and negotiation skills for grassroots activists involved in peace initiatives.

Talks: Government, ANC force the pace

Star 3/1/93

11B

ESTHER WAUGH and CHRIS WHITFIELD

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Saturday Star July 3 1993

THE African National Congress and the Government yesterday bit the bullet and forced real movement towards a new order, bypassing vigorous opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG).

The day ended with a symbolic walkout from the Negotiating Forum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party over a decision to fix the election date for April 27 — but all are expected back in the process soon.

See Editorial - Page 8

The rejection by some COSAG members of the "sufficient consensus" basis on which the agreement was struck followed significant progress and studious attempts by other parties to avoid confrontation that could damage the process.

Besides the election date, overwhelming agreement was reached among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on the process to be followed in arriving at a democratic order, including the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council, the principles that would be binding on a constitution-making body and how to tackle the violence sweeping the country.

A draft constitution could be tabled in two weeks, and Government negotiations chief Roelf Meyer and his ANC counterpart, Cyril Ramaphosa, are confident it could be adopted and ready to pass through Parliament in August.

The election date was always going to be the crunch issue, and it was evident that the IFP and KwaZulu delegations

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Talks

Star 3/1/93

FROM PAGE 1.

had returned from an overnight consultation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with attitudes hardened.

A lengthy argument broke out in the forum — which ratifies negotiating council agreements — over whether enough parties had supported the issue to provide for "sufficient consensus". A break of nearly two hours for meetings on the issue failed to provide a solution, despite the tabling of several compromise resolutions.

It is understood that IFP delegates told negotiators that their instructions from Ulundi were not to discuss any compromise.

However, IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews told journalists the IFP would be back when negotiations resume in two weeks, but its continued participation would depend on a draft interim constitution being compiled by a negotiations technical committee.

IFP negotiator Thomas Langley said a decision on when to return to the talks would be made in consultation with party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Essentially, however, the day was marked by

considerable progress in several areas, notably:

- Fixing the election date for April 27 next year, or earlier if possible. It was noted that adoption of a transitional constitution and other agreements would have to be reached before elections.

- How the transition process should run, including the transitional executive council, simultaneous elections for both central and regional government and the delimitation of boundaries for regions before elections.

- An independent media commission and an independent electoral commission will also be established, while discriminatory legislation will be scrapped.

- A range of principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body. These make provision for a proportional representation election, a multiparty democracy, a bill of rights, three-tier government with democratic representation and "adequate legislative and executive powers" at each level.

- Steps to end violence, including a national peacekeeping force, moves toward unified security forces and the ending of hostilities.

Ramaphosa said: "The democracy train is on track to its ultimate destination. This is one train that will not and cannot be derailed."



aces by jockey Piere Strydom, ahead of training partner
● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

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ROBERT GARNER

ranked one of the finest horses in South African racing history

The superstar filly has not raced since flopping in the Administrator's Cup at Gosforth Park in March, but she is working well again according to

close of business last night punters had already wagered more than R1 million. This was slightly less than at the corresponding time last year

The current tote favourite is Dancing Duel.

Projected win and place payouts are

1. Empire Club 54 2

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

IT'S all over bar the shouting — and one last, feverish round of horse-trading.

The shouting will be loud and long, and will range from the ululation of Inkatha-supporting Zulus girding for battle to the lonely wail of the Conservative Party.

The horse-trading will centre on the wording of legislation to flesh out a remarkable range of decisions taken on the form and substance of the next constitution and how to get there.

Full settlement is months away, but the most important concerns of the ANC and its opposition in Cosag were met in principle this week.

The ANC wanted a constituent assembly to be elected to draft South Africa's "final" constitution. Cosag parties wanted to have a say in that constitution now, before many of them are all but wiped out by that election.

The two bottom lines were linked in a resolution adopted this week.

Cosag — a loose grouping of Inkatha, people who have homelands and people who want them — has made its acceptance conditional on getting the sort of interim constitution it wants and binding the future constituent assembly to the constitutional principles underpinning the draft ~~(204444)~~

This is a big, but not insurmountable, condition. It remains to be seen whether the ANC and the government's stated commitment to strong regional government goes far enough to meet the fears and needs of the Cosag parties.

Parties have eight days to tell the technical committee on constitutional issues what they would like to see written into the next constitution ~~(118)~~

Once again this brilliant group of lawyers and academics will have to marry fears and hopes, democratic and peculiarly South African clauses into a comprehensible document. They are good at this.

Between the acceptance of the draft constitution and elections lies a transitional phase. Great strides were made in this area as well with the acceptance, in principle, of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Broadcasting Authority and Independent Electoral Commission.

Other technical committees will spend the next two weeks drafting legislation for these transitional organs.

Inkatha, whose petulant chief has tried to block almost every wobbly step forward, and which remains uncommitted to allowing the process to progress until it sees the final draft constitution, felt the chill wind of *realpolitik* blowing through its cosy Cosag parlour this week as allies opted for movement.

Inkatha's junior partners realised that their common end-goal — strong regions and shelter from the harsh light of elec-

tions — was being hampered by Ulundi's dyspeptic blasts.

"We are a group of people with very different philosophies," said Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje after Friday's forum meeting when asked why he had not joined the IFP in walking out to consult principals" on the election issue.

It was Mr Cronje who brokered the bilateral agreement that led to the breakthrough.

This crucial meeting on Wednesday — between Cosag and the Patriotic Front

— was characterised by "a really constructive attitude on both sides", he said, as Messrs Slovo and Ramaphosa went out of their way to assure the meeting of their commitment to strong regional government.

Not present at the bilateral meeting was Mr Walter

Felgate, defender and comforter of the unfortunate Dr Mario Ambrosini, an American citizen and constitutional adviser who is increasingly getting on the nerves of Inkatha delegates and the talks at large.

Dr Ambrosini was kicked out of Friday's forum because he is a non-South African — and after IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews muttered that he was "not even aware this person was here. I am not giving this person any protection".

Dr Ambrosini may have looked even more miserable than usual, but Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa both wore huge grins on Friday.

Their unseemly race to be recorded as proposer of the breakthrough resolution on Wednesday said it all.

Mr Meyer won, but both men had pulled it off by deliberately restraining themselves from confronting the crucial issue of the talks for three long months.

Behind the scenes, two powerful and opposing forces had kept this delicate strategy on course.

The government, with a smug 45 years of barely accountable rule under its belt, knew how to be patient, how to spend hours, weeks, listening to the concerns of the other delegates until they slowly shed some suspicions, trusting first the process and then their own voices.

The ANC, hounded by a hungry and volatile constituency, brought the urgency of this ominous rumble to the talks.

"Every day was a learning and teaching process," said a government source. "For the first time we had to deal with the raw politics of a real constituency out there."

At the end of an extraordinary week, an unstoppable vehicle was set in motion. And, with a very real interest in the draft constitution to be bashed out between now and mid-August, Cosag will be committed as never before.

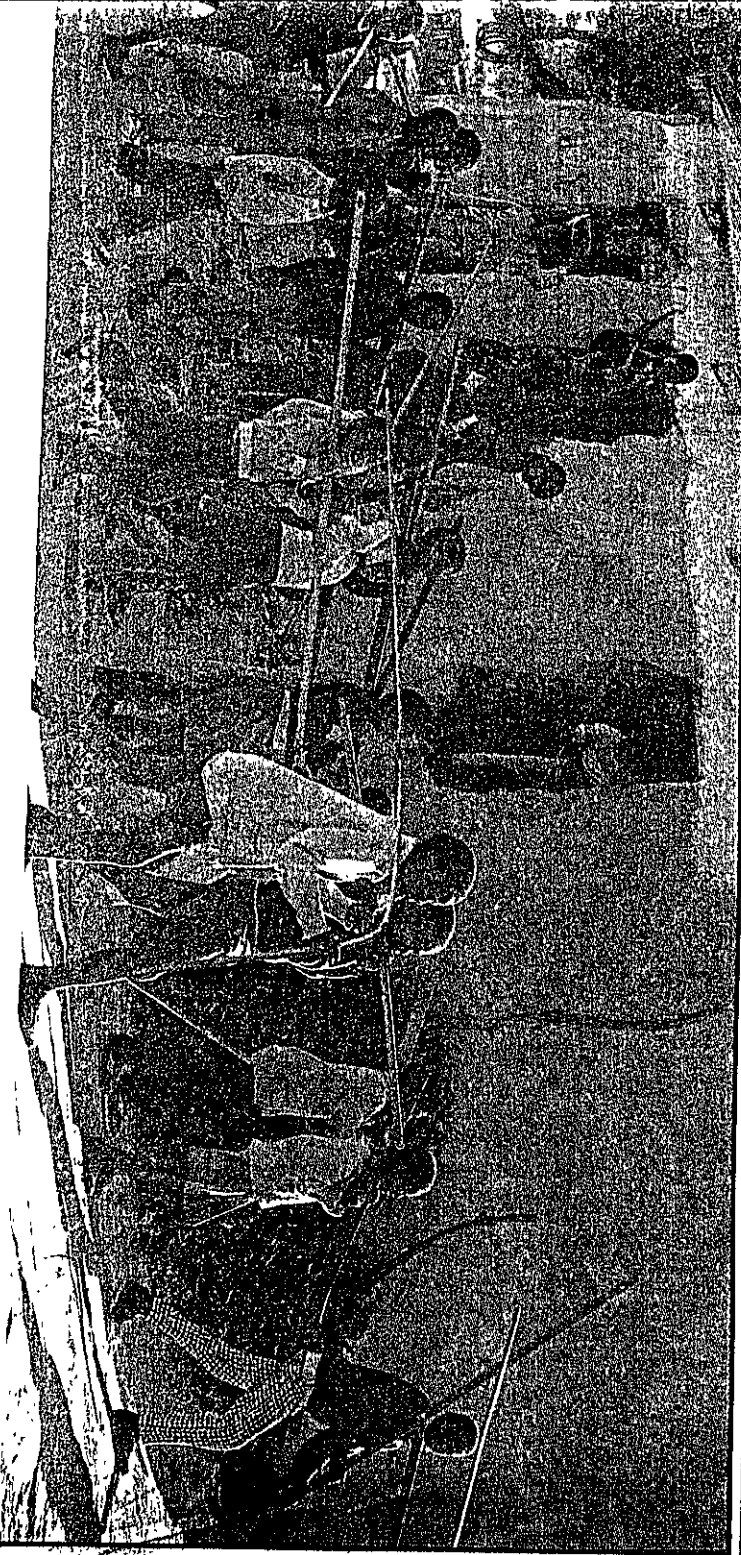
Claire Robertson

SITIMES 4-7-93 New ship of state gets ready to sail

UNION'S FURY

Cl Press 4-7-79

Schoolkids chased away to make way for farmer's cattle



By THEMBA KHUMALO

INKATHA has threatened to unleash the wrath of "two million" supporters in the streets countrywide to stop the ANC, the government and 18 other parties from setting April 27 next year as a date for SA's first non-racial general elections.

This warning was sounded by Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate.

He was speaking soon after Inkatha chief negotiator Joe Mathews led a walkout by his party and the Conservative Party during the negotiating forum talks at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Felgate said the walkout was aimed at showing that people on the ground were "sick and tired" of ANC-government "manipulation" of the talks.

"We are saying we don't want an interim government. We want the general elections to be held all at once at the end of next year once a new constitution has been drawn up and accepted by every citizen."

He said violence was a possible option to force the pro-April date parties to defer their proposal.

Felgate added his party and the CP would consult their principals and by this week they would probably begin holding bilateral talks with the government and the ANC to try to strike a compromise.

The walkout came after forum chairman Pravin Gordhan ruled that the

Inkatha vows to take to the streets

election date had been reached "through sufficient consensus".

The date was also opposed by the PAC, Ciskei, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatwana delegates. (11g)

Patricia de Lille of the PAC said they were opposed to the April date because the proposed interim constitution would be binding on the constituent assembly. The PAC would nevertheless take part in the April elections. (11g)

Opponents of the date were roundly condemned as "opportunists and power-mongers, most of whom benefited in the apartheid office". (11g)

Maria Moramochie of Nelson Mandela's United People's Party drew loud applause when she said some people were opposed to the date because they led "fast-track lives and their children attended the best schools while people on the ground were homeless and their children had no education at all".

However, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Minister of Constitutional Development Koofi Meyer at separate press conferences afterwards expressed hope that Inkatha and the CP would resume their seats when the Negotiating Council reopened two weeks from now.

Star 5/7/93

All-in election 'now urgent'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Negotiators heaved a sigh of relief at the weekend following the Negotiating Forum's confirmation of April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in elections, but warned that urgency would have to be the catchword.

Negotiators said it was now incumbent on the 26 parties and organisations in the talks to ensure that progress on remaining issues was swift. The Negotiating Forum also ratified agreements on the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council and discussed how to tackle the ques-

tion of violence.

For the second time in three weeks, the IFP and the CP walked out towards the end of the talks, but this time without the backing of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), who stayed behind. (113)

Political observers believe the two parties will return to negotiations when the Negotiating Council (NC) sits in two weeks' time. (304A)

The formal setting of the election date has been welcomed abroad, with Canadian External Affairs Minister Perrin Beatty saying his country will lift remaining sanctions as soon as agreement has been reached "on the out-

standing issues".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer have expressed the hope that the constitution could be adopted by the NC and be ready to be passed in Parliament by August. (113)

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, yesterday said negotiations had to come to an end soon so that the different parties could prepare for elections.

"The filibustering must stop now that we are 10 months away from an election. There is still some fine-tuning to do, but it looks as though the people will finally have their say," Slovo said.

'Police helped Nongwe, supporters with arson'

ARG 6/7/93

□ 'Miss AC' testifies to Goldstone Commission

JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporter

POLICE have been accused of helping supporters of Crossroads strongman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe in arson attacks on residents this year, in evidence before the Goldstone Commission.

The claims came from a woman, referred to only as "Miss AC" to protect her identity, who testified before the commission at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

The commission is investigating the causes of the violence in Crossroads.

Miss AC said that as a resident of Section Two she witnessed Nongwe supporters from Section Four disembark from police Casspirs and petrol-bomb homes.

Asked to recall details, she said one of the attacks took place in daylight on a Thursday in March. She remembered that one of the Casspirs from which Nongwe sup-

porters alighted bore the number AC 30.

During the Easter weekend she saw Mr Nongwe's son, Toto, lead a group of more than 100 men who torched the home of her sister, who has testified as Miss AB.

Her sister's home was the only dwelling burnt that day, she said.

Miss AC said she knew Mr Toto Nongwe as they had been ANC youth league marshals together.

She left the ANC because of some of the actions of the leader of the branch, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Mr Nongwe had asked for money to pay for the burial of a Section Four resident, and forced people to pay R5 toward attorney costs, she said.

Miss AC said she, like her sister, joined the SA Communist Party. Mr Nongwe "did not like people joining the SACP" and did not allow it in Section Four, she said.

Section Two residents had come under attack from Mr

Nongwe because they refused to move to Lower Crossroads as he had asked them.

Mr Nongwe had called a meeting and said he would build new houses for them in Section Two and that these would be rented for 75c a month. "He told us that if he did not do that, then the people must kill him," she said.

Section Two people refused to move because Section One residents who had been promised new homes earlier were still in Lower Crossroads.

Miss AC told how-site saw her sister's 14-year-old son at a police station after men following Mr Nongwe's instructions had allegedly abducted and assaulted him in Section Four.

The boy, who has testified as Mr AA, had been hit. His face was swollen and his jacket torn and bloodied. He could not speak, she said.

The commission hears further evidence today.

Local Inkatha chairman elected

Political Staff (116)

MR DANIE van der Heever has been elected regional Inkatha Freedom Party chairman.

He replaces Mr Nicolas Myburgh. Mr Van der Heever was elected at an IPF meeting at the weekend.

His executive committee will comprise vice-chairman Mr Alan Gibson, Mr Deon Nel (secretary) and treasurer Mr Bill Horwood.

Mr Myburgh said the IPF, which was going from strength to strength in the Western Cape, would "do its utmost to secure a safe and prosperous future for all South Africans". ARG 6/7/93

'Lone Survivor' to be honoured

Municipal Reporter

DUBBED the Lone Survivor, a 1920s bathing box at Muizenberg which stood up to the Easter storm is to be restored and have a commemorative plaque fitted.

This was decided by the amenities and health committee yesterday.

Meanwhile, the boating pool at the sunken gardens at Muizenberg Pavilion could be restored.

Civic amenities director Jack Kloppers is to be asked to call for tenders for an operator for the boating pool and other "appropriate family-orientated activities".

ANC 'wages war'

Sowetan 6/7/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday accused the ANC of mounting a "vicious military offensive" in the Natal Midlands and warned of a showdown. (S) (11B)

The IFP warning, dismissed by the ANC as nonsense, came after 43 people were killed in Ntala townships between Thursday and yesterday. The ANC's Midlands region claims many of those killed were its members. The IFP statement yesterday said a showdown was looming between it and ANC representatives on the Natal-KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee because of the upsurge in violence.

"The escalating violence in the Natal Midlands coincides with attempts by the ANC to seize contested territory by force," the IFP stated.

It claimed the ANC "offensive" was advancing eastwards from Maritzburg and was linked to

a pattern of territorial expansionism to gain an electoral footing in the region.

In reaction, an ANC Midlands spokesman said: "There is no territory we want to seize. There is no point in doing so. We are in a campaign for free political activity, not only for us but for everyone." He said a military offensive was "out of the question" and "nonsense".

"We are engaged in consolidating ourselves in the region and that has nothing to do with violence.

Both the IFP and ANC have sharply criticised police for the lack of arrests in the wake of daily killings throughout Natal.

June's toll was about 150 — the highest monthly figure this year — and an estimated 800 people have died in Natal so far this year. — Sapa (S)

news in I

Violence talks off

AN URGENT meeting between Natal's Regional Dispute Resolution Committee and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders in the Midlands, to discuss recent violence around Richmond, has been postponed to today. *Sowetan 16/7/93*

The meeting was to have taken place yesterday but Midland's IFP leader Mr David Ntombela asked for a postponement to consult with local chiefs and other IFP leaders. *(118) (215)*



Biday Inkatha lauds Buthelezi

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee has reaffirmed its loyalty to its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in stirring terms.

In a resolution passed on Sunday, the committee said: "We profoundly respect our president ... for the courage he displayed over decades in opposing apartheid." 6/7/93

The committee said Buthelezi had a deep conviction of what was right and wrong. "Now that government and the ANC have come together to sell SA down the river, we thank God our president stands firm."

It said President F W de Klerk had retreated "into the ANC camp" and would fail to usher in democracy as promised. (118)

The committee also expressed its disappointment in ANC president Nelson Mandela, saying it was "tragic that a man who came out of jail after suffering so much for us should take a course of action that divides the country" and could push SA to the "brink of civil war".



World Conservation Union representative Rupert, centre, and former union director — SA: A Strategy for Sustainable Living

Biday 6/7/93 Vaal townships owe more than R1bn

GAVIN DU VENAGE

TRANSVAAL's 85 black townships owe more than R1,3bn, according to TPA figures released by its communication department yesterday.

The largest chunk of the debt was rung up on the West Rand, which includes Soweto and Diepmeadow. East Rand townships owed R450m.

Central Transvaal townships were R117m in arrears, while those in the western Transvaal owed R42m. The eastern Transvaal townships owed R46m, and those in the northern Transvaal R2m.

Most of these townships are now under administratorship (59) with another two about to be appointed. Only 24 still have councils, according to the TPA.

The Greater Soweto Crisis Committee meets today to discuss the decade-long rent-and-services boycott in the township, but was not expected to achieve much, sources said yesterday.

Soweto's street lights were cut off last week. Administrator Sakkie Lombard said staff would have to be retrenched and ser-

vices cut back even further if the boycott did not end soon. Payment levels have dropped to between 1%-3%. Tariffs are still the main point of contention.

Sources said yesterday it was unlikely a workable solution would be found soon.

The ANC has indicated it wants the rent boycotts and service provision to be dealt with at national level.

TPA director-general Len Dekker said at the weekend that during the past year the TPA had provided R216m to Greater Soweto in the form of grants, and the Central Witwatersrand RSC had given R144m. However, the money had already been used up. Funds currently available were not enough even to meet the monthly R9m salary bill.

Sebokeng administrator Johan Killian was reported yesterday as saying that after so long there was a culture of non-payment of accounts.

IFP lashes out at govt, ANC/SACP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CT 6/7/93
1B 3

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called for the multi-party negotiations process to be halted — and has accused the government and the African National Congress of “coming together to sell South Africa down the river.”

A sharply worded statement issued yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office after an IFP central committee meeting at Ulundi at the weekend also contained stinging personal attacks on Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

The statement comes hot on the heels of the walkout by the IFP and KwaZulu delegations from Friday's meeting of the 28-party negotiating forum. The government and the ANC

/SACP alliance are also accused of “connivance”.

The IFP central committee accuses Mr Mandela of “courses of action” that have divided the country and “thrust it to the very brink of civil war.”

The IFP central committee castigates Mr De Klerk for being “wrong” and adds that “his receding back into the ANC camp will go down in history as a failure to deliver the promise of his February 2, 1990, speech.”

It says the break in talks should be used “to assess what it would mean to go ahead without the participation of parties representing at least half the future electorate.”

Meanwhile, both the government and the ANC have expressed confidence that Inkatha will return to talks at the World Trade Centre after the two-week recess.

Buthelezi slams resolution

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the negotiating council's resolution last week to have a two-phase process and an election for a constituent assembly.

He told Russian ambassador E P Gousarov in Ulundi that the need for durability and stability in the future of the country could never be achieved by following the constituent assembly route. (113)

"Any election process controlled at central level for a national constitution-making body is by its nature unitary and therefore totally excludes the federal option," he said — contradicting the opinion of expert constitutional lawyers.

Buthelezi said a popularly-elected constituent assembly would enable a majority

BIDAY 6/7/93
BILLY PADDOCK

power to overrule any agreed transitional constitutional principles "under the age-old banner of the 'will of the people' but the voice of the people will soon be silenced under majoritarian rule".

He disregarded as providing "no assurances" the explicit instructions to the technical committee drafting the transitional constitution. The instructions read: "The constitutional principles agreed upon by the negotiating forum shall be binding on the constitution-making body; the justiciability of these constitutional principles shall be ensured by a constitutional court/tribunal." The committee was also in-

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi BIDAY 6/7/93 □ From Page 1

structed to entrench the powers, functions and structures of regions in the draft constitution. These would also be binding on the constitution-making body.

But Buthelezi, echoing weekend resolutions of Inkatha's central committee, remained unconvinced and said there had been many assurances at negotiations but nothing concrete "regarding the constitutional entrenchment of regional powers".

However, he said that in the name of progress Inkatha had allowed the committee two weeks to produce a draft constitution providing the checks and balances to prevent oppressive domination. (113)

"We demand to see in writing a constitution drafted on the basis of federalism — a constitution which establishes a federation of states prior to, or concurrently with, the empowerment of the next government," he

said. It had to give self-determination to regions, constitutionally entrenching powers, duties and functions of regional and local government structures.

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said he was "quite amazed" that Inkatha kept talking of bringing government closer to the people and wanting true democracy for South Africans but rejected "the people's decision through a universally accepted form of elections". He said Inkatha could not talk of being representative when it had never tested this in an election.

Meanwhile, the ANC said yesterday the threat by Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate to "unleash the wrath" of 2-million supporters countrywide to delay the setting of April 27 1994 as the final date for elections was counterproductive and dangerous.

1 nation

Dam levels down to 41 pc

The total amount of water in dams in the Vaal River system which serves the PWV has dropped to 41,5 percent, well down on the 52,5 percent at the same time last year. The Sterkfontein Dam which feeds the Vaal Dam is 76 percent full. No rain has fallen in the PWV this month, where the long-term average is a mere 6,5 mm, according to the Rand Water Board — Staff Reporter

Hijacker to appear in court

A 23-year-old man who hijacked a Royal Swazi Air passenger aircraft on Sunday will appear in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court today. Police said no charges had been formulated as offences in terms of the Civil Aviation Act were still being investigated. The man was found to have false identity documents. — Sapa

Guard beats off attackers

A gang of robbers fled empty-handed from a Vanderbijlpark scrap metals business after shooting at an employee, Bereng Mokwena (31), yesterday. Mokwena is recovering in hospital from a bullet wound. Police said five armed men approached Mokwena and began firing at him. The men fled when Mokwena returned fire. — Vereeniging Bureau.

Suspect shot in buttocks

A suspected robber was wounded in the buttocks in a shootout with police yesterday, after he and another man tried to hold up a Fidelity Guards team outside the Nedbank in Stanley Street, Auckland Park. — Staff Reporter.

Unions, post office agree

The Post Office reached a wage agreement yesterday with two trade unions which had rejected the company's pay offer in May. In a statement, the Post Office said the Post Office Employee Association of SA and the Post and Telecommunication Workers Association joined three other trade unions in accepting the company's wage offer. — Sapa.

Fire destroys 76 shacks

Hundreds of people were left destitute in Kuils River outside Cape Town yesterday after a raging fire destroyed 76 shacks. The fire started when a paraffin stove burst into flames. A strong wind swept the flames out of control and firemen could not save the homes. — Sapa.

IFP, AV 'discuss threats'

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi met a delegation from the Afrikaner Volksfront in Ulundi yesterday to discuss threats to the Zulu and Afrikaner nations, according to a KwaZulu government official. They discussed multiparty negotiations and ways Zulus and Afrikaners could stand together to ensure their nations survived. — Sapa.

Unrest restrictions lifted

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel yesterday lifted the unrest regulations for the magistrate districts of Estcourt, Winterton and Mooi River in Natal. The repeal appeared in a special Government Gazette and took effect immediately, SABC radio reported. — Sapa.

Election date a morale-booster — but still no clarity on what kind of government

Shear 7/17/93

At last, the talks brings



Results

WIDESPREAD excitement has greeted the formal adoption by the Negotiating Forum of April 27 next year as the date for the country's first all-inclusive election. The reaction is understandable.

Multi-party negotiations have been going on since December 1991, and bilateral talks between the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) since May 1990, when the two groups discovered that neither side — to use ANC official Thabo Mbeki's phrase — "had horns". Throughout this period negotiators have had precious little to show for their efforts. Instead, a miscellany of factors conspired to make their task difficult.

Violence continued to sweep through the country and ravage largely impoverished communities; the economy showed no real improvement, unemployment soared and the crime rate skyrocketed. Although a few middle-class blacks — including those in the leadership of the ANC — took advantage of the changes and

moved to formerly whites-only suburbs, the overwhelming majority of blacks remained at the lowest rung of the social ladder. For some the situation even worsened.

Negotiations, and the individual interlocutors within the cosy confines of the World Trade Centre, began to be viewed with a degree of scepticism in certain quarters. People became impatient with the snail's pace of negotiations, and dissenting voices within the ANC began to be heard — questioning both the wisdom of remaining within a process which did not deliver, and some of the numerous concessions the organisation was making.

Viewed against this background, the declaration adopted by the Negotiating Council on May 7 — less than a month after popular ANC and South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani's assassination — was an important morale-booster. The negotiators were finally sending a strong message to South Africans that they were going somewhere, and that the process of negotia-



By
Kaizer
Nyatumba

tions would not go on endlessly after all.

Now that the date has finally been formally set for April 27 next year — despite vociferous objections from a handful of parties which publicly profess to want democracy but privately fear it — long-suffering South Africans can be forgiven for being a touch excited. Finally *they*, as opposed to the politicians, will get a chance to indicate their preferences.

But apart from the fact that we now know with some certainty when that watershed election will be held, it is questionable whether there is all that much to be excited about in the short term. Agreements reached in negotiations last week suggest strongly that the election will be more for a government of national unity with a five-year life-span, than for the much-vaunted and argued-about

constituent assembly.

As the name suggests, the function of an elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body is to write a constitution. But the Constituent Assembly (CA) to be elected next year will be effectively bound and fettered by the interim constitution to be agreed upon within the next two weeks at the multiparty talks, as well as a host of "constitutional principles".

It is no secret that the Government wants the interim constitution to be as close as possible to the final document to be produced by the CA.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, and its fellow conservative allies in the Concerned South Africans Group, on the other hand, are unambiguous about the fact that they want the unelected Negotiating Council to write the constitution.

If, as the agreements reached in negotiations so far suggest, the interim constitution will not differ much from the final one, the powers and functions of regional governments will be determined by the council, and the delimita-

tion of those regions will, be done by the council, then the question arises: why elect a constituent assembly?

Agreements reached say quite specifically that the constitutional principles will be *binding* on the CA. The CA will have very little room within which to manoeuvre, and will have to operate within the parameters of agreements fashioned at the World Trade Centre.

This leaves the CA vulnerable to being taken to court by some disgruntled party which might later feel that the body of elected representatives has gone beyond its scope of competence on some issues.

What we are heading for is a federal system — the Government has always insisted on "strong regional government" — whose nuts and bolts will have been finalised at Kempton Park. Unlike the IFP, the Government knew that one could call something by another name and still get it.

Although elections for a CA will be held next year, it can be argued that the Government and the IFP

— and not the ANC — have scored a major victory. The CA to be elected could be a toothless dog, redundant soon after its first sitting.

What next year's election will do, then, will be to separate "the men from the boys", as it were, and once and for all put many insignificant but big-talking parties in their place. Apart from the very small parties, which will disappear, one can imagine groups like the IFP and the Conservative

Party, presently chief proponents of "constructive filibustering" in negotiations, emerging from the election with far less clout than they enjoy at the moment.

It would be more honest to say the April 27 election is going to be for a government of national unity rather than for a constituent assembly, for that is what recent developments in negotiations suggest.

That would further explain the understanding between the Government and the ANC that the CA will not dissolve once the constitution has been written, but will continue as a government of national unity. □

Buthelezi in talks with AV ¹¹⁸₃₀₄₀

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met a delegation from the Afrikaner Volksfront in Ulundi yesterday to discuss threats to the Zulu and Afrikaner nations, according to a KwaZulu government official. They discussed multiparty negotiations and ways Zulus and Afrikaners could stand together to ensure their nations survived, said an assistant to Buthelezi. Former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen led the AVF delegation. *Sowetan 7/7/93*

C

Companies can call on ombudsman's aid

Biday 7/7/93

PRETORIA — Companies which felt they had been treated unfairly at the hands of government departments or agencies should contact the offices of ombudsman Judge P J van der Walt, the judge said yesterday.

ADRIAN HADLAND

These complaints should be accompanied by affidavits or affirmed declarations.

In applying for licences, tenders, permits or benefits from the export incentive scheme, some companies had experienced actions by state representatives which could be considered prejudicial to their interests, Van der Walt said.

Since 1991, more than 2 000 files had been opened covering a range of areas from town planning and workmen's compensation to housing subsidies and prison conditions, Van der Walt said.

But too few company managers, or members of the public, were aware of the services offered by the ombudsman's office since it was established in November 1991.

The past year had seen an average increase in complaints of 10%, which now totalled about 100 a month.

According to the legislation, if any person had reasonable grounds to suspect public moneys were being dealt with in a dishonest manner, or that maladministration or unlawful enrichment were taking place by state officials, a complaint could be forwarded to the ombudsman.

"We have a dual function: to see that the public is properly dealt with by the administration and to see that the administration is not unfairly criticised," Van der Walt said.

An important advance this year was the institution of complaints officers in all government departments. The ombudsman should be an avenue of last resort, and should resolve rather than begin issues, he said.

Policemen to be sentenced for murder

Biday 7/7/93

TWO Vosloorus policemen who murdered an Alexandra Taxi Association member in 1991 face sentencing in the Rand Supreme Court today.

SUSAN RUSSELL

Tobias Lucky Xulu, 30, and Peter Makoto Modiba, 30, were convicted by Judge R van Schalkwyk, sitting with two assessors, of abducting and murdering Ndoda Mthembu on June 29 1991.

another association member, Themba Theminkosi Mthembu.

During argument yesterday, State counsel J Hayes asked the court to impose the death sentence.

Both were acquitted of kidnapping

Hayes said the pair had been hired to commit the murder and had also been policemen paid by the community when they committed the crime.

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RUSSELL

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Military pilots die in crash

A TRANSKEI Defence Force transport aircraft crashed near Umtata shortly after noon yesterday, killing an SA Air Force and a TDF pilot.

Acting TDF commander Brig Makabongwe Mtshinga said one of the plane's engines caught fire and it crashed in field near the TDF Air Wing base. The pilots were on a routine training flight.

Buthelezi meets right-wingers

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi held private talks in Ulundi yesterday with Afrikaner Volksfront leaders, generals Constand Viljoen, Kobus Visser and Tienie Groenewald, and afterwards described the discussions as "therapeutic".

Viljoen said they discussed common threats and the continued existence of the Afrikaner and Zulu nations.

AWB accused released

AWB members Marthinus Erasmus, 27, and Johannes Olewagen, 32, charged with the murder of a black man and the attempted murder of another, were released on their own recognisances yesterday and warned to reappear in the Rustenburg Magistrate's Court on Friday. They are alleged to have thrown two men — whom they suspected of stealing pigeons — from a speeding bakkie.

Court may appoint counsel



Seeking shelter ... refugees from the war-torn East Rand on their way to the Palm Ridge Community Hall.

Picture: Gary Barnard

Hands join to end 'war'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson and Helen Grange

Amid desperate moves to end the carnage raging in the East Rand townships of Kaitleng and Tokoza since Friday, the ANC and IFP agreed yesterday to take part in a joint operation to monitor the latest surge of violence.

Western Cape Secretary for Peter Harris said the ANC wanted the centre — to be based at Natspruit Hospital — set up immediately. The IFP and security forces have also notified the secretariat of their support.

SAP spokesman Captain

Wikus Weber said the joint operation centre would be manned by security forces, representatives of the war-ringing parties and peace structures.

The peace breakthrough came after local peace committees from the East Rand failed to come to a constructive solution to the violence yesterday. They are meeting again today.

The PAC also announced yesterday that it would meet today to draw up a plan to end the war in East Rand townships.

As violence continued, four people were killed last

night, bringing to 48 the number killed since 6 pm on Monday.

Police said four houses were gutted during the night. The townships were quiet, but tense this morning.

Peace monitors said the situation yesterday was "quiet but tense" — but they expected increased violence today.

But peace monitors were operating in the two townships under extremely tense and difficult conditions, a Peace Secretariat source said.

A group of United Nations observers came under heavy AK-47 fire yesterday

Acting SAP commissioner Lieutenant-General L P E Malan said yesterday that additional SAP and SADF troops had been called into Kaitleng and Tokoza.

Responding to charges by residents that police left the area at dusk only to return at dawn to recover bodies, SAP spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said the SAP was doing "all we can" to patrol under extremely tense and difficult conditions.

Police reported last night that at least 69 people had been killed in East Rand townships since Friday.

Weber said it was difficult to establish the exact time of the deaths or to establish exactly how the people had died.

In one instance, the body of a man lay face-down in the dust across the street from the Tokoza hostel. He had been killed by a shot in the chest before dawn.

Residents throughout Kaitleng and Tokoza were streaming out of their homes yesterday to find safety at the Natspruit Hospital and the nearby Indian area of Palm Ridge.

There was no sound of gunfire yesterday. Monitors

reported that killers seemed to have swapped guns for spears and axes to avoid attracting police with the sound of gunfire.

Few taxis were operating and several businesses on the East Rand said hardly any of their employees were at work.

This was confirmed by police, who reported that several bodies with hack wounds had been recovered.

Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said in a statement that leaders of the ANC and IFP would have to take far-reaching steps to establish a culture of political tolerance to stop "the horrific violence".

● More reports - Page 3

Star 7/1/93

NEWS Businessmen join regionalism debate ● Terre'Blanche sticks to his guns

IFP lauds Buthelezi stand

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee has resolved that multiparty negotiations should stop and that the election date for a constituent assembly be revoked forthwith.

Lauding Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his "courage", the IFP's central committee feels that their leader has been vindicated by the self-out of black liberation by the ANC and the ruling National Party.

Sowetan 8/7/93

"We stand in awe of how again and again he (Buthelezi) is proved right. Now that the Government and the ANC have come together to sell South Africa down the river, we thank God that our president (Buthelezi) stands firm on the hallowed values for black liberation," says a statement containing the resolutions of the IFP central committee.

The IFP says that, having reviewed the negotiations process, it applauded its negotiators' stand in rejecting the setting of an election date before the country even had a constitution. The IFP called on President FW de Klerk to withdraw his support for a constituent assembly and "that the negotiating process now be halted".



From ANC to IFP

Profile

There's a new face in the front row of Inkatha's negotiating team and it's a formidable one. Political editor SHAUN JOHNSON talks to Joe Matthews, the man who has moved from ANC to IFP, from the backroom of the transition to the coal face, and made waves all the way.

JOE Matthews gives off a certain intellectual haughtiness, both in private discussion — when he smiles a lot — and in negotiating sessions, when he does not. Given his extraordinary background, this hauteur is not surprising: the 63-year-old son of former ANC patriarch and intellectual Professor ZK Matthews might be a relative newcomer to the World Trade Centre, but he is no political babe in the woods.

Today, Matthews is "chief executive officer" of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's most audible voice at the transition talks. He is, so far as one can make out, number three in the IFP hierarchy, referring to party president Buthelezi and national chairman Frank Mdlalose as his "bosses".

Disfavour

The CEO title is new to the IFP, effectively replacing the "secretary-general" moniker which fell into disfavour after Oscar Dhlomo vacated the post. Matthews thinks the new title is "unfortunate because it gives the impression of a manager", and makes no bones about his directly political role.

One has to consider the man's long South African odyssey in order to understand why he stands out as one of the authoritative figures at a talks table padded with inconsequential personalities. Briefly, this is his political pedigree.

Matthews matriculated at St Peter's (along with a host of other resistance figures), and took degrees later at Fort Hare and in London, qualifying as a lawyer. As an ANC member he was charged with high treason, along with ZK, in 1956, and went into exile in Lesotho after the Sharpeville shootings.

Dispute

Later, in London, he edited the ANC journal *Sechaba* and rose through the ranks of the Communist Party, sitting on the central committee for eight years.

He went to Gaborone in 1969, ascending to the position of assistant attorney-general of Botswana, and then got himself into a messy financial dispute which has only recently been resolved.

Having made something of a name for himself as a Marxist theorist, he began to doubt the ideology in 1970, and by 1976 fell out with the ANC because, he says, he believed homeland leaders should not be vilified.

In 1991, he came back to South Africa, still a member of the ANC, but by 1993 he was facing Cyril Ramaphosa, teeth bared, across the table at Kempton Park. So much for the historical brushstrokes.

The background is convoluted and, unsurprisingly, lends an edge of defensiveness to Matthews's persona. He seems to feel misunderstood. Still, the question most asked about him now is how he came to be a frontman for the Zulu-dominated IFP, an organisation at such obvious odds with the ANC.

He acknowledges that the public mind is muddled on the issue: "You do get confusion among people who don't know my personal details. Xhosas swear I'm from the eastern Cape and then, of course, we are Tswana, which is a further departure from the idea of being closely linked with the Zulu people. And I speak all the languages, including Afrikaans.

"Some people think because of the Tswana angle, and because my father came from Kimberley, that we are Kimberley people. So, you see, you get a bit of a mix up."

But he insists that his Natal roots run deeper than his recent, meteoric progression from IFP legal adviser to top negotiator suggest.

"Remember, I was born in

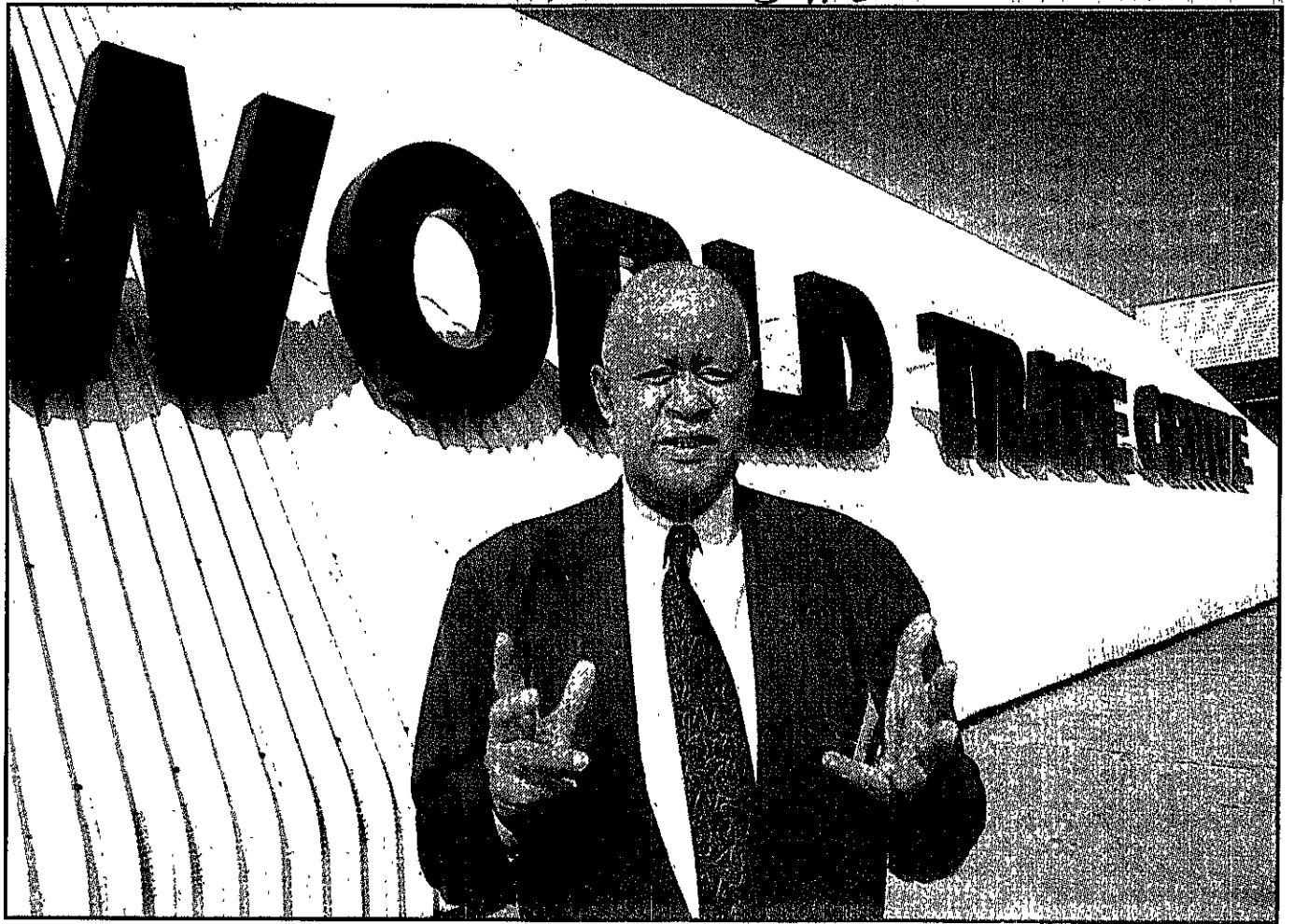


Durban. My father was working at Adams College. I spent the first six years of my life there and later returned to Natal to get married to a Durban girl.

Matthews points out quickly, and proudly, that his best man was none other than Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "In fact, Chief Buthelezi is my best friend."

He says his connections with Buthelezi and Inkatha can be traced right back to his earliest days in politics — "I was a colleague of his and had close connections with the royal house" — and he rejects his image as a latecomer.

He has worked with "the people who are in the IFP for years", he says, and kept in close touch even during his



Newcomer to talks . . . but Joe Matthews is no political babe in the woods.

Pictures: Alf Kumalo.

years of exile and service to what is now Inkatha's major rival.

"We have corresponded throughout my life," he says, a twinkle of humorous irony appearing in his eye. "I received the voluminous material from Ulundi over the years."

Matthews says he helped Buthelezi during the Ingwavuma dispute, and drafted many of the documents presented by the IFP at Codesas 1 and 2. Certainly, insiders do not dispute that Matthews has Buthelezi's ear, and that his role in the IFP is substantial, not symbolic.

He insists that he has never been sectarian. "Perhaps I should explain my approach to politics.

"It is very catholic. I sincerely believe that the so-called differences between the — especially African — organisations bear no relation to the problems of Africa. Therefore, I've always been prepared to work with or help anybody, whether it's the PAC or the Black Consciousness Movement or Matanzima or whatever.

Stooge

"I've never had the rigid approach that you are in the ANC and therefore you don't talk to anyone else or help them.

"I work on the basis that there are victims of oppression. If you fell within that definition you were entitled to receive our help. And so it was no use telling us that someone was a stooge of the government, because if he was free he wouldn't be a stooge and deserve any of the derogatory epithets that have been used."

Matthews does not see his relationship with the IFP "as one which precludes recognising the validity of a point made by the PAC or ANC". He says: "If they are correct, I applaud them and say well done.

"I have learnt from many years of observing African politics that the labels that we use, the ideologies, in the African context, are really not worth it. The problems are so big in Africa that ideology is not going to deal with them all."

Still, the question nags: what brought about the sudden move from ANC to IFP? Matthews faces it head-on, and puts a date and a place to the final rift.

He was in Durban at the time of the ANC's July 1991 conference, he reveals. "I tried to go there, with a group of chaps, but then we were told that only people who had been specially invited were allowed in. I took that as a snub, and I think that was the end of the road as far as me and the ANC were concerned.

"I thought, if I say so myself, that I had made a sufficient contribution to the cause of the ANC . . . I didn't resign formally from the ANC. I just let my membership lapse. When I'd arrived in South Africa in 1991 I actually renewed my membership as usual in Soweto, where I was staying at the time. But I just allowed it to lapse because I thought there was some attitude against my participation. I moved on. I have now formally joined the IFP."

He insists his personal relationships with former ANC colleagues remain courteous, and points to the fact that his daughter, Nadia Pandor, now a lecturer at the University of

Cape Town, is active in ANC circles.

"That's in line with our family tradition," he says. "People do what they like."

How does he respond to allegations that the IFP is a one-man show?

"It's unfair to Chief Buthelezi. Natal's is a very different situation from, say, the Xhosa people, or the Batswana. The Zulus are different, and I put this down to the fact that they have a military background. You have this sort of Prussian idea.

(118)



So you had Dube, then Champion, then Luthuli. They were outstanding personalities, and they led Natal. With Xhosas you get a more collective approach to politics.

"In the Zulu tradition you also have a tremendous amount of discussion — the IFP central committee has about a hundred exceptional people, they are not stooges — and you see a man in the people who surround him.

"If they are a bunch of nincompoops and stupid, then you can say that this is someone who is afraid of other people who have abilities. But that has never been the case with Chief Buthelezi."

How politically ambitious is

Joe Matthews now? Does he foresee a Minister Matthews in a new Cabinet? He says his current role will continue for the foreseeable future, but he will not be drawn on the Cabinet, saying there are "so many other people". But he does not rule it out.

Firstly, he says, the engaging sense of humour re-emerging, he is not that young any more, and has no intention of hanging in as long as an Ayatollah Khomeini. Secondly, he is (emphatically) "not interested in African power struggles", saying he has seen too many fights over positions.

He might, he muses, "make a contribution" by going into business once the new government is in place.

"In that sense, South Africa is lucky, because it does have alternatives. In other parts of the continent, politics was the way to become somebody, but in South Africa there are many other ways.

Opportunistic

"But what I'd really like to see in South Africa is a very good constitution. I'm determined about that."

Joe Matthews, among many others in new South African politics, remains a partial enigma. There are those among his critics who insist his jump into the IFP camp was opportunistic, because his options ran out in the ANC.

He — and his many admirers — will have none of this. He has been a curious path, like that of the country's politics but he can be expected to keep treading in the spotlight for some time to come. □

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

ANC and IFP regional leaders are to meet today for crucial talks to find a solution to the crisis in East Rand townships, sparking hopes that peace will return to the troubled area.

The meeting, brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, comes after five days of intense conflict which has claimed at least 91 lives in Tokoza and adjoining Katle-

hong. Police blame the warfare on power struggles between ANC and IFP supporters.

An IFP statement yesterday said the respective leaders would meet today "to find joint methods in addressing and ending the violence on the East Rand". ANC PWV spokesman

Vusi Gunene confirmed that PWV deputy secretary-general Obedi Bapela and others would meet their counterparts today.

In another positive development towards peace, a joint control centre manned by the IFP, ANC, security forces and peace structures was set up at Natalspruit

Hospital yesterday. The townships were unusually quiet yesterday afternoon, with people returning to the streets for the first time since the weekend.

But barricades still blocked some streets and in others, boulders lay ready to block the road if necessary. Police conducted a house-

to-house search in Tokoza's Twala section — one of the few areas virtually untouched by killers this week. No weapons were found.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale visited Natalspruit Hospital yesterday, shaking hands and patting the shoulders of

people who told of the terrifying attacks that landed them in the casualty wards. Sexwale said he understood that people felt angry and vengeful. "But then you stop and think of the collective vision of peace. It will come to pass."

The two then toured Tokoza and Katlehong, but ANC

Star 8/7/93

ANC and IFP talks spark peace hopes

supporters near the Kwesine hostel prevented them from entering the IFP-dominated area nearby as it was too dangerous.

Police reported that 10 bodies were found early yesterday and another 12 brought in later. Police believed those 12 had been killed over the weekend and their bodies kept indoors by residents too terrified to venture out to hand them to the police.

● They never knew who shot them — Page 3

Agreement on steps to end violence as leaders plan peace meeting

ERICA-JANKOWITZ and STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE ANC, Inkatha, union federations, security forces and business organisations last night agreed on initial steps to end the violence that has claimed 92 lives in six days in East Rand townships.

In terms of the agreement, a centralised operations room has been established at the Natal Spruit Hospital in Kaitleng, which brokered the arrangement, and police.

Delegates to yesterday's meeting in Johannesburg agreed to the opening of commuter routes and security for commuters

in Kaitleng and Thokoza. Secretariat director Peter Harris said the agreement would be communicated to residents through civic associations. Peace accord structures would provide monitors and relief work would be co-ordinated through regional structures.

The ANC and Inkatha also announced that their regional leaderships would meet urgently today in an attempt to defuse the situation.

Police, meanwhile, have laid the blame for the violence in Kaitleng and Thokoza squarely at the door of the ANC.

SAP public relations spokesman Col Johan Mostert said police were "in the process of arresting people responsible" and intended to prove that the violence was being perpetrated by "some ANC-aligned self-defence units which are completely out of control". He said police had evidence of an influx of Umkhonto we Sizwe members, over whom leaders had "no real control", into the area.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said self-

defence units had broader membership than the ANC.

"The police are very quick to collapse the units into the ANC which is not a true reflection of the situation," Niehaus said. "This was no time to trade allegations as both the ANC and Inkatha were involved in investigating the underlying reasons for the conflict. We are prepared to make every possible contribution to the investigation and are doing so right now."

Inkatha Transvaal leader Themba Khoxa said an attempt would be made today "to find joint methods of addressing

and ending the violence" on the East Rand. He said the Inkatha leadership was involved at grassroots levels in Kaitleng and Thokoza. "Reports indicate that the level of violence in the area has decreased but that the area is still unstable."

Meanwhile, peace monitors claimed yesterday that feuding parties had abandoned firearms in favour of pangas, spears and petrol bombs in an attempt to avoid police detection. Police sources confirmed that the majority of bodies found in Kaitleng and Thokoza yesterday had stab, hack

Violence

and burn wounds.

Ten bodies were found by police on Tuesday night, and another 12 by family members after daybreak yesterday, police spokesman Lt Janine Smith said.

JONATHAN DAVIS reports that the national conference of the SA Council of Churches yesterday broke from its schedule to pray for the victims of this week's outbreak of violence, and to discuss an appropriate response.

The Midrand conference decided on a two-phase plan of action, which included an aid programme for victims, and a committee to deal with problems of violence in the area and nationwide.

The national peace committee said it was considering a national peace campaign to be held in September to coincide with the anniversary of the signing of the peace accord on September 14 1991.

From Page 1

To Page 2

Comment Page 6

ANC claims IFP has assassination plan

DURBAN — The ANC in Natal has alleged Inkatha leaders and "elements within the apartheid security forces" have planned to assassinate ANC leaders in the province in the run-up to elections. (118)

Inkatha has rejected the allegations and said: "We disregard it completely." (118)

Natal's three ANC regions claimed in a statement that intelligence sources had disclosed a recent meeting in Ulundi had discussed ways of countering the ANC in Natal before elections. 8/7/92

One was to assassinate ANC leaders.

Questioned on the statement, Natal ANC media co-ordinator Dumisani Makhaye said ANC intelligence sources had revealed the alleged plot. But Makhaye said the ANC was not sure who had been represented at the meeting.

Inkatha said its members were in fact the victims of assassinations, citing the death of 275 Inkatha officials over the past several years as proof.

Our Durban correspondent reports Inkatha challenged the ANC to submit evidence to the regional dispute resolution committee or the Goldstone commission.

"It is reliably learned that the meeting took a decision that by the elections there must be no ANC leader in Natal with a high profile still living," said Makhaye.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet accused the ANC of making "dangerous claims" and said the organisation's propagandists were suffering from "delusions of grandeur".

ANC, IFP vow to control supporters



ANC 9/17/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Regional leaders of the ANC and IFP have committed themselves to controlling their supporters on the East Rand and have agreed to a series of bilateral meetings to end the violence in the area.

The breakthrough came after a meeting yesterday of regional leaders brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat.

The leaders endorsed agreements reached at a local level on Wednesday, including the deployment of security forces, the removal of barricades and the resumption of taxi and train services to Katlehong and Tokoza.

At least 95 people have died in violence in the area in the past week.

Both ANC PWV chairman Mr Obed Bapela and IFP Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza acknowledged that similar peace initiatives in the area in May had not prevented the latest outbreak.

But they said that this time was "different" as they were now determined to get their followers talking on grassroots level and they had also agreed to increased security force deployment in the townships.

The Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat agreed to co-ordinate relief aid for people displaced by the violence.

A joint control centre to monitor violence, has been set up at Natalspruit Hospital and began to operate yesterday. It is being run by representatives of peace structures, security forces, the ANC and IFP.

A series of regional bilateral meetings had also been set up, with the first set for Tuesday.

Meanwhile, the ANC held an urgent meeting with police generals in Pretoria yesterday to demand swift action to bring the carnage to an end.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Matthew Phosa said the meeting — which was "very frank and sharp" and was attended by 10 police generals and a brigadier — focused on the latest spiral of violence in Natal and the East Rand.

Police Deputy Commissioner Lieutenant-General S J Smit led the police delegation.

● The ANC is to hold a major peace summit in Natal on July 24, ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

Speaking at a Johannesburg Press conference after an ANC delegation met senior police generals in Pretoria, he said the ANC was committed to implementing the programme of joint ANC-Inkatha rallies agreed on during talks between leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

All ANC regions affected by violence would meet on July 19 to discuss the implementation of decisions reached at the summit between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Hanging tough FM 9/7/93

All the signs are there for a final, grand showdown between the ANC/NP and IFP over Inkatha's demand that federalism be entrenched before the general election.

Apparently spearheading the thrust is the traditionally apolitical Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, who has called two rare Imbizos (Zulu traditional leadership gatherings) — at Durban's King's Park this Sunday and FNB stadium outside Soweto on July 25 — to inform his people "about the constitutional negotiations."

This is linked to resolutions taken by Inkatha's central committee at the weekend, following the second IFP/KwaZulu government walk-out from the multiparty Negotiations Forum last Friday, in opposition to ratification of the April 27 election date.

The resolutions accuse ANC president Nelson Mandela of taking courses of action which have led SA to the brink of civil war and government of betraying trust by backing ANC demands for an elected constituent assembly to write the final constitution. They also urge De Klerk to halt the negotiation process until consensus emerges over constitutional issues.

Adding grist to the mill, Inkatha's Walter Felgate appeared to threaten "unleashing the wrath of 2m supporters" to thwart the election date.

By Tuesday it was estimated that more than 100 people had died since the weekend in a surge in Inkatha-ANC clashes in Natal and the Transvaal.

Natal political scientist Ian Philips sees two interpretations of these developments. "The first is that this is Inkatha's last act of bravado because people like Joe Mathews (Inkatha's ex-communist chief negotiator and Buthelezi adviser) know they must remain in the negotiations. This, therefore, is a last-ditch attempt to say that Inkatha isn't giving up without a fight. It will also show that when Inkatha does compromise, it does not do so meekly."

The other, less generous, interpretation is that this is the beginning of the parting of the ways and a clear attempt by Buthelezi to use the monarchy to force people to accept that Inkatha stands for all Zulus and vice versa. "In other words, it's an election ploy."

Betting is Inkatha will return to the talks, if only to reject the draft constitution. ■

Inkatha and ANC begin peace meetings

ANC and Inkatha regional leaders began a series of meetings in Johannesburg yesterday in an attempt to resolve the conflict in East Rand townships, where 95 people have died since Friday. (11B)

By yesterday, relative calm had returned to Katlehong and Thokoza, but police reported the death of an SAP sergeant who was abducted and beaten to death while handcuffed to a friend. (11B)

Police spokesman Lt Janine Smith said the second man was seriously injured and was "fighting for his life" in hospital. She said the sergeant and his friend were stopped at an intersection yesterday morning and dragged from their vehicle.

STEPHANE BOTHMA
and ERICA JANKOWITZ

"The two were later found in the veld on the outskirts of the township, handcuffed together. The sergeant was dead," she said.

Three other bodies were discovered in the township yesterday, Smith said.

Inkatha, ANC, Cosatu and SACP regional leaders yesterday announced the formation of a liaison structure to ensure regular meetings between the organisations.

They would meet again on Tuesday to discuss a 12-point plan aimed at ending East Rand violence. The agenda for the meeting would include conflict between

hostel dwellers and the community, the right to own property, the right to hold marches and demonstrations, the removal of impediments to transport, incitement and cultural weapons. (11B)

Inkatha Transvaal leader Themba Khoza and ANC regional leader Obed Baphela told a news conference yesterday their organisations fully endorsed an agreement aimed at curbing violence reached by political and civic organisations and security forces on Wednesday. Supporters would be addressed to ensure the agreements were adhered to.

In terms of the agreement, public trans-

To Page 2

Meetings

port would resume, troops would be deployed in the townships, barricades would be removed and flashpoints secured.

In a separate development, a delegation of senior ANC officials led by Matthew Phosa met senior police officers in Pretoria to discuss violence countrywide. (11B)

Police said afterwards that it had been decided it was vital to seek immediate solutions to end the strife "before it gets out of hand". Issues discussed included the alleged illegal occupation of homes and the alleged theft of property in certain areas. It was further agreed that outstanding is-

11B 9/7/93 From Page 1
sues would be dealt with on a regional level between the ANC and the SAP as a matter of urgency. (11B)

Phosa described the meeting as "sharp and frank", saying police denied a lack of policing in the affected areas.

On the issue of self-defence units, Phosa said the ANC would prosecute any members using ANC weapons to perpetrate violence. "Members are armed but, since the suspension of the armed struggle, they would be acting in defiance of orders if they use these weapons," he said.

BILLY PADDOCK

Biday 9/7/93

THE fragile reconciliation between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi may come undone after "provocative statements" made in the US.

Buthelezi yesterday reacted angrily to statements attributed to Mandela during his tour of Chicago this week. Mandela was quoted as saying: "Black surrogate organisations in SA are allowed to operate.... Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by sinister forces."

Buthelezi said: "One wonders why Mr Mandela has chosen to once again seek to viciously smear both myself and Inkatha and, in so doing, blatantly renege on agreements reached by us at our meeting on

Buthelezi slams Mandela's 'smear'

June 23." (11B) (117)

When Mandela called Inkatha a surrogate organisation at the UN last year, it led to a standoff between the two leaders that scuppered all attempts by the peace committee to get binding agreements from them to help stop the violence.

Buthelezi said the latest remarks were "untruthful provocation which will further exacerbate tensions between our two parties and hinder the peace process". Mandela had to be aware that the statements were "inflammatory and an explicit contravention of the code of conduct for politi-

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

Biday 9/7/93

□ From Page 1

cal parties contained in the peace accord advances in the negotiations process.

While he believed their recent meeting had gone a long way towards resolving the problem of violence was not for just the two leaders to resolve but for the whole their differences so they could work for political leadership. He said instead of peace, Mandela's statements had "again" imperilled this process (11B) (117) ing the media, Buthelezi could have used the joint preparatory committee set up by ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the two organisations to raise the issue.

the organisation's view was that violence was orchestrated by sinister forces and the Buthelezi said linking the violence to recent violence was timed to coincide with those wanting to block the elections was the announcement of an election date and "cheap party-political rhetoric".



Buthelezi lambasts Mandela ^(11B)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The fragile reconciliation between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi looks set to be undone once again following "provocative statements" made in the US. Chief Buthelezi accused Mr

Mandela yesterday of "vicious smears" and said the ANC leader had violated their June accord.

He reacted angrily to statements attributed to Mr Mandela during his tour of Chicago this week. Reports quote Mr Mandela as saying "Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself

to be used by sinister forces".

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday: "One wonders why Mr Mandela has chosen to once again seek to viciously smear both myself and the IFP and in so doing blatantly renege on recent agreements reached by us on June 23."

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie

AT 9/7/93
Mamoepa said the problem of violence was not for just the two leaders to resolve but the whole political leadership. "Buthelezi could have raised this problem through the joint preparatory committee that the two organisations have set up. He should use the structures and not the press."

ABOUT THA

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOLLOWING this week's release of proposed regional boundaries for a future SA by various political organisations, the issue of federalism has now forced its way into the open.

Now ordinary people will have a chance to scrutinise the proposals – not just lawyers and constitutional experts.

With the ANC, the National Party and the rightwing Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) having gone public with their views on what the new SA should look like – including an Afrikaner homeland – regionalism/federalism is likely to dominate political discussions in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

Rights

What powers should the regions that will ultimately emerge have? What will be their relation to central government? These are among the sticky questions that will tax the minds of politicians and citizens in the coming months.

However, some experts warn about the danger of focusing on constitutional principles only while ignoring socio-economic development; the rights and responsibilities of individuals and the kind of constitution that would best serve citizens and communities.

Engineers have also waded into the subject and advised that water catchments, commuter transport, resources and the seat of government are major factors to be considered when boundaries are being drawn up for future regions.

According to the South African Association of Consulting Engineers, in terms of water resource development there would be enormous advantages if regional borders were chosen to follow watersheds rather than river courses.

As far as other resources such as mineral deposits, natural forests and conservation areas were



concerned, the association said it was important not to divide resources unnecessarily.

Such is the sensitive nature of regionalism/federalism that Inkatha, the CP, AVU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments have intimated that they will not take part in future elections unless this issue is resolved before any hustings.

Some development experts argue that regionalism/federalism issues could well determine whether the country emerges as a true democratic and non-racial society.

It is also argued that the manner in which this issue is addressed will fundamentally affect the country's chances of dealing successfully with what

Ann Bernstein of the Urban Foundation (UF) describes as the "three great national challenges facing the country".

These are:

- Massive socio-economic development;
- Building a democracy; and
- Returning to sustained and inclusive economic growth.

By finally making public their draft proposals on the delimitation of regional boundaries, the ANC, government and AVU have placed before the masses an issue which has been vigorously debated behind closed doors.

It is interesting to note that to a large extent the government's two proposed regions and those of the ANC are not dissimilar.

Such is the convergence of views between the two that the government has completely moved away from the Verwoerdian dream of defining regions along ethnic/linguistic/cultural lines.

Two of the AVU's eight regions are to all practical purposes based on ethnic/linguistic/cultural considerations.

The two regions with a strong Afrikaans influence are Afrikanerland, which includes the Pretoria/Verwoerdburg/Akasia metropolitan area as well as the eastern Transvaal.

The second is Oranje which comprises most of the present Cape province.

According to the AVU, the two regions are respectively the

AT 'F' WORD

CIPress 11/7/93

areas where the highest density of Afrikaners are to be found and where the most Afrikaans-speaking people resided.

Interestingly enough, both regions are dominated by people who are not white.

Blacks are in the majority in the Afrikanerland and the Oranje region is dominated by coloured people.

The moderate rightwing party stressed that no forced removals would take place from the regions and that the recommendations were based on strong regional government.

Although serious efforts were made to steer away from boundaries with echoes of the discredited homeland system or on areas based on ethnic considerations, most regions are still dominated by blacks with the exception of the western Cape where Afrikaans-speaking people are in the majority.

But, it seems drawing up these boundaries was comparatively easier than addressing some of the other problems which go hand in hand with regionalism.

Difficulties with regionalism arise when trying to strike a balance between the powers given to federal states or regions and those retained by central government.

Inkatha's president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a strong advocate of federalism, has in recent months expressed fears about what he calls "the tyranny of central government".

While the ANC is still committed to a unitary state, their thinking has shifted slightly and it appears they would opt for a federal alternative on condition this may not lay the basis of future secession.

Balkanisation of the country is their worst fear.

Most parties at the Multi-party Negotiating Forum agree on the need for central and regional governments to have original powers but there is serious disagreement on the nature of shared powers, their extent



FEDERAL OPTION ... KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

and how these powers will be determined.

Inkatha and members of the Concerned South Africans Group want these points cleared up and written into a constitution before elections.

In an interview in the UF's bulletin, *Development and Democracy*, the ANC's director of legal and constitutional affairs, Zola Skweyiya, comes into conflict with Inkatha and Cosag when he accepts the need for constitutional safeguards and constraints for regions but at the same time maintains that residual powers lie with central government.

The ANC has a deep mistrust of strong regional government as advocated by Inkatha and its alliance partners because of fears that should these entities have too much power (particularly Buthelezi), regional leaders may be tempted to secede or not to work in the national interest.

KwaZulu government chief spokesman at the negotiations, Ben Ngubane, has acknowledged in the UF bulletin that Inkatha's much vaunted model on regional government, the KwaZulu/Natal constitution, is a more confederal than federal document.

Although fears of secession

Issue of power

tops the agenda

are real, most analysts argue that whatever the final outcome of the boundaries, the ANC is likely to dominate most of the regions, fears of secession by Inkatha or any rightwing group may be exaggerated because of the economic costs this would entail for those breaking away.

It is pointed out that an ANC-led government would control the economic heartland of the country - the Witwatersrand - and also important peripheral and port regions like East London and Port Elizabeth, and could use this economic muscle to bring any rebellious groups to heel.

The ANC says the following principles should guide the drawing up of future regions:

- The regions should be economically and socially functional;
- The regions should allow for balanced urban and rural development;
- The regions should be compact;
- The regional boundaries should take into account population size and geographic product;
- The regional boundaries should, wherever possible, take

into account existing boundaries; and

■ Popular acceptance and a sense of rightness should be taken into account.

Proposal

The ANC's proposed regions are: western Cape; northern Cape (including the western districts of Bophuthatswana); Free State (including QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu); eastern Cape which is divided into Border, southern Transkei and Border-Kei (including Ciskei, Transkei and east Griqualand); Natal; eastern Transvaal including KaNgwane; northern Transvaal (including Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda).

The government's proposals are: south western Cape (including Cape Town); north western Cape; eastern Cape; Border-Kei; Free State, western Transvaal, Vryburg and QwaQwa; Natal/Kwazulu; eastern Transvaal/Kangwane; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebele; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

Egoli

The other government option is: northern, southern and western Cape; eastern Cape, Border-Kei; Free State, QwaQwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/KwaZulu; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebele; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

The AVU's recommended regions are: Kaap van Goeie Hoop (Cape of Good Hope) which includes the Cape Town metropolitan area and southern Cape coastal region; the Kei, made up of the Transkei, Ciskei and Border region; Satswa which includes the Free State, western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana; Capricorn, which comprises most of the northern Transvaal; KwaZulu and Egoli, the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle region.

Talks: crucial compromise

Star 11/193

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

South Africa's negotiators yesterday took one of the biggest leaps forward in the talks process to date.

A day of straight talking in five hours of bilateral meetings led to a crucial compromise proposal on the process to move from apartheid to democracy.

The deal, accepted by "sufficient consensus" in the Negotiating Council, is poised to bridge fundamental differences between those wanting an elected constitution-making body and parties demanding that significant regionalism be agreed upon now.

The breakthrough resolution mapped out, in essence, the process for the transition to a new constitution. The Conservative Party opposed the resolution while the Afrikaner Volksunie, the IFP and the KwaZulu and Ciskei governments — all members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — reserved their positions.

However, some Cosag members confirmed privately they were encouraged. They would now wait to see how the agreement emerged in a draft interim constitution which a negotiations technical committee has been mandated to compile.

The compromise includes agreement that:

- A proportional representation election will elect national and regional interim governments — including the constitution-making body.

- Constitutional principles, including those for "strong" regional and central government, would be adopted by the multiparty negotiating process and be binding on the constitution-making body.

- Boundaries for the regions will be determined for elections and during the interim phase by the commission on the delimitation of regions.

- Powers, functions and structures of regions will be agreed upon in the multiparty negotiating chamber and entrenched in the interim constitution.

- A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission will be created.

Although no time frames were set, the progress could give the negotiation process a significant boost. Implicit in the proposals are that there will be a single constitution for the entire country, and no separate regional constitutions.

The compromise will go a long way to allay the fears of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) parties on entrenched regional government, and IFP sources were last night delighted. The Government, ANC and their respective allies have won concession for an elected constitution-making body

● To Page 3



Crucial compromise in talks

Star 11/193

Dr Ben Ngubane of the IFP said the agreement "shows that everyone is trying to find consensus", but cautioned there was "still a long way to go".

The compromise was struck during five hours of meetings outside the negotiating chamber during the day and after talks on the crunch issues had been postponed. Negotiators said it had been important to go behind closed doors and away from the posturing that sometimes characterises Negotiating Council debate.

Cosag first held discussions with Patriotic Front members before meeting Government negotiators.

● From Page 1
to draft the final constitution. Minister Roelf Meyer described yesterday as "one of the most important in the process so far". The focus had now shifted to the compilation of the interim constitution, hopefully within reach by mid-August.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was also enthusiastic about the agreement, saying "the scenario for drafting the new constitution on a democratic basis has been accepted".

The Labour Party's Lewellyn Landers said talks had taken a "quantum leap".

118

Tension rises after Inkatha call to arms

CIP read 11-7-93

By FRED KHUMALO

FEARS of bloody conflict have gripped the Natal Midlands following Inkatha's withdrawal from all peace negotiations with the ANC and the movement's call to its supporters to arm themselves.

Inkatha's call to arms comes in the wake of the bloody spree of violence which left 17 people dead in the Natal Midlands at the weekend. (118)

Ironically, the Inkatha call came on the day the party was due to meet the ANC and members of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in attempts to broker peace in the embattled Richmond area.

Eight people were killed on Friday in the Phatheni area, an Inkatha stronghold. Hours later nine people – six of them children – were murdered at Hhela Hhela.

This brings to 41 the number of people killed in political violence in Richmond this year.

As tensions rose not only in Richmond, but in most parts of the Natal Midlands, a meeting was organised by the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) in a last-ditch attempt to bring the ANC and Inkatha to the negotiating table.

But, in a week where tensions have reached critical levels between Inkatha and the ANC nationally, the Natal Midlands Inkatha executive spurned the RDRC's olive branch and officially pulled out of all future negotiations with the ANC.

The movement called on its members to "arm and organise themselves into Self Protection Units".

But Natal Midlands ANC deputy chairman Dr Blade Nzimande warned Inkatha not to initiate a civil war "as they will never win it".

Inkatha claimed the latest attacks on its members followed a pattern which started at the beginning of the year.

The aim of the attacks, said Natal Midlands Inkatha

secretary Philip Powell, was to gain leverage over Inkatha in the build-up towards elections.

"The continued murder of innocent women and children by gangs of ANC bandits has led our constituency to demand that we cease all further negotiations with the ANC on this issue," he said, adding 12 000 Inkatha members had been driven out of their homes in Gengeshe, Magoda, Ndaleni, and Simozomeni.

However, Nzimande said the source of the problem was the refusal of Inkatha to allow ANC members to return to their homes in Phatheni. (27)

The conflict in Phatheni revolves around the fact that Inkatha claims the ANC wants to get rid of Chief Z Dlamini, the reigning chief.

But the ANC has in the past explained it was not opposed to the *ubukhosi* (chiefdom) institution, but opposed to *amakhosi* who were partisan – and the chief in question had unleashed violence against ANC-supporting people, the organisation claimed.

For two years now ANC supporters from Phatheni have taken refuge in sympathetic neighbouring settlements following Inkatha attacks on their homes.

Late last year a tentative peace settlement was struck between the two sides and hundreds of refugees started flocking back to their abandoned homes.

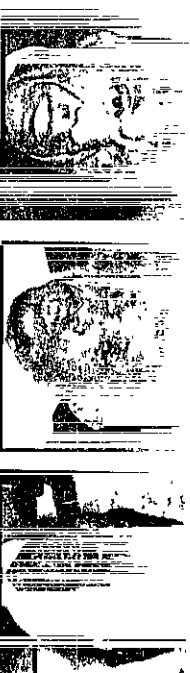
But no sooner had they arrived in the area than ANC youths were summoned to the chief's house to "apologise for questioning his legitimacy" – a summons which they did not heed. They were again hounded out of the area. Security forces prevented a bloodbath.

Democratic Party violence monitor Radley Keys said the mood in the Natal Midlands was "despondent" following the Inkatha call to arms and pull-out from talks.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

AWB'S

COMRADES IN ARMS



□ MANGOPE □ GQOZO □ MYENI

'Bop, Ciskei and Inkatha will join me in the fight against the communists'

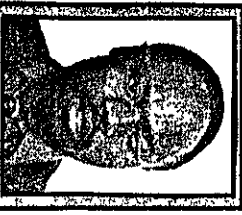
C Press 11-11-13

INKATHA, and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, would form a fighting front with the AWB against the ANC and its allies in defence of a confederal state, the AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche revealed this week (11-13).

In an exclusive interview with City Press, Terre-Blanche disclosed that he had the "full support" of the three bodies and that their leaders have assured him they would fight alongside the AWB against the "communists" who advocate a unitary state.

"I have the support of President (Lucas) Mangope. I met him and we made a joint statement that we will, in the case of war against the communists, defend each other," he said.

He also said his organisation had



BY MOSES MAMMILLA

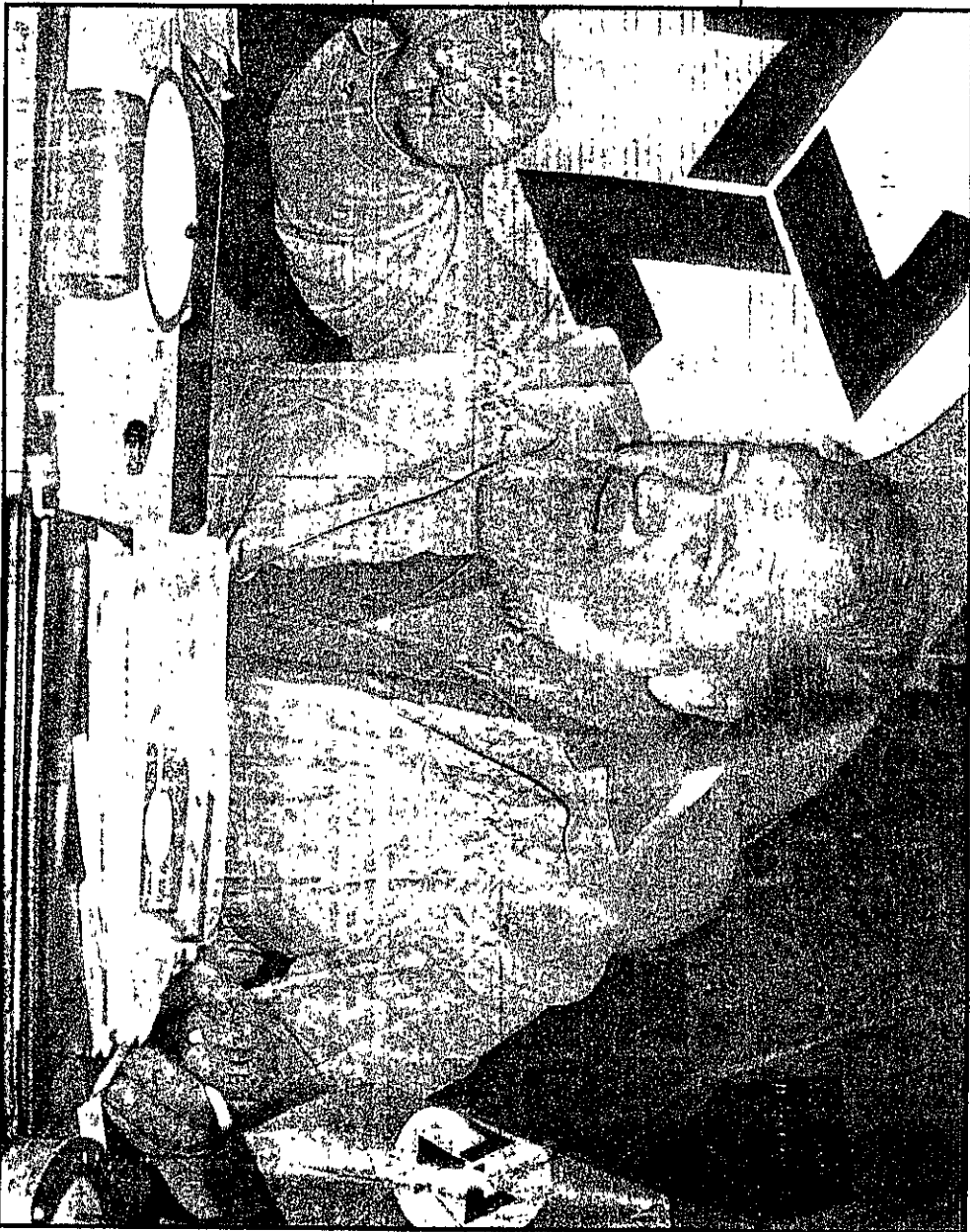
entered into a very agreement with the Ciskei military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo. "I saw him (Gqozo) last week in Bisho where we decided that we will help each other in case of a conflict between the communists and him or us," Terre-Blanche said.

Attempts to reach Gqozo to confirm the claims failed.

Terre-Blanche revealed that although Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Butheza repudiated the non-aggression pact signed by Inkatha and the AWB in the media, "my agreement with the executive of Inkatha in the Transvaal still stands."

Inkatha Transvaal leader Musa Myeni signed the non-aggression pact with the AWB which was later rejected.

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THREE'S COMPANY... AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche says he can count on Bop, Inkatha and Ciskei in the battle against those who want a unitary state.

Picture: ANDRÉS MCINENA

Were generals paid for guns or spying?

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH C Press

WHAT did Ciskei get for almost R900 000 from rightwing consultancy company Multi-Media Services (MMS)? Was it guns or intelligence?

It was discussed this week that Ciskei paid R883 683 to MMS - run by prominent rightwingers Gen Tienie Groenewald and Riaan van Rensburg.

According to invoices the money was for "intelligence gathering (RSA) and stimulation reports", and "travelling and accommodation for MMS directors, staff and operators".

But a highly placed Ciskei informant "cannot explain" the money "was for AK-47 assault rifles, sparking fears Ciskei and the white right may be preparing to destabilise a future SA government."

The source said on November 5 last year dozens of brand-new AK-47s lay stacked three-deep along one wall of Gqozo's 20-metre long Bisho office.

To Page 2

CLASSIC AMERICAN TASTE



More than words to end violence

By MOSES MAMAILA

MORE than 200 people have been killed in politically-related violence since the crucial Mandela-Buthezi summit on June 23 which was aimed at ending the carnage largely blamed on ANC and Inkatha supporters. The meeting between the two leaders was seen by most political observers as the only hope for the restoration of peace between the warring factions. While violence has engulfed various parts of the country, the worst terror operation was launched on the East Rand where at least 92 people were killed within five days. The eruption of violence in Thokoza and Katilehong townships comes hard and fast.

Police spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the police could only deal with the symptoms of violence and not with the causes, adding that the violence was a struggle for political turf.

ANC official Cyril Ramaphosa also blamed the recent violence on the state-ment made by Felgate. (118)

But Inkatha's Themba Khoza said the violence on the East Rand started when many township residents joined his organisation. (119)

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Police spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the police could only deal with the symptoms of violence and not with the causes, adding that the violence was a struggle for political turf.

Buthelezi: Don't push us

■ **TOUGH STAND** No way forward for talks

Sowetan 12/7/93

Without the agreement of Inkatha Freedom Party:

THERE COULD BE NO way forward at democracy negotiations without agreement by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu government, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

He said the South African Government and the African National Congress would never succeed in "forcing decisions down our throats" and warned that Inkatha would mobilise massive public support on a scale that would prevent any such attempts.

Addressing around 30 000 people at Durban's King's Park Stadium yesterday at a rally called by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi repeated his charge that the ANC and the Government were in cahoots at the negotiation forum.

"There is so much manipulation at the World Trade Centre that the whole negotiation process is contaminated by it."

Buthelezi said the KwaZulu government had walked out of the negotiation forum last Friday to display its rejection of a unitary state and a constituent assembly.

The KwaZulu government was, however, still committed to negotiations.

The only way forward is to stake our claim at the national level and to persist in our attempts to secure national support.

King Goodwill Zwelithini, told the gathering that there could not be elections before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu-Natal region.

He said the Government and ANC were wrong in thinking they could hold elections before ac-

cepting the reality of KwaZulu and the need for it to be included in a new South Africa under a constitution endorsed by the people of the region.

Zwelithini said he supported the stand taken by the KwaZulu government at the negotiation forum when it walked out in protest at the setting of an election date before a constitution had been final-

ised.

Zulus were only interested in negotiating about a future South Africa if KwaZulu-Natal was to be included as a region. "We will not negotiate ourselves out of existence."

KwaZulu Minister of Health Dr Ben Ngubane told the gathering the homeland's government would never concede to the ANC the right to write a new constitution. — *Sapa*.



ANC-IFP pact 'to withstand strains'

Political Staff

AGREEMENTS reached last month between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are likely to stand.

New strain was put on the relationship between the ANC president and the IFP leader after Mr Mandela made statements in the United States about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP last week.

Chief Buthelezi objected strenuously to Mr Mandela's statements, which he said did the quest for peace and reconciliation "a great disservice".

One of the main agreements bound the two to address joint rallies in violence-torn areas.

Mr Mandela was quoted as having told the US Press that Chief Buthelezi allowed himself "to be used by sinister forces", and that the IFP was "a surrogate" of the government.

The IFP leader said that by again seeking "to viciously smear" both him and the IFP, Mr Mandela had "blatantly reneged" on agreements reached at their meeting outside Johannesburg on June 23.

He said Mr Mandela's statements amounted to an "untruthful provocation which will further exacerbate tensions between our two parties and hinder the peace process".

However, the IFP leader lat-

er told The Argus's sister newspaper, The Star, that he had not repudiated the agreements reached at their meeting.

"The status of the agreements on my side is not in question," the IFP leader said.

ANC PWV and Southern Natal regional leaders Tokyo Sexwale and Jeff Radebe have denied that Mr Mandela had violated either the code of conduct for political parties contained in the Peace Accord or the spirit of agreements reached in the two leaders' June 23 meeting.

The ANC, they said, remained committed to both peace and the agreements reached. **ANC 12/7/93**

Mr Mandela first made his accusations about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP when he addressed the United Nations in New York about a year ago.

An angry Chief Buthelezi subsequently refused to hold talks with Mr Mandela, and laid a complaint with the National Peace Committee, which failed to resolve the dispute.

Chief Buthelezi said "provocative statements" specifically linking the recent spate of violence to those wishing to block or postpone the April 27 election were "a travesty of the truth and cheap party-political rhetoric at the expense of the on-going suffering of our people who deserve better".

Decisions cannot be forced on Inkatha

DURBAN — There could be no way forward at the negotiations without agreement by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu government, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a rally yesterday.

He said government and the ANC would never succeed in "forcing decisions down our throats", and warned that Inkatha would mobilise massive public support to prevent any such attempt.

Buthelezi was addressing about 30 000 Zulus at an Imbizo — a traditional gathering called by the Zulu king — at Kings Park Stadium.

He repeated his charge that the ANC and government were in cahoots at the negotiation forum, saying KwaZulu had walked out last week in rejection of a unitary state and constituent assembly.

But the KwaZulu government was still committed to negotiations, said Buthelezi.

"The only way forward is to stake our claim at the national level and to persist in our attempts to secure national support."

The Inkatha leader again claimed government and the ANC were attempting to "destroy" KwaZulu but warned that "Kwa-

Zulu stands as a colossus in the path of those who want to force the unitary state formula on SA".

He reiterated Inkatha and the KwaZulu government's demand for a federal form of state, saying that this was not linked to personal or sectarian power ambitions or "because we are afraid of the political world out there".

Inkatha and the KwaZulu government favoured federalism because it would better address socio-economic problems, such as poverty and hunger.

"Heterogeneity in society must be respected. The communist dream of making one united socialist state of SA will never be realised."

Buthelezi was addressing one of two Imbizos called by King Goodwill Zwelithini. Another takes place at Johannesburg's FNB Stadium next weekend.

Organisers have stressed the Imbizos are not Inkatha-arranged gatherings but Zulu cultural meetings. This has been strongly contested by the ANC in Natal, which has accused Buthelezi of using King Zwelithini for his own political ends.

Probe into local govt ethics almost done

PRETORIA — The Krugel commission into local government ethics is to hold a further session before submitting its report to Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough. Commission chairman Willem Krugel said the final session, scheduled for Monday July 19 in Johannesburg, was to allow mainly for the comments and written testimonies of non-governmental organisations and members of the public.

ADRIAN HADLAND

The commission's central brief is to investigate whether it is proper or not for a serving town councillor to be involved in property developments within his own council's area of jurisdiction. It had been alleged that a conflict of interests could make councillors vulnerable to corruption.

The Krugel report is expected to have important ramifications concerning local government.

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Zulu king urged to make choice

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The ANC yesterday accused the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) of manipulating King Goodwill Zwelithini, and has called on the king "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP".

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody".

He said the time had now come for Zwelithini, "who had been manipulated by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium", to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

Both Buthelezi and Zwelithini reportedly told the gathering that

there could be no elections before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa.

Addressing an estimated 30 000 people, Zwelithini said he had called the gathering to "protest against the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu" (115)

Democratic Party Natal executive chairman Kobus Jordaan said it was unfortunate that the king was "being drawn into an unnecessary political point-scoring debate".

If KwaZulu became part of the Natal/KwaZulu region in a future regional dispensation, it was obvious that the KwaZulu structures — never similar to the original kingdom of Zulus — and the Natal Provincial Administration would have to disappear.

● Buthelezi flays Govt, ANC — Page 6

Buthelezi to launch IFP campaign in Cape Town

ARC 13/7/78 11B
MICHAEL MORRIS
 Political Correspondent
 and **PAT CANDIDO**
 Staff Reporter

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to launch the IFP's election effort in the Western Cape tomorrow at his first public meeting in Cape Town.

The City Hall meeting, coupled with a PAC rally in Athlone at the end of the month, is expected to heighten electoral competition among the big parties in the Western Cape.

IFP organisers expect a large crowd for tomorrow's meeting but say this depends on the weather.

The meeting is being advertised under the slogan: "Don't

be ruled ... rule yourself in a federal South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi will be inaugurating "several" new IFP branches in the Western Cape during his visit this week.

Party officials say Inkatha is gaining popularity in the region, particularly among whites.

Tomorrow's meeting follows a similar one last night in Port Elizabeth, at which Chief Buthelezi said the IFP would stay out of the multiparty talks if there was no guarantee of a federal system of government.

To do anything else would be committing political suicide, he said.

"God will help us (if things go beyond peace)," he told a cheering audience of about 400

— including many rightwing Afrikaners — in the Conservative Party stronghold of Algoa Park.

"We are not prepared to be bullied into our own suicide,"

He said the IFP stood firm in its belief that the approach of the ANC and the government would not lead to democracy.

By agreeing to a constituent assembly "we are throwing away our chances of securing a federal system of government."

"What has South Africa done to deserve the National Party?

What will we do to deserve an ANC government? If we are to make the new South Africa a place in which it is safe to bring up our children, we need to fight tooth and nail to stop

the ANC and the government from imposing unitary plans on our country.

"Our view of democracy is not the kind of democracy which is glibly mouthed by the heads of totalitarian governments.

"Our view of democracy is not the kind that has held South Africa hostage to sanctions, to violence, intimidation, stayaways and bond and consumer boycotts.

"If democracy as defined by so-called liberators is to neck-lace political opponents, South Africa can do without it.

"If democracy is to beat up old women because they dare to shop at white-owned shops, you can have it. If it means newspapers which do not toe the line are targeted for

threats and boycotts, we don't want it.

"Yet all this has been done to South Africans in the name of democracy."

Instead of overthrowing the apartheid regime the ANC had joined hands with it for the reward of sharing power in a constituent assembly, he said.

● The PAC has asked the business community for cash for its rally at the end of the month.

The rally is to be addressed by PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

He is expected to focus attention on the PAC's demand for an elected constituent assembly, and immediate transition to a fully democratic dispensation, stripped of interim or power-sharing features.

Star 13/7/93

Buthelezi flays Govt, ANC

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The Government has cast aside the interests of its supporters in its haste to jump into bed with the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting in Port Elizabeth, Buthelezi again accused the Government and the ANC of entering into secret deals and said the National Party appeared to have forgotten the promises which saw it win last year's referendum.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said what South Africa needed now was "broad-based social and political consensus" on the need for

economic growth and the means to achieve it.

He said the Government — which had cast aside its supporters' interests in its fight for political survival — had done little to alleviate the fears of its people.

Buthelezi said the IFP had been warning about the Government's "sell-out position" for almost a year now, and said Pretoria's acceptance of a government of national unity with a five-year term was "yet another facade for a pact to exclude all others from ... government".

"The citizens of South Africa, after years of bitter struggle and sacrifice, will refuse to be subjected to another demoralising dictator-

ship which will strip them of their freedom and their basic civil rights.

"The five-year transitional proposal tabled at multi-party negotiations imposes a solution which is the least likely to produce results respectful and protective of cultural and social pluralism," Buthelezi said.

President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela also came in for censure for their behaviour in the US last week.

South Africa, Buthelezi said, needed to move speedily towards a settlement. If negotiations went on indefinitely, the process would lose legitimacy — "an outcome our country can ill afford".

ANC calls on Zulu king to choose

Sowetan 13/7/93

THE ANC yesterday accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of manipulating Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and has bluntly called on the king "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP" (11B)

In what amounts to an ultimatum to Zwelithini, ANC southern Natal spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody" (11B)

He said the time had now come for Zwelithini, who had been manipulated by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at Durban's King's Park Stadium, to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

"Kings among Zulus are respected

■ PATRIOTIC KINGS IFP accused of manipulating King Goodwill Zwelithini:

for their deeds," Makhaye said.

He said the ANC was "shocked" by Zwelithini's manipulation, which the IFP had done "in all its military intelligence-sponsored rallies".

According to Makhaye, the IFP had called the King's Park Stadium rally in the guise of a Zulu "imbizo" because it was acutely aware of its lack of support among "patriotic Zulus".

Both Buthelezi and Zwelithini told the gathering that there could be no elections in the country before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a

constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu-Natal region.

Addressing an estimated 30 000 people, Zwelithini said he had called the gathering to "protest at the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu". Makhaye said Sunday's rally would go down in history "as the day on which Zulu pride was desecrated and stabbed in the belly". "The great Zulu kings like Shaka, Dingane and Cetshwayo must be turning in their graves, for if they were alive today they would be at the forefront of those demanding an immediate date for elections. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

'IFP won't get a better deal'

~~1113~~ (1113)
CT 13/7/93
Govt, ANC

respond to Zulu leadership

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government had "got the best deal they were likely to get" at negotiations and had to start compromising, government and ANC negotiators said yesterday.

They were responding to speeches by Chief Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zweithini on Sunday in which they demanded that KwaZulu/Natal be regarded as a region and be allowed to first draft and have accepted a regional constitution before national elections took place.

A senior government source said: "Inkatha have been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it. The other parties are not going to go along with them and accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election.

"They have come 90% of the way in this process and everyone has tried to meet them and their fears. They must now shift and show some flexibility."

An ANC negotiator said: "Enough is enough. Why should

they keep holding the whole of South Africa and the negotiating process to ransom. We have conceded so much and cannot continue trying to meet Inkatha when they keep changing the goalposts."

The ANC and DP, in separate statements, also said the Zulu kingdom was not the same as apartheid-created structures such as KwaZulu and its legislative assembly.

The ANC said it was not trying to destroy the Zulu kingdom but it was fighting to dismantle all apartheid created structures, including KwaZulu.

The DP said the KwaZulu government was brought into being by the mother of all apartheid legislation, the Self-Governing

States Constitution Act, and the kingdom of the Zulus had never been one and the same as the KwaZulu government.

"The Zulu kingdom, like all others, will thrive under a democratic South Africa," the ANC's three Natal regions said.

"The ANC cannot be accused of trying to dismantle the Zulu kingdom... Democracy will restore their dignity and will end their manipulation by apartheid," they said in a statement issued by Natal ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye.

"Zulus have always been part of South Africa and the struggle for national liberation. No force on earth will succeed in trying to isolate and quarantine any section of South Africans.

"The IFP, knowing its lack of support among patriotic Zulu-speaking South Africans, decided to call the rally in the name of His Majesty. It decided to con the people by calling its rally a Zulu Imbizo," the statement said.

The DP said in a statement, issued by the chairman of its regional executive, Mr Kobus Jordaan, that if KwaZulu became part of the new Natal/KwaZulu region with its own constitution, it was obvious that present structures would disappear.

ANC, govt tell Inkatha: enough is enough

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government had "got the best deal they were likely to get" at negotiations and had to start compromising, government and ANC negotiators said yesterday. (118)

They were responding to speeches by Buthelezi and Zulu King Zwelithini Goodwill on Sunday in which they demanded that KwaZulu/Natal be regarded as a region and that it be allowed to draft and have accepted a regional constitution before national elections took place. (119)

A senior government source said: "Inkatha has been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it.

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BILLY PADDOCK

The other parties are not going to ... accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election."

Everyone had tried to meet them and their fears. "They must now shift and show some flexibility," he said.

An ANC negotiator said: "Enough is enough. Why should they keep holding the whole of SA and the negotiating process to ransom? We have conceded so much and can not continue trying to meet Inkatha when they keep changing the goalposts."

He said the negotiating council had been studying a technical report which "at best

allows for regional arrangements during the interim".

"But these have to be in line with the interim constitution and if we decide finally that regions can have asymmetrical constitutions, then these cannot be in conflict with the national constitution."

If KwaZulu went ahead with its constitution, which was unveiled in December and which took no cognisance of negotiated constitutional principles, it was showing no commitment to the process of negotiations, he said.

The government source said Inkatha seemed intent on creating its own fiefdom with scant regard for the national interest.

IFP adviser applies to be honorary Ciskeian

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party foreign adviser Mr Mario Ambrossini, who was ejected from the negotiating forum 10 days ago because he was a foreigner, has attempted to get honorary Ciskeian citizenship to allow him to participate directly in talks.

However, he has so far stopped short of formally applying for either homeland or South African citizenship because if he does "he loses his US citizenship and this he does not wish to do," a senior Ciskei government source said yesterday.

He has regularly been asked to leave the floor as he is not entitled to negotiate or advise. He has been seen to "borrow" delegate accreditation badges and sneak into the council.

Ambrossini in bid for Ciskei citizenship

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INKATHA Freedom Party adviser Mario Ambrossini, ejected from the negotiating forum 10 days ago because he is a foreigner, has attempted to get honorary Ciskeian citizenship to allow him to take part directly in talks.

A senior Ciskei government source said yesterday he had stopped short of formally applying for homeland or SA citizenship because he risked "losing his US citizenship, and this he does not wish to do".

Ambrossini — who has regularly been asked to leave the floor as he is not entitled to negotiate or advise — now stands little

chance of being allowed into the negotiating chamber. He has been seen to "borrow" delegate accreditation badges and sneak into the council backbenches. But Manpower Minister Leon Wessels is known to keep an eye open for these escapades and bring them to the notice of the chairman.

The Ciskei government yesterday confirmed that Ambrossini had made overtures. A spokesman for the Office of the Council of State said: "This department is able to confirm that Ciskei citizenship has

not been made available to Dr Ambrossini. The required criteria for citizenship could not be met in this case."

The government source said citizenship was not granted as no formal application was made. The forms completed by Ambrossini in effect said that "if you offer me citizenship, I will gladly accept it" (IB)

It is understood that Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi have communicated over the matter, with the latter apparently conveying his appreciation for attempts to accommodate Ambrossini. (105)

I F P out of talks

Sowetan 14/7/93

By Themba Molefe
in Ulundi

THE Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party have thrown down the gauntlet and will not return to multiparty talks when the negotiating council resumes its work today.

Both parties said at the weekend they would return to the talks only after the negotiating council had met certain conditions.

The IFP said at its annual conference in Ulundi yesterday that it would go back only after the Government had declared its position on the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The party also said it would look at the feasibility of having an alternative negotiating forum in opposition to the present negotiations.

This means the IFP could start its own negotiations with the rightwingers to challenge the present process.

In an interview with *Sowetan* on Saturday, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said almost 300 members and leaders of the party had been assassinated to date.

He said the IFP had now mandated its national leadership "to suspend participation in negotiations unless the South African Government clearly declares its position on the continuing deploy-

ment of MK and the holding of undisclosed arm caches by MK within the territory of the Republic of South Africa and the territories of the 'TBVC states'.

The party also declared: "The IFP warns of dire consequences for the country, for democracy and stability should these political killings continue."

Buthelezi said his party was not against negotiations but domination of the talks by the ANC and the Government.

In his speech to yesterday's conference Buthelezi said: "Nothing has been more abused in the negotiation process than this term 'sufficient consensus'."

"In the ANC-South African Communist Party alliances' desperation to hold elections for a constituent assembly at the soonest possible date, they introduced a motion calling for elections. We do not even know what kind of state we are going to have, we have no constitution," Buthelezi said.

Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** reports that CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg has withdrawn his party from the negotiations table until the Afrikaners' right to self-determination received "unequivocal" recognition.

He said Afrikaners and "patriots of other language groups" had the right to govern themselves in their own sovereign and independent fatherlands.

The Negotiating Council assembles at the World Trade Centre today to start work on the establishment of a transitional executive council.



Inkatha members in right-wing group

PRETORIA — A senior Inkatha Freedom Party official yesterday admitted that the party had an overlapping membership with the extreme right-wing World Preservatist Movement (WPM), formerly known as the World Apartheid Movement.

Vereeniging Inkatha organiser Chris Theunissen said he was not aware of a "major" overlap in membership between Inkatha and the WPM, but said there was no conflict of interest between the two.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was dismayed by the involvement of international right-wing organisations in

DIRK VAN EEDEN

the violence.

Theunissen said Victor Kheswa — a member of Inkatha and the WPM — had been used as a scapegoat for violence committed by rival factions in the ANC.

Niehaus denied this.

Kheswa died in police custody at the weekend after being arrested in Johannesburg on Friday in connection with the murder of 19 people on the eve of SACP leader Chris Hani's funeral in March.

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

Three policemen of the Vanderbijlpark unrest and violent crime investigation unit have been suspended in connection with the case and murder charges are being investigated.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Maj Piet van Deventer said Kheswa had been taken to Sasolburg Hospital on Saturday morning after being removed from police cells earlier. He was declared dead on arrival at the hospital.

Van Deventer said it was not yet clear where the policemen had taken Kheswa or why he was taken to the hospital.

WPM leader Koos Vermeulen said yesterday he was convinced Kheswa had been taken to Sasolburg to ensure that an autopsy would be done in Bloemfontein.

He warned that his organisation would

insist on a second autopsy if it was not satisfied with the findings of the first.

He said his organisation had started recruiting black members after becoming a multiracial body earlier this year.

The organisation had no formal links with other organisations, but he had had discussions with leaders of ethnic groups who were concerned about Xhosa domination in a future political dispensation. "We say to black people that we will fight for their land, language and culture. All we expect of them is do the same for us."

Theunissen said one of Kheswa's co-accused, Hunter Ndlovu, had been tortured in custody and Inkatha planned to lay a charge of assault.

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1

ANC prepared to meet Zulu king

Star 14/7/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The row surrounding Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's alleged manipulation by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) took another turn yesterday with ANC president Nelson Mandela saying his organisation would be prepared to meet the leader to address his concerns.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his return from the United States, Mandela said the ANC had taken note of concerns raised by Zwelithini in Durban at the weekend, and was happy that he had come forward to express them.

The ANC, Mandela said, would "listen very carefully" to Zwelithini's concerns, and would do everything possible to address them.

However, the ANC would not "be drawn into the use of labels like federalism".

"We will listen very carefully to His Majesty and hear what his demands are.

"Insofar as it lies within our

powers, we will go all out to accommodate his demands," said a conciliatory Mandela.

His response differed markedly from that of the ANC in Natal, which has accused the IFP of manipulating the king and bluntly called on Zwelithini "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP".

Ultimatum

In what observers saw as an ultimatum to Zwelithini, ANC Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody".

Makhaye said the time had now come for Zwelithini to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and "patriotic Zulus".

"Kings among Zulus are respected for their deeds," he said.

Zwelithini addressed a gathering at Durban's King's Park Stadium on Sunday with Buthelezi.

He said there could be no elections in the country before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu/Natal region.

Yesterday Mandela said the ANC would welcome an opportunity to discuss Zwelithini's concerns with him, and would therefore be prepared to meet the king at a mutually convenient place and time.

"We believe that the king's concerns are crucial and should be handled in a manner satisfactory to all people, including traditional leaders," the ANC leader said.

Mandela said the ANC was willing to send an emissary to the king within a week to make arrangements for the meeting.

He welcomed Zwelithini's statement that he was above party politics and did not side with any political organisation.

The ANC, said Mandela, hoped this would pave the way for Zwelithini to play "a major and constructive role in unifying our people and help create a climate for peace and free political activity".

NEWS IFP offered 'best deal possible' ● Court sequel

Sowetan 14/7/93
Talks' ball in IFP court

THE Government and ANC are adopting a wait-and-see attitude regarding Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision not to return to the multiparty negotiations.

Buthelezi told a meeting in Port Elizabeth this week the Inkatha Freedom Party would not return to negotiations before a federal system of government had been agreed upon.

He said to continue participating in multiparty negotiations before this condition was met would amount to "politi-

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

cal suicide" and warned the IFP was "not prepared to be bullied into our own suicide". ~~(11A)~~ (11B)

Both the Government and ANC agreed, however, that Buthelezi had received "the best deal he was likely to get" and had to start making compromises. ~~(11A)~~

A senior Government source said:

"Inkatha has been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it.

"The other parties are not going to accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election."

An ANC executive showed little concern, saying Buthelezi was "holding South Africa and the negotiating process to ransom" while all parties at the negotiating council had made many concessions.

Buthelezi Star 14/7/93 'used govt car in PE'

PORT ELIZABETH — An official at the government garage in Port Elizabeth confirmed that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi used a government car while attending an IFP meeting in the city on Monday.

The official, Ms V. Knoetze, said this was standard procedure for heads of state. (118)

A spokesman for the Democratic Party, Bobby Stevenson, said if Chief Buthelezi had used the government transport this was wrong because taxpayers' money was used.

"We believe if people are on purely party political business they should provide their own transport," Stevenson said.

It raised the question of whether the political playing field was level when certain parties had access to state-funded facilities, he said.

New steel wage Star 14/7/93 offer gets a 'no'

By Paul Bell
Labour Correspondent

Steel and engineering employers have made a final wage offer of seven percent — upping their previous offer by one percent. (157)

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA put its position yesterday but applied a little pressure. It told union negotiators it would back-date its offer to July 1 if agreement could be reached in principle by next Friday.

Labour's response was mixed. The largest union, the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), rejected the offer. Those unions comprising mainly skilled artisans indicated a conditional acceptance. Two others indicated they would refer to their members.

Seifsa's offer is on condition that unions allow employers in the Natal Midlands and Cape re-

gions to pay less than the agreed national level. In the Free State and Northern Cape, employers should be able to implement the wage increases only from January 1 1994.

Numsa's national negotiator, Les Ketteldas, recalled the union's congressional mandate to negotiators barely 10 days ago not to accept any wage increase less than inflation.

"In view of this, acceptance on our part is unlikely," he said.

While Ketteldas would not be drawn on the principal implication — that Numsa will declare a dispute — other union officials felt this was quite likely. (157)

Seifsa also tabled its acceptance that employers would disclose information to unions on the need for retrenchment, and to help them find ways to avoid it.



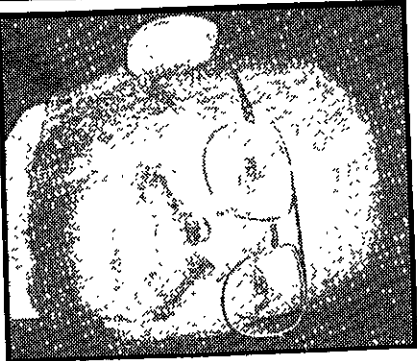
'Only the IFP can stop NP, ANC deals'

Apr 15, 1995

□ Buthelezi launches campaign

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has kicked off Inkatha's election effort in the Peninsula — promising the IFP was the only party strong



Chief Buthelezi

enough to stop the "underhanded, secretive deals" between the ANC and the National Party.

And, scoffing at hints that the NP was going to "fight dirty" against him in the election, Chief Buthelezi said an intensified Nationalist attack "will not stop their political haemorrhaging".

He insisted he would not be "intimidated" into accepting the constitutional plan hatched by the ANC and government, adding: "I don't care what this fight will cost me."

Flanked by white and Indian MPs and party officials, the Zulu leader addressed the City Hall meeting last night from beneath a huge banner bearing a stylised key and the words: "IFP... your key to the future".

There was no heckling and, while the meeting seemed al-



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

ALL EARS: An IFP supporter listens to Chief Buthelezi in the City Hall last night.

most subdued, there were several rounds of applause from the attentive, mostly white audience of between 300 and 400. Members of the special police VIP unit were on duty at the hall.

Emphasising the desirability of establishing a federal structure in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said a commitment to "strong regional government" was not sufficient.

"Talking of 'strong regional government' is like saying a woman is 'a little pregnant'."

He was concerned that the ANC was "trying to establish a transitional process that will serve to entrench centralised power".

However, "for the voice of the people to be heard, government must be situated at the heart of regions". This was vital to democracy.

and accountability, economic stability and efficient, cost-effective government.

"The hallmarks of the centralist past, where genuine political participation even among whites was increasingly remote, and where regional economic development programmes were sacrificed at the whim of central decision-makers, is eliminated with federalism."

IFP shows most growth: Buthelezi

Star 15/7/93

By Patrick Laurence

The IFP is the fastest growing political party in South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told businessmen at a working breakfast yesterday.

(11B)
For that reason, he had no plans to opt out of national politics and settle for a role as regional leader, Buthelezi said, citing towns outside Natal-KwaZulu — Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth — where he had recently addressed IFP meetings.

"I have IFP branches that I

did not have before ... how can I withdraw from national politics when I am getting branches all over the country?"

On the issue of whether the IFP would take part in the election scheduled for April 27 next year, Buthelezi replied that he had no problem with the date, provided that "first things are settled first".

He reiterated his commitment to a federal system which would provide for strong central government and largely autonomous regions, citing the United States as a role model, but noting that the proposed KwaZulu-Natal constitution would cede more powers to the

central government than did the United States constitution to Washington.

Referring to his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela on June 23, Buthelezi quoted Mandela as saying he wanted a provincial system of government similar to that in South Africa before provincial government powers were interfered with and diluted.

The ANC proposal that a new constitution be drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly precluded federalism because "nowhere in the world has a sovereign parliament elected on a unitary basis produced a federation".

Govt 'sold' its constituency

CFIS/7/93

11B
SAPA

Staff Reporter

THE government has sold out its constituency by colluding with the ANC about a constitutional settlement so that a few government members could retain senior positions in a government of transition.

Addressing a meeting of about 350 people in the City Hall last night, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the government had promised its constituency during the referendum that negotiations would lead to power-sharing and that built-in guarantees would ensure that domination would be impossible.

"In total contradiction, the government/ANC five-year plan embodies a two-stage transitional process which will empower an elected constituent assembly to draft the final constitution during a transition period of five years."

Chief Buthelezi, who received a standing ovation before and after his speech from an almost exclusively white audience, said the formal endorsement of this proposal would mean that the South

Plot to save jobs, says IFP

African government was acting outside the mandate of the referendum agreement.

"In order to accommodate these proposals the government would have to abandon its original referendum directive to negotiate for a fully-fledged constitution detailing the powers and boundaries of the regions and the states in the transitional constitution, prior to the election of the new government.

At Codesa II the IFP and the government held the same positions on these issues and Chief Buthelezi said he remembered former government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen assuring Inkatha that the government also rejected

the idea of a constituent assembly.

The record of understanding between the government and the ANC therefore came as a big surprise to the IFP.

"There are many members of government who are naturally opposed to the clandestine deals struck between the official government negotiators and the ANC.

"I have been notified that there are many cabinet ministers who are deliberately kept uninformed about compromises the government is prepared to make, in order to avoid the show-down this would cause."

● The IFP has entered the election campaign with an appeal for funding of the IFP and the "Mangosuthu Buthelezi Election Fund", Sapa reports.

The appeal, contained in a party pamphlet marked personal and confidential, was distributed at a business breakfast in a Johannesburg hotel yesterday which was addressed by Chief Buthelezi.

● **Hardly a Zulu weapon in sight**
— Page 4

ANC, government bid to smooth IFP ruffled feathers 11B

Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Efforts to address the Zulu threat to negotiations begin with government-Inkatha Freedom Party talks in Pretoria tomorrow and could be advanced by Mr Nelson Mandela's offer to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Government circles indicated that a meeting between IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk might offer a solution to the IFP intransigence at the negotiating table and a threat not to return to negotiations when they resume on Monday.

An ANC source said such a meeting could indeed be constructive and if Mr De Klerk "was willing to pull out all the stops to convince Buthelezi to remain within negotiations, it could work".

He said the ANC had nothing further to offer the IFP.

"The feeling is that we have gone as far as can reasonably — or even unreasonably — be expected. Any further compromises would put us in jeopardy with our own constituency."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed today that the ANC would send an envoy to King Goodwill within a week.

Mr Mandela's offer to meet the king follows the row which began at the weekend when

statements by the king brought accusations by the ANC in Natal of manipulation by the IFP.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport soon after his return from the United States yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC had taken note of concerns raised by King Goodwill, and was happy that he had come forward to express them.

"We believe that the king's concerns are crucial and should be handled in a manner satisfactory to all, including traditional leaders," the ANC leader said.

His response differed markedly from that of the ANC in Natal, which has accused the IFP of manipulating the king and bluntly called on him "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP".

The row erupted when King Goodwill, who addressed a gathering in Durban on Sunday with Chief Buthelezi, said there could be no elections before it was accepted that Kwazulu would be included under a constitution endorsed by the people of the Kwazulu/Natal region.

Meanwhile, government sources confirmed that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would lead a government delegation to a meeting with the IFP in Pretoria tomorrow.

WPM linked to security forces — Inkatha

ARC 15/7/93

(11B) (S)

Sapa reports from Johannesburg

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress have linked the right-wing World Preservatist Movement to the security forces.

The IFP also said it knew nothing about alleged mass murderer and Inkatha member Victor Kheswini Kheswa's involvement with the WPM.

"The WPM, previously known as the World Apartheid Movement, ... is a front organisation with close links to the South African intelligence community," the IFP said in a statement from its Durban head office.

The statement said the IFP itself had nothing to do with the WPM and it believed Mr Khes-

wa's links with the movement, as suggested by WPM leader Koos Vermeulen and confirmed by an IFP Vaal Triangle official, had been fabricated.

"Vermeulen's concern for Kheswa's alleged torture at the hands of the SAP is a red herring."

Inkatha said: "The WPM's involvement with the death in custody of Victor Kheswa is part of a systematic smear campaign against the IFP by the State."

"The IFP is aware that State intelligence organisations have as their mission the sinister linking of the IFP with the right-wing and violence."

The ANC alleged that Mr Vermeulen was a former command-

er at the Vlakplaas police base in Pretoria, where Askaris — "turned" anti-apartheid activists — and alleged police hitsquads were trained.

"The public demands to know: what is the relationship between the WPM, Vlakplaas, Askaris and alleged police hitsquads?"

Apparently referring to a statement on Tuesday by Vaal IFP organiser Chris Theunissen that Mr Kheswa was in fact a member of both the IFP and the WPM, the ANC said: "The revelations that Khetisi Kheswa was a member of the WPM gives a clear indication about the extent of the involvement of the third force in fomenting violence in our communities."

metro

Star 18/1/92

IFP objections in Met Chamber debut

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Inkatha Freedom Party made its debut in the Central Wits Metropolitan Chamber last night and indicated it might block painstaking progress made so far toward restructuring the metropolitan region and ending the Soweto rent boycott.

Unlike the Trade Centre talks, the Met Chamber operates on a basis of total, rather than sufficient, con-

sensus. As soon as the IFP's membership was approved, the party's delegate, A J Macaulay, read out a statement indicating that Inkatha was opposed to the "top-down forceable merger of local councils in which there are wide disparities of management and technical skills". He said this would reduce accountability in government and should not be followed.

At several points during the meeting he pointed out that the IFP had objections to proposed principles and procedures for decentralising government in the Central Wits area.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration was moving rapidly towards promulgating regulations which could break deadlock on the Soweto crisis, said Lephunya. In an otherwise uneventful meeting, the Met Chamber decided:

- To fund an early warning system on flooding in Soweto and Alexandra.
- To send two representatives on a study tour to North America to examine different configurations of local and metropolitan government.
- To support a land audit in Soweto and to set up a special team to find ways of releasing land throughout the metropolitan region more speedily for low cost housing.

● To fund an early warning

g ● ANC veteran in Bloemfontein hospital

How the leader of IFP sees himself

Sowetan 15/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a group of business people in Johannesburg yesterday that he fancied himself as a national leader and not

merely as a regional cog. (118)
With his self-esteem boosted by increasing support among conservative whites, Buthelezi said the Inkatha Freedom Party was the fastest growing political party in South Africa and he had no plans to opt out of national politics

and settle for a regional role.

Buthelezi has had a series of meetings around the country, including Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

"I have IFP branches that I did not have before. How can I withdraw from national politics when I am getting branches all over the country?"

About the IFP's continued role in negotiations, Buthelezi said he would wait until a draft constitution was presented before deciding on the sincerity of the ANC and Government.

By leaving this route open for itself, the IFP would be able to see "whether the ANC and the NP are sincere in

their claims of providing constitutional guarantees for the self-determination aspirations of other South Africans".

He had no problem with the date set for the first nonracial elections but felt there were outstanding issues that had to be dealt with first.

Buthelezi said he was committed to a federal system which would provide for strong central government and largely autonomous regions and cited the United States as a role model.

Meanwhile in London, IFP representative in Britain Mr Ben Skosana has appealed to Conservative Party backbenchers to support the IFP.

Agreements 'no problem': IFP MP

Political Staff

112
27/5/93
INKATHA Freedom Party MP Mr Farouk Cassim said yesterday he had "no problem at all" with the provisions agreed to by most parties for an elected constituent assembly.

The burning issues of the day could be handled by the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and then an elected constituent assembly could negotiate a new constitution for South Africa, he said.

"I have no difficulty with that," Mr Cassim said at an Independent Mediation Services of South Africa forum in Cape Town on the approaches by different parties to the election scheduled for April 27 next year.

The IFP withdrew from the negotiations when an April 27 election date was agreed upon.

Its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the party would not return to the talks until there was agreement on a federal system for South Africa and on a "form of state".

Free for all in ^{Star 15/7/93} rush for voters



Fax machines are already working overtime in the offices of political parties as propagandists fight to sway voters in elections scheduled for next April. ALAN DUNN views the opening week.

POLITICAL war, according to one sage, is where everyone shoots from the lip.

South Africa's political forces have begun a 10-month electoral campaign and are already deeply engaged in hostilities.

This prompt start to electioneering for what Natal Nationalist leader George Bartlett once described as "the mother of all elections" threatens the mother of all political wars until ballot day on April 27.

Judging by the daily deluge of faxes on the country's newsdesks, it promises to be a venomous war of sniping, sustained conventional assaults and non-consequential skirmishes. Political groups, including the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which have refrained from endorsing the April 27 target for an election, are in full bayonet-charge cry.

Take last week: Mandela and De Klerk prickled at each other in Washington DC and Philadelphia in what should have been a moment of triumph for South Africa; Mandela broadsided Buthelezi; Buthelezi lashed back; the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose chimed in; the ANC and IFP ding-donged over who was responsible for the Reef carnage and the DP chided Mandela for not returning promptly from abroad to douse that mayhem.

The ANC accused the IFP of plotting the assassination of its entire leadership corps in Natal; the IFP branded these life-threatening utterances and referred them to the National

Peace Committee; the DP and NP lambasted the Afrikaner Volksfront's dodgery in the debate on regional boundaries; the NP fumed at PAC racism and the repeated use of "kill the boer" slogans. So it went on...

Then, as if to blow the enemy away from their fax machines, the IFP rolled out a close-typed cannon of a press statement:

"IFP slams ANC propaganda", it headlined its indictment sheet, launching itself at ANC claims against the party as a "crass insult to the intelligence of millions of South Africans".

Unlike the ANC, it argued, it was able to produce concrete evidence showing the IFP was the primary victim of a vicious, full-scale military offensive unleashed by its opponent in Natal and on the Reef.

The IFP claimed to have in its possession evidence to show that (among other things):

- ANC warlords have sought to undermine the legitimacy and integrity of chiefs who scorn ANC overtures yet, in a remarkable display of ANC double standards, embrace traditional leaders sympathetic to their cause.
- Communities who spurn ANC advances are brutally attacked.
- Renamo-style ANC bandits were currently engaged in an unprecedented "arms race". Established infiltration routes were being used to smuggle weapons into the country.
- For every victim of political violence aligned to the ANC, the IFP was able to show five IFP victims.

Borrowing revolutionary cliches which hallmark the style of the ANC and its allies, it said: "It must be remembered that the ANC are masters at sowing deception, having learnt their subterranean craft from Eastern and Soviet-bloc countries."

These were only some of the volleys in the first week of the election campaign. It threatens to be a war of words in which political groups will assign full-time keyboard bombardiers to fire the fax machines at their opponents' every sneeze. □

Doubt over IFP, Kwazulu's attendance at negotiations

PRETORIA. — Attempts to resolve constitutional differences between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party/Kwazulu government appeared to have been partly successful — but it remained unclear whether the IFP would resume its seat at multiparty negotiations when they resume on Monday.

Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer described yesterday's meeting between the government and the IFP/Kwazulu government delegation as constructive and said the concerns articulated by the IFP and

Kwazulu government recently had been addressed. ~~IFP~~

He said it was clear from the discussions that the IFP, the Kwazulu government and the South African government shared the same views and objectives as far as a future constitution was concerned. ~~IFP~~

"We agree that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, that it should be the supreme law of the land, and that it should provide for a constitutional state. ARG 16/7/93

"Fundamental rights should be adjudicated over by a constitutional court, regional legislatures and regional government should be elected, and there should be special provision for amendments to the constitution.

"It is hard to understand why the IFP and the Kwazulu government should differ from what we believe has already been adopted in the negotiation process."

Mr Meyer said the IFP/Kwazulu delegation had not indicated whether they would return to negotiations on Monday. — Sapa.

Govt, Inkatha's constitutional aims similar, says Meyer

PRETORIA — The negotiations process received a boost yesterday when Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week's bilateral meetings between the Inkatha Freedom Party and government had shown that the two parties shared the same views and objectives regarding SA's future constitutional arrangements.

Government had agreed with Inkatha that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, Meyer told a news briefing.

Both parties also felt that there would be elected regional legislatures and regional government, that a constitutional court

ADRIAN HADLAND

would adjudicate over questions of fundamental rights, that the constitution could be amended through a special provision and that the constitution would be the supreme law of the land.

"We share the same views and overall the same objectives," Meyer said.

Concerns expressed by Inkatha had been addressed during the meetings and, as a result, Meyer could see "no reason why they should not be back at the negotiating council on Monday".

This was denied by Inkatha negotiator Walter Feigate, who said Inkatha would

not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

Meyer said the talks had indicated that common ground existed between the two parties; in particular on the substance of future constitutional arrangements.

In the light of this, it was hard to understand why Inkatha had differed from what was adopted in principle by the negotiating forum earlier this month.

This week's discussions, which would continue at the weekend, were aimed at conveying to Inkatha the views of government on the contents and interpretations of those principles, "and to ensure they are

being understood the same way we do".

The next important step in negotiations was to judge the draft constitution upon its completion — probably by the end of this month — by the technical committee, Meyer said. "The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft."

Remarks made recently by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi concerning government's views on power-sharing and the way in which government had been conducting its negotiations were clearly part of Inkatha's election campaign, Meyer said. The remarks were far removed from the truth.

Buthelezi Star 16/11/93 attacked by NP and DP

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday came in for a roasting from the Government and the Democratic Party following his widely publicised opposition this week to agreements reached in negotiations.

Buthelezi, who has been travelling across the country accusing the Government and the ANC of having struck secret deals, has suggested the IFP and KwaZulu government delegations might not return to negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Monday until he obtained guarantees for a federal system of government (118)

In what Constitutional Development Minister Roelf yesterday described as Buthelezi's electioneering, the IFP leader told predominantly white meetings in the main centres that the Government had abandoned promises it had made to the white electorate during last year's referendum and was now selling out to the ANC. (119)

But after meeting a two-man IFP-KwaZulu delegation in Pretoria yesterday, Meyer said: "It is quite clear that these statements are mainly part of election campaigning." (120)

DP western Cape chairman Jasper Walsh, in a statement released in Cape Town, described the IFP leader's recent statements as "a transparent ploy to avoid the spotlight of ascertained electoral support".

ZULU POLITICS FM 16/7/93

The king and I

(118) ~~(118)~~

The Zulu king and the KwaZulu chief minister have jointly thrown down the gauntlet on the issue of federalism. Although no-one has yet picked it up, there are no signs of oppo-

FM 16/7/93

(118) ~~(118)~~

nents backing off either.

The challenge was issued in front of 60 000 Zulus last Sunday at the historic *imbizo* (meeting of the people) held at King's Park Stadium, Durban. While King Goodwill Zwelithini's message was unequivocal, the fuzzy line between being a cultural figurehead and a political player has become even less distinct.

The monarch echoed IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's line when he warned that there would be no election unless both government and ANC president Nelson Mandela first committed themselves to protecting the sovereignty of KwaZulu and accepting KwaZulu's constitutional status.

The stirring threat to raise the mightiest Zulu voice ever heard elicited a predictable response from the ANC. Its three Natal branches jointly reiterated that their organisation is not trying to destroy the Zulu kingdom, but fighting to dismantle all apartheid structures, including the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Furthermore, the blunt message from government and the ANC is that the IFP has won all the concessions it is going to get on regionalism.

The one thing that emerges from these events, says the Human Sciences Research Council's Tony Minnaar, is that the king has become a monarch of convenience through what was clearly a political call. "It will also create confusion among many Zulus, par-

ticularly urban dwellers, who want to be seen as loyal to their king without being politically supportive of the IFP — or any other party, for that matter." ■

Govt, Inkatha 'share views'

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CT16/7/92

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Bilateral meetings this week had shown that the government and Inkatha shared the same views and objectives regarding South Africa's future constitutional arrangements, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

The government had agreed with Inkatha that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, he told a news briefing.

Both parties also felt there should be elected regional legislatures and regional government, that a constitutional court should adjudicate over questions of fundamental rights, that the constitution should be amendable and that the constitution should be the supreme law of the land.

"We share the same views and overall the same objectives," Mr Meyer said.

Common ground

Concerns expressed by Inkatha had been addressed during the meetings and, as a result, he could see "no reason why they should not be back at the negotiating council on Monday".

But Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said Inkatha would not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

Meyer said the talks had indicated that common ground existed between the two parties, in particular on the substance of future constitutional arrangements.

In the light of this, it was hard to understand why Inkatha had differed from what was adopted in principle by the negotiating forum earlier this month.

The next important step was to judge the draft constitution upon its completion, probably by the end of this month.

"The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft."

KwaZulu cop 'given AK-47'

DURBAN. — A KwaZulu policeman told a Goldstone Commission hearing yesterday that he was given an AK-47 rifle and ammunition by IFP members and KwaZulu officials and told to kill people creating problems for the IFP in Esikhawini township, near Empangeni.

The policeman, who may not be identified, said he had been recruited by the IFP in Natal to undergo training by the SADF in the Caprivi strip.

The policeman said he had been told the purpose of his training was to protect members of the South African and KwaZulu governments.

Foreign

He said members of the KZP had confiscated his weapon, apparently following intervention from the South African Police. The hearing continues.

● The Goldstone Commission has appointed two foreign police experts to work with its Natal unit investigating the Musgrave Centre incident last week in which SAP members of the shot dead five suspected robbers. They are French Chief Superintendent J Biotteau and British Superintendent G Sims. — Sapa

**Businessmen favour
Inkatha, says Mentz**

DURBAN. — People in northern Natal were streaming in to join Inkatha and there were businessmen in the Transvaal who were ready to move lock, stock and barrel to regions which would be ruled by the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP parliamentary leader Mr Jurie Mentz said last night. He told the Afrikaanse Sakekamer at Richards Bay that Inkatha was the friend of business and the free market. He said many businessmen were seeking to avoid ANC-ruled areas and move to IFP "regionally controlled areas".

Inkatha enters vote fray

S Times [C/Metro]

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WITH election day still nine months away, the battle for the support of undecided voters in the Western Cape is shaping up as one of the hardest-fought election campaigns in South Africa.

This week the Inkatha Freedom Party joined the fray when IFP leader Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi fired his party's first salvos at a public meeting in Cape Town which was attended by 500 mainly-white supporters.

The IFP now joins the National Party, the African National Congress and the Democratic Party in a four-way battle for the battle for majority support in the Western Cape.

Until now the battle for voter support seemed likely to be a two-way fight between the ANC and the National Party, with the PAC and the Democratic Party expected to draw smaller, but nevertheless significant, voter support.

According to the latest Home Affairs statistics there are 21 593 585 potential white, coloured, Indian and black voters in South Africa. Of the 2 219 087 voters in the Western Cape, 26 per cent are white, 68 per cent coloured, 0,8 per-

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

Now IFP flexes its electoral muscles in Cape

cent Indian and 14,7 percent black.

Recent polls have shown that 38 percent of potential coloured voters in the Western Cape are unlikely to decide which party to support until election day. Now observers are predicting that the four major parties will go all-out in their battle to win the support of those undecided voters.

Observers believe that the traditional wide-spectrum of political positions held by the Democratic Party have been overtaken by ANC, IFP and NP positions. They believe that another likely battleground will centre around the votes of the traditional white-liberals.

Mr Buthelezi's public meeting in Cape Town comes at a time when the IFP in the Western Cape has started to consolidate its election campaign.

The party has, until recently, been wracked by a power struggle with two different factions battling for control of the party's top organisational structure.

Now Inkatha claims to have established 50 branches in the Western Cape, each with a minimum of (mostly white) 100 members. The IFP is confident of increasing this support further in the run-up to the April 27 election.

Under a new federal regional dispensation, the party's increasing support among liberal whites could give the party an important role in the politics of the region — which is also becoming one of the most coveted trophies sought by parties bidding for the all-important "coloured" vote.

Statistics show an enlarged Western Cape will be the only region in the country — once the boundaries for new regions have been completed — which will not have an African majority.

© Political parties gear up to win your vote, page 2

A tankful of taxpayers' cash?

WMAJ 16/7-22/7/93.
By BEVERLEY GARSON: Port Elizabeth

THE use of a government car by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while attending a public meeting of his party in Port Elizabeth this week, has raised questions on whether taxpayers' money was used for party political ends.

An official at the government garage in Port Elizabeth, V Knoetze, confirmed that Buthelezi used a government car while he was in the city. She said this was standard procedure for "heads of state".

The regional spokesman of the IFP, Eldrid Ferreira, also said he believed Buthelezi was flown to Port Elizabeth in a kwaZulu aeroplane.

Eastern Cape police media liaison officer Captain Lisbe Vermeulen confirmed that Buthelezi was escorted by the South African Police during his visit. She said it was normal procedure that a head of state be given the necessary security.

A spokesman for the Democratic Party, Bobby Stevenson, said if Buthelezi used government transport for party political ends it was wrong because taxpayers' money was used.

"We believe if people are on purely party political business they should provide their own transport. It is wrong that taxpayers' money is used," Stevenson said.

He said there should be a "clear distinction" between functions of the state and political parties.

Stevenson said the use of the car raised the question of whether the political playing field was level when certain parties had access to state-funded facilities.

"This is a matter which the Independent Electoral Commission should take up to ensure that all parties can compete on an equal basis," Stevenson said.

Buthelezi's acting personal assistant, Thami Duma, said the visit "was not absolutely" IFP business, but included some kwaZulu government business too. He, however, referred all further inquiries to his president's protocol officer, Ruth Makiwane, who could not be reached despite numerous attempts. — Pen

WHEN the Inkatha Freedom Party had the chance to speak up, it preferred to keep quiet. But now that the negotiating council has agreed on an election date, the party has suddenly become vocal in its rejection of crucial facets of the process.

The IFP may be consistent as far as its ultimate goals are concerned, but its strategy is highly unpredictable.

One example: when key IFP negotiator Joe Matthews led his delegation in a walk-out during a session of the negotiating forum two weeks ago, he made it clear that his party would be back when negotiations reconvened on July 19. Now, however, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is threatening to withdraw from the process unless his demands are met.

To confuse things further, it is known that the IFP earlier this week presented its own proposals for an interim constitution to a technical committee in Kempton Park — despite its vociferous opposition to any interim measures leading to democracy. The IFP and kwaZulu walk-out was in fact precipitated by the forum's decision to accept a two-phase transitional process, including an interim constitution.

In the next few weeks, all eyes will be focused on the IFP and kwaZulu options. Inkathā may influence the course of negotiations even more decisively than the white rightwing. And the manipulation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to whip up Zulu nationalist emotions has introduced a novel dynamic.

The IFP's lack of consistency in its negotiations strategy is highlighted by a recently published book on the failure of the two Codesa conventions that preceded the present multi-party process.

Entitled *The Long Journey: South Africa's Quest for a Negotiated Settlement*, it is the most authoritative work yet published on the efforts to find a negotiated political settlement. Edited by the Centre for Policy Studies' Steven Friedman, it underlines the subdued role of the IFP in all the Codesa working groups while important decisions were being taken — decisions that have a direct impact on the present process.

Inkatha's limited participation, the authors say, is difficult to explain. One explanation is "that it simply failed to send a senior delegation"; another "that Buthelezi's absence made it impossible for IFP delegates to operate effectively, since the only man who could really bind it to agreements was not there".

Buthelezi, it seems, did not expect the IFP to "present a strenuous defence of its interests, since he expected the real bargaining to begin only when his terms were met and he joined the negotiations". This would only have been when a multi-party forum — as Buthelezi insisted — began drafting a constitution that would be put to the electorate; the IFP from the beginning rejected the notion of an elected

In, out, in ... Inkatha's talks tactics



New dynamic ... King Zwelithini

Negotiations are entering their final phase, depending only on Inkatha's unpredictable approach. **CHRIS LOUW** sets the scene for the resumption of talks

W/maail 167-227/93

constitution-making body.

Whatever the reasons, the IFP's comparative silence limited Codesa's ability to solve problems which have now emerged.

Neither the National Party nor the African National Congress took the IFP particularly seriously. The IFP's proposals were largely ignored — specifically in Working Group Three, whose brief was to suggest the transitional arrangements, interim government or transitional authority — without Inkatha objecting.

When the negotiations resume on July 19, it is precisely on the issue of a transitional authority that conflict can be expected.

Inkatha spokesmen, including Buthelezi, have made it clear that they first want to see what the technical committee on constitutional matters comes up with before deciding whether negotiations serve any further pur-

pose.

The IFP insists that it wants a final say on the regional powers and functions and boundaries of its proposed kwaZulu/Natal region. Although the other negotiating parties — most significantly the ANC — have bent over backwards to accommodate the IFP's demands for strong autonomous regions, this is the one concession that will not be made.

The ANC and the NP accept that the central government will have to have overriding powers in a new dispensation, and that an elected constituent assembly will in the final analysis be responsible for deciding on powers, functions and boundaries.

Conceded in the last meetings of the negotiating council was a set of constitutional principles ensuring strong powers for regional governments, including fiscal powers. Another principle that will bind a future constitution-writing body is that the "national government shall not exercise its powers (exclusive or concurrent) to encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity" of the regions.

For the IFP, this was not good enough. It has insisted through its two key negotiators, Matthews and Walter Felgate, that the current, unrepresentative body draws up the final constitution, and that elections be held before the end of the year, making transitional arrangements superfluous.

The final deadline for the submission of interim constitutional proposals was set for Tuesday this week. Despite the angry rhetoric, the IFP quietly handed in its proposals just before the deadline. Exactly what it is proposing is not known, however.

Both ANC and NP negotiators are now waiting with bated breath to see what the IFP's next move will be. They are unclear on how serious the IFP is in its threat to withdraw from the negotiating process.

Regardless of whether the IFP and kwaZulu delegations report at the talks on Monday, it will be another week or so before the crucial issue of the interim constitution is discussed. This is how long it will take the technical committee to study the various proposals and come up with a compromise proposal.

Though the talks have reached a pivotal stage, next week's sessions are expected to be taken up by mostly technical issues, which will be of little interest to a public hungry for tangible results.

But once the process restarts towards the end of the month, things may start to happen with speed. The negotiators are now quickly reaching the end of the pre-election phase.

On the table for the next few weeks are the transitional constitution, final constitutional principles and the preparation of the structures for an election. This phase could be finalised by the end of August — leaving the country for all intents and purposes ready for its first democratic elections, well within the deadline of April 27 next year.

In Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's four-and-a-half-page speech at Sunday's imbizo (meeting of the Zulu nation) in Durban, the word "peace" was not mentioned once.

Instead, Zwelithini made veiled threats of violence and sparked concern that the slaughter in the townships could reach new heights, jeopardising the April 27 elections.

After the king had whipped up the emotions of the 60 000-strong crowd with warnings that kwaZulu faced the threat of annihilation, spear-wielding men rose from their seats to roar: "Let us fight."

Clad in a suit and wearing mirror shades, Zwelithini replied: "No, not now. I'll tell you when."

The rally underlined that the Inkatha Freedom Party intends to use Zwelithini to buttress its demand for an IFP-style federal constitution. If the African National Congress and National Party resist, the monarch could spearhead IFP calls for the secession of Natal/kwaZulu.

The Zulu kingdom Zwelithini is anxious to safeguard comprises the kwaZulu homeland and Natal province, according to IFP negotiator Walter Felgate. The boundaries of the kingdom were carved out in the last century in various wars with the British colonists.

How are the ANC and the NP threatening the kingdom's future? In two ways, Felgate says: by planning to repeal legislation which established the kwaZulu homeland, and by incorporating it into South Africa before a new constitution is drafted.

"We say no to that. KwaZulu must find a permanent place in a new South Africa. The sovereignty of kwaZulu is there. We must exercise its authenticity."

The argument, and the mobilisation of the king in its support, involves

The Zulu king picks up the IFP spear

"Let us fight," roared the crowd at Sunday's imbizo. 'I'll tell you when,' said the king, throwing his weight behind the IFP's threats of violence and secession. By FAROUK CHOTHIA



Armed Inkatha supporters make their way towards the rally on Sunday. Photo: ACHMED MOONSAMMY

more than a little sleight of hand. Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan holds that the IFP has deliberately blurred the definition between the homeland and the kingdom.

"The kingdom of the Zulus is not, and has never been, one and the same structure as the kwaZulu government," Jordaan argues. "The kingdom was there long before these structures

were introduced." He adds that the multi-party negotiating forum has "guaranteed Zwelithini a future at both national and regional level" by agreeing that "the institutions, status and the role of indigenous law shall be recognised and protected in the new constitution".

Zwelithini's weekend speech had more to do with the elections than

with any threat to the Zulu monarchy. IFP sources confirmed that Zulu nationalism would be the focal point of their election campaign, and Zwelithini a key player in this regard.

In the election, the sources said, the IFP would rally Zulu support by arguing that the ANC and the NP had "cheated" Zulus at the negotiating table. They therefore needed to throw

their weight behind the IFP.

Zwelithini, who has greater popular appeal than IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would be a vote winner.

In his speech, Zwelithini said that "loyalty to kwaZulu is the very first requirement in the demonstration of Zuluness". Anyone who tries to annihilate kwaZulu "commits treachery to the nation".

This assertion is pregnant with threat. "In Zulu history, the penalty for treachery is death. Zwelithini is, in a way, justifying the killing of ANC supporters," comments ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande.

Sociologist Gerhard Mare adds that Buthelezi has "two strings to his bow" — a dual strategy pitched at both Zulus and other Natalians. "Buthelezi says Zulu people must define their own future and, within that strategy, the king is the lynchpin."

"The second string is the region, which is an amalgamation of seven million people. Buthelezi says the region is under threat and asks people whether they want to be under Pretoria's control again. He does that through the IFP (not through Zwelithini's imbizo) and it appeals to whites, Indians and coloureds."

Nzimande believes Buthelezi is not only using Zwelithini to extract concessions at the negotiating table and to win votes, but is "putting into place all the elements of secession".

"If he loses the election, he will demand the secession of the Zulu kingdom. For that he will need no democratic validation — and he will do it through Zwelithini. Political territory will have to be given to him on the plate. Those who oppose it will be traitors, and killings would be justified."

Although the IFP intends returning to the negotiating table, there are doubts about whether it will allow the April elections to go ahead.

Felgate, who is known to wield enormous personal influence over Buthelezi, says the IFP rejects and will not take part in an election for a constituent assembly. The party is adamant that the constitution has to be finalised at the negotiating forum.

Warns Felgate: "If there is a deadlock in the negotiation process, we could expect increased violence. There won't be an election without us. There can't be an election without half of the electorate."

The IFP could muster the support of the white rightwing — and at the same time give impetus to a secessionist movement, he adds.

In addition to his alliance with the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) in the Cosag group, Buthelezi is forging links with the Afrikaner Volkfront (AVF). Days after

rightwingers assaulted IFP negotiator Faith Gciza at an AVF protest march at the World Trade Centre, Buthelezi met generals Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald in Ulundi. He described their "man-to-man" discussions as "highly therapeutic".

Rightwing political analyst Wim Bonyse sees the white rightwing and the IFP as natural allies: "Documents are circulating saying that the white right needs a partner. The concept is growing that the rightwing is not a whites-only thing."

Nzimande remarks that there is "a very interesting coincidence" between the regional proposals of the AVU and Inkatha's call for a Zulu kingdom. "The AVU refers to the whole province as kwaZulu, not as Natal/kwaZulu. We may see Buthelezi demanding a Zulu *volkstaat* with help from the right."

Mare foresees a lengthy spell of violence in Natal/kwaZulu and believes the threat comes from both the IFP and ANC. "There are certain rules around democracy," he says. "You must accept that you might lose. In this region, neither Inkatha nor the ANC accept that they are in the minority. This is the only part of the country where this is the case."

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Bid to hinder 'monster' autopsy — claim

W/Mail 16/7-22/7/93. (18)

A pathologist has alleged that attempts were made to derail his post-mortem examination of Victor Kheswa, the alleged assassin who died in police custody. By STEPHEN LAUFER



THE saga of the "Vaal monster", Victor Kheswa, took two bizarre twists yesterday when police claimed he had not died violently while in custody, and the pathologist who conducted the autopsy said attempts had been made to obstruct his work.

Arrested last Friday, Kheswa died several hours later in Sasolburg hospital. Inkatha and the African National Congress have alleged that he had intelligence links, and it has been suggested that he was killed by police to prevent him revealing a security force role in "third force" activities.

Sebokeng has been hit by a series of mysterious and suggestively similar drive-by killings. The most recent, in which 10 died, came last Monday night.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, deputy police commissioner for the Vaal, has been appointed to head an investigation into Kheswa's death. Because of the latter's political links, Mostert is to be assisted by Major General Piet du Toit of

Ndlovu appeared in the Sebokeng Magistrate's Court this week in connection with 50 deaths.

Mostert told *The Weekly Mail*: "I am completely happy that Kheswa was not assaulted by the police. The autopsy revealed no evidence whatsoever of a fierce attack or assault. The suspension of the three officers involved was purely to show impartiality."

Kheswa, it appears, had been confronted by the police with an array of material evidence implicating him in several killings in the Vaal townships, and had agreed to co-operate. At his own suggestion, he was put in a police car and taken to the Free State, possibly to point out accomplices or weapons sources to investigating officers.

Said Mostert: "While in the car, he suddenly became ill, and the officers with him rushed him to the nearest hospital, where he died a short while later. OFS detectives were immediately called in, and they conducted forensic tests on

the car. They have taken over the investigation and I am satisfied that they will report impartially."

A forensic pathologist from the Department of Health in Bloemfontein, a Dr Wagner, was called in to conduct the autopsy on Kheswa.

He told *The Weekly Mail* that he had subsequently received "manipulated" faxes apparently aimed at getting him to discontinue the post-mortem examination. He said he believed the faxes had "come from Kheswa's side", but was unable to specify whether he thought they came from the family, Inkatha, or Vermeulen's WPM.

Wagner is as yet unable to specify the cause of death, because tissue samples and blood specimens are still being analysed. But he is sure that Kheswa was neither poisoned nor drugged. "I cannot rule out the possibility that muti in one form or another was involved," he said. "Only exhaustive tests may show their long-term use".



Buthelezi explains his hard line

THE message which Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi went out of his way to convey this week was that he refused to be sidelined in South Africa's power game.

"We are a national force, and a national force to be reckoned with," he told a largely white audience at a public meeting in the Cape Town City Hall.

Chief Buthelezi was asserting the IFP's role at a time when some political observers feared his wrath, if unleashed, could wreck constitutional negotiations and plunge the country into chaos.

This weekend the big question was whether or not Inkatha would return to the negotiating council on Monday. Uncertainty about the IFP's next move arose when it indicated after talks with the government this week that it would not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

The questions arise: How strong is the IFP? Does it have more bark than bite? Can it be a mover and shaker in the negotiation process?

Some critics have dismissed Inkatha as a regional force with relatively little support in most urban areas, as indicated by opinion polls. Most political analysts, on the other hand, have said Inkatha could not be written off and had enough strength and influence to cause havoc if provoked.

Chief Buthelezi claims his organisation has support among all population groups — whites, blacks, coloureds, Indians, — and the support, he says, is growing fast.

He makes no secret of the fact that his

■ The rumbling in South African politics this weekend comes from Inkatha. The tough stand taken by the Inkatha Freedom Party was explained in Cape Town this week by its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

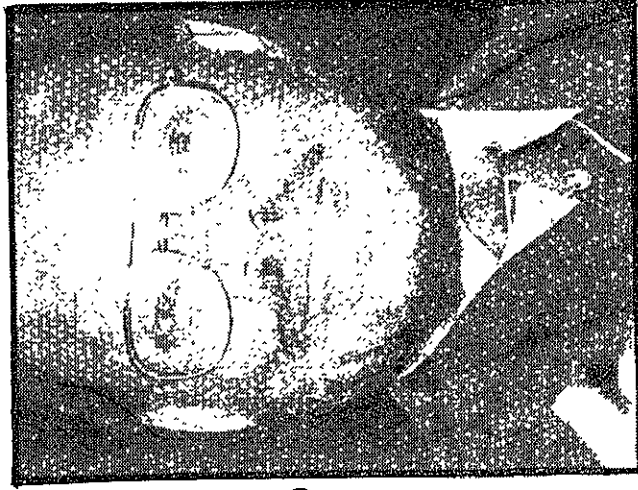
NP
MAY 17/1993

support in the Western Cape is predominantly white. In fact, the occasion for his visit to Cape Town this week was the official inauguration of 20 new IFP branches in the Western Cape — established mostly in white areas.

These include: Cape Town, South Peninsula, Durbanville, Bellville, Parow, Table View, Kulls River, Stellenbosch University, Somerset West, Hottentots-Holland, Rondebosch, Southfield, Lakeside, Wynberg, Kraaifontein, Mowbray, Strand, Swellendam and Montagu.

Although exact figures are not available, IFP officials say the new branches, with an average of 100 members each, bring the IFP's total membership in the Western Cape close to 10 000. It is claimed that before the establishment of these branches, there were already more than 7 000 Inkatha supporters in this region.

Chief Buthelezi told his Cape Town audience: "I have been too overwhelmed by the extent to which many of my fellow South Africans, other than black South Africans,



□ **PUSHING FEDERALISM:** Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

are joining us in droves, literally every week."

He explained that Inkatha opened its membership to people of all races as soon as the Improper Political Interference Act of the old apartheid regime was removed from the statute books.

On the issue of political power, Chief Buthelezi believed no regional political

force would survive if it could not hold its own at the national level. It would be "suicidal" for the IFP, he said, to confine its interests to the region of KwaZulu/Natal.

"We in KwaZulu and the IFP have never done anything else than to seek to produce a sound South African democracy in which we would have to face all-comers both at the national and regional level for our place in the South African political sun."

He emphasised Inkatha's objective was to develop a national power base. His party's policies, he said, were designed to meet national needs and aspirations.

While one of his biggest fears was clearly that of being sidelined by the other main political players, Chief Buthelezi made no bones about the fact that he was sadly disillusioned with the performances of both the National Party government and the African National Congress.

Of the NP, he said: "The government we see today is a far cry from the South African saviour it was portrayed in the early 1990s. The rhetoric of democracy has been exploited by the government, leaving South Africans with an obscure range of interpretations, but no clear vision of the future."

Of the ANC, he said: "Just like the apartheid government of the past, the ANC is promoting a unitary state-power for a new South Africa, which can be concentrated to such an extent that it can so easily be abused. The election of a constituent assembly would pave the way for the ANC alone to decide on the structure of the future constitution of this country."

Make or break talks for IFP

(113)
ARC 17/7/93

Weekend Argus Reporter

A BIG question mark hangs over the participation of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Kwazulu government in multi-party negotiations when the 26-delegation Negotiating Council (NC) meets at the World Trade Centre on Monday following a two-week recess.

The IFP, whose leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week travelled to many parts of the country opposing agreements already reached in negotiations, walked out of the Negotiating Forum on July 2.

It was followed by Kwazulu government and Conservative Party (CP) delegates who, like the IFP, are members of the conservative Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Now the IFP-Kwazulu's return to negotiations depends on the outcome of at least two important meetings this weekend: a meeting between the government and the IFP-Kwazulu in Pretoria today and the annual congress of the IFP in Ulundi.

IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said the main thrust of the congress's deliberations would be negotiations. "This will be a crucial conference, and it will make a very fundamental difference to the negotiations process," he said.

Chief Buthelezi, who has been accusing the government and the ANC of having struck secret deals, has suggested the IFP and Kwazulu government delegations might not return to negotiations until he obtained guarantees for a federal system of government.

The three-day congress which began in Ulundi yesterday is expected to take a resolution on negotiations when it ends tomorrow. Today's meeting — the government's third with the IFP-Kwazulu this week — might pave the way for the two delegations' return

to multi-party talks.

As Chief Buthelezi criss-crossed the country this week delivering blistering attacks on the government and the ANC, Pretoria quietly held talks with his lieutenants in Durban on Monday and in Pretoria on Thursday.

Today's meeting — which both sides have described as one in a series of bilaterals between the former "allies" — will enable the IFP-Kwazulu delegation to inform the government on its discussions with Chief Buthelezi.

The IFP leader, who will address a joint rally with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the First National Bank Stadium outside Johannesburg tomorrow, has come in for a roasting from the government and the Democratic Party (DP) following his recent statements.

In what Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer described as Chief Buthelezi's electioneering, the IFP leader told predominantly white audiences in Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Johannesburg that the government had abandoned promises to the white electorate during last year's March 17 referendum, and was now selling out to the ANC.

But Chief Buthelezi got as much as he gave, with DP western Cape chairman Jasper Walsh describing the IFP leader's recent statements as "a transparent ploy to avoid the spotlight of ascertained electoral support".

"Buthelezi's attempts to stall the process are intimidatory and have been backed by threats of extreme action if he does not get his way through negotiations.

"We object to the way both the ANC and the IFP are importing their war-talk to our territory. This is a peaceful and prosperous part of South Africa," Mr Walsh said.

Mr Meyer dismissed the Kwazulu chief minister's attacks on the government as nothing more than electioneering.

"His remarks with regard to power-sharing and the way in which the government is negotiating are far removed from the truth and therefore do not even require a response," Mr Meyer said.

Speaking at the end of a meeting with a two-man delegation from the IFP-Kwazulu, Mr Meyer — for whom Chief Buthelezi has reserved some of his harshest criticism — said the government failed to understand why the IFP leader continued to express concern about issues on which agreement already existed.

He said the government and the IFP had a lot in common when it came to constitutional arrangements for the country, and constitutional principles adopted by the Negotiating Forum on July 2 would ensure that they got what they wanted.

Both wanted a future constitution based on federal principles to be the supreme law of the land, a justiciable Bill of Rights and a constitutional court, special provisions for the amendment of the constitution and strong, autonomous regional government.

"For that reason it is hard to understand why the IFP-Kwazulu should differ from what we believe has already been (agreed upon) in the negotiations process."

Mr Meyer said he believed the meeting had addressed the concerns raised by Chief Buthelezi.

However, sources close to the government have said Pretoria was growing increasingly irritated by Chief Buthelezi, whom the government thought lacked full understanding of the give-and-take that has been going on in negotiations.

Zulu king gets ANC 'ultimatum'

~~113~~ ~~127~~
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of manipulating Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

In what amounts to an ultimatum to King Goodwill, ANC Southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said that while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody".

The time had now come for King Goodwill, who had been "manipulated" by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at the King's Park Stadium in Durban, to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

The Democratic Party also entered the fray yesterday, with DP Natal executive chairman Kobus Jordaan saying it was unfortunate that King Goodwill was "being drawn into an unnecessary political point-scoring debate".

Mr Makhaye said he could not understand how Zulus belonging to the ANC and "other democratic formations" could be accused of being traitors just because they supported demands for a united South Africa.

Buthlezi lashes NP and ANC in Cape Town speech

By Christelle Terreblanche

"WHEN the Record of Understanding was signed by the State President with the ANC in 1992, that is what started the first crack in the National Party." (118)

This was said by Mr Mangosuthu Buthlezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), addressing an audience of about 500 people in the Cape Town City Hall on Wednesday evening. It was his first official speech in the city as IFP leader.

South 117 - 217193
He said the NP government we see today is far cry from the "South African saviour" it was portrayed as in the early 90's. (118)

"The rhetoric of democracy has been exploited by the government, leaving South Africans with an obscure range of interpretations, but no clear vision for the future." (118)

He therefore finds the Record, as well as the ANC and government insistence on a constituent assembly, "circumspect". The IFP is the only party at the multi-party negoti-

ations which has not yet endorsed April 27, 1994 as election date.

He recounted how he "tried to forge unity amongst the oppressed", as chairperson of the South African Black Alliance, which Inkatha formed with the Labour Party before the formation of the tri-cameral parliament.

"It is disinformation and propaganda which try to reduce me to size by making me a regional leader when for decades my approach was always national," he said.

IFP leader threatens 'breakaway convention'

Buthelezi's grim warning on talks

Star 17/7/93

(118) (118)

IDO LEKOTA



Godfrey Motsepe (foreground) and Moss Chikane at the site of their project to upgrade Mamelodi township. It is a big business to get involved in the venture, which is in dire need of help. Picture: PETER MOGAKI

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of a "breakaway constitutional convention" which would divide South Africa in two if this was the only option left his party by developments at the multiparty talks.

Addressing more than 100 delegates attending the IFP's pre-congress national council in the KwaZulu capital yesterday, Buthelezi said Inkatha could either back down and eat humble pie or consider the possibility of establishing its own constitutional convention with those who "are excluded with us, or join us in fighting our exclusion".

Political backlash

"That may be the only thing left to do. But if we walk that road, we must know that it will be the first major step to split South Africa into two mutually exclusive political segments," he said.

The Inkatha leader warned, however, that such a move would have a political backlash which would, among other things, involve attempts to destroy the political control of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Buthelezi said a breakaway constitutional convention would be sparked by "the gauntlet thrown down to us by the South African Government and the African National Congress as they back official consensus decisions regarding issues vital to the future of South Africa, knowing that we reject them vehemently".

He said the IFP conference would have to decide whether it was prepared to pay the price, knowing that action against it might precipitate the first step to civil war.

"I repeat that this is no threat to resort to a civil war. It is a political assessment of what others are doing to bring about conditions for civil war, because the worst that can be done to us politically has failed to break us".

Buthelezi said the ANC was probably aware of such an eventuality — that was why it had kept intact its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and continued recruiting.

The IFP leader said the ANC's claim that it was in a hurry for elections because people expected them now was mere "political phillandering". If that was what was motivating the ANC, it would support the IFP's proposal for an election next year under a final constitution — it would therefore not wait five years or longer for a proper election.

Buthelezi nevertheless called on IFP delegates to prepare for an elec-



Land for township men with a mission

CHARLES WEBSTER

35 young men, to provide the township with channels. The project, initiated to find work for young men, got off the ground with a R500 000 donation from Swiss development aid company Heks. When that cash ran out, the road builders carried on with the job — without remuneration — because they felt they were making a "real difference".

In addition, they now have only blunt tools to work with and, for lack of a water tank and spray, have to fetch and carry the water needed to stabilise the road base.

Although morale is high and the men are proud of what they are doing, Godfrey Motsepe from the trust, appealed to large business for financial support.

The trust has virtually depleted its meagre resources to keep the building going, with a substantial sum going towards putting 10 matric trainee road builders through a course at the Pretoria Technikon. "It's great to hear that the public is donating, but what we really need is to get big business involved."

● To make a donation, phone Godfrey Motsepe (012) 801-1040 or 801-4699

They're playing soccer for peace

OWN CORRESPONDENT

levelled and has even convinced both parties to have their major players wear uniforms so that each side can identify its opponents. The peace structures have not become cynical about the violence: they have merely identified something which might help break the relentless cycle of conflict in one

Months of peace talks had proved fruitless until early this month, when negotiators identified a common desire for peace and development in the poor shack-

Then they found another common love — soccer.

So on August 1, both sides will vie for a floating Peace Cup, pitting their strength against one another without drawing blood.

Malakazi has been filled with excitement since news of the soccer match broke.

The Umlazi peace committee — a structure of the National Peace Accord — has done most of the groundwork for the match.

Umlazi mayor Maria Xulu has had graders in the township preparing a soccer field for the match.

She has also promised

● TO PAGE 2.

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

TALKERS BUS STERS!

C Press 18/7/92

Inkatha and the CP pull out of democracy forum

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

CONSTITUTIONAL talks are facing a serious crisis following the withdrawal of the Conservative Party - and Inkatha's decision not to return to the 26-party negotiating process when it resumes tomorrow.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has also threatened to launch an alternative negotiating forum.

The CP delivered this body blow to the negotiations yesterday when they announced that they would not return to multi-party talks until the "Africaners' right to self-determination" receives unequivocal recognition.

This comes a day after Buthelezi, in one of his strongest attacks yet on the way negotiations are set up a rival forum with his federalist allies.

Political observers claim that threats by both the CP and Inkatha could be a well co-ordinated move aimed at disrupting the talks which are earmarked to start tomorrow.

CP chief secretary Dr Lem Theron said party leader Dr Ferrite Hartzburg had made the announcement to withdraw at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in the western Transvaal town of Lichtenburg yesterday.

"Dr Hartzburg... announced that the CP would from Monday no longer be taking part in the negotiations process until the negotiating council grants unequivocal recognition to the Afrikaner's full right to self-determination."

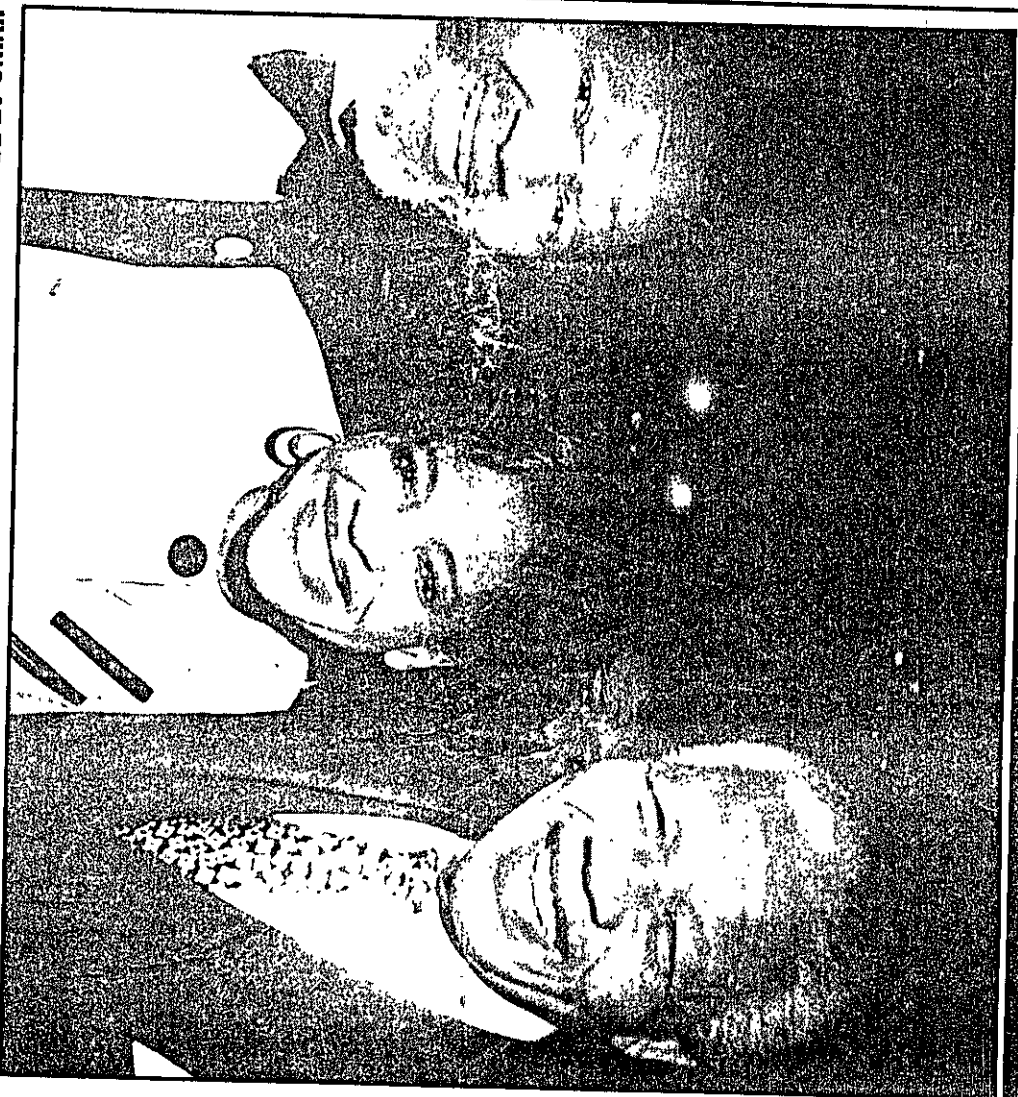
The ANC's Rommie Mamoepa said the organisation would continue to appeal to all organisations including the CP and Inkatha to throw their weight behind the talks.

In one of its strongest criticisms of Inkatha yet, the Democratic Party said the decision by the Umtali-based party was the latest example of "Inkatha's unfortunate and disruptive approach to negotiations". National Party leader at the talks Dr Dawie de Villiers said Inkatha's decision to temporarily suspend negotiations was shortsighted.

"It is clearly Inkatha's intention to broaden its support base by a show of strength and independence. That is a dangerous game which degrades the importance of the negotiations for the sake of political expediency," De Villiers said.

In his opening address to Inkatha's annual conference in Umtali on Friday, Buthelezi warned that separate negotiating processes could lead to a "civil

HAPPY, HAPPY AT MANDELA'S 75TH



LIVING AT 75... Nelson Mandela, whooping it up at his 75th birthday, extended a long arm of welcome to Dr Nthato Mollana and his pretty wife Peggy. Mandela's celebration at the Carlton Hotel last night was one that will be remembered for a long time. Read all about it on page 18.

WPM to lure black members

C Press 18/7/93

By MOSES MAMALA

WORLD Preservatist Movement leader Koos Vermeulen said this week the rightwing organisation would train black members to use lethal weapons.

Vermeulen shot to prominence this week when he told journalists that self-confessed Inkatha member Victor Khetishi Kheswa - who died in police custody last Saturday after being implicated in several Vaal massacres - was a member of the WPM, formerly the World Apartheid Movement.

Vermeulen told City Press in Pretoria that the organisation's name had been changed to accommodate Inkatha members.

"I led when I said Kheswa was our member. We were trying to reach our black supporters," Vermeulen said. Asked if he was not



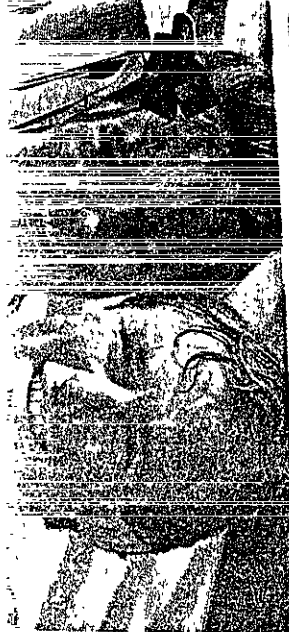
KOOS VERMEULEN
... WPM leader.

disowning Kheswa because of mounting controversy, Vermeulen said. "I do not want to cause any more trouble for Inkatha," he said. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said police were investigating reports that Kheswa worked for the WPM. ANC spokesman Carl

Niehaus dismissed Vermeulen's denial, saying he could just be trying to get out of the serious case. Inkatha has repeatedly denied any WPM links. Meanwhile, in other developments yesterday linked to the case:

- Police confirmed they are investigating ANC claims that Kheswa's killing was part of an operation to cover up third force activities by elements within the security forces.
- Three white policemen - Sgt Gerhardus "Pedro" Peens, Sgt Perrus Claassen and Lancesgt Lourens Classe - have reportedly been suspended.
- A source, who claimed to have seen Kheswa's body, told City Press Kheswa appeared to have been severely assaulted.
- Judge Richard Goldstone said his investigating unit had searched Vermeulen's home and confiscated documents.

after action.. satisfaction



CP pull out of democracy forum

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

CONSTITUTIONAL talks are facing a serious crisis following the withdrawal of the Conservative Party – and Inkatha's decision not to return to the 26-party negotiating process when it resumes tomorrow.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has also threatened to launch an alternative negotiating forum (118)

The CP delivered this body blow to the negotiations yesterday when they announced that they would not return to multi-party talks until the "Afrikaner's right to self determination" receives unequivocal recognition.

This comes a day after Buthelezi, in one of his strongest attacks yet on the way negotiations are going, threatened to split up the democracy talks and set up a rival forum with his federalist allies.

Political observers claim that threats by both the CP and Inkatha could be a well co-ordinated move aimed at disrupting the talks which are earmarked to start tomorrow.

CP chief secretary Dr Lem Theron said party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg had made the announcement to withdraw at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in the western Transvaal town of Lichtenburg yesterday.

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"It is clearly Inkatha's intention to broaden its support base by a show of strength and independence. That is a dangerous game which denigrates the importance of the negotiations for the sake of political expediency," De Villiers said.

In his opening address to Inkatha's annual conference in Ulundi on Friday, Buthelezi warned that separate negotiating processes could lead to a "civil war".

Buthelezi's proposal to establish a separate "constitutional convention" of Inkatha and its federalist allies in the white right-wing and conservative black homelands came two weeks after democracy negotiators in Johannesburg set April 27 as the date for SA's first non-racial election.

Buthelezi has demanded that federalism be entrenched in a future constitution before the planned April 27 1994 poll, in which the ANC is expected to win a majority.

Musicians left poor and sore

By MOSES MAMAILA

TWENTY-SIX musicians and technicians who took part in the "Heal Yourself" concert in Durban have not been paid – amid reports of misappropriation of hundreds of thousands of rands.

Disgruntled musicians told City Press yesterday

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WPM to lure black members

CIP/2000 18/7/93

By MOSES MAMAILA

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Former foes unite in drive for peace

By RYAN CRESSWELL

WAR tears people apart, but it can also bring them together. Take Isaac Shandu and Vasco Hlengwa. Isaac is an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter, and Vasco an ANC member; not so long ago, they would not even have spoken to each other.

But these days, they spend a lot of time together — driving through the troubled Umbumbulu area of Natal on a quest for peace and tolerance.

They are already making their mark. Since they set up a peace sub-committee at KwaMakhutha near Amantsofi about a month ago, there have been no incidents of violence in the township, where hundreds have been killed in fighting between IFP and ANC supporters in the past.

The two businessmen spend most of each day together in a borrowed car, driving to townships, rural villages, schools and churches to preach peace and political tolerance, and educate people about the forthcoming elections.

"At one stage, it would have been impossible to speak to each other, but now we are good friends," said Isaac. "We have decided to dedicate our lives to visiting warring areas to educate people about peace."

"The people have accepted us — they want peace," Vasco added. "We decided to start with KwaMakhutha because it was a flashpoint."

"Now we are already moving into the areas around KwaMakhutha, and hope to establish at least five other peace sub-committees by December."



THE LONG HAUL . . . Isaac Shandu and Vasco Hlengwa prepare for another day of travelling through Natal on their quest for peace and tolerance

Picture: HORACE POTTER

Urgent talks fail to defuse crisis over breakaway threat

BUTHELEZI GOES

S Times 18/1/93

NO MORE BRINK



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Accused of ulterior motives

By **CLAIRE ROBERTSON** and **RAY HARTLEY**

GOVERNMENT negotiators held talks for more than three hours with Inkatha yesterday, but failed to defuse a crisis sparked by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to start breakaway constitutional talks.

Angry government negotiators were stunned by Mr Buthelezi's latest threat of independent action, which the IFP leader said could lead to civil war. "This makes all the talks we are having with them absolutely ridiculous," said one senior negotiator.

Mr Buthelezi dropped a bombshell on Friday by saying the IFP would have to choose between forming a "break-away constitutional convention" and "eating humble pie" at the World Trade Centre.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer held talks yesterday with an IFP delegation — including hardliners Mario Ambrossini and Walter Felgate — to discuss the latest threat. The meeting, scheduled before Mr Buthelezi's statement, went on far longer than planned as government negotiators struggled to make sense of Inkatha's private, reasonable stance and its public threats.

At the meeting, the government tried to convince Inkatha that its constitutional objectives were attainable "within the framework of resolutions already adopted" by negotiators.

**Boks
run up
record
win**

By **DAN RETTIE**
Adelaide



GOLDSTONE RAIDS HOME OF MYSTIC

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latest threat. The meeting, scheduled before Mr Buthelezi's statement, went on far longer than planned as government negotiators struggled to make sense of Inkatha's private, reasonable stance and its public threats.

At the meeting, the government tried to convince Inkatha that its constitutional objectives were attainable "within the framework of resolutions already adopted" by negotiators.

But the Inkatha delegation failed to offer any assurances that the party would not quit the talks. Another meeting will be held on Tuesday.

Political parties, already frustrated by Inkatha's posturing, have vowed the talks will go on — without the IFP if necessary.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said: "If this threat is intended to intimidate the process, it will fail miserably."

Credibility

"I have no doubt the talks can continue without the IFP. One doesn't want to risk antagonising any party to the talks, but on the basis that no party can hold the talks to ransom, we can continue without them."

The African National Congress has also offered to revive behind-the-scenes efforts to keep the IFP at the talks.

"It is sad that they are painting themselves into a corner," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus. "I do not understand what they hope to achieve by this."

"We are prepared to enter into further discussions to convince them to stay in the process. The only negotiating forum with credibility is the forum at the World Trade Centre."

For now, however, the IFP has not totally severed its links with the talks. Mr Buthelezi said yesterday the IFP would return once a draft constitution had been tabled.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose moved to defuse the controversy, saying Mr Buthelezi "was raising merely one of a number of options to consider".

Ciskei, stablemate in Inkatha's Concerned South Africans Group, would "consider this option in the

□ To Page 2

Boks run up record win

By DAN RETIEF
Adelaide

THE Springboks had a rollicking game of target practice at Thebarton Oval here yesterday as they smashed a South Australia Invitation XV 90-3.

In running up the highest score yet recorded by a South African touring side, the Springboks took turns in having pot-shots at their opponents' goal-line.

By the end, they had hit the target 14 times with scrumhalf Robert du Preez matching the feat of his fellow halfback, Joost van der Westhuizen, in Perth on Wednesday by claiming four tries.

The previous highest victory margin in Springbok annals was the 83-0 victory Wynand Claassen's team scored over Nelson Bay in New Zealand in 1981.

In yesterday's match, fullback Hugh Reece-Edwards contributed 25 points by way of a try and 10 conversions.

Free State flank Ruben Kruger, making his debut in the green and gold, was named Man of the Match.

Coach Ian McIntosh said he would "not spend sleepless nights" worrying about the Wallabies.

● See Page 26

Pik's smash

admitted responsibility for the accident.

"He phoned us to apologise and said the matter would be taken care of."

Mr Awie Marais, a spokesman for Mr Botha, said the minister was usually driven by a chauffeur, but his driver was not available on Wednesday.

Mr Botha was "taking a short holiday" but was expected to return this weekend, Mr Marais said.

Buthelezi goes to the brink

□ From Page 1

event of all others being unacceptable — but we would like to exhaust all other options", said Ciskei delegate Mick Webb.

Mr Buthelezi has been accused on all sides of having ulterior motives for threatening to split the talks. (116) (307A)

IFP ambivalence is attributed in equal parts to attempts to stall elections, to internal divisions among the party's constitutional advisers, and to Mr Buthelezi's fury at being "marginalised" by the ANC.

The internal divisions were highlighted yesterday when a senior IFP negotiator, asked to explain what lay behind the latest Ulundi threat, said: "Don't ask me — ask the person who wrote the speech."

Mr Niehaus said: "One hopes the reason the IFP is playing this game is not simply because they are afraid they will not get support in elections."

Negotiators are growing dizzy, trying to keep up with Inkatha's constant shifts in position.

Two weeks ago, Inkatha said it would "not participate in the debate" until it saw a draft constitution which met its needs.

On Wednesday, IFP delegates revived the war talk by stressing their unhappiness at the sufficient-consensus method of reaching decisions. Mr Felgate demanded that no decision could be seen as binding unless Inkatha agreed to it.

On Thursday, Inkatha said it would boycott the talks altogether until it saw the constitution.

And on Friday, Mr Buthelezi threatened to split the talks.

But yesterday, he re-committed himself to the talks as long as the draft constitution was acceptable, and made no mention of forming a breakaway grouping.

Political parties gear up to win your election vote

SI Times [C Metro] 18/7/93

ALL major political parties in the Western Cape are hard at work formulating strategies for their election campaigns in the upcoming "Battle of the Boland".

Political Reporter NORMAN WEST asked spokesmen of the various parties and political organisations about their election plans and membership.

Inkatha Freedom Party (118)

INKATHA media spokesman in Cape Town, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, said that Inkatha started making a serious bid for Western Cape voters five months ago, 50 branches comprising an average of 100 members each, have been established in the Western Cape.

Most of the branches are in white areas and 80% of members are white, said Mr Breytenbach. He admitted black and coloured membership "was not what it could be".

African National Congress

MS ZOU KOTA, head of the ANC election campaign in the Western Cape, said the ANC had established 125 branches and was in the process of launching another 65, all with a minimum of 100 members per branch.

She said the ANC regarded the Western Cape as "very important".

Ms Kota said the ANC would conduct house visits on Mondays to answer questions.

Democratic Party

MR JASPER WALSH, Democratic Party chairman in the Western Cape said in June the DP had recruited 1 172 members of which 95% were "coloured".

He said so far the DP had 66 branches in the Western Cape and are establishing branches at the rate of two per week. New members are coming mostly from the presently disenfranchised community.

Azanian People's Organisation

THE Western Cape publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) Mr Jimmy Yekiso said Azapo will only participate in an election if it is for an elected constituent assembly charged with writing a democratic constitution.

Pan Africanist Congress

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) hold a similar view, but although it claims a growing membership in the Western Cape, PAC Western Cape chairman, Mr Theo Mabusela, refused to release statistics. However, it is known that the PAC so far has more than 50 established branches in the Western Cape. In the past week alone, the PAC had started three branches in Stellenbosh, New Crossroads and the area known as KTC Camp, he said.

National Party

MR HENNIE SMIT, MP for George and chairman of the NP's Cape Information Committee, said the NP had approximately 1 000 branches in the Cape. In preparation for the election, strategy committees have been established in all eight NP organisational regions.

He claimed the NP was particularly strong in the Western Cape.

Copyright by [unreadable]

Star 19/1/93

IFP starts election fund

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A Chief Buthelezi Election Fund for next year's national election was established at the annual Inkatha Freedom Party congress in Ulundi yesterday. (118)

The congress was attended by about 5 000 IFP supporters.

However, IFP members stood firm in opposing April 27 as the election date.

The fund was initiated by a donation of about R17 300 from members present at the con-

gress. Election donations were coupled with voter education by Arthur Königkramer and Joe Mathews.

"We should stop wondering whether there is an election planned, but prepare for it as if it were next week," said Mathews.

He said that since many who could vote were illiterate, the IFP would opt for a secret-symbol voting system.

"This means we will have to choose the correct symbol that our people will know before going to the polls."

IFP/Kwazulu will remain in 'consultations'

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party/Kwazulu negotiators have stressed that while they will not be at multiparty talks today they will remain involved in "intense consultations and bilateral meetings" to pave their way back to the table.

Kwazulu negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said last night that his government and the IFP felt "marginalised" at the talks forum — an unhappiness that went right back to the Codesa period.

But the IFP would continue to seek to resolve its problems in meetings with both the government — the next one being tomorrow — and the ANC.

"They must listen to us. If we just paper over the differences, pretend we agree and pretend there is sufficient consensus ... that's fraught with danger."

This was the danger alluded to by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the IFP's annual general conference at the weekend, said Dr Ngubane.

"He didn't threaten civil war but warned of the danger."

He also said Chief Buthelezi's suggestion of an alternative negotiating forum would be an option only when all other avenues had been closed.

"We've not reached that yet," said Dr Ngubane, referring to the "intense consultations" that would be taking place.

High on the agenda of these meetings would be the crux of the IFP/Kwazulu problem — the way in which sufficient consensus was applied and used to overrule objections.

His government and the IFP were not prepared to "hurry at the expense of matters of importance".

The decision that emerged from the IFP weekend conference was a resolution demanding what amounted to a veto right in negotiations.

The conference rejected "the right" of the government, SACP and ANC to determine whether there was sufficient consensus — insisting: "There be no sufficient consensus without the IFP's concurrence".

(11B) ARG 19/7/93

IFP, CP, Star 19-7-93 KwaZulu quit talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Three of the 26 groups at the negotiating table — the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu Government and the Conservative Party — will not return today to the World Trade Centre for a meeting of the Negotiating Council (NB).

The IFP general conference, resolved in Ulundi yesterday to suspend its participation in negotiations unless the Government "clearly declares its position on the continuing deployment of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe)".

In another resolution, the party demanded what amounted to a veto right in negotiations.

● To Page 3

The Star Monday July 19 1993 3

Talks hit trouble as Star 19-7-93 three parties pull out

● From Page 1

The conference rejected "the right" of the Government, SACP and ANC to determine whether there was sufficient consensus and refused to "re-enter negotiations until there are assurances that there will henceforth be no sufficient consensus without the IFP's concurrence".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night reiterated his view that there was no reason for the IFP and KwaZulu government not to take part in constitutional talks.

Further talks take place tomorrow between the two groups and the Government. Sufficient consensus is expected to again be on the meeting's agenda.

Meyer would not comment on the CP's withdrawal from talks. CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Saturday that his party would not take part in negotiations until the Afrikaner's right to self-determination was recognised.

Cosag members at the World Trade Centre, the IFP, CP,

Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and the Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana governments — are scheduled to meet early today before the meeting of the planning committee and the Negotiating Council.

AVU leader Andriëns Beyers and Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje yesterday said their delegations would attend today's meetings and take part in all the debates.

But, Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb said "at this stage" his government would take part in all negotiations except those on constitutional matters.

When the Negotiating Council resumes meeting today after a two-week recess, it is expected to discuss an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission and an independent broadcasting authority. Other issues scheduled for negotiations are the repeal of discriminatory legislation and fundamental human rights during the transition.

A transitional executive council and a draft of an interim constitution will only be discussed next week.

IFP to probe role of Vaal party official

Staff Reporters... 11B ~~11B~~

The Inkatha Freedom Party is to investigate the background and status of Vaal IFP official Chris Theunissen who has made statements about "Vaal Monster" Victor "Khetisi" Kheswa on behalf of the party.

Theunissen confirmed to The Star last Monday that Kheswa had been a member of both the IFP and the World Preservatist Movement, formerly the World Apartheid Movement.

Goldtone commission investigators raided the home of WPM leader Koos Vermeulen on Friday night, confiscating files and documents after Vermeulen told the press that Kheswa was a WPM leader and later denied this statement to the police.

Police said SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe asked the commission's Transvaal investigation team to conduct the raid after the Attorney-General had told the police that there were insufficient grounds to issue a search warrant.

The controversy surrounding

Kheswa's death deepened with Theunissen's statements on behalf of the IFP last week, followed by the organisation's denials of an IFP-WPM link.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that he had first heard of Theunissen last week.

Theunissen said last week that he had been one of the first called to view Kheswa's body in the Sasolburg Hospital after the notorious KwaMadala inmate died in custody.

According to reliable sources, it was Theunissen who contacted WPM leader Koos Vermeulen last weekend to tell him of Kheswa's death.

Theunissen said he had acted on behalf of the IFP to establish the whereabouts of the three other KwaMadala inmates arrested with Kheswa.

He also claimed to have served on the local peace committee as an IFP representative. The chairman of the Vaal Triangle Local Peace Committee, Elise Cony, confirmed that Theunissen had attended one meeting, on June 7.

'Sufficient consensus' the key

Inkatha sets conditions for rejoining talks

Blaney 19/1/93

118

~~118~~

TIM COHEN

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's annual general conference yesterday resolved to suspend participation in negotiations until other parties agreed that no decision could be made without its concurrence.

In a separate resolution, the congress also mandated the national leadership to suspend participation in negotiations until government declared its position on the continuing deployment of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its control of arms caches.

The resolution follows the CP's decision on Saturday to pull out of the forum until its demand for "Afrikaner self-determination" had been met. Inkatha negotiators had previously said they would return to negotiations when a draft constitution was tabled.

The congress resolved "with a deep sense of gravity" that it was instructing its delegation to "reject the right of the ANC/SACP alliance and the SA government to determine when there is or is not sufficient consensus in the negotiating chambers and to refuse to re-enter negotiations until there are assurances that there will henceforth be no sufficient consensus without Inkatha's concurrence".

The resolution then instructs that the Inkatha negotiators should "consider very seriously the feasibility of an alternative negotiating forum of a national multiparty constitutional convention, if there is insufficient remedy for the negotiations at the World Trade Centre".

Meanwhile, government has rejected Inkatha's proposal to set up an alternative negotiating forum as "unworkable" but has

said it would continue to encourage the organisation to clarify its "vague and contradictory" requirements, a senior negotiator said. This message follows a week of intense bilateral discussions between government and Inkatha.

The call for a "go-it-alone" constitutional convention was made on the eve of the conference by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a meeting of the party's national council.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said government negotiators were having difficulty forming a clear picture of what Inkatha wanted in addition to what was already offered by the existing negotiation process.

From government's point of view, there was nothing that Inkatha leaders raised in the extensive discussions held over the past few days that was not wholly compatible with what was being discussed in the existing forum, he said.

Furthermore, Inkatha was shooting itself in the foot by not participating in the discussions as it would be missing out on an opportunity to shape the future constitution into a form it was demanding.

This problem could become particularly acute this week as it was possible that the negotiating council might discuss those sections of the interim constitution dealing with regionalism on Wednesday.

Inkatha's objection to a constitutional assembly deciding on the final constitution

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

Blaney 19/1/93

□ From Page 1

was misplaced it had already been decided that certain constitutional principles would bind the constitution-making body. "This is not a real argument," he said.

Government sources said Inkatha seemed to want agreement that the Kwa-Zulu/Natal aspect of negotiations should be agreed separately and "cast in stone".

Government was pressing for a solution for the whole country, and separate agreements on various areas were therefore not realistic, the source said. (118)

● Sapa reports Inkatha is to retain its current leadership, after Buthelezi invoked

special powers granted to him in December 1990 whereby he is able to lengthen the term of party officials without elections.

Saying the violence in black townships and rural areas had failed to see the establishment of the necessary branches, Buthelezi told the IFP national council it had not been possible to fully implement the party's constitution. (SAPA)

"We do not have a sufficient number of the structures of the new constitution in place to hold party elections for the various leadership posts in the party."

Inkatha backs talks boycott

(11B)

CT 19/7/93

ULUNDI. — Delegates to the Inkatha Freedom Party's annual conference here have overwhelmingly backed IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to suspend participation in the democracy talks.

In a resolution yesterday, delegates gave IFP negotiators a mandate not to return to the 26-party talks when they resumed today unless the government clearly declared its position on the continued deployment by Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC of its armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe.

Government spokesmen criticised the IFP decision and said the talks would continue without Inkatha.

Earlier, the Minister of Home Affairs and Natal National Party leader Mr Danie Schutte said the Natal/KwaZulu region should have its own constitution. The sooner one could be devised and validated the better because it would bring certainty and stability to the region, he told an NP local government congress in Maritzburg on Saturday.

Suspended participation

The democracy talks are to resume at the World Trade Centre today without the IFP and the Conservative Party, but with the ANC and government determined to keep the process going.

The CP also suspended its participation at the weekend and said it would not return to talks until the Afrikaner's right to self-determination received "unequivocal" recognition. Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg made the announcement at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in Lichtenburg on Saturday.

Senior ANC and government negotiators said they would continue to do their best to keep the IFP and the CP in the talks, but that the process could not be held to ransom.

Government sources indicated that Inkatha's resolution amounted to a demand for a veto right which could not be accommodated. "They are just going too far," one source said.

"Negotiations will continue even if other parties withdraw," Mr Mandela said yesterday at an ANC youth rally in Soweto to mark his 75th birthday. — Sapa-AFP, Own Correspondent.

IFP keeps its current leaders

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is to retain its current leadership, with no elections for party officials scheduled for its annual general conference which ended here yesterday.

Last week IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi invoked special powers granted to him in December 1990 whereby he is able to lengthen the term of party officials without elections.

The term of office of national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose has

also been extended for another year. (113 OCT 17/93)

Saying the violence in black townships and rural areas had interfered with the establishment of the necessary branches, Chief Buthelezi told the IFP national council it had not been possible fully to implement the party's constitution.

"I again have perforce to use the powers given to me at the special general conference in

December 1990 to hold the elected and appointed leaders of the IFP in their positions for the time being. We do not have a sufficient number of the structures of the new constitution in place to hold party elections for the various leadership posts in the party."

He declared the present central committee to be the party's executive body until the new national council could be elected. — Sapa

IFP awaits Kheswa autopsy

Sowetan 20/7/93

By Abbey Makoe

THE Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it would not bury its member, Khethisi Kheswa, until the police made the post-mortem results public.

Kheswa, notoriously known as the "Vaal Monster", died under mysterious circumstances while in police custody 10 days ago.

Police have, until today, not disclosed a State pathologist's findings regarding his death.

IFP Vaal region official Mr William Nhlapho said yesterday that his organisation feared a possible cover-up by the police.

"We will not bury Khethisi until the police disclose their findings about his death," Nhlapho said.

Vaal police spokesman Major Piet van Deventer said the IFP did not have to wait for the police to reveal their findings.

He said the organisation was free to appoint its own independent pathologist if they suspected a cover-up.

Van Deventer told *Sowetan* that the findings might only be released after a month.

Samples, he said, had been taken from Kheswa's body and investigations into his death were continuing.

NEWS Government says discussions must continue

IFP, PAC to hold talks

Sowetani 20/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Negotiating Council resumed its business as usual yesterday despite the absence of the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu administration.

The Council resolved to continue its work until it has received formal notification from the IFP and CP of their withdrawal from multiparty talks; the Government was particularly adamant that talks should continue.

In the meantime the Concerned South Africans Group held a meeting yesterday to discuss its particular gripes with talks in general, the council and especially the procedures for the adoption of resolutions among which is the concept of sufficient consensus.

And in a surprise move the PAC yesterday held a snap bilateral meeting with the IFP, allegedly to discuss the latter's reasons for its withdrawal from talks.

Mandate

The secretary general of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, confirmed that his leader, Mr Clarence Makwetu, had given the mandate for the meeting and that the outcome thereof would be taken back to the PAC president before any action would be taken.

The meeting between the PAC and IFP raised eyebrows at the World Trade Centre yesterday where a *de facto* alliance between the two parties was emerging on the issue of sufficient consensus.

At the end of the Cosag meeting yesterday, the IFP and CP remained out

of the Council meeting. The IFP wants special veto powers in negotiations. It wants sufficient consensus to be based on its approval of any agreements reached or resolutions accepted in the Council.

The IFP has changed its mind three times over the past week over what would bring it back to negotiations.

First the IFP said it would return once the issue of federalism had to be confirmed, then said it would return when an interim constitution was tabled and afterwards said that once the Government ruled on the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, it would resume talks.

The CP was frank enough to say that it wanted an Afrikaner homeland to be guaranteed before it would return to negotiations.

Lawyers to probe highway shootout

Another of the Sisulu bodyguard's dies

Sowetani 20/7/93

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

A SECOND bodyguard of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu died in hospital yesterday following Sunday's shootout between police and Sisulu's convoy.

The guard was injured when police and ANC bodyguards exchanged fire on the Soweto highway as the Sisulus were returning from Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday celebrations at the Carlton Hotel.

One guard died soon after the shooting and a third at Baragwanath Hospital. The ANC yesterday named the two guards who died as Mr Jabulani Cebo Nili and Mr Ishmael Moloane.

Meanwhile, the organisation said lawyers Mr Matthew Phosa and Mr Fink Haysom would represent it in investigations to be headed by Witwatersrand Regional Commissioner of Police Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said Phosa and Haysom would meet Calitz today.

He said the ANC insisted on the involvement of the international police monitors who are in the country. The organisation also wanted independent experts to be part of the investigations, he said. Witwatersrand police spokesman Brigadier Zirk Gous could yesterday not confirm if there would be a meeting between Calitz and the ANC legal team today.

WORLD'S LEADING

WORLD'S LEADING

WORLD'S LEADING

WORLD'S LEADING

PAC joins Cosag in objecting to 'sufficient consensus' mechanism

MULTIPARTY negotiations hit a new snag yesterday when the PAC joined Cosag members in insisting that decisions should not be taken without their concurrence.

Negotiations began without most of the members of the Cosag group who met in a nearby hotel to discuss Inkatha's demand that it would not return to talks without a veto right over decisions.

Members of the group, with the exception of Inkatha and the CP which has also withdrawn, returned in the afternoon, saying they would also have to reconsider their positions if the method of making de-

isions was not changed.

Inkatha members also held discussions with the PAC, after which the PAC declared its support for Inkatha's decision, taken at its annual conference, that no decision could be valid without its assent.

However, the negotiating council's discussions continued despite Cosag's absence after it was established that a quorum of at least 17 members was present.

The council decided against discussing the absence of Inkatha and the CP, which has cleared its World Trade Centre office, after members were informed that there

had been no formal indication of the parties' withdrawal or their reasons.

The forum spent the day considering the reports of the technical committee on the independent broadcasting authority and the independent media committee, which were broadly agreed to. Amendments on some issues were suggested and the committee will present final drafts of proposed legislation before the month-end.

After returning to the meeting, AVU negotiator Moolhan Mentz called for a review of the "sufficient consensus" mechanism in terms of which decisions were taken.

The mechanism does not require a numerical majority but rather stipulates that a decision will be deemed to have been made if the process can continue despite objections from some parties.

Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan said the ad-hoc committee set up to discuss the question of sufficient consensus would meet today to finalise its proposals.

Bophuthatwana negotiator Rowan

Cronje said the committee discussing the sufficient consensus mechanism would have to take into account a "new reality".

This was that there were effectively three groups taking part in negotiations — the Cosag group, the government group and the ANC group. The sufficient consensus requirement ought not to be satisfied without the concurrence of any one of these groups, because any solution that were found would not be lasting.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille agreed with Cronje's objections, saying that some

PAC

Bidney 20/7/93

From Page 1

groups felt they were taking part in talks simply as "voting cattle".

Gordhan, chairman of the discussion group on sufficient consensus, argued in favour of the existing formulation, saying it gave the process enough flexibility to come to a decision on a broad variety of different issues.

However, he was confident that agreement on a new formulation could be found which would not affect the flexibility, but which could "modify the application" of the formulation.

But these agreements would not be possible unless changes were made to ensure that none of the parties engaged in the dustering, he said.

To Page 2

No MK in peacekeeping

By Helen Grange

Debate is heating up around the joint peacekeeping force to be established to oversee elections, with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) voicing strong opposition to the inclusion of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the force.

Recommendations have been made to the World Trade Centre negotiations technical committee on violence that a peacekeeping force should be established to maintain internal stability in the run-up to the elections, according to Democratic Party MP Robin Carlisle.

It would include members of the SAP, MK, Apla, homeland armies and even the AWB's Wenkommando — and would be under joint control or control by the transitional council.

However, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said at the weekend that although the IFP agreed that suitable structures

force - IFP

Star 20/7/93

11B



Robin Carlisle . . . joint control.



Suzanne Vos . . . big problems.

than 10 000 peacekeeping soldiers would be needed ultimately, and they would have to have the same powers as the SAP. They would need to be adequately equipped and have different, identifiable uniforms. Parties to the negotiations feel the peacekeeping force should be established as soon as possible to allow them time to grow into an integrated unit with shared values, according to reports.

The SAP and SADF, it has been agreed, will continue to perform its normal duties.

Carlisle stressed that the idea of a youth corps, based on the concept of a United Nations peacekeeping force, was also being discussed but this was an entirely different concept.

The Joint Enrichment Programme — a church sponsored project focusing on youth marginalisation — is currently involved in a number of township youth programmes and would have a key role to play in the formation of the youth corps.

ing force had been broadly discussed and the idea was that it would be implemented over a period of time, starting from a small unit acting as official monitors, but growing to a bigger, more powerful force.

"I would say that not less

Consensus

a spanner

Star 20/7/93

in works

Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council is continuing without the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu Government and Conservative Party, but a problem is looming over the decision-making mechanism in constitutional talks.

The six members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) at the World Trade Centre yesterday clearly indicated their unhappiness about sufficient consensus rulings whereby decisions are taken.

Despite the withdrawal of the three parties from negotiations, the other three Cosag parties — Bophuthatswana Government, Ciskei Government and Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — continue to take part in the NC.

Cosag members yesterday denied that there was a split in the group — or differences over negotiations tactics — because of the continued participation by some of its members.

Although the row over sufficient consensus rulings has been brewing for some time, the latest unhappiness comes in the wake of a resolution taken on Sunday at the IFP's general conference which stated that

the party would refuse to re-enter negotiations until sufficient consensus included the IFP's concurrence.

Several delegates at the World Trade Centre interpreted the IFP resolution as a demand for a veto right in constitutional negotiations.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the IFP and KwaZulu Government decision to walk out was based on "very weak and unconvincing" grounds.

"The IFP was doing a disservice to its members by not participating in the most important process that is shaping the future of the country. Their withdrawal will not shape the future", he said.

Ramaphosa noted that the IFP had agreed to sufficient consensus as a decision-making process.

"There is no reason why legislation should be delayed because some parties feel they cannot agree. We have used sufficient consensus effectively and where sufficient consensus included them (the IFP), they have not expressed unhappiness. That's hypocritical," Ramaphosa said.

● Another round of talks between the Government and the IFP is scheduled for this afternoon.

Gatsha talks to OFS

Sowetan 20/7/93
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is scheduled to address the Free State business community in Bloemfontein on Friday as part of his campaign to garner national support.

(113)
Buthelezi will also address students at the University of the Orange Free State before holding a public rally at the Bloemfontein City Hall on Friday night. IFP Free State information officer Mr. Eion du Toit said his leader's visit was part of a countrywide campaign which was launched in Port Elizabeth last week. He will also address rallies in Welkom, Sasolburg and Kroonstad.

focus on Buthelezi

Sowetan 20/7/93

PROFESSOR Harriet Ngubane, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and a negotiator at the World Trade Centre, put it this way: "The Chief Minister did not want to take up the position at all; he was refusing the idea of homelands entirely.

"At that time (in the late 1960s) the Government was imposing the homeland structures on everybody.

"The people, the elders of KwaZulu, came around and said: 'If you don't take this position then someone else will and actually carry out what the central Government wants'.

"The people of KwaZulu knew that they had no power to stop the Government from imposing the system at the time. They therefore wanted somebody else, not the King, because they did not want to involve him in politics.

"The Prime Minister of the King (Buthelezi) was therefore the obvious choice to be at the helm.

"Remember, the Chief Minister had been involved in the African National Congress Youth League (between 1947 and 1953 when he became chief of the Buthelezi clan) and as such rejected very strongly the Government's policy.

"He had to be persuaded to take this position," Ngubane said.

Grandson

Chief Buthelezi is a grandson of King Solomon kaDinuzulu, one of the great monarchs in the Zulu Royal tree. Therefore, this made him a royalist rather than a politician

Of course, the chief would disagree.

Whether consciously or otherwise, Buthelezi admits he got into mainstream politics by chance. This is besides the fact that he was an active member of the ANCYL.

He says himself: "When the Bantu Administration Act was passed, I was told I had no choice. But KwaZulu had always been there as a kingdom... just like Lesotho and Swaziland..."

Buthelezi says the leaders of the ANC, for instance, notably the late Mr Oliver Tambo, never regarded him as a "political leopard" because they accepted his role as an opponent of apartheid.

"It is actually the Press that creates the impression that I'm a traitor. The rest of Africa and the United Nations do not regard me as that."

He says he believes in the principle that blacks must be freed from white domination but this cannot be equated with the self-determination of the "Zulu nation" because of its historical purview.

He spelled this out after his opening speech at

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had no choice. He either had to be a "Chief Minister" or just stand by and watch the Government carry out its policies. He spoke to Political Correspondent Themba Molefe in Ulundi:



Chief Buthelezi — born to royalty rather than politics.

the Inkatha Freedom Party's 18th annual conference at the weekend.

"Not one of us is in doubt that we are now on the road to political freedom. Yet we would be deluding ourselves if we pretend that things are easy merely because we are on this road to freedom.

Political freedom

"The achievement of political freedom will be the end of just one phase of the struggle, and the beginning of a new phase which in many ways will be even more difficult and more costly than the first phase. "When, therefore, I say that KwaZulu has the sovereign right of self-determination I'm not saying that to lay claim to any ethnic privileges for KwaZulu.

"KwaZulu was conquered in British colonial times. We were subsequently annexed to the colony of Natal and later dragged into the Union of South Africa without anybody asking us our opinion on these matters.

"These things were done through the barrel of the gun to complete our subjugation," Buthelezi says. Hopefully, this will help clarify whether the Chief indeed seeks a federal option or secession for the Zulu "nation".

● The IFP announced at the weekend that it would pull out of the negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation and forge closer links with the rightwing movement in fighting for their right to self-determination.

This is a new phase in the political struggle for a new South Africa

Winnie beats the deadline

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

WINNIE Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, avoided arrest yesterday afternoon when her lawyers made a last minute payment of R15 000 in compensation money at the Rand Supreme Court registrar's office. *Sowetan* 2-11-7193

Winnie was ordered by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein in June to pay compensation of R5 000 each to three surviving victims of a kidnap case.

The money was paid yesterday just 15 minutes before the registrar's office closed its doors.

A warrant had already been signed by a judge in preparation for her arrest today. Senior registrar at the court, Mrs E Herseiman, said the money was paid shortly before 4pm.

Winnie failed to pay the money at the registrar's office by Monday afternoon as was previously arranged with her lawyers. Initially, Winnie was required to have made the payment by Thursday last week but her lawyers requested a deferment until Monday. *Sowetan*

The compensation was part of the sentence handed down by Mr Justice M Corbett in the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein during June.

She was to have paid compensation of R5 000 to each surviving kidnap victims in a case arising from the abduction of teenage activists Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Mkgwe from the Methodist manse in Orlando West, Soweto, in December 1988.

The body of one of the kidnap victims, Stompie Seipei, was found in the veld outside Soweto.

News in brief

Another Nat joins the IFP

NATAL MEC Mr Peter Miller has resigned from the National Party to join the Inkatha Freedom Party. *Sowetan* 2-11-7193

Miller (51) is regarded as one of the most senior MECs in the country and has always supported a strong federal system. He announced yesterday that he had met Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett on Monday and told him of his intention to resign. He leaves his post at the end of July. *(116)*

PAC to hold report-back

PAN Africanist Congress chief negotiator Patricia de Lille and general secretary Benny Alexander will on Saturday address a meeting of the central Transvaal region on developments at negotiations. The region announced yesterday that the meeting would be held at the Rethabile Hall in Mamelodi East, Pretoria, from 2pm. *Sowetan* 2-11-7193

Agreement on mine

THE National Union of Mineworkers and management of Hartbeesfontein Mine have agreed on plans to restore calm after eight weeks of conflict and violence which claimed 19 lives. *Sowetan* 2-11-7193

Dissent in ANC ranks

ANC Southern Free State regional leaders said in Bloemfontein yesterday they would defy orders from their national headquarters in Johannesburg to return to the structures of the National Peace Accord they quit three weeks ago. — *Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.*

ANC Southern Free State regional leaders said in Bloemfontein yesterday they would defy orders from their national headquarters in Johannesburg to return to the structures of the National Peace Accord they quit three weeks ago. — *Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.*



Negotiations remain stalled as govt and Inkatha talks deadlock

GOVERNMENT and a joint KwaZulu government and Inkatha delegation of negotiators emerged from extended talks yesterday still firmly deadlocked over the issues of sufficient consensus and regional governments' powers.

Despite encouraging official comments from both parties, little progress was made, with delegations stating they had to report back to principals.

A government source said the main problem its delegation faced was the constant "moving of the goalposts".

An Inkatha source described the meeting as "beating about the bush". The real crunch would come when the draft consti-

tution was disclosed, he said.

Meanwhile, an ad hoc committee examining the sufficient consensus mechanism recommended that the standing rules for negotiations remain as they were, but a set of guidelines should be formulated to facilitate their application.

This recommendation, which has not yet been discussed by negotiators, falls short of the demand by Inkatha, other Cosag members and the PAC that there should not be sufficient consensus without their concurrence.

Negotiators said this demand, effectively for a veto right, was not compatible with the spirit of negotiations and they doubted

**BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN**

Inkatha could be lured back to negotiations with a formulation that fell short of this "impossible" demand.

The committee rejected an amendment to the standing rules that would define what constituted "insufficient consensus", following which various procedures would kick in.

It argued that existing rules effectively granted the chairman this facility.

Its report said available mechanisms would include adjournments to allow informal discussions, the setting up of tech-

nical committees and allowing participants time to consult their principals.

The report also insisted that clear time frames should be set, noting that a "constructive negotiating spirit" would go a long way toward avoiding filibustering.

The joint Inkatha/KwaZulu government delegation claimed that President F W de Klerk gave a personal undertaking to Mangosuthu Buthelezi in September last year that "no fundamental and crucial decisions would be taken without Inkatha agreeing". This had consistently been ignored.

"We still insist that there cannot be sufficient consensus, especially on the important issues, if Inkatha is not in agreement,

Negotiations

BIC 21-11-93

From Page 1

It also insisted that a region's autonomy was beyond question and doubted that the justiciability of constitutional principles was possible. Therefore there was no check on an elected constituent assembly interpreting the "binding" principles any way it chose.

The government source said: "It is rubbish that we have reneged on sufficient consensus. They conveniently forget that in October 1991 it was exactly what they wanted and we gave a commitment that at all stages a backdoor would be left open."

"This is exactly what has happened. When we took the decision to set an election date we left a door open for them to save face by including a clause that it was not binding until the total package had been agreed to."

Officially the parties said constructive

progress had been made in the talks and they would continue discussions next week.

KwaZulu and Inkatha delegation leader Ben Ngwenane said: "We will continue bilateralers until our principals are satisfied that sufficient progress has been made."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said constructive progress had been made and "the objective is to see whether we can find a way that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government return to the negotiations".

Manpower Minister Leon Wessels said progress was made in that they got closer to discussing matters that "are close to the heart of Inkatha".

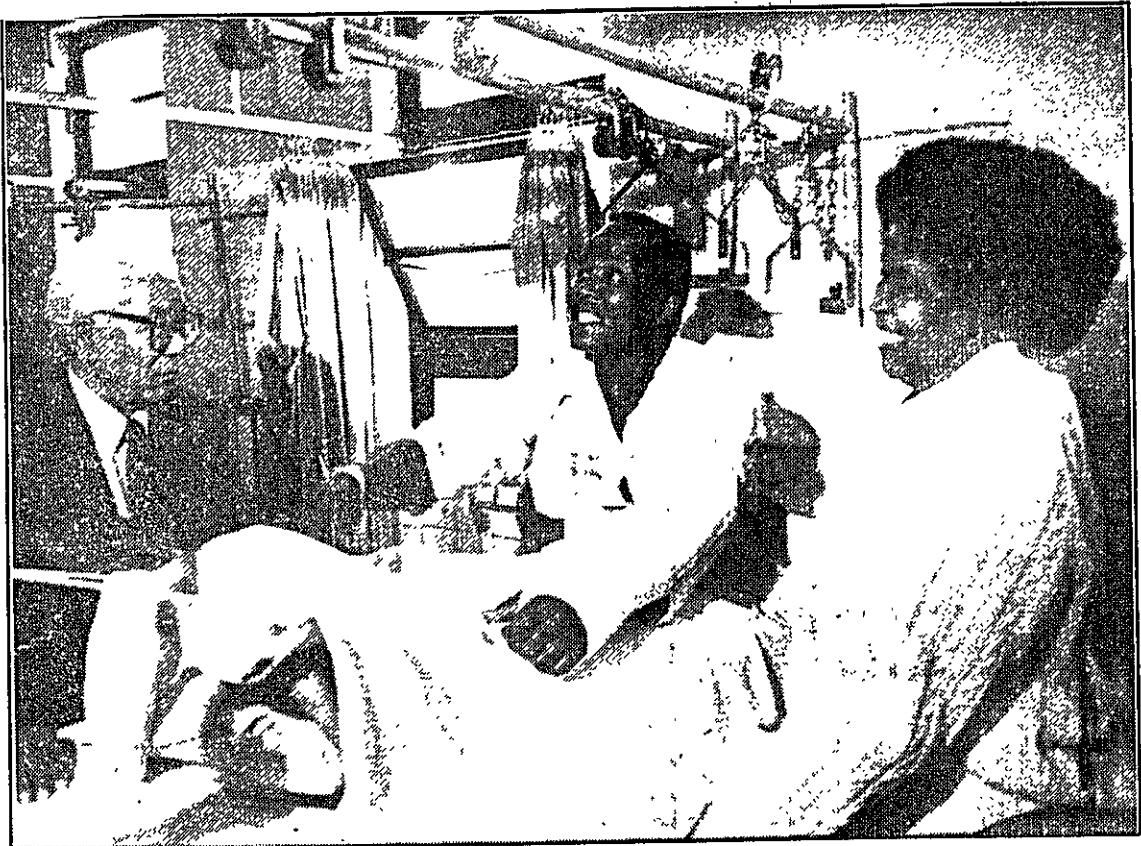
The government source said that at the end of the day "very little, if any, progress was made".

the source said, denying that this amounted to a minority veto.

He also accused government and the ANC of "saying very nice things about regionalism and it amounting to federalism, but when the crunch comes where we want guarantees, they tell us this is not possible".

Inkatha was insisting that all regional powers, or those not specifically listed in the constitution, had to reside with the regions, not central government. So far the list of powers to be entrenched in the regions amounted to 20 whereas self-governing states already had 38 powers.

To Page 2



ALIVE ... ANC Deputy President Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina visited one of his injured bodyguards, Reggie Makhubu, at the Baragwanath Hospital yesterday. Makhubu was one of Sisulu's three bodyguards who were injured and one killed during a shootout with police on Sunday morning on their return from Nelson Mandela's birthday party.

PIC: PAT SEBOKO

Nats, IFP locked in day of tensions

Sowetan 2/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A DESPERATE bilateral meeting between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party dictated the tensions at the World Trade Centre yesterday where the negotiating council resumed its work.

A Government team, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer met an IFP delegation under the leadership of Mr Ben Ngubane to try and bring Inkatha and the KwaZulu administration back into multiparty talks.

Ngubane, who is the official leader of the KwaZulu administration's negotiating team, said the IFP and KwaZulu had "exercised their democratic right" by withdrawing from negotiations and "taking a step back" when some of their

crucial principles were crossed in the multiparty talks.

Ngubane said they would continue to talk "until our principals are sure that sufficient progress has been made".

The IFP wants an effective veto over any decision taken in multiparty negotiations and is particularly sceptical about "sufficient consensus" — the mechanism used to reach agreement in the negotiating council.

Demanded

Sufficient consensus in negotiations has until now been a fig-leaf for agreement between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP has also demanded that the Government rein in, as it were, the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and that the form of state be agreed upon ahead of anything else before it would start negotiating any matter of substance.

Shortly after the meeting, the negotiating council received the first report of the ad hoc committee on sufficient consensus.

Procedure

The committee report suggested that the concept of "insufficient consensus" be inserted in the standing rules for procedure in the negotiation process.

The committee also recommended that guidelines for the application of sufficient consensus be formulated to facilitate the application of the standing rules.

The proposed guidelines are to be discussed with leaders of negotiating groups before it comes up for debate on Monday.

Sufficient consensus should, however, be retained during the decision-making process, according to the committee.

Govt in deadlock with Inkatha

SA 118

21/7/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and a joint KwaZulu government and Inkatha delegation of negotiators emerged from extended talks yesterday still firmly deadlocked over the issues of "sufficient consensus" and regional governments' powers.

Little progress was made, with delegations stating they had to report back to principals.

A government source said the main problem its delegation faced was the constant "moving of the goalposts".

An Inkatha source described the meeting as "beating about the bush". The real crunch would come when the draft constitution was disclosed, he said.

Meanwhile, an ad hoc committee examining the "sufficient consensus" mechanism recommended that the standing rules for negotiations remain as they were, but a set of guidelines should be formulated to facilitate their application.

This recommendation, which has not yet been discussed by negotiators, falls short of the demand by Inkatha, other Cosag members and the PAC that there should not be sufficient consensus without their concurrence.

Negotiators said this demand, effec-

Visiting Soviet official urges pre-election poll

PRETORIA. — A referendum should be held before South Africa's general election on the issue that a new government could not change agreed-upon principles without consulting all communities, Supreme Soviet Member of Parliament Mr Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev said yesterday.

Mr Rumyantsev, who is also head of the Russian Constitutional Commission advising President Boris Yeltsin, was addressing a news conference here. He is on a semi-official visit to South Africa and has had talks with government officials and the Conservative Party and is scheduled to hold discussions with the ANC/SACP and the IFP.

Principles agreed upon by the various political parties at the multi-party talks should be "untouchable", he said. This should be put to South Africans in a referendum. — Sapa

tively for a veto right, was not compatible with the spirit of negotiations and they doubted Inkatha could be lured back to negotiations with a formulation that fell short of this "impossible" demand.

The committee rejected an amendment to the standing rules that would define what constituted "insufficient consensus".

"We still insist that there cannot be sufficient consensus, especially on the important issues, if Inkatha is not in agreement," an Inkatha source said.

The parties said they would continue discussions next week.

C

We may form private army

— Inkatha ¹¹⁸

DURBAN — The IFP yesterday warned that it would form its own army if the killing of its supporters continued.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mtshali said: "I hope that the conflict will not reach a level that will necessitate the party launching its own private army to protect its members."

He spoke a day after gunmen murdered seven IFP supporters on the East Rand.

But Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the IFP and ANC should rather instill tolerance in their supporters.

The creation of yet another private army will not contribute towards solving the violence but may very well lead to an escalation in conflict. Sapa

Top Natal Nat defects to Inkatha

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has not yet considered offering a senior post to Natal provincial executive committee member Peter Miller, who yesterday quit his job and the NP to join Inkatha.

His decision ended widespread speculation that he would resign after losing the important portfolios of roads and hospitals in an executive committee reshuffle this month. There was speculation that his Inkatha links were a factor in his demotion.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said it was "too soon to tell" whether Miller would receive a high-ranking post.

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said he had been aware of Miller's divided loyalties for some time. Bartlett questioned how Miller could justify his change of allegiance as Inkatha and the NP had "basically the same objectives". 21/7/93

Miller, 51, has had a 14-year career in provincial politics — seven as a provincial council member and seven as an appointed MEC. (1187)

Natal Administrator Con Botha said Miller had been a powerful figure in Natal politics and he regretted his decision.

ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus said Miller's resignation indicated growing tension and confusion within the NP, and he predicted more defections.

DP spokesman Mike Ellis said Miller had been "the only MEC of any real merit. He was the only one who fought constantly for Natal."

Natal MEC joins IFP

118

CTJ/7/93

DURBAN. — Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller has resigned from the National Party to join Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Miller, 51, supports a strong federal dispensation.

He announced yesterday that he told Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett on Monday of his intention to resign.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said yesterday: "He is a good man to have and we welcome him."

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said it was "too soon to tell" whether Mr Miller would receive a high-ranking position in the IFP.

"With all his experience and diligence, he would be of value to any party," Dr Mdlalose said.

Mr Miller's resignation ends a 14-year career in provincial politics — seven as Member of the Provincial Council for South Coast until the council was dissolved in 1986 and seven as an appointed MEC.

He said yesterday he did not expect a position in the IFP and had not discussed what role he would play in the party.

He would devote his energies to the promotion of the IFP. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS have now entered a critical phase. The draft constitution has been circulated for study. Parties are examining whether their views have been accommodated in it.

At the same time, Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront are causing alarm by talking about forming private armies in preparation for civil war. ANC president Nelson Mandela criticises the right wing for wanting to form private armies, but advises his younger supporters to join Umkhonto we Sizwe while negotiators try to find a way to dismantle private armies and consolidate them into a national one.

The cynics argue that these are hollow threats, political posturing and/or attempts to exert pressure. Those that have left the talks, and those that may still leave, will merely isolate themselves and the process will go ahead without them.

However, the negotiators, especially those in government and the ANC, are acutely aware of the dangers that lie in store for the process and the future of the country if that process is not as inclusive as possible — although they accept they will have to carry on without the CP unless it can be persuaded to shift its position.

Government and the ANC fear that if Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) break away from the talks they will link up with the Volksfront and, combined with the AVB, form a fairly substantial military force that could, as a government negotiator put it, "give effect to their talk of civil war".

So government and the ANC are working on a strategy to exploit the differences within Cosag and keep as many of these parties as possible in the talks. Most importantly, they seek to woo Inkatha back into the talks.

Government has a series of meetings lined up with Inkatha over the next week and the ANC is meeting a delegation today. Within Cosag, the Bophutha-

Negotiations enter critical phase as draft is unveiled

BILLY PADDOCK

tswana and Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — which have not joined Inkatha, the Kwa-Zulu government and the CP in walking out of the talks — are trying to hold the centre together.

But despite Bophuthatswana and Ciskei's vow "to stay in there to the bitter end" Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje says this "does not mean come hell or high water".

Cosag is as united as ever on the fundamental reason for its formation, he says.

He attempts to debunk the perception of an imminent split in Cosag, saying that the parties in the group were always going to follow their own policies and strategies which may be at odds with other members.

For Cosag, the glue is opposition to sufficient consensus being interpreted as agreement by government and the ANC, and the imposition of a unitary state.

Both issues will come under intense scrutiny on Monday — with the discussion on sufficient consensus being on the agenda and the draft constitution taking up the rest of the time.

Cronje argues that there are not 26 separate parties at the talks. Rather,



□ CRONJE

there are three power blocs — government and its allies; the ANC and its allies; (both of which vote en bloc) and Cosag.

He says there are various issues on which consensus has to be found and backs Inkatha's position stating it is

will have to participate in that debate. The planning committee has drafted Monday's agenda with the draft constitution being presented by the technical committee first and the sufficient consensus issue following it. Inkatha might decide to enter the chamber only for the second item.

However, a source close to the Inkatha negotiating team says that if their study of the draft constitution over the weekend shows their views are being accommodated, they will participate. "But the proof of the pudding is in the tasting," he says.

Should the draft fall short of the mark of Inkatha's negotiators, "they might just argue that further negotiations would be of no avail". However, if the team decides there is room to achieve what they want, they will return to the talks.

Cronje echoes this view, saying, "For the rest of Cosag still sitting in the talks, if we find that we are not being heard and our submissions and inputs at negotiations are not being taken into account, we will have to say 'what is the use of being part of these negotiations?'"

At the ANC/Inkatha talks today, discussion on the contents of the draft constitution will be critical. If Inkatha raises shortcomings, the ANC can move to accommodate Inkatha by giving written guarantees. But ANC and government negotiators are concerned about a continuation of a pattern whereby Inkatha keeps shifting its position and demands more each time accommodation is near.

Both government and the ANC have said they will persist in talks with Inkatha to try to accommodate it. "But there comes a time when we can move no further and Inkatha will find it has isolated itself, not only from the process but also from a major section of its supporters," an ANC negotiator says.

What has to be kept in the front of the negotiators' minds is that the draft constitution is the work of only the technical committee and not a document decided on by negotiators. There is still room for talking if the draft falls short.

Monday 22/7/93

Strange bedfellows miss negotiating point

115

ALAN FINE

able to block any deal. That figure rises, perhaps, to around 18% for Cosag as a whole. But Inkatha cannot reasonably demand (just to be safe) a 95% constituent assembly majority. And that explains why it has demanded an effective veto right at multiparty talks.

Given the nature of politics, none of this naked self-interest is either surprising or especially contemptible. It is, however, rather unsophisticated — and costly in terms of the delays it has caused in reaching a settlement.

In making these demands, all three have been putting the cart before the horse. And this is why: a constitution sets out society's "rules of the (political) game". Those rules include procedures for passing legislation and even amending that constitution. However, certainly in SA's circumstances, trying to precede constitutional negotiations by attempting to lay out in full detail a set of rules for devising the rules of the game is a wasteful exercise.

SA's new constitution, when it is eventually finalised, will reflect a complex interplay — and a delicate balance — of the interests of the various parties.

ATTEMPTS by the Inkatha Freedom Party, its Concerned South Africans Group allies and its new strange bedfellow, the PAC, to devise a clear, legalistic definition of "sufficient consensus" are hardly surprising. But, like the ANC's ill-fated attempts at Codesa last year to pin down the precise vote in a constituent assembly required to approve a new constitution, it misses the point about the essence of constitutional and many other types of negotiations.

When the ANC proposed at Codesa that a constituent assembly be permitted to approve a new constitution by a two-thirds majority, it did so in the belief that it would be able to garner sufficient votes from an alliance of ANC-leaning parties to push through a constitution reasonably acceptable to it. The NP, which wanted a 75% majority, had estimated that at that threshold it would be able — with assistance from other anti-ANC parties — to block any unacceptable constitutional proposal.

Inkatha, then as now, knowing it can expect to win no more than 10% of the national vote, was and is opposed to the very idea of a constituent assembly where it would not be

commodate Inkatha.

Even so, Inkatha cannot expect its main negotiating partners, the ANC and NP, to give it an unrestricted veto right for two important reasons.

The first has to do with the relative urgency with which the three approach negotiations. The ANC is in a hurry to finalise a settlement simply because it remains without any formal constitutional power. It also sees the country it wishes to rule collapsing around it. The NP, too, is looking for a rapid settlement. It believes the country cannot continue in its present limbo. Easing the transition for the NP is that it has negotiated a (so far imprecisely defined) share of power in a post-election interim government.

Inkatha, however, is in no such hurry. While it currently rules over a territory, opinion polls show there is no guarantee that it will retain power in Natal/KwaZulu in an election. For this reason, the status quo may be preferable to life under a post-apartheid constitution. It certainly means Inkatha has a rational motive in seeking the best possible settlement terms. And it has little or no incentive to be hasty in seeking that most favourable settlement.

This is why ANC sources have tentatively suggested a clearly defined time frame would have to accompany any formula that gives the Cosag bloc anything like a veto. This, once again, is an attempt to devise a formula that would reflect the complex balance of forces. It should really not be necessary.

More important is for Inkatha to become more aware of its Achilles' heel. These weaknesses include its limited support base and — perhaps more importantly — the KwaZulu government's reliance on central state funds for survival. The "separate negotiations" (and, implicitly, secession) proposed by Inkatha are a pipe dream too, because Natal remains one of the country's poorest regions and will continue to depend on transfers from central government long into the future.

The ANC, by downgrading the status of a constituent assembly, and the NP in gradually diluting its power-sharing formula, have both made fundamental concessions because the power realities have demanded it. Inkatha's resistance to compromise of any sort suggests parts of its leadership are oblivious to these realities.

ETTERS

Zulu call for arms alarms the ANC

Star 22/7/93

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Zulu chiefs yesterday appealed to all Zulus in the Transvaal to carry their traditional weapons at a meeting to be addressed by Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini at the FNB stadium on Sunday.

The call has been greeted with alarm by peace workers and the ANC. (113)

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the presence of dangerous weapons could only lead to violence.

And Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat chairman Peter Harris said he was concerned that people were calling for crowds to bear arms in spite of National Peace Accord agreements to the contrary.

He said peace monitors would be on the ground to keep an eye on the meeting.

Transvaal head chief Anthony Lamola told a press con-

ference in Johannesburg yesterday that police had agreed to escort Zulus to the stadium to ensure that the meeting went off peacefully.

Police involved in the talks could not be reached for comment last night. (113)

KwaZulu Government representative Vitus Mvelase said Zulus should carry their traditional weapons as this was to be a traditional gathering, not a political rally.

But, he said, as it was a meeting of the Zulu nation and had nothing to do with the IFP or any other political organisation, those attending should not wear political colours. He said all other ethnic groups would also be welcome at the meeting.

About 80 chiefs from Natal and Transvaal attended the press conference, flanked by 30 men in traditional gear carrying shields and spears.

IFP 'shifting posts' for resuming talks

Star 22/1/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

(11B)

The Inkatha Freedom Party seemed to be shifting the goalposts for its return to the negotiating table, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday.

Schoeman was reacting to an IFP memorandum, distributed yesterday in the Negotiating Council, which spelt out the party's reasons for having walked out.

The IFP said it would "not attend any further meetings of the Negotiating Council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition".

A report proposing guidelines for the application of sufficient consensus rulings

will be discussed in the council on Monday.

In the memorandum the IFP argued that there was no sufficient consensus when the council decided on the April 27 election date and instructed a negotiations technical committee to draft an interim constitution.

Schoeman accused the IFP of "hiding behind procedural issues to avoid dealing with substantive issues such as federalism".

Initially the IFP's concern was that a new dispensation should be based on federal principles. Reports submitted to the council had since indicated that a new South Africa would be based on federalism, Schoeman said.

The IFP was "prejudging the draft interim constitution before having seen one word of it".

Inkatha demands veto rights

(11B) CT 22/7/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. The government and the ANC have embarked on a joint effort to head off what they perceive as a serious threat to a negotiated settlement, following Inkatha's announcement yesterday that it would not attend any further multi-party talks until its demand for a veto had been met.

Inkatha's latest decision is a shift from its previous position stated as recently as Tuesday that it would attend the negotiating council meeting as soon as the draft constitution was tabled for discussion.

The Inkatha memorandum delivered to the negotiating council yesterday said: "We will not attend any further meetings of the negotiating council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition." It added that the IFP would not accept any definition of sufficient consensus if major players such as government, the NP, the ANC alliance and the Inkatha-KwaZulu government groupings were unable to accept the ruling.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa were not present at the negotiating council yesterday. They met behind closed doors to discuss solutions.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman said Inkatha was demanding a veto right. It was "moving the goal posts".

The ANC is to meet the IFP tomorrow in an attempt to woo it back to the talks, while further government-Inkatha meetings will take place next week. However, ANC and government sources warned that there would come a time when they could no longer meet demands which were changed as soon as earlier demands were met.

IFP army threat slammed

Political Staff

DURBAN — A threat by the IFP to start a "private army" to counter attacks on its members has been slammed by other groups.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was under pressure from within party ranks to arm members and launch an army.

"More and more I am being asked why, if the ANC is allowed to continue its private army, the IFP does not establish its own. I have no answer," he said.

His remarks were prompted by the "execution-style" killing of seven Zulu-speakers at Germiston on the East Rand.

However, an ANC spokesman said the perpetrators of the Germiston killings were "enemies of peace" who sought to scuttle the talks at the World Trade Centre and ties between the ANC and the IFP.

The DP's Mr Lester Fuchs said more private armies would "simply exacerbate, not defuse the endemic violence".

Inkatha 'moves goalposts again'

Govt, ANC join forces to save talks

BIDay 22/7/93

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have embarked on a joint effort to head off what they perceive as a serious threat to a negotiated settlement, following Inkatha's announcement yesterday that it would not attend any further multiparty talks until its demand for a veto was met. (113)

An Inkatha memorandum delivered to the negotiating council yesterday said: "We hereby confirm that we will not attend any further meetings of the negotiating council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition."

It added that Inkatha would not accept any definition of sufficient consensus if "major players such as government, the NP, the ANC alliance and the Inkatha-KwaZulu government groupings" were unable to accept the ruling. (30/19)

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were not present at the negotiating council for the day. They met behind closed doors to discuss solutions.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said Inkatha was demanding a veto right. It was "moving the goalposts" and hiding behind procedural issues as pretexts for not participating in negotiations.

He said the latest Inkatha move was a threat to the legitimacy of the negotiating process, and all parties were looking for ways to accommodate their demands and bring them back into the process.

The ANC is to meet Inkatha tomorrow in

an attempt to woo it back, while further government-Inkatha meetings will take place next week.

However, ANC and government sources said that while they were prepared to go a long way to meet Inkatha, there would be a time when they could no longer meet demands which were constantly changed as earlier demands were met.

Inkatha's memorandum said the resolution instructing the technical committee to draw up a draft constitution for discussion by the negotiating council did not meet its requirements and it therefore rejected the draft that was made available confidentially to parties yesterday.

Inkatha said it had reserved its position on the resolution on June 30 because it believed the instructions did not adequately reflect the gains made in two caucus meetings between itself and government and between Cosag and government.

Schoeman said the test of whether the committee had been correctly instructed would be to look at its draft. "Instead they (Inkatha) are prejudging the whole thing before seeing one single word of what the technical committee has produced."

Inkatha's latest decision is a shift from its previous position stated as recently as Tuesday that it would attend the negotiating council meeting as soon as the draft constitution was tabled for discussion.

"We cannot understand or accept that they will be absent when this constitution will be debated. Any party that is serious

□ To Page 2

Talks

BIDay 22/7/93

□ From Page 1

about negotiating a settlement must be present if they want to influence the constitution," said Schoeman. (113)

He said Inkatha initially demanded federal principles in the constitution, and now that the new dispensation was clearly federal "they move the goalposts again".

"They are just looking for a reason not to participate in negotiations," Schoeman said. He pointed out what he described as a contradiction in the memorandum where Inkatha states that it is committed to nego-

tiation. "We cannot understand this when they are not here attending the process."

He said the council was building the constitution chapter by chapter starting on Monday. If Inkatha was not present through this process it would not be able to have its views included in the constitution.

He said it seemed Inkatha wanted to wait until the interim constitution had been finalised and then reject it, claiming it had not been part of the process.

● See Page 6

Buthlezi denies seeking talks veto

WINDHOEK — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied yesterday that he sought a veto at multi-party talks by rejecting decisions taken by "sufficient consensus" (11B) (SAP)

He told a news conference that Inkatha's withdrawal from talks was not permanent, but it wanted the meaning of sufficient consensus to be defined.

Sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of 24 negotiating teams voted for an April 27 election date, he said. This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution.

Bilateral ties to other major negotiators had not been cut, and Inkatha teams had been instructed to talk to government, the

ANC, PAC and CP.

Asked about the viability of the alternative negotiation forum he mentioned recently, Buthelezi said this was an option with no defined structures yet.

He said principles of federalism and pluralism were inviolable and should be thrashed out at the multi-party forum. It was legitimate for a region to express its federal demands, as unitary central government could not be imposed on a community and region that did not want that government as their own.

A new constitution should be drawn up before elections, with clear provision for full representation in a future government for all elements of society. — Sapa.

Confused signals at IFP nerve-centre

116 WM 23-29/7/93

In his curriculum vitae, Walter Felgate lists his membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee as an "extra-curricular activity".

According to his CV, he is a 63-year-old social anthropologist who prefers fishing, sailing and conchology to politics — but finds himself at the nerve-centre of the IFP largely because he has been a hard-working disciple of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for almost 20 years.

A former fellow of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal, he also denies he is Buthelezi's speech-writer, saying he gives "suggestions, data and research" to Buthelezi, who writes his own addresses.

The impression of an amateur dabbler on the fringe of politics is misleading: Felgate is widely seen as the most influential hardliner in the IFP leadership. It is he, sources close to the IFP say, who pushed hardest for a breakaway constitutional convention, mooted by Buthelezi at an IFP national council meeting before the party's national conference last weekend.

But sources also say Felgate's influence is being increasingly counterbalanced by more sophisticated and moderate party newcomers — and, in particular, rising star Joe Matthews, the IFP's chief negotiator at the World Trade Centre.

The conflicting signals sent out by Buthelezi at the IFP conference — threats of a hive-off constitutional convention, coupled with warnings that this could lead to civil war; calls to gear up for elections, coupled with a rejection of the April 24 election date — are seen as a product of these contending influences and uncertainty within the IFP over the future.

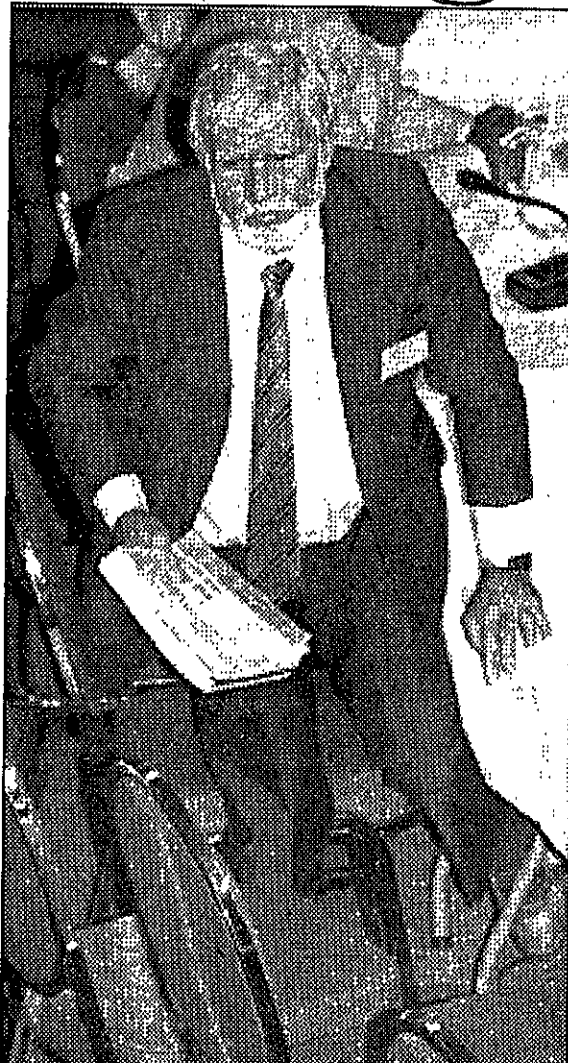
The African National Congress and the South African government have accused Felgate of being responsible for Buthelezi's "spoiling" role in the negotiation process — a charge Felgate describes as "white racist propaganda" and "ANC innuendo". "Nobody can lead Buthelezi by the nose," he said in an interview this week.

Does Felgate consider himself a hardliner? "Would you say Martin Luther King was a hardliner? I would say he was. I'm very proud to be that kind of a hardliner — you stick to your principles and don't compromise on them," he responded.

His pronouncements on the ANC suggest a man still enmeshed in the "total strategy" politics of the 1980s. He believes government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer does not understand the ANC, which "remains committed to the seizure of power in two phases" and which ultimately seeks

Conflicting pronouncements by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be a result of warring influences in the organisation's leadership — where influential hardliner Walter Felgate is pitted against the more moderate chief negotiator, Joe Matthews.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA



Buthelezi (left) is confused as Felgate (right) leads a walkout from negotiations opposed by the IFP's chief negotiator

"to win the socialist struggle".

Having "misread" the ANC, Felgate says that Meyer is now misreading the IFP. "I believe Meyer doesn't personally understand IFP politics — our commitment to the old struggle for liberation; to the north-south economic axis; and to liberal democracy," Felgate added.

Felgate is still smarting from the government's ditching of the IFP for the ANC. He added that Meyer's predecessor, Gerrit Viljoen, had given a "categorical assurance" that the government would not agree to an elected constituent assembly, and had repeatedly said Umkhonto weSizwe would disappear with the signing of the National Peace Accord.

After Meyer took over, the government had backed down on both issues, which were close to the heart of the IFP. "I feel we were betrayed by the trust we placed in them," Felgate said. "We are (now) trying to establish alternative trust."

Although he still has Buthelezi's ear, observers see a relative decline in his influence. They say the post-February 1990 era saw "outsiders" coming into the fold of the IFP because the party

needed to beef up its leadership for negotiations and elections.

Buthelezi and Felgate could no longer shape IFP policy on their own — and expect the rest of the leadership to toe their line.

Skilled, highly educated and seasoned in politics, the newcomers are gradually asserting themselves in the IFP and winning Buthelezi's confidence, apparently much to the chagrin of Felgate.

Matthews epitomises this trend: a former senior figure in the ANC and South African Communist Party, he is the IFP's chief executive officer (effectively its secretary general) and chairman of its election commission, as well as its chief negotiator. Said an ANC negotiator, who spoke on condition of anonymity: "Matthews is a brilliant intellect and clear thinker who has given the IFP a boost. He outshines Felgate in every way."

Felgate denies tensions between himself and Matthews or that Matthews is a threat to him. "Good gracious no. I'm very proud of him joining us. He comes from a distinguished background and he is a distinguished man," he said.

Informed sources say that Matthews has been a restraining

influence on Buthelezi and the IFP, but is careful not to overplay his hand. Instead, he intervenes at the appropriate time, presenting his views diplomatically.

It was with Felgate's support, sources say, that Buthelezi raised the idea of an alternative constitutional convention in opposition to the multi-party negotiating forum at last Friday's national council meeting — the forerunner to the national conference which started the next day.

Matthews, the sources said, believed it would be premature to set up an alternative constitutional convention and that more time should be given to finding common ground with the government on the interpretation of "sufficient consensus".

In a subsequent congress resolution, the IFP demanded that no decisions be taken at the negotiations without the IFP's "concurrence". Matthews also wants the IFP to return to the multi-party negotiating forum to study the draft constitution — something which Felgate opposed and for which he won Buthelezi's support.

The effect of these warring influ-

ences were clear at the IFP conference. At one point, Buthelezi used tough words, suggesting that he wanted delegates to back the idea of an alternative constitutional forum. "The use of sufficient consensus against us and the going on without us demands one of two responses," he said. "Either we back down and eat humble pie, or alternatively consider whether there is any merit in setting about establishing our own constitutional convention with those people who are excluded with us, or who join us in fighting exclusion."

But Buthelezi went on to stress that an alternative convention would lead to attempts to "destroy" the basic political strength of the IFP — its control of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly. "Conference will have to decide whether we are prepared to pay that price knowing that action against us could be action precipitating the first step towards civil war."

In the end, conference delegates resolved to suspend negotiations — and to "very seriously" consider the feasibility of establishing an alternative forum.

At the conference, Buthelezi seemed equally confused about the forthcoming non-racial election "We need to announce a countdown timetable so that we are not left behind. If current legislation holds good, fund-raising outside South Africa will not be possible for the six months preceding an election," he said at one point.

"Technically, we could find ourselves in a position of not being able to fund-raise abroad after November 28 this year if the South African government uses the special (parliamentary) session in September to announce an April 1994 election."

But such calls to gear up for an April 1994 election were contradicted elsewhere in the speech, when he said the IFP wanted a September poll — once a constitution was "finalised" in multi-party talks.

The reality is that the IFP is not prepared for elections of any kind. Buthelezi admitted that the organisation was short of funds — neither international donors nor local businessmen were prepared to back the IFP's election campaign.

Opinion polls suggest the party's support is actually falling: a Markinor poll published last week showed that only three percent of metropolitan blacks and six percent of whites would vote for the party nationally, while a recent Human Sciences Research Council survey showed that the IFP has only 31 percent support in its stronghold of Natal.

● ANC, IFP leaders talk of the immense acrimony that leads to fighting on the East Rand

Pointing fingers at each other

Sowetan 28/7/93

SPEAKING to ANC and IFP leaders in Katlehong and Tokoza about the violence is a frustrating ordeal.

The amount of acrimony, passing as reasons for the violence that has claimed hundreds of lives in the area, is immense.

Mr Mondli Gungubele serves on the ANC PWV regional executive. A close friend of the late SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, he is responsible for the peace desk.

Gungubele explains the fighting in the two townships in terms of the over 60 percent unemployment, which created a pool of people ready to be misused.

The failure so far of the political reform process to deliver tangible results, adds up to a recipe for violence.

is how you media people call them — are attacking residents.

"The attacks that are taking place against hostels and the shooting during the aborted march here in Tokoza, were done by fully trained people and we all know who has an army of trained cadres roaming the streets."

She said criminals had also spread rumours of imminent attacks on Zulus, starting a stampede into the hostels, and then moved in to steal from abandoned houses.

Asked whether she would admit that some IFP members engaged in violence, Mzizi said many of her members reacted to violence against them.

People living in so-called IFP areas have now joined the

organisation in order safeguard these areas. The violence has therefore produced a spin-off of increased membership, we found. The ANC also confirmed renewed interest and new members.

But for her and the IFP, as confirmed by interviews with hostel indunas such as Mr Simon Mchunu, Mr Mpisendini Mthethwa and Mr Nosenye Mncube, the violence is a result of the expansionist intentions of the ANC, who want to eradicate opposition in the coming elections.

And so, as people lose homes and sleep in halls and open spaces, the two organisations at the centre of the war continue to trade accusations as they reap the fruits of these ravages — more members.



The heartbreak that violence leaves behind.

Elements of a Third Force

The ANC is concerned about the way elements of a Third Force are able to use the ANC-IFP conflict to start sporadic mini-wars.

Attempts to resolve the conflict between the two organisations has so far floundered because the IFP rejects the existence of a Third Force stirring up trouble, saying instead that MK is the third force, he says.

The IFP has also refused to co-operate in ridding hostels under its control of killers who terrorise communities, such as the Toasters in Thembisa's Vusimuzi Hostel and the Khetishi Kheswa gang in the Vaal

The ANC, however, sees the IFP as an insignificant force which the organisation does not need spend any effort on trying to obliterate, Gungubele says. The ANC has always fought white racism and its supporting system and not Inkatha.

Asked about alleged attacks by "comrades" aligned to the ANC on "Zulus", Gungubele says the IFP is responsible for the perception that all Zulus are IFP.

"The IFP always explains every attack on itself by whosoever as an attack on Zulus, thereby creating the impression that all Zulus are IFP members. But we have warned our members strongly about this." Gungubele says it is possible that people who have infiltrated MK and renegades are operating from within ANC structures, on orders of other forces, to create mayhem.

The ANC has struck an agreement with the IFP on the need for refugees to return to their homes in safety to create a climate in which elections could be held.

Also, there is a need for freedom of movement and the right to belong to any organisation without regard to the section of township in which people resided.

Mrs Getrude Mzizi, an IFP official who serves on its peace desk for the Transvaal with special responsibility for the East Rand, said the declaration of areas within the townships as pro-ANC or pro-IFP, had led to killings, with organisations claiming those killed as their members to create the impression that they were being attacked.

Dragged to civic meetings

She said residents were being dragged to civic meetings dominated by ANC people, who turn what ostensibly seem to be community meetings into exclusive platforms for the ANC.

"At all these meetings, it is "Viva Mandela" and "Viva ANC" with flags. After that they pass resolutions against the IFP and hostels. Pamphlets call for the demolition of hostels."

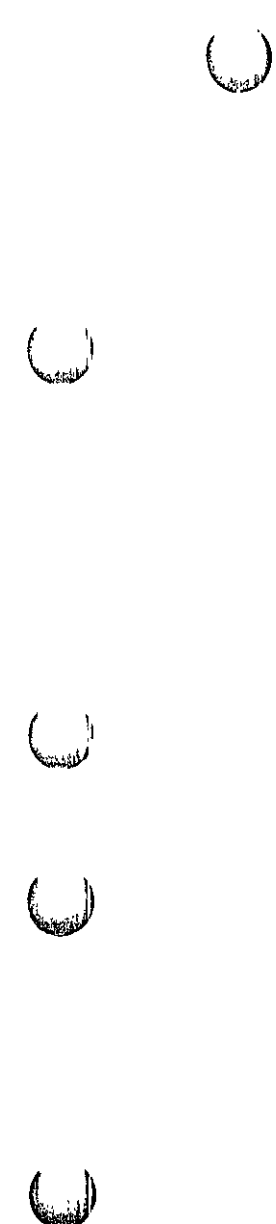
She said hostel residents had been attacked daily since the assassination of Chris Hani. Trains carrying hostel residents were set alight. The media did not play these events up, she alleged.

"But when these people regrouped and defended themselves, the media came in and said hostel dwellers — that



The IFP always explains every attack on itself by whosoever as an attack on Zulus, thereby creating the impression that all Zulus are IFP members. But we have warned our members strongly about this

Mondli Gungubele (pictured above) of the ANC PWV regional executive



ANC and police joint monitoring plan welcomed

DURBAN — The South African Police and the ANC are to begin joint monitoring of southern Natal violence flashpoints in what is being hailed by the ANC as a step towards joint control of the security forces.

Joint operation centres (JOCs) — already operating in some East Rand townships — are to be established within a week in Bhambayi near Durban, where factions aligned to the ANC have been involved in a war which has claimed about 150 lives in eight months.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and others linked to political conflict in the region will also be involved in areas where their supporters are affected, according to ANC southern Natal secretary S'bu Ndebele.

"This is a step towards joint control of the security forces,"

southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe said in Durban yesterday.

He said the ANC had held talks with Natal police commissioner General Colin Steyn and would meet him again.

Ndebele said the first JOC would be established in Bhambayi, possibly next week, and the ANC hoped to expand the joint operation to other violent areas, particularly Port Shepstone.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said his party would welcome joint monitoring but warned of obstacles.

"It could become bogged down in suspicion and mistrust."

JOCs will be discussed at a weekend peace summit in Durban for ANC-aligned organisations. — Sapa.

~~11B~~ (11B) (2011A)

government uses the special session in September to announce an April 1994 election."

Inkatha, however, has set its sights on October 1994 elections under a constitution agreed by September.

He added that Inkatha must decide whether to take part in the election of a constituent assembly. "We need a mandate to remain outside the formal negotiation process while we take crucial constitutional issues to the people for their judgment."

The mandate was given in resolutions adopted by the conference, which decided:

- To stay out of negotiations unless government clearly declares its position on the continuing deployment of MK and MK arms caches in SA and the TBVC states;
- To establish an election fund known as the Chief Buthelezi fund;
- To reject the constituent assembly election as the constitution-making body for SA, along with the right of government and the ANC/SACP alliance to make decisions on a sufficient consensus basis; and
- To consider the feasibility of an alternative negotiating forum or national multi-party constitutional convention if the impasse at the World Trade Centre isn't resolved.

Buthelezi, nevertheless, expressed profound optimism for the future because the negotiating process is so entrenched that there can be no other way forward. "Failed revolution seems to be behind us, though failed attempts to establish a dictatorship of revolutionary structures do not."

He said the Inkatha team at Kempton Park is negotiating in enormously difficult circumstances. "They have to achieve results and bring home democratic victories for all South Africans to remain credible and justify what they are doing to people facing AK47s at home."

INKATHA

FM 23/7/93

Filibustering away

Though Inkatha stormed out of the negotiating forum over the April 27 election date, leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amid a stand-off with government and the ANC, has given the strongest hint yet that if push comes to shove his party may contest it.

That doesn't mean he's backing down on demands (largely met) for an entrenched constitution and federalism before the election. On the contrary, the walkout, along with the CP, to force a showdown shows that he's as determined as ever. The terms for Inkatha rejoining the talks that emerged in a leaked confidential document this week have no face-saving devices.

And Buthelezi warned the Inkatha National Council at the beginning of Inkatha's annual general conference in Ulundi, attended by 5 000 delegates, that failure to heed him could split SA. He even mooted an alternative negotiating forum but conceded that this could sow the seeds for civil war — a war, he stressed, not of Inkatha's making.

Theme of the conference was "The Hard Road to Liberation after Democracy".

Buthelezi said that Inkatha must begin fund-raising and establishing itself on an election footing, which includes selecting between 1 000-2 000 candidates for a national parliament and nine regional legislatures.

"We need to announce a count-down timetable and if current legislation holds good, technically we could find ourselves (unable) to raise funds abroad after November 28 if

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

Buthelezi argued that the ANC wants a free hand to write a constitution after elections, rather than take the route of many African countries during decolonisation, where constitutions were negotiated by consensus before elections. He did not, however, touch on how many of these constitutions have since been unceremoniously scrapped or ignored.

He again accused the ANC of trying to destroy KwaZulu and absorb it in Natal through an interim authority and by calls for the scrapping of the Black Authorities Act, under which KwaZulu was established.

KwaZulu, he claimed, has a sovereign right to self-determination. It was conquered by the British, annexed to the colony of Natal and later dragged into the Union through the barrel of a gun. The people's consent was never sought.

"We will not be dragged into the New SA without having a say," he warned.

But he has every opportunity for having a say — as opposed to having his way — and that statement implies that he has not put himself irrevocably outside the process. ■

News br

Sowetan 23/7/92

Zulu king to speak

ZULU king Goodwill Zwelithini will address thousands of his subjects at a rally at the FNB Stadium on Sunday at 9am.

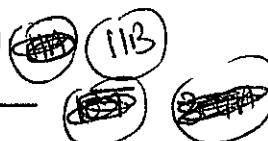
This is a sequel to the meetings the king has been addressing about developments at the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. (113)

The king's entourage will include the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. (125)

FM 23/7/93

NEGOTIATIONS

Buthelezi's bridge too far



There is a growing perception that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is overstepping the mark in his quest to become, or remain, cock of the walk in KwaZulu/Natal.

He hints as usual at civil war if he does not get exactly what he wants — and people are getting tired of him. Between his main rival, the ANC and his one-time ally, government, a great deal has been conceded in the spirit of negotiation to meet the chief's concerns.

Thus the new constitution — to be built on sound principles accepted by Inkatha just before it again walked out on July 2 — has basically already been drafted, as Inkatha demanded, by the multilateral negotiating process. This includes a technical committee of constitutional experts chosen by the parties. Yet Inkatha bleats on.

Similarly, the ANC long ago moved from its original stance on a unitary State to accepting strong regional or federal government that is not out of kilter with systems generally accepted as federal. The list of regional and central government powers already agreed to demonstrates this.

There is tentative agreement also on the demand that regional constitutions be in operation at the same time as the national one and on full acceptance of a constitutional court and special majorities for changing what will be entrenched principles.

The latest cry from Inkatha (and others) concerns the meaning of "sufficient consensus" and Inkatha's attempt to secure for itself a veto right on decisions. Don't be surprised if Inkatha turns the draft constitution into another battleground when it returns to the talks next week.

At this stage, no party in the negotiating council is prepared to say whether the transition process will proceed without Buthelezi if he decides to pull out altogether. It will be a political decision should the time come, says a government spokesman, adding that no party of consequence has decided what its strategy would be. If any has one, it is unlikely to divulge it now.

"The point is that there is no alternative to the negotiations," says the government spokesman. "Over the next two or three weeks, all parties, including the ANC, will do everything possible to get the IFP back."

Belief is that the best moral weapon will be the draft constitution, expected to be presented by the technical committee on Monday and which Inkatha and KwaZulu (and

the CP) have said they will return to examine before finally deciding whether to stay in the process.

Government is convinced that the draft constitution will be as accommodating as possible and if groups like the IFP still aren't satisfied, then "Buthelezi will be seen to be completely out of line."

Some in government believe that the process has to go on to the point of an election, which will be the true test of the IFP's power. But Buthelezi knows the limits of his support and that "this is the very best deal that he will get," avers the government source.

Chief Buthelezi insists that violence must be ended before an election, while government and others maintain that the result of an election will largely assist in controlling it. Would government ultimately consider cutting off funds to KwaZulu if Buthelezi refused to fall into line? No, because that would fuel the fire of a civil war.

While the IFP and CP cannot really be compared, if the two got together it would cause more problems. But, it is asked, what kind of support will Buthelezi get in his own constituency — black and white — for hatching a revolution with the far Right?

And if they were somehow to win such a war, would they divide the country in two, creating an Afrikaner State and a Zulu State, or what?

The perception is that Buthelezi is engaged in brinkmanship and is worried. While it is believed that he can be beaten, it is difficult to say whether he can be controlled.

"We'll have to cross those bridges when and if we come to them," is the view from opposing negotiators.

Inkatha/KwaZulu met government twice last week in an attempt to build bridges. Interestingly, the team was led by Walter Felgate and Ben Ngubane, with

their foreign adviser Mario Ambrosini (who deeply irritates government) in tow. It seems the IFP's Joe Mathews and Frank Mdlalose, who are regarded as relatively moderate, will now concentrate on talking to the ANC and Cosag respectively.

At last Saturday's bilateral meeting, the IFP spelled out its demands. It wants full federalism along the lines contained in the draft KwaZulu/Natal constitution; acknowledgment of the special role and unique

status of KwaZulu/Natal with its Zulu kingdom; more clarity on a possible administrative hiatus between now and the election; and the fact that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and repeal of the status of self-governing states, would take power out of the hands of KwaZulu and hand it over to a lesser body such as the old provincial council.

They refused to accept anything which looked as though a grain of power would have to be given to the TEC or its sub-councils.

Without properly discussing the controversial decision-making mechanism of "sufficient consensus," the IFP demanded a veto in the process — saying that if it did not get veto power it would not return to the table. However, the IFP indicated that if the draft constitution were acceptable, then the veto would assume less importance.

When it was pointed out that the new draft constitution is likely to emerge in chapters over a couple of weeks (as it gets referred back from council to technical committee for improvement), the IFP members said they would not take part in that either.

But how, Inkatha were asked, could they not be part of the process and at the very end decide whether or not they liked what it had produced? They replied that they'd go back to their principal in Ulundi.

Though the IFP maintains it is not in favour of a confederation (which the CP wants) or secession, government sees their cherished Natal/KwaZulu constitution as confederal in the extreme. A senior Cosag member agrees that it contains confederal elements. It is believed that when newly appointed Unisa rector Marinus Wiechers (a member of the technical committee) terminated his contract as an Inkatha adviser, he informed Buthelezi that he could not associate himself with the proposed KwaZulu/Natal constitution.

With the prospect of fundamental change within months and backed as he is by dubious advisers, Buthelezi appears to be walking on a knife-edge, weighing his options between civil war and being part of the process. He will pursue brinkmanship as far as he can in order to secure maximum gains before the election. Having built his support on a system of patronage derived from the homelands set-up, his power-base is beginning to erode.

Another problem for him is that his Cosag allies do not seem to be going with him all the way. Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie returned to their seats in the negotiating council last Monday, leaving out Inkatha (and KwaZulu) and the CP, whose position is totally inflexible. ■



DAVID FELDMAN

CT 3/7/93

Buthelezi: Withdrawal from talks not permanent

WINDHOEK. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied suggestions that he sought a veto at multi-party talks by rejecting decisions taken by "sufficient consensus".

He told a news conference here the IFP's withdrawal from talks was not permanent, but it wanted the meaning of sufficient consensus to be defined.

Sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of the 24 negotiating teams at the Kempton Park talks voted for an April 27 election date, he said. This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution.

Bilateral ties to other major negotiators had not been cut, however.

Chief Buthelezi was invited to Namibia by President Sam Nujoma for talks on forthcoming elections and ways to manage a peaceful transition.

Foreign Affairs sources said the visit was part of Namibia's growing role as "honest broker".

The news briefing was held in the room where Namibia's constitution was drafted and where the spirit of national reconciliation was born, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab said. He expressed the hope that some of that spirit would accompany Chief Buthelezi on his return

home. — Sapa

Inkatha

prises open cracks in NP

112 WM 23-29 1993

TENSIONS within the ruling National Party are slowly reaching breaking-point — a fact that is being actively exploited by kwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

With this week's resignation of a senior National member of the Natal Executive Council, Peter Miller, to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, concern is growing in NP circles about the possibility of an exodus to the IFP before the first democratic elections.

This week even a cabinet member — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte — took a pro-Inkatha stance, which runs contrary to the position taken by his negotiating colleagues, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels.

The faultlines in the NP run along two different approaches towards Inkatha by NP caucus members. Most Nats are instinctively sympathetic towards the IFP. They feel strongly that the Zulu-based organisation is sold down the drain by their own negotiators, under the leadership of Constitutional Affairs Minister Meyer.

Inkatha's present boycott of the negotiations in Kempton Park is creating serious frustrations among the government's negotiators. While they are considering seeing the process through, even if it means that the IFP is completely sidelined, fears are growing that such a step may be the final straw convincing senior NP MPs — and even some cabinet members — to break ranks and throw their weight in behind Buthelezi.

In an amazing development this week, Schutte came out openly in support of the notion

and took part in the debates on the establishment of an Independent Broadcasting Authority as well as an Independent Electoral Commission.

To observers it was clear that his cabinet colleague, Dawie de Villiers, who was in the chair on Monday, could sometimes hardly contain his irritation with Schutte's critical and highly technical interventions during the debate.

Sources close to the NP say that the "hardliners" are making life very difficult for negotiators Meyer and Wessels.

Meyer finds himself in the unenviable position of first having to negotiate issues within the multi-party conference, only to negotiate again within his own caucus to get decisions accepted which have been agreed on in Kempton Park.

The "hardliners" know they cannot stop the negotiations, but they are determined to make life as difficult as possible for Meyer because of a perception that he is not "tough" enough, especially with the ANC.

Schutte was recently appointed to a full cabinet post. He immediately joined the "hawks", led by Hermus Kriel and including Tertius Delpoort and Kobie Coetsee (popularly known as "Koois Skeerpioen").

Schutte, observers say, does not seem to realise that his term of office will not last more than nine months, until the first democratic elections. He is adamant about establishing his authority and trying to show the ANC that he

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Mangosuthu Buthelezi

They were under the impression that an understanding was reached — which at the forum transpired not to have been the case.

The situation at the moment is that the 26 parties at the negotiating council negotiate on issues, come to decisions — and then find that the decisions agreed upon have to be negotiated once more with Ulundi. Buthelezi in effect acts as a one-man council on equal level with the World Trade Centre negotiators.

Buthlezi blames ANC and govt for violence

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The government was bent on sacrificing its working relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party to appease the African National Congress at the cost of peace, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing a public meeting of about 500 mostly white people here, Chief Buthelezi claimed that there could never be peace while the ANC and the government were colluding behind closed doors.

Instead of forging a constitution which would safeguard the future, government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer and his colleagues had agreed to a two-phase transitional process which would allow the ANC to dominate the future government of the country.

"In so doing they have struck at the IFP's hope of achieving a constitution capable of protecting the freedom, democracy and pluralism for all the citizens of South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi also accused the government of selling out its own constituency when it agreed with the ANC on the election of a constituent assembly.

He said the proposed two-phased transition deal merely ensured that certain key government officials would be able to retain their senior positions in the government of transition.

The IFP would insist on a single phase process where a draft constitution would be negotiated and agreed upon by all representative parties at the multiparty negotiating forum, said Chief Buthelezi.

People at yesterday's meeting were invited to join and become card-carrying members of the party.

Talks with
IFP on hold

HOPEs that the IFP and its Cosag allies would be drawn back into constitutional talks have been put on hold until next week to allow the parties time to study the draft constitutional proposals.

Last night IFP negotiator Dr Frank Mdlalose said a range of bilateral talks with the government and the Cosag partners this past week had been "helpful" but disagreements over certain issues still had to be ironed out.

The IFP confirmed that a range of bilateral talks with the Conservative Party, the government and the ANC would be held next week.

Last night ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC would "make a very strong pitch" to draw IFP back into the talks fold at a bilateral meeting "sometime next week".

ANC ready
to meet king'

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC yesterday
stressed its commitment
to meet Zulu King Good-
will Zwelithini at his
convenience to discuss
concerns about constitu-
tional matters at democ-
racy negotiations.

The organisation's
commitment was made
in a statement here be-
fore a rally to be ad-
dressed by the king at
the FNB stadium near
Soweto tomorrow.

Commenting on the
rally, the ANC said it
supported a call by the
Wits-Vaal Peace Secre-
tariat that the carrying
of dangerous weapons at
rallies would not help
create peace.

The ANC hoped the
king would "call for
peace among the
people". — Sapa

Draft a 'recipe for war'

BLOEMFONTEIN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected a two-phase approach to the drafting of a final constitution, warning it was a recipe for civil war.

Speaking at the University of the Orange Free State, he said the setting of an election date before a decision on the future form of state was incomprehensible.

The IFP and the KwaZulu government walked out of negotiations two weeks ago because the April 27 date for elections was ratified by the nego-

tiating council in spite of the IFP's opposition. ~~112~~ 112

Chief Buthelezi said he objected to a constitution being written by the party or parties at the helm of a constituent assembly. CT 24/1/93

A two-phase transition process could only subject South Africans to needless suffering and hardship. It would also totally exclude the federal option, and the IFP regarded the principles of federalism and pluralism as inviolable, he said. — Sapa

Students grill Buthelezi

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was confronted by hostile black students at the traditionally conservative University of the Orange Free State where he addressed about 200 people yesterday.

Emerging triumphantly from a meeting with moderate and admiring university academics, Chief Buthelezi came up against a small but vociferous black student body who accused him of promoting violence and allowing white people to use him for their own ends. **CT 24/7/93**

Chief Buthelezi said whites in Cosag were not using him. **(118)**

IFP members were only involved in violence as victims. — Sapa

Star 24/7/93

'Govt sacrificing ties with IFP'

(118) (200)

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government was bent on sacrificing its working relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party to appease the African National Congress, at the cost of peace, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi charged yesterday.

Addressing a public meeting of about 500 mostly white people in Bloemfontein, Buthelezi warned that there could never be peace while the ANC and the Government were colluding behind closed doors.

Instead of forging a constitution which would safeguard the future, government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his colleagues had agreed to a two-phase transitional process which would allow the ANC to dominate the future government of the country.

"In so doing they have struck at the IFP's hope of achieving a constitution capable of protecting freedom, democracy and plural-

ADRIENNE CARLISLE

ism for all the citizens of South Africa."

Buthelezi also accused the Government of selling out its own constituency when it agreed with the ANC on the election of a constitution-making body.

High-handed

He said the proposed two-phased transition deal merely ensured that certain key government officials would be able to retain their senior position in the government of transition.

"In their typical high-handed unilateral manner, the Government has sold out its constituency in order to look after its own narrow party political interests," said Buthelezi.

The IFP would insist on a single-phase process where a draft constitution would be negotiated

and agreed to by all representative parties at the multiparty negotiating forum.

Earlier, Buthelezi told University of Orange Free State academics that the two-phase approach to the transition was a recipe for civil war.

He said the setting of an election date before the future form of state had been determined was incomprehensible.

The IFP and the KwaZulu government walked out of negotiations two weeks ago because they objected to the ratification of April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first democratic elections.

Despite his objections to the setting of an election date before the form of state had been agreed to, Buthelezi has embarked on an aggressive recruiting campaign in white areas in the Eastern Cape and now the Orange Free State. — Sapa.

Subpoena of journalist deplored

Star 24/7/93

THE Press Council of South Africa and the Conference of Editors yesterday expressed concern over the subpoena of Beeld newspaper journalist Andries Cornelissen under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

"The two bodies de-

plore the use of section 205 to gain information from journalists under the threat of penalty or a prison sentence," the two organisations said in a statement.

The action was also in breach of a written in-

struction by the Commissioner of Police on July 16 1991 that no such action would be taken in terms of section 205 without the editor of the publication concerned being informed in advance, the organisations said. — Sapa.

Ad has wrong phone number

THE telephone number in an advert entitled "Own Your Own Home" on Page 108 of the Property Guide is incorrect. The correct number of the Eugenic Foundation is (011) 886-0969.

Dr Jiyane drops PAC policy for Inkatha

CIPRESS 25/7/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO

TIRE D of broadcasting rhetoric from the PAC's Radio Freedom in Dar es Salaam, Dr Ziba Bonginkosi Jiyane has moved back under the wing of Inkatha, a group he shunned in the '70s for its "lack of action".

Jiyane was recently appointed Inkatha's national spokesman.

Asked why he left SA, Jiyane said: "There were policy differences within Inkatha. Some felt there was a need for action and that the organisation was too moderate."

He left SA through

Botswana where he sought political asylum before joining the PAC.

But by the mid '80s he had become disillusioned with PAC policies.

Jiyane said he had differences with the movement's "socialist rhetoric" and felt "the futility of armed struggle".

Jiyane said he began to systematically defend the views of Inkatha in 1990 at the height of the violence.

This 34-year-old political scientist believes Inkatha has the potential to become a major political party in the country.

Inkatha

'too shy' to beg

By SIPHO KHUMALO

"ZULU shyness" is robbing Inkatha's election campaign of millions of rands in potential donations. (113)

This is according to party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who told a conference in Ulundi that because of his Zulu upbringing, he could not go "cap in hand, begging" for funds like other political leaders.

Buthelezi was launching the Buthelezi Election Fund at the party's conference. He said good election plans were of no use if not properly funded.

"We need to announce a countdown timetable so we are not left behind. If current legislation holds good, fund-raising outside SA will not be possible for the six months preceding an election," he said.

Buthelezi told delegates that although his "Zulu shyness" crippled him, Inkatha chief negotiator Joe Mathews, who is apparently not suffering from "Zulu shyness", was doing something about raising election funds.

Inkatha dig in their heels – again

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

CIPRESS 25/11/83

HOPES of Inkatha's speedy return to multiparty negotiations are receding fast.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu government walked out of talks two weeks ago, saying they would not attend any further meetings of the Negotiating Council or its structures until a satisfactory resolution of the "sufficient consensus" issue.

Inkatha's concern is that any constitutional principles should be based on federalism, and that regional power should be clearly defined and not left to the tyranny of a future central government. (11B)

The two were expected to return to talks tomorrow, when the draft interim constitution will be discussed for the first time.

Although the contents of the interim constitution are not known, both government and ANC spokesmen have said in the past that Inkatha's demands on issues like regional power have largely been met.

Two days ago, when Buthelezi most likely knew the

provisions of the interim constitution, the Inkatha leader was again on the warpath, rejecting a two-phase approach to the drafting of a final constitution and saying it was a recipe for civil war.

Buthelezi's criticism came two days after the technical committee on constitutional matters presented its draft interim constitution to all the parties at the multiparty talks.

At its annual general conference in Ulundi last week, the party added another condition before it would resume participation in the talks: that the government declare its position on the continuing deployment of Umkhonto'weSizwe and its arms caches.

The long-awaited interim constitution was tabled before the negotiators this week at the World Trade Centre, but with a strict embargo.

In terms of the embargo, reports and comment on the document are forbidden until tomorrow afternoon.

According to a "source close to the authors of the draft constitution", it is detailed enough for everyone to know what kind of constitution SA could end up with.



INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi meets with Namibian president Sam Nujoma this week. The IFP is threatening to go to court in a bid to have the manner in which decisions are arrived at by negotiators overturned

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG

Plan to halt election

By RAY HARTLEY
INKATHA is considering obtaining a court interdict to invalidate the April 27 election date set by negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

The organisation this week boycotted multi-party negotiations in protest at what it described as the abuse of the "sufficient consensus" decision-making mechanism.

Inkatha official Walter Felgate confirmed this week that legal action against the negotiating council was seriously being considered.

He said Inkatha was yet to reach a final decision on the matter and was also considering mass action, political pressure and an international campaign to win support for its withdrawal from negotiations.

"We're still looking at what is possible, feasible

in principle had been taken to apply for the interdict. An ANC legal department spokesman said the ANC would oppose the action if it was named as a respondent.

"It's a skirmish to introduce further tension. What kind of order can a court make on this? There are no rights being violated," the spokesman said.

Draft constitution unveiled today

Sowetan 26/7/93

~~2000~~

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AN interim new constitution for South Africa will be tabled in the Negotiating Council today and the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party will not be there.

The interim constitution, which, it is hoped, will lure the IFP and CP back to negotiations, was handed out to parties for scrutiny last Thursday. It will be made public today.

The IFP's Mr Walter Fellgate refused to comment on the constitution.

The IFP has said that if it was satisfied with the interim constitution

it would return to talks.

This was one of three conditions put forward by the IFP. Another was that it should be given veto powers over any decisions made (through sufficient consensus) in negotiations.

The CP would also make its position known today (~~IFP~~) (IB)

The ANC and Government would not be drawn on their views. Both seemed satisfied with progress in talks as symbolised by the constitution.

The Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew was encouraged by the document and said while it "needed tightening up" it should inspire political parties to work on perfecting it.

BOOKINGS NOW OPEN



NEWS Holy Cross allegedly used as wea

News in brief

Mshayisa dies at 39

SOCIALITE Jimmy Mzikayifani Mshayisa (39), popularly known as "Mzi", died last Friday after a long illness.

Mr Lucas Motshoane, a family spokesman, said Mshayisa would be buried in Soweto on Saturday.

The funeral service, starting at 9am, will be held at No 17647 Extension 25, Vosloorus. The cortege leaves for the Doornkop Cemetery in Soweto at 11am.

Mshayisa is survived by his wife Brooks and daughter Nanini.

Buthelezi worried

THERE was enough turmoil in South Africa to warrant the establishment of

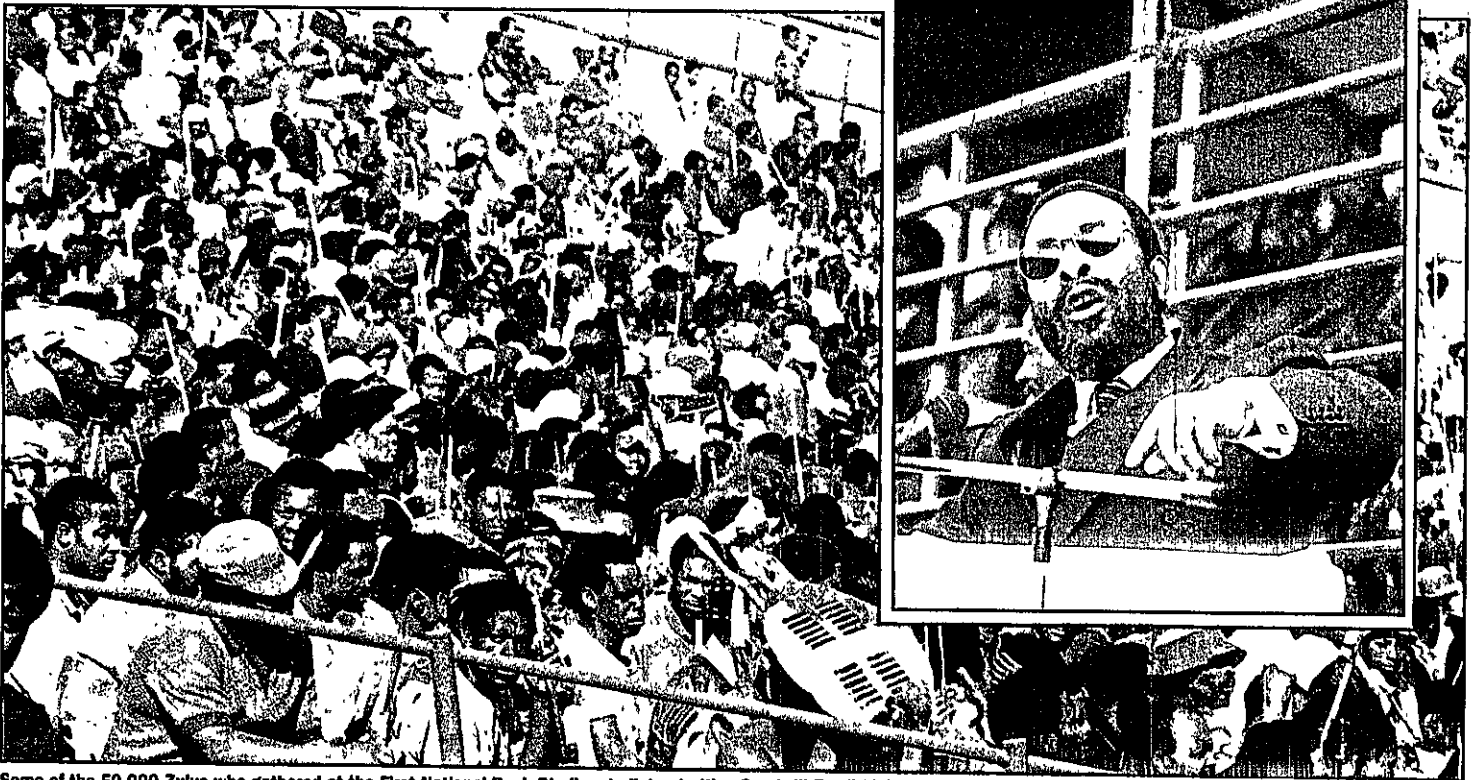
Sowetan 26/7/93
an equitable constitution with the utmost urgency, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Bloemfontein on Friday. (115) (115)

Addressing an IFP rally, Buthelezi said a two-phased process over the drafting of a final constitution and for the election of a final government, as suggested by the Government and ANC, would serve to increase violence and prolong misery in the country.

12 held after robbery

TWELVE Guguletu residents have been arrested in connection with Friday's robbery near Elands Bay on the Cape West Coast. A police spokesman said two bank employees were robbed of R35 000 on Friday. — Sapa.





Some of the 50 000 Zulus who gathered at the First National Bank Stadium to listen to King Goodwill Zwelithini (top) on the multi-party negotiations yesterday. PICS LEN KUMALO

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Zulus are angry-king

Sowetan 26/7/93

By Joshua Raboroko and Sapa

KING GOODWILL Zwelithini yesterday said Zulus were angry about moves at the multiparty talks to set an election date without securing KwaZulu's future. Addressing about 50 000 Zulus who had converged on the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg, King Zwelithini said KwaZulu's state would not be decided without the input of the Zulus.

A man was stabbed, another shot and several shots were fired from AK-47 rifles after King Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed the rally. Police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said these were the only incidents reported.

Earlier, buses from as far afield as Natal brought crowds to hear Zwelithini and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi speak.

IFP security guards, the Witwatersrand Peace Secretariat, European Community Observer Mission and the SAP monitored the proceedings as huge crowds arrived at the stadium.

As the imps arrived, wielding spears and an assortment of weapons, they chanted Zulu war songs while others danced.

There were loud chants of "Bavetho" as King Zwelithini and Buthelezi and their entourage entered the stadium.

But there was an apparent lack of enthusiasm from the large crowd when speeches began. Many seemingly did not understand the purpose of the

meeting and its speeches and left early. King Zwelithini said KwaZulu's political future would be determined by Zulus and not by anybody else. He accused the Government and the African National Congress of trying to rob the Zulu "nation" of its identity.

"Only we can say how we would wish to shape our future," King Zwelithini said.

The recent spate of attacks against Zulus, particularly on the East Rand, could justifiably be called the beginning of "ethnic cleansing", the Zulu king said.

"What makes the ethnic cleansing concept so hideous, is our knowledge of the fact that once it starts there are no boundaries for its ending," he said, likening it to Hitler's genocide of Jews in Germany. "We say that no KwaZulu boundary, no KwaZulu power and no KwaZulu structure will be changed except by moves that we as Zulus make," King Zwelithini said.

"We will decide how we are to go forward into the new South Africa and only then will we decide what kind of a new South Africa we are prepared to enter."

He said he needed "absolute assurance" that the present leadership of the ANC would renounce all intentions to rob the Zulu people of their right to shape their own destiny.

"This is not a question of party politics," he added.

Buthelezi said federalism was the only option for the country. He said the ANC and the Government were conniving to obliterate KwaZulu.

Star 26/7/93

Hands off KwaZulu, says king

By Patrick Laurence

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday demanded self-determination for the Zulu people, drawing roars of approval from the massed ranks of his subjects.

Addressing about 50 000 Zulus at an *imbizo* (traditional gathering) at the FNB Stadium on the edge of Soweto, Zwelithini said: "The ANC and its allies have apparently not heard our Zulu voice... We claim the right to self-determination."

The bearded king — who shared the podium with his uncle, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as KwaZulu chief negotiator Ben Ngubane — spelled out the bottom-line demands of the Zulu people:

● The right of Zulus to self-determination.

● The refusal to countenance the dismantling of KwaZulu until agreement had been reached on "a new constitutional dispensation which pleases KwaZulu".

● The right of KwaZulu — defined as the "whole of Natal" — to have its own constitution.

Zwelithini, whose speech was continuously interrupted by loud applause, recalled that the Zulu kingdom of his forebears had been made part of South Africa without the agreement of the Zulu people or then-king Dingane.

He warned: "We demand that nobody ever again tries to drag us into a new political dispensation with which we disagree."

Even as Zwelithini spoke, bare-chested Zulu men, carrying shields, sticks and spears, filed into the stadium. They had marched to the stadium from hostels in Soweto and surrounding townships.

Scores of buses, many of



Zulu King... draws roars of approval.

them from towns in Natal — from Port Shepstone in the north to Empangeni in the south — were parked outside.

The occupants ranged in age from teenagers to elderly men and women. Many wore T-shirts on which were printed Zwelithini's portrait.

Police officers, peace monitors and observers from the European Community and the United Nations kept a watchful eye on proceedings.

Zwelithini denied he was promoting an IFP agenda or being used by Buthelezi to advance a party-political cause.

In his address — labelled a "vote of thanks" — Buthelezi said the *imbizo* had not been called for reasons of political opportunism but because the "very" future of KwaZulu is at stake.

He amplified another theme in Zwelithini's speech, that of "ethnic cleansing" and the attempt to "obliterate the Zulu nation, politically and physically".

Aiding to last year's agree-



Royal turnout... part of the 50 000 crowd who attended yesterday's rally at the First National Bank Stadium, on the edge of Soweto, to listen to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

ment between the ANC and the De Klerk administration that hostels should be fenced, Buthelezi recalled the recent rocket-propelled grenade attack on the IFP-controlled Kwesini Hostel in Kaitieng.

"It becomes clear why there was agreement to fence in hostels," he said.

After the meeting, a large security force contingent escorted IFP supporters from the rally, reports Moushiwa Moroke.

As the crowd left, shots were fired into the air. Police said a man was injured in a burst of AK-47 fire on the south side of

the stadium.

Local supporters split into groups and marched down the Soweto Highway, each group closely followed by police.

When the first group reached Diepkloof on the outskirts of Soweto, tension rose, but police stood between the marchers

and watching township youths.

● A man was killed in the East Rand township of Watville yesterday morning in a confrontation with a group of people on their way to the FNB stadium, reports Sapa. Police confirmed the killing but said they could not give any more details.

'Land is ours', Goodwill

JOHANNESBURG. — King Goodwill Zwelithini launched a powerful call for the preservation of Kwa-Zulu's territorial integrity at a huge meeting of Zulus in Soweto yesterday.

More than 50 000 Zulus, many in traditional dress and armed with assegais, shields, spears and knobkerries, packed into the FNB stadium to hear speeches by the king and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Large numbers began leaving the stadium when Chief Buthelezi began speaking.

Immediately after Chief Buthelezi delivered his tough message, pistol shots and automatic rifle fire filled the stadium, apparently to underline his message.

The podium was surrounded by about 10 bodyguards, whom some members of the crowd claimed were current or past members of the SAP's security branch. There was also a large police presence.

The king spoke in support of Inkatha's decision to pull out of negotiations, saying: "I need absolute assurances that the present leadership of the ANC will renounce all intentions to rob the Zulu people of their right to shape their own destiny."

He spoke of an "ethnic cleans-

DURBAN. — The ANC is to hold a major rally in Natal in September to show that most Zulus want a united South Africa and elections in April.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will be invited to address the rally, which was "to put to rest the myth that Zulus only support a confederal system and don't want a constituent assembly", southern Natal ANC chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said.

He was speaking after a two-day regional "peace summit" here yesterday.

ANC southern Natal secretary Mr

ing" campaign against Zulus, saying that during the past weeks Zulus had died on the East Rand simply because they spoke Zulu.

"We are not political beggars who cannot help themselves," he said.

"The ANC and its allies have heard our Zulu voice say that we claim the right to self-determination and that in exercising that right we demand that nobody ever again tries to drag us into a new political dispensation which we disagree with."

Among the people at the "im-

Most Zulus 'want one united SA' — ANC

S'bu Ndebele said Inkatha was mixing the issues of the Zulu kingdom with the KwaZulu "bantustan".

The Zulu kingdom would remain a powerful part of South Africa, whereas the KwaZulu homeland, an apartheid creation, had to be dismantled.

King Goodwill would also always be accepted as the Zulu monarch and would be afforded the respect he had always been paid by all Zulus.

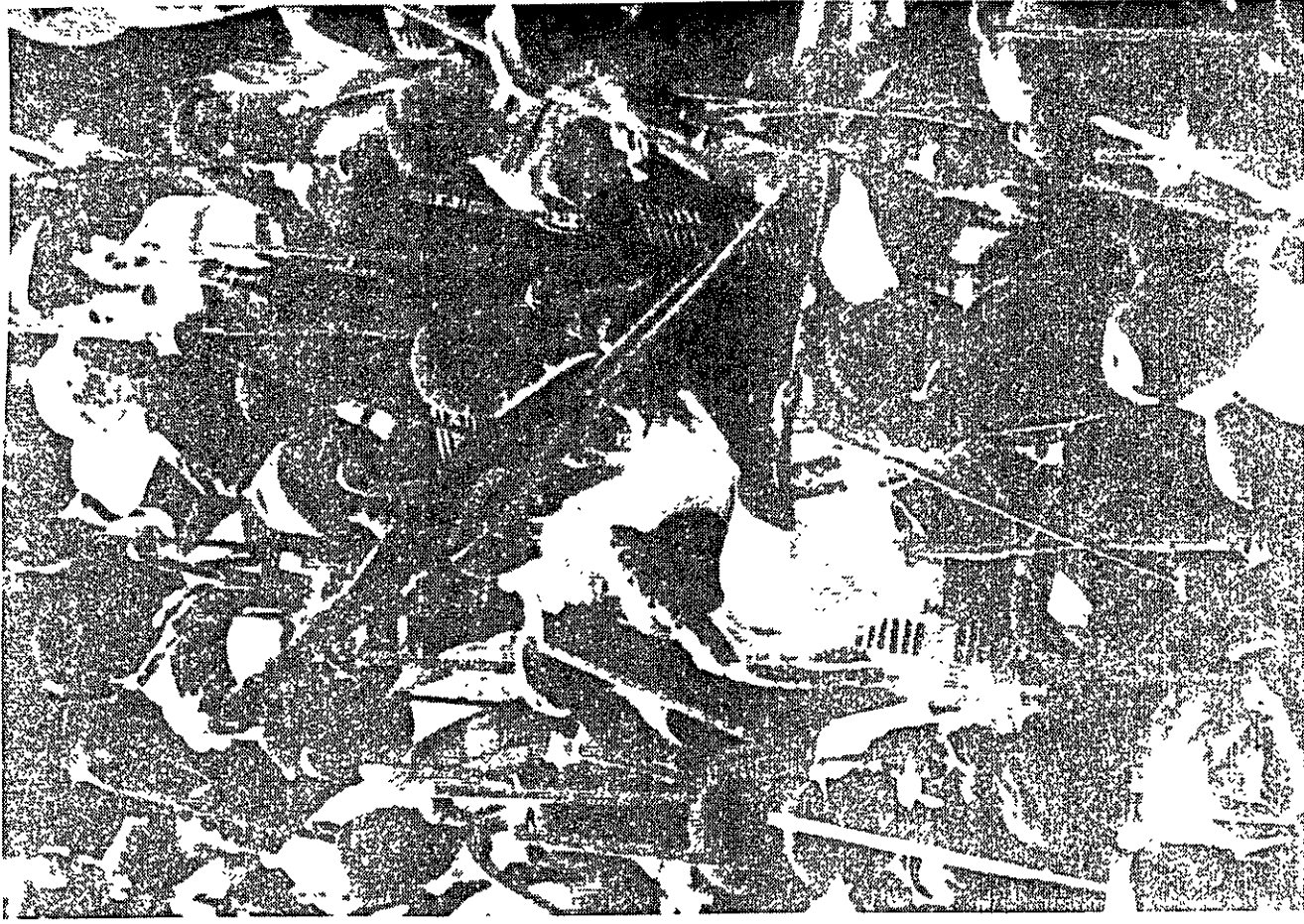
ANC regional organiser Mr Bheki Cele said chiefs had to be above politics, adding that the ANC recognised the right of traditional leaders to be accommodated in the future and were an integral part of society. — Sapa

bizo" (a gathering assembled by the monarch) were members of the royal family and the clergy.

Chief Buthelezi said: "How can we be expected to give our blessing to the talks, which are obviously directed at obliterating the Zulu nation, politically and physically, from the South African map."

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said one man was injured in a burst of AK-47 fire while people dispersed.

Police are investigating. — Own Correspondent, Sapa



BAYETE! ... Some 50 000 Zulus, many with traditional weapons, attended a rally addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Soweto yesterday. Picture AP

Bid to woo IFP and CP back to talks

Sowetan 27/7/93

By Ismail Lagardier
Political Correspondent

THE negotiations process at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, was halted yesterday in a bid to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party back into the talks.

The IFP and CP refused to accept the draft interim constitution tabled yesterday while other political parties hailed the document as a solid foundation upon which to continue building ~~(SOWETA)~~

The IFP and CP are expected to explain their grievances regarding the negotiations process at a meeting with the negotiating council at noon tomorrow.

The IFP's Mr Walter Felgate last night said, however, that it was unlikely his organisation would return to the World Trade Centre tomorrow.

He said the IFP rejected the interim

constitution. It said it would seek a Supreme Court ruling on the method of sufficient consensus as a means of taking decisions in the negotiations process.

The CP said the draft constitution "destroyed all hope of a peaceful settlement" in South Africa while the IFP found it "totally unacceptable".

There was a feeling of accomplishment in the African National Congress and Government camps ~~(SOWETA)~~

The Democratic Party felt that the interim constitution provided a good basis for further negotiation.

The PAC voiced its principled opposition to an interim government of national unity and an interim constitution, but said it was encouraged by a clause which stated that the document could be revised totally.

See Pages 8 and 9

It's a basis for further negotiations, say Govt and ANC

Star 27/1/93

Two cheers for first draft

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Government and the African National Congress have cautiously welcomed the first draft of the Interim Constitution as a basis for further negotiations, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party have rejected it out of hand.

The first draft of a constitutional blueprint for a new South Africa was tabled yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Debate on the draft Interim Constitution has been postponed until tomorrow at 1 pm after the Negotiating Council yesterday unanimously resolved to request the IFP, KwaZulu government and CP to return to "participate fully in the debates".

Supporting the resolution, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it went "a long way in walking the extra mile with the CP and IFP".

Despite the absence of the CP, IFP and KwaZulu government, the Negotiating Council continues today with a discussion on a draft Bill for a transitional executive council.

The CP yesterday rejected the draft Interim Constitution as a "recipe for civil war". The document made it impossible for the CP to continue in the negotiations process, party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said.

Rejecting the draft Interim Constitution, IFP negotiator Walter Felgate indicated that it was highly unlikely his party would return to the Negotiating Council tomorrow.

A debate on the application of sufficient consensus was yesterday postponed until Thursday to allow the

Violence could skew election, says survey
— Page 3

Blueprint for a new SA
— Page 17

IFP to be present. Felgate said the IFP would resort to the Supreme Court for a ruling on the application of sufficient consensus. The IFP would return to the negotiating table only once the issue of sufficient consensus was satisfactorily addressed, he said.

Although his organisation had some concerns about elements of the document, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa said the first draft of the Interim Constitution formed a basis "on which negotiations to bring about democracy can now take place in a much more focused way".

"The document can provide the solutions and compromises necessary to reach a political settlement".

The ANC national working committee had met early yesterday morning and would continue discussions in the next two days, after which a thorough response would be issued, he said.

In a joint statement, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and National Party chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said more certainty about the federal aspects of a future constitution should have been included in the draft.

"The proposals in respect of a new regional dispensation, however, do not meet all the requirements of the Government. Accordingly, the Government will make recommendations during the debate for proposals to strengthen these clauses," the statement said.

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew said the draft provided a framework to develop a liberal, demo-



Drafting committee ... the legal minds who produced the first draft of the Interim Constitution are: (back) Professor George Nenevish (University of Natal), Bernard Ngoepe (Pretoria Bar), Dr Francois Venter (Tatchevstron University), and (front) Dikgang Moseneke, SC (Pretoria Bar), Michele Olivier (legal adviser, Foreign Affairs), Arthur Chaskalson, SC (Legal Resources Centre), and Professor Marinus Wierchers (Unisa).

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

would stay in the negotiations process to influence it in a direction of federalism. The South African Chamber of Business yesterday reacted cautiously to the draft, saying the features would be welcomed by businessmen, who would also want to see deliberations successfully concluded as soon as possible.

pled opposition to an interim government and Interim Constitution but welcomed a clause providing for the total revision of the Interim Constitution, which would "leave the constitution-making body unfettered".

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said federalist principles were not catered for strongly enough in the document. His party The PAC voiced its princ-

NEWS Alexander backs ANC's motion at talks ● Application against NCCCR dismissed

PAC, ANC find each other

Pair lose bid to take over NCCCR assets

Sowetan 29/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress yesterday joined forces in the Negotiating Council to support a clause which provides for an unfettered constitution-making body after next year's election.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a democratically elected constitution-making body had to write a new constitution for South Africa and not simply amend the interim document.

Ramaphosa's counterpart in the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, seconded the motion "because the ANC can not second itself".

Both spoke in defence of a clause in the draft interim constitution that was

tabled in the Negotiating Council on Tuesday. The draft interim constitution provides for the "total revision" of the transitional document.

The debate on the draft interim constitution was resumed with vigour and candour yesterday despite the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party.

The CP and IFP had until noon yesterday to return to the Negotiating Council after they were given four days to study the interim constitution. Both parties rejected the document.

The role of traditional leaders — a recurrent and contentious issue in the negotiation process — was also raised yesterday, especially in the constitution-making body.

Traditional leaders from the various provinces raised the matter and the PAC

and ANC supported their inclusion in the constitution-making process.

Ramaphosa said it was unacceptable that the draft interim constitution failed to deal with the role of traditional leaders in the country's first Parliament.

"It is inconceivable that we proceed on these matters without giving attention to traditional leaders," Ramaphosa said.

Dr Kaliphelo Sizane of the PAC said: "It is strange that traditional leaders were not considered."

Sizane also raised the issue of two voting lists — regional and national — saying that the high level of illiteracy would complicate the voting procedure for ordinary rural folk who will be expected to vote twice.

He said it was difficult enough to vote once — for the first time.

Sowetan Correspondent

TWO members of the National Returnees Forum yesterday lost a bid in the Rand Supreme Court to take over the finances of the now disbanded National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles.

Mr Justice WP Schultz ruled that returned exiles Mr Manase Sefathe and Mr Jan Maluleka did not have the *locus standi* to bring the urgent application as they were not members of the NCCCR.

The pair said allegations of fraud had been levelled at the NCCCR. They asked the court to declare the NRF the owner of the NCCCR's assets and funds and to interdict the NCCCR from disposing of its assets and funds.

The judge said there had been no obligation on the NCCCR to provide funds to returning exiles. The most the returnees could hope for was to have benefitted from the NCCCR's largesse.

The returnees had embarked on their own course of action without going through the NCCCR's member organisations. These were the South African Council of Churches, Catholic Bishops Conference, World Conference on Religion and Peace, ANC, PAC and Azapo.

SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane, who is also a member of the NCCCR's dissolution committee, said the funds outstanding after an audit had been done would be returned to the donors. The application was dismissed with costs.

YOU CAN'T STOP YOUR DAUGHTER SEEING HER BOYFRIEND INDEFINITELY... RATHER COOPERATE HER BOYFRIEND



FW holds talks with Buthelezi

Political Staff

113
29/7/93
PRESIDENT De Klerk flew to Durban today to meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at King's House — at the same time as the Kwazulu government filed an action in the Transvaal Supreme Court to halt the April 27 election.

President De Klerk was accompanied by Natal leader of the National Party George Bartlett and senior officials.

At the top of the agenda was the IFP's stayaway from the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre and the notion of "sufficient consensus".

In a statement today, Chief Buthelezi said the negotiation process had avoided federalism. It had subtly and high-handedly entrenched the notion of a unitary state with possible provincial or regional characteristics and a process of transition centred on the empowerment of a constituent assembly.

On June 15, Kwazulu's request to table a federal model was rejected and the negotiating council proceeded to set an election date before any agreement was reached on the form of state and on the purpose and finality of such an election. The Kwazulu government objected, its objection was ignored, so Kwazulu was forced to walk out.

On June 30, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee on constitutional matters to draft a constitution which excluded federalism and empowered a constituent assembly. The Kwazulu government's objections were again totally disregarded, Chief Buthelezi said.

Parties to debate consensus today

Star 29/1/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Differences between the 26 negotiating groups at Kempton Park emerged yesterday over aspects of the first draft of the Interim Constitution.

Discussion on the draft document went ahead without the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government — all three having rejected the document.

But debates on sufficient consensus and a confederal option were postponed until today, allowing time for these parties to return to the negotiating table.

In a letter to the 10-member planning committee, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose requested that debate on sufficient consensus be postponed until after the party's central committee has met.

However, negotiators said last night the discussion on sufficient consensus would continue today as scheduled.

Although the Negotiating Council has agreed to a series of constitutional principles which will be the framework for the Interim and final Constitutions, sharp differences exist between the negotiators. The main points of conflict

which emerged yesterday in the council's four-hour session were: the powers and functions of regions during the transition; the role of the constitutional court; citizenship; the implementation of the Interim Constitution; a time-frame for writing the final Constitution; the status of the final Constitution; and the name of a constitution-making body.

Disagreement arose over whether the powers and functions of regions should be entrenched before or after the first elections for an interim government. Bophuthatswana government

negotiator Rowan Cronje argued that no provision had been made for the exclusive powers of regions in the draft document. But the technical committee on constitutional matters said regions would have more powers during the transition than provinces had enjoyed previously.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, supported by the South African Communist Party and PAC, objected to a constitutional court determining whether the final Constitution adheres to the constitutional principles accepted by the Negotiating Council.

Why must Buthelezi wait to find out what Natal's powers will be?

Star 29/1/93

Facing up to Inkatha's concerns

IT WOULD be tragic if the very process designed to bring peace and democracy to South Africa exacerbated rather than healed tensions. Yet it is increasingly apparent that the constitutional talks at Johannesburg's World Trade Centre are fudging some of the most important issues in a way that could undermine their achievements to date.

If the ANC and National Party are intent on an outcome that serves their de facto alliance but fails to address the legitimate concerns of other parties, notably Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, the constitution that emerges will be seriously flawed.

Things have not reached such a pass yet. The pace has been tortuous, but South Africa has come a long way since Nelson Mandela's release more than three years ago. The draft outline published this week shows how far racial discrimination is banned, human rights entrenched, and all citizens will be entitled to vote for a 400-member National Assembly with a senate elected by regional legislatures, which together will draw

up a final post-apartheid constitution on principles previously agreed.

Fundamental issues have yet to be properly addressed: how the executive of a new government is constituted, how it exercises its powers and precisely what powers the provincial assemblies will have. The outline constitution leaves South Africans little the wiser.

The executive will comprise representatives of political parties occupying a specified percentage of the seats in the national assembly. But how will this executive take decisions by consensus, as De Klerk demands, or by majority, as Mandela insists?

An equally serious flaw is the failure of the draft to define the powers of regional governments — the key concern of Chief Buthelezi, who has a strong regional base among the Zulus of Natal province. The draft fudges the issue of regional powers: The buck is passed to a commission to be set up only after the first elections.

It will have regional representatives but the final say will rest

with the Cabinet and the constituent assembly, which are likely to be dominated by the ANC and NP.

The experts who drew up the draft argue that the constituent assembly will be bound by constitutional principles agreed already, calling for significant devolution of power to regions. And they list an impressive array of areas where regions will have at least some power: health, education, housing, local taxation, local policing. But they refuse to say how these powers will be shared with the centre, while the constitutional principles are vague and open to interpretation.

Moreover, asking Inkatha to rely on them misses the point. Inkatha is being asked to give up powers it now exercises as a self-governing black homeland in exchange for an uncertain status in future. It is hard to see Chief Buthelezi waiting until after an election to find out what Natal's powers will be in the new South Africa.

Until this issue is resolved, one can scarcely be sanguine about the prospects for elections next April. The trouble is, by boycot-

ting the talks with his customary belligerent rhetoric, Buthelezi is merely making it more likely that he will be dissatisfied with the outcome and creating the risk of a further descent into violence in the coming months.

He needs to understand that no resolution can come about until he returns to the negotiating table.

Equally, the ANC and the National Party need to look beyond short-term party objectives and consider the type of political structure that a regionally diverse South Africa really needs. For all the statist, centralising instincts of the two main parties, it is not a country that can be ruled from the centre alone, its regional inequalities are too great and the regional rivalries too powerful.

An attempt to impose a constitution that does not allow for sufficient regional autonomy will merely prompt demands for secession, both from Buthelezi's followers or from the white Right. If South Africa is to have a hope of a period of stability before elections, these issues need to be settled. — Financial Times, News Service □

Time to spotlight Buthelezi's spoiling tactics in difficult task of changing SA

11B
CT29/7/93



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Wants parity with the two major players. KING GOODWILL ZWELITHINI: Has played a sadly piliant role.

By ALLISTER SPARKS

IT IS TIME to throw a spotlight on the spoiling role Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is playing in the immensely difficult task of trying to transform South Africa.

Here we are trying to democratise an oligarchic dictatorship, transform the world's most racially divided country into a non-racial one, give 19-million unenfranchised people the vote, hold our first fully democratic elections, redraw our regional boundaries, reapportion administrative powers and draft all this into a new constitution that will, we hope, give us some stability. And Chief Buthelezi is trying to obstruct the process. Why?

He says he wants a federation. But as I read the draft constitution now before the negotiating

council, it is essentially federal.

He says the two-phase process of drafting the constitution is a recipe for civil war. Yet the draft of this interim constitution is so benign, providing for a classical liberal democracy not unlike the Federal Republic of Germany, that it is hard to see any major party wanting to make substantive changes at phase two in the constituent assembly.

Like the Namibian constitution, it is likely to shoot through that elected body in a matter of weeks rather than months.

Larger end

That leaves the issue of "sufficient consensus". Chief Buthelezi cannot accept that the Inkatha Freedom Party isn't judged to have

equal weight in the negotiating council to the ANC and the National Party government, despite opinion polls indicating that the IFP has only 3% support nationally and 31% in its own stronghold of Natal.

He wants the same power of veto as the two major players, who between them command perhaps 85% of national support.

The suspicion lurks that this procedural objection is but a means to a larger end. That Chief Buthelezi's real aim in forming an alliance with the white right-wingers is to achieve ethnic fragmentation so that he can lead Natal into secession with himself as president.

This raises the spectre of the Biafra and Katanga secessionist wars being repeated here — something Chief Buthelezi's frequent warnings of impending civil war do nothing to allay.

His current round of rallies, accompanied by the sadly piliant King Goodwill Zwelithini, is aimed at whipping up Zulu paranoia with extravagant warnings that the present negotiations are a "connivance" aimed at "obliterating the Zulu nation" and that "now more than ever the Zulu nation must stick together for survival". It is a reckless attempt to light an ethnic fire in a highly combustible country.

Lay claim

With this goes the active fostering of a personality cult. Chief Buthelezi devoted much of his speech at Johannesburg's FNB stadium last Sunday to presenting himself as someone with a birthright to lead the Zulu nation.

Emphasising the blood relationship of his family to that of the king, he seemed to lay claim to a lineage inheritance of political power. In addition to being president of the IFP and Chief Minister of kwaZulu, he added: "I, your majesty, am also your Prime Minister. I was born to follow a course in life which was fixed by near-

ly two centuries of Zulu history."

There was much in this vein. "The king and I," he said, "through our blood ties, go back to the very beginnings of our history as a nation... The king's family, and my family, inseparably joined by history... The blood ties which bind us together... I have the right and duty to speak for the Zulu people which no power on earth will ever take away from me... I was born to lead, and I was also elected to lead."

Disturbing stuff. Will a man who believes he was born to lead his people, that he has an inalienable right to speak on their behalf, accept defeat if his 31% support in Natal results in his losing the election there and someone else becoming regional premier?

Dissent rare

Last week Vrye Weekblad called Chief Buthelezi "the Jonas Savimbi of South Africa". It is an appellation we may yet have cause to recall.

Yet Chief Buthelezi has managed to represent himself as the moderate alternative to the ANC; the champion of non-violent struggle wrapped in the mantle of the Rev Martin Luther King jun; the committed democrat wedded to American-style federalism and free-market capitalism.

Few of these claims bear scrutiny. The image of democracy fades in the light of the fact that kwaZulu is run as a one-party state where dissent is rare. Elections are all-Inkatha affairs with most candidates returned unopposed. Of the estimated three million people living in the "homeland", some 780 000 are registered voters. Only 12 000 voted in the last election in 1988.

Chief Buthelezi claims to be a federalist yet, with the help of two conservative American advisers, he has presented a constitutional plan for kwaZulu/Natal that appears to set the province

up for secession. Stephen Ellmann, a New York Law School professor, has likened the plan to America's pre-union Articles of Confederation and warned that it would "debilitate the central government of a future South Africa".

Likewise suspect

The proposed constitution makes kwaZulu/Natal a sovereign state whose laws would take precedence over those of South Africa. The state would have its own president, its own constitutional court, its own autonomous central bank and its own army. The South African government would not be able to send armed forces there or raise taxes there without that state's approval.

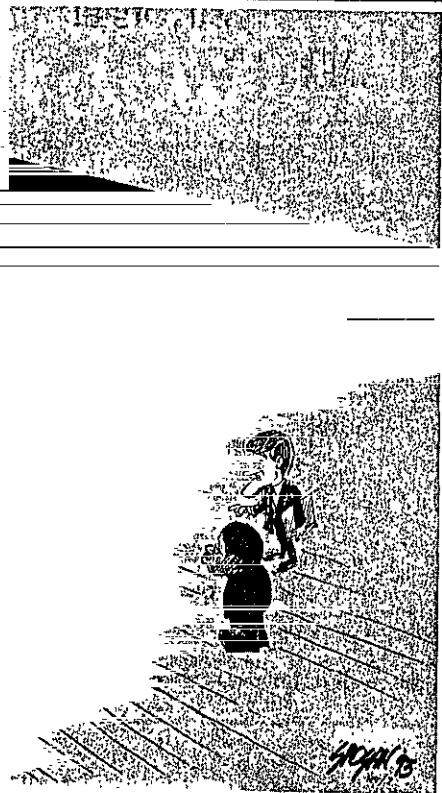
"Those who might find a federal system attractive... should not be misled by the kwaZulu/Natal constitution's effort to claim the mantle of federalism," says Professor Ellmann.

Chief Buthelezi's commitment to non-violence is likewise suspect. There is considerable evidence that Inkatha warlords are among the prime instigators of the political violence that has racked Natal for the past three years, although the ANC is clearly culpable as well in what has become a battle for turf in that divided province.

But it is Chief Buthelezi's links with the far Right and suspect elements of the military-security establishment that are most disturbing. Inkathagate revealed clandestine police subsidies to his organisations and for years the kwaZulu police force was headed by a seconded security police officer.

Now there is the alliance with white extremists and evidence of some cross-membership with the sinister World Preservationist Movement, three of whose members have been charged with assassinating Chris Hani.

As the old adage says, you can judge someone by the company he keeps.



dependent territories."

□ IFP set on going to court to clarify 'sufficient consensus'

De Klerk fails to persuade Buthelezi to return to talks

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk has failed to woo Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement back to constitutional talks after four hours of talks in Durban.

The meeting followed a Supreme Court bid by the KwaZulu government to invalidate the April 27 election date and to challenge the notion of sufficient consensus.

Mr De Klerk told reporters after the meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party chief at Kings House in Durban that a new constitution could not be adopted without the IFP and KwaZulu government's participation.

He was, however, optimistic they would return to negotiations.

This was reaffirmed by Chief Buthelezi who said his party's withdrawal was not permanent.

"The fact that we're not there now doesn't mean I'll destroy negotiations," the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

But it was futile to return now, he added, chiding the African National Congress for saying the negotiation process could continue without the IFP.

Mr De Klerk's meeting with Chief Buthelezi caught most political observers by surprise and came after an earlier series of government/IFP talks which failed to draw Inkatha and KwaZulu back to the World Trade Centre.

Observers said Mr De Klerk's intervention highlighted the seriousness with which the government viewed the

IFP's non-participation in constitutional negotiations.

While both leaders skirted the issue of the Supreme Court application against the election date, Chief Buthelezi did say he hoped this would clarify the issue of sufficient consensus.

Expanding on the KwaZulu government's legal intervention, IFP executive member and delegate to yesterday's meeting, Ziba Jiyane, said it was a civil suit that would run parallel to negotiations.

"It doesn't preclude negotiations," he said.

He explained that the IFP and KwaZulu were attempting in the Pretoria Supreme Court to have decisions about an election date set aside "until the vague concept of sufficient consensus is defined".

"When we're satisfied this has been cleared we can participate."

He also sounded an optimistic note: "The IFP and KwaZulu government are considering serious talks to iron out our differences and hopefully return to negotiations satisfied that the issue of sufficient consensus has been seriously addressed."

He said Mr De Klerk had been "very sympathetic".

Mr De Klerk said: "South Africa shouldn't contemplate adopting a new constitution (without the IFP) and we're giving all our energy to prevent that situation from developing."

He stressed there could be no way forward without the participation of these parties.

— Sapa.

ARC 30/7/93

11B

NEWS De Klerk meets Chief Buthelezi • 'Norwood, Rapist' awaits mitigation argument

'No voting without IFP'

Sowetan 30/7/93

SOUTH Africa should not contemplate adopting a new constitution or contesting elections without the Inkatha Freedom Party, State President FW de Klerk said in Durban yesterday.

The meeting with Inkama leaders came as the KwaZulu government filed an action before the Pretoria Supreme Court seeking to invalidate the setting of an election date and challenging the notion of sufficient consensus.

This was an attempt to find out what

sufficient consensus meant, said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi without elaborating on the court action.

The IFP president met De Klerk for four hours to discuss the State President's "deep concern" at the IFP's withdrawal from negotiations.

De Klerk, meanwhile, said there could be no way forward without Inkatha's participation in negotiations: "I believe we shouldn't even contemplate going ahead without the IFP."

De Klerk said he didn't interpret Inkatha's pull-out from negotiations as a "total withdrawal".

"They've made it clear they've done it not because they won't return... We can't afford to go it alone while some role-players stay out."

Violence had been high up on their discussions and De Klerk said he had been talking to other political leaders as well and "we may take an initiative in future". He declined to expand. —Sapa.

By Mzimasi Ngudle

NORWOOD serial rapist Jacobus Geldenhuys was convicted of all murder and rape charges by the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Geldenhuys (26), a former policeman whom the media dubbed the "Norwood rapist", stood motionlessly as Mr Justice TD Cloete convicted him of five counts of murder, five of rape, one of attempted rape, five of theft and one of robbery. Geldenhuys, dressed in a white shirt,

striped grey trousers and brown and black jersey, listened attentively as the judge related the evidence of his rape victims.

Geldenhuys had pleaded guilty to all the counts and also made confessions on how he attacked, robbed, raped and killed some of his victims.

The court adjourned until September 20 after his pro deo counsel Mr Paul Johnstone asked for time to secure the testimony of two forensic criminologists to assist in mitigation of sentence.

... A MARRIED LADY)



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

FM 30/7/93

Tragedy beckons

It is an alliance that nobody predicted: the former Marxist revolutionaries of the African National Congress and the former white supremacists of the National Party. Yet here they are, the ANC and the Nats, striving to keep the transition to democracy on schedule.

Another paradox for bewildered South Africans is that greater progress has meant greater instability. This is because politics is not so much about ideological belief as the securing and protection of interests. As that shrewdest of political animals, Napoleon Bonaparte, noted: "A man will fight harder for his interests than for his rights." And progress always threatens someone's interests.

It is in the interest of both the Nats and the ANC to push through an interim constitution based on the draft published this week. The ANC has some wise leaders who know very well the costs of delay: they do not want to rule a wasteland.

As for the Nats, they know that their time began running out in 1948. Having enjoyed power for longer than they deserved, they experienced a sudden moral conversion and are now resigned to bargaining for the best possible settlement they can get. Believing, quite rightly, that they have just about got that settlement, the Nats want to put it in place. They might differ ideologically from the ANC — but the interests of the two major national players coincide.

This cosy agreement is threatened from two important sources: Afrikaner nationalism and Zulu nationalism. Or, if you wish to be less noble, white reactionaries and black secessionists. Both groups threaten the fledgling constitution — but the most powerful spoiler at present is undoubtedly the Inkatha Freedom Party under Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi has the potential to become the tragic figure of South African politics. In the Sixties and Seventies, there was something Churchillian in his refusal to be seduced by Pretoria into accepting the fake independence so readily lapped up by Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

(11B) ~~11A~~ ~~30/7/93~~

As long as Buthelezi, the leader of the most populous black nation, held out, the policy remained discredited. It was a stance much appreciated at the time by the ANC in exile.

In the Eighties came the increasing divergence between, on the one hand, Buthelezi and his rural conservative power base; and on the other, the ANC and its internal surrogates in the SA Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front. Buthelezi disagreed with the UDF on making the townships ungovernable; he disagreed with clergymen like Desmond Tutu on the need for economic sanctions. He lent his weight to sensible projects like the KwaNatal Indaba.

But in Natal and on the Witwatersrand, territories were marked out. Fighting increased as a result of tribalism, uneven access to resources, unfair patronage, the breakdown of families, the spiral of vengeance. However complicated it all was, the analysis became self-fulfilling: Inkatha versus the ANC in a battle for power. Now the violence is endemic.

It is not clear to outsiders where exactly Buthelezi's own interests coincide with those of the Zulu people, but he perceives them to be severely threatened. Perhaps he does not want to lose his historical domain; perhaps Zulu does not wish to be ruled by Xhosa; perhaps it would have been better to let KwaZulu and Natal go it alone. But politicians cannot be wistful; they must deal in realities.

Buthelezi's arguments and political aims are generally consistent; it is his tactics in pursuing them that are open to question. The question is not whether he is wrong in demanding so much devolved power, but how much he will risk.

It must surely be clear to him that his party's rigid federalist option will simply not be tolerated by the other major players, and that the time is fast approaching when they must move on without him.

If that happens, he might pull us all down with him — which is the measure of the risk that he must calculate as he considers his own interests. ■



Negotiators shocked over Kwazulu's legal action

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators at the World Trade Centre have reacted with shock and anger to the Kwazulu government's filing of an application before the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday to have certain decisions of the multiparty Negotiating Council (NC) invalidated.

Inkatha Freedom Party national spokesman Ed Tillet yesterday confirmed the application had been filed.

The application names Intndo Yesizwe, as well as party chief negotiator N J Mahlangu and Natal-Transvaal Indian Congress chief negotiator Pravin Gordhan — two of six rotating chairmen in the NC — as co-defendants.

In it, the Kwazulu government gives notice that it intends bringing an action before the Transvaal division of the Supreme Court on August 24 or soon afterwards, asking for the invalidation of certain deci-

sions of the NC.

Mr Mahlangu and Mr Gordhan were probably chairmen on the day those decisions were taken.

Bophuthatswana minister of state and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje told the NC soon after it started its deliberations yesterday that the Kwazulu government had decided on litigation because of its dissatisfaction with rulings of sufficient consensus on issues with which it disagreed, and that

summonses would be served on the representatives of the parties and organisations represented in the multiparty talks.

Although negotiators generally refrained from commenting directly on the court application, they suggested that the application would be vigorously opposed.

Democratic Party delegation leader Colin Eglin said his party was "shocked at the political implications" of the legal action.

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ARG 30/7/93

A time for good tactics

"Extending a hand of friendship and accommodation" to Inkatha, KwaZulu and the Conservative Party to rejoin the talks, the other 23 parties present in the negotiating council on Monday resolved to delay debate on the first draft of the interim constitution and the issues of confederalism and sufficient consensus, until (last) Wednesday. A week's grace was considered too much.

"The absence of the IFP and the CP is of great concern to us," says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, adding that the resolution "walks that extra mile" in an attempt to get them back to where their concerns could be properly addressed. The NP's Dawie de Villiers urged the two parties to stop making threats of violence and to put the interests of the country first.

Signs of their return were hard to detect as the *FM* went to press. On the contrary, Inkatha suggested that it would bring Supreme Court action against the council over the controversial issue of decision-making by sufficient consensus, which is how the April 27 election date was decided at the Negotiating Forum on July 2 (*Current Affairs* July 23) (118) (118) (118)

The other hurdle Inkatha has erected is the draft interim constitution, which it rejects completely because, it claims, the draft fails to meet its demand for federalism. Not only that — Inkatha demands that federalism must be implemented in one phase and be immune to an elected constitution-making body. Until something like this is "at least put on the table," say Inkatha, it will not return. (118)

Behind-the-scenes attempts are being made by government and the ANC to prevail on the boycotting parties to get back to negotiations.

The CP might just return for the debate on confederalism, but its initial reaction to the draft blueprint was utterly negative and it ruled out any chance of rejoining the talks. The idea of an alternative negotiating forum has been mooted by the CP and IFP.

Other parties in the Inkatha-led Cosag alliance — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie have stayed on board so far.

A rumour at the talks suggested that Afrikaner Volksfront co-ordinator Gen Constand (118) (118) (118)

Viljoen could again put in an appearance at the World Trade Centre — this time to take part in the debate on confederalism, as part of Andries Beyers's Volksunie team (118)

It seems there's something of an internal battle going on between the CP and the generals over who controls the Volksfront. Viljoen is said to have been "discovered" politically by the Volksunie, not the CP, and the hope is that he will join this more moderate rightwing group instead (118) (118) (118)

According to the Afrikaner Stigting's Carel Boshoff jnr, his group sees an opening for the pursuit of a largely Afrikaner-dominated region, thanks to government's proposal to the regional boundary commission of two regions in the western Cape (*Current Affairs* July 16). (118) (118) (118)

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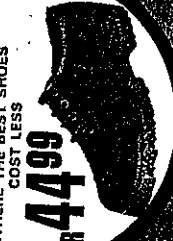
Sowetan 20/7/93

IFP to woo Indians

THE Inkatha Freedom Party makes its first foray into a predominantly Indian constituency on Sunday when it launches a branch in Stanger. (118)

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be the main speaker and is expected to allay the Indian community's fear of supporting a party with a predominantly black support base. A spokesman said further IFP meetings targeting the Indian community were planned for other parts of Natal.

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Kwazulu in court bid to halt elections

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government has gone to the Supreme Court in a bid to invalidate the April 27 election date, shocking participants in the negotiations process.

The move came as President F W de Klerk spent three hours with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — attempting “to dissuade

the Chief Minister from taking the court action”, government spokesman Mr David Steward said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk told Chief Buthelezi the correct action was to address the issue through negotiations.

After the meeting, Mr De Klerk said he was not even contemplating the situation where Inkatha was not part of the process

as he had always believed that no workable solution was possible without all the major players.

The KwaZulu government filed the action yesterday and a summons was issued to negotiating council chairmen Mr Pravin Gordhan and Mr M J Mahlangu, who had ruled that there was sufficient consensus to set the election date at the forum's July 2 meeting.

The application also calls on the court to set aside a decision of the negotiation council to reject a KwaZulu government resolution calling for a one-stage federalist approach with bottom-up negotiations.

ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he thought the application would be “laughed out of court”, as there was no legal basis for it.

It is understood that the Pretoria

Supreme Court's Registrar set August 24 as the provisional date for the hearing.

Chief Buthelezi said his government had been forced to file the application as “a last resort once all the remedies had been exhausted”.

Discussions between the government and Inkatha delegations will continue to- day.

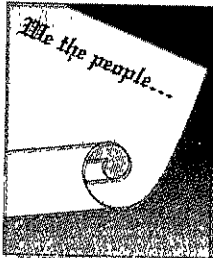
CT 30/7/93

THE DRAFT INTERIM CONSTITUTION

The end of the beginning

FM 30/7/93

Not a bad start — but further progress depends on leaders, not lawyers



At last we have something to show for nearly three years of multiparty democracy talks — but undermined by economic decay, punctuated by mass action, and constantly threatened by violence.

The draft interim constitution tabled at the negotiating council on Monday brings us closer to a point of no return, which is why it has drawn some emotional responses. It represents a remarkable compromise between two former bitter enemies, the African National Congress and the National Party. Yet it also appears to have driven some parties — notably the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — further away from the two major players. Thus it prompts both hope and despair.

But we must bear in mind that the draft is just that — a draft — and we must be quite clear about the intended role of the final version.

This document is not the proposed ultimate constitution for the country; it is merely the first draft of an interim constitution. It will take force after the general election in April 1994 and will be used to govern the country while the elected constituent assembly formulates a final constitution. That process is expected to last as long as two years from mid-1994. (Before the April 1994 election, the country will be governed by an

appointed multiparty Transitional Executive Council, which is expected to be set up by the present parliament in September.)

But there is little time. A feeling of desperation grows in the country, with many wondering whether to emigrate because of rising crime and violence — such as the barbaric church massacre in Cape Town last Sunday. First draft it may be, but there will not be an opportunity for many more — which is why careful criticism and responsive statesmanship is vital.

Within the negotiating council itself there is, paradoxically, a pall of gloom brought on by the absence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and his CP allies. Though decisions can be taken without them, these decisions may have to be revisited should the recalcitrants decide to return — or should they work to subvert the transition and next year's general election. Government, the ANC and others want the process and solution to be as inclusive as possible — but the time may soon come when the risks of moving ahead without the CP and IFP will have to be faced.

All constitutions have a lot of mom-and-apple-pie stuff on which everyone can agree and this one is no different. It is often general or vague and it leaves out entire sections pending formulation by other technical committees.

But it is an important step, symbolically and practically. It sets out broad and democratic constitutional principles. It also constructs a transitional political framework. According to a leading US expert on transi-

tions to democracy, the Hoover Institute's Larry Diamond, the draft "allows for proportionality, power-sharing and the devolution of power — both in the governance of SA during the period following the election of a bicameral interim parliament, and in the drafting of a permanent constitutional system for after the interim period."



Diamond

The most ominous objections to the draft come from the IFP, which is "gravely concerned about much of the content." Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate says it is "not even a starting point." While the IFP takes no exception to the work of the committee, which "correctly fulfilled its brief and

instructions" from the Negotiating Forum on July 2, the problem, says the IFP, is in those instructions.

"The IFP," says Felgate, "walked out of the negotiations precisely because it felt that the instructions would lead to a constitution which excludes federalism and leaves the shaping of SA's destiny to a constituent assembly. This is precisely what has happened." So Inkatha will rejoin the negotiations "only once a model for the establishment of a federal system in a one-stage process is at least put on the table." This is a familiar refrain, increasingly, the IFP seems to view the talks as a means simply of getting its way.

The IFP alleges deep political dishonesty and misrepresentation by government and the ANC, which "totally ignored IFP objections" to the technical committee's brief. It says the draft is not fully comprehensible, with important sections (such as that on the constitutional court) not yet written. It claims that the document "has no purpose other than to empower a constituent assembly."

This assembly, the IFP continues, will be charged with completely re-drafting the constitution — which could be adopted by a 51% majority after the deadlock-breaking mechanisms have run their course. The requirement for a 60% majority in a referendum, says Inkatha with considerable justification, is meaningless if the ultimate deadlock breaker is a simple majority.

Inkatha is on shakier ground when it maintains that the regional powers in the draft are limited and that they will not in any case vest in the regions. But it argues that this decision, including the extent of those powers and whether they will be exclusive or

THE DRAFT IN A NUTSHELL

Proposals to build on ...

- A multiparty executive;
- Entrenched independence of judiciary;
- A national assembly elected by proportional representation, based on party lists;
- Direct election of regional assemblies at the same time as the national body;
- Regions to have own constitutions;
- A directly elected senate with real power to protect regional functions;
- Asymmetry among regions an option;
- Abolition of TBVC/homeland administrations;
- Adequate room for more bargaining on regional powers;
- Establishment of an expert financial and fiscal commission, to ensure fair allocation of national revenue;
- The separation of powers between the

legislature, executive and judiciary; and

- Acceptance of a common market and a common currency.

Crucial problem areas ...

- No specific protection of property and economic activity rights offered beyond April 1994;
- Deadlock-breaking mechanism for adopting a new constitution heavily favours the ANC;
- Lack of clarity over intended powers for regions;
- Possible over-representation of regions through own assemblies, central assembly and central senate;
- Likely financial burden of too many elected representatives and a bureaucracy to service them; and
- Important aspects, such as a constitutional court, are not yet addressed.

concurrent, "is left to the full discretion of the new government and the constituent assembly." Regional constitutional autonomy is totally ignored; there is no assurance that the territorial autonomy of the TBVC and self-governing states will not be ended when they are re-incorporated into the present provinces.

These objections seem persuasive — but are they rational? Unisa expert Prof Marinus Wiechers, a member of the technical committee which produced the draft and a former Inkatha constitutional adviser, disagrees totally with the IFP interpretation. He says there is enough in the draft to meet Inkatha's federal demands: "Federalism is a pragmatic form of State government. It is a relationship between central and State governments with protections and checks and balances.

"Test all the classic criteria against this draft: having a rigid constitution, division of powers, a body to solve conflicts between the regions and centre, and the main thing is protecting the autonomy of the regions. If that's not federal, I don't know what federal is."

Wiechers describes the draft as a "constitutional scheme, within strict parameters in order to make a constitutional democratic State possible. It's not a fixed constitution — but any good constitution should take the form of an evolving scheme. I would certainly call this federal — that is, a pragmatic form of State where you have very well-protected autonomies of the component parts."

Regional powers, Wiechers maintains, are in fact spelled out, including a mechanism for their implementation and protection. He describes the IFP model as a crude form of confederalism — which is to the IFP's own detriment, "because in the model envisaged by the committee, there is a give-and-take, and there's much to be given from central level to KwaZulu/Natal. In their model, they wouldn't be able to get any allocation from the top."

As for the CP, there is provision, Wiechers points out, "for establishing cultural rights, collective self-determination, and so on. But it's something they've got to work for. It's not something they can claim historically or otherwise. So, if they want to sit back and have a static claim, they're not going to get it."

The view of the Democratic Party — the one genuine, longstanding federal party — may be instructive. Reacting to the draft constitution, DP national chairman and negotiations co-ordinator Ken Andrew says: "It provides a good basis for further negotiation and contains many of the essential ingredients required for a liberal, democratic and federal system of government for SA."

Though many of the details still have to be spelled out, Andrew continues, "one can already identify many good features which the DP can support in a constitution for the transitional period." (See Draft in a Nutshell.)

But Andrew says there are important

flaws in the first draft that need attention. He detects two major problems — and both are also identified by Inkatha.

The first is the provision that if a new constitution cannot be agreed by a two-thirds majority, or by 60% in a referendum, then a newly elected constitution-making body can adopt a new constitution on the basis of a 51% majority. "This is most unwise. It gives any majority group no incentive to compromise, because it will know that if it holds out long enough, it will simply be able to write its own constitution. It also gives rise to the possibility of SA having a constitution rejected by 49% of the population — surely a recipe for disaster, as the constitution will inevitably have become the centre of bitter political controversy."

The second major problem for the DP is "the inadequate way in which the powers and functions of regional governments are provided for in this draft." Andrew reckons



Buthelezi



De Villiers



Felgate



Andrew

that too many powers and discretions are left in the hands of the National Executive and the State President to decide how, when and what regional powers will be allocated.

The NP government says the document cannot be regarded as more than a first draft. In a joint statement, Ministers Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers — clearly offering the olive branch to Inkatha and the CP — say the document is meant to facilitate discussion.

Government is satisfied with the overall approach and the fact that many of the features it proposed are included. However, the proposals on a new regional dispensation "do not meet all the requirements of the government." Accordingly, it is to make recommendations in the negotiating council "intended to strengthen these clauses" as it believes that more certainty about federal aspects of a future constitution should be built into the draft.

According to the ANC, the tabling of the first draft "opens the way for substantive debate and decision. It does not reflect the option of any single party, yet skilfully caters for the real and legitimate concerns of all the participants." The instinctive response of parties, adds the ANC perceptively, will be to emphasise the aspects that do not conform exactly to their own proposals — but it says this should be resisted in the interests of the country.

ANC regional policy chief Thozamile Botha says the ANC doesn't necessarily agree with everything in the draft. "For example, the asymmetry of the functions and powers of regions. Our view is that there should be certain basic minimum powers and functions that are allocated to all regions. And because the centre has to set national standards, it's crucial that there should be an enforcement of minimum standards one way or the other.

"There should be provisions for the financing of the regions to meet those minimum standards. You cannot, for example, have compulsory education for so many years in one region and not in another. It's also important that regions should know the implications of asking for more powers; regional politicians should know that they must also take responsibility for taxing people. There are different viewpoints on all of these things, they have still to be debated, and we will fight for our positions."

According to Botha, "the catalogue of powers and functions (in the draft) covers quite a lot. But when it comes to the final constitution, you will still have to decide what are the concurrent, exclusive and original powers of regions

"These are not finalised. In the interim constitution, everything is supposed to be supervised from the centre, so that is not necessary at this stage — but it will be when it comes to the actual drafting of the new constitution."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli says the draft shows that negotiations have finally reached maturity and it provides "an acceptable framework within which detailed negotiations can take place."

While the ANC national working committee is discussing the document, its regional branches have raised questions over:

- Whether or not the inclusion of members of the proposed senate in the constituent assembly means regional "over-representation in what is essentially a national body";
- The provision for the adoption of regional constitutions (though they'll be subject to the national one) "raises the spectre of Balkanisation and conflictual regional chauvinism";
- The justification and affordability of having a possible 900 legislators — 400 in the national assembly, between 80 and 100 in the senate, plus 400 in the regional assemblies; and
- The two-year time frame for adopting the final constitution is unduly long — the ANC regions say nine months would be enough.



For king or chief? Sections of the crowd left when Buthelezi spoke

PHOTO: LUJANNE CADD

Making a mouse of the mighty lion

TURNING to the diminutive Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the recent Durban imbizo (meeting of the Zulu nation), Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi thundered in his praise: "You are the elephant. You are the lion that roars for the people that our enemies fear, and let traitors among us tremble!"

The question is: who actually trembles before whom? Or, rather: who sits on the throne in Nongoma — Zwelithini or Buthelezi?

In public, Buthelezi grovels in the presence of the king, and in private he sees to his well-being, the latest example being the kwaZulu government's decision to build a R2-million royal home near Ulundi. In return, Zwelithini refers to Buthelezi as "my uncle" and calls huge imbizo to help Buthelezi boost his flagging political support.

Buthelezi denies using the monarch for political gain. Zwelithini maintains that: "I stand above party politics" — yet throws his weight behind the IFP's constitutional proposals.

Buthelezi may grovel now, but when Zwelithini's loyalty was not so assured, he was a lot less respectful. When the IFP leader accepted "self-governing status" in 1972, he insisted that the king should only perform ceremonial functions. With Zwelithini, the heir apparent, still at school, the regent, Prince Mcwayizeni Israel Zulu, argued for the monarch to have executive powers.

When Zwelithini was to be crowned the following year, Buthelezi flew back from the United States, hoping to be part of the historic occasion, but Prince Herbert Zulu was chosen master of ceremonies. Buthelezi travelled to the palace in Nongoma — only to be told he could not speak to Zwelithini.

Hostility flared again in 1979 when Buthelezi accused the monarch of entering party politics by trying to form an opposition party, Inala, in

the homeland. He further accused the king of trying to obtain Frelimo's support.

With a week-long debate scheduled in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) to discuss the dispute, Zwelithini was invited on three occasions to attend the debate. He refused. Angry, the KLA reduced Zwelithini's salary from R21 000 to R8 000.

Zwelithini finally attended a KLA session — only to find Buthelezi telling him that an inquiry would be held into his "unconstitutional" conduct, including alleged assaults, his advocacy of violence, and incursion into politics. Fuming, Zwelithini stormed out of the KLA, which later passed a resolution ending the inquiry and restoring Zwelithini's salary.

While Buthelezi later announced that his feud with Zwelithini had been resolved, he tightened the noose around the monarch, announcing that he could no longer give interviews to the press unless arrangements were made by the king's private secretary and the kwaZulu minister of justice.

In August 1980, the feud took a new twist: the monarch applied to join the South African Defence Force. His application was sent to the kwaZulu cabinet for approval, and was turned down. For the first time a king had to take orders from his subjects. It was their last confrontation — Zwelithini appeared to have learnt that his "prime minister" was a formidable opponent who also controlled the purse strings.

Buthelezi shows no sign of loosening his grip over Zwelithini — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's attempts to meet the monarch have failed — and he could emerge as the IFP's main drawcard in elections.

Yet, his reward would be minimal if the IFP wins the election. He does not get a mention in the party's constitutional proposals, and political power would still rest with Buthelezi.

WMM 30/7 - 5/8/93 (1/3) (1/3)

Inkatha's fear on the transition trail

118

WSM 30/7-5/8/93

Inkatha's walkout of the World Trade Centre stems from fears that a Transitional Executive Council will result in it losing the backing of the kwaZulu government.

By **Farouk Chothia**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's decision to boycott the multiparty negotiating forum this week stems from a fear that the talks will lead to the formation of a Transitional Executive Council which will take control of kwaZulu government structures in the run-up to elections.

The kwaZulu Police (KZP) is widely seen as the kwaZulu government's armed wing, while essential political patronage is dispensed through its effective control of the civil service, pensions, health and education.

"The IFP's bottom line is that it wants control over the electoral process in Natal/kwaZulu — and it is holding out for concessions in this regard," said University of Natal political scientist Ian Phillips. "It is covering its tracks with red herrings — the issue of sufficient concessions and the Zulu kingdom.

"But the important point is that in its constitution the IFP says nothing about the king and the kingdom. The king has a major role to play in securing support for the IFP, but a minor role in terms of political power which Buthelezi wants for himself."

Overshadowed by the unveiling of the draft constitution on Monday, a draft Bill outlining the functions and powers and functions of the TEC was tabled on Tuesday. It proposes that the TEC be made up of all the negotiating partners and that six sub-councils with six members each be established in order to level the playing fields.

"If there is joint control, Buthelezi will no longer be able to use kwaZulu government structures for IFP purposes — and without its infrastructure he is nothing," said Phillips.

He points out that the IFP's absence from the multi-party talks poses a problem: how does the TEC take control of kwaZulu government structures, particularly its police force, without IFP participation?

Phillips said the government and the African National Congress, rather than making further concessions to Buthelezi, should throw down the gauntlet. "The World Trade Centre has bent over backwards to satisfy Buthelezi. The SAP should assume control of the KZP to counteract their alleged abuse of authority and power."

The IFP wants the electoral process in

Natal/kwaZulu, overseen by Natal's Joint Executive Authority which comprises representatives of the kwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration. "The IFP has 75 per cent control of the JEA," said Phillips.

The IFP also hopes that its decision to stay out of the talks — coupled with a public campaign against the draft constitution — will shore up its support among voters in the run-up to national elections. IFP sources said the party had agreed at a central committee meeting on Monday to contest the April 26 poll.

"We will fight an election. We will campaign against the draft constitution. It will not bring us our freedom; it will put us in chains and in bondage."

The sources said the central committee had also endorsed a suggestion — first expressed by hardliner Walter Felgate last Sunday — of supreme court action to scrap the draft constitution. The view was that Natal/kwaZulu's historical sovereignty would be extinguished if the draft constitution was adopted.

Observers believe that the IFP has much spadework to do in order to move into top gear for the elections. Surveys conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council found that in July 1992 the party had eight per cent support nationally. This rose to nine per cent last October and dropped back to eight in February this year. The ANC mustered 41 per cent last July, 44 per cent in October and 37 per cent in February this year. The National Party had 25 per cent, 23 per cent and 21 per cent support.

A visible indication of Buthelezi's sagging support emerged at the two recent imbizo in Durban and Johannesburg called by Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini: in both instances, large sections of the crowd began to leave when Buthelezi took to the podium.

Apart from the imbizo, Buthelezi has not addressed black audiences in recent months. He is focusing on the white and Indian communities, having addressed meetings in Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Stanger.

Heartening for the IFP is the fact that 62 per cent of whites said they support an autonomous or semi-independent Natal/kwaZulu.

The key question is: would the IFP really go for secession if it lost an election, and would Buthelezi take the "Savimbi option"? Johan Steenkamp, vice-chairman of the NP's study group on constitutional development, doubts the IFP could follow the example of the Angolan leader. Savimbi had an army, the military hardware, a solid ethnic base and favourable terrain — factors which the IFP did not enjoy.

Issue of the week: the constitutional debate.
● Turn to Pages 12 & 13.

Intractable Zulu chief could be

Star 31-7-93

painting himself into a corner

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has raised the stakes in his attempt to ensure virtual autonomy in a new South Africa for the country's 6 million Zulus. Supporters say he is fighting to protect the rights of the Zulu people and predict further violence if his demands are ignored.

Critics say that with Zulu loyalties divided between his Inkatha Freedom Party and the rival African National Congress, he wants to ensure he retains control of his power base in KwaZulu. But some political analysts say Buthelezi has simply backed himself into a corner.

"He has painted himself into a corner and can't back down," said Gerhard Mare, a social scientist at the University of Natal. The author of two books on Buthelezi, Mare says the Zulu leader has left himself little room for manoeuvre and that the upshot of his stand could be further violence.

See story on next page

Buthelezi dropped a bombshell on Thursday when he said KwaZulu was taking South Africa's democracy negotiators to court in a bid to halt the country's first democratic elections due on April 27 next year.

The chief minister told reporters he wanted the Supreme Court to define sufficient consensus, the process by which 19 of the 26 parties at South Africa's multiparty democracy talks were able to set the election date.

Buthelezi's IFP, KwaZulu and the white secessionist Conservative Party walked out of the country's democracy talks three weeks ago.

A close adviser to Buthelezi, Rowley Arenstein, said Buthelezi was not likely to budge from his view that the Government and Nelson Mandela's ANC were trying to steamroller their views through the Negotiating Forum. Arenstein said the IFP believed South Africa

AN EXPERT believes the IFP's stand could lead to further violence, with Inkatha and conservative whites heading for confrontation with the Government and the ANC, reports MARIUS BOSCH.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Raising the stakes in a bid to ensure autonomy for the Zulus.

ca's draft Interim Constitution, designed for the transition to majority rule after 350 years of white minority domination, was "an abortion".

"We are a multinational state but what they are imposing is a unilateral state," he said in an interview. "The Zulu people and their rights can be wiped out tomorrow."

Six million Zulus make up South Africa's largest ethnic group, but loyalties are divided between the IFP and ANC.

"The IFP's bottom line is that it wants control over the electoral process in Natal/KwaZulu and is holding out for concessions in this regard," says Natal University political scientist Ian Phillips.

Arenstein said political violence could spiral out of control if the remaining 23 parties at the democracy talks did not recognise the principle of self-determination.

"If they do not recognise the right of self-determination, continuous violence will be the upshot," he said.

The spectre of more violence is a frightening one. More than 500 people were killed in black townships in July — the second highest toll in one month since July 1990. Most died in clashes between ANC and IFP supporters which have been going on in varying degrees of intensity since 1984, with the loss of some 16 000 lives.

Mare says the IFP's stand could lead to further violence, with Inkatha and conservative whites heading for confrontation with the Government and the ANC.

But President de Klerk on Thursday indicated support for Buthelezi. He told reporters after a four-hour surprise meeting with the chief that democracy talks could not go on without the IFP. This immediately put him at odds with the ANC. A spokesman said De Klerk was on a dangerous course, virtually offering Buthelezi a veto on the process.

Some analysts have portrayed De Klerk as performing a perhaps impossible balancing act, first seeming to be in an informal alliance with the ANC and then in tandem with the IFP, in order to keep negotiations moving forward.

Critics accuse him of playing off one against the other for the ultimate benefit of his own National Party. — Sapa-Reuter.

Negotiators plan defence

JOHANNESBURG. — Multi-party negotiators at Kempton Park have appointed a special sub-committee to take legal advice on defending two of its chairmen against KwaZulu government legal action instituted on Thursday.

The planning committee reported to the Negotiating Council yesterday morning that the

legal action was directed at two members of the council, who had acted as officers of the multi-party negotiating council in taking decisions in terms of the disputed concept, "sufficient consensus".

Yesterday President FW de Klerk said he still believed elections would be held at the end of April next year because "there

is still ample time to adhere to that time-frame".

He was addressing the media after a meeting with the ecumenical eminent persons group, comprising foreign delegates.

Negotiators were "near to a breakthrough" and were moving closer to a compromise based on "really sufficient consensus", he added. — Sapa

Too much depends on central government, say delegates

Clearing way for debates

Star 31-1/93

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

THE Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre yesterday continued to try to clear the ground for the tough debates ahead on the draft constitution and a Bill of Rights for the transition — with mixed success.

Debate on the council floor produced some clarity in the complex wranglings over what powers regional governments should have, but consideration of the technical committee's report on the Bill of Rights saw traditional leaders insisting that customary law was not being accorded its due place.

Opposed

Delegates — excluding those from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party — heard debate about how constitutions for the state, provincial and regional governments would be drawn up.

The Arrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and Boputhatswana government again opposed the idea that the elected legislature of the government — as opposed to appointed regional representatives — should draw up a constitution or even decide it did not need a constitution. They argued that regional powers still de-



TO THE POINT: Boputhatswana's chief negotiator at the World Trade Centre, Rowan Caine, gets his views across to a fellow delegate.

pend too much on central government for their granting.

"Regions in this constitution remain a big 'if,'" said Corlia Kruger of the AVU. Everything she said, "hangs on the balance" of the central government.

Joe Slovo of the SACP said the ANC and its allies had already made concessions, "a 180-degree turn", on regions.

"One aspect from which we cannot depart is that whatever texts are prepared it is still the elected representatives of the people in the region that must decide. We can't blind them in this forum," he said.

Moolman Mentz of the AVU said the constitution of a region should be drawn up by "a body like this one". Boputhatswana's

chief negotiator Rowan Caine said that while regions were "provided for", they were "dependent on and controlled by central government without a little bit of autonomy to think and do for themselves".

That, he said, was "our central problem". The council was not looking to make any decisions. This week's discussion was intended to

air "views so that the technical committee which drew up the interim Constitution could produce a second draft.

Even so, Slovo said the debate was "one of the most important discussions we have had. This whole question of regions goes to the future of our country and the future of our negotiating process." The document tabled

on "fundamental rights during the transition" — the seventh report of this committee — included several changes made after debate on July 21.

Among them was a detailed description of what constituted discrimination, which would not be allowed from the grounds of race, gender, ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation,

age, disability, religion, conscience, creed, culture or language". The document prompted strong objections from Chief Mvela Nonkonyana of the Cape Traditional Leaders. It also drew criticism, on different issues, from the Democratic Party. Nonkonyana said the "whole thing" was based on "Western culture" which was being "imposed over

and above our culture". Traditional leaders' submissions about this had been ignored. The question of "culture and custom to the people of this country is fundamental", he said.

Professor L. M. du Plessis, convener of the technical committee which drafted the document, said traditional leaders' objections had been addressed by a clause which stated that rights recognised and conferred by indigenous law remained in full force. However, these could not limit any rights entrenched in the document. Nonkonyana said this was contradictory, reflected "an urban bias" and made customary law subordinate to Roman-Dutch law.

Challenged

The DP's Tony Leon argued that the Bill of Rights should not just have "vertical application" — where citizens could challenge the State — but also "horizontal", where citizens could challenge each other as well as non-governmental institutions.

The DP also challenged the proposed "interpretation" of the Bill which would seek to promote "the values which underlie a free, open and democratic society based on a principle of equality". Leon said liberty should be included as a principle of equal standing with equality. "The courts should evaluate where liberty should prevail and where equality should prevail," he said. "I regard this Bill as more important than the constitution."

Azapo stands firm on the Constituent Assembly

South 21/7 - 4/8/93

By Christelle Terreblanche

AZAPO has reiterated it would continue the liberation struggle if negotiations do not bring into being a Constituent Assembly (CA) in the way the movement understands it.

In the week that has seen three of the 26 partners at the World Trade Centre withdraw from the talks, Azapo's regional publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Jimmy Yekiso, told SOUTH the movement has no plans to join the talks.

The Conservative Party has confirmed its permanent withdrawal, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government is weighing up its position — all in protest at the draft constitutional principles unveiled on Monday.

"We do not want to take part, because the talks are undemocratic in that the parties there were not



JIMMY YEKISO

~~(SOUTH AFRICAN)~~ (IB) elected to decide on the country's future," Yekiso said. "Parties taking part should do so on an equal basis, and not have a situation where the NP is still in government. If we join

the talks we will be giving them legitimacy.

"At the same time we do acknowledge that the negotiations can deliver a CA. If this assembly's sole purpose is to draft a democratic constitution, we will participate in the elections and the transitional authority structures."

Yekiso was adamant that Azapo was against a CA that drafted the constitution and governed at the same time.

"We are in favour of government by a transitional authority, comprising neutral bodies like the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and the Commonwealth," he says.

If this did not happen, he foresaw the movement protesting against the "fraudulent government" after the elections.

BLACK POLITICS — HOMELANDS

AUG. — ~~SEPT~~ DEC.

SITIMOCRUSS

Business wants IFP back

By DON ROBERTSON

NATAL businessmen want the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu Government back at the constitutional negotiating table.

Business reaction follows the decision by the two to withdraw from the talks and the KwaZulu Government challenge in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, to the proposed April 27 election date.

SA Sugar Association (Sasa) vice-president Tony Ardington says the industry has a membership of about 40 000 who vary considerably in their political views.

Mr Ardington told the Sasa annual meeting this week that neither the Government nor the transitional executive council had the credibility to re-establish the State's authority.



IFP LEADER BUTHELEZI

"It is encouraging that an attempt has been made to set an election date and the parties to the negotiation need to accept that date.

"To delay the opportunity to re-establish law and order cannot be in the interests of the country and the utmost pressure to compromise needs to be applied to all parties to the negotiations in order to ensure a speedy resolution of

178/93
outstanding issues."

Theo Swart, joint managing director of the motor retailer and chain-store McCarthy Group, says it is of vital importance that the KwaZulu Government returns to the negotiating table or "a new constitution will be formulated without it".

The possibility of negotiating a separate region or federal area for Natal can be discussed later, he says.

Mr Swart says the future of the country must be decided through negotiation and not in the courts.

Glyn Taylor, chairman of CG Smith Sugar and a board member of CG Smith Group, says that although there will be differences of opinion, "it is essential that we find a solution as quickly as possible to generate a recovery in the economy and attract investment, trade and tourism".

FW faces tough choice on Inkatha walkout

By EDYTH BULBRING, Political Correspondent
 PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will have to make one of the most important decisions of his career in a month as desperate efforts to woo Inkatha back to negotiations do not succeed.

- He will have to decide whether to:
- Press ahead without Inkatha and risk an almost certain split in his cabinet, or
 - Delay the installation of a Transitional Executive Council, thereby risking the entire negotiating process.

Desperate attempts are under way to try to woo Kwa-zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party back to the talks so the August 30 deadline set by negotiators for finalising the new constitution, bill of rights and a body to oversee the elections can be met.

These include attempts at bilateral meetings between Inkatha and the NP and the ANC, pressure from the diplomatic community and interventions by Peace Accord chairman John Hall.

The government is seeking to accommodate Inkatha's demand for Zulu self-determination and its opposition to the manner in which decisions are made at the talks.

Decisions

Inkatha is demanding that an inviolate regional constitution be drawn up before national elections. It also wants exclusive powers for the region which cannot be overruled by a future government.

This week saw government negotiators meeting the IFP on two occasions in an attempt to solve the impasse which saw the IFP walking out of talks.

Both meetings ended inconclusively. Even a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Buthelezi on Thursday failed to stop Inkatha's court action to contest the use of sufficient consensus in making decisions at the talks.

Ambassadors from Germany, the United States and Britain will meet with Mr Buthelezi soon as part of the diplomatic pressure being brought to bear on

□ To Page 2

De Klerk's Inkatha dilemma

the agreement will be the establishment of the TEC, which is particularly important because it will open the doors to foreign funding, the normalisation of SA's relations with the rest of the world and the lifting of sanctions.

But, more importantly, it appears the only legitimate possibility for limiting violence.

If Inkatha is not on board by August 30, Mr de Klerk will have to either go ahead without it and risk splitting his cabinet or lose these benefits — and possibly jeopardise the entire peace process.

Natal leader George Bartlett, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman, who show a deep sympathy for Mr Buthelezi, are some of the senior NP members who could leave should the president press on without Inkatha.

lezi in Ulundi, he said. Parliament meets on September 13 to pass the legislation based on decisions made at the World Trade centre. The August 30 deadline has been set to allow parliamentary committees time to study the vital legislation.

The first visible sign of

four occasions to hold meetings with Inkatha, but all have been cancelled. However, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said further attempts would be made to meet Inkatha. The ANC also wanted to arrange a meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Buthelezi.

Inkatha to return to the talks.

A possible meeting with US President Bill Clinton is being held out to Mr Buthelezi — provided he is part of a democratic settlement. The ANC has tried on

□ From Page 1

The ANC has tried on

Inkatha man given AK to 'plough' with

CIPRESS 11/8/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO

CONTROVERSY over 200 Inkatha members who were secretly trained by the SADF in the Caprivi strip continues to haunt KwaZulu with revelations this week that the men were trained to kill Inkatha's opponents.

This was said in testimony to the Goldstone Commission by a former trainee, who joined the KwaZulu Police after his training.

The commission is probing allegations KwaZulu cops have been involved in violence.

The man's identity is covered by a witness protection programme. He was referred to as "the constable".

Testifying before Commission chairman advocate Malcolm Willis, the constable said that while based in Esikhawini near Empangeni he was given an AK-47 rifle by three Inkatha members.

He was told that it was to be used to "plough" through the township's

sections H1 and H2.

Esikhawini is a hotbed of warfare between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

The constable said that in 1986 the "advisor" attached to his Inkatha branch recruited him to join the 200 Inkatha men training in the Caprivi.

"I was told that I was being trained to protect the government of South Africa and KwaZulu ... and to attack people who did not belong to Inkatha and people who did not like KwaZulu."

The constable said that at the camp in the Caprivi there were discussions about what would happen if they were caught with a gun or for shooting someone.

"I was told that if I carried out my instructions I was not going to be arrested."

After finishing his training he worked as part of Inkatha's recruitment team in the office of the national organiser in Ulundi.

Pressed by Willis on

whether it was part of his job to attack people who did not belong to Inkatha, the constable confirmed this. However, he added that he had not had an opportunity to do so.

The constable told how 160 of the Caprivi trainees were absorbed into the KZP and the constable had joined in 1987.

While stationed in Esikhawini three Inkatha members - Joyful Nyambose, Peter Msane and Daluxolo Luthuli - handed him an AK-47.

The three trained with the constable in Caprivi. Luthuli was an MK cadre who fought in the Wankie Operation but later joined Inkatha and is based in Ulundi.

Luthuli was a political commissar during the training in Caprivi.

"They said that the firearm was going to be ploughing between H1 and H2 sections. I was complying with instructions ... they could have told me anything and I could have done it," he said.

Zulu court bid may be staved off

118
GSEEA

ARCT 1/8/93

Pledge to withdraw action if talks solve problems

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The timing of the Kwazulu government's challenge to multiparty negotiations does not exclude a resolution of the problems before the action goes to court on August 24 — and, in the interim, bilaterals will continue.

This was the view of Kwazulu sources who said the court challenge was "not designed to damage the process of negotiations", and if problems were solved before August 24 the application would be withdrawn.

The thick wad of papers and supporting affidavits from, among others Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been filed with the Supreme Court in Pretoria, but the application is set for almost a month from now.

It will seek to invalidate the setting of the April 27 1994 election date by the multiparty Negotiation Council and will challenge the application of the mechanism of sufficient consensus in respect of some decisions taken by the council.

The respondents are named as two of the panel of six revolving chairmen, Mr M J Mahlangu and

Mr Previn Gordhan, who were in the chair on the days the contested resolutions were adopted.

Government sources noted last night that the application did not seek to challenge or invalidate negotiations, and also did not challenge sufficient consensus as a decision-making mechanism outside its application to specific resolutions already carried.

Meanwhile, Kwazulu negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane confirmed today that he would be travelling to Pretoria for a further bilateral meeting with government negotiator Roelf Meyer this afternoon.

He said the court challenge had not interrupted the process of trying to find solutions for Kwazulu and IFP's "very genuine concerns".

Given the delayed timing of the court application and the fact that bilateral negotiations are continuing, it seems fair to characterise the court bid as more of a bid to apply pressure than a flinging down of the gauntlet by the IFP-Kwazulu negotiators.

Yesterday, however, their colleagues in the multiparty forum took a less generous view, and were puzzled as to why the IFP had taken this route after asking the council just the day before to

delay its debate on sufficient consensus until the IFP central committee had studied the matter.

Most negotiators felt this request was a measure of the seriousness of the IFP in trying to find a solution. They felt the court application flew in the face of that.

Mr Meyer confirmed that bilateral meetings with the IFP and Kwazulu would continue. He expected today's encounter to focus on the problem of sufficient consensus and "the self-determination of the Zulu people".

Democratic Party delegation leader Colin Eglin said his party was "shocked at the political implications of the legal action".

"Clearly when mutual trust breaks down to the point that participants resort to legal action, the process of negotiating in good faith becomes impossible," Mr Eglin said.

However, the spirit at the negotiating table yesterday remained one of "let's get on with business" and this is expected to continue today when the 23 remaining parties continue discussing the draft constitution and study another report from a technical committee on the Bill of Rights for the transition period.

Inkatha's rejection of new constitutional draft raises questions ...

C1 Press 118/93

DRAFT-DODDGER?

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE rejection by Inkatha of the new draft interim constitution puts a serious question mark on the party's often stated claims that they are committed to federalism.

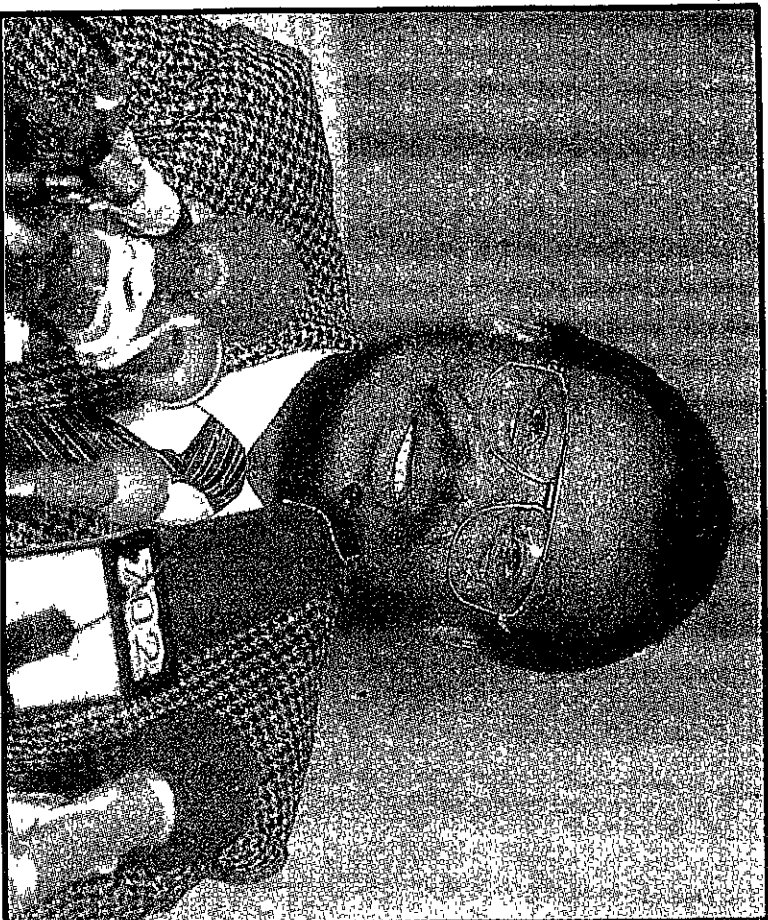
Since the document was unveiled this week, most commentators have stated that — in spite of its shortcomings — it is a document which strives to satisfy as broad a spectrum of the South African political landscape as possible.

Much as the document has a number of aspects about it which could be regarded as pure centralist administration, it is not — as Inkatha has implied — a unitarist constitution dressed up in drag.

In fact, a large body of opinion among political scientists and commentators acknowledges that vague as the document is, it could well appeal to most federalists — and a party like Inkatha.

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew encapsulated this thinking when he said the draft provided a framework to develop a liberal, democratic and federal system of government — precisely what Inkatha claims it wants for South Africa.

New converts to federalism — the National Party and government — have also accepted the draft. However, in a joint statement Constitutional Development Minister Roel



NOT FOR US ... Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected draft.

Meyer and NP chief negotiator Dawie de Villiers said more certainly about the federal aspects of a final constitution should have been included in the draft. They would make recommendations in future.

Observers believe that while the document contains important aspects of federalism, it is also prudently drafted not to grant regions powers that could make it easy for them to secede in the future.

If Inkatha accepted the draft in its present form, Mangosuthu Buthelezi could well end up no more

than a regional governor in a future SA.

This, of course, would depend on Inkatha being a dominant party in Kwa-Zulu/Natal, a prospect which seems unlikely if the latest surveys are anything to go by. Chief

Buthelezi's support in this region — his power base — is reported to be declining.

Walk out

It is probably this fear by someone who has always seen himself as a national leader which explains why he is insisting on forms of state being

defined beforehand.

If there was a party to walk out of the talks as a result of the draft, it would surely be the PAC. They are more hardline on issues of unitarism than any other party.

In terms of the draft proposals, a new constitution for SA must be drawn up by a joint meeting of a proposed National Assembly and Senate. The Constituent Assembly will completely review the transitional constitution and draft a new constitutional text within two years.

The new constitution, or any part of it, shall not come into effect before

to this two-phased approach to drawing the final constitution, while government argues that the two-year period is too short. The draft of the new constitution must be approved by a two-thirds majority of all members of the Constituent Assembly.

Some of the proposals in the draft are:

- After the draft of the new constitution has been accepted, it must be subjected to a referendum.
- Should 60 percent of the voters vote in favour of the draft constitution, it will become the Constitution of SA.
- Should the draft be rejected in a referendum, the State President must suspend parliament and call a general election.
- The President of the senate will be the chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

In drafting a new constitution, the Constituent Assembly must adhere to the constitutional principles — most of which have already been approved during the negotiation process — and execute it. Should a third of the members of the constituent body demand it, the presiding officer can refer the constitutional proposal to a Constituent Court.

The aim of this would be to obtain an opinion of the court on whether the draft would be in accordance with the constitutional principles.

The new constitution, or any part of it, shall not come into effect before

the Constitutional Court is happy that all the stipulations of the draft are in accord with the constitutional principles.

A decision by the Constitutional Court will be final and binding.

No Supreme Court will be empowered to investigate the legality of such a certification and to give a verdict on it.

According to the draft transitional constitution, the Constituent Assembly will have the power to appoint its own commissions, technical and parliamentary committees and other advisory bodies to assist it in its duties.

An independent group of five acknowledged experts must also be appointed with the approval of two thirds of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

Experts

Should the Constituent Assembly not succeed in having the new text approved by a two-thirds majority while an ordinary majority is in favour of it, the chairman will refer the text to a group of experts for advice.

The group must submit the advice within 30 days.

Should the group not react within 30 days, the ordinary majority within the Constituent Assembly would be enough to ensure the constitution is accepted.

The same will apply when the group makes a unanimous proposal, while a two-thirds majority has

not yet been acquired.

According to the draft transitional constitution, no amendments to the stipulations about the Constituent Assembly will be allowed but they must relate to the constitutional principles.

Also, the requirement that the Constitutional Court must certify that the text of the constitution is in line with the principles, may not be amended.

One of the main aspects on regions dealt with the number of regions.

The draft constitution determines that the regions of SA will be mentioned by name.

Due to the fact that regions could not yet be determined, the draft constitution does not refer to specific names.

Other aspects were:

- Legislative authority for regions: Every region must have a legislative body whose members must be elected on the same day as the members of the central government. They must be elected proportionally.

The number of representatives of whom every region's legislative body must consist, must be calculated according to the following formula: The total number of votes cast in the regions must be divided by 50 000.

- The executive authority in regions: The executive authority in each region will consist of 10 members who will be elected by the members of the legislative assembly.



ANC, Govt ~~Star~~ 218193 lead poll

The two major negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre — the ANC and the Government — command the support of 70 percent of voters on the Witwatersrand, a new poll by The Star and Radio 702 shows.

Of this, the ANC can claim the lion's share of 54 percent, the survey conducted last month by Marketing and Media Research shows.

The IFP on the Reef registers just seven percentage points less than the NP, at 9 percent. More than eight out of 10 respondents who declared they would vote for the IFP were white and overwhelmingly English-speaking.

In another shuffling-off of old race-bound allegiances, President de Klerk had substantially higher support among the coloured community of the Witwatersrand than among whites. (118)

● Full results — Page 9

Even rivals agree that ANC would win



THE ANC would leave other parties a long way behind it on the Witwatersrand if an election were held tomorrow, a poll commissioned by The Star and Radio 702 suggests.

While the ANC would command 54 percent of the vote in the region — a figure consistent with its showing in other national polls — the National Party would lag behind with 16 percent, followed by the IFP with nine percent.

On election day, according to the survey, at least three out of every four Reef voters could be expected to make their way to the polling stations. A further 8 percent are still weighing up whether it is worth the journey, while 17 percent have already decided that they will not vote.

And the Indian community, it seems, would figure more strongly than most among the stayaway voters. Overall, 35 percent of Indian respondents said they would not vote, with the figure rising to four out of 10 among Indian women.

Race is far from a reliable predictor of how Reef people intend to vote, the poll suggested. Reef IFP supporters, in particular, bucked the old image of Inkatha as a purely Zulu party. The poll showed that the IFP claims the allegiance of no more than two percent of black voters in the region, but it commands 27 percent of the Reef's white voters. Its coloured and Indian support is negligible.

The ANC attracts the support of 78 percent of black respondents. It also draws 29 percent of Indian support, 15 percent of coloured and four percent of whites.

The NP has three percent of black voters but for the rest has a racially mixed Reef constituency. Results suggest it would command four out of 10 white Reef voters, and five out of every 10 coloured and Indian voters.

Close to two out of every three coloured women headed to the polls would have the NP's sunny new logo in mind when considering where to make their crosses.

Overall, seven out of 10 respondents — irrespective of their own sympathies — feel that the ANC will emerge as the strongest party in the first democratic election.

The 702/Star Poll was conducted by Media and Marketing Research in the third week of July. The sample was made up of 817 eligible voters on the Witwatersrand. 72 percent were randomly selected and interviewed by phone, and the remainder were questioned in street interviews conducted in areas without telephones.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE summarises the findings.

Predictably, the ANC's own supporters hold this view. But 52 percent of NP voters and 48 percent of IFP voters share the perception. Marketing and Media Research observes: "The better the level of education, the more likely the person is to believe that the ANC will be the strongest party in the government after April's election."

The popularity of party leaders corresponds to support for the party itself. Asked which of these leaders they would vote for as president, 50 percent of respondents notched their vote against the name of Nelson Mandela, 16 percent against that of F W de Klerk, 11 percent for the PAC's Clarence Makwetu and three percent for the DP's Zach de Beer.

The proportion of Reef voters who would like De Klerk to continue in office is higher in the coloured community (58 percent) than in the white constituency (36 percent). Among whites, De Klerk runs neck and neck with Mangosuthu Buthezi in the popularity stakes, with the latter pulling in 32 percent of support.

When it comes to the next generation of party leadership, the power of the national multi-party negotiations appears to be a powerful factor in shaping perceptions.

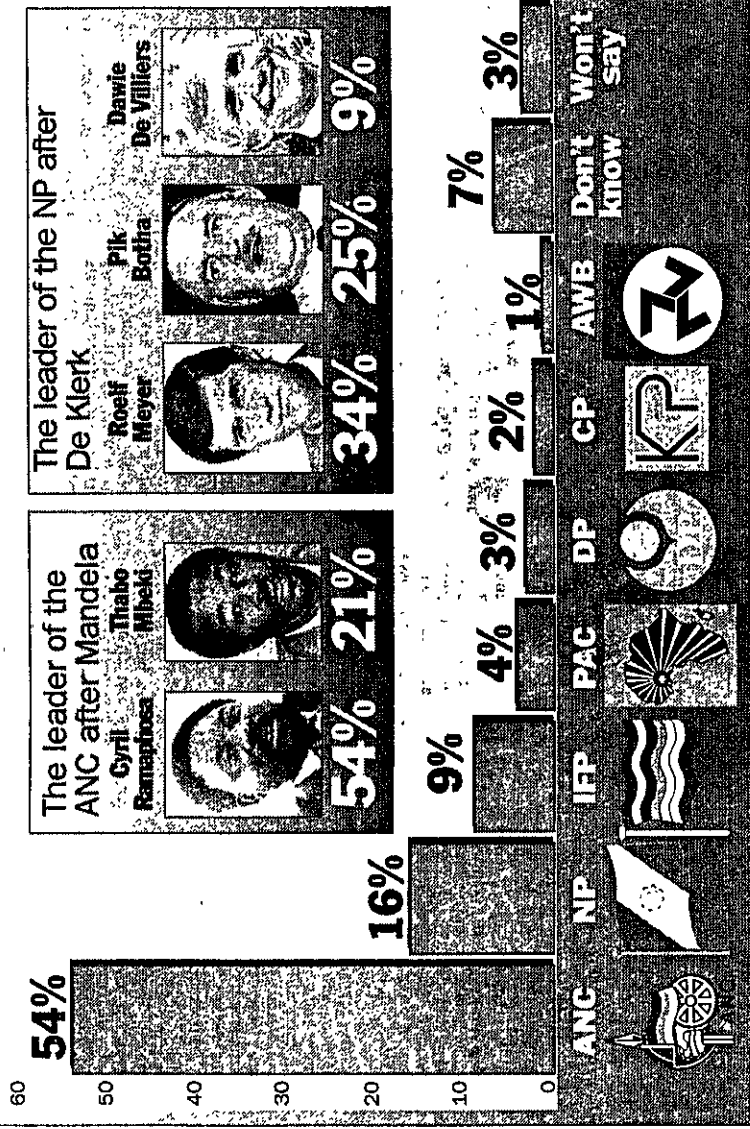
The ANC and the NP's chief negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, are clearly lined up as heirs apparent.

Ramaphosa was the likely successor to Mandela by 54 percent of all respondents, irrespective of party allegiances. And among ANC supporters his support rose to 63 percent — as against 27 percent for Thabo Mbeki, who recently received a vote of confidence from the ANC Youth League.

When it came to assuming the NP mantle, Meyer got the support of 34 percent of all respondents, while Pik Botha won 25 percent of votes. If opinion were restricted to NP voters, Botha and Meyer would be running neck and neck.

Marketing and Media Research's observation is that Pik Botha's support comes from English and Afrikaans-speaking whites alike, while he is very unpopular among blacks, compared to Roelf Meyer. □

Which political party would you vote for?



Buthelezi's alternative

Sowetan 2/8/93

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday maintained his opposition to South Africa's April 27 election date and offered an alternative timetable for what he called "a straight hard run to democracy".

Addressing a meeting in Tongaat, Buthelezi said if his proposals are abided by, an election can be held before September next year.

The IFP and its allies - the Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Ciskei homelands and the white rightwing Conservative Party - want guarantees for a federal South Africa in a constitution drafted before the election.

The negotiating process should put down

the principles of the new constitution, which should then be written in its final form by a "panel of experts and wise men and women." Buthelezi said.

"Once they have done so, it should be referred back to the multiparty negotiation process for approval. And once approved, the constitution can then be put to an electorate for approval. In this way we can have a straight hard run to democracy and we can have an election under a finalised new constitution by September 1994."

Buthelezi also lashed out at the "sufficient consensus" principle that rules the democracy talks and under which the election date was agreed on despite objections from the IFP and its allies. - Sapa-AFP

NEWS Uncertainty over exactly what IFP leader wants • Appeal on next year's elections



BIG BUCKS ... Eric Dilla gets a cheque of R2 500 from Sowetan staffer Thandi Moloi. He is one of two lucky people who won a United Bank Help-U Save card in a competition run by Radio Bop and Sowetan during the International Soccer Festival last week. The other winner is James Radebe.

Buthelezi wants to start all over

Sowetan 2/8/93 JHS

Sowetan Correspondent

■ **BILATERAL MEETING** Government

GOVERNMENT negotiators were yesterday opposed to a suggestion by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that constitutional negotiations restart from the beginning. Buthelezi was reported to have said at a meeting in Tongaat on Sunday that he would withdraw his Supreme Court case and end his stayaway from multiparty talks if negotiations could start again at the beginning.

This presented some problems for Government negotiators yesterday. Another bilateral meeting is to be held between the Government and the IFP later this week. Government negotiators are to use this opportunity to find out if Buthelezi did indeed suggest that

negotiators don't know what he meant. negotiations start afresh and, if so, why and what he meant.

"Does he mean we start off again before Codesa 1, or before this multiparty process? We would not favour that type of situation," a Government source said.

IFP Government negotiators also took issue with Buthelezi on his claim that 50 percent of the electorate supported the Concerned South Africans Group.

Cosag includes both the IFP and the Conservative Party. Buthelezi said that to go ahead without these parties was a democratic folly and negotiation suicide. However, a Government negotiator said: "All the opinion surveys we

have seen would not reflect that 50 percent claim." In fact, an HSRC survey recently "reflected a totally different picture, as far as black people are concerned". An HSRC survey released in June showed that the African National Congress held 54 percent of the vote and the National Party 26. The IFP had between eight and 11 percent of the vote. The Conservative Party had between four and five percent.

Meanwhile, negotiations continue at Kempton Park this week. By staying away from the multiparty talks, the IFP, KwaZulu and the CP would miss this week's debate on the new internal boundaries.



Return body of leader, IFP urges

Star 31/8/93
The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday appealed to organisations across the spectrum to work together to ensure that the body of a murdered IFP official is returned to the organisation without delay. (115)

East Rand IFP leader Absalom Shoji was shot, stabbed and burnt to death on July 25.

His body was removed from a Katlehong funeral parlour on Sunday by armed men who reportedly threatened parlour workers with death if they did not hand over the coffin containing Shoji's corpse.

Yesterday East Rand IFP regional organiser Thabane Dlamini said the police, Department of Justice, Peace Secretariat, United Nations and Organisation of African Unity observers should all work together to ensure the body was returned to the IFP for a dignified burial.

Sunday's body snatch had enraged IFP supporters on the ground and Dlamini expressed concern this anger might spill over into yet more political violence.

"It is a scandal that Mr Shoji's body should be treated in this manner. He is already dead and he deserves a decent burial," he added. — Sapa.

IFP not
to boycott
session

CF 3/8/93

(116)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party would not boycott the forthcoming session of Parliament even if it lost the court action to invalidate the date of the country's first non-racial general election, nominated MP Mr Farouk Cassim said last night.

The party would, nevertheless, fight the draft constitution vigorously when Parliament met in September formally to turn the draft constitution into law.

When one considered that the April election would cost the political parties in the region of R1 billion in campaign money it would be "a daft plan" to hold another election after two years in terms of a final constitution, Mr Cassim said.

In addition to this the country could also face the financial burden of a referendum if a two-thirds majority of the constituent assembly was not mustered in support of the final constitution.

1 ● AWB, MK leaders to be honoured

Natal NP and IFP slate commission

Sowetan 4/8/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ REGION'S LOSS New plan seeks to place East Griqualand in Eastern Cape:

NATAL MEMBERS OF THE National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to fight a proposal by the Regional Demarcation Commission that East Griqualand becomes part of the future Eastern Cape province.

East Griqualand, including the towns of Matatiele, Kokstad and Cedarville, has been part of Natal for 17 years. Previously, the area fell in the Cape Province - though many services such as railways and telephones were provided from Natal - but this arrangement was ended as part of the Transkei independence process.

White residents in the East Griqualand area have called for their region to be included in Natal. However, many black people in the area have family links with Transkei.

There were several submissions to the commission for East Griqualand to stay in Natal. The commission, set up at the multiparty talks, did say that the final Natal-Transkei border should be decided by negotiation.

Mr George Bartlett, Natal leader of the NP, said the NP was totally opposed to separating Natal and East Griqualand. The people in the area preferred to be in Natal.

"We will have to do something about that," Bartlett said. IFP member Mr Peter Miller, formerly a Natal MEC, said the IFP would oppose the change tooth and nail: "People in East Griqualand will oppose this tooth and nail, right across

the political spectrum."

However, IFP and KwaZulu government negotiators are still staying away from the talks, so will not be able to make their points known at the multiparty talks this week.

There were overwhelming economical, traditional, government, sport, agriculture and business links between East Griqualand and Natal, said Miller.

Miller said the proposed new Eastern Cape region would stretch from East Griqualand to Humansdorp, 1 000km away: "It's ridiculous. I can only think that the commission must be totally bereft of any sense whatsoever."



Sowetan 11/8/93

ANC motion surprises Inkatha

A MEMBER of the Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee and KwaZulu minister without portfolio Chief NJ Ngubane has expressed surprise that the African National Congress was calling for urgent steps to deal with political violence.

Ngubane was reacting yesterday to a call made by ANC secretary-general Mr

Cyril Ramaphosa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Monday that a joint peace force be established to curb violence in the townships.

Ngubane said one of the reasons leading to the IFP's withdrawal from negotiations was that its suggestion that issues such as violence be addressed first had been ignored.

He said IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had repeatedly emphasised that violence and the constitution should be first on the agenda.

He said now that the idea had come from the ANC and its partners, everybody, including the Government, was in favour of it. — Sapa.

□ Party in talks with ANC on possible compromise over consensus issue

IFP may go back to negotiations

ANC 11/8/93 (115)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party were locked in a meeting today after indications that the IFP might return to negotiations.

The meeting came amid a flurry of IFP-government meetings designed to bring the organisation back to the table.

Sources said a possible compromise on the thorny issue of how decisions should be taken in negotiations was being discussed.

The controversial question of "sufficient consensus" — the subject of a Kwazulu government challenge in the Supreme Court — was to be debated in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre later today.

There has been progress in bilateral meetings between the government and IFP in an effort to open the way for the Kwazulu government and IFP to return to negotiations.

A senior government source said yesterday a "very reasonable" proposal had been put to the IFP during bilateral talks on Monday. He was confident it

would meet the IFP's concerns, but if it was rejected "I don't know what will get them back".

Also on the agenda for today's negotiating council session is a report from the planning committee on yesterday's closed-door meeting of the committee at which violence and the proposed peace corps were discussed.

The negotiation council will also hear a report from the Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of Regions. The first "substantive" issue to be discussed later today will be a planning committee re-

port on the sufficient consensus required to adopt negotiations decisions.

This comes after the bilateral meetings between the government and IFP dealing chiefly with this issue.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said talks with the IFP were taking place on a "continuous basis" and "strong suggestions" had been made to the IFP on sufficient consensus, but he declined to elaborate.

Meanwhile, the Cabinet will look at ways to curb violence on the East Rand today after President De Klerk responded

positively to fresh calls for the formation of a joint peacekeeping force.

ANC president Nelson Mandela telephoned Mr De Klerk from Malaysia yesterday to discuss the latest wave of killings.

At a Press conference in Kempton Park after a day-long National Party caucus meeting, Mr De Klerk said he would be given a detailed briefing by police on the situation in East Rand townships, and the Cabinet would today be "looking at ways of restoring law and order".

MEC's defection hailed

Own Correspondent (113)

MARITZBURG. — Former Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller's move to the IFP was a major coup for the party and a graphic demonstration that it was "attracting the cream of leadership talent", KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said here yesterday. ~~2011~~ CT 4/8/93
Speaking here to "formally introduce the IFP's newest high-profile recruit", Mr Ndlovu said Mr Miller's de-

fection from the National Party marked a turning point in regional politics.

He claimed Mr Miller's move to the IFP had already triggered an exodus of white voters from NP and Democratic Party ranks.

Addressing his first press conference in his new role, Mr Miller said his sympathies lay with the region and the need to forge a good working relationship with the IFP.

Offer to lure Inkatha back

Billy Paddock

NEGOTIATORS were optimistic yesterday about the chances of the Inkatha Freedom Party returning to talks soon, after the party was given an offer "so reasonable they cannot refuse it".

It is understood that government made the offer, accommodating most of Inkatha's concerns and demands, during regular private discussions on Monday.

The offer has the support of the ANC and other major parties at negotiations.

TIM COHEN reports President FW de Klerk yesterday again expressed confidence that Inkatha would return to negotiations. Bilateral meetings were continuing and specific proposals aimed at facilitating its return would be discussed at talks.

Asked if a point would arrive when the process would have to accept that Inkatha would not return, he replied: "We are not budgeting for failure." He warned of "serious consequences" if a party with the third strongest voter support was excluded.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate met yesterday at the World Trade Centre

in Kempton Park. Another meeting between government and Inkatha was scheduled for today, when Inkatha is expected to respond to the offer.

Yesterday Felgate was playing his cards close to his chest "because we are in the middle of negotiations". (IB)

But Inkatha was "very conscious of the urgency of the process and the need for decisions to be made soon so that government can process legislation for the short session of Parliament in September".

Legislation has to be ready by about August 20 in order to be processed.

Details of the offer are sketchy but it is understood that it includes a refined definition of sufficient consensus and agreement that Inkatha can revisit decisions made by negotiators under the new decision-making mechanism.

Schutte said it was a very strong proposal "consisting of a more representative version of sufficient consensus and dealing

To Page 2

Inkatha 8/Day 4/8/93

From Page 1

with other areas of the total package". It would also allow Inkatha to contribute to work done at negotiations since it walked out at the beginning of July.

It is understood that government is arguing that there is enough opportunity for Inkatha to revisit constitutional principles, the form of state and the instructions to the constitutional committee within a discussion on the draft constitution without sacrificing the progress made so far. (IB)

An agreement on the disputed setting of an election date still has to be found, but it is not expected to be a problem.

Commenting on yesterday's talks Felgate said: "Negotiations are frank and fruitful but we still have to look at the implications of the council having taken wrong decisions." The form of state had not yet been decided and there was also concern over what an elected constituent assembly would do with regions.

"We cannot amend our way out of the situation and just move forward on this new basis, but we are also not saying we want to go all the way back and re-issue the technical committee with new instructions based on a new understanding of sufficient consensus," he said.

Meanwhile the negotiating council finished early yesterday to give the planning committee time to consolidate work done so far and to work out the way forward. Most work is in final draft form.

The Concerned South Africans Group elected a six-man national executive committee at a meeting in Verwoerdburg on Monday Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje was elected chairman of the committee, which includes Felgate, CP MP Tomi Langley, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, AVU negotiator Moolman Mentz and Ciskei chief negotiator Micky Webb.

Offer to lure Inkatha back

CT4/8/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Constitutional negotiators said yesterday Inkatha had been made an offer "so reasonable they cannot refuse it" which they hoped would lure the party back to the talks soon.

They were optimistic it would be accepted.

It is understood the government put the offer, which accommodates most of Inkatha's concerns, to it on Monday during regular behind-the-scenes talks.

The offer has the support of the ANC and other major parties at the negotiations.

It is hoped Inkatha will respond to the offer at a meeting between it and the government today.

President F W de Klerk yesterday again expressed confidence that Inkatha would return to negotiations.

'Negotiations'

Saying that bilateral meetings were continuing, he warned of "serious consequences" if a party with the third strongest voter support was excluded.

Commenting yesterday, IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said: "I am being deliberately ambiguous because we are in the middle of negotiations."

However, he said Inkatha was "very conscious of the urgency of the process and the need

soon so that the government can process legislation for the short session of Parliament in September".

Legislation would have to be ready by about August 20.

Details of the offer are sketchy.

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IFP and ANC try for accord

Star 5/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations. (113)

At a meeting held at a hotel close to the World Trade Centre yesterday, the ANC and the IFP said much progress had been made, and IFP executive officer and chief negotiator Joe Matthews intimated his party might return to the multiparty talks soon. (114)

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made and we might be able to return to negotiations," he said.

However, Matthews would not give any indication of how soon the party might return.

He said his party was "mindful of deadlines in negotiations and it hoped the next session of Parliament will make movement in a certain direction".

However, the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthele-

zi, took a stern line in Ulundi yesterday.

He warned of civil war if the draft Interim Constitution were adopted and criticised the United States for interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs, Sapa reports.

He said the US would be held accountable if civil war broke out as a result of the ANC "getting its way" at the talks.

The IFP leader accused the US government of wanting a political settlement at any price and warned this could "thrust this country into civil war".

Buthelezi was addressing US Consul-General Bismarck Myrick at a function in Ulundi marking the end of his term of office in Durban.

On the future constitution, Buthelezi said bluntly: "There shall not be a unitary state.

"There shall not be a constituent assembly to write a new constitution."

Regional powers, boundaries and structures should be finalised before elections, he demanded.

● Passed by "general consensus" — Page 6

Report passed by ^{Star 5/8/93} 'general consensus'

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

Negotiating parties yesterday unanimously accepted a report showing how decisions should be taken.

The parties who walked out on July 2 were conspicuous by their absence for a Negotiating Council debate on the ad hoc committee's report on sufficient consensus — meaning enough support to accept a decision.

The IFP and KwaZulu government — which took the issue to the Supreme Court — have yet to return to the forum.

In their absence, the most significant response to the report was the approval given to it by the IFP's Concerned South Africans Group partners who had not joined the walkout.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments

and the Afrikaner Volksunie were among those who approved the report, allowing chairman Llewellyn Landers to rule that it had been accepted by "general consensus" — unanimous approval.

The debate had begun with SACP negotiator Joe Slovo offering an olive branch to those who had rejected the way the principle of sufficient consensus had been applied.

He said no single party should be allowed to "immobilise" the process, adding that "no party, however powerful, should act in a way which rides roughshod over the views of participants".

Besides procedures already provided for in the standing rules, the report suggested that ad hoc committees could be created to look at ways of bridging differences.

ANC and IFP bid to heal negotiations rift

Political Staff **AGT5/8/93**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations.

After talks yesterday at a hotel near the World Trade Centre yesterday, the ANC and the IFP said much progress had been made.

IFP executive officer and chief negotiator Joe Matthews hinted that the party might return to the multiparty talks soon.

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made, and we might be able sooner or later — to return to negotiations," he said.

However, he would not give any indication of how soon the IFP might return.

He said that party was "mindful of

deadlines (in the negotiations) and it is hoped the next session of parliament will make movement in a certain direction".

He was referring to next month's special session of parliament, which is expected to pass legislation on agreements reached at the World Trade Centre.

The IFP walked out of the July 2 negotiating forum meeting, which formally adopted April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first non-racial election.

The ANC and the IFP discussed a wide range of issues yesterday and agreed on the formation of the sub-committees.

Mr Matthews and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said violence and constitutional issues featured prominently in the talks.

Also discussed were "federal features" in the draft interim constitution and the proposed Bill of Rights.

Inkatha to rejoin talks within two weeks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The IFP will rejoin talks within two weeks following a series of behind-the-scenes meetings with the government, the ANC and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

At a news conference after yesterday's day-long meeting with the ANC, Inkatha chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews said "after a few more bilaterals we will be back" at the negotiating table. Inkatha is to meet the government today.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday's meeting had been "very fruitful". The parties had clarified their positions on constitutional matters and identified each other's concerns.

"We formed a three-a-side sub-committee on constitutional issues that will start meeting in a day or two," he said.

The two parties also set up a committee on violence to look at establishing a peacekeeping force. The delegations discussed regional powers but neither party was prepared to comment. Sufficient consensus was not discussed as Inkatha maintained the matter was sub-judice.

However, it appears that Inkatha might be happy with the newly defined terms of sufficient consensus adopted unanimously by the negotiating council yesterday.

On Tuesday Cosag, which includes Inkatha and the Kwazulu government, said it was in agreement on the issue of sufficient consensus. All the Cosag parties had agreed on a committee report which pointed the way forward.

The report states that differences have to be identified clearly. If alternative formulations of issues were not satisfactory, mechanisms to bridge the differences had to be used to achieve consensus of sufficient consensus.

118 CT 5/8/93

IFP: US must stop meddling

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned the United States and President Bill Clinton that it would be held accountable for a civil war in South Africa because of its interference in the country's domestic affairs.

Speaking at a farewell lunch in Ulundi for the US consul here, Mr Bismarck Myrick, he also accused the US government of supporting the ANC.

"The US government and Mr Clinton, and because of them (US ambassador to South Africa) Mr Princeton Lyman, are interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs to such an extent that the US will be held accountable for a civil war which could break out."

This war would be a result of the ANC "succeeding in intimidating the government and riding rough-shod over everybody else in its forward drive to acquire or seize power at any cost".

"I get the impression that the US is backing a Mandela victory because the US wants a settlement tomorrow, and it is a case of wanting any settlement at any price," he said.

On the future constitution, Chief Buthelezi said bluntly, "There shall not be a unitary state. There shall not be a constituent assembly to write a new constitution."

Regional powers, boundaries and structures would be finalised before elections, he said. The IFP would not allow an election campaign on who would write the country's constitution. — Sapa

and ● Sufficient consensus revisited

IFP set to return to the multiparty negotiations soon

Sowetan 5/8/93

113

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party may return to the negotiating table sooner than expected.

IFP chief negotiator Mr Joe Matthews yesterday told journalists in Kempton Park that his party could resume its seat "in two or three meetings".

This was after he and his African National Congress counterpart Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had held talks aimed at resolving the problems which led to the IFP's walkout two weeks ago.

Ramaphosa said he was hopeful the problems would be sorted out in follow-up meetings. A sub-committee to deal with the obstacles had also been set up, Ramaphosa said.

The IFP will meet the Government

today in a follow-up to a meeting held between State President Mr FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week.

The multiparty negotiating council also reached an agreement on a set of guidelines which would redress the sufficient consensus rule, an issue which sparked the IFP's walkout.

The guidelines adopted yesterday provide that the chairman of the day's proceedings would ensure that disagreeing parties be given an opportunity to voice their objection and time to consult with their principals with the ultimate goal of guaranteeing maximum consensus on substantive issues.

If the guidelines are acceptable to the IFP, the party might withdraw its lawsuit challenging the sufficient consensus rule.

Inkatha backing for peacekeepers

PATRICK BULGER

INKATHA said yesterday it supported the formation of a national peacekeeping force, adding to ANC and government calls for a multiparty supervised force. **B/Say**

The issue is due to be thrashed out at multiparty talks soon, although informal discussions about a peacekeeping force were taking place, a source at the talks said yesterday. Several submissions would be discussed either in the technical committee on violence or the committee on a transitional executive council. **6/8/93**

One source close to the talks said the force could consist of 10 000 to 20 000 members and would be deployed primarily in the PWV and Natal. Although February 1994 had been suggested as the deployment date, negotiators might try to establish a peacekeeping force sooner in the wake of this week's East Rand violence.

Inkatha said it understood the peacekeeping force would not supercede the authority of existing forces and would include equal numbers of SAP internal stability unit members and recruits from political formations. **(118)**

"Inkatha would strenuously oppose recruits being primarily selected from the ranks of the private armies of certain political parties. Equal party representation will be crucial," Inkatha said.

In a submission to the technical committee, Institute for Defence Policy director Jakkie Cilliers said the force could absorb at least 10 000 members of existing formal

□ To Page 2

Peacekeepers **B/Say 6/8/93** □ From Page 1

and guerrilla armies.

He said the proposed force could accommodate demobilised soldiers who would not be taken into a future defence force. He warned against integration first and demobilising unwanted soldiers later.

Integration followed by demobilisation would be "massively expensive and require that additional funds be allocated to defence". This would require that all capital expenditure be redirected to operating costs.

"This translates into the virtual destruction of the SA defence manufacturing industry," Cilliers said. **(118)**

Sapa reports that at a Goldstone commission hearing in Cape Town on preventing election violence, Royal Institute of International Affairs director Prof Jack

Spence said a multiparty peacekeeping force would be difficult to set up, but there was no doubt that it was necessary.

The panel of international experts appointed by the commission, whose report was published on Tuesday, had recommended a multiparty peace force. "This proposal may have flaws and difficulties, but it's the best one we have," Spence said.

SADF advocate at the hearing Piet de Jager said the defence force favoured the creation of such a force. The SADF had a proposal that it would discuss with the panel and would make written submissions to the commission.

□ The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) rejected the proposed peace force, calling it a tacit confirmation of the dismal failure of the national peace accord.

Blow against IFP in heart of Zululand

WM 6-12/8/93

Farouk Chothia (1/13)

A SCHOOL was attacked and pro-African National Congress and Apla slogans were daubed on walls this week in Nongoma, the site of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini's palace, a possible pointer that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's anti-election stance is backfiring.

This is the first time that such an incident is known to have happened in Nongoma — and indicates that anti-Inkatha sentiments exist in the heart of Zululand, Buthelezi's traditional support base.

It is also embarrassing to Zwelithini, who finds that subjects living close to him refuse to back his pro-IFP stance.

In its crime report earlier this week, the kwaZulu Police (KZP) said that last Sunday evening, unknown people threw stones at the Dinizulu high school and teachers' quarters in Nongoma. Nineteen window panes were damaged.

"The slogan 'Viva ANC, Apla/Down with Inkatha' was written on the school verandah," the KZP statement said.

The KZP added that a case of malicious damage to property was being investigated.

ANC sources in Empangeni said their organisation did not have a branch in Nongoma, but did have supporters.

Anti-IFP sentiments also exist in Buthelezi's seat of power, Ulundi. Last year IFP supporters accused residents of being ANC supporters and burnt their homes.

GOLDSTONE COMMISSION: A kwazulu constable says he was trained to kill non-Inkatha members

NEW evidence before the Goldstone Commission has refocused the spotlight on the SADF's training of Inkatha members in the Caprivi Strip, suggesting that it was indeed for hit-squad purposes.

Akwazulu Police (KZP) constable, who cannot be named because he is under a witness protection programme, last week told the commission he was trained in the Caprivi in 1986 to kill non-Inkatha members — and that other Caprivi trainees, including their "commander", had later given him an AK47 rifle to "plough" through a violence-racked township in northern Natal.

The policeman also claimed the trainees were promised that they would not face arrest. When he ran into trouble in one instance, the kwazulu Minister of Justice, Reverend C.J. Mthethwa, had apparently promised to come to his rescue.

The KZP constable was giving evidence to a commission hearing on the KZP in Westville, near Durban, last week. He said he had decided to talk to the Special Investigation Unit of the Goldstone Commission because he feared for his life.

His evidence flies in the face of the earlier findings of the commission on the SADF training of 200 Inkatha members in the Caprivi in 1986 — first exposed by the *Weekly Mail*. In a report in June, the commission said there was no evidence of a "direct link" between township violence and the training and "there is no evidence at all to suggest that the SADF provided the training for the purpose of hit-squads being established".

This appeared to have vindicated repeated claims by the South African and kwazulu governments that the bulk of the trainees were

New evidence on Caprivi hit-squads

Earlier this year the Goldstone Commission found no evidence linking township violence to SADF-trained Inkatha members. A kwazulu constable's evidence could change this. (112)

20m 4/6-12/8/93

idle on their return and that they were trained to offer VIP protection.

Giving evidence, the constable said: "I was told that I was (being trained) to protect the government of South Africa and kwazulu ... but also to attack those people who do not belong to Inkatha and those people who did not like the kwazulu government."

The chairman of the commission, advocate Malcolm Wallis SC, asked him whether it was part of his job to kill people. The constable replied that it was — but that he had not had a chance to do this.

As KZP officers listened attentively to his evidence from the public gallery, the constable revealed that after the six-month training course he was at the centre stage of IFP politics: first as a member of its recruitment team and then as its national organiser in Ulundi.

When he was stationed in violence-racked Esikhawini township in northern Natal as a KZP officer in 1987, the constable said he was approached by three other Caprivi trainees who handed him an AK47 rifle. The three were

Joyful Nyambose, Peter Msane and Daluxolo Mandlanduna Luthuli — identified earlier as the "commander" of the Caprivi group and a former Umkhonto weSizwe cadre who fought in the Wankie Campaign in 1967 against South African and Rhodesian troops.

"They (the three) said that the firearm was going to be (for) 'ploughing' between H1 and H2 (sections of Esikhawini) ... I was complying with instructions ... They could have told me anything and I would have done it," said the constable.

He explained that "ploughing" through the township meant he had to kill people. The constable said Luthuli further told him to "watch daily" two policemen with whom they had "problems" — and suggested that one of them should be killed.

"Mandlanduna (Luthuli) said one of the targets could be hit at about 7pm (at home) when it just begins to get dark," the constable said. He added that he was told to look after the AK47 rifle until another Inkatha member from Ulundi, Robert Mkhize, came to fetch it. How-

ever, the constable said his station commander, Captain MZ Dlamini, arrived two weeks later and seized the Soviet-issued weapon hidden in a suitcase on top of a wardrobe. "I asked Captain Dlamini if I was going to be arrested ... He said I would not," the constable added.

Another senior police officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Sipho Meshack Mduli, told the commission he had heard from the SAP in Empanjeni that the constable had weapons in his possession. Mduli said he had then passed the information on to Captain Dlamini who had subsequently confiscated the AK47 rifle.

The constable claimed that a senior Inkatha member in Empanjeni, Abraham Mbuyaze, whose wife Lindive is on the IFP Women's Brigade national executive, had discussed the possibility of an SAP investigation with the kwazulu Minister of Justice. According to the constable, Mthethwa told Mbuyaze that, if necessary, he would contact the SAP in Empanjeni and try to have the charges quashed.

The constable further claimed that there were "discussions" at the Caprivi camp on what would happen "if we caught with a gun or for shooting someone".

"I was told that if I carried out my instructions I was not going to get arrested," added the constable.

remarking on the KZP's failure to arrest the constable for illegally possessing a weapon, Wallis said it was an "open and shut" case and the constable should have been arrested immediately for the "serious offence". Dlamini said he did not know why the constable had not been arrested.

Little to show for Inkatha boycott

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will have little to show for its bid to scuttle constitutional negotiations when it returns to the table within the next fortnight. The indications are that no major concessions have been made by government and African National Congress negotiators.

Inkatha's Joe Matthews told a news conference on Wednesday that the party would end its month-long boycott and return to negotiations "after a few more bilaterals". ANC and government sources believe this will happen within two weeks.

Their optimism is based on bilateral discussions with senior IFP leaders over the past 10 days. Meetings also took place between the IFP's constitutional adviser, Dr Mario Ambrosini, and senior members of government negotiator Roelf Meyer's Department of Constitutional Development, arranged to clear up misconceptions about the concept of "federalism".

The IFP's imminent return is partly due to its failure to convince

Inkatha's attempts to disrupt negotiations seem to have come to naught as the other parties called Mangosuthu Buthelezi's bluff, writes **Chris Louw**

its partners in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to join its boycott of the talks. Other negotiators have little doubt that the IFP was trying to emulate the ANC in bringing the process to a standstill. In the event, the 23 remaining negotiating parties showed they could go ahead with the process without the IFP.

Inkatha insisted in its bilateral meetings with the government and the ANC that clarity be reached on the issue of sufficient consensus and that it "be given a chance to be heard" at the negotiating council. Indications are that it will be met on these issues to enable it to save face.

In effect, the IFP will be allowed to make an input on all the issues that were discussed while it boycotted the proceedings after walking out at a negotiating forum meeting on July 2. It missed the crucial debate on

the draft constitution, as well as debates on an independent broadcasting authority and on the proposed division of South Africa into nine regions.

NP sources were adamant, however, that none of these questions had been finalised, saying that there would still be time for Inkatha to contribute once it returned.

The first signs of Inkatha's impending about-face came when its key negotiator Walter Felgate, accompanied by central committee member Suzanne Vos, unobtrusively turned up at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday this week. It was the first time IFP representatives had been seen at the venue of the talks since their walk-out.

Felgate arrived at the building at about noon, leaving some time after 4pm. He was seen at the press table collecting the latest reports from

technical committees.

Asked the reason for their unexpected presence, Vos insisted that they had only come in to "make some telephone calls". It is known, however, that Felgate had a long meeting with Internal Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, known for his IFP sympathies.

Schutte, a nominated MP who hails from Natal, was given the task by the National Party of talking to Inkatha with the aim of trying to lure it back to the table. This was done in order to ward off serious conflict within the NP caucus, with negotiators Meyer, Dawie de Villiers and Leon Wessels (all three cabinet members) quite prepared to see the talks through without the IFP, if necessary.

Fears of a serious conflict within the NP in the end made the return of the IFP imperative. Opposing the negotiators — called "softies" by their adversaries — were their cabinet colleagues Tertius Delport, Hernus Kriel, Kobie Coetsee and George Bartlett. Among other things, they are unhappy with the draft constitution presented to the negotiating council last month, believing that the powers and functions of the regions are not sufficiently catered for.

It is no coincidence that these ministers strongly sympathise with Inkatha. Two of them — Schutte and Bartlett — are from Natal and face the problem that many members of their constituency management teams are threatening to cross to the IFP.

Kriel, Coetsee and Delport have for more than a year regularly raised objections to aspects of the negotiations. They feel their negotiating colleagues should take a much stronger stance against the ANC. Delport — until recently one of the NP's key negotiators — has shifted so far to the right that he now identifies with most of the demands for an Afrikaner "homeland".

Sources in the Afrikaner Volksunie say they have the "active support" of Delport in their endeavours to establish a cultural base for Afrikaners.

The conflicting approaches were very evident at an NP caucus meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday. According to sources the "objectors" complained they had not been kept informed on the direction of the negotiations and had been left in the dark on agreements. In the end, it is said, only President FW de Klerk's leadership averted serious conflict.

IFP opens in ANC 'war' area

DURBAN — The IFP is to launch a branch this weekend in the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, the scene of renewed fighting yesterday which left seven dead.

Police, who have offered a "substantial reward" for information, are expected to be out in force this weekend in the informal settlement which has had eight months of severe violence.

The death toll in fighting between two gangs, the Reds and the Greens, is now estimated at well over 200.

Both groups were ANC-aligned but it is now believed that the Greens have broken away to join the IFP.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillett said members of the Green gang had approached them within the past fortnight to join.

● Southern Natal youth leaders of the the ANC and the IFP are to meet in Durban tomorrow in an effort to bring peace to townships in the region, they jointly announced yesterday.

'Spoilers' need a face-saver

ARGUS 7/8/93

~~5/11A~~ 11B

THERE is speculation, denied by one Inkatha Freedom Party source, that the party would join negotiations in another two weeks after what is regarded as an abortive attempt to scuttle the talks — as the African National Congress did at Codesa. But most other Cosag members did not join a walk-out and the boycott has cost the IFP dearly.

The protest has reinforced some perceptions that they are spoilers and the party has sidelined itself while crucial issues are being discussed.

Sources close to the talks earlier expressed fears that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would attempt to go it alone if his demands were not met. These include agreement on a federal set-up and the completion of a "final" constitution before the elections.

But the party's critics maintain it will have no gains to show for what they describe as a failed power play. They

■ The Kwazulu delegation needs an honourable face-saver before it can return to the multiparty talks, but it will win no real concessions. A report by **JOHN MacLENNAN** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

maintain that most of what the IFP and Kwazulu government delegations were demanding had already been settled in the talks.

Broad agreement has already been reached by the other parties on the following issues:

- Strong regional government.
- the need for an interim constitution before elections.
- Agreement on constitutional principles which will bind parties in completing the final constitution.

IFP sources hold, however, that the principles are far too vague to guarantee their not being turned inside out by the new government which will have the task of completing the constitution.

The ANC and the NP are both attempting to convince the Kwazulu delegations that the process can deliver what the IFP want.

The immediate pressure, however, is being felt by the Kwazulu delegations because its stayaway has not achieved any purpose — the talks are continuing. Critics also say it makes no sense to walk out over demands for a federal system when the concept of strong powers for regions has already been approved.

Sources say the formula which will allow the Kwazulu delegations to return to the talks will include agreement by other parties that the problem issues will be "revisited" so they can make their observations. But they will not be given a veto — which is what the walk-out sought to secure.

'We won't commit political suicide'

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed that he would never accept central government control, which he said was milking the Natal-Kwazulu region dry.

(13) ARG 7/8/93
"Never again will we, of our own volition, place ourselves as a region at the mercy of any central government, regardless of who is at the helm," he said yesterday at a ceremony at the

Hluhluwe Game Reserve, south of the Mozambique border.

Chief Buthelezi, who is also chief minister of the Kwazulu black homeland, explained that the region's riches were being used to fund projects elsewhere in South Africa, while Natal-Kwazulu remained "a Cinderella province".

"At the risk of being demonised as the veritable nigger in the woodpile, I am not pre-

pared to allow the people of this region to commit political suicide," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he remained committed to South Africa's multiparty democracy talks, from which both his IFP and Kwazulu delegations walked out of on July 2 after the majority of participants agreed on April 27 as the date for the country's first non-racial elections. — Sapa-AFP.

Inkatha pull-out applauded

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A GROUP of chiefs and several thousand of their followers gathered near Maritzburg yesterday to voice their support for the Kwazulu government's decision to pull out of negotiations. 8/8/93

Kwazulu legislative member, Mr T.D. Ntombela — the main speaker — said the Zulu nation would "oppose the destruction of Kwazulu to the last breath".

He said the Kwazulu government had pulled out of the Kempton Park talks when the National Party and African National Congress/SACP alliance ignored Kwazulu's objections to the proposed process for the formulation of the constitution, the lack of clarity on the form of state, and the failure to consider concerns about violence voiced by Kwazulu and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

A resolution was passed formally backing the Kwazulu government's decision

to withdraw.

LEADERS RUSH TO FLASHPOINT



PEACE PLEASE! . . . Nelson Mandela made an impassioned plea for peace on Thursday at the Huntersfield stadium in Katilehong on the East Rand. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Ulundi sends top man while ANC pleads for peace

CJP/Press 8/2/93

By **MONWABISI NOMADOLO**

KWAZULU Justice Minister CJ Mthethwa was sent to the trouble-torn East Rand by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week after reports that the violence was discrediting Inkatha.

The point of the visit was to obtain information from grassroots leadership on the levels of violence, and also to prepare for the proposed East Rand tour by Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela.

Mthethwa held a meeting behind closed doors with several leaders from violence-stricken areas such as Vosloorus, Thembisa, Thokoza and Katilehong.

Inkatha central committee member Humphrey Ndlovu confirmed the visit.

Ndlovu said the minister, accompanied by chiefs, wanted to get first-hand information on the ground instead of having to rely on newspaper, fax or telephone reports.

Violence in the area since last week has left more than 140 people dead.

Thembisa and Katilehong resembled war zones with hostels in both areas cut off from the townships after train services were stopped due to the drivers' endangered lives.

Plea

In an impassioned plea during an address on Thursday at Huntersfield Stadium, Mandela called on residents not to attack Zulus simply because they were Zulus.

He condemned killers within both Inkatha and the ANC who murdered innocent men, women and children.

He also lashed out at the conduct of police, especially members of the internal stability unit, saying they had no interest in the people they were supposed to protect.

Amid jeers, Mandela called on Katilehong residents to make friends with hostel dwellers.

He told the crowd that he understood their anger when their loved ones and relatives were killed by criminals.

Mandela congratulated the SDUs for their tireless work in protecting township residents.

Youths in Katilehong called for the withdrawal of police.

Most of the youths interviewed belonged to the PAC's student body Paso. They told City Press they were not fighting hostel dwellers but police, adding that hostel dwellers were being used by security forces.

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NEWS 12-hour meeting resolves to end conflict

IFP and ANC youths in peace pact

Sowetan 9/8/93

YOUTH leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party have declared a cessation of hostilities in Southern Natal and have called on their supporters to stop waging war.

"No member of one of our parties must from today onwards engage in conflict with members of either party," said a joint resolution yesterday.

The ANC's Southern Natal Youth League met the regional IFP Youth Brigade's leadership in a 12-hour meeting in Durban on Saturday aimed at bringing peace to Natal.

Reconciliation



The first-of-its-kind meeting ended with a strong call for peace and reconciliation and a joint condemnation of violence. Regional ANC Youth League chairman Mr Cyril Xaba and national IFP Youth Brigade organiser Mr Otto Kunene led delegations in what they both described as successful peace talks.

"We accept the challenge ... and

strongly commit ourselves to bring about peace in our land," they resolved.

While recommitting themselves to the June 23 peace pact between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the youth leaders pledged to form a joint liaison committee to maintain the momentum to peace and ensure agreements are not breached.

Calling for an end to violent conflict between their supporters, they resolved to "declare a cessation of hostilities, at least and in the main, among our constituency-membership".

The ANC and IFP shared a common objective — peace. To achieve this, they would try to ensure representation of the youth, who are at the forefront of political fighting, on all National Peace Accord structures.

Xaba and Kunene expressed outrage at continuing political bloodletting.

In a further message, they called on supporters to commit themselves to education and "remain in classes". — Sapa.

Today is National Women's Day. See page 7 for a special interview with Albertina Sisulu.



Newly crowned Miss (left) and second pri

Secret discussions bear fruit

Inkatha may rejoin talks tomorrow

Biday 9/8/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Inkatha Freedom Party might return to constitutional talks tomorrow following a flurry of secret meetings with government and the ANC and intense internal discussion, senior Inkatha negotiator Joe Matthews said yesterday.

But he warned that if Inkatha returned the talks were not going to be as "easy" as they had been, "with issues going merrily through without being contested".

"Our leadership will still have to be convinced that we will not be returning just to be a rubber stamp again," he said. Inkatha would reject anything that looked like a pre-planned ANC/government deal.

If Inkatha did rejoin the talks, it would take up its place to discuss the second draft constitution, which will be tabled tomorrow.

Matthews said there had been intense discussions with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the past week. A decision would probably be made at the party's caucus meeting today.

"There is a strong possibility that we will be back on Tuesday," he said.

Matthews attributed the positive development to the secret meetings Inkatha had had with government and the ANC. The meeting with the ANC was "particularly good".

On the thorny issue of "sufficient consensus", Matthews said the chairman had no precedents or guidelines by which to work. However, the position adopted last week by the negotiating council seemed to be moving in the right direction.

The new rule is that if parties find an

issue problematic, the council will adjourn and follow a set of mechanisms, including meetings with technical committee support, to achieve consensus. Only when all avenues have been exhausted will decisions be taken by "sufficient consensus".

Matthews said he was not too concerned about the second draft constitution.

"Normally these things take 18 or 19 drafts before you get a good document. The first few are usually inadequate and bad.

"But in order to turn out a good constitutional draft we all have to be there to thrash out issues and argue for our points of view."

Despite the advertisement in yesterday's Sunday Times rejecting a two-stage process, Matthews said Inkatha could live with it as a concession to the ANC.

However, the constitution had to be as complete as possible, with the elected constituent assembly being entitled to amend it. As things stood, the election body could overthrow all the negotiators' decisions.

"We need a political settlement in this country, and if the elected body can just overrule everything and change it, then we do not have a settlement at all."

Although the contents of the second draft constitution are still confidential, it is understood that changes have been made in the area of regional powers.

It appears that regions will have substantial powers with which central government will not be able to tamper. This arrangement will come into effect when the new constitution replaces the tricameral one.

IFP talks stayaway goes on

(11B)

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL STAFF

The Inkatha Freedom Party is almost certain to stay away from the talks table this week.

This follows intense speculation that the party was poised to return and take part in tomorrow's debate on the second draft of the Interim Constitution, couriered to negotiating parties at the weekend.

IFP negotiator and central committee member Walter Felgate was unequivocal yesterday when asked whether the party would be returning to talks: "There is no question of it whatsoever." The matter would be decided at a central committee meeting on Saturday, he said.

KwaZulu government delegation leader Dr Ben Ngubane also poured cold water on the speculation, saying meetings on constitutional issues with the ANC and Gov-

THE TALKS AND YOU



This week at the World Trade Centre

Interim Constitution: The second draft of the controversial Interim Constitution, now being studied by participating parties, is due to be debated in the Negotiating Council

tomorrow. Its proposals on federalism and a deadlock-breaking mechanism for the writing of a final constitution will be closely watched. The return to the talks of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu Government could hinge on this.

Time frames: Negotiators face a deadline. Hopes that key transitional legislation would be finalised by the Negotiating Council this week are being played down. The new target is the end of next week - allowing just enough time for the legislation to go through Parliamentary standing committees before the short session of Parliament which starts on September 13. One of the draft Bills provides for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), effectively the first step towards interim government.

Regions: The hotly debated nine-region map is up for discussion again today, and fireworks are expected.

CHRIS WHITFIELD

ernment would continue this week.

Meanwhile, negotiators face a period of "pressure cooker" tension as

they begin a race today to ensure that the process does not fall behind its targets. Already, hopes that key pieces of

draft legislation would be finalised at the World Trade Centre by Friday are being dampened.

However, draft Bills providing for the transitional executive council, independent broadcasting authority, independent media commission and independent electoral commission will have to be approved by the Negotiating Council before August 20 if the process is not to be disrupted.

This would allow just enough time for them to be squeezed through the parliamentary standing committees and ready for the short session of Parliament scheduled to begin on September 13.

There are fears that if the legislation cannot go through Parliament during the session, the April 27 election date could be jeopardised. Sources believe the Interim Constitution and the Bill of Rights will have to be approved at another short session later in the year.

, then reinstutes it • Trade unions join NSB board

IFP dashes hopes of return to talks

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

REMAINED UNCLEAR Felgate says

party may go back to talks soon:

THE INKATHA FREEDOM Party yesterday temporarily withdrew its court action against the negotiating council, but later dashed hopes of an early reconciliation when it reinstated the lawsuit.

It is believed the IFP withdrew its original suit because of a technical omission. It did not include the words "sufficient consensus", which are central to its protest and a walkout three weeks ago.

Efforts to get an explanation from the IFP failed but central committee member and negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said from Durban the party could return to the negotiations at the

World Trade Centre next week.

Meanwhile, it remained unclear whether the IFP or KwaZulu government was behind the action.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said as far as he knew the legal action was still on but "things do change from hour to hour".

Yesterday's chairman, Mr Bravin Gordhan, announced the IFP's decision in his report to the council on behalf of the multiparty planning committee.

He and Mr MJ Mahlangu of the Lebowa United People's Party were again served individually with papers

as chairmen for the day. They ruled that sufficient consensus had been reached on decisions to declare April 27 next year as an election date and on the draft constitution.

However, debate began in earnest on the second draft interim constitution, which is expected to be finalised and legislated by next month.

Debate on delimitation and boundaries continued yesterday.

Gordhan said a decision had still to be taken on when the negotiators would visit strife-torn East Rand townships.

Education forum launched

PLAYERS across the spectrum took a major step towards resolving the education crisis when they launched the national education and training forum at the weekend. *B/Day*

Forum spokesman Alan Tonkin said there were high expectations among all the signatories at Saturday's launch that the forum could be the answer to education's problems.

More than 120 people representing all the major stakeholders in education, including the ANC and government, attended the launch outside Johannesburg. The forum secured government's promise that all restructuring in education issues would be referred to it. *9/8/93*

Although the forum would be responsible for creating a single non-racial education system, the most immediate issues facing it were rationalisation, the proposed strike by coloured teachers, black matric exam fees and classroom disruptions.

Tonkin said forum working groups

KATHRYN STRACHAN

had already gone a long way to defusing some of the burning issues.

However, the issue of teachers' salaries which could result in a national strike on August 16, would remain outside the ambit of the forum as it was the subject of negotiations between the Commission for Administration and public sector unions.

National Education Minister Piet Marais said the forum's characteristics would include that:

- It operated on the basis of inclusiveness and consensus; *(S)*
- It acquired its authority through developing widely accepted implementable and effective policies;
- It accepted that responsibility for managing education remained with the government of the day; and
- Matters be dealt with by working groups to guard against ideological contamination of education.

No handover, town councils vow

MORE than 100 city and town councils decided at a special congress of the Transvaal Municipal Association in Boksburg on Saturday to reject the proposed model for new authorities.

Ten councils from the Cape, Free State and Natal were represented at the congress. *B/Day*

Spokesman Koos le Roux warned government that the councils would not under any circumstances hand over their control of cities and towns. The congress demanded that government hold white municipal elections before legislation was promulgated to change the present status of local authorities.

Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen told the congress the Afrikaner had been ignored at multiparty talks and his call for an area of self-determination in a new

SA had been put on hold.

The former SADF chief said, however, talks between the Volksfront and government on Friday had been positive. *9/8/93*

Viljoen said government had become weak and had created the perception there was only one political winner in the country, namely the ANC-SACP alliance.

He said a high potential for conflict existed. There were three groups which had great potential for violence — the ANC-SACP alliance, the Zulu nation and the Afrikaner — but war was not the answer.

Viljoen urged multiparty negotiators to accept the basic realities of the country and warned there would not be peace until the national aspirations of all had been addressed in the new SA. — Sapa. *(S)*

Inkatha and NP gear up for polls

B/Day 9/8/93
TIM COMEN and
LLOYD COUTTS

THE Inkatha Freedom Party effectively kicked off its election campaign with full-page advertisements in Sunday newspapers yesterday, and the NP will fire up its election machine within the next few days, armed with a range of new slogans.

In its advertisement, Inkatha said it was ready to govern SA, but warned that a final constitution would have to be agreed on before it would welcome the setting of an election date. *(112)*

Inkatha said it was already SA's most representative party.

With constitutional agreements taking shape and polls showing slipping support, the NP is likely to dust off its reputedly fearsome election machine during the forthcoming provincial congresses.

Party insiders said at the weekend it would drop the "velvet gloves" approach adopted during constitutional negotiations.

"We have deliberately adopted a low-key stance because securing agreement on constitutional issues had to come first," said NP federal council information director Jaco Maree.

But the NP now needed to counter electioneering by the ANC and Inkatha, he said.

More and more, President F W de Klerk could be expected to show his political colours.

Maree discounted political polls which reportedly indicated a decline in NP support, saying analysis of the polls did not "bear scrutiny".

Maree estimated the NP's support among blacks to be between 25% and 30% of the total black electorate.

Buthelezi 'won't rule out alliances'

CT 10/8/93 (118)
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not rule out an alliance with the NP — or even the ANC — in the coming election, according to an investment newsletter published yesterday.

Omega, published by the research firm headed by the DP's Dr Denis Worrall, quoted Chief Buthelezi as saying no political leader can be expected to make categorical statements about alliances. But he said there was no prospect of an alliance with the NP "while it continues to eat ANC humble pie".

Speaking from Ulundi yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said he could not say when his party would return to the talks at the World Trade Centre.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council was informed yesterday that the KwaZulu government was changing the terms of its lawsuit against it.

Opinion on the IFP

Sowetan 10/8/93

THE PRESENT behaviour of the IFP should be roundly condemned by all peace-loving South Africans, Natalians in particular. The dangerous brinkmanship displayed by the IFP has made it clear that it is attempting to protect the positions of those people who have been benefiting from apartheid. No country can allow itself to be held to ransom like this. It is therefore important to expose this fully.

The IFP, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in particular, are distorting history in order to secure their narrow political interests. The projection of the "Zulu nation" as a monolithic political force simply flies in the face of reality. There are millions of Zulus who are members and supporters of the ANC, the SACP and other political formations outside of the IFP.

Therefore no one can speak on behalf of the Zulus as a single political entity. It is for this reason that we say the IFP is abusing the position of the King to achieve its own political objectives.

The presentation of the KwaZulu bantustan as a political institution of the Zulus is the biggest lie manufactured in recent times.

These structures were set up in terms of apartheid laws, with the aim of dividing the African people for the purposes of political subjugation and economic exploitation. And this was done without consulting the African people in this province.

Although the Zulu Territorial Assembly was established in 1970, and KwaZulu granted self-governing status in 1977, the first elections were only held in 1978. The entire process of setting up this bantustan was carried out in Cape Town and Pretoria, and only afterwards were the people asked to "vote".

What is striking is that the IFP now wants to follow the same route through the drawing up of a regional constitution for Natal by an unrepresentative body, followed by KwaZulu-Natal being fully established as a federal state, and only afterwards holding an election. This follows the tradition of apartheid engineering at its best.

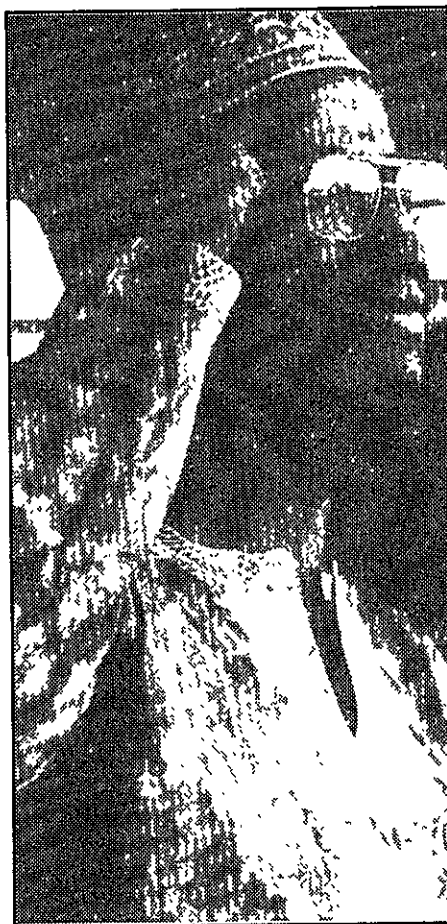
War

The IFP threatens war if the KwaZulu bantustan is not preserved after an election for a Constituent Assembly, on the grounds that this would be an attack on the Zulus. Such dismantling is absurdly compared to the invasion of Ulundi by the British.

Inkatha is willing to accept the scrapping of

Blade Nzimande, an executive member of the ANC Natal Midlands region, takes issue with Inkatha for claiming to speak for all Zulu-speaking South Africans:

(11B)



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... accused of distorting history.

all other apartheid structures after a democratic election, as long as the KwaZulu bantustan remains.

What role would this bantustan play? Would only a section of Africans in Natal be under its jurisdiction?

Bantustan

This would still be government based on racial and ethnic separation.

Maintaining the KwaZulu bantustan indicates that all of a sudden the IFP accepts the legitimacy of a highly fragmented and poverty-stricken territory which Buthelezi himself had appropriately described in 1975 as "such an unconsolidated Dalmatian-skin type of thing". Inkatha cannot have its cake and eat it. We cannot allow the selective dismantling of apartheid structures after a democratic election.

The biggest problem facing all those who have served under, and benefited from, apartheid structures is how to retain their position.

The IFP's headache is how to secure the positions of the more than 150 members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and its cabinet, as well as its latest opportunistic white converts, irrespective of an election outcome. This is simply impossible. The sooner Inkatha accepts this reality the better.

Federalism

It is also clear that the demand for federalism is largely a smokescreen behind which to entrench political privilege ahead of an election.

We therefore cannot and should not allow the IFP to take this country to civil war on the basis of such selfish considerations, and on a demand that has not even been tested with the people of Natal.

No single political organisation has a right to go to the World Trade Centre, throw tantrums and claim to be speaking on behalf of the people of Natal.

The only democratic way to test the views of Natalians is through participation in a national, free and fair election for a constitution-making body.

If the people of Natal are in support of federalism, the results of such an election will tell.

A referendum for Natal on the basis of a constitution drafted by an illegitimate apartheid creation is out of the question.

This country's problems cannot be dealt with through regional processes, but through a national process. South Africa is bigger than Natal.

● **Sowetan will carry the IFP's response to Nzimande's opinion tomorrow.**

Buthelezi in dark over Inkatha talks

Biday 10/8/93

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had not been kept informed of progress in discussions between his negotiators and the ANC and could not give any indication of when his party would return to talks at the World Trade Centre, he said yesterday. (11B)

Inkatha would definitely not take up its seats at the negotiating council today.

Responding to questions, Buthelezi said from Ulundi: "There has been no decision by any of the IFP decision-making bodies that the IFP goes back to the talks at Kempton Park. In fact, apart from what I read in the media, I have not even heard from anyone how the talks (last Wednesday) with the ANC went."

His reply follows confusing statements from Inkatha officials, reflecting differences among the party's negotiators.

On Sunday, senior negotiator Joe Matthews said Inkatha negotiators had been "in constant discussions with Ulundi on the

BILLY PADDOCK

very successful meetings we have been having with the ANC and government" and the party would decide within a day whether it would return to talks this week. Matthews, who leads the team negotiating with the ANC, said there was a "strong possibility we will be back on Tuesday".

However Walter Felgate, who leads the team in discussions with government, said yesterday there was "absolutely no chance we will be back tomorrow and that is authoritative".

He said a decision on returning to the negotiating council would be made on Saturday when the Inkatha central committee met.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council was informed yesterday that the KwaZulu government was changing the terms of its lawsuit against it. Felgate said this did not alter the court date or the substance of the action but was merely a technical change in documentation.

Inkatha refiles its bid to set aside election date

Biday 10/8/93

THE KwaZulu government has refiled its application in the Pretoria Supreme Court in a bid to set aside the ratification of the April 27 election date.

KwaZulu, supported by other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), is contesting the validity of the sufficient consensus ruling at talks which was used to adopt the election date.

The application consists of affidavits from KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the chief negotiator Ben Ngubane.

According to a member of the planning committee at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, the application was refiled last Friday because of inaccurate information. (11B)

The application names two respondents, Lebowa's M J Mahlangu and Pravin Gordhan of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, in their capacity as chairmen on three separate occasions at the talks.

Ngubane argues in his affidavit that sufficient consensus as it appears in the negotiations' standing rules "is quantitatively and qualitatively vague and ambiguous to the extent that it cannot serve as a proper guideline for the exercise of a discussion as to whether sufficient consensus exists or does not exist". (11B)

Buthelezi, in his affidavit, said a fair debate on federal constitutional proposals had, for all practical purposes, failed. — Sapa.

Subsidy for farm radios

Biday 10/8/93

DIRK VAN EEDEN

GOVERNMENT'S R51m subsidy for farm protection would be spent on radio communications only, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Kriel said communication had been identified as a priority after consultations with organised agriculture. By excluding other security measures the number of farmers who could be helped could be increased from 17 000 to 44 000.

Transvaal Agricultural Union President Dries Bruwer said his union had suggested the revised scheme to "stretch the rands". The R50,97m made available by government was not nearly enough, but the union accepted government could afford no more.

Moves to restore East Rand schooling

Biday 10/8/93

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A MAJOR effort to find a way of resurrecting schooling in the violence-racked townships of Thokoza and Katlehong is to be launched this morning when teachers, pupils and community representatives meet to discuss ways of protecting schools.

SA Democratic Teachers' Union representative Vusi Ndlovu said schooling had received a severe blow and pupils could not afford to wait until the violence had subsided to continue. "We have to find a way of restoring a culture of learning despite the violence." (11B)

Ndlovu did not elaborate on proposals to be presented to the gathering at KwaDukathole High School, except to say community members would discuss setting up a "ring of steel" around schools.

People, disillusioned with the security forces, would not enlist their help.

National education forum spokesman Alan Tonkin said the meeting was a positive move.

New constitutional deal not enough for the IFP

ARC 11/8/93
~~11A~~ 11B
Political Staff

THE second draft of the Interim Constitution in the Negotiating Council has increased powers for regions — but appears not enough to satisfy the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre were generally encouraged by the draft and said the inclusion of "exclusive" powers for the first time significantly strengthened the federal character of a constitution for the new South Africa.

Last night the Kwazulu cabinet was still meeting on the issue and a top negotiator said a formal response to the second draft would be made during the week.

But he said that while there had been "some tokenism to meet some of our objections", the second draft remained substantially the same as the first, tabled two weeks ago.

It retains the worst elements — the two-phased process, the deadlock-breaking mechanism and no mechanism to ensure that the regions will have constitutions before elections. It also allows the Constituent Assembly to finalise the regions," he said.

Although the second draft does not appear to contain enough to lure the IFP back to the talks table immediately, its meetings with the government and ANC are progressing.

The report said an SPR (states/provinces/regions) government "shall have exclusive legislative competences, including all necessary ancillary powers" in a variety of areas, including:

- The "appropriation of SPR revenue and moneys for financing the government and services of the SPR".

- SPR planning and development as well as town planning.

- Firefighting, ambulance services and other civil protection services.

- Language policy and languages for official use in the SPR.

- SPR cultural affairs, traditional authorities and indigenous law.

- Delivery of water, electricity and other essential services.

- SPR tourism, recreation, media, roads and public transport.

- Casinos, racing and gambling.

The report directs that parliament will not legislate on these matters except when necessary for the setting of minimum standards, the maintenance of national standards or security, the promotion of inter-SPR commerce and to prevent "unreasonable action" by one SPR against another.

Powers for new Star 11/8/93 regions boosted

BY ESTHER WAUGH
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

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Tokenism

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Although the second draft does not appear to contain enough to lure the IFP back to the talks table immediately, its meetings with the Government and the ANC are continuing. These talks are understood to be progressing.

In its report, the technical committee on constitutional

► To Page 3

Star 11/8/93 Powers for regions boosted

◀ From Page 1

matters said: "Put simply, original powers vested in SPRs (states/provinces/regions) that are derived from the constitution cannot be withdrawn by the national government, nor can they be changed without amending the constitution itself."

It said an SPR government "shall have exclusive legislative competences, including all necessary ancillary powers" in a variety of areas, including:

- The "appropriation of SPR revenue and money for financing the government and services of the SPR".

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THE TALKS AND YOU



Yesterday at the World Trade Centre

REGIONS: The Negotiating Council yesterday resolved to establish a sub-committee to hear further submissions from residents and organisations in 'sensitive areas'.

The Afrikaner Volksunie asked that the right to Afrikaner's right to self-determination be included in the sub-committee's brief. The party claimed that its submissions to the Commission on Regions had not been taken into account.

The Pan-Africanist Congress reserved its position on the resolution while the AVU opposed it.

INTERIM CONSTITUTION: The second draft of the Interim Constitution, tabled yesterday, gives for the first time exclusive powers to the regions. Negotiators said the provision strengthened the federal character of the Interim Constitution.

SYMBOLS: The Negotiating Council accepted a proposal by the planning committee that a commission be established to make recommendations on national symbols for the transition.

CHRIS WHITFIELD

another.

Parliament would have "concurrent legislative competence" for housing, education, health services, welfare services, agriculture, fish and game preservation, the environment, public works, SPR and local policing.

The powers of an SPR government in these areas would be constrained only to the extent that the legislation passed by the central government "expressly or by necessary impli-

cation limits the legislative competence of SPR government".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the draft addressed the Government's concerns on exclusive powers to regions, but several areas still had to be negotiated.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the document was "something to build on".

SA Communist Party delegate Sam Shilowa described it as "a lot better" than the first one.

NEWS FEATURE *IFP plans to shock those who think election results are foregone conclusion*

Sowetan 11/8/93

MR BLADE NZIMANDE IN yesterday's *Sowetan* provides another example of the prevalent notion that political propaganda consists of a combination of distortions and outright lies about the policies of political opponents.

The Kingdom of Zululand was defeated in a war with the British army in 1879, the King, chiefs and families of KwaZulu were dispossessed of their lands.

The lands that remained occupied by the people of KwaZulu were declared Crown land. The Land Act of 1913 and the Land Trust Act of 1918 reflected what remained of the great kingdom of KwaZulu.

It is the military defeat and dispossession by the British, and not apartheid, that resulted in the bits and pieces of communal land occupied by our people today.

At a conference of the Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town in 1974, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for the establishment of a federation in South Africa.

This was followed by the Buthelezi Commission which made a thorough examination of the federal option.

The KwaZulu-Natal Indaba in the '80s put forward a detailed proposal for the establishment of a federal state of KwaZulu-Natal.

Roundly rejected

All these proposals were roundly rejected and condemned by the apartheid Governments of the day.

Blade Nzimande and the ANC now regard the Government, which invented and implemented apartheid, as worthy partners in a power-sharing government of national unity.

The IFP is a mass movement of the people. It is now 18 years old and holds

KwaZulu 'will endure'

IFP Natal organiser Mr Senzo Mfayela

responds to an accusation that the Inkhata

Freedom Party is distorting history to

achieve its own narrow political interests:

annual conferences which adopt comprehensive resolutions embodying the policies of the IFP. The detailed ideas and policies of the IFP are available in numerous publications and documents.

Blade Nzimande is not interested in the officially declared policies of the IFP.

His intention is merely to discredit his political opponents by means of tendentious reports drawn from hostile newspaper articles.

Federal republic

The IFP demands the setting up of a federal republic of South Africa consisting of several states.

These states must be established in terms of a democratic constitution providing for universal adult suffrage; a bill of rights; a constitutional court; constitutional principles and a free market economy.

Some states-regions will also draw up their own democratic constitutions.

The future of the Kingdom of KwaZulu must be guaranteed under any constitutional dispensation.

Every time the IFP speaks of the

Kingdom of KwaZulu, the ANC and its cohorts deliberately distort this to mean preservation of governments established in terms of the Self-Governing Territories Act.

The democratic government of the state of KwaZulu-Natal and the Kingdom of KwaZulu will be an essential part of the new South Africa.

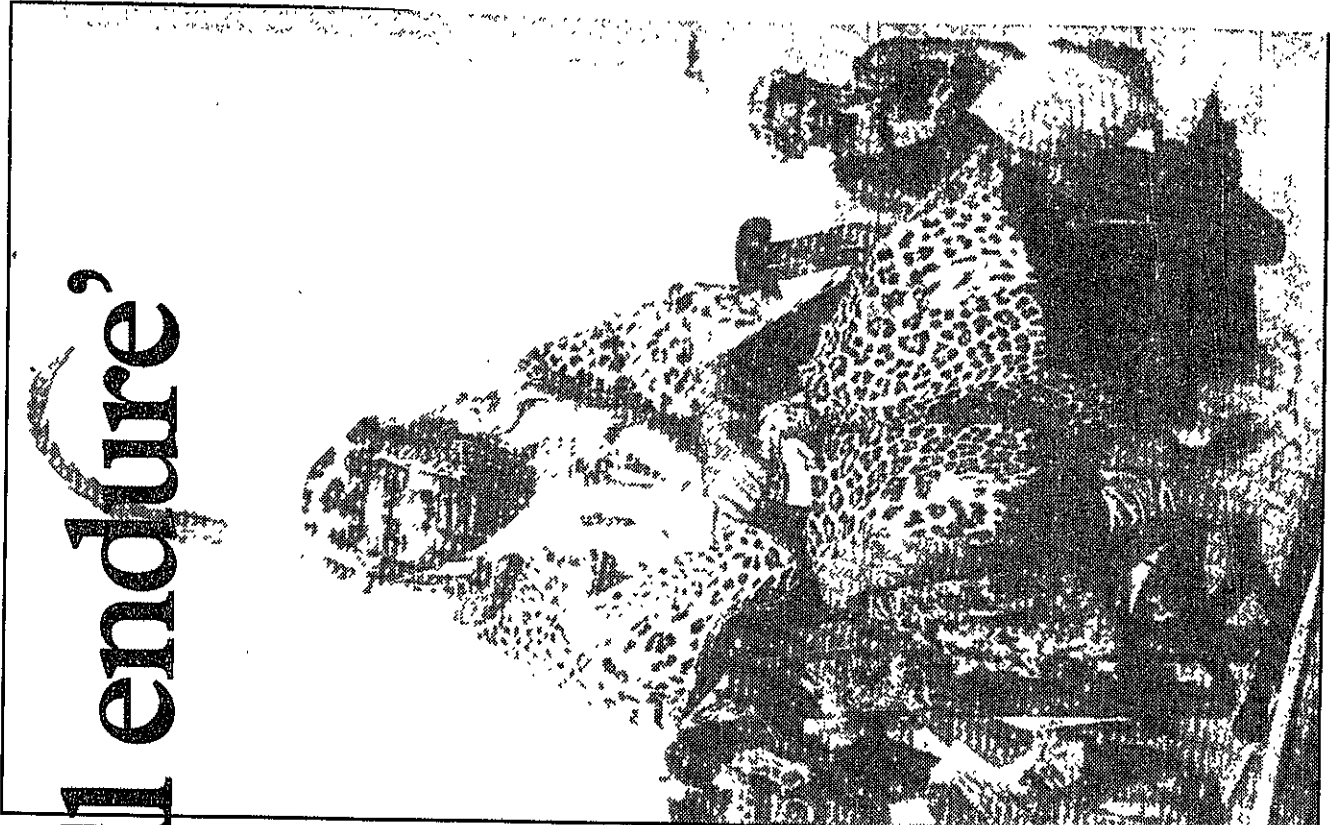
On July 31 1993 the people of Buganda celebrated the coronation of the 36th Kabaka (king) of the kingdom of Buganda.

This is the kingdom that Milton Obote abolished in 1967. Obote is gone and the kingdom of Buganda remains as it has been for centuries.

The Kingdom of KwaZulu is also forever.

Instead of bombastic bravado about their alleged overwhelming support, Blade Nzimande and his friends had better try and run a clean election campaign, not only in Natal, but throughout the whole of South Africa.

The IFP is ready to give an unpleasant shock to all those who have already decided the results of the elections even before they take place.



King Goodwill Zwelithini ... forefathers dispossessed.

Sowetan 12/8/98
Cosag plans strategy
LEADERS of the Concerned South Africans Group met in Pretoria yesterday to discuss a common future approach to an election strategy and the multiparty constitutional negotiations. — Sapa.





Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi speaking to newsmen in Tokoza on the East Rand yesterday. Buthelezi toured violence-torn townships in the area and later addressed about 2 000 supporters at a hostel. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

IFP boss calls for peace

Sowetan 12/8/92

118

By Abbey Makoe and Sapa

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on his supporters to find common cause with the African National Congress and to translate the IFP into "I am for peace".

Addressing about 2 000 supporters in Tokoza on the East Rand, where more than 400 people have died in violence since July 2, Buthelezi emphasised that nothing could replace the will of a people to banish violence.

"When that will does not exist, no peace-keeping force and no dispute resolution committee will ever be able to function properly."

Echoing a similar call by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week, Buthelezi said: "I say to IFP members and supporters that they must find common cause with ANC members and supporters."

"Let the agreements we made with Mr Mandela on June 23 be implemented, let the people tell political leadership that enough is enough and let the people themselves come together and say no to violence."

Buthelezi also warned that the IFP would "vehemently" oppose the inclusion of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the SA Defence Force and the deploying of a peace-keeping force in troubled black areas, saying this would be "a total prescription for disaster".

He described MK as an "ill-trained, underdeveloped and wrongly motivated army".

Buthelezi also lashed out at President FW de Klerk, saying the National Party leader had failed to disintegrate MK.

Although the IFP was itself involved in talks with

the Government, Buthelezi criticised "bilaterals" between the ANC and National Party, saying they were clouded in secrecy that had brought such decisions as the "record of understanding".

"It is the bilateralism which is beginning to polarise South Africa and could well precipitate civil war if it is not made transparent and brought into focus for all to see," he said.

He blamed Mozambicans for the influx of AK-47 rifles and other weapons used in the East Rand fighting, saying such weapons reached places like Tokoza to be used against his people.

He made reference to the Bible and said he understood what Jesus Christ meant by saying "turn the other cheek" when attacked. "But what do you do when you are attacked after turning the second cheek?"

Also to come under attack was MK leader Mr Joe Modise, who was last week honoured with the freedom of Ipelegeng township in the Western Transvaal.

"I want to say to Mr Modise that the 'real' armed struggle in South Africa was the Zulu rebellion of 1906," said Buthelezi, and called on Modise to "stop playing marbles".

Buthelezi said one of the main causes of violence was the "street-corner mob-justice and mass action".

He appealed: "Let us take the East Rand and make it a place where we have conquered violence. Let us show the world that we can do this thing in South Africa."

During his address, a group of youths rampaged in Mngadi Section, Kallchong, setting a number of shacks alight.

F W offers hand of friendship to IFP

The Argus Correspondent

(118) ARGUS 18/93

DURBAN. — President De Klerk has offered Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party a choice: the National Party's hand of friendship or a formidable adversary.

There were only 37 weeks left before the first national election, Mr De Klerk said in the Durban City Hall at the start of the NP's Natal congress. The NP saw the congress as the beginning of the election campaign, he said.

Mr De Klerk had his mind fixed on the election and the NP's opponents. While he gave the IFP the choice, he had only condemnation for the African National Congress. The ANC was a dangerous and untrustworthy party. "It must be cut down to size in the election. The voters of South Africa have the power to do so and they are going to do so."

Mr De Klerk said the IFP and Democratic Party stood much nearer to the NP.

"I therefore find it strange that they spend so much energy on denigrating and fighting against the NP."

Mr De Klerk said NP and IFP policies "are close to one another, even though IFP propaganda purports that it is otherwise". They sometimes differed on procedures.

Buthelezi puts paid to hopes for peace force

LLOYD COUTTS
and JOHANNES NGCOBO

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi quashed hopes for the creation of a national peacekeeping force yesterday, saying he was bitterly opposed to the inclusion of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in such a body.

However, the call for a peacekeeping force under international supervision received support from Methodist bishops yesterday, while the ANC insisted it include all armed formations. **Biday**

Speaking to about 4 000 people at a Thokoza rally yesterday, Buthelezi made a strong appeal for peace on the East Rand, but called for the disbanding of MK, saying its inclusion in a peacekeeping force would exacerbate circumstances in which violence was flourishing. **12/8/93**

"The absorption of MK into the SADF and the absorption of MK into a so-called multiparty peacekeeping force is a total prescription for disaster," he said.

The ANC, in a statement calling for "urgent and drastic" action to end political violence, reiterated its call for a national peacekeeping force. **(11B)**

"Such a force, integrated and representative, must be composed of all armed formations which should contribute personnel on the basis of the principle of parity," the ANC said.

It denied that East Rand violence was caused by feuding between itself and Inkatha, or that it was a Zulu/Xhosa conflict, and blamed elements of a "third force".

Buthelezi rejected the idea of third force involvement, saying violence was a function of planned political campaigning.

He called for peace and tolerance and urged his supporters to restore humanness among themselves and other tribes.

"What happened to our Ubuntu/Botho, that golden thread that goes right through our black culture, whether one is Zulu,

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi **Biday** 12/8/93

□ From Page 1

Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana, Shangani or Venda?

"It is my call on the people of the East Rand to understand that they must reject violence of all kinds," Buthelezi said.

The Methodist bishops condemned the recent violence and said that wherever possible, clergy must offer their services to peace accord structures and other peace-making initiatives. **(11B)**

The bishops called for people to attend a nationwide national service for peace and mourning to be held on August 22.

Regional police commissioner Lt-Gen Koos Callitz yesterday appealed to Tembisa residents to allow the families of those killed in the July 31 massacre to bury their dead in peace today.

Meanwhile, an additional 50 investigating officers have been deployed on the East Rand to investigate crimes committed

during the past month's violence.

Six deaths on the East Rand were reported by police yesterday.

Three people were killed overnight — two by the SADF — and three more deaths were reported yesterday afternoon.

The bodies of two people were found near Kaitshong station yesterday morning. A body with gunshot wounds was discovered outside the Kwesini Hostel.

In Soweto, a policeman was shot dead by two men armed with handguns and an AK-47 rifle. A police spokesman said the men had attempted to rob the constable and a colleague of their service firearms.

The Canadian embassy, meanwhile, announced yesterday that it had donated R50 000 to the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat to provide humanitarian assistance for victims of violence.

News

THE shadow of the absent Inkatha Freedom Party fell heavily over the talks table at the World Trade Centre this week. Chief Buthelezi's negotiators weren't there, but practically everything was done with an eye on Ulundi.

The IFP has decided, for the moment, that the best way of getting its way is to stay away. Time will tell whether the chief's men are right. Andries Guibeb, by contrast, doesn't believe in this approach. A permanent secretary in Namibia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Guibeb had travelled to Kempton Park to keep the closest

possible eye on the political football that most concerns his government: Walvis Bay. The issue of the territory's reincorporation into independent Namibia was tabled on Monday afternoon.

Dressed in a brown suit, this newcomer could be seen talking to Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan in the corridor outside the Negotiating Council chamber. Guibeb spent his time lobbying anyone and everyone he could, all in the cause of getting them on his side.

One couldn't help noticing the difference in approach. The IFP walked out of the talks on July 2, leaving the issues dearest to its heart to be debated by everyone else. This has led to evident frustration, not least from Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who was moved to remark: "It doesn't help to stand outside while the debate on the contents of the draft Interim Constitution is at the negotiating table." In fact, discussion in the Negotiating Council

When you stay away to get your way... 14/8/93

TRANSITION TALK ESTER WAUGH at the World Trade Centre

during the past five days could not have been more germane from the IFP's point of view, especially as far as regions and the draft Interim Constitution are concerned.

Observers have noted substantial concessions on these matters by the

ANC and its allies in the council: with each development, the unspoken question uppermost in negotiators' minds was: "Will this be enough to bring the IFP back?"

The verdict, as the week's session drew to a close on Thursday, was

negative. The IFP chairs remain empty. It is a confusing situation, though, because although Buthelezi's team has vacated the field, it is still involved in the game.

While the party is — in its own words — exercising its democratic right in demonstrating its protest against the sufficient consensus procedure, it is simultaneously discussing the contents of the draft constitution in bilateral meetings. And there is an argument which says that it is precisely this playing-hard-

to-get ploy which has seen the party winning major concessions.

At the start of Codesa negotiations, the ANC would not agree to the powers and functions of regions being determined before elections for a constituent assembly — the body which will draft the final constitution.

Now the ANC has not where these powers are only moved to the point agreed to in a set of constitutional principles binding on a constituent assembly, but it further consented to wide-rang-

ing "exclusive powers" for the regions.

Given the nature of these regional powers, it is now obvious that the constituent assembly eventually elected will be a diluted version of what the ANC proposed at the start of Codesa — a major victory for the IFP.

So the IFP has been very much part of what went on at the World Trade Centre this week, in spirit if not in body. But, in the Alice in Wonderland nature of negotiations, the party's name was never mentioned — not once. Should all of this be food for thought for Andries Guibeb?

Star 14/8/93

FW douses smouldering IFP issue

AMANZIMTOTI — President de Klerk this week successfully negotiated a political tight-rope that had threatened to damage the National Party as it launched its 37-week election campaign.

Faced with divisions from grassroots up to his Cabinet on the thorny issue of how to deal with the Inkatha Freedom Party, De Klerk defused tensions by telling the party faithful in a Durban City Hall rally that he was extending the hand of friendship anew.

On the eve of the NP's Natal congress — where it was thought the issue could come to a head — he said: "I shall continue to try to remove obstacles in the way of better co-operation between the National Party and the IFP."

"In Natal/KwaZulu especially, the National Party and the IFP owe

it to voters to maintain a sound and constructive relationship," said De Klerk.

"At the same time he did reflect the feeling of those in the party who have grown frustrated at the IFP's talks boycott. The province would get its own regional constitution, but through the NP's bargaining and "not as a result of Inkatha's semantics about federalism, its walkouts or its filibustering".

~~IFP~~ (11B)
CHRIS WHITFIELD

He was critical of the IFP's style of negotiating and its "skewed propaganda" about the NP.

De Klerk also tried to address fears among some supporters that the NP was getting too close to the ANC.

It was, he said, a "dangerous and untrustworthy party" which did not have "the courage

to distance itself from communism".

Natal NP leader George Bartlett moved to woo the IFP, calling for the "great Zulu tradition" and monarchy to be respected and for a regional constitution to be drawn up through negotiations in the province. De Klerk's words appeared to have a soothing effect on congress delegates, with little sign of dissension on the Inkatha issue.

The other main theme of the two-day congress was violence. De Klerk's warning that "the levels of violence will have to be drastically reduced before any general election takes place" was echoed by other speakers.

Bartlett said: "It will be totally impractical to hold an election under the present circumstances, because it will be impossible to ensure that the election will be free and fair."

In an apparent reference to the ANC, Bartlett said political opponents claimed they were "ready to govern" yet "in reality, on the ground, in the townships in our metropolitan areas, and the villages and kraals around the country, they are slaughtering each other like flies".

ANC Youth leader

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 14/8/93

De Klerk

● FROM PAGE 1.

Peter Mokaba's reported statement that bullets should be saved for De Klerk and the security forces driven out of the townships came under blistering attack at the conference.

A resolution adopted unanimously by the delegates described the comments as "reprehensible

and totally irresponsible". ~~(11B)~~

It warned that "if there is any bloodshed, it will be on Peter Mokaba's head". (11B)

It called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to give a "clear and unequivocal response" to the comments and called on its representatives at the negotiations in Kempton Park to urgently "demand a debate on this very serious matter".



'Peace army' under fire

Star 14/12

IFP and CP fight shy of election-monitoring force

(118) (2011) (2011)

THE multiparty peacekeeping force has not yet been formed — but its credibility is already in doubt. PHIL MILLAN reports.

HOPES for a multiparty peacekeeping force to police elections next year may already have run into trouble, with the Conservative Party joining the Inkatha Freedom Party in its opposition to the proposed force.

CP deputy leader Willie Snyman warned yesterday that his party viewed the institution of such a force as illegal, while Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on a tour of strife-torn Tembisa on Wednesday, said he was "bitterly opposed" to the inclusion of Umkhonto we Sizwe in such a joint force.

"Nowhere in the world has an ill-trained, underdeveloped and wrongly motivated liberation army ever been able to act as an honourable peacekeeping force," he said.

Snyman added in his statement that the Government's support for the plan would be tantamount to a motion of no-confidence in the legal security structures.

Control

The establishment of a multiparty peacekeeping force — treated with circumspection in some quarters because of the cost and statutory complexities it would entail — would fall under the control of the sub-council of law and order under the control of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which may be operational as soon as next month.

Most parties in the Negotiating Forum agree that a third organisation outside the military and police with independent control should be established before elections, less than nine months away.

However, the credibility of such a force without the participation of the IFP, which originally agreed to the idea — and less so the CP, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Azanian People's Liberation Army — is doubtful.

"We can't not have a peacekeeping force because the IFP doesn't want to be involved," said Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman Brian Curren last night.

More in dispute, however, is how this

politically neutral force be constituted and who its political paymasters should be.

The TEC proposal states that the SADF will be responsible for supplying the force with uniforms, transport, accommodation, equipment and "other logistical support".

The proposal, based on months of bilateral discussions between the SADF, SAP and MK, stipulates that the desired force should be fully integrated and independent of Government control. President de Klerk insists, however, that the Government retain ultimate control, even though it would "interact with the TEC".

The ANC would obviously rather see the peacekeeping force — which should total around 20 000 members — acting as a primary force rather than be an auxiliary to the existing SAP.

How to constitute it is a matter of contention as well. The focus is on the role and the future of the Internal Stability Division (ISD), the revamped version of the SAP's old Riot Unit, blamed by many in the townships and particularly the ANC for much of the violence in black areas.

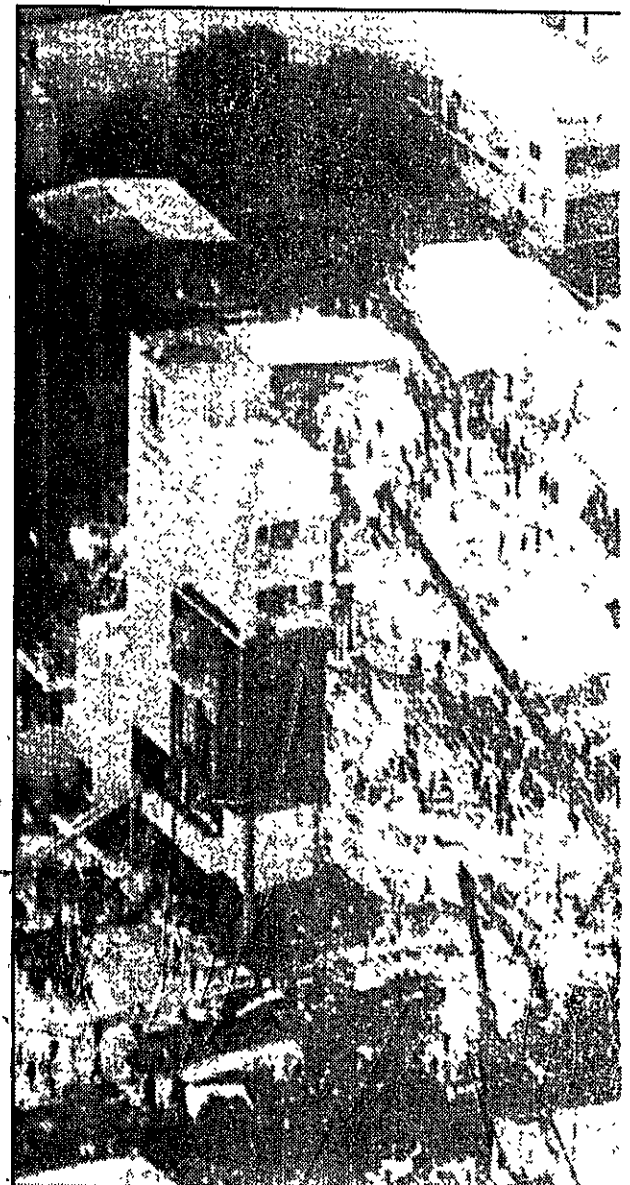
Proposals by the likes of Lawyers for Human Rights and the Goldstone Commission view the ISD as a natural repository for the new peacekeeping force.

"Using a stringent basis of selection, one would be able to draw candidates from all the existing forces, private or otherwise, and alter the central command structure while keeping the existing infrastructure in place," he said.

After an intensive period of retraining and "refocusing" a viable force should be up and running within four months, contends Curren.

However, in order to be effective, the new peacekeeping force must have powers of arrest. This would require an Act to be passed by Parliament or whatever legislative body is in control at the time. Its rules of engagement and where these powers begin and end must ultimately invite conflict with the SAP, unless a formula is reached which is acceptable to all.

Whether the present security forces, the TBVC states or the KwaZulu Police will yield to the authority of such a force also remains to be seen.



DEVASTATION: A view of the ruins of the Royal Plaza Hotel in Bangkok, with guests and workers under tons of concrete and steel.

BANGKOK — About 100 people were feared dead and more than 300 were injured yesterday after a hotel in north-eastern Thailand collapsed, burying guests and workers under tons of concrete and steel.

By nightfall, 17 bodies had been retrieved, as hundreds of rescue workers clawed their way through the ruins of the Royal Plaza Hotel in Nakhon Ratchasima, eight hours after the disaster happened.

Many of the injured were in serious condition, and emergency appeals for blood donors were broadcast on radio and television.

"We heard a loud bang, everything started shaking and suddenly the walls and floor just split," said a teacher who had been attending a seminar on the second floor of the hotel

Score dead hotel

pai flew to Nakhon Ratchasima to inspect the site and visit the injured in various hospitals in the city.

There was still hope that survivors were trapped in the rubble and would be saved, said ministry officials in Nakhon Ratchasima, said.

But police said the operation was being slowed by fear that heavy equipment could

NEGOTIATIONS
Fm 13/8/93
Labours of Hercules

The hoped-for return to the negotiating council by Inkatha this week failed to materialise. This was despite intensive bilateral discussions with government and the ANC, and tabling of the second draft of the interim constitution, which firms up two critical areas of concern to Inkatha and the Cosag group: regional powers and the question of regional administrative continuity in the transition. (11B)

An indication of whether Inkatha will re-

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COWE →

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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join the process is expected after its central committee meeting in Ulundi this weekend. Though government is plugging away at continuing talks with the IFP, in the hope of being able to report progress soon, the prospect seemed bleak this week — in spite of upbeat remarks made by IFP negotiator Joe Matthews after his meeting with the ANC.

His colleague Walter Felgate, who heads discussions with government and does not share Matthews's tendency to sound more positive, soon scuttled any optimism about the IFP's returning. (11B)

But a situation is developing where the IFP won't have any influence on the emerging new constitution.

Yet, "other means to have them heard" are being explored in the bilateral discussions. And it seems that some members of the government team detect a "subtle yearning" by both Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront to be given a suitable opening to join the multiparty process.



Felgate

The issues being tackled in talks with the IFP centre on constitutional matters — specifically, federalism and the "unique" position of KwaZulu/Natal, plus its concern that a hiatus could develop on day one after the April 27 general election, given the two-stage transition process which Inkatha deplores. Then there is the question of decision-making in the council by sufficient consensus.

Inkatha have yet to react to last week's council decision which attempts to refine decision-making by setting procedural guidelines for the chairman. These state that the chairman shall decide at his discretion whether there is sufficient consensus or not.

More detail

However, before ruling, "the chair shall ensure that the disagreeing parties, especially those who consider themselves materially affected, as well as the meeting, shall have had sufficient opportunity to utilise a variety of mechanisms in order to reach the widest possible consensus." The additional mechanisms include adjournments to enable informal discussions, calling on technical committees and consulting principals.

Last Friday, however, the KwaZulu government withdrew its original application challenging the setting of the April 27 election date, to file a new one with the Pretoria Supreme Court, containing more detail against the sufficient consensus ruling on the date. Two of the council's revolving chairmen, Lebowa's Jo Mahlangu and the NIC's Praveen Gordhan, are named as respondents. It's interesting that the word "urgent" is dropped from the refiled application, whose hearing was due on August 24, suggesting a further ruse to delay proceedings in the council.

Secret talks keep Inkatha in negotiating process

Bilby 12/18/93

(118)

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA has been absent from the World Trade Centre for nearly a month. But that does not mean it is really outside the negotiating process, thanks to the secret, parallel discussions it has been holding with government and the ANC.

The measure of influence this has had on the talks is evident in the way parties are taking Inkatha's views into account in their official negotiations at Kempton Park.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has prized significant and substantial concessions, from the ANC alliance in particular.

A year ago the ANC would not even have given the current draft constitution, based on classical federal principles, a second glance. But now, with its substantial exclusive regional powers and all, the alliance has described it as a good document.

Buthelezi and Inkatha have won a major concession from the ANC in that Kwazulu/Natal and other regions will be able to develop their own constitutions.

The ANC has also settled for an elected constitutional assembly

bound by principles negotiated in the multiparty forum, a body with less bite than it initially envisaged. And it will probably have to make further concessions on the assembly's powers, making the interim constitution a fairly permanent one.

The constitution is going to be one which most closely resembles the compromise proposal put forward by the DP and is much to the satisfaction of government and the NP.

The ANC alliance has conceded so much because it knows the negotiations cannot go on much longer. Its supporters and the country cannot tolerate for much longer the instability that the uncertainty breeds.

ANC and government negotiators are also mindful of the threat of Buthelezi taking the "Savimbi option", especially with his constant "warnings" of a civil war. They are concerned about an alliance between Inkatha and right-wing whites fighting for a confederal option.

Despite these major concessions by the ANC, Buthelezi and Inkatha have not yet officially made a single one themselves.

Since government and the ANC signed the Record of Understanding on September 26, Inkatha and Buthelezi have consistently accused the two parties of conniving and making secret deals to be imposed on the negotiating process.

President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela arguably did err by not including Buthelezi at their September summit.

He wanted to be seen as one of a trioka. This might have reduced wasted time in restarting negotiations. It might even have prevented Inkatha from conducting its "constructive filibustering" campaign and nipped in the bud the development of Cosag and a growing right-wing organised front.

However, what is clear is that Buthelezi is not averse to secrets. He deals out behind the scenes. That is precisely what he and his negotiators are involved in now with govern-

ment and the ANC. In fact, by walking out of talks, he has forced this arrangement on the process.

Inkatha negotiators are now involved in detailed discussions with government and the ANC on the draft constitution before negotiators, the draft legislation to be implemented in the run-up to elections and the fate of his administration and party after the elections.

Through these secret talks, government and the ANC have gone as far as devising an arrangement whereby Inkatha can return to the official talks at any stage and review any issue that was discussed in its absence.

ANC and government admit publicly they are bending over backwards for Inkatha.

They openly state that a final settlement is not possible without Inkatha. And De Klerk has said that he cannot contemplate an election taking place without Inkatha. As a De Klerk aide put it: "This was music in Buthelezi's ears."

As the cherry on top for Buthelezi, never before has Inkatha enjoyed so

much focused attention and consideration by both negotiators and the media.

There is now hope that the secret meetings and increased pressure on Inkatha by foreign diplomats and organised business might be bearing fruit. Inkatha negotiators speak openly of returning to the talks, even if they are confused or "deliberately ambiguous" about when this will happen.

A senior government negotiator said this week he believed Inkatha would wait until the final draft of the constitution was ready before it returned to talks. This would give Buthelezi another chance to "shift the goalposts" by revisiting the complete discussions and trying to win even more concessions.

But there is a warning. Buthelezi is in a far less powerful position at the helm of a self-governing homeland than he would be if he were elected as a leader of a region under the interim constitution.

Government can take away his self-governing status, just as it created it.

LETTERS

No breakthrough - Meyer

IFP won't return to talks soon

Star 13/8/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

After a series of bilateral meetings with the Government and the ANC, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party was still nowhere near returning to multiparty negotiations soon, according to IFP negotiator and central committee member Walter Felgate.

Speaking from his Empangeni, Natal, home hours after another round of talks between the IFP and the Government in Durban yesterday, Felgate — who has the ear of the IFP leader and KwaZulu chief minister — said his party had not yet reached the stage where it could return to the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre.

But Constitutional Development Minister and Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer told the NP congress in Durban that yesterday's meeting might pave the way for the IFP's return to negotiations. Felgate — who is known in IFP circles as a hard-liner — said this was unlikely.

Meyer said there had been no breakthrough yet in getting the IFP back to talks. Progress now hinged on an IFP central committee meeting tomorrow, at

INKATHA and Kwazulu's aim for self-determination is attainable, says hopeful Meyer.



which its negotiators would seek fresh guidance on a number of proposals put to them by the Government.

Meyer said it appeared that the IFP and KwaZulu government were striving for the self-determination of the Zulu people, and "we believe that is attainable". To this end a variety of proposals had been put to the IFP. They were:

- That there would be a constitution at national level embracing a federal system "allowing regions to determine their own future".
- That the constitution would provide for specific powers to go to the regions.
- That regional constitutions would be agreed upon at the regional level "within the framework of the central constitution".
- That we provide for the developing of a constitution for the region of KwaZulu/Natal".

IFP borrows ANC slogans

Mduduzi Harvey

HAS the Inkatha Freedom Party suddenly been transformed into a revolutionary movement?

Reporters covering IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech in Thokoza this week were startled to see IFP supporters adopting the chants and symbols of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

As Buthelezi arrived, the standard IFP tributes — like "Bayethel (Hail) and "Wena wapakathi! (He of the royal kraal) — were replaced by ANC-style cries of "Viva Buthelezi!"

Youngsters in the crowd addressed one another as "comrade" while, from the podium, Buthelezi referred to Transvaal Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza as "comrade Khoza".

Behind the African nationalist trappings, it was business as usual for some in the crowd. "The Transvaalis finished and we must go back to Natal," one IFP supporter said. "But before we go back, we must finish the ANC."



Viva Buthelezi!... Inkatha supporters celebrate the arrival of their leader at a rally in Thokoza on Wednesday. PHOTO: KEVIN CARTER

(116) WM 13-19/8/93

ANC members 11B swing to the IFP

WM 13-19/8/98

Farouk Chothia

IN a highly unusual development, a group of African National Congress supporters has defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party in the strife-torn Bambayi settlement near Durban.

The result has been an upsurge in violence in the area, with at least eight people being killed last Sunday when the IFP launched a branch there. More than 200 people have died in fighting in Bambayi since last December.

A local IFP leader, James Mthethwa, said the defectors had been IFP supporters in the pre-United Democratic Front/ANC era — and were now returning to their roots.

Mthethwa said UDF supporters fleeing violence from other areas had moved into Bambayi in 1985 and set up political structures. He said the original Bambayi residents had joined the UDF, but that its leadership was suspicious of them.

"We were singled out as IFP — so we have now decided to go back to the IFP," said Mthethwa.

There were previously two ANC factions in Bambayi, "The Greens" and "The Reds", which clashed last December in a struggle for control of the ANC branch. Also at issue were allegations of the misuse of ANC funds, which traditional leader should run the community, and suspicions on both sides that the other was collaborating with the IFP and police.

With "The Reds" in control of the ANC branch, "The Greens" claimed that the ANC southern Natal leadership had sided with "The Reds" — and called in the Transkei consulate to bus them to their traditional homes in the homeland.

Said the IFP's new chairman, Victor Tshawe: "When we (The Greens) were told to leave, there was a feeling that we should join the IFP. If that was the way the ANC treated us — their members — we did not want to belong to them."

The ANC deputy chairman, Jaftha Nqukwe, said he did not regret the defections to the IFP. "Everyone has the freedom to choose."

Billing the event as a "test case" for free political activity, the IFP launched their branch in Bambayi on Sunday. Violence flared, with casualties on both sides. Monitors said the IFP had been provocative: it had launched its branch in an ANC stronghold, after saying it would hold the event in its own area, and armed supporters had marched through the ANC territory when they could have used another route.

There is also suspicion about the role of the South African Police, with allegations that it has backed the IFP in its fight against the ANC.

In May, the ANC claimed it had reached agreement with police that the Internal Stability Unit would be pulled out of Bambayi and replaced with soldiers. When this happened, there was no violence for a week. The ANC claimed the regional commissioner of the SAP, General Colin Steyn, ordered the ISU to return to Bambayi and violence flared up again.

Steyn said the SAP had never agreed that the ISU's removal would be permanent.

INKATHA

Big swell

IFP ranks are, it seems, being swelled at an astonishing rate. According to its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, about 40 000 new members are joining the party each month — or nearly 500 000 a year. Add that to the party's last published membership tally of 2m card-carriers and the IFP appears to be a formidable force.

But what makes Buthelezi's claim (at the IFP annual congress in Ulundi recently) all the more astounding is the fact that this growth has gone largely unnoticed in opinion polls, surveys and the gut-feel of political commentators around the country.

Burgeoning IFP membership hardly seemed evident at the IFP's attempt last week to establish a base in the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near Durban. There appeared to be about 60 local supporters only; the rest were bused in, apparently, which is hardly an auspicious start. However, vio-

lence and the fear of intimidation doubtless kept many away. (118)

Buthelezi is sceptical about opinion polls and cites the examples of Zimbabwe's independence election and the last British election, where the outcomes differed markedly from authoritative opinion surveys.

But they are the best indications of support we have. One of the most thorough in the black community comes from the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), which canvassed 8 400 people representative of nearly 80% of potential black voters (it excluded Bophuthatswana, Transkei and formal metropolitan townships which are extensively covered in other surveys).

HSRC senior researcher Chris de Kock says that on the straight question of which party is supported, the ANC emerges with 56%, IFP 9%, PAC 2%, NP 1% and other parties with less than 0,5% add up to 2%. He adds that 29% claimed no affiliation.

"If you remove that 29% on the basis that they will decide and follow the same trend between now and an election, then the ANC

emerges with 81% support, the IFP 14%, PAC 2% and the NP 1%."

A different pattern emerges when respondents were asked how good they feel about parties on a list. Here the responses (which indicate potential swings) give the ANC 45%, PAC 16%, SACP 13%, Azapo 9%, IFP 7%, NP 5%, DP 4% and CP 1%.

The pattern in the white community is somewhat different. Clearly the number of politicians defecting to the IFP in Natal suggests a groundswell of white — especially farmer — support for the IFP in the region.

Markinor research last month shows the IFP as the first choice among whites — jumping from 2% to 6% in a year. However, Buthelezi's standing among whites has remained relatively static at 5,6% — though intriguingly his support among blacks rose from 1,9% to 2,6% over six months.

Markinor's Mari Harris says the IFP is largely a regional party which has its biggest support in rural KwaZulu. "Its second source of support comes from whites all over SA, but concentrated in Natal." ■

Govt tables proposals to woo Inkatha back to talks

8/Day 13/8/93

AMANZIMTOTI — Negotiation to draft regional constitutions could begin soon, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

After government discussions with Inkatha yesterday, Meyer said he was convinced that Zulu self-determination now topped Inkatha's agenda.

Addressing the NP's Natal congress, he said that during the three-hour discussions, government had proposed a set of specific proposals for consideration at Inkatha's weekend central committee meeting.

"It seems to us that one of the most important things (Inkatha leaders want) is to ensure self-determination of the Zulu people. We believe that is attainable."

Government negotiators had,

TIM COHEN

therefore, proposed a "particular route" for consideration by the Inkatha central committee which, if accepted, would result in its return to negotiations.

The proposal consisted of four elements. First, at the national level, a federal system should be provided for "allowing regions to determine their own future".

Second, the constitution should make provision for specific powers that could be exclusively exercised by regions. Provision had already been made for certain, though insufficient, exclusive powers in the proposed interim constitution.

Third, the national constitution should provide, as it did already, for

regional constitutions.

And, lastly, provision should be made for the development of a regional constitution for KwaZulu/Natal.

"We should engage ourselves now, not only at the central level, but also at the regional level, in drawing up the constitution that could be adopted in the future," he said.

Both Meyer and President F W de Klerk emphasised the urgency of the situation, saying the negotiations process had only 21 days to reach agreement to permit the April 27 elections to go ahead on schedule.

De Klerk said the election would be a "make or break" moment in the country's history, and its result would lay the foundation for the next 50 or 100 years.

INP moots

THE TALKS AND YOU



Yesterday at the World Trade Centre

TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (TEC): Debate in the Negotiating Council will today focus on the powers and functions of the six TEC sub-councils.

Discussion on the sub-council for defence should be of particular interest.

The eighth working draft of the TEC Bill – tabled in the council on Friday – for the first time outlined the powers of the defence sub-council. It proposed a multiparty National Peacekeeping Force to be deployed in the run-up to the April 27 elections.

WALVIS BAY: Discussion on the matter was postponed for a third time on Friday until today.

DRAFT LEGISLATION: Various elements of a package of draft legislation underpinning the transition process will be discussed this week. It is expected that draft bills on an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission and an independent broadcasting authority will be finalised this week. It will then be discussed by the Parliamentary standing committees before it will be debated during the September session of Parliament.

ESTER WAUGH

IFP boycott to continue

Stev 14/8/93

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The IFP will continue its boycott of constitutional talks despite major concessions having been made in the Negotiating Council.

After a central committee meeting on Saturday, the IFP said it would not return to the World Trade Centre until "the decisions taken without our participation are set aside".

A Government spokesman said the IFP central committee resolutions would be discussed today at a meeting between the party and the Government.

The IFP said: "We demand that the issue of sufficient consensus be resolved. No one can have the political arrogance to impose fundamental decisions by a show of hands and in total disregard of IFP concerns."

The IFP and KwaZulu govern-

ment's objections to sufficient consensus rulings at the negotiating table are scheduled to be heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court next Monday (11B)

Spelling out its bottom lines, the IFP rejected elections before the drafting of the final constitution. It further said only those powers which could not adequately be exercised at a regional level should be devolved to a central government.

The IFP demanded that a transitional executive council – which will run the country in conjunction with the tricameral Parliament until April 27 – should not affect the KwaZulu government's autonomy.

Chief Buthelezi arrived in Lusaka yesterday for a four-day visit. He is to hold talks with the Zambian government and the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy on South Africa's constitutional talks. — Sapa.

Inkatha gives a ^{S. Times} flat 'no' to talks

By RAY HARTLEY

THE Inkatha central committee yesterday scuttled any hopes that it would return to multi-party talks this week. 15/8/93

A series of hardline resolutions adopted by the central committee rejected out of hand the latest draft constitution, which made some concessions to federalism.

"The negotiating process is moving from incurably wrong constitutional premises and is rushing the country to a constitutional and political disaster," the committee said in a resolution.

"We reject the documentation produced by the technical committee on constitutional matters.

"It has no purpose other than fully empowering a discretionary constituent assembly to do as it pleases, and excludes the entrenchments and finalisation of federalism at this stage of our constitutional development," the resolution said.

A second resolution listed eight key guidelines for Inkatha negotiators.

These included the holding of elections once a final constitution is adopted, rejection of the constituent assembly in any form, and insistence on federalism with states having wide powers. (118)

"Our bottom lines are now more than ever the basic principles upon which freedom, peace and democracy will be premised in our country. We hereby instruct our negotiation team to hold on to such bottom lines in all stages and phases of negotiations," the resolution said.

A third resolution rejected discussions between Inkatha, the government and the ANC as "any substitute for true and all-inclusive negotiations".

Third force 'not to blame'

By MOSES MAMAILA

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed views of third force involvement in the violence sweeping the country. (AP)

Addressing hundreds of Inkatha supporters in Thokoza this week, Buthelezi said: "I believe it is a false call to warn against third force factors when it comes to the causes of violence." (S18193)

"One of the latest ugly developments of this carnage is the involvement of ex-Mozambicans in the smuggling of arms into Phola Park and Mandela Park and their participation with Umkhonto cadres in the ongoing violence." (11B)

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa rejected these views.

Responding to MK commander Joe Modise's accusation that he was following a path of destruction, Buthelezi said he knew about war and its consequences better than Modise.

"I come from warrior stock. That is why I reject playing war games in the manner he (Modise) does. That is why throughout my political career, I have always believed in a negotiated settlement," he said.

DR Ben Ngubane claimed in last week's Sunday Times that "the Kwazulu government believes its constitutional goals should be achieved through negotiations".

We all hope he also meant to say that the IFP believes that its political ambitions should be achieved through a democratic expression on the part of the electorate.

The operative word is "negotiations". The IFP has thus far displayed few signs that it is prepared to negotiate. During the entire four months or so of its participation in the multi-party negotiations, it did little negotiating.

Professor Roger Fisher, the Harvard-based internationally recognised fundi on negotiations, emphasises that some of the most elementary, yet essential, principles of negotiations are:

- A negotiator should, in his or her mind, always separate his/her party's positions from the real interests behind those positions;

- A negotiator should always seek to understand the real interests of the party or parties on the opposite side of the table;

- Negotiators from both sides of the table should jointly develop options which satisfy as many of the real interests of each side as possible. These options invariably tend to be quite different from each party's initial positions, but may well go a long way towards meeting their real concerns. A willingness to explore options goes to the very root of negotiations.

Now Dr Ngubane says: "We are also demanding the recognition of the constitution of the state of Kwazulu/Natal as one of the founding blocks of the new federation".

This is the tenor of the approach the IFP adopted during its stay at the World Trade Centre. There is no element of negotiation in it.

The IFP constitution, like the proposals of all other parties, was placed before the technical committee (a committee unanimously appointed by all parties, including the IFP). On the basis of the various competing proposals, the committee drew up



THE IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane last week claimed his party walked out of the multi-party talks in exasperation. The ANC's MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA responds

When last did SI Times 18/8/93 IFP make a concession?

options for all of us to consider. There is no other way to negotiate!

Dr Ngubane says the IFP walkout was due to its failure to "ensure (that) the cause of federalism and constitutional guarantees triumph over authoritarian and centralistic hidden agendas".

The point needs to be made that there is nothing inherently democratic or undemocratic about federalism. The US and India are no more democratic than France or the UK. In fact, Verwoerdian federalism which gave rise to the four "autonomous" republics, the TBVC states, only gave rise to corrupt and incompetent dictators.

The IFP seeks to achieve the "triumph over authoritarianism" by insisting the constitution of Kwazulu/Natal be recognised. This constitution was adopted by the one-party Kwazulu Legislative Assembly without any public debate! Not authoritarian?

The US is held up by the IFP as the ideal, successful federal system. New York Law School scholar Professor Stephen Ellmann, in an article in the SA Journal on Human Rights, said if this constitution was to become law, "it would debilitate the central government of a

future South Africa" and ignore judgments about the proper scope of national government power in the US constitution. (118) (119)

He goes on to say: "This constitution's 'federalism' was rejected by the US two centuries ago — and for good reason."

The IFP has walked out, it claims, in the name of "federalism and constitutional guarantees". The draft constitution presently under discussion at the multi-party negotiations provides for no less than 27 entrenched constitutional principles which provide for every conceivable guarantee to ensure that the constitutional assembly drafts a truly democratic constitution. Ten of these principles deal with states, provinces, and regions. These provide for, not only original, but also exclusive powers for regions. And not even a 100 percent majority would be entitled to amend them.

Dr Ngubane says that "under the draft an extremely limited range of powers are considered for the regions, which are far less than those presently exercised by the self-governing territories".

Another gross distortion of the facts! The truth is that the

draft provides for 27 powers for the regions — 15 of which are exclusive regional powers.

If the IFP is serious about real constitutional guarantees then it should return to negotiations because the guarantees are all in place. It is high time the IFP accepts that no constitution — certainly no democratic constitution — can guarantee political power for the IFP in Kwazulu/Natal. For that it would have to convince the people and subject itself to the will of the electorate.

Another major criticism the IFP has of the draft constitution is that it "gives a 51 percent majority of the constituent assembly a final say over what our destiny is going to be".

The draft constitution provides for a series of deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

A number of parties at the World Trade Centre have raised concerns about this approach and the matter is now being negotiated.

But, for the IFP to object to the adoption process suggested in the draft constitution is, simply, strange. According to the IFP's constitution for Kwazulu/Natal it will "come into force the day of (the constitution's) ratification by a referendum approving this constitution with at least 51 percent of the votes validly cast"! This means a 51 percent vote to adopt a constitution which is not the product of multi-party negotiations and, my information tells me, not even a product of substantial debate within the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly. The IFP criticism rings hollow.

Dr Ngubane concludes by saying: "There have been no real concessions from the ANC/SACP alliance for the cause of federalism and pluralism in our country."

Dr Ngubane himself knows that the statement is untrue. He will not be able to make such a statement in the presence of ANC negotiators with a straight face.

I challenge Dr Ngubane to name a single "real concession" made by the IFP.

□ Mr Moosa is secretary of the ANC negotiation commission and member of the National Executive Council.

Inkatha and Kwazulu out

By THEMBA KHUMALO
and SAPA

WE'RE out, declared Inkatha yesterday, saying the organisation would not return to constitutional talks until issues which triggered the party's walkout were set aside.

Compromises and far-reaching concessions by the 23 negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre this week were apparently not good enough to lure Inkatha and KwaZulu delegates back to the negotiating table. (112)

Not even the acceptance by the parties of a recommendation by the technical committee on constitutional issues that there was a need for regional governments with constitutionally entrenched regional powers impressed the erstwhile KwaZulu and Inkatha. (113)

Chief Buthelezi has rejected the current draft constitutional propos-

CIP 1618/93
als by the technical committee as a product of connivance between the government and the ANC. He and his colleagues will settle for nothing less than an autonomous KwaZulu with its own head of state.

"As a condition of our returning to the negotiation process it must be ensured that the decisions to which we objected and which were taken without our participation are set aside," Inkatha said yesterday in a resolution taken at the central committee meeting in Ulundi.

The committee also called for the halting of the current negotiations, saying the talks could not guarantee democracy.

"The process of negotiations as presently conceived and conducted cannot be salvaged, nor can true federalism, freedom and democracy for all be guaranteed in our country unless the present course

of negotiations is arrested and reshaped to very different purposes and objectives."

The committee said these objectives were the establishment of a federal republic of South Africa under a final constitution and prior to the next elections.

Inkatha said the holding of the elections, which negotiators have set for April 27 next year, should only be held once a full and final constitution had been adopted.

Inkatha said draft constitutions produced at the World Trade Centre without its participation had confirmed the party's view that the negotiation process was leading the country to disaster.

"We are more than ever confirmed in our original opinion that the negotiation process is . . . rushing the country to a constitutional and political disaster."

IFP vows to stay out of the talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

INKATHA painted itself further into a corner at the weekend by vowing not to return to multi-party negotiations until plans for a constituent assembly (CA) were scrapped.

The Azanian People's Organisation also said it would no longer attend talks or take part in the elections.

The demand places Inkatha on a collision course with most parties at the negotiations — including the ANC, the government and the PAC — as an elected CA, or constitution-writing body, lies at the heart of agreements reached at the World Trade Centre.

The government will meet an Inkatha delegation this morning in a bid to end the deadlock.

A government spokesman said last night the meeting would also be used "to get clarification" on a series of hardline resolutions adopted by the central committee of Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend.

The resolutions, which rejected multi-party negotiations "as they are presently conceived and conducted", said the current process was "rushing the country to a constitutional and political disaster".

Senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate emphasised that his party would not return to the negotiating table if the CA was allowed to write the final constitution.

Inkatha wants an election to be held only after the 26 parties have agreed on a final constitution.

However, the government and the ANC said yesterday there could be no climbdown on the CA issue.

Government sources said there was no question of postponing next month's session of Parliament, which will pass legislation for a multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Transfer

Inkatha sources said the party was not in a hurry and would continue pressing other parties, particularly the government, for further concessions on federalism and the right of the KwaZulu/Natal region to decide its own future.

Meanwhile, Azapo announced in Durban at the weekend that it would take part only in democratic elections aimed at the transfer of power from "a white minority to a black majority".

Azapo also ruled out participation in the current constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre because "the talks lacked political purpose".

Party 'might not return' to talks

Inkatha leaves little room for manoeuvre

Billy 16/8/93

118

THE Inkatha Freedom Party appeared to have left itself little room to return to negotiations after taking an inflexible stand at the weekend on its condition for returning to talks.

Senior negotiator Walter Felgate said yesterday the party would not return as long as there was any possibility of an election for a constitutional assembly.

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said Inkatha might not return at all if it adhered to this position because all the other parties had agreed to a two-phase process in which a constitutional assembly would be elected. He said this part of the process was not up for change.

"That was the compromise as far back as Codesa and we will go ahead with it, otherwise parties will go back to their original positions and we must go back to the very beginning, wiping out the three years of negotiations," he said.

Felgate said Inkatha had appealed to the negotiating council to "forgo its democratic right" by not opposing the court action, allowing the invalidation of the council's decisions to become a court order. The negotiating process for a constitution could then start again.

"If there is any sanity in this process and they are serious about not wanting to go ahead without us, the council will not oppose it. But if we lose the action we will not just return, we will use all the other democratic options open to us, which could include measures such as mass action."

At its weekend central committee meeting, Inkatha rejected any elected constitution-making body, the second draft consti-

BILLY PADDOCK

tution and said the negotiating process was based on incorrect premises.

Felgate said Inkatha would oppose an elected constitutional assembly and would not return as long as it was a possibility. "We know we will be able to mobilise at least half of the electorate as well as international support to put pressure on the process and prevent this happening."

He called on government and the ANC to try to adhere to the August 30 deadline for agreeing to draft legislation and wrapping up the constitution. "Let's see if they can enforce that constitution without us. Let's see how far they get," he said, adding that the only option was to renegotiate all the decisions Inkatha opposed.

Schoeman said it was obvious Inkatha was not interested in a negotiated settlement. Members' arguments were invalid and they did not seem to appreciate the need for compromise. "If all parties acted like them we would get nowhere."

Inkatha argued that it wanted a federal structure, but did not seem to understand that the second constitutional draft was a clear basis for a federal system. "Maybe they want confederalism," he said.

It was "rubbish" for Inkatha to argue that an elected constitutional assembly would be able to write a final constitution without constraint. There were already 27 constitutional principles that even the entire elected body could not change.

Felgate rejected suggestions that Inkatha was trying to get other Concerned South Africans Group members to leave the talks for an alternative negotiating forum.

IFP refuses to rejoin talks

Sowetan 16/8/93
113

THE Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend said it was staying out of constitutional talks until crucial decisions taken by negotiators without its approval are set aside. The IFP has launched a court application to set aside decisions including the setting of the date for the first non-racial elections.

"As a condition of our returning to the negotiation process it must be ensured that the decisions to which we objected and which were taken without our participation are set aside," the IFP said in a resolution taken at a meeting of its central committee in Ulundi.

The IFP's decision-making body also called for the halting of the current negotiations, saying the talks could not guarantee freedom and democracy.

"We condemn and deplore the continuation of the negotiation process in spite of the absence of the IFP, and the disregard of the fundamental objections

of the IFP," it said.

It also said its objection to the use of the sufficient consensus principle in reaching agreements at the constitutional talks should be resolved before its negotiators take their seats at the talks.

"The process of negotiations as presently conceived and conducted cannot be salvaged, nor can true federalism, freedom and democracy for all be guaranteed in our country unless the present course of negotiations is arrested and reshaped to very different purposes and objectives."

The committee said these objectives were the establishment of a federal republic of South Africa under a final constitution and prior to the next elections. The IFP said the holding of the elections, which negotiators have set for April 27 next year, should only be held once a full and final constitution had been adopted. — *Sapa*.

Bilateral talks fail to woo IFP

JOHANNESBURG. — An April 27 election could not be achieved, Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said yesterday.

A meeting between government and Inkatha officials yesterday failed to make any headway in getting Inkatha back to the talks.

Inkatha would not return to the talks while plans for a constituent assembly went ahead, Mr Felgate said.

Without Inkatha's support they would have difficulty implementing their decisions as Inkatha, not having taken part in the talks, would not consider itself bound by decisions taken in its absence.

A senior planning committee member at the negotiations yesterday said his committee had begun to address matters such as the resolution giving the go-ahead for the two-phase process.

Inkatha warns of difficulty

They were trying to find a way "to build bridges and give comfort to those parties who had a problem with this".

Mr Felgate said the only way Inkatha would rejoin the process was if the resolution was altered to allow a single-phase process to be explored alongside the two-phase process.

The IFP want the constitution to be finalised by the forum.

Mr Felgate identified three issues negotiators would have to

CF 17/8/93
"revisit" for the IFP to return to the World Trade Centre:

- The decision to set an election date before a new constitution was finalised;

- Instructions to the technical committee on constitutional issues, including the one to draw up the interim constitution.

- Sufficient consensus.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, speaking in Johannesburg, said it was the responsibility of all parties to persuade those who have pulled out of the multi-party negotiations to return.

In Pretoria yesterday, President FW de Klerk said reform remained "more or less" on schedule to usher in a new government next year.

In an apparent reference to the IFP's refusal to return to the talks, he said not every set-back should be interpreted as a failure. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Church killings suspect in court

CAPE TOWN — A 17-year-old Khayelitsha youth detained in connection with the St James' Church killings in Kenilworth, Cape Town, was denied bail when he appeared briefly in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The youth, a Standard 8 pupil, was not asked to plead. He wore leg irons and there was a heavy police presence.

Eleven people died and more than 50 were injured when four gunmen sprayed the church congregation with automatic fire on the night of July 25.

The prosecutor told the court he had applied to the attorney-general for an order prohibiting bail.

He asked that the matter be postponed to August 30, which would give the attorney-general the 14 days allowed him to reach a decision on bail.

Magistrate J G van Zyl granted the requested postponement.

The youth's lawyer said his client was being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Police said the youth was not — as had been reported by international news agencies — a member of the PAC's student wing.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports PAC Khayelitsha Site B branch chairman Gybon Mkula has been released from police custody after he was detained for questioning in connection with the killings.

Mkula was detained on August 7 and released on Sunday, SAP spokesman Capt John Sterrenberg said.

Sterrenberg declined to give further details of Mkula's detention or release. — Sapa.

Inkatha slams Roelf as talks stalemate

B/Dey 17/8/93

BILLY PADDOCK

A MEETING between government and the Inkatha Freedom Party failed to make any headway yesterday in getting Inkatha back to the talks.

After the meeting Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate attacked Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

"He has no understanding of Inkatha and its politics, nor does he have an understanding of ANC politics. In short he and government do not understand black politics and therefore they keep getting everything wrong," he said.

He was adamant his party would reject returning to negotiations if a two-phased approach, in which a constitutional assembly would be elected, was still on track.

If the process continued without Inkatha the chances of a "bloodbath" would increase dramatically. "However, we are trying everything to avoid this bloodbath."

However, Inkatha has collapsed its three different negotiating teams into one "super team" to continue separate bilateral meetings with the ANC and government. Felgate said his party rejected any joint meetings with the ANC and government.

However, a senior planning committee member said yesterday the committee had begun addressing outstanding matters, such as the controversial resolution giving the go-ahead for the two-phase process.

He said they were trying to find a way "to build bridges and give comfort to those parties who had a problem with this". But the committee had not yet got round to working out mechanisms to address this.

"I think there is a very real probability of us resolving the deadlock and over-

coming the strong objections of Inkatha," he said. (118)

Felgate said the only way Inkatha would rejoin the process was if the resolution was altered to allow a so-called single phase process to be explored alongside the two-phase. This would mean that a constitution be finalised in this negotiating council and not by an elected body. "But then the issue of sufficient consensus also has to be changed to suit our interpretation of it."

However, Inkatha could not return before the court case, challenging the sufficient consensus decisions of the negotiating council, was concluded.

It is understood Inkatha believes draft legislation being prepared by the negotiating council has reached an advanced stage and there are too few working days left before the month-end for it to substantially influence this legislation.

The implication of Inkatha's position is that it will not participate in interim structures, including the transitional executive council, making it difficult to implement legislation designed to level the playing fields prior to the election.

Felgate said: "The problem is that they are going ahead and trying to implement legislation which we reject..."

However, he said it was a measure of how far negotiations had progressed that the difficult issues, which normally got left to the end, were confronted. "This is where there is a greater possibility of achieving a breakthrough," he said.

Council changes on track — Delport

GAVIN DU VENAGE

PLANS to install multiracial councils before the end of the year were going ahead, Local Government Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday.

He also denied weekend reports that government was backing down on the issue following right-wing pressure.

The reports had created a "completely incorrect perception" that government wanted to scrap the plan. Although legislation to enact the plan into law would be delayed, it did not mean government was retreating.

He said agreement was reached at last week's meeting of the local government negotiating forum management committee — at which all parties on the forum were present — on several reasons for delaying the plan.

Negotiators hoped to have legislation tabled in October to integrate black and white councils.

Civic Association of Johannesburg general secretary Cas Coovadia said

yesterday delays to legislation demonstrated government's unwillingness to relinquish power, Sapa reports.

Delport was allowing democracy to be sacrificed at the altar of groupings that would refuse to give up power.

SA National Civic Organisation general secretary Dan Mofokeng said government and the Transvaal Municipal Association's attempts to "derail and stall" local government changes showed their commitment to white minority rule and repression.

On Sunday the PWV region said it would insist that interim joint black and white local authorities be in place by November.

ANC PWV local government head Mathole Motshekga said: "We cannot allow ourselves to be blackmailed by the racist position of some of the rural conservative town councils who are

refusing to sit together with black people in one council."

The Afrikaner Volksfront warned yesterday its mobilisation would continue until government declared that joint non-racial local authorities would not be considered during September's parliamentary session. Volksfront secretary-general Koos Bischoff said such a move would immediately give the ANC control over all local authorities.

The organisation also began a house-to-house distribution of 35 000 pamphlets in Durban yesterday to oppose the planned reform of local government in the city, spokesman Duncan du Bois confirmed.

DP spokesman Jasper Walsh yesterday blamed right-wing elements and the local government negotiating forum for the slow pace of local government talks.

Talks face more *Sowetan* walkout threats

SOUTH Africa's negotiation process, already under pressure to meet important target dates, is facing more walkouts. 18/8/93

Last night the three remaining Concerned South Africans Group members at the talks — the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — met in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, to discuss their continued participation.

Also present with the organisations' respective leaders was the Conservative Party's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg. (SATA) (S) (IB)

Ciskei sources have indicated that they could be out of the talks by Friday. A spokesman in Bisho confirmed that Ciskei ruler Brigadier

Oupa Gqozo was in Mmabatho last night for the meeting.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Mr Ephraim Keikelame said he was unaware of any plans to walk out.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Mr Andries Beyers said the organisation was waiting for the issue of self-determination to be debated later this week before deciding on its position.

President FW de Klerk said in Cape Town yesterday that the Government "will not and cannot accept that major parties like the IFP" continued to stay out of talks.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the withdrawal of Cosag parties would not put the negotiating process under pressure.



Rethink on walkout threat

Cosag 3 to stay in talks

Star 18/8/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

South Africa's negotiating process was last night spared more walkouts. ~~(SAP)~~

A marathon meeting of the three remaining Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members at the talks — the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — in Mma-

batho, Bophuthatswana, agreed to stay in "for now".

Also present at the meeting was Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen. ~~(IFP)~~

Yesterday Ciskei sources had indicated that its negotiators could be out of the talks by Friday. A spokesman in Bisho confirmed that Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

was in Mbabatho last night for the meeting. ~~(IFP)~~

The other Cosag members — the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the CP — walked out of talks on July 2.

President De Klerk said in Cape Town yesterday the Government could not accept that "major parties like the IFP" continued to stay out.

ANC secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa said the withdrawal of Cosag parties would not put the negotiating process under pressure.

He denied that the process was running behind schedule. The only delay might be caused by the Interim Constitution. Draft legislation would clearly not be ready for the September session of Parliament but would be ready for a later special session this year.



Mandela 'trying to halt IFP recognition'

(113)
LUSAKA — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela of trying to prevent the IFP from achieving international recognition. CT 18/8/93

In a televised debate, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela threatened to walk out of an OAU meeting when it was suggested the IFP be accorded the same observer status as the ANC.

Mr Mandela reacted with a similar threat when Inkatha made a similar proposal at a meeting of the heads of the frontline states, he said.

Chief Buthelezi is on his first visit here under the new Zambian government. — Sapa-AFP

'Uganda arms MK'

Lusaka — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused Uganda of fuelling political violence in South Africa by training the armed wing of the ANC.

Speaking at the Lusaka Press Club, the KwaZulu leader accused Organisation of African Unity members of supplying arms to the ANC.

"The OAU has betrayed the aspirations of many South Africans by supplying arms to ANC cadres at a time of negotiations. Uganda is training thousands of ANC cadres to kill our people," Buthelezi said. (11B)

He called on the OAU to disarm the ANC's armed wing,

Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The chief appealed to the press to give a clear perspective of events in South Africa.

He said the IFP had been accused of opposing the setting of next April's election date because "of our disdain for democracy and insistence that an unelected council should write the constitution. That is slanderous propaganda."

He said the IFP insisted that any future elections must take into account the diversity of South African society.

Buthelezi is in Zambia on a two-day visit to consult with the government. — Sapa-AFP.

everybody' • Viljoen on Afrikaner 'Israel'

ANC suppresses our status — IFP

LUSAKA — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused his African National Congress counterpart, Mr

Nelson Mandela, of trying to prevent the IFP from achieving international recognition.

In a televised debate on Monday in Lusaka, Zambia, Buthelezi said Mandela had threatened to walk out of an Organisation of African Unity meeting when it was suggested that the IFP be accorded the same observer status as the ANC.

Similar threat

The ANC leader reacted with a similar threat when the IFP made a similar proposal at a meeting of the heads of the Frontline States, Buthelezi said.

"The ANC is not the IFP's enemy but unfortunately the ANC appears to

■ WORLD RECOGNITION Buthelezi

accuses Mandela of suppression:

Sowetan

think we are their enemy, which is very sad indeed. We have got to work together to end the violence because there can be no democratic change without peace," he said. 18/8/93

Buthelezi also commented on the multiparty peace talks, defending his support for the inclusion of all political parties. "I have been criticised for advocating the inclusion of the rightist Conservative Party in the talks.

All-inclusive talks (11B)

"I believe in all-inclusive talks because they affect all South Africans and will continue to urge all who feel marginalised to oppose exclusive

talks," he said. Buthelezi said it was saddening to note that some people who have demonised him in the past for talking to various white factions were now holding "bush meetings and making pacts that impact terribly on the South African people".

"I do not even have FW de Klerk's telephone number as other leaders do," he said, referring to the South African president.

Buthelezi's visit, during which he will hold talks with the government of President Frederick Chiluba, was the first to Zambia under the Movement for Multiparty Democracy government. — Sapa-AFP.

Cosag decides to stay in talks

BOPHUTHATSWANA, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie decided at an urgent meeting in Mmabatho last night to remain in multiparty talks.

The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members have been caught in a tug-of-war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the negotiating forum. Their leaders, excluding Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is in Zambia, decided it was worth staying in talks while their views were being taken into account.

However, Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said after the meeting that key issues had to be resolved to bridge the differences over the role of an elected constituent assembly. The constitution had to be comprehensive and the constitutional principles needed to be "fleshed out and made a lot clearer", and a constitutional court needed to be more clearly defined.

The deadlock-breaking mechanism was unacceptable especially if the interim constitution was in force for only a few months. (SATA) (11B) (10)

Cosag would not be able to remain in talks if the constituent assembly was able to rewrite the constitution, Cronje said.

Earlier yesterday there were indica-

BILLY PADDOCK

tions that Ciskei would bow to pressure from Inkatha and walk out of talks today.

On Monday Ciskei chief negotiator Micky Webb asked the planning committee to suspend negotiations while parties met in an attempt to resolve differences over regional powers and functions in the draft constitution. This was refused but the committee decided that parallel discussions should take place. B/Day

It is understood that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer made a last-ditch effort yesterday to persuade Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo not to pull out. According to a source, Meyer put forward a proposal which, if accepted, would mean that Gqozo could not withdraw this week. It was speculated that Meyer had asked Gqozo to wait for the third draft constitution, scheduled to be sent to parties on Friday. 1818193

Last night Cronje said he was confident that the negotiators would find a way of addressing the problems and "giving comfort to those parties that want to leave the process and those that had already left".

To Page 2

Cosag

B/Day

From Page 1

But it is understood that he has come under pressure from Buthelezi not to break ranks so as to give Cosag more leverage.

Cronje and Webb are represented on key committees and argue that Cosag can fight in the council, while Inkatha tries to force concessions from outside. 1818193

Meanwhile, negotiators indicated yesterday that if the TBVC states did not reincorporate and join the transitional executive council (TEC), they could face severe fiscal pressure. (11B)

During the debate on the TEC, the ANC alliance, government and the NP made it clear that all fiscal transfers and customs union agreements would come under review and renegotiation. (SATA) (11B) (10)

The committee drafting the legislation has not made proposals in this regard yet.

It was instructed to finalise proposals under the finance subcouncil.

Bophuthatswana gets 55% of its revenue from fiscal transfers, customs union agreements and exemptions from excise duties. Transkei 71%, Ciskei 76% and Venda 77%.

Bophuthatswana argued that the fiscal transfers, which represented 23% of its revenue, were aid and not necessarily taxpayers' money. It also argued that more than 25% of its revenue was tied up in customs union agreements.

However, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said there was a need for transparency. All state expenditure had to come under the TEC's scrutiny.

The debate was postponed to next week.

● See Page 8

THE Inkatha Freedom Party, like Mick Jagger, believes that "time is on my side".

While IFP negotiators have maintained all along that their withdrawal from constitutional negotiations is based on principled objections to the manner and content of decision-making at the World Trade Centre, the strategic benefits of staying out of the process are not lost on IFP insiders. The party believes that the desperation of both the ANC and the National Party government to stick to the schedule necessary to ensure that the April 27 election date takes place has presented an opportunity that it would be foolish not to milk. Indeed, the IFP leadership submits that both the government and the ANC have become more accommodating and willing to see their point of view since the party began its boycott of multi-party negotiations began on July 2.

Underbelly

No doubt emboldened by President F.W. de Klerk's repeated assurances that Inkatha cannot be left out of the process, the IFP sees the NP government as the weak link at the negotiations table.

In its efforts to drive a wedge between the government and the ANC in coming weeks, the IFP will accordingly target the government's "soft underbelly" for special attention.

Warnings issued at the NP's Natal congress last week by several top Nats that the elections could not be held under current conditions of violence and intimidation will have come as music to Inkatha's ears.

Concerned foreign diplomats have acknowledged to Inkatha that its decision to opt out of multi-party negotiations and confine its contacts on constitutional matters to bilaterals, has worked better than most observers imagined.

Pressures

But the backhand compliment is usually accompanied by a plea to rejoin the process and a veiled warning about the consequences of staying out.

Senior Inkatha members do not feel compelled to take such foreign representations or pressures too seriously. In part because dismal overseas funding for the IFP has reduced the leverage of parties abroad.

The IFP clearly believes that it has hit on a good thing and is happy to bide its time. The trick is not to overplay its hand.

Practically speaking, the party believes it has little incentive to join the ANC and the government in the headlong rush to complete negotiations on draft legislation for the transition period by the end of this month.

Negotiators

Any delays in the process would result in the ANC, in particular, losing face among its supporters impatient for the arrival of the polling day and the changes it will bring.

The increasingly lame duck NP government is also bleeding support, much of it to Inkatha —

Wily IFP is taking full advantage of headlong rush to transition



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

another factor encouraging IFP negotiators to hold out for a better deal and avoid unseemly haste at all costs.

Draft legislation on the transition being prepared by the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre has already reached an advanced stage and time is running out for Inkatha to make a meaningful input.

Expectations

Questions are already being asked whether this means that Inkatha will decline to participate in any of the interim structures, including the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), making it difficult for the new multi-party body to effectively implement legislation designed to level the political playing fields in the run-up to the election.

Another reason why Inkatha is not in a hurry is that party strategists do not believe that current conditions favour the IFP performing at its full potential at the polls.

Inkatha insiders fear that the emotions, hype and unrealistic expectations that will be the inevitable by-products of an early "liberation" election will not suit the party.

Reflection

There is concern that the first non-racial poll will be dominated by superficial slogans about the past — who was a "good guy" (part of the struggle for liberation) and who was a "bad guy" (part of the apartheid system).

There are misgivings in Inkatha circles about the ability of the party to counter such propaganda and that this, coupled with expected violence and intimidation could see the ANC alliance beating Inkatha in Natal/kwaZulu.

Senior Inkatha members do not believe that

rank-and-file supporters would accept such an outcome as a fair or genuine reflection of IFP support and secession.

Mistrust

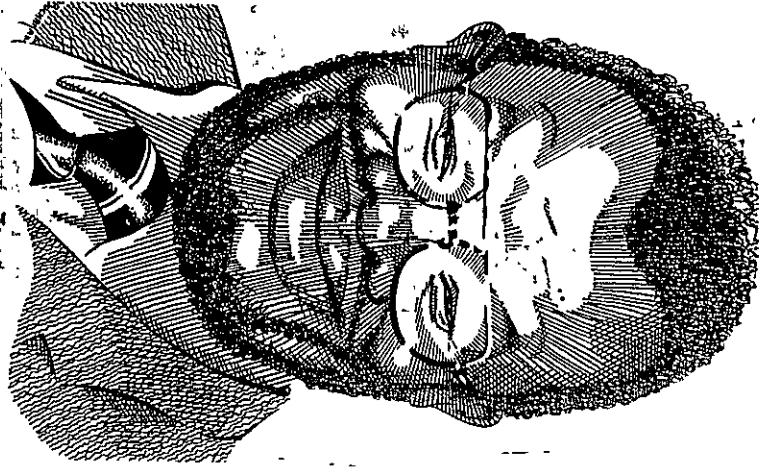
At this stage the IFP is insisting that an election cannot be held until the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre have agreed on a final constitution with iron-clad guarantees for a brand of federalism which Inkatha finds palatable.

The IFP vehemently opposes a two-stage transition process which would allow an elected constituent assembly to write the final constitution because of, among other things, a deep-seated mistrust of both the ANC and the government.

Pressed on what the outcome would be if Inkatha did not participate in an election, IFP sources again say: civil war and secession.

Perhaps this is why stories are doing the rounds that NP and DP supporters will vote for their own parties on the national slate but for the IFP in Natal/kwaZulu.

CT 18/8/93 (115)



BUTHEZI: Will he overplay his hand?

LETTERS

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Humility, like charity, should begin at home

From R S A W NUSS-BAUM (Kenilworth): DR ANDRE SCHULMAN (Letters, August 11) accuses Archbishop Tutu of lacking Christian humility regarding the fallibility of his democratic principles. My teeth are set on edge by the indestructible arrogance of these old apartheid stalwarts. No such doubt or humility was shown when they were riding high. When millions of our countrymen of their homes, their rights, their opportunities, their education and their hopes. When all effective opposition was banned or censored, and dirty tricks including murder were used to defend this vile creed. When laws proliferated to uphold it, and brought the law itself into disrepute. Archbishop Tutu is one of those discriminated against for 40 years who has miraculously not turned bitter or racist. He has shown great physical and even great moral courage in most of his actions and extortions, some of which I did not agree with. Maybe those like Dr Schulman should remove their blinkers. Their arrogance merely breeds counter-arguance. Humility, like charity, should begin at home.

Innate Military must

IFP not vital at table — FW

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk last night suggested for the first time that constitutional negotiations could be completed without the Inkatha Freedom Party rejoining the talks table.

But he insisted he was not contemplating a "go-it-alone" option. All major players "must support the final result and the first new constitution".

He appears to be contem-

plating a process in which negotiations continue at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre while simultaneous and intensive bilateral discussions with the IFP are held. (118)

The President also:

■ Indicated there was "no possibility" the Government would accede to the salary demands of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union.

■ Rejected suggestions that Afrikaans would not be an official language. (30/11/93)

■ Called on the ANC to take action against those — such as ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba — who used inflammatory language.

On the possibility that negotiations could be successfully concluded without the IFP at the table, De Klerk said: "I think that one of the options can be that agreements can be negotiated in a process which is not necessarily concentrated around specifically one table."

All agreements made were

being studied in bilateral talks with the IFP "to ensure that agreements have the support of all the major players".

On speculation that Afrikaans could be dropped as an official language, he said its status was "non-negotiable".

He would be "looking for foreign investment" on his eight-day visit to Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay and Argentina.

► FW dashes teachers' pleas — Page 3

IFP charges to be probed

CT 19/8/93
(113)
LUSAKA Zambia promised yesterday to probe charges by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the ANC still used Zambia as a conduit for uMkhonto weSizwe members trained in Uganda.

Information Minister Mr Remmy Mshota made the pledge at the end of Chief Buthelezi's three-day visit to Lusaka, former headquarters of the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi told a news conference yesterday that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela "has it in his power to stop his army from slaughtering thousands of my supporters." — Sapa-AFP

Rumours of anti-Inkatha referendum

South 2018 - 24/8/93

By Christelle Terreblanche

RUMOURS persist that the National Party (NP) government is seriously debating the possibility of a referendum on a package of constitutional principles to call the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) bluff.

The debate is apparently continuing despite denials by the government's chief negotiators.

The possibility resurfaced this week after the IFP's central committee meeting this weekend, where it resolved not to return to the negotiating table at the World Trade Centre. It walked out in disagreement when the first draft interim constitution was tabled. (113)

The IFP insists that it will only agree to strong powers for a federal state dispensation and an election on constitutional principles.

It has also instituted court action to get the agreement on the election date nullified.

An effort by the government on Monday to break the deadlock at a bilateral meeting with the IFP failed to lure the party and its hardline leader, chief minister Mangosuthu



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Buthelezi, back to the negotiating table. (25/8/93)

Political commentators see the IFP's stand as part of a retreat from the polls because it fears a humiliating defeat.

"It is becoming evident that Buthelezi sees white rightwing support, especially in Natal, as his only hope to score at the polls and is now competing with the government for support," says University of Stellenbosch political analyst Professor Willie Esterhuysen.

"The big question now is, what is

the government going to do. If it gives in to the pressure and compromise to get the IFP back to the drawing board, it will become the political hostage of the party."

Mr Keith Gottschalk, of the University of the Western Cape's political studies department, agrees: "There is an unspoken factor in negotiations that should also be taken in account.

"The more parties taking part in the talks, the more legitimate it is seen to be. If one or two parties withdraw, the less legitimate the talks become."

It is precisely this possible legitimacy crisis that has prompted the idea of a referendum on a package of principles. It is reasoned that if the principles negotiated thus far at the talks can be tested nationally, it will probably get a 60 to 70 "yes".

This would give the negotiators the legitimacy they might be losing in the face of the IFP's brinkmanship.

"This could pull the carpet out under the feet of both Ulundi and the generals," another political commentator observed.

IFP says no to 'two-tables'

11B
CT 20/8/93

JOHANNESBURG
The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rejected a "two-table" approach to negotiations suggested by President F W de Klerk as a way to resolve an impasse in multi-party talks.

Mr De Klerk for the first time on Wednesday said democracy talks could be completed without Inkatha.

He hinted at a process in which talks would continue at the World Trade Centre without Inkatha, which walked out on July 2, while intensive bilateral discussions be held with the party so as to include its input.

"One option can be that agreements are negotiated in a process that is not necessarily concentrated around one table," he said.

But Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate dismissed the option in a radio interview yesterday, saying that Inkatha "is not going to help implement decisions we did not agree with and from which we are excluded".

Mr Felgate said bilaterals should be used to explore ways to make it possible for Inkatha to return to the talks, rather than how to keep it away.

Inkatha withdrew from the World Trade Centre after negotiators, through the process of sufficient consensus, set next April 27 as the date for South Africa's first non-racial elections.

Inkatha wants federalism embodied in a new constitution before elections are held. — Sapa-AFP

IFP's not inside – but on top

By boycotting the Kempton Park talks, Inkatha is exerting more influence than ever, reports **Chris Louw**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party may not be at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, but it is having a greater impact on decisions taken at the constitutional talks than most parties present.

At a press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Wednesday, President FW de Klerk said one option of drawing the IFP into the negotiations would be "not to concentrate (the talks) around one table".

This in effect suggested a continuation of a

process that is already in progress, namely that the IFP indirectly takes part in the talks through bilateral talks with both the government and the African National Congress. Various sub-committees have been established specifically for this purpose.

In a recent interview, National Party negotiator Leon Wessels explained the dynamics of the process: "The talks have gained a momentum of their own. Nobody can stop them. They have, through various technical and ad hoc committees, taken on different shapes in order to bring political solutions. This means that neither Inkatha nor the rightwing is isolated from the process."

IFP sources maintain that they have forced more concessions from the negotiators by their absence than through almost two years of talks.

Senior Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate has admitted that his party follows a strategy of "deliberate ambiguity" about their bottom line. The aim is to squeeze as many concessions as possible from, specifically, the ANC.

Although the negotiations are going ahead in the IFP's absence, it has become clear from private discussions with other negotiators that an element of uncertainty has crept in. Recently ANC spokesmen had little doubt that the IFP would be back shortly. Two weeks have come and gone, and still the only sign of the party is when Felgate comes to collect documents or national executive member Suzanne Vos is seen having lunch in the World Trade Centre restaurant.

Some delegations — including the

Labour Party — are beginning to feel that the process must continue without any further concessions to Inkatha.

It is clear, however, that the government has no plans to exclude the IFP. At this week's press conference De Klerk said he did not agree that the IFP should be sidelined or ignored. "All major parties must support the final results of the talks and the first constitution".

For this to happen "intensified bilateral discussions" with the IFP were necessary. The road of getting to a solution was less important, De Klerk said, than the goal — "a new constitution that must have the support of all concerned".

Commenting on De Klerk's statement, Stellenbosch political analyst Jannie Gagiano yesterday

said the NP's real problem was that they were closer to the ANC in terms of the "founding coalition" for a new dispensation, but needed the IFP for an "election coalition" once the rules of the new political game had been established.

"The result is that De Klerk cannot tell the IFP to 'get lost'. They now need the ANC to give legitimacy to the new constitution, but during the elections they will move much closer to the IFP in the hope that together they will make some impact in Natal. Therefore they cannot afford to drive away the IFP from the founding coalition."

The effect of this was that the IFP has succeeded in forcing through substantial concessions as far as regional powers are concerned.

The question, however, remains when — and if — they will rejoin the process, and how they will be allowed by the other parties to save face. The answer will only become clear once the IFP's real agenda is known.



FW de Klerk

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Applicant will be responsible to Executive Director and Board of Trustees as part of directorate

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 - * to demonstrate pro-active management skills

Qualifications:

- * B.Comm degree or equivalent, general accounting experience

IFP may return to talks table

INKATHA'S leader spells out his position in an exclusive interview with The Star

118

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Ulundi — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi says President de Klerk will not elbow his organisation out of multiparty talks — and suggested the Inkatha Freedom Party intends returning to the Negotiating Forum.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister also indicated yesterday that his relationship of trust with De Klerk had eroded.

"He has shifted from some of the positions which ... we held with him, and that, as far as trust is concerned, is bound to change it (the relationship)," he said.

On De Klerk's "two tables" suggestion that the IFP could engage in intensive bilateral discussions while multiparty negotiations continued, Buthelezi said: "There is no way we are going to allow him to elbow us out of multilateral (talks) by substituting bilateral talks, which everyone has with them.

"It seems there is a wish that we should walk out for good and I don't think it augurs well for the future of South Africa to want us out of there, if you take

into account the constituency we represent, and the size of it".

Buthelezi remains sharply critical of aspects of the existing Negotiating Forum, including its composition and the basis on which decisions are taken.

He said his party was prepared to make compromises in negotiations in a spirit of give-and-take, but was unbending on the need for a strong federal dispensation.

Would he maintain a peaceful approach if a system he disagreed with was imposed?

"For all the 65 years I have been alive, my people have been oppressed. Did I take up arms? Everybody knows I am committed to peace." But he added that "as a servant of my people, any option of my people will be my option too".

In a speech prepared for delivery at a Maritzburg rally yesterday, Buthelezi predicted civil war in South Africa. Sapa reports. He accused the NP of betraying its white supporters to the ANC in return for a few more years in power.

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION: Discussion on draft legislation for the body to conduct the April elections was postponed yesterday until Tuesday.

A specially appointed committee failed to resolve disagreements over the draft Bill in time for yesterday afternoon's debate in the Negotiating Council.

The main areas of dispute are the role of international observers, the chairmanship of the IEC and whether the IEC can run the elections, and certify the results.

The legislation is expected to be completed by Monday for discussion on Tuesday.

TODAY: The Negotiating Council is not meeting today. On Monday it is expected to finalise legislation on an Independent Broadcasting Authority.

ESTHER WAUGH

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Election will lead to war — Buthelezi

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MARITZBURG — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday predicted civil war and restated his conditions for Inkatha's return to multiparty talks.

Accusing government and the ANC of colluding to share power, he said civil war would result from next year's election.

"I have never suggested that I am myself planning any such civil war but . . . in these circumstances it seems inevitable," Buthelezi said at an Inkatha rally.

"Unless we can make the ANC and the government rethink their position, we will not rejoin negotiations." He said proposals for an elected constituent assembly were unacceptable and insisted that other delegations should accept his plan for a federation of ethnic states.

Acknowledging for the first time that Buthelezi might not return to the talks, President F W de Klerk told a news conference on Wednesday that the transition to democracy could be mapped without Inkatha at the table.

He said government would intensify bilateral negotiations with Inkatha and urged other major players to do the same.

But Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate rejected De Klerk's olive branch yesterday, saying the "two-table approach" was unacceptable.

"I see (De Klerk) as completely trapped by commitments reached in bilateral talks with the ANC," he said.

Buthelezi said Inkatha would boycott negotiations until key decisions backed by

at least 19 of the 26 parties were reversed.

"The ANC can make as many so-called concessions as they like, but until they drop their insistence that a constituent assembly will have the final say on the writing of our final constitution, we will not return to multiparty talks. *B/Say*

"We are not prepared to accept responsibility for the civil war which we know will be the consequence of allowing a constituent assembly to write our constitution," Buthelezi said. *20/8/93*

Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday told the Transport and General Workers' Union's national congress in Johannesburg SA faced the very real danger of the right wing opposing a democratic government. *(IB)*

The ANC was going to speak to the right wing to get it to join negotiations.

The mistake countries such as Angola and Mozambique had made after independence was fighting instead of negotiating with the opposition, Mandela said.

However, liberation would happen with or without the right wing.

Mandela said the ANC had to find ways of addressing whites' concerns. They should not fear a "tit-for-tat" policy when the ANC came to power, he said.

He dismissed calls for the dismantling of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, saying those who made the calls had not been part of the struggle.

"We will fight the election together and win it together." — Sapa-Reuter.

Election course for PAC

SIMON BARBER

THE PAC is to receive US government-funded elections training, including advice on fundraising, "message development" and media relations, it was disclosed in Washington yesterday. *B/Say 20/8/93*

The support is to be provided by the National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute (IRI), subgroups of the National Endowment for Democracy, said IRI official Edward Stewart. *(IB)*

The National Democratic Institute and IRI have already sent two four-person teams to advise the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party respectively, using money provided by the US Agency for International Development which has established a \$10m transitional assistance fund to support election preparation, violence mitigation and related objectives.

One of the criteria is that parties receiving support must have "renounced violence".

The groups had "received assurances" from the PAC's national secretariat that the organisation met this condition, Stewart said. The US embassy in Pretoria "agrees".

Training had been offered to Azapo, and there were plans to make it available to homeland parties as well.

Goldsto central

A COMMITTEE of the Goldston Commission has listed intolerance, provocation and greed by tax as the immediate cause of taxi violence.

Among other causes were apartheid laws on urbanisation, racial factors, the Transport and General Workers' Union's role, a lack of law enforcement, and the absence of facilities. *(IB)*

Political rivalry and affiliated causes of taxi violence, the committee said.

The committee's fifth report was released yesterday, months after it began hearings into taxi violence.

The authorities' failure to enforce apartheid laws, to provide adequate taxi transportation facilities and to provide people on a daily basis, was cited as a major factor in the violence build-up.

Inkatha role vital for peace

(11B)

No settlement likely without them, say experts

ARG 21/8/93

WHETHER political leaders like it or not, they will have to find ways of accommodating Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in a political settlement.

Without him, the chances of a peaceful settlement are remote.

This is the message coming through from some political analysts as the IFP's withdrawal from democracy talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, continues. The Inkatha factor is said to be more important for peace than many realise.

At the same time leaders across the spectrum — including Chief Buthelezi — are being warned to refrain from deepening South Africa's crisis of violence by indulging in political games or war talk.

These and other warnings against high-risk politics come in the wake of President F W de Klerk's suggestion this week that constitutional negotiations could be completed without the IFP and others at the talks table.

He insisted, however, that he was not contemplating a "go-it-alone" option, and that the IFP and all major players "must support the final result and the first new constitution".

Meanwhile Chief Buthelezi vowed at a rally in Pietermaritzburg this week that Inkatha would not return to the multi-party talks until the ANC dropped its insistence on a constituent assembly writing the

South Africa's peace process has reached a critical point after the withdrawal of Inkatha from the negotiating council's talks. Can a peaceful settlement be reached without Inkatha?

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

new constitution for South Africa.

He repeated previous claims that a civil war would result from a constituent assembly writing the constitution.

Is any lasting settlement possible without Inkatha?

Researcher Steven Friedman, director of the Centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg, told Weekend Argus the risks of a settlement without the IFP would be very high.

One reason for the high risk was Inkatha's role — along with others — in the current violence.

Mr Friedman said that while it would be "foolhardy and irresponsible" to lay blame for the violence on any particular party, it was clear the IFP was one of the parties whose members were currently engaged in violence. If Inkatha were to be excluded from a settlement, there would be a clear risk of continuing involvement in violence by IFP members.

Another more worrying high-risk factor was the possibility of an alliance between the IFP and militant elements of white

rightwing movements. There were signs both from Cosag and from opinion polls that such an alliance was possible. It could not be ruled out and, therefore, had to be taken seriously.

The basic risk then of excluding the IFP from a settlement was one of continuing instability arising from the IFP's rejection of whatever agreement was reached, and of an IFP alliance with other more militant forces.

However, this did not mean the IFP would have a permanent veto on a settlement.

"One can envisage a time — and hopefully it will not come — when the costs of not going ahead without Inkatha becomes so high that the ANC and the government would have no option but to go ahead," Mr Friedman said.

This could happen if the IFP refused to bend in any way or to make concessions to other negotiating parties.

He said the IFP was a major player in the negotiations. "The key question, however, is whether the IFP harbours a re-

alistic assessment of what it can achieve. If it, too, hasn't learned the lesson, it may force a reluctant NP to choose between it and the ANC; the NP will choose the ANC."

Critics of Inkatha argue that the IFP is relatively weak — with its support base confined mainly to Natal — and that it is, therefore, expendable as a political force. Some say bluntly the negotiations should proceed without the IFP if it persists with its current "boycott".

How strong is Inkatha?

A perception arising from opinion polls is that Inkatha is relatively weak compared to the level of support received by major players such as the ANC and the NP countrywide.

However, this perception has been disputed by the IFP on the grounds that opinion polls have not given a true reflection of voter support for the IFP and that the movement has grown considerably in recent months, especially among whites.

The IFP claims that in June alone it gained 130 000 new members, and applications continue to stream in at a rate of up to 40 000 a month.

Mr Mike Tarr, former Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg North who defected to the IFP, told Weekend Argus he was convinced the IFP was indispensable for a peaceful political settlement.

By SEKOLA SELLO

INKATHA yesterday reiterated its rejection of the two-phase formula for writing the country's constitution.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said allowing an elected constituent assembly to write the final constitution for SA "would be a disaster". *CIPress*

Buthelezi, together with Inkatha's national chairman Frank Mdlalose, the party's chief negotiator, Joe Mathews and the KwaZulu government's chief spokesman at the World Trade Centre, Ben Ngubane, were among several top Inkatha and KwaZulu officials who held a *bosberaad* (conference) with the media at Ithala Game Reserve outside Vryheid in Northern Natal.

Buthelezi said Inkatha was vehemently opposed to a constituent assembly becoming the constitution-making body "not so much because we think that our number of votes under those circumstances were too small".

"Inkatha thinks that, after a constituent assembly of the type planned and after the adoption of

Inkatha sticks to its talks' stance



NO MAN NO ...
Buthelezi

the constitution following the process which is now taking place, we will not have a united South Africa." *22/8/93*

According to Buthelezi, the ANC does not want a constituent assembly to serve as the democratic means of drafting the constitution. He says the ANC wants the con-

stituent assembly because it wants to dominate in the writing of a constitution.

The Inkatha leader said a constitution drafted by one party would not have the loyalty of all South Africans and would lack legitimacy.

He said for a new constitution to work, it would have to be drawn up on the basis of consensus.

Buthelezi said Inkatha would return to the talks once the question of who writes the new constitution had been resolved. He said on this issue he was sticking to his guns.

On whether the party would return to the talks if their court application to overturn the sufficient consensus clause was overruled, the Inkatha leadership said they would not prejudge the case. Buthelezi said: "We will wait and see." *(118)*

Following two days of talks with the media, it looks like there has been a hardening of attitudes on the part of Inkatha and expectations by government and National Party spokesmen that they will soon return to the talks could well be premature.

Buthelezi threatens to boycott elections

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

INKATHA would boycott any election for a constituent assembly to finalise a new constitution for South Africa, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"There is no way that... as president of Inkatha, I am prepared to fight elections over who is going to write the constitution. I am just not prepared to do that because it is a disaster for our country," he said.

Speaking at an Inkatha press briefing at the Itala game reserve in Natal, Mr Buthelezi said a final decision on whether to take part in next year's April 27 elections would be taken at a special conference later this year.

Should he continue to argue against participation in the elections at this conference, there is little likelihood of his party going against him.

Mr Buthelezi's threat to boycott constituent assembly elections, coming on top of his party's boycott of talks, will place further strains on relations between the IFP and the government, the ANC and other parties, as well as on the negotiation process itself.

It is the first time Inkatha has said it would boycott the constituent assembly elections.

The government, ANC and others plan to have the constituent assembly draft a final constitution.

Test

Inkatha rejects this and wants negotiators to draw up a final national and regional constitution before elections are held.

Mr Buthelezi said if other parties accepted the Inkatha standpoint, his party would contest the elections next year.

Inkatha, he said, was also prepared to contest a referendum on whether or not South Africa should have a federal system.

The government's chief negotiator at the multi-party talks, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the IFP was "not correct in creating a perception that these elections will be for an unqualified constituent assembly".

Mr Meyer said the test was "whether satisfaction can be reached on the contents of the constitutional principles, the constitution and the constitutional court".

He called on the IFP to return to the talks "to achieve satisfaction on these principles".

He added: "The planned elections will be based on a constitution now being drafted and that provides for the constitutional principles, a constitutional court and the procedures for further constitution-making."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation found it a great pity that Chief Buthelezi had decided to boycott the elections.

"We will do everything within our means to get the IFP to change its position," he said.



FACE OF ANGUISH... a the 10 000m champion

Tears as turns in

By MARTIN GILLINGHAM
Stuttgart

ELANA MEYER'S dreams of becoming South Africa's first world champion ended in tears last night when she stepped off the track a third of the way into the women's 10 000m final at the world athletics championships here.

She was elbowed four

NP not worried by IFP's threat

Sowetan

23/8/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government is taking a dim view of Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's weekend threat to boycott elections for a constituent assembly — but is not overly concerned.

IFP and KwaZulu government spokesmen, while differing somewhat in tone on the issue, have been careful to point out that there is no final decision as yet on the party's attitude.

Political observers, who noted Buthelezi's history of principled opposition to boycotts, yesterday took the view that while Buthelezi was "hanging tough" in the process leading up to elections, there was little he could do to avoid an election. To do so would cost him more black support than white.

A Government informant described Buthelezi's threat, made at the Itala Game Reserve on Saturday, as "cheap politicking".

"Talks about civil war or non-participation are ridiculous threats. There is no justification for this as long as the door

of the negotiation process is standing wide open.

"The IFP can return to the talks tomorrow and they will be welcomed by all. There is no need to resort to such threats outside the negotiating council. The IFP has until now offered no valid reason for its self-exclusion from negotiations."

IFP spokesman Mr Walter Felgate reiterated the IFP's opposition to a two-stage transition that involved a constituent assembly being able to "rewrite completely" what the negotiators had decided.

It was on this basis that Buthelezi was rejecting an election.

"Anyway, non-participation is hypothetical because we don't believe the election will take place," Felgate said.

Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew said Buthelezi's threat not to take part in elections was a publicity-seeking method of attempting to negotiate by way of threats and ultimatums.

He said the latest Inkatha ultimatum made no useful contribution to a give-and-take process of negotiation.



Despite its withdrawal from the constitutional negotiations, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party continues to cast a shadow on proceedings at the World Trade Centre. Chris Whitfield spoke to Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi

Star 23/18/93

Buthelezi on talks, FW, the way ahead

On President de Klerk's "two table" talks proposal in which the IFP would be engaged in bilateral discussions while the multiparty process continues. I don't think it is for him to decide that will be the format with which he communicates with the IFP or the KwaZulu government. There is no way in which we are going to allow him to elbow us out of the multilateral (talks) by substituting bilateral talks which everyone has with them. We've never said we are walking out (of multiparty negotiations) for good. A permanent walkout was never on the agenda.

It seems there is a wish that we should walk out for good... I don't think it augurs well for the future of South Africa to want us out of there, if you take into account the constituency we represent, and the size of it.

On an alternative pro-federalist negotiating forum being mooted by some Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members. Who's idea is that? I'll have to be aware of what this alternative forum is because I don't know anything (about it).

On the way ahead in talks. My policy is that it is the central committee that decides these matters. It is not for me as the leader to say it will be like this or like that. I consult my constituency more than any other leader in South Africa. I have never consulted outside the decision-making body of the central committee.

On how "self-determination" for Zulus should be achieved. You are aware of the Commission, you are aware of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. Zulus are a nation just like Lesotho or Swaziland — what is so strange about that? We are a sovereign nation. We did not go into the Union of South Africa of our own volition. It was through the barrel of a gun.

We have not said we want to be an independent sovereign nation, which would be our prerogative if we wanted to. I don't think anyone could force us if we wanted that.

History has made us South Africans (and) we have a right to determine our future, to remain South Africans on the terms that we think our self-determination will be met. In that, we would be South Africans but within a federal formula. Even in relation to this region we have never seen a Zulu ethnicity separate from the Indians or whites or coloureds, we have never said that.

On whether the sufficient consensus court hearing brought by the KwaZulu Government could go on for months. And what if it does?

On the strength of the IFP. Of course, people are joining the IFP. Public figures like (Natal MEC Peter) Miller recently, Members of Parliament, I mean, it's nothing new. My policies are known and have been known for decades. It's better to have been known for decades. It's better to ask the people who join what attracts them.

On a peacekeeping force including Umkhonto weSizwe members. You as a South African, are you happy with it? It's a politically motivated military force.

Can I generally ask you whether you would be happy yourself to be protected by people who are trained to kill people for political reasons and to bring a revolution, especially when they are still engaged in killing our followers?

The idea of a peacekeeping force is not something anybody should be against. I have nothing against the concept.

If the ANC were to choose people or produce people (outside MK) who should be trained I have nothing against that.

On whether the KwaZulu Police should be part of a peacekeeping force. Are you trying to equate the KwaZulu Police with Umkhonto?

The KwaZulu Police is a government institution set up to maintain law and order. I detest people who try to compare my police forces with MK. A few weeks ago, (Justice Minister Kobie) Coetsee was here with the head of the army, and I said to them under no circumstances could I spare any member of the KwaZulu Police, because they also spoke like that and I took very strong exception to that. Apla again is a different thing because they are still killing people.

On whether the KwaZulu/Natal constitution is the "bottom line" for what

he wants for the region. We could not have adopted it if it was not. We have officially adopted it in the (KwaZulu legislative) assembly, which is legally constituted.

On the second draft of the Interim constitution. The policy of the IFP was that we requested a full constitution in front of us and then we could talk about it. But not drafts and drafts. I mean, in this case it's not even my opinion, some very prominent journalists in this country have torn this to pieces.

At my age, I don't have much patience. A federation is a federation, a woman is either pregnant or she is not pregnant, you can't be a little pregnant. (The draft did not meet IFP requirements for federalism) because there are concurrent powers — everything can be overruled by the central government.

On the IFP's Cosag connections. Look, man, we have not been oppressed by the CP except that (the late Dr. Andries) Treurnicht perhaps was Deputy Minister of Education at the time of the Soweto unrest. But... they are not oppressors.

At my age, I have actually suffered under (the NP) Government. And some of the Ministers in this Government, including Mr de Klerk, have actually served in the apartheid regimes that have oppressed me. The point is that the CP represents quite a sizeable proportion of the population and a

constitution can be threatened either by a majority or a minority.

On his relationship with De Klerk. Mr de Klerk always says there are no misunderstandings, when there are no misunderstandings. He is the one who has shifted from my positions. He is still a head of state and I have never descended to a position where I dressed him down or insulted him. He has shifted from some of the positions... we held together with him, and that is bound to change as far as trust is concerned. Even though he says we are still close together, I don't see how.

On whether the IFP would contest the April 27 election. I don't know. That would again be a decision of the party. I'm quite prepared even to call a special general conference (of the party) to get a mandate to tell me what I must do.

On whether he would maintain a peaceful approach to resolving problems should a new dispensation be imposed on him. For all the 63 years that I have been alive my people have been oppressed. Did I take up arms? Everyone knows that I am committed to peace. I am a servant of my people, any option of my people will be my option, too.

On his election prospects. I am confident. I have a huge constituency, so how could I not have confidence. But I cannot make predictions.

On whether he was prepared to compromise in negotiations. Any negotiations (involve) give and take.

On federalism. I am not prepared (to move). We have suffered here. We have been underfunded here in KwaZulu/Natal, not only black people, white people in this region as well. I am not prepared to subject my people to that ever again.

We are talking about people here who in July 1990 brought the whole country to a standstill saying KwaZulu must be disbanded.

If such people were in power in the centre can you imagine, when there is already ethnic cleansing in the eastern Transvaal... people are being killed for being Zulus. Why is it that people do not apply themselves to those very ugly dimensions of the problem?

On charges that he is a spoiler. It's like saying I am a bastard and then saying I must comment about it... really, it is the biggest insult to me. My own organisation regards me as the father of negotiations. When that word (negotiations) was a swear word I said it was the only solution for South Africa.

On his election prospects. I am confident. I have a huge constituency, so how could I not have confidence. But I cannot make predictions.

War warning by Buthelezi

CT23/8/93 (113)

ITALA Game Reserve, Natal. — IFP supporters would have to decide whether to resort to arms should the government and ANC proceed with the current negotiation process, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday.

And at Dundee yesterday Chief Buthelezi said the NP should be warned that the grudges borne by some ANC members could be translated into a Nuremberg trial of the party's leadership.

Addressing a 3 000-strong crowd at the Dundee airfield, he said the NP had broken all its promises and now intended only to ensure the political survival of its leadership.

If the NP believed it was going to share power with the ANC in the future, it should look to history.

Danger seen in ANC-NP negotiations

In Russia the Communist Party had exterminated the Mensheviks, while in Angola the MPLA turned on the FNLA and Unita.

Judging by the "rantings" of the likes of ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba, Mrs Winnie Mandela and ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala, the NP was in for a rude awakening.

"If the ANC refuses to silence these warmongers now, what chance is there of them doing so after an election in which they

have been swept to power?"

The IFP objected to President F W de Klerk making secret deals with the ANC which were "ruining the country's chances of standing up to their greed... let alone securing for ourselves a federal system of government".

Accusing the ANC of talking peace while wreaking havoc in the townships, he said they were preaching racialism while their armed cadres had set about the ethnic cleansing of the Zulu people on the East Rand.

At the Saturday meeting Chief Buthelezi again warned that the present negotiation route would lead to civil war or worse.

What the government and the ANC were doing was going to result in a very explosive situation in which civil war or worse might in fact break out, he repeated. — Sapa

IFP applies brakes as negotiations speed up

(118)

CT23/8/93

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Over the next 10 days negotiators at multi-party talks will be finalising legislation to govern the run-up to April 27 elections — but the IFP has vowed it will not abide by these laws or allow them to be implemented in KwaZulu.

been party to agreements on the legislation it would not be bound by the new measures. And as part of its campaign to block April 27 elections for a constituent assembly, the KwaZulu government is going to court this week in a bid to have all negotiated agreements reached by the sufficient consensus mechanism declared null and void.

The court will be asked to set aside the April 27 election date and the two-phase process providing for the election of a constituent assembly which will then draft the final constitution. However, Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer sounded an optimistic note on Saturday in an address to an NP youth congress at Naboomspruit.

He said that by month-end negotiators could reach agreement on transitional arrangements including a transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission, a media commission, a new broadcasting authority and a bill of rights.

This week the government will hold bilateral meetings with the IFP which it hopes will secure the IFP's return to talks or agreement on a new constitution. Sapa reports Mr Meyer met Ciskei's military ruler yesterday for bilateral talks on the negotiations. "Ciskei reiterated its view that the hasty decisions being arrived at now will spell disaster in the future," the Ciskei Council of State said. The South African government has not yet issued a statement on the talks.

Inkatha option could be way back to talks

Star 23/8/93
POLITICAL STAFF

Durban — Inkatha negotiators are still searching for the formula to take them back to the multiparty table.

While obviously avoiding the word "compromise", negotiator Joe Matthews signalled that one option acceptable to the IFP could be an elected Constituent Assembly which assumed the role of writing the constitution exclusively and took its decisions by consensus.

Speaking at an IFP "bos-beraad" for political correspondents at the weekend, Matthews made this statement in the presence of IFP leader Mangos-

uthu Buthelezi and was not repudiated for his remarks.

While Buthelezi has repeatedly stated the IFP rejects elections for a Constituent Assembly (CA) and that the constitution writing body should not be an elected one, this has always been in reference to the present plan emerging at the World Trade Centre in which an election will put into power a CA which is both the constitution-writing body and parliament.

Wearing two hats this body will both write the future supreme law and assume the normal parliamentary functions of passing all legislation and running the country as an arm of

government.

Matthews said the IFP preferred the Bretton Woods model in which experts were locked away together for the purposes of achieving consensus on the constitution. (11B)

However, "I'd have no problem if an elected Constituent Assembly was a Constituent Assembly only and that it took its decisions by consensus".

With that formulation on offer, "we'd be back at the World Trade Centre", he said.

His words were reflected in conversations with other IFP and KwaZulu government negotiators over the weekend who strongly suggested that they

were looking for the route back and to this end would continue their bilateral discussions with Government and the ANC.

However, they acknowledged that whatever formula is found, it cannot be seen to be a 180-degree turn on strong statements made by Buthelezi in opposition to the present negotiation forum.

Buthelezi himself said that the IFP would not contest April 27 elections for a CA but in the next breath qualified this saying that the final decision on participation would be taken by a general conference of the party which he would call especially to address this issue.

He equally rejected the Transitional Executive Authority, the body which is being designed as the multiparty guide and watchdog of the process in the run-up to the elections.

Asked whether the IFP would respect TEC legislation presently being formulated at multiparty talks, he said: "Do you think anyone has the right to impose anything on us. The conflict in South Africa so far has been about unilateral impositions on black people."

Buthelezi also stuck to his guns on the subject of civil war saying that he was not encouraging this but making a prediction.

ole ● TWGU throws its weight behind ANC

Sowetan 23/8/93

'IFP at loggerheads'

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is facing a political showdown in its ranks over whether or not it should contest the April 27 election.

So-called "doves", or moderates, claim they are in the majority and are determined to return to democracy talks soon and contest the country's first non-racial election.

They claim senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate, described as a "hawk" or hardliner who has the ear of IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, stands virtually alone in his "uncompromising" position on negotiations and steering Inkatha away from the April election.

Senior IFP sources said at the weekend at a "bosberaad" with the media at the Itala Game Reserve near Vryheid that it was "high time these matters were aired publicly".

"It is no mistake that Walter Felgate is not here," a source said. "He was not invited."

(113)

The so-called moderates include the leader of the IFP team at the talks, Mr Joe Matthews, the head of the KwaZulu delegation, Dr Ben Ngubane, and IFP newcomers Mr Peter Miller, former Natal MEC, and Mr Mike Tarr MP, formerly of the Democratic Party.

The "doves" hope that Dr Ziba Jiyane, recently appointed as IFP na-

tional spokesman and director of communications, will eventually "replace" Felgate as a leading IFP spokesman.

The moderates claim warnings by the IFP that South Africa would degenerate into "civil war or worse" if the African National Congress and the Government implement their two-phase negotiations plan are penned by Felgate.

"The reality is that the IFP will never take up arms and go to the bush," a senior source said at the weekend, adding that the only option was to contest the April 27 election.

"History has shown that any party which does not participate in an election ends up sidelined." — Sapa.

Inkatha 'not bound by law'

NEGOTIATORS at multiparty talks will finalise legislation to govern the run-up to April's elections in the next 10 days but trouble looms as the Inkatha Freedom Party has vowed that it will not abide by or allow these laws to be implemented in KwaZulu.

B/Day
Inkatha senior negotiator Walter Felgate said that as Inkatha had not been part of the agreements on this legislation, it was not bound by its terms and would not be forced to implement it.

As part of its campaign to prevent the April 27 elections for a constitutional assembly, the KwaZulu government goes to court tomorrow to try to have declared null and void all negotiated agreements reached by the sufficient consensus mechanism. (118)

Among the points before the court are the setting of the election date for April 27

BILLY PADDOCK

and the resolution instructing the technical committee drafting the interim constitution to pursue a two-phase process — electing a constitutional assembly to draft the final constitution. *23/8/93*

Built into the instructions are a series of binding constitutional principles and a commitment that these will be justiciable in a constitutional court. Regions are ensured original and exclusive rights, free from central government interference, and entitled to draft their own constitutions within the limits of the principles.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, addressing an NP youth congress at Naboomspruit on Saturday, sounded an optimistic note, saying that by month-end negotiators could reach agree-

To Page 2

Inkatha *B/Day 23/8/93*

From Page 1

ment on transitional arrangements including a transitional executive council, independent electoral commission, media commission, broadcasting authority and Bill of Rights. Consensus on an interim constitution could be reached by the end of September, he said. (118)

This week government will continue its meetings with a new "super team" Inkatha has assembled from the three it used previously. The intention of the secret talks between Inkatha and government and Inkatha and the ANC is to secure the party's return to talks or to get its agreement on a new constitution. (118)

However, Sapa reports that Meyer said Inkatha had set unattainable goals which could not be reached without compromise. If Inkatha refused to make concessions, it would be difficult to bring it back into the fold. "Only through an election can we resolve the political differences of the past and the political conflict that still exists at this moment that also divides us."

At a news briefing at Natal's Itala Game Reserve this weekend, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his supporters would have to decide whether to resort to arms should government and the ANC proceed with the current negotiation process. He would not say whether Inkatha would

join forces with the right wing in taking up arms against a future government. "I don't make the decisions," he said, noting that this would be up to his supporters.

He stressed that he was totally opposed to violence, but "my people's options are my options".

He said if Inkatha's return to democracy talks was not secured soon, it planned to hold a special conference before the end of the year to decide whether to participate in the April 27 election.

He refused to be drawn on what Inkatha would do if the election went ahead without Inkatha's participation. "We will cross that bridge when we get there."

He rejected an election for a constitutional assembly and demanded that the current negotiating forum draft the final constitution before elections. This constitution should be put to a referendum and a further legitimising mechanism. He denied that Inkatha's opposition to a constitutional assembly was based on the fear that its share of votes would be too small.

Speaking in Dundee yesterday, Buthelezi said that in June alone, Inkatha had signed up more than 130 000 new members from across the spectrum. Inkatha was receiving about 40 000 membership applications a month, he said.

KwaZulu may opt for sovereign status

Sowetan 2/4/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has hinted at an independent KwaZulu, much like the sovereign states of Swaziland and Lesotho.

In an interview with *Sowetan's* sister paper, *The Star*, Buthelezi said that while a sovereign KwaZulu was not an immediate objective it remained the pre-

rogative of the Zulu people.

"Zulus are a nation just like Lesotho or Swaziland; what is so strange about that?" (IB)

"We did not go into the Union of South Africa of our own volition. It was through the barrel of a gun."

"We have not said we want to be an independent sovereign nation, which would be our prerogative if we wanted to."

"I don't think anyone could force us if we wanted that," Buthelezi said.

Buthelezi said "the way ahead" would be determined by the IFP collectively and not by himself.

He said he was not opposed to a peacekeeping force but was against the inclusion of Umkhonto we Sizwe members in such a corps.

He suggested that MK members were "people who were trained to kill people

for political reasons and to brew a revolution" and could, therefore, not be entrusted with protecting the lives of people.

He said there was no comparison between the KwaZulu police and MK. "The KwaZulu police is a government institution set up to maintain law and order."

About his links with Cosag, Buthelezi said black people had never been op-

pressed by the Conservative Party — one of the vital components of the group.

It was the National Party, of which De Klerk had always been a member, which was the oppressor.

He said that he was not too close to De Klerk and that there was no misunderstanding between them.

"He is the one who has shifted from positions he has held. I have not shifted from my positions..."

"I have never descended to a position where I dressed him down or insulted him. He has shifted from some of the positions we held together with him and that is bound to change as far as trust is concerned.

"Even though he says we are still close together I don't see how."

He said the IFP was not prepared to move on the issue of federalism.

"We have suffered here in KwaZulu-Natal, not only black people, white people in this region as well. I am not prepared to subject my people to that ever again."

He said the ruling National Party had turned its back on its traditional supporters and was seeking only to entrench its present leadership in a new political order through "deals" struck with the ANC.

"If the South African Government thinks that the ANC will willingly share power with them, or anyone else for that matter, they are in for a rude awakening..."

"There is every reason to believe that the grudges harboured by some members of the ANC will be translated into the Nuremberg Trial of the National Party leadership," he said.

Star 24/8/93
**'IFP won't return
until court ruling'**

The Inkatha Freedom Party will not return to multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre before the KwaZulu government's court application over the decision-making principle of sufficient consensus has been finalised, according to IFP chief executive officer and key negotiator Joe Matthews

— Political Correspondent

VIB

Court challenge to talks 'weeks away'

(118)

CT 24/8/93

PRETORIA. — The KwaZulu court challenge to the "sufficient consensus" decision-making mechanism at the multi-party talks will not be heard for at least two weeks.

This was said yesterday by Mr Gerhard Painter, instructing attorney for the KwaZulu authority, which is also challenging the election date of April 27, 1994, agreed on by way of sufficient consensus at the negotiating forum.

Mr Tefo Raditapole, attorney for the rotating chairmen of the multi-party talks, estimated the KwaZulu application could only be heard in three weeks' time.

Mr Raditapole said reports that the application would have been heard today were incorrect.

The KwaZulu government had filed an urgent application on July 28. It withdrew this application on August 6,

and on the same day, filed a similar application.

The respondents at the multi-party Negotiating Council are required to file their affidavits by September 6, Mr Raditapole said.

Thereafter the KwaZulu government had 10 court days to file their replying papers. A date for the hearing would be set subject to the availability of judges and courts.

Top Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate declined to comment yesterday, saying the case was sub-judice.

However, an IFP source, a member of the central committee, said the postponement could be "in everyone's interest" as the sufficient consensus obstacle could still be overcome in bilateral talks. — Sapa; Own Correspondent

New party discussed

BIDay 24/8/93
TIM COHEN

THE creation of a new broad-based party consisting of groups that supported federalism was under discussion, Afrikaner Volk-sunie secretary Schalk Burger said yesterday.

Burger predicted such a party would win a substantial number of seats — many more than the NP could.

"If the NP were to decide against being part of such a group, it could find itself crushed between the opposing forces," Burger said.

Two options for the new party were being considered, Burger said.

One option would be to create a new party out of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and possibly the CP, although it supported confederalism.

The second option would be to create a party out of the Afrikaaner Volksfront, under the leadership of the organisation's director Gen Constand Viljoen. This option was more likely to incorporate the CP.

Appeal for calm after hostel killings

BIDay 24/8/93

LAW and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh said yesterday he feared retaliation after the killing of 12 people at a Germiston factory hostel on Sunday, and warned this could precipitate further violence.

After visiting the Scaw Metals hostel yesterday he appealed to residents to remain calm and not retaliate.

He also said police had offered a R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the attackers.

Police spokesman Sgt Michelle Erasmus said another 14 bodies were found at the weekend — 13 in the Katlehong/Thokoza area — taking the East Rand death toll to 26 over this period.

On Sunday a gunman fired at members of the Tsomo Burial Society outside the Scaw Metals hostel, killing 10 people.

The attackers then went through the complex, killing two more. Twenty people were also injured.

In a separate incident, four men died after a drive-by shooting near Jeppe hostel in Johannesburg on Sunday. Senior Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu said the victims were all Inkatha members.

Meanwhile, the NP has condemned ANC

president Nelson Mandela's statement that government has neither the will nor the desire to end the country's violence.

Reacting to the hostel killings, Mandela said: "It is clear the government has either lost control of the security forces or elements in the security forces are doing what the government wants them to do."

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said Mandela should look truth in the eye and take up the role which the Goldstone commission said the ANC could exercise in stopping the violence.

In Natal at least 16 people were killed at the weekend, police and monitors said.

At least six people were killed in political clashes in Sundumbili township, near Mandini, since Saturday, according to the Human Rights Commission.

Two people were killed in Greytown, police said, while another was killed in the Tugela Ferry area.

Two people died when gunmen opened fire on a vehicle in Mobeni, Estcourt.

A man was shot dead in Umlazi's Zwelethu informal settlement on Sunday.

The body of a man was also found in KwaMashu's E Section on Friday night, police said. Another man was also shot dead in KwaMashu on Sunday. — Sapa-AP.

Inkatha dissenters oppose talks boycott

BIDay 24/8/93

A TIGHTLY knit group in the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee is opposed to the formal strategy of boycotting talks and has singled out senior negotiator Walter Felgate as the person responsible.

It is understood that the group, which includes parliamentarians who recently joined Inkatha such as Mike Tarr and Peter Miller, claims Felgate has the ear of party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and together the two are running the party along the lines of a feudal system.

The group has set up an Inkatha information centre to wrest control

BILLY PADDOCK

from Felgate over public statements.

In an interview yesterday, Felgate rejected claims that Inkatha was feudal or that he was the main proponent of boycotting the talks.

He said he espoused the party line as determined by central committee resolutions, and argued that if those who disagreed with the resolutions did not oppose them at the central committee meeting, they could blame only themselves.

He rejected out of hand the suggestion that people were afraid to openly

oppose any position adopted by Buthelezi.

If he were mandated by the central committee to return to talks, he would abide by its ruling.

However, before Inkatha returned the issue of sufficient consensus had to be resolved adequately, and the decisions on setting an election date and giving the committee drafting the constitution the go-ahead to proceed in its present course had to be reviewed.

He was adamant that Inkatha would not accept an elected constituent assembly.

ANC slams govt, IFP for land deal

CT 24/8/93 Own Correspondent ~~(11B)~~ (11B)

DURBAN. — The ANC yesterday slammed the government for agreeing to consolidate almost 500 000ha of land presently in Natal into KwaZulu, and warned of strong action if the transfer goes ahead.

Under agreements between Ulundi and Pretoria, some of the land will be transferred to the KwaZulu Finance and Development Corporation, while other portions will go to tribal authorities.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC was "very unhappy" about the "unilateral transfer of land" when negotiators were trying to integrate all areas into regions in a united South Africa.

He charged that Ulundi would dispense much of the land to IFP-supporting tribal leaders.

KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has demanded the "return" of the land as Zulu territory.

Pretoria has insisted on retaining responsibility for policing and education in the affected land.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Land Affairs confirmed the deal but said other "role players" had to be consulted before transfers proceeded.

Star 26/8/93

We don't want joint SAP-MK force - IFP

The IFP yesterday accused the ANC of using "third force" allegations as a smokescreen for further attacks against ANC detractors. (1B)

Addressing a police/community workshop in Benoni, IFP central committee member Themba Khoza said that by implying the "third force" was behind the violence, the ANC was able to divert attention from its own actions by ascribing the

guilt to others.

"Our supporters know that Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres are being recruited constantly, that they are being sent abroad for training and that once they return to South Africa they embark on attacks against us."

The IFP was against joint black SAP-MK policing of the townships.

"We shudder to think what this would lead to," he said. — Sapa.

focus on Buthelezi

Sowetan 26/8/93

WHEN CHIEF MANGOSUTHU Gatsha Buthelezi went to Tanzania in 1973 to speak to students, he was labelled a sellout of the struggle of black people and run off campus. Literally.

It was a major disgrace for the chief, who was at the time trying to cut a political profile for himself.

Today, however, while Buthelezi has not been back in Tanzania yet, he has been dining and wining with the likes of Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sam Nujoma of Namibia and Freddy Chiluba of Zambia.

Red carpet treatment was the order of the day in all instances, with Buthelezi feted like a head of state.

Is this an indication of a change of heart by these frontline state leaders, who are effectively bestowing recognition on Buthelezi, a bantustan leader?

Is it a change in tactics by the OAU, which recognises only the ANC and PAC and has steadfastly refused to recognise the Black Consciousness Movement despite its contribution to the advance of the struggle?

Political analyst Mr Eugene Nyathi said the meetings with the three frontline state leaders should be seen as an expression of their concern about the fate that may befall the people of South Africa.

"While the OAU recognises the ANC and PAC, they are pragmatic enough to see Buthelezi as a reality, an entity that they would like to see involved in the talks and not holding the process hostage, as he is doing now.

"The leaders are hoping that dialogue may bring together the black forces, as they do not realise the depth of revulsion that the liberation movement holds for Buthelezi.

"They were also shocked by the deaths resulting from the violence and therefore see a need to intervene in order to avoid another Savimbi.

"Of course they see in Buthelezi a Savimbi in the making and if the violence were to go on, the destabilisation process would eventually affect them and they want to avoid this," Nyathi said.

Nyathi said Buthelezi's alliance with the Concerned South African Group was a "spoiler role" that would fall apart as soon as they had nothing in common in terms of policy.

The only glue keeping them together right now was their mutual dislike of the marriage between the ANC and President FW de Klerk's Government.

They have no shared vision and the policy gulf is so huge, between Buthelezi's federal system and the rightwing's *Boerestaat*, that there is no way they can hold together, Nyathi felt.

He discounted Buthelezi's potential, as well

Are the frontline states taking out an insurance policy by honouring Chief Buthelezi or are they trying to stop a civil war from erupting in South Africa?

Mathatha Tsedu reports:



FACE TO FACE ... Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Buthelezi.

the potential of the entire Cosag grouping, to wage a war similar to the Unita war in Angola.

"Unita and Savimbi had external support from both South Africa and the United States which will not be available to the Cosag grouping. Their potential to create serious problems should not be overestimated as the bantustans within still rely on De Klerk for their sustenance," Nyathi said.

Another noted analyst, however, felt that the Buthelezi dinners with the frontline states was motivated by a desire to protect themselves.

"They see in Buthelezi a man who, together with the extreme rightwing groupings, can actually bring the entire Kempton Park show to a halt.

"Diplomatic circles are very nervous about him and this move is to try and make him reasonable," the analyst said.

He said the seeming recognition was a "carrot being used to urge him closer to Kempton Park so as to ensure that nothing disturbs the process".

The analyst drew a distinction between Zimbabwe and Namibia, on the one hand, and Zambia on the other. The two were basically operating on a mandate of the OAU to curb violence, he said.

"The Chiluba government is anti-liberation movement and, as seen by their invitation to De Klerk to open their national show, would jump at any opportunity to deal with Buthelezi. He is their sort of man."

It was also possible that the frontline states, bearing the white Right Wing (including the Nats) in mind and the possibility of realignment with Buthelezi, see Buthelezi as a possible force — post-elections — and were therefore preparing themselves for that possibility.

"They just do not want to put all their eggs in one basket which is based on an ANC government taking over," the analyst said.

He said Buthelezi could stop elections in KwaZulu, while the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, were they to withdraw from Kempton Park as the IFP has done, could do the same.

This would mean that any election held could not be said to be national, free as well as fair, thus negating the entire process at the World Trade Centre.

Buthelezi may, however, also be playing along so that at a convenient time, he would announce his re-entry into the talks, citing persuasion by eminent African brothers as a reason.

But, whatever the reason for the sudden change, Buthelezi is basking in his newfound glory of African brotherhood, a glory that he had tried for in 1973 but was rudely awakened to the reality of his position in bantustan politics.

It is a position that, thanks seemingly to the violence that Inkatha has been linked to, no longer seems to make a difference.

Just stop the war, seems to be the overriding sentiment.

IFP lukewarm about election alliance

Sowetan 27/8/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is unenthusiastic about the formation of a national federal alliance being discussed by members of the Concerned South Africans Group with an eye to the April 27 elections.

"We're not particularly enamoured with the idea of an alliance," said IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday.

"We're doing our work in consultation with those who feel the same way (that is, who support federalism) but an alliance can only be formed

when there's lots in common and when it's obviously advantageous."

Ciskei chief negotiator Mr Mickey Webb said an alliance among those who supported a federal option had always been a possibility. "It's exciting and we will pursue it strongly," he said yesterday. "There has been amazing public support." (13)

He said the proposed voting system in the third draft of the constitution, which has not attracted wide support at the multiparty table, virtually demanded an alliance.

The latest recommendations from the technical committee on constitutional issues is for a single voting system in which parties which do not contest the national elections may pledge their support for parties which do and the votes cast in favour of the smaller party may be counted in favour of the National Party which it supports.

Mr Rowan Cronjé, chief negotiator for the Bophuthatswana government, said discussions about an alliance were "very informal at this stage".

Teachers targetted

Sowetan 27/8/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE PAN AFRICANIST Students' Organisation yesterday threatened to target striking teachers whose children attend school in white suburbs.

Paso accused members of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union of not caring for black children.

It said the teachers went on strike knowing full well their children won't be affected as they would be "comfortable and receiving education in private and previously white schools".

"If they (the teachers) abandon the African child, then their children must

AFRICAN CHILD Sadtu accused of

not caring for black pupils in townships.

also suffer," Paso assistant general secretary Mr George Mpya said.

Mpya said Paso was in principle not against black children attending school in "white" areas. He said, however, that the organisation had serious problems when parents of those children neglected children attending school in the townships.

Paso also called on Sadtu to suspend the strike and urged teachers to resume their duties.

It also accused teachers of using the strike as an excuse to prepare for their own examinations, sacrificing the future of more than two million pupils.

In East London, Paso's Border region issued a stern warning to Sadtu members: "Get your children out of private schools or else..."

Paso Border region chairman Mr Mandisa Malange gave Sadtu members until today to remove their children from white schools.

Plea to end war talk

Sowetan 27/8/93

Sowetan Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party women have joined forces in a bid for peace and have vowed to send joint delegations to their leaders to get them to stop the war talk.

This follows a successful meeting on Wednesday between the ANC Southern Natal Women's League and the IFP Women's Brigade in Durban.

The women have agreed jointly to implement a peace programme in the region.

This will include joint rallies, ongoing bilateral meetings, meetings with other women's groups, reconstruction programmes, including food programmes, encouraging their members

to meet each other at grassroots level and support for both the agreements between Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi on June 23 and that of the ANC Youth League and the IFP Youth Brigade early this month.

The ANCWL and IFPYB plan to hold a meeting of Durban women at the Durban City Hall next month.

In a joint statement after their five-hour meeting, the two organisations said that as women, they found they had more in common than that which divided them: "We have come from a history of confrontation which we want to steer away from."

The ANC delegation was led by Dr Nkosazana Zuma and the IFP by its national president, Mrs Faith Gasa.

Israel kicks out



Negotiators battle time

Chris Louw

TIME was running out for South Africa's negotiators this week as they tried to finalise four pieces of draft legislation in time for the special sitting of parliament on September 13.

The draft legislation aims to "level the playing fields" in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

It includes Bills establishing the transitional executive council (TEC) and six sub-councils, the independent electoral commission, the independent media commission and the independent broadcasting authority.

The legislation is being drawn up by technical committees on the instructions of the negotiating council and must be passed by parliament before it becomes law.

The agenda for yesterday and Monday was changed to give negotiators more time to complete discussion of the draft legislation. This meant that further talks on the third redraft of the constitution were shelved until next Wednesday.

Tough arguments can be expected once the draft constitution is tabled.

Last Monday National Party negotiator Dawie de Villiers urged the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party delegations to return to the talks to contribute to discussion on an executive authority for the transition.

The draft constitution proposed that South Africa should have a president and a vice-president during the transition. This is widely seen as an effort to create a job for President FW de Klerk in a government of national unity, serving under Nelson Mandela as president.

The Pan Africanist Congress immediately rejected this, brandishing it as a "bosberaad deal" between the government and the ANC. "It's unnecessary to protect minorities in this way," said the PAC's Benny Alexander.

Suggestions on the executive were raised in the 11th report of the technical committee on constitutional issues, released on Tuesday together with the third draft transitional constitution.

The report proposes that the president, after being elected, withdraw as a member of the 400-seat national assembly, or lower house "to play a unifying role".

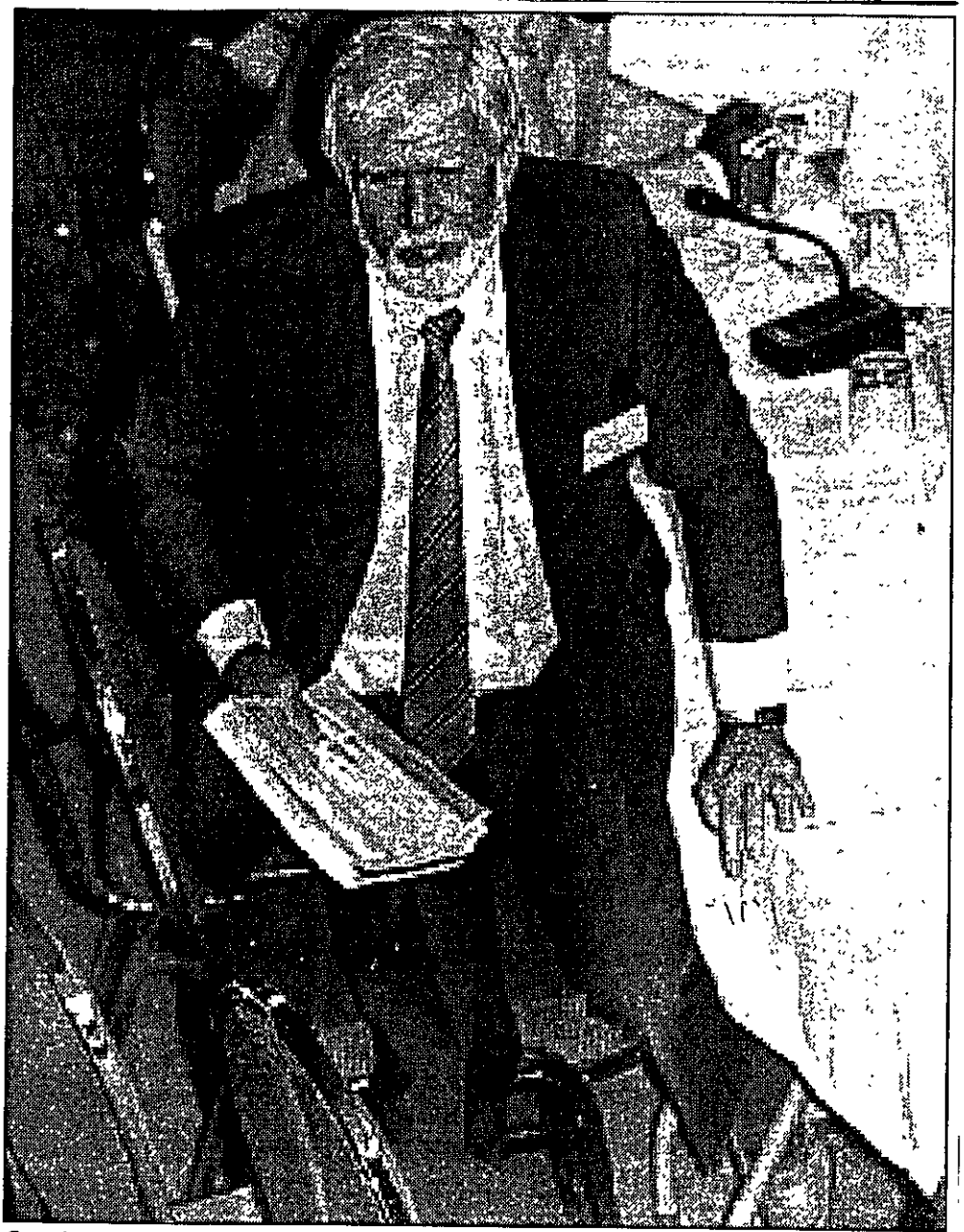
"If the president withdraws from parliament, a prime minister could provide the link between parliament and the executive," it says.

A vice-president could then "alleviate the heavy responsibilities of the president".

The report suggests that the vice-president be chosen from a party other than the president's to "play a unifying role during the transitional period".

It also suggests that the powers and functions of the president and vice-president be structured in such a way as to avoid conflict.

A prime minister would then be the principal representative of the government in ordinary parliamentary business, and accountable to parliament in that capacity.



Creating divisions ... IFP negotiator Walter Felgate

IFP tension over Felgate

Chris Louw

MIKE TARR has been fighting the Conservative Party in parliament since its inception 10 years ago. Earlier this year he crossed the floor from the Democratic Party to the Inkatha Freedom Party — and now finds himself in alliance with his former foes.

The IFP's close friendship with conservative Afrikaner groupings in the Concerned South African's Group (Cosag) is creating serious tensions within the Zulu-based party.

While Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is drawn into an ever closer relationship with parties favouring highly autonomous federal states in a future South Africa, whites who recently joined the party are increasingly embarrassed at being identified with the extremist white right.

During a conference last week at Itala Game Reserve in Natal, arranged by the IFP to improve relationships with the media, divisions within the organisation became obvious.

"I find it very hard to accept that I am now on the same side as those white racists," one del-

egate told journalists over lunch.

Few of the other white Inkatha officials present tried to hide their animosity towards Walter Felgate, a close confidant of Buthelezi.

In an open insult, Felgate was not invited to the conference. Although not willing to have their names mentioned, delegates made no secret of their opposition to Felgate's strategy of keeping the IFP out of the constitutional talks at Kempton Park. They also feel that he exerts too much influence over Buthelezi.

Central to the conflict is the question of whether the IFP should participate in the coming elections. Felgate strongly opposes participation. People like Peter Miller, who recently crossed the floor from the National Party, and Mike Tarr favour it.

The IFP has recently taken the chairmen of the Negotiating Forum to court, objecting to their application of the principle of "sufficient consensus" in adopting decisions at the talks. The case has been postponed until next week.

Senior IFP officials say their return to Kempton Park will to a large degree depend on the outcome of the court case.

Botswana police 'want IFP man'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Top Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Mr Joe Matthews is still wanted in Botswana on eight-year-old embezzlement charges, according to Botswana police.

Botswana CID chief Mr Tymon Khatolo said Mr Matthews's case had been revived after he appeared on Botswana television.

Mr Matthews, a lawyer, allegedly skipped bail and fled Botswana in 1985 when charged with stealing 120 000 pula (then about R130 000) in clients' funds.

Mr Khatolo said the 1985 warrant for Mr Matthews's arrest was still valid. Police were aware he was in South Africa and were investigating. He said Botswana could apply for Mr Matthews's extradition.

Mr Matthews has refused to comment, but IFP spokesman Mr Arthur Konigkramer said yesterday the issue had been settled "a long time ago". He refused to explain how this had been done.

A former Botswana assistant attorney-general, Mr Matthews allegedly committed the crimes while in private practice.

On one count against him, Mr Matthews was charged with stealing 116 000 pula on June 6 1984. It had been entrusted to him by a firm of attorneys to be sent to a Mr Derek Brink, according to Mmegi, a Botswana newspaper. (118) CT 27/3/93

No return to talks by CP, IFR

ULUNDI — The Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government are unlikely to return to negotiations.

CP leader Dr. Ferd Hartzenberg said this yesterday after talks here with KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

He said multi-party negotiations were "headed for disaster".

Revolution

Co-leader of the Volksfront General Constand Viljoen said Afrikaners and Zulus were concerned about the direction in which the negotiations were heading.

The Volksfront has expressed support for the national peace initiative planned for next month. However, Gen. Viljoen said it would be only moral support.

He blamed instability on an ANC and SACP "revolution" and said the peace initiative was only addressing the symptoms of the problem. — Sapa

CT 27/8/83

IFP *Fm 27/8/93*
Exploits on the outside

Whether the IFP will rejoin multiparty talks and contest the April 27 general election remain in question after the party's press briefing in the northern Natal bush at the weekend. But, even though president Mangosuthu Buthelezi retains his hard line on these issues, it emerged that a growing lobby within the IFP fears staying away from the talks and the election could marginalise Inkatha. (118)

The lobby apparently seeks to oust hard-liner Walter Felgate from his influential position on the central committee.

Yet Buthelezi, who seems unlikely to sack Felgate, makes it clear that conditions for a return to talks remain unchanged. The issue

Cont →

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 27/8/93
of decision-making by sufficient consensus at the negotiations must be clarified and the election date re-examined. (118)

This week the court case over sufficient consensus, brought by the KwaZulu government against two chairmen of the negotiating council, was delayed for two weeks.

Buthelezi quashes President FW de Klerk's suggestion that IFP/government bilateral talks enable the IFP's position to be presented in key discussions at the negotiations without its presence.

He also opposes an election because that will allow the winner to write the final constitution.

Poll preparation

Buthelezi claims that of the many constitutions written since World War 2, only Namibia's and India's were drafted by constituent assemblies. Though a special general conference of the IFP will make the final decision on whether to contest an election, the party is likely to follow his advice, he says.

Nevertheless, Buthelezi stresses that the IFP is gearing up for an election. He says it has formed an election committee and will be ready if SA goes to the polls in April. Its weekend press party might have been aimed in part at improving relations with the media before it starts campaigning in earnest.

Some observers say the IFP has succeeded with obstructionist strategies and will continue to extract concessions from the negotiating council in this way. The question is: how long will it be before the council draws a line or the IFP's tactics backfire?

One advantage of staying out is that the IFP sees vote-winning potential among blacks and whites by alleging the ANC and government are in cahoots. It probably also suspects it can win more federal autonomy, even though the ANC has indicated it will make no further concessions on the issue.

IFP chief negotiator Joe Matthews says no real concessions on regionalism have been made in the constitutional drafts tabled at Kempton Park.

Return in doubt

There is no doubt that the party's absence from the talks and other negotiators' reluctance to take firm decisions without the IFP casts doubt on the likelihood of an April election. Typically, Buthelezi is refusing to be drawn on his next move. And the IFP won't say whether it will return to multiparty talks if the case on sufficient consensus goes against it.

Much depends on whether Buthelezi continues to favour the views of Felgate in the central executive or starts to align himself with those who favour a more flexible approach.

Government — and the ANC — wants to bring Buthelezi back to the negotiating table through continued bilateral talks "for as long as there is any indication of a chance of the IFP's return," a government spokesman says. ■

NEWS FEATURE The IFP adopts a surprising new Press-friendly warts and all guise

Now Inkatha woos the Press

Sowetan 27/8/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

NEW LOOK Pleasant *bosberaad* in the scramble "to be understood":

THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY this week won a major coup in the communication war. Sound, rather cordial relations with the Press, major political players will attest, are more crucial now as South Africa enters its high noon.

Indeed the IFP is one of those parties which have joined the scramble "to be understood".

During the past weekend the IFP hosted a *bosberaad* with South African political correspondents in the tranquillity of the Itala Game reserve outside Vryheid in Natal.

There were no telephones, no television, newspapers or pagers — just the IFP, journalists and the wildlife.

From Friday until Sunday the journalists and the politicians engaged in what IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose described as "knowing each other better as politicians, as news reporters, as people who contribute to the shaping of the future of our beloved South Africa ... in short, let us know each other, warts and all!"

Indeed, we all got on with the get-to-know-each-other indaba in earnest.

To the media, the IFP has been synonymous with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is to the public a hardliner known for his one-man war with the Press at large. Hopefully, this was buried at the bush retreat.

The kingpins were all there: president Buthelezi; Mdlalose; chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews; Dr Ben Ngubane; newcomers and MPs Mr

Hennie Bekker and Mr Jurie Mentz, ex-National Party; and Mr Mike Tarr, formerly Democratic Party, and former Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller.

Conspicuously absent was Mr Walter Felgate, who is allegedly spearheading a split. "Felgate was not invited. Period," was the explanation.

Probably, one would be accused of being too hasty to talk about a "new look" IFP but for the purpose of this article I would stick my neck out and say so.

Political debate

Also, I will not dwell on the political debate that went on but mention the surprise element as well.

"I am asking you to hear what I am saying with an open mind," said Buthelezi in his address before outlining the IFP's current political stand.

"I give you my solemn undertaking as a man of principle and honour that what I ... say is the simple truth as I understand it and as it emerges from the caucus and central committee discussions of the IFP," he said.

Buthelezi was appealing for the ear of the Press to listen to the IFP as a political player rather than to him the man.

Throughout the exercise Buthelezi left the often harsh criticism, especially on sensitive issues of violence and the IFP's role in negotiations, to the men and women around him.

He said very little. That is the sur-

prise element.

But did Buthelezi make a point when he said: "We understand that journalists very frequently are expected to interpret the position of any political party against the background of what they understand to be the politics of the day."

I sensed that indeed very little is known about the position of this particular party.

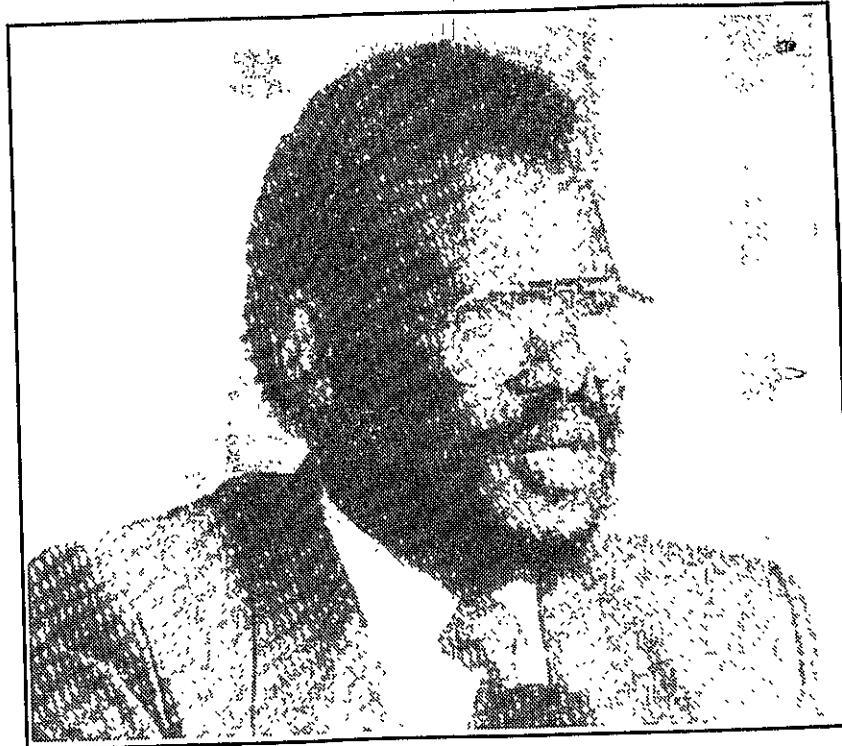
It may sound too simplistic, though, but whether Chief Buthelezi is of royal blood or not, many colleagues heard for the first time at the *bosberaad* that he is the son of Princess Constance Magogo, daughter of King Solomon kaDinizulu.

It was particularly interesting to watch and listen to Mr Joe Matthews, especially in close contact. He has a very sharp intellectual mind and puts every political argument in its proper legal slot and international perspective.

As IFP chief negotiator, criticism against Matthews, which is common among political scribes, is his aloofness — generally interpreted as hatred.

At the bush summit he acknowledged good-naturedly such criticism during a break by reminiscing with older journalists on their early years in Soweto, and how he and Mr Nelson Mandela stumbled on a sleeping lion in an African bush.

This round goes to the IFP.



Buthelezi ... at war with the Press.

118

IFP and Govt plan to meet again today

Star 28/8/93

DURBAN — The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet in Durban today in another bilateral meeting aimed at facilitating the IFP's return to constitutional negotiations.

A statement from Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said he and his deputy Lampie Fick would meet IFP negotiator Walter Felgate and KwaZulu government official Ben Ngubane.

Structure

"Discussions will be held regarding the IFP's return to the negotiation process and the structuring of bilateral talks" between the Government and the IFP," said Schutte. Draft Bills on broadcasting and the media would also be discussed, he added.

Felgate, however, in an interview stressed the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilaterals: "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track, and the way forward." — Sapa.

Another bid to woo IFP

DURBAN. — The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet in Durban today in another bilateral aimed at facilitating the IFP's return to constitutional negotiations. *APC 28/8/93*

A statement from Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said he and deputy Lampie Fick would meet IFP negotiator Walter Felgate and KwaZulu government official Ben Ngubane this morning.

"Discussions will be held regarding the IFP's return to the negotiation process and the structuring of bilateral talks between the government and the IFP," said Mr Schutte.

Draft Bills on the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Independent Electoral Commission, and the Independent Media Commission would also be discussed, he added.

However, Mr Felgate stressed in an interview that the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilaterals. "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track and the way forward".

The IFP and KwaZulu government pulled out of constitutional negotiations last month over the issue of "sufficient consensus". The IFP wants this decision-making process revised and has instituted Supreme Court action to apply for this.

Mr Felgate was adamant yesterday that bilaterals with the government "in no way are parallel discussions on what is taking place at the World Trade Centre".

"We're talking about putting the negotiation process back on track, not to iron out World Trade Centre problems," he said.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week also rejected a "two-tables" approach to negotiations, following a suggestion to this effect by State President F W de Klerk.

Asked if today's meeting could result in the IFP's return to talks, Mr Felgate said only Inkatha's central committee could authorise such a move.

It also comes as the IFP's Youth Brigade meets in Ulundi for its annual conference.

Mr Buthelezi will deliver an opening address this morning, while IFP leaders Frank Mdlalose and Joe Matthews will speak on the party's stance towards negotiations. — Sapa

Govt, IFP in talks today (11/8)

DURBAN (S.A.P.) The government and the IFP are to meet here today in another bilateral aimed at facilitating the IFP's return to constitutional negotiations.

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Draft bills on the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Independent Electoral Commission, and the Independent Media Commission will also be discussed, said Mr Schutte.

But Mr Felgate stressed the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilaterals: "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track and the way forward." — Sapa

Buthelezi's 'no' to poll

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he will seriously consider his position as Inkatha leader should the party decide to contest the April poll.

Speaking in Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi also said the new South Africa would not be created through the current negotiations. (11B)

Buthelezi said Inkatha may call a conference later this year to take a decision on elections.

While he would abide by its outcome, "I will seriously consider my position as leader of Inkatha after I have heard that verdict". - Sapa

Jiyane - 'nobody's yes-man'

THE IFP's new chief spokesman, Dr Ziba Jiyane, is a man respected by friends and foes alike. Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba reports

(112)

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will not be the same again now that academic and former high-ranking Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) official Dr Ziba Jiyane is in charge of its publicity department.

That is the unanimous verdict of those who knew Jiyane (34) well, both inside and outside the country.

Jiyane, who was described as "very, very intelligent", "brilliant" and "nobody's yes-man", was appointed last week as IFP national spokesman and communications director, a position which might see influential IFP central committee member Walter Felgate's high public profile taking a dive.

A former head of the PAC's Radio Freedom in the Tanzanian capital Dar-es-Salaam, Jiyane has undertaken to "put the IFP's case as convincingly as possible", change the party's tattered image to help it win more votes in next year's election, "and to contribute to the democratisation of our country".

Like many others before him who began as advisers to Buthelezi, Jiyane has been appointed to the IFP's elastic central committee.

But, unlike Joe Matthews who came to the IFP from the ANC, Jiyane — reportedly with an impressive academic record — has a history of being fiercely Africanist. Some even say he harbours a deep mistrust of whites and be-

lieves in an African leadership.

This Jiyane freely admits, but insists he is not racist.

"The spirit of self-reliance in any community is, for me, the key to any community's improvement. I am not racist, but I still strongly believe in African leadership and the cultural pride of Africa," he says.

Political analyst Dr Seshi Chonco, who has known the new IFP spokesman since 1976 during their days in the Inkatha Youth Brigade, has great respect for Jiyane: "He takes longer to get convinced because he looks at all sides of issues: your thorough academic. Once he has taken a position he gets fixated with it and can fight to the grave," says Chonco.

PAC national executive council member and Natal leader Joe Mkhwanazi, who as PAC administrative secretary in exile worked with Jiyane in Dar-es-Salaam, says: "I respect the young man. He is nobody's yes-man. He is very independent. Even when he is wrong he is wrong independently. I'm sure when you meet him you'll confirm what I am saying."

Jiyane's description of himself does not differ from the one given by the two men. "Whatever I do, I do it with good intentions. I like people. When I believe in a cause it's very difficult for me to be swayed, but I respect others' right to say what they believe. "I am a fair person, and I like people to respect what I believe in and never to question my motives because they will never know them."



Ziba Jiyane... ex-PAC, now IFP's publicity man.

Mkhwanazi says Jiyane, with whom he has always had a good relationship, told him about six months ago about his unhappiness with the PAC's continued armed struggle.

Jiyane, who had in the past supported the armed struggle but had never undergone military training himself, felt the armed struggle had had its day and had to be called off. But even during that discussion, Jiyane did not hint he was about to jump ship.

Jiyane himself gives as his reasons for disaffection with the PAC the organisation's initial egg-dance regarding negotiations following its unbanning in 1990, its lukewarm attitude towards fellow Africans who were homeland leaders, disillusionment with "the socialist rhetoric and practice",

and, of course, the continuation of the armed struggle. However, he attributes his initial political re-think to a discussion he had with an Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) member in the United States.

He was criticising the ANC and the IFP as usual for the violence in Natal when the Azapo man told him "the IFP was merely standing up to the ANC", which had a history of violent confrontations with organisations differing with it.

He did some research and found the Azapo man's views "to be true". Armed with an MA from the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) and a JD (Juris Doctor) — ANC northern Natal leader and University of Zululand political studies

and public administration head Professor Aaron Ndlovu says it is equivalent to a local LNB — from Yale University, Jiyane returned home early last year. He is now putting the finishing touches to his doctoral thesis.

Still a PAC member, he took a low political profile at Chonco's suggestion, delivered lectures on democracy at forums organised by the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, and taught in the same department as Ndlovu at the University of Zululand until this month.

And then Buthelezi — whom he met during a brief visit here in 1991 — came knocking, and he obeyed. Both Chonco and Mkhwanazi think Felgate's star in the IFP might begin to wane now

that Jiyane, a lucid thinker with a strong personality, has joined the IFP fold. Mkhwanazi says Jiyane is unlikely to endorse moves "which could delay the freedom of the African people", and Chonco believes the new IFP man will considerably strengthen the moderate faction led by Matthews in the party.

Says another source: "Jiyane is in favour of negotiations. He is opposed to war-talk, he hates Felgate, whom he thinks gives the IFP a bad name, and he distrusts whites. He thinks it is possible to strike a deal with the ANC, and that the ANC is ready to strike a deal with the IFP."

But if Jiyane hates Felgate, he will not talk about it. Instead, he parries the question, saying he hates nobody in the IFP leadership "because I have had no reason to hate anybody, maybe as we go on we may differ democratically with some people."

He will have it known, however, that he, too, is firmly convinced the IFP's return to negotiations would serve little purpose while the party's input "is of little value" because of the "sufficient consensus" decision-making principle.

"Why should we go there to bless a process in which we are taken as a non-factor? That must be resolved (first). It hurts us to hear people saying our views do not count," he says.

Buthelezi has less respect for De Klerk

Durban — Relations between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk hit rock bottom yesterday with Buthelezi telling more than 5 000 IFP supporters in Ulundi that his respect for the National Party leader had "diminished".

Buthelezi was responding to criticism by De Klerk in Buenos Aires, Argentina, that the IFP leader continued with threats about a civil war while he should be at the World Trade Centre.

De Klerk said continuing references by Buthelezi to civil war increased the possibility of its taking place.

"I am deeply concerned about the attitude reflected in the latest speeches by Chief Buthelezi," he told a press conference on Saturday before leaving for South Africa. "I know he is against it, but constant mentioning of it brings to the fore that possibility."

He acknowledged that there was a "worst-case scenario" and "things can go wrong". But the way to prevent such developments was to enter into agreements taking into account the fears and aspirations of all people and parties in South Africa.

In spite of De Klerk's hard line, he stressed: "I have held the view and still believe that the IFP should be party to agreements reached."

Addressing the closing session of the IFP Youth Brigade annual congress yesterday, Buthelezi said: "Mr de Klerk's attempt to placate the media which is demonising me as a spoiler has diminished my respect for him as a leader."

The IFP leader also said De Klerk's criticism was an indication of his lack of respect for black lives, especially of IFP members, lost in the ongoing violence.

"If Mr de Klerk was concerned about the lives of black

people and if he held the lives of IFP members so sacred, he would not talk like that because the civil war I am talking about started nine years ago where our members are killed."

Buthelezi said he was surprised that De Klerk had made such utterances because the President himself had earlier this year said that unless there was a political settlement in South Africa there would be a civil war.

The IFP leader said it was statements such as the one made by De Klerk that had probably created the "chasm" between the two leaders.

Buthelezi said his mistake — to deserve such treatment from the President — was probably because unlike other leaders, he had never forgotten De Klerk's role as the *de jure* head of State. Own Correspondent, Political Staff.

► IFP youth back boycott
— Page 6

Inkatha youths back negotiations boycott

Star 30/8/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The IFP Youth Brigade has endorsed its parent body's decision to walk out of multiparty negotiations until the party's demands are met, and has warned against proceeding with elections for a constituent assembly.

In a resolution passed by its 16th annual conference at the weekend, the Youth Brigade rejected a two-phase transitional process, describing it as a ploy by the NP and the ANC and its allies to delay liberation "in order

to accommodate secret power-sharing deals".

It also called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to take disciplinary action against ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, whose "inflammatory statements" allegedly contributed to violence. (113)

The Youth Brigade also called on the National Peace Secretariat to show its seriousness about peace by taking steps to disband the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and all private armies.

IFP refuses to rejoin talks

Sowetan 30/8/93

INKATHA is to remain outside negotiations at the World Trade Centre but will continue seeking a return to constitutional talks and is hard at work preparing for elections — despite its objections to the April poll. (113)

This emerged at the weekend during the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade's annual conference in Ulundi and after another round of bilateral talks in Durban between the IFP and the KwaZulu and the South African govern-

ments. IFP chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews told the Ulundi conference yesterday his party was in the throes of preparing for elections and was "ready to govern South Africa".

He said reports of Inkatha boycotting elections were "disinformation".

The IFP was to hold a special conference soon at which it would decide whether or not it would contest the April 27 election, he said. — Sapa

IFP mobilises on local govt

CT.

Aug. 1993

MARITZBURG. ~~The~~ Inkatha Freedom Party plans to launch a special caucus to determine local government issues in Natal ~~(IB) (SAA)~~

Former MEC for local government Mr Peter Miller, who will help set up the forum, said yesterday there was "enormous grassroots support" in formal local government structures in Natal for the IFP and its stand on federal regional government, but this support was not properly organised.

He added that the IFP rejected solutions imposed upon it by structures such as the Local Government Negotiating Forum in Johannesburg and would become a powerful lobby.

C

In 1990, when Mapetla Hostel inmates attacked residents living next to the Soweto hotel and people feared the Reef townships would soon experience what Natalians were going through, a friend said: "It's absurd, but the truth of the matter is that Inkatha's resistance against ANC domination is a blessing in disguise for Azapo and the PAC. Inkatha has shifted the spotlight from us to them. If the ANC had started with us, by now we would be hanging copies of the Freedom Charter on our walls."

The people who had made the remark knew what they were talking about. A year later, Reef townships were engulfed in blood and smoke. I told an Umlazi ANC member what the black consciousness people had said about the ANC. He replied: "Well, if it were not for the ANC putting up such a struggle against Inkatha, some of us would be hanging the picture of Mangosuthu Buthelezi on our walls."

He explained he was proud of being a Zulu, but he was even prouder to be a member of the ANC, for the ideals of which he was prepared to die, like earlier Zulu ANC leaders Chief Albert Lutuli, Prof Tongo Jabavu and Mahiathi Champion.

There is no place or region in SA where the struggle for power is more fierce than in Natal and KwaZulu. The war is between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC, between the young and the old, the "progressives" and the traditionalists. And when you listen to the people who refer to Inkatha supporters as "traditionalists", they seem to imply that they are also uneducated old people, or the "primitive lot". One often picks up phrases such as "those old illiterate Zulus".

However, the war seems largely to be about economic power. In St Lucia recently, I spoke to a hotel waiter about Inkatha. He said: "What has the KwaZulu government done for us? Do you know how much we earn

around here? The government does not want trade unions to come here because it wants white people to continue exploiting us. That is why whites around here are voting for Inkatha: they know their privileged status will be protected by Buthelezi. Look at the towns where the ANC is in control. The trade unions fight for the workers."

However, the maid in my hotel does not agree. She is a widow living in KwaMashu and has five adult children: "I was lucky that, when my husband died, the township was no longer under the council. If it was, I would have been evacuated from my house and put in a two-roomed house. Or, worse still, I would have been repatriated to the homelands. When Buthelezi took over he put an end to widows being kicked out of their homes."

She is neither Inkatha nor ANC. She admires Buthelezi but does not like Inkatha. She also does not like the ANC youth, to whom she refers as the "comrades". She thinks everyone from Johannesburg is ANC. She thought that I was, simply because I was from Johannesburg and because I had lots of reading material in my room. She finds it hard to believe there are people in Soweto who do not support any political party.

Battered Natalians await election With trepidation

B/Day
Aug. 1993

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE in Durban

better be careful of what you say at institutions such as universities and schools in the urban areas. It is interesting to see how the ANC has learnt from the NP government. The University of Durban-Westville, and to a large extent, even Natal University, have become ANC policy forums — just as Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom universities were to the NP.

So how will Inkatha recruit in urban areas? Perhaps the first step should be to remove the Themba Khoza rural types and replace them with the likes of angelic baby-faced Musa Zondi, who is not only articulate, but has a grasp of political concepts which seems to go beyond the cultural weapon. However, the further you move from the city, the more Inkatha prone it gets.

One area that is ignored and which does create problems is the role of the youth in rural areas. The ANC youth is active within the movement. Inkatha excludes its youth.

While this deliberate marginalisation of young people affords them the opportunity to acquire formal education, unfortunately that exclusion somehow puts them at a disadvantage. The young, rural Zulu person cannot become streetwise or articulate. This can be seen clearly at youth conferences when youth

representatives from the various political parties have to put their views across. Inkatha's usually perform badly.

In Johannesburg most ANC supporters and leaders are young and educated. In Natal they range from office clerks to factory workers to street vendors to cleaners and the elderly. There are also respected men and women in the townships, university lecturers and doctors who rub shoulders with the ordinary folk at meetings and rallies.

The leaders here do not pretend there are no problems in their midst. They will admit that they spend long hours listening to their followers and allaying the fears they have about many issues. A senior ANC person once said to me: "If only people at Shell House knew how much we have to defend some of the things that go on in there."

They are more sensitive about getting their organisation doing the right thing. They are concerned about discipline, ethics and the future of black people in the area.

But while the leadership is making noises and statements of reconciliation, anarchy persists on the ground. The ordinary person is becoming marginalised, and by the time the politicians begin to woo him, it will be too late.

The community is looking on helplessly and fearfully. When one raises the question of elections, one finds that the people have become cynical and threatened by the event. It is as though they sense that, once again, they are going to be robbed of democracy. They are disillusioned and ambivalent. They want to participate in the process but the situation puts them in a dangerous spot. They end up expressing utter and complete despondency, displaying symptoms of distancing themselves from the event. It is as though the whole exercise will be for them and not for us.

Mathiane is a freelance journalist, currently based in Durban, where she hosts a Capital Radio talk show.

(11B) (213)
Support
for calm
from IFP

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

SUPPORT for bringing peace to the Western Cape has come from the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But support for the campaign, which begins on Thursday, has come with a challenge to the ANC/SACP alliance to commit itself to ending violence.

This, according to the IFP (Western Cape), should be done by publicly repudiating statements and dissociating the movement from slogans such as 'Kill the Boer', 'Kill the Farmer'.

The IFP said it had always stood for peace and would continue to do so in spite of the deaths of more than 300 of our office-bearers in the year.

Business has thrown its weight behind the month of peace organised by the National Peace Committee. Among companies in Thursday's mid-day kick-off are Readers' Digest, AFCL, Eskom and Warner Lambert.

Mayor-elect Clive Keegan, has invited the people of Cape Town to join him at St Mary's Cathedral in Roeland Street on Thursday at 1pm "to join hands in prayers for peace."



LEADERS MEET . . . German chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl held talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Bonn yesterday.

Picture: AP

Rejoin talks,^(11B) Kohl tells IFP

BONN.— German chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl yesterday called on Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take an active role in the negotiation process.

CT 1/9/93
They met at Dr Kohl's invitation.

Dr Kohl said a broad consensus between political parties could only be reached through participation.

The meeting focused on present and future developments as well as efforts to secure a political solution for the internal conflict in the country.

Mr Buthelezi explained the Inkatha Freedom Party's position regarding the multi-party negotiations. — Sapa

Beuthin gets 25 years in jail

SUSAN RUSSELL

GARY Beuthin was a "danger and a menace to society" a Rand Supreme Court judge said when he sentenced the former bouncer to an effective 25 years' imprisonment in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Beuthin, 29, was sentenced to a total of 35 years' imprisonment for attempted murder, kidnapping, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, robbery with aggravating circumstances and attempted extortion.

He was sentenced to a R1 000 fine or 150 days in prison on four counts of theft and one of bilking.

Beuthin viciously assaulted and kidnapped 33-year-old Jill Reeves from her Melrose flat on May 10 last year after she had left him stranded at a nightclub and driven home in his car without his consent.

Beuthin was also convicted of robbery with aggravating circumstances for assaulting one of Reeves' neighbours, James O'Riordan, and stealing his motor car.

He used O'Riordan's car to drive Reeves to Natal where he held her for 12 days before giving himself up to police on May 22 last year.

Judge M J Strydom accepted in Beuthin's favour that none of the crimes had been premeditated.

Beuthin indicated he wished to have a copy of the judgment and evidence in mitigation of sentence in order to prepare for his appeal.

FW, Buthelezi to meet soon

BIDAY 1/9/93

TIM COHEN

BLOEMFONTEIN — President F W de Klerk announced yesterday that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet for extended discussions soon to patch up their differences. (SAPA) (IB)

De Klerk told about 800 NP supporters at the party's Free State congress that he knew there was concern about the relationship between the NP and Inkatha, saying the NP would continue to adopt a constructive approach.

"We would like to co-operate on matters on which we agree and wish to continue talking about those on which we differ. The NP recognises Inkatha as an important role player. It has to be party to agreements."

De Klerk said he and Buthelezi had agreed that both sides would be assisted by complete teams of senior advisers and negotiators.

The date of the meeting had still to be determined.

As De Klerk entered, NP members waved national peace accord flags in support of the national peace month, and some shouted "Viva F W".

De Klerk said the NP was the only party able to "counter the reality of the ANC effectively". He said the ANC remained a "dangerous and un-

reliable party".

There was an enormous gulf between the sometimes fine utterances of ANC leaders and actions of its members on the ground. "Talk of peace and justice covers up acts of violence and intimidation on the ground."

De Klerk also took swipes at the CP, which he said was "tottering". The party's leader Ferdi Hartzenberg did not inspire confidence and was fast losing support within his own party, he said.

Sapa reports that De Klerk said at the opening of the congress that the unrest and violence of today was not the fruits of NP reform but the aftermath of the bitterness and strife of the past.

"They are the growing pains of the abuse of newly found freedom. We dare not allow ourselves to be brought off course by our irritations and frustrations with these abuses.

"The challenge facing us is to keep taking the lead in establishing and ensuring a truly democratic culture of tolerance."

The old SA was on an inevitable road to disaster and there was no alternative to the process of reform.

Agreed legislation could be delayed — Meyer

BIDAY 1/9/93

TIM COHEN

BLOEMFONTEIN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday certain legislation agreed at the World Trade Centre would not necessarily come into effect until agreement was reached on the transitional constitution.

Meyer, addressing the congress, adopted a more guarded stance than in the past on the planned legislation on the independent electoral and media commissions, which was agreed at Kempton Park yesterday.

Agreement could be reached on the

interim broadcasting authority this week, and it was possible legislation could also be presented on the proposed transitional executive committee (TEC) during the short session of Parliament this month. (SAPA)

Meyer said implementation of the proposed legislation could be postponed until agreement was reached on the constitution.

He told about 200 NP delegates government would not leave the

World Trade Centre negotiating council until agreement was reached on the new constitution, and it would not make sense for the proposed legislation to come into effect until the constitution was agreed.

Afterwards Meyer clarified his statement by saying the ultimate decision on when the legislation would come into effect would be taken by the negotiating council, although government would be arguing that implementation of some of the legislation should not be immediate.

OPINION Ominous words emerging from Umtali sound suspiciously like those of Savimbi

Buthelezi concedes defeat

POLITICAL

DEMISE Chief

afraid of obscurity:

By Hugh Robertson,
Assistant editor of *The Argus*

HOW SERIOUSLY should we take Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's repeated warning of a civil war breaking out if the World Trade Centre negotiations take their course?

Mr F W de Klerk apparently thinks the warning has a dangerous potential and has publicly admonished Buthelezi for making such statements.

And well he might, for what we are hearing from Buthelezi bears some disquieting comparison with what we have heard from a neighbouring leader who has set himself irrevocably against the thrust of history by rejecting the democratic process and who, as a result, has become embroiled in a civil war - Dr Jonas Savimbi in Angola. Savimbi went into last November's election

with a remarkable progress would be made in political settlement, said Southall.

He conceded that re- federalism out of a need to broker a "second-best" political settlement, said Southall. For its part the ANC had made its commitment to federalism out of a need to broker a "second-best" political settlement, said Southall. For its part the ANC had made its commitment to federalism out of a need to broker a "second-best" political settlement, said Southall.

object to the majority party having the power to draw up a new constitution? Does his view not presuppose his own defeat? In fact he conceded as much in a speech at Ithala last week when he claimed that the deadlock-breaking mechanisms being worked out (for the writing of the final constitution) would allow the ANC to draw up the document "without let or hindrance".

Some would argue that Buthelezi is simply holding out for a federal constitution in which the power of regions would be entrenched. That is a spurious argument, since no matter how large the victorious party's majority might be on April 27, the constituent assembly's power would be limited to drawing up a constitution which adheres to the outline already accepted by the negotiating parties, including the ANC.

Outline

(112)

That outline stipulates the creation of regions and regional governments with strong powers in the classic federal tradition. Furthermore, before the final constitution can be accepted - and a further national election held in terms of its provisions - a special constitutional court, with members acceptable to all parties, would have to certify that the new document does indeed follow the outline agreed upon in Kempton Park last month.

Savimbi

2/19/93

the lawful and legitimate arbiter of political power and Buthelezi's power - politically and constitutionally - would be vastly diminished.

But that might not be the end of the matter. Insofar as the country is going through what has been termed a con-

trolled revolution, we might be witnessing, in the camps of the discontented, an incipient counter-revolution. Buthelezi might have powerful allies on the far right, which also seems bent on boycotting the ballot, and the support for what might be

this motley collection of malcontents, they could cause havoc. That is enough to justify the "grave displeasure" which De Klerk has expressed at Buthelezi's persistent use of war talk. But like Umtali and Jonas Savimbi, the undermining of the boycotters will be failure and defeat.

worth - of some of the smaller homeland governments, most of them with precarious power-bases. If the civil war Buthelezi keeps warning of were to ignite spontaneously in the ranks of

Peace before talks — IFP

BONN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would return to multi-party talks on South Africa's political future when violence he claimed was provoked by the ANC ends.

Chief Buthelezi invited the international media to visit KwaZulu.

"We need you to highlight the ethnic cleansing of the Zulu people by the armed wing of ANC," he said.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking during a three-day visit to Germany during which he held talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. Mr. Kohl urged Chief Buthelezi to return to the talks. — Sapa

AP CT 2/9/93 (113)

Fm 3/9/93

Ulundi at the weekend, that having a constituent assembly foisted upon SA is a "recipe for civil war," drew a sharp rebuke from President F W de Klerk, who mooted the possibility of a referendum to break the negotiating deadlock. (103) (118)

The referendum proposal could be a lifeboat for the NP — a convenient diversion to avoid its having to fight an election when it appears to be losing support, partly to the right but more significantly to the IFP.

Markinor's Mari Harris says polls show growing secondary support among whites for the IFP. However, she adds that this is not necessarily at the expense of the Nats.

Frost, on the other hand, believes the growing popularity of the IFP among whites is substantially at the NP's expense. The more the IFP succeeds in winning NP voters, he says, the more precarious the NP's position becomes in an election. He says a poor showing by the NP at the polls would probably mean the end of the party. "One could speculate that that could make an election less likely and a referendum with a facile question more probable," he maintains.

Commentators widely deduce that Buthelezi's threat to resign is a mere ploy intended to galvanise support behind him. He must be unhappy with recent public speculation about a palace revolution to oust high-ranking party hardliner Walter Felgate. The anti-Felgate lobby believes it inconceivable that the party won't contest an election — and they're probably right — though the FM was told that the differences within the party are over strategy rather than policy.

But if the unthinkable were to happen, and Buthelezi did disappear from the political scene, the most likely candidate to replace him would seem to be KwaZulu Health Minister Ben Ngubane who is perceived as young, bright and charismatic. Another possibility is Ziba Jiyane, who recently rejoined the IFP from the PAC as information chief, though his prospects to assume the party leadership are said to be better in the longer term. IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose, though highly respected, is considered the party's elder statesman rather than a serious contender for its leadership. Joe Matthews is probably not a serious contender, though the party would probably deny this, because he is not Zulu.

Most commentators believe it's inconceivable for the IFP to contest an election without Buthelezi leading it, and he knows it. His resignation in the election runup would be as crippling as the IFP boycotting the polls. Apart from the disruption of a sudden leadership change, Buthelezi is probably the one person who appeals to traditional and modern constituencies, black and white.

One thus has to assume that even if an election is based on the establishment of a constituent assembly, the IFP will participate provided the election will also duly elect a government. The IFP would hope to emerge with enough support either to scrap constitutional drafts or to become a feasible opposition force in subsequent polls. ■

INKATHA Fm 3/9/93

Who will blink first?

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's suggestion that he might reconsider his position as leader if the party opts to fight the proposed April 27 general election sounds like the sort of rhetoric politicians frequently live to regret. Certainly, Rhodesia's Ian Smith and former President P W Botha must reflect with embarrassment on comments such as "never in a thousand years" and "over my dead body." (103) (118)

Buthelezi's words, however, were probably more carefully chosen with the intention of nudging the erring party faithful back into line and to re-emphasise his tough stance on conditions for participating in an election.

Natal University head of politics Mervyn Frost believes it is highly unlikely that Buthelezi would resign now. "It strikes me as bluff," he says. Moreover, there is no heir apparent.

The issue of whether the party will take part in an election is more complex, says Frost, pointing to the contradictory statements emerging from the IFP. "When I put the pieces together, their plan is not to fight an election on the terms laid out, but, if a new deal is cut, they will participate," he predicts.

Based on that, Buthelezi's remarks must be seen as part of his strategy of political brinkmanship, which seems to be paying dividends for the IFP. His comments to the IFP Youth Brigade annual congress in

FM 3/9/93
THE CONSTITUTION
Sensible alternative

(11B)

The so-called concessions on regionalism proposed by the Kempton Park multiparty constitution makers would relegate the Kwa-Zulu/Natal administration to the status of running the fire brigade.

That's how IFP chief negotiator Joe Matthews contemptuously interprets what others claim are major concessions on regionalism made by the negotiators in a bid to entice the recalcitrant IFP back to the table.

According to Matthews, the only concessions on regionalism granted in the Kempton Park constitutional revisions amount to allocating to the regions responsibility for horse racing, language policy, town planning and firefighting.

He is convinced the ANC is determined not to allow any decentralised powers which exceed existing provincial structures. And that, according to IFP specialist on local government Peter Miller, is a far cry from the minimum requirements to qualify as a federal state.

There is, says Miller, a whole degradation from strong to weak federalism. However, the three basic requirements for federation include: the entrenched right of each federal state to exist, a right which cannot be withdrawn without the express consent of the federal state itself; the right to autonomy and exclusive power over certain agreed functions; and the right to representation in a central government.

The IFP maintains that its 33-page draft constitution, presented for discussion at the multiparty negotiations, would be equally applicable if SA opted to remain a unitary state.

But it claims its submission has been ignored.

On the controversial issue of State powers, the IFP suggests the replacement of the existing provinces and national states with states based on more logical economic territorial, cultural and linguistic factors. State legislatures would be elected on the basis of proportional representation and should be

FM 3/9/93
headed by a state premier and a governor representing central government.

The IFP says it would like provision made for state and local police operating under the jurisdiction of state governments. At a national level, the IFP would like to see a division of responsibility, with the president, assisted by the security council, taking charge of the armed forces and the prime minister having the national police portfolio.

Clearly this is a well-thought-out document with none of the rabid confederal qualities with which it has been labelled. On the contrary, it leaves the powers to be vested in the state open to discussion. (11B)

It does, however, set out the framework which will allow for the creation of either weak or powerful federalism and as a constitutional document is clearly worth being drawn into the debate.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists that his advocacy of a finalised federal constitution prior to going to the polls is directed towards the national interest rather than a bid to further his own, or his party's political ambitions.

Though he appeals for this to be accepted at face value, it has to be treated with the same critical scrutiny as similar claims by his political opponents.

But it also means he and his party should not be ignored. ■

(115) 423 CT 4/9/93
I'm not ready for
forum — Buthelezi

COPENHAGEN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisted yesterday that he was not ready to return to South Africa's democracy forum and that any decision to resume the talks would be made by his party.

"The question is not a question of convincing Buthelezi, but a question of democracy," he told a press conference. "I am not a dictator. The decision to come back has to be taken by the party not by myself."

Chief Buthelezi indicated that Inkatha was preparing for the elections but did not clearly state that the party would take part.

Danish Foreign Minister Mr Niels Helvig Petersen called on the IFP leader to return to the negotiating forum "for the good of South Africa". He said the absence of Inkatha "could hold back or even seriously undermine all progress towards the creation of a democratic and multi-racial society". — Sapa-AFP

Rejoin talks, UK to tell IFP

STimes 5/9/93

(11B)

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is heading for his third rebuff when he meets Britain's Foreign Secretary tomorrow in the final stages of a European tour which has seen him under intense pressure to return to multi-party talks.

Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd is expected to join his German and Danish counterparts in urging the Inkatha leader to take part in multi-party negotiations.

Foreign office spokesman Ian Kydd said he could not anticipate what Mr Hurd would tell Chief Buthelezi, but Britain had in the past given full support for the process leading to an election next year.

In Copenhagen on Friday, Chief Buthelezi insisted he was not ready to return to the World Trade Centre talks and that any decision would be made by his party.

This followed calls by both the Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helvig Petersen and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that he return to the talks.

Declaring that he was neither a "dictator" nor a "separatist", Chief Buthelezi said that "the question is not a question of convincing Buthelezi, but a question of democracy."

Chief Buthelezi indicated that Inkatha was preparing for the elections, but did not clearly state the party would take part. Decisions would be made at the party congress towards the end of 1993.

Mr Petersen, who met Chief Buthelezi with Co-operation Minister Helle Degn, called on him to return to the negotiating forum "for the good of South Africa", stressing his "extremely important role" in the political process.

"The absence of Inkatha could hold back or even seriously undermine all progress towards the creation of a democratic and

By PETER MALHERBE
London

multiracial society," Mr Petersen said.

Earlier in Bonn, Chief Buthelezi said he would return to multi-party talks when violence ended.

He invited the international media to visit Zululand because "we need you to highlight the ethnic cleansing of the Zulu people by the armed wing of the ANC. We want you to report on the systematic slaughter of IFP supporters and on the horror of having 310 of our leaders assassinated."

Mr Kohl asked Chief Buthelezi to return to the multi-party talks, saying that only "participation and co-operation" could lead to "a wide consensus of all important political parties".

Chief Buthelezi is scheduled to address an international press conference in London tomorrow. — Additional reporting by Sapa-AFP

ANC will MK, pleo

By BRIAN SOKUTU

IN a bid to boost the morale of the Umkhonto we Sizwe ANC's National Working Committee soon undertake a "total restructuring" of the armed wing's military he

In a speech ending the national conference at Kangwadi, ANC secretary-general, Ophoza, also endorsed the R10-million social welfare fund — initiated by President Nelson Mandela — on ANC members to support with contributions from R2

Inkatha wants 'Vaal Monster' inquest

By ELIAS MALULEKE

INKATHA is to launch a campaign in a bid to reopen the inquest into the death in detention of "Vaal Monster" Victor Khetisi Kheswa.

The Free State attorney-general decided this week not to go ahead with

the inquest.

Inkatha national spokesman Ed Tillet said Inkatha's Johannesburg branch would take up the matter with the Ministers of Law and Order and Justice.

Tillet reiterated on Friday that the A-G's decision was "a cover-up to

protect the police who are responsible for his death" (118)

Tillet said Inkatha would also demand the suspension of Sergeant Gerhurdus "Pedro" Peens, who has been linked to the deaths of both Kheswa and Daniel Mabote, who were in his custody.

Claims have also been made by Inkatha's Vaal

region, other organisations and some of Kheswa's gang members that he was killed and "muzzled" by the police because he allegedly knew too much.

Allegations have it that Kheswa conspired with the police in the past to launch his attacks in the Vaal Triangle.

Kheswa died mysteriously in the hands of the

police minutes after he was arrested.

His death was followed three weeks later by that of his alleged lieutenant, Daniel Mabote, who allegedly jumped out of the window of a speeding police car.

Police claim that the A-G's decision "vindicated" the police from blame.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibuya, headlines and sub-editing by B Kheswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Rejoin talks, UK to tell IFP

STimes 5/9/93

(118)

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Chief Buthelezi indicated that Inkatha was preparing for the elections, but did not clearly state the party would take part. Decisions would be made at the party congress towards the end of 1993.

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By PETER MALHERBE
London

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Chief Buthelezi is scheduled to address an international press conference in London tomorrow. —
Additional reporting by Sapa-AFP

FW, IFP chief set date
CT 6/9/93 (11B) 379
for bid to end impasse

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk is to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday, September 16, in an attempt to find a way around the impasse in talks.

It is understood that this is not a make-or-break meeting and others are expected to flow from it.

President De Klerk would like Inkatha to return to the talks but government negotiators have acknowledged it is unlikely to do so.

However, there is a strong belief that Chief Buthelezi can be accommodated through talks behind closed doors with his negotiators.

Ex-Nat councillor joins the IFP

■ WEST RAND BUREAU

The former chairman of the Roodepoort City Council's management committee, who resigned from the council and the National Party last month, has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Dave Treleven made the announcement at an IFP meeting in Muldersdrift.

Treleven will represent the IFP at the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

He said today that he would probably have remained apolitical had it not been for the critical times the country was facing. "I felt duty bound to play a role and looked at various parties when I resigned from the National Party," Treleven said.

He added that the IFP was the only party in which he felt really at home. "I completely adopt Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's policy in refusing to join the armed struggle and his anti-sanctions stance," he said.

Treleven said the support for the National Party in Roodepoort was "dwindling fast" and that support for the IFP was "substantial" and growing among whites.

Top Nat quits to join IFP

FORMER chairman of the Roodepoort City Council's management committee Mr Dave Treleven has left the National Party to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, chief co-ordinator of the IFP Mr Hennie Bekker said yesterday. 6/9/93

Treleven announced this at an IFP meeting in Muldersdrift. Welcoming the move, Bekker said Treleven would become one of the pivotal figures in the local government team. (118) cdlc

De Klerk to meet Buthelezi next week

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi next Thursday, September 16, in an attempt to find ways around the impasse in constitutional talks.

It is understood this is not regarded as a make-or-break meeting and others are expected to flow from it.

De Klerk would like to see Inkatha back at the Kempton Park talks, but government negotiators agree this is unlikely to happen. However, there is a strong belief that Buthelezi can be accommodated through talks behind closed doors.

A senior government negotiator said last week it was believed De Klerk could

BILLY PADDOCK

find ways around Inkatha's boycott, so that they were party to negotiations although absent from the table. *B/Day*

He said the three draft Bills passed by negotiators last week had all been approved by Inkatha the previous weekend. Following that meeting, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte conveyed Inkatha's requirements to the ANC and its allies. These were then written into the Bills in an "acceptable form". *6/9/93*

One of the mechanisms could be to provide "guarantees around the constitution that will make it acceptable and non-

threatening to Inkatha".

De Klerk wants to persuade Buthelezi he cannot afford to stay out of the April elections and will also take a strong position against Buthelezi's repeated warnings of a bloodbath and civil war. *(118)*

It is understood that the court action brought by KwaZulu against the negotiating council, challenging the setting of the election date by sufficient consensus, could come before court this week. *(304)*

Today the negotiators will attempt to finalise the fourth draft Bill to go to Parliament next week for the first stage of the transition — the Transitional Executive

To Page 2

FW-Buthelezi

B/Day 6/9/93

From Page 1

Council (TEC) Bill.

Debate is expected to be tough, and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are expected to oppose it. *(304) (118)*

Concerned South African Group sources said yesterday they were against the TEC. "We will not participate or agree to it being implemented in our territories. Anyway, it is a big waste of money and re-

sources," said Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said at the weekend that the party would regard the installation of a TEC as a declaration of war.

Cronje denied a Sunday Times report that there would be an election pact between the NP and Bophuthatswana.

HT 000 11/11/93

Court case clouds talks at trade centre

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Kwazulu government's Rand Supreme Court application against the multi-party negotiations process hangs like a cloud above the World Trade Centre. **APR 27 1993**

The hearing, in which Kwazulu seeks to have certain negotiating council decisions taken in terms of "sufficient consensus" overturned, has been set down for Thursday and Friday.

Although politicians in the talks publicly dismiss the case as having no legal power, some privately admit the case might have serious consequences for the progress already made towards democracy.

The Kwazulu government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party walked out of the talks protesting against decisions taken on July 2, including setting next April 27 as an election date. Yesterday, most constitu-

tional issues affecting the future of homelands, especially the TVVC states and their powers, were referred to the negotiations planning committee for recommendation.

But most of these issues will be dealt with bilaterally between parties. Such agreements made outside the negotiating council chamber would keep all unhappy parties in the process as negotiations reach a critical stage this week.

Discussions on the draft Transitional Executive Council

Bill, agreement to which is vital this week, was postponed until today to allow time for bilateral discussions outside the council.

The TEC Bill, Independent Electoral Commission Bill, Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill and Independent Media Commission Bill are expected to be tabled before a special session of parliament beginning on Monday. Their enactment would effectively seal the transitional process in the build-up to the elections.

APG 7/9/93

Buthelezi hopes meeting with FW will bring progress

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has confirmed that he will meet President De Klerk on Thursday next week, saying he hoped the meeting would take the negotiation process forward.

"We could address the present difficulties in negotiations and discuss the process forward. We want an all-inclusive process," the Inkatha Freedom Party president said in Johannesburg on his return from a tour of European capitals.

On his party's absence from the constitutional talks, Chief Buthelezi said he would return to the table once the African National Congress's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe was disbanded and violence ceased.

"Also, we want a full constitution, not in dribs and drabs, as well as dealing with this gimmick called sufficient consensus. The whole process is faulty."

The question of the disbanding of MK was necessary as a precursor to ending the violence. — Sapa

OUT OF AFRICA



Buthlezi rejects talks plea

GARNER THOMSON ^{ARG 7/1/93}
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has refused to bow to new Commonwealth pressure to return to the negotiations.

After talks here with Chief Buthelezi, Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku expressed "grave concern" about escalating violence and said the path of negotiations remained the only lasting solution.

But within hours, Chief Buthelezi told a news conference that he would not "damn a future democracy by returning to the World Trade Centre to do what the government and the ANC/SACP alliance are doing, as (the) notion of sufficient consensus has made the presence of our delegations there absolutely irrelevant".

WHD:PA
7/9/93

Buthlezi: 'I won't take orders'

From CHRIS BATEMAN
LONDON. — Fresh from the urg-
ings of Danish, German and Com-
monwealth leaders to return to
democracy talks, Chief Mingo-
suthu Buthlezi declared here
yesterday that he would "not be
given marching orders by people
outside South Africa".
Speaking at a press conference,
he denied his week-long Euro-

pean trip was an attempt to solicit support for Inkatha.
"I was invited by them and explained our point of view and where we stand," he said.
When it was suggested to him that British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd would almost certainly echo the sentiments of the Danes and Germans, he said: "I cannot be given marching orders

by people outside South Africa."
Mr Hurd's office said last night that the 50-minute meeting centred on violence and the state of negotiations, with Mr Hurd expressing "hopes for a successful outcome, and for peace and an end to violence".
At the press conference Chief Buthlezi said that if the Supreme Court ruled against In-

katha, on their "insufficient consensus" application, the IFP's central committee would decide on their next step.
Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku said in a statement that he had urged Chief Buthlezi to return to the negotiating table and play a "full and positive part in helping to shape the new South Africa".

Negotiations process a 'civil war prescription'

Star 7/19/93 Buthelezi 'no' to talks

(118)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi — with only days remaining to his critical meeting with President de Klerk — has bluntly rejected a return to the talks table.

He told the media and African embassies' press attaches in London that he "will not damn a future democracy by returning to the World Trade Centre to do what the Government and the ANC-SACP alliance are doing, as this notion of sufficient consensus has made the presence of our delegations there absolutely

irrelevant".

Buthelezi's meeting with De Klerk has been pencilled in for Thursday next week, but sources in both camps said yesterday this had not been finalised.

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu government's Supreme Court application to have certain negotiations decisions — including the holding of an election on April 27 — overturned is set to go ahead on Thursday.

Buthelezi repeated his charge that the process being followed toward the writing of a final constitution was a "prescription for civil war".

"I talk about the dangers of

civil war because the conflict is such that we already have a low-intensity civil war in which thousands of people have died."

He elaborated on "fatal flaws" in the present World Trade Centre negotiations:

■ The way in which the Negotiating Council "utilised the vague notion of sufficient consensus" to give effect to decisions in accordance with the Record of Understanding signed by De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela in September last year.

■ The way in which the SA Government and NP delegations at talks "repeatedly left us strand-

ed when they never threw their weight behind valid IFP objections to decisions being made".

■ The way in which the Government and the NP had gone ahead with the ANC and SACP 'to continue negotiations without us, as though we were not necessary in the process of establishing a democracy'.

■ The Negotiating Council's aims, which had to be rejected: the two-phased process — negotiators finalising an interim constitution and the interim government, then writing a final constitution — and the election of an interim government as a constitution-making body.

BIDA 7/19/93

Buthelezi rejects Commonwealth plea

LONDON — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected an appeal from the Commonwealth to return to multi-party talks on SA's future, but said he would have no objection to a summit of the country's leaders.

Buthelezi, speaking in London with Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku at his side, said a decision on whether Inkatha returned to the talks it had quit in June was "a matter for my constituents", Sapa-Reuter reports. (113)

At a news conference later, Buthelezi had a more forthright response. "I cannot be given marching orders by people outside SA," he said.

Buthelezi, on a stopover in London after a week-long tour of Germany and Denmark, said this would be his message if British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd made a similar request

for Inkatha to rejoin the talks at a meeting later yesterday.

Anyaoku, a former Nigerian diplomat, said he had stressed to Buthelezi the importance of maintaining the momentum in SA's progress towards a nonracial, democratic future.

Commonwealth officials said Anyaoku had urged Buthelezi to rejoin the multilateral talks but had not succeeded.

"The Commonwealth overwhelmingly urges that those constitutional talks should proceed and that violence should be curbed," said one of Anyaoku's aides.

Buthelezi, said on several occasions in London that his party had remained in bilateral talks with the SA government and the ANC.

He said he would meet President F W de Klerk on September 16 in Cape Town for a full day of talks and

would have "no objection" to a summit of SA leaders to move the peace process forward.

Buthelezi said he would raise the idea with De Klerk next week. "If we can't meet in SA... it might be possible to meet here or in Geneva," he told the news conference.

Buthelezi reiterated his objections to the peace process and said Inkatha would decide at a "special general conference" later this year whether to rejoin the talks and take part in the April 1994 elections.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports Buthelezi said he wanted to appear on a public platform with Nelson Mandela to mark the anniversary of the national peace accord on September 14, but Natal's ANC leader Harry Gwala opposed the move. "I don't see a way forward if this does not happen. It will be an important psychological step," Buthelezi said.

Rethink on

Biday 7/9/93

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Church, IFP to meet

~~(S)~~ (115) (28)
JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches and church leaders are to meet Inkatha Freedom Party representatives and hostel residents tomorrow in an attempt to resolve the conflict on the East Rand. AKG 8/9/83

IFP appeals to police

Sowetan 8/9/93
THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday called on the South African Police to protect taxi passengers along main routes in the Wembezi/Escurt area in the Natal Midlands.

The appeal comes after five people were killed in an ambush on a minibus taxi on Saturday. *Sowetan* Correspondents and Sapa.

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Buthelezi: SA in civil war now

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was already engaged in a civil war that would intensify if tensions were raised, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

After meetings in Europe with the foreign ministers of

Denmark, Germany and Britain, Chief Buthelezi said although he had faced some pressure to lead Inkatha back to multi-party talks, he had merely stated his preconditions for a return.

Chief Buthelezi, who will meet President F W de Klerk next Thursday, said he was surprised that people still

spoke about a civil war as if it were hypothetical.

Only the disbandment of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe would prevent its escalation, he said. He named his preconditions for a return to the talks as an adjustment to the "sufficient consensus" principle and a full constitution written at the talks.

CT 8/9/93 (11B)
Chief Buthelezi said he hoped his meeting with Mr De Klerk would take the negotiations process forward. (11B)

"We want an all-inclusive process," he said.

The encounter between the two leaders may be given fresh impetus by a Supreme Court ruling tomorrow on the issue of "sufficient consensus".



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressing a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Europe yesterday. Buthelezi met German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the foreign ministers of Germany, the UK and Denmark. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

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Civil war has already started, says Buthelezi

B/Say 8/9/93

PATRICK BULGER

SA WAS already engaged in a civil war, which would intensify if tensions were raised, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on his arrival in SA yesterday.

Although he had faced some pressure to lead Inkatha back to multiparty talks, he had merely stated his preconditions for a return, he said at Jan Smuts airport after meeting the foreign ministers of Denmark, Germany and the UK.

Buthelezi confirmed that he would meet President F W de Klerk on September 16.

"We could address the present difficulties in negotiations and discuss the process forward. We want an all-inclusive process," he said.

Buthelezi said he was surprised people still spoke about a civil war as if it was hypothetical.

"There is a civil war. If people don't care about the lives of members of Inkatha and Zulus ... and members of the ANC who have been killed in strife, and you still talk of it hypothetically as something that might still happen, I'm really surprised where you think you're living, because we are living in SA,"

Buthelezi said. "There is a low-intensity civil war in this country. (11B)

"I talk in terms of it escalating because once tensions heighten it is inevitable that it will escalate," he said.

Only the disbandment of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would prevent an escalation.

Buthelezi named his preconditions for a return to talks as an adjustment to the sufficient consensus principle — which he called a "gimmick" — used to arrive at decisions at the talks; and a full constitution written at the talks.

He said he had held discussions with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, whom he had briefed on the negotiations and peace processes.

This discussion had gone well, he said.

However, his discussion with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and discussions with Danish Foreign Minister Neils Petersen had not gone as well.

He described his discussion with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd as very reasonable.

Kwazulu court action hits snag

□ Seems to have no legal foundation — Transvaal Judge President
AUG 19 1993 (11B) Political Staff

THE Kwazulu government's court application to have decisions taken at the multiparty negotiating council annulled seemed to have no legal foundation, Judge President of the Transvaal Mr. Justice Eloff said today.

The application, brought against the co-chairmen of the negotiating council, M J Mahlangu and Pravin Gordhan, started before a full bench of the Supreme Court in Pretoria today.

Mr Justice Eloff, presiding with Mr Justice Van der Walt and Mr Justice Flewman, ordered a short adjournment 40 minutes after the start of proceedings at the request of Louis Visser, SC, counsel for the Kwazulu government.

Interrupting Mr Visser after 20 minutes' opening argument, Mr Justice Eloff said he had "fundamental difficulties" in establishing whether the court had any jurisdiction over the matter.

He said the multiparty negotiating process was a voluntary process and had no statutory basis. It also appeared not to have any contractual basis which could establish a right on the part of the Kwazulu government.

"I have difficulty in seeing on what basis the court can assume jurisdiction," Mr Justice Eloff said.

"It may well be that the proper approach would be that the court is not the forum to resolve this sort of dispute and that it should be resolved by the parties involved.

"The court could only exercise its power of review if it can be said that the parties had formed themselves into some sort of universum with a contractually binding constitution."

Mr Visser replied that the parties had established rules of procedure which could be seen as a contract.

Mr Justice Eloff answered: "I have difficulty in seeing how rules of procedure established by the parties can be seen as a contractual arrangement. It falls far short of what the court would require from an enforceable contract.

"I have a fundamental difficulty and unless you can resolve that, regardless of our view of the facts, we are powerless to act."

Mr Visser then asked for a short adjournment to consult with his clients.

'No point in going back to Kempton Park'

Buthelezi keeps IFP out of talks

Star 10/9/93

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dug in his heels in spite of yesterday's Supreme Court dismissal of KwaZulu's bid to have talks decisions overturned, saying: "I see no point in going back to Kempton Park."

In reply to questions from The Star, Buthelezi said last night: "Now that the multiparty talks have been going on in our absence, nothing is changed by the court decision as far as I am concerned."

A full Bench of the Supreme Court, sitting in Pretoria, dismissed the KwaZulu government's challenge to the negotiations yesterday.

Transvaal Judge-President Mr Justice CF Eloff, Mr Justice PJ van der Walt and Mr Justice C Plewman said the court could not rule on the issue of the "sufficient consensus" decision-making mechanism at the negotiations as the court did not have the power to review the decisions reached.

An indication of the thinking of the court came early on in the hearing when Mr Justice Eloff expressed doubts about the action, saying: "The power of the court to issue a declarator is limited and you have to establish a right for this court to do so."

**CALLS for IFP to
return to negotiations
after losing its
Supreme Court action
have been rejected**



It was then ruled that the KwaZulu government had needed to "satisfy the court that there was a binding contract with reciprocal rights and obligations". Only then could it bring such a case.

Mr Justice van der Walt commented during the proceedings that any ruling had to be part of a process which binds a party to a result and told Louis Visser, SC, and Piet van der Bijl, SC, appearing for KwaZulu, that there "may be a strong moral argument but does the applicant have a legal one?"

Visser had told the court that the phrase "sufficient consensus", as it appears in the standing rules of procedure, was "quantitatively and qualitatively ambiguous to the extent that it cannot serve as a proper guideline for the exercise of a discretion as to whether consensus exists or does not".

He denied KwaZulu wanted to "derail what is happening at Kempton Park. This is a final desperate attempt to get it (the talks) back on line".

Earlier, Wim Trengrove SC, for the multiparty Negotiating Council, argued that the parties were "bound in honour but not in law" and described the KwaZulu application as "fatally flawed".

KwaZulu chief negotiator and Minister of Health Dr Ben Ngubane indicated immediately after the hearing that an appeal may not be lodged in view of comments made by the judges.

Pravin Gordhan and M J Mahlangu, the respondents and negotiations' chairmen, urged KwaZulu and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to take their seats at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

"This court judgment should in our view be morally binding on KwaZulu and the IFP."

And ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The time has arrived for the IFP to return to negotiations."

The National Party said the ruling was a clear indication that KwaZulu should return to the World Trade Centre.

Buthelezi said the court action was "just one of the options we could explore in our present predicament".

"We never said the issue of returning to the talks hinged solely on the outcome of the case. So the decision does not affect the KwaZulu government's position one way or another."

OF CADE TOWN could occur on this," he

KwaZulu loses court case

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CT 10/9/93

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Kwa-Zulu government's call on the Transvaal Supreme Court to set aside decisions made by sufficient consensus at multi-party negotiations was dismissed with costs yesterday.

"We are back to square one," said Kwa-Zulu negotiator Mr Ben Ngubane following the decision of a full bench of the Transvaal Supreme Court that it had no jurisdiction to review the decision-making process at Kempton Park.

Mr Ngubane said the ruling made a summit meeting of political leaders "an absolute necessity".

Delivering judgment, Transvaal Judge President Mr Justice C F Eloff said the court could only review decisions made by statutory bodies or contractual agreements.

The rules of procedure agreed upon by multi-party negotiators did not constitute a contract.

● IFP election threat — Page 2



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Page 2



FW, Buthelezi in major talks

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will field their full negotiating teams today to try to forge an understanding they hope will take them out of the negotiations impasse. (11A)

27/06/93
Mr De Klerk's Tuynhuys staff confirmed yesterday that he had cleared his diary for a full day of talks that, if previous meetings are any guide, could run late into the night. (11A)

Their main objective is to clear the way for Inkatha's return to the World Trade Centre negotiations which it has boycotted since July 2 in objection to "sufficient consensus" decisions, particularly on the April 27 elections. (3011)

Tuynhuys sources said Mr De Klerk was being "very pragmatic" about the cabinet-to-cabinet meeting. — Sapa, Political Staff (11B)

Inkatha threat to prevent election

11B (2000)
2/10/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday threatened widespread mass action and disruption to ensure that the elections scheduled for April next year do not take place.

"We will stop it," Inkatha central committee member and senior negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said.

"We will make it impossible for an election to take place by embarking on a campaign of mass action, street action and disruption."

Should the government and the ANC go ahead with the elections without Inkatha there would be civil war, he said.

The government and the ANC immediately warned that Mr Felgate's statement was "irresponsible and outrageous" and called for "Inkatha's lieutenants to keep out of the way and allow the leaders to discuss issues in a serious and constructive manner."

'Ability to mobilise'

A government source said the government would be wanting to hear firsthand from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday, when he meets President F W de Klerk, whether he endorsed Mr Felgate's statement. If he did, this would be dealt with by Mr De Klerk.

Mr Felgate said: "We have the ability to mobilise half the country's electorate to oppose the holding of the elections."

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said he would seek to encourage Chief Buthelezi to return to talks and endorse the bills passed by the negotiators.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said Mr Felgate's statement was "absolutely outrageous".

The majority of South Africans would not allow Inkatha to disrupt the elections.

An ANC negotiator said the "full might of the TEC and the joint forces would ensure peace and prevent intimidation".

"We will have the full and legitimate power to crush any parties fomenting violence," he said.

Tensions build in IFP after lost court move on consensus

ARG 10/9/93

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□ Civil war threat upsets moderates

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Tensions are building up in the Inkatha Freedom Party between hardliners threatening civil war and more moderate members who are "tremendously concerned" about the IFP's present course.

The ruling yesterday by the Supreme Court in Pretoria on the issue of sufficient consensus at the World Trade Centre negotiations puts even more pressure on next week's summit between President De Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Cape Town.

This could be the last chance to get the IFP and Kwazulu government back to the multiparty table.

Delegations from the government and the IFP met in Durban today to set the agenda for the summit. The government was represented by Natal National Party leader George Bartlett, provincial NP chairman Danie Schutte and Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers. The IFP was represented by Walter Felgate and Ben Ngubane.

Soon after the Kwazulu gov-

ernment lost its court application to have decisions made by sufficient consensus set aside, Mr Felgate warned of civil war if the government and the African National Congress went ahead with the April 27 election without the IFP. Mr Felgate threatened IFP mass action to disrupt the election.

But his statement has caused "tremendous concern" in some sections of the IFP. More moderate members have no wish for a civil war and believe that the IFP needs immediately to drop this fiery rhetoric and its boycott of the multiparty talks.

IFP members who want to go back to the talks are looking to their negotiating partners to make an offer that the party cannot refuse.

A showdown between the hardliners led by Mr Felgate and more moderate IFP members could come at the next IFP central committee meeting on October 2. Chief Buthelezi has warned that he will resign as leader if IFP members go against him.

IFP officials were defiant today in spite of losing the court case.

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP would not go back to the talks. National chairman Frank Mdlalose insisted Kwazulu had lost on a technicality because the court said it did not have jurisdiction to hear the case and did not rule on whether sufficient consensus had been applied correctly or not at the multiparty talks.

The Supreme Court dismissed the Kwazulu case with costs. Legal sources have said the action could cost South African taxpayers about R40 000.

Dr Mdlalose said that at this point: "We are not in the April 27 election."

The IFP is meeting the Ximoko Progressive Party from Gazankulu in Ulundi today.

Jurie Mentz, IFP MP for Vryheid, said the party's MPs would attend next week's parliamentary session.

Meanwhile the ANC said the IFP was morally bound to return to negotiations immediately, having lost the court case.

The ANC called on IFP negotiators "to state unequivocally whether they share Mr Felgate's views".

Inkatha threatens to halt general elections

B/Day 10/9/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday threatened widespread mass action and disruption to ensure that next April's elections could not take place.

"We will stop it. We will make it impossible for an election to take place by embarking on a campaign of mass action, street action and disruption," Inkatha central committee member and senior negotiator Walter Felgate said.

There would be civil war if government and the ANC went ahead with the elections without Inkatha. Inkatha was totally opposed to violence but this would be the result of negotiators pursuing unacceptable decisions.

Government and the ANC immediately warned that Felgate's statement was "irresponsible and outrageous" and called for "Inkatha's lieutenants to keep out of the way and allow the leaders to discuss issues in a serious and constructive manner".

A government source said government wanted to hear from Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi himself, when he met President F W de Klerk on Thursday, whether he endorsed Felgate's statement.

"Statements like this just before such a vital meeting are just not helpful," the source said.

Felgate said Inkatha would not abide by the transitional executive council (TEC) because it "is the weapon of the ANC to carry on its political vendetta of annihilating KwaZulu and Inkatha".

And it would not accept an election for a constitutional assembly. The central committee and Buthelezi had clearly stated that Inkatha would not participate in an election to endorse and legitimise it.

"We have the ability to mobilise half the country's electorate to oppose the holding of the elections," Felgate said.

A spokesman for De Klerk said he viewed

☐ To Page 2

Inkatha B/Day 10/9/93 From Page 1

next week's meeting in an "extremely serious light". A full day had been set aside and key officials would be present.

De Klerk would encourage Buthelezi to return to talks and endorse the Bills passed by negotiators, including the TEC Bill.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Felgate's statement was "absolutely outrageous. While we are keen to negotiate with Inkatha and are bending over backwards to accommodate it, they make these kinds of totally unacceptable threats." (11B)

The majority of South Africans would not allow Inkatha to disrupt the elections and the ANC would call on the international community to "bring to bear on Inkatha

all the pressure at their disposal".

He said he hoped Felgate did not represent the general view of Inkatha as it was a view "the majority cannot tolerate".

An ANC negotiator said that should Inkatha embark on this route the "full might of the TEC and the joint forces would ensure peace and prevent intimidation. We will have the full and legitimate power to crush any parties fomenting violence."

The ANC called for Inkatha's leadership and negotiating team to state whether they shared Felgate's views.

"If they don't he should be repudiated immediately."

● See Page 8

Feed UP with Felgate

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

NKATHA Freedom Party arldiner Walter Felgate is facing a fight for his political life as leading members of the party plot to prise him from his privileged position as right-hand man to Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Simmering discontent in the party hierarchy over Mr Felgate's political role has boiled over and meetings are being held to plan the ousting or sidelining of the combative IFP negotiator.

Yesterday IFP members Peter Miller and Mike Tarr also publicly opposed statements reportedly made by Felgate.

Reliable sources told Weekend Argus that the next few days would be critical to Mr Felgate's career. They said major players in the organisation — including such figures as IFP chief executive and chief negotiator Joe Matthews and Kwazulu Health Minister Ben Ngubane — were among those who had run out of patience with Felgate.

One source said the anti-Felgate group was pursuing ways

and means of returning to negotiations, and believed the time for a showdown had arrived. It is understood there has been considerable dissatisfaction over Mr Felgate's hard-line role in shaping the IFP's talks strategy.

A source said "various scenarios" were being considered which would probably lead to a direct confrontation with Mr Felgate.

Critical to the success of those determined to see his role severely diminished or even ended will be the attitude of Chief Buthelezi, who has defended Mr Felgate in the past.

The last straw for many in the group opposing Mr Felgate came yesterday after he reportedly threatened that the IFP would launch a mass action campaign to ensure that the scheduled April 27 election would not take place, and again warned of civil war.

The reported comments followed the dismissal with costs of the Kwazulu government's Supreme Court application to have certain negotiations decisions — taken by "sufficient consensus" — set aside.

First indications of anger in IFP ranks at Mr Felgate's

comments came yesterday when Mr Miller, the Natal MEC who defected from the National Party to the IFP, said: "I will certainly not be part of the campaign of mass action and disruption that is advocated by Walter Felgate."

Maritzburg North MP Mike Tarr, who left the Democratic Party to join the IFP earlier this year, pointedly commented that preparations for the IFP to fight an election were going ahead.

"The IFP has got an election team. We are putting structures in place and have embarked on a fundraising campaign," he said.

However, the sources said anti-Felgate feelings were running considerably higher in some sectors of the organisation.

One said the powerful group that was bitter with Felgate was "very keen to find ways and means of getting back to negotiations". The IFP and Kwazulu government delegations absented themselves from the World Trade Centre talks on July 2.

There are increasing indications of growing divisions in the IFP over the talks boycott

and whether or not it should participate in elections.

A senior politician with close IFP connections said yesterday that two distinct camps had emerged.

One, with Mr Felgate at its centre, would like to see the IFP stay out of talks and then boycott elections. The source believed Chief Buthelezi inclined towards this option.

"The other leaders would prefer that the IFP returned to the talks and took part in the election."

The latter group was generally made up of negotiators who had "formed some sort of working relationship with the ANC and National Party in negotiations".

A major concern of younger party members was that a decision to stay out of elections would jeopardise or destroy their political futures.

Asked for his assessment of Mr Felgate's agenda, the source said: "He might be aware that in a future dispensation he could not have any role. That may be why he seems so destructive."

Weekend Argus was unable to contact Mr Felgate for comment yesterday.



ON THE WAY OUT? Walter Felgate leaves the conference hall at the World Trade Centre in April in protest at an election date being set.

Top party members plot to sideline hardliner Felgate

IFP at crossroads

Star 11/9/93



EXCLUSIVE
ENRAGED by his war talk, Inkatha moderates plan a showdown with Walter Felgate, Chief Buthelezi's right-hand man. Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD reports.

INKATHA Freedom Party hardliner Walter Felgate is facing a fight for his political life, as leading members of the party plot to prise him from his privileged position as right-hand man to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Simmering discontent in the party's hierarchy over Felgate's political role has boiled over in recent days, and meetings are being held to plan the ousting or sidelining of the combative IFP negotiator.

Yesterday IFP members Peter Miller and Mike Tarr also publicly opposed statements reportedly made by Felgate.

Reliable sources told Saturday Star the next few days would be critical to Felgate's career.

Buthelezi out there on his own

The outcome of the fighting power struggle in top IFP echelons will depend

They said major players in the organisation — including such figures as IFP chief executive and chief negotiator Joe Matthews and Kwazulu-Natal Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane — were among those who had run out of patience with Felgate.

One source said the anti-Felgate group was pursuing ways of return-



Jackson did not sign SA contract

PETER DAVIES

THE on/off South African tour by Michael Jackson took another roller-coaster dip yesterday when the company which owns the worldwide rights for the superstar's concerts revealed that it had not signed a contract with South African promoter Anant Singh.

Speaking from Japan, Mama Concerts owner Marcel Avram east serious doubts on whether Jackson would appear in South Africa at all on his "Dangerous" world tour.

Saturday Star spoke to Avram minutes after Jackson stepped off the stage after his first Japanese concert in Fukuoka.

"There is no, absolutely no contract between us and Anant Singh. We are talking and something could happen in the next few weeks, but nothing has been signed or agreed to yet. And nothing has been signed for September, October, November or December."

Perplexed

Jackson's 41-concert world tour is scheduled to end in Melbourne, Australia, on December 9. Singh said from Durban that he was "perplexed" by Avram's comments.

"I believe there is a contract. I was in Singapore last week with Marcel and his entire management, and everything seemed to be in order. I spoke to Michael's manager on Thursday night trying to sort out new dates in either November or December. But it's a very difficult situation on tour. One day you sign the contract, the next they change it."

Yesterday IFP members Peter Miller and Mike Tarr also publicly opposed statements reportedly made by Felgate.

Reliable sources told Saturday Star the next few days would be critical to Felgate's career.

They said major players in the organisation including such figures as IFP chief executive and chief negotiator Joe Matthews and KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane — were among those who had run out of patience with Felgate.

One source said the anti-Felgate group was pursuing ways of returning to negotiations and believed the time for a showdown had arrived. It is understood there has been considerable dissatisfaction over Felgate's hardline role in shaping the IFP's talks strategy.

A source said various scenarios were being considered which would probably lead to a direct confrontation with Felgate.

Critical to the success of those determined to see his role severely diminished or even ended will be the attitude of Buthelezi, who has loyally defended Felgate in the past.

The final straw for many in the group opposing Felgate came yesterday after he reportedly threatened that the IFP would launch a mass action campaign to ensure that the scheduled April 27 election

Buthelezi out there on his own

THE outcome of the looming power struggle in top IFP echelons will depend heavily on the response of Chief Buthelezi himself.

Following the double blow of an unsuccessful court challenge and a series of difficult meetings with European leaders, Buthelezi's sense of isolation and defiance has deepened.

causing serious concern among parties which want the IFP and KwaZulu back at talks, and on board the transition process.

In Undercurrent Affairs on Page 8 Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON assesses the IFP leader's mood in the run-up to next week's critical meeting between Buthelezi and President de Klerk.

did not take place, and again warned of civil war. The reported comments followed the dismissal with costs of the KwaZulu government's Supreme Court application to have certain negotiations decisions — taken by sufficient consensus — set aside.

First indications of anger in IFP ranks at Felgate's comments came yesterday morning when Peter Miller, the Natal MEC who defected from the National Party to the IFP, said: "I will certainly not be part of the campaign of mass action and disruption that is advocated by Walter Felgate."

Pietermaritzburg North MP Mike Tarr, who left the Democratic Party to join the IFP earlier this year, pointedly commented that preparations for the IFP to fight an election were going ahead.

"The IFP has got an election team. We are putting structures in place and have embarked on a fund-raising campaign," he said. However, the sources said

anti-Felgate feelings were running considerably higher in some sections of the organisation. One said the powerful group that was bitter with Felgate was "very keen to find ways of getting back to negotiations". The IFP and KwaZulu government delegations absented themselves from the World Trade Centre talks on July 2.



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Saturday Star September 11 1990

Star 11/9/90
IFP

FROM PAGE 1:

There are indications of growing divisions in the IFP over the talks boycott and whether it should take part in elections.

A senior politician with close IFP connections said yesterday that two distinct camps had emerged.

One, with Felgate at its centre, would like to see the IFP stay out of talks and then boycott elections. The source believed Buthelezi inclined towards this option.

"The other leaders would prefer that the IFP returned to the talks and took part in the election."

The latter group was generally made up of negotiators who had "formed some sort of working relationship with the ANC and Na-

tional Party in negotiations".

He said this group had difficulty in raising their concerns in Ulundi "because it would bring them into direct conflict". (11B)

A major concern of younger party members was that a decision to stay out of elections would jeopardise or destroy their political futures.

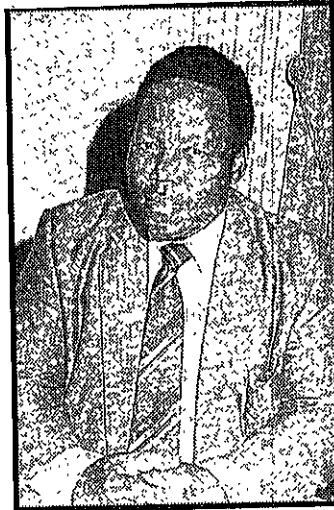
Asked for his assessment of Felgate's agenda, the source said: "He might be aware that in a future dispensation he could not have any role. That may be why he seems so destructive."

Saturday Star was unable to contact Felgate for comment yesterday.

Other senior IFP officials were yesterday locked in a meeting with Government negotiators to thrash out an agenda for Thursday's crucial bilateral discussion between Buthelezi and President de Klerk.



□ **JOE MATTHEWS**, IFP chief negotiator, is said to want Felgate out.



□ **BEN NGUBANE**, KwaZulu Health Minister, also named as an opponent.

(11B) ARG 11/9/93
We're not obliged to return to talks, say IFP after court defeat

DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

LEADING Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Joe Matthews said yesterday the KwaZulu government's court setback did not mean the IFP or KwaZulu were in retreat or now were "morally obliged" to return to the talks.

On the contrary, they remained opposed to the sufficient consensus decision-making mechanism which KwaZulu challenged unsuccessfully in court, yesterday and to decisions on legislation reached in this manner.

"It's one thing to be defeated democratically and quite another for a device like sufficient consensus to be used," said Mr Matthews. "But, the culture of negotiations will continue."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who reacted to the court decision saying he saw "no point" in returning to multiparty talks, was still expected to meet President De Klerk in Cape Town on Thursday, although Mr Matthews warned that expectations should not be raised.

"He will not be pressured," said Mr Matthews of his party leader, whom the IFP and KwaZulu revere as the "father of negotiations".

And, in a further reflection of the IFP position that negotiations will continue in spite of the apparent impasse, party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday he hoped to arrange another bilateral meeting with the African National Congress after the government/KwaZulu summit.

"There must be one," he said although he had no dates or commitments yet.

Mr Matthews said the key

question facing groups like the ANC and the government which had been supporting the negotiating process at the World Trade Centre and making decisions in that forum was how to impose those decisions on parties which had not taken part.

"The history of South Africa is one of imposition and why people think imposition will be accepted now I don't know."

The KwaZulu government was fundamentally opposed to the Transitional Executive Council and rejected what it interpreted as this body's veto power over decisions taken by any government in South Africa.

Mr Matthews expected this concern to be high on the agenda of talks between Chief Buthelezi and Mr De Klerk.

Asked whether Chief Buthelezi was not becoming dangerously isolated, particularly following his overseas trip recently during which several Western governments expressed impatience with the talks boycotters, Mr Matthews said he always had been isolated.

"He's been isolated all his life, but that's a journalistic phrase meaning that the man has a different point of view. He's not a politician. He's more than that. He's a statesman and he deals in truth."

Mr Matthews feared the truth was that South Africa was not on the path to a pluralistic democracy.

Meanwhile, parties to the World Trade Centre process have interpreted the defeat of the KwaZulu court challenge as proof positive that the IFP and KwaZulu had to return to the table and were "morally obliged" to do so.

IFP brawl erupts over poll boycott

SIT news 12/9/93

By RAY HARTLEY

THE simmering conflict between Inkatha hardliner Walter Felgate and party moderates split into the open this week ahead of a crucial meeting between Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President FW de Klerk on Thursday.

The meeting is likely to be dominated by efforts to get Inkatha back to the talks and to win IFP support for four transitional bills to be tabled in Parliament in the next two weeks.

Tensions between those who back Mr Felgate's statement this week that Inkatha would disrupt the April 27 election and those who favour participation in the ballot erupted on Friday when party chairman Frank Mdlalose took the unprecedented step of repudiating Mr Felgate on national television.

He said decisions about participation in the election would be made at an Inkatha special congress and not by "individuals".

Mr de Klerk, meanwhile, faces his own problems, with divisions within the NP over whether to contest the April elections in an alliance with like-minded parties.

The president is known to favour a "go-it-alone" strategy. But a strong lobby, including Law and Order Minister Hennus Kriel, Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee and Local Government Minister Tertius Delport, are advocating that the Nats form an election pact with various homeland parties and right-wing groups.

Inkatha officials have, meanwhile, downplayed reports that moderates were plotting the

reduction of Mr Felgate's influence on Mr Buthelezi.

Kwazulu Health Minister Ben Ngunane said: "We don't work like that in Inkatha. There is no plot."

Mr Felgate said if there was a plot against him it was clearly being led by inconsequential members who were too afraid to identify themselves.

Former DP MP Mike Tarr, now an Inkatha central committee member, said he rejected Mr Felgate's suggestion that Inkatha embark on mass action to disrupt the election.

"There's no way I'm going to be part of any mass action. Not to fight elections is crazy. What you are actually doing is cutting your own party's throat," he said.

But he added that there was no plot to oust Mr Felgate.

ANC president Nelson Mandela entered the fray on Friday saying those who raised "the spectre of

ethnic strife" served a lost cause.

"We call on the spoilers to return to negotiations. Let us resolve our differences around the table. Those who talk of civil war do not care for the lives of our people and for the economy," Mr Mandela said.

This week another door slammed shut for Mr Buthelezi when a full bench of the Pretoria Supreme Court ruled against a Kwazulu government application to have certain decisions made by sufficient consensus at the talks set aside.

Multi-party talks chairmen Pravin Gordhan and MJ Mahlangu — respondents in the case — said the judgment should be "morally binding" on Inkatha and the Kwazulu government.

"The Supreme Court ruling paves the way for their immediate return to the negotiation process," they said after the hearing.

DEFIANT... Walter Felgate wants mass action and an election boycott



Move to woo IFP and AVF to talks

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE government is to continue intensive discussions this week with the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Inkatha Freedom Party to draw them back into negotiations, Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer said today.

The government was determined to ensure the process was as inclusive as possible to give it legitimacy, and to avoid the need to call a referendum.

Mr Meyer told a Foreign Correspondents' Association breakfast in Cape Town today: "Our approach is to try to ensure that the result we are looking for — agreement on the constitution — will have the broadest possible support among all South Africans. We are committed to that approach."

If this was not possible, a referendum would be one of several options to legitimise the constitution.

"It is premature to speculate. Our objective is to ensure that this constitution is accepted on such an inclusive basis that no further legitimising of the process will be necessary ... and that can be attained if we have the support of all the parties.

"If we cannot achieve this, we will have to sit down and consider all options."

The government's discussions with the AVF — which kicked off with two days of talks last week — were to continue this week.

The AVF's major concerns were:

- Self-determination;
- Differentiated citizen rights for regions;
- Regional boundaries for a state or region "they would regard as satisfying their needs", and
- Specific powers and functions for that region.

Star 13/9/93

Discontent simmers ^(11B) over Inkatha hardliner

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Inkatha Freedom Party hardliner Walter Felgate will find his privileged position as right-hand man to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi under fire from moderates in the party this week.

Sources inside the IFP have indicated to The Star that Felgate's continuing opposition to negotiations has given rise to simmering discontent.

The anger boiled over after statements allegedly made by Felgate that the IFP would launch a mass action campaign to ensure the April 27 election would not take place, and he again warned of civil war.

Opposition to his privileged position comes ahead of a crucial meeting between Buthelezi

and President de Klerk scheduled for this week.

Reliable sources told The Star that the next few days would be critical to Felgate's career. They said major players in the organisation — including such figures as chief negotiator Joe Matthews and KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane — were among those who had run out of patience with Felgate.

Unprecedented

One said the group was pursuing ways of returning to negotiations.

Party chairman Frank Mdlalose took the unprecedented step of repudiating Felgate on national television on Friday over the civil war remarks.

But Inkatha officials

have meanwhile downplayed reports that moderates were plotting a reduction of Felgate's influence on Buthelezi.

Former DP MP Mike Tarr, now an Inkatha central committee member, said he rejected Felgate's suggestion that Inkatha should embark on mass action to disrupt the election. But he added there was not a plot to oust Felgate.

This conflicts with information a source gave The Star on Friday — that "various scenarios" were being considered, which would probably lead to a confrontation with Felgate.

Critical to the success of those determined to see his role severely diminished will be the attitude of Buthelezi, who has loyally defended Felgate in the past.

De Klerk feels wooing Buthelezi is 'crucial'

B/Day 13/9/93
BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is reviewing Thursday's meeting with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi "as absolutely crucial" to wooing him back into the negotiations process from the "brink of secession", a senior government source said yesterday.

It is understood De Klerk, who will be assisted by top Ministers from Natal and the negotiators, will try to do this by disclosing submissions to the technical committee drafting the fourth draft constitution, where government joins Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group in demanding from the ANC more concessions on regionalism.

He referred to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's statement at the Transvaal NP congress on Saturday that government would be tabling submissions for even greater regional powers, which must be binding on the elected constitutional assembly.

A constitutional court must be established to ensure that these powers are protected and not circumvented by "a clever lawyer using interpretive arguments".

Meyer also said the deadlock-breaking mechanism demanded by the ANC would have to be amended.

This should be no problem as the ANC has privately conceded that it has to be changed and it is understood it is prepared to revert to a two-thirds majority with the explicit agreement from regions concerned on changing any issue materially affecting them.

The hope is that through the interim constitution being as complete and coherent as possible, the elected constitutional assembly would not change much materially.

This could go a long way to meeting Inkatha's demand that a non-elected body draft the constitution.

Meyer said the interim constitution needed Inkatha's agreement to be successfully implemented.

The source said De Klerk could not regularly have "summit-level" meetings as they lose their effect.

De Klerk would also be raising the issue of Inkatha disrupting elections, as stated by senior central committee member Walter Felgate, last week. The source said despite the fact that national chairman Frank Mdlalose repudiated Felgate's statement as not reflecting the view of Inkatha's congress, Felgate had the ear of Buthelezi and was articulating the leader's views.

Buthelezi's rejection of the Transitional Executive Council Bill at the weekend directly challenged government "to dare to take him on".

Should the constitution be acceptable to Inkatha, it would also probably accept the TEC, possibly with amendments to it being made in the October Parliamentary session.

Meanwhile, Parliament convenes today for two weeks to pass the four draft Bills adopted by the negotiating council. These are the Independent Electoral Commission Bill, the Media Commission Bill, the Broadcasting Authority Bill and the TEC Bill.

The CP is expected to try to delay matters in the standing committees and also to use Parliamentary debate on the Bills for maximum political publicity gain. But they are not expected to be able to alter them or get Parliament to reject them. The CP and Inkatha's two MPs will oppose the TEC.

Negotiators last week decided to appoint a team of members to monitor the passage of the Bills through Parliament to ensure they were not tampered with or changed in any material way.

While Parliament is sitting, negotiators will be trying to iron out difficulties between parties on the draft constitution.

Referendum in the pipeline

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A REFERENDUM could be called to "legitimise the process" if all methods to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosag allies back to multiparty negotiations fail.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town yesterday that this was, however, one of the options that were being considered.

He added that the option was nowhere near being the first choice. *Sowetan 14-19/93*

He said the Government wanted the process to be as inclusive as possible and that the results of negotiations had to be acceptable to parties and people across the entire spectrum of South African society. In this regard, he said, the Government was involved in high-level and "intensive discussions" with parties like the Afrikaner Volksfront — the umbrella body to which the Conservative Party subscribes. The Government was also preparing to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party on Thursday to try and convince him to return to negotiations. He said the objective was to ensure that the IFP and the homeland administrations of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei were "part of the solution" in South Africa. *(SOWETA)*

The Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments as well as Conservative Party-controlled city councils have threatened to scuttle the election of April 27. *(118) (10)*

Asked whether the Government would consider a referendum to test the acceptability of the process, Meyer would not speculate but said: "It might be necessary at some stage to consider how we legitimise this process and then various options might come into the picture."

Sweden lifts SA trade sanctions

Staff Reporter

SWEDEN has lifted its six-year-old trade embargo against South Africa — coinciding with Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement that the ANC would call for the lifting of the world's remaining sanctions as soon as Parliament passes the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

Sweden's other sanction, an investment ban, is linked to an interim government being established in South Africa.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Mitchell's Plain yesterday, said legislation to establish a TEC would enable the "democratic movement led by the ANC" to announce the lifting of sanctions. "We are very concerned about our economy and we want to see growth."

● Mandela wants feud to end — Page 2

Meyer warns IFP of referendum option

Political Staff

A REFERENDUM could be held on an interim constitution if the Inkatha Freedom Party did not return to talks within six weeks, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer suggested yesterday in Cape Town press club. Mr Meyer said the government was looking at "various options" to resolve the negotiations impasse caused by the IFP and CP's boycott of negotiations.

The government was considering a mechanism to "legitimise the process", he said. This is interpreted as a warning to IFP negotiators prior to

discussions between them and the government on Thursday.

IFP spokesman Mr Ziba Giyane rejected the suggestion of a referendum, saying it could never be a panacea to resolve a volatile political process. A referendum should only be held after consensus was reached by all key players on a constitution, he said. "We are not making a constitution for the majority of the people, but for all the people. The fact that the majority supports a particular constitution would prove nothing," he said.

Mr Meyer said that it was still "technically possible" to ensure that the election takes place on April 27.

BUSINESS BRIEF

1987 APR 21

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IFP warns of 'tiny chink' for return to talks

Political Staff (116) ANC 14/9/93
PRETORIA. — The meeting between President de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday has not been imperilled by a Kwazulu cabinet statement that there is no going back to multiparty talks.

But there is only a "tiny chink" open still in the door through which the IFP and Kwazulu must pass to return to this forum, IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose said today.

"There isn't enough reason for us to go back just now."

But efforts to find a common path would continue and the talks boycotters would demand the "right to have our voice heard".

Dr Mdlalose said Kwazulu had hoped to find "relief of a sort" through its legal challenge of the decision-making mechanism of sufficient consensus used in negotiations.

"This hasn't happened. The judges washed their hands of the matter like Pontius Pilates."

But sufficient consensus was not the only concern. Dr Mdlalose said his party still wanted to see an alternative constitution put on the table for discussion and negotiation.

The IFP viewed the present draft as a constitution for a unitary state and wanted to see the federal alternative put for consideration.

"We're still seeking ways to solve the problem, but as time goes on the doorway (to a return) gets smaller and smaller," said Dr Mdlalose.

"There is only a tiny chink left now."

He ruled out the possibility of a deal between the IFP and the government on Thursday similar to the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC reached almost a year ago in a process which marked the beginning of the alienation of the IFP.

"The two parties went into hiding and came out with agreements that had impact on other parties not at those talks. We reject that," said Dr Mdlalose.

Dr Mdlalose said there was as yet no date for the next bilateral meeting with the ANC but "there will be one".

NATIONAL

ANC urges Buthelezi to return

□ Shudders over war talk

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The African National Congress Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has called on Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the multi-party negotiating table and "make his contribution to the building of a new South Africa."

Mr Gwala, who has often been called the organisation's "man of war", made a call for peace amid high tension between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in several Midlands areas, especially in Wembezi, Estcourt.

He said the "overwhelming majority" of IFP supporters, like those of the ANC, had nothing to gain from violence and further loss of life. "We believe that both the IFP and the ANC have more to gain in solving their disagreements in a peaceful manner, rather than through violent confrontation."

"The talk of civil war makes every responsible person in South Africa shudder to imagine what this all entails."

"We have seen Bosnia, Somalia and Angola, and we would not like a repeat of this in South Africa. Our land has suffered enough to yearn for peace and an amicable settlement to our problems."

He criticised the IFP's adviser Walter Felgate for his talk of civil war.

Mr Gwala's call for peace was made shortly before another statement was issued by the ANC claiming that its members in the Ixopo area were being "brutally murdered on a daily basis."

The statement said: "The attacks seem to be well planned and executed by well-trained assassins."

It said ANC members were again attacked at Ncalu at the weekend. "Three members of the Shabalala family were killed in a dawn raid by gunmen armed with G-3 rifles. Goats, cattle and sheep were killed, a house and a car were burned. Two houses belonging to ANC members were set alight in an earlier attack on Saturday."

Inkatha asks for Indian aid

Political Reporter (115)

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has asked the Indian government for financial aid. **ARC 15/9/93**

This follows news that the Indian government had promised R50 million to the ANC as aid for the coming elections. This was "regrettable", said the IFP.

IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane said if reports of such assistance were true, the conclusion that India had decided to ignore other equally needy organisations was unavoidable.

"We want to believe that the Indian government desires to play a constructive role in South Africa. But a policy of partisan support for only one of the organisations is contrary to the constructive impartial stand of the international community in relation to South Africa."

The IFP warned that partisan support could exacerbate the conflict in South Africa by encouraging the favoured party "erroneously to believe that even prior to elections it is the sole and authentic representative of the people of South Africa".

Dr Jiyane said friendly countries should support democracy by pursuing the policy of impartiality. "We urge India to extend similar assistance to the IFP. That would significantly enhance our high regard for India's principled stand against apartheid."

Compromise wins the day

(1b) (24) ARCT 15/9/93

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Security force leaders defused "a very dangerous situation" in Estcourt when they made important concessions to pacify a gathering of thousands of angry supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The most important of the concessions was to agree to withdraw the "coloured" 3 South African Infantry Unit from the troubled Wembezi township.

This had been demanded by the IFP supporters — an estimated 4 000 to 5 000 who had gathered in protest and had marched through the town to the local police station, where

they handed over a list of demands.

Their anger was directed largely at the 3 SAI, who they blamed for the deaths of two of their number at the weekend.

The IFP protesters were met at the police station by Regional Commissioner of Police Wynand van der Merwe and the officer commanding Group 9, Jan Hougaard.

Colonel Hougaard said last night that a compromise was obviously called for in the circumstances. This compromise was arrived at with the agreement that the IFP would "withdraw its impis".

"It was a very dangerous situation," said Colonel Hougaard,

who praised General van der Merwe for the diplomatic way he had handled the crisis.

It had been agreed by General Van der Merwe, with his support, that there should be a "tactical withdrawal" of 3 SAI.

"They were immediately replaced by a new unit in the area, one that has already been deployed there."

He said General van der Merwe had agreed that some men of the Kwazulu Police should be stationed in the area, as requested by the IFP. This meant that Kwazulu Police, South African Police and Defence Force personnel would be deployed in the area in future.

FWW bid to get Buthelezi back on board

ARC 15/9/93

(11B)

□ 'Stumbling blocks' identified on eve of crucial meeting in Cape Town

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk says he will leave "no stone unturned" in his efforts to get Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi back to the negotiations process when the leaders hold their crucial meeting in Cape Town tomorrow.

The president said "stumbling blocks" had been identified and he believed they could be removed.

A government source said yesterday that Mr De Klerk would present "concrete and reasonable proposals" to Chief Buthelezi which, it was hoped, might tempt the KwaZulu chief minister to drop his boycott of the talks.

But the source denied widespread speculation that negotiations from the government and Inkatha had struck a deal in recent bilateral meetings which would be completed by the leaders.

It is understood the proposed meeting of leaders to thrash out problems in the process will be high on the agenda.

Mr De Klerk, speaking after meeting Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, said he was looking forward to the meeting and would be approaching it in a "constructive manner".

But sources in both the government and IRP camps have been at pains not to build up expectations about the meeting.

They said it should be seen as the first step in a process which could normalise relations between the organisations.

The leaders will be accompanied by 10-man delegations. The meeting is scheduled to last most of tomorrow.

Mr De Klerk dismissed suggestions that his cabinet and the National Party caucus were divided over negotiations.

"I don't have a rightwinger in my cabinet," Mr De Klerk said in response to media questions yesterday. There was a "good spirit" in both the cabinet and the caucus.

"We don't have Gwalas and Mokabas in our party," he said — a reference to the African National Congress's Natal Midlands and Youth League leaders.

Mr De Klerk, talking at a photo session after meeting Mr Skubiszewski, said suggestions by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the "rightwing" in his cabinet was a threat to negotiations were "politicking and wishful thinking".

He said a National Party caucus meeting on Monday had been "wonderful".

His style on such occasions, where fundamental issues were now being discussed, was to be open and to "allow debate to go on".

"A good spirit and sound cohesion prevails in both the cabinet and the caucus which will manifest themselves in elections," he said.

**Tension as
IFP protests**

TENSIONS ran high at Estcourt in Natal yesterday when about 4 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters staged a protest to air their grievances.

A strong police contingent, supported by soldiers, kept watch on the protesters and shops in the town centre closed.

15/9/93
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Buthelezi meeting with FW is still on

Sowetan 15/9/95

Sowetan Correspondent

■ **TINY CHINK** No going back to

negotiations but door still open:

THE MEETING BETWEEN State President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow has not been imperilled by a KwaZulu Cabinet statement that there is no going back to multiparty talks.

But there is only a "tiny chink" still open in the door through which the IFP and KwaZulu must pass to return to this forum, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Sufficient reason

"There isn't sufficient reason for us to go back just now."

However, efforts to find a common path would continue and the talks boycotters would demand the right "to have our voices heard".

De Klerk said yesterday he looked forward to meeting Buthelezi as the IFP had to be part of a constitutional solution.

~~SOFFA~~ (113)
De Klerk said he intended approaching the talks in a constructive manner.

Stumbling blocks keeping the IFP out of multiparty negotiations could be removed through direct discussions with the IFP, as well as multilateral meetings.

De Klerk said he would leave no stone unturned to secure the IFP's involvement. "I regard it as important that the IFP is part of a solution."

The two leaders meet in Cape Town tomorrow morning with their respective delegations.

Mdlalose said KwaZulu had hoped to find "relief of a sort" through its legal challenge of the decision-making mechanism of sufficient consensus used in negotiations.

"This hasn't happened. The judges washed their hands of the matter like Pontius Pilate."

"Sufficient consensus" was not the only concern, however. Mdlalose said his party still wanted to see an alternative constitution put on the table for discussion and negotiation.

The IFP viewed the present draft as a constitution for a unitary state and wanted to see the federal alternative put forward for consideration.

Seeking ways

"We're still seeking ways to solve the problem, but as time goes on the doorway (to a return) gets smaller and smaller," he said. "There is only a tiny chink left now."

He ruled out the possibility of a deal between the IFP and Government similar to the Record of Understanding between the Government and ANC last year in a process which marked the beginning of the alienation of the IFP.

Sowetan

IFP call to
Indian govt

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THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday urged India to give it the same financial support it planned to give the African National Congress.

The IFP's request for assistance follows India's reported promise to give R50 million to the ANC to prepare for all-race elections next year. The IFP said if the reports were true, the conclusion that India had decided to ignore other, equally needy organisations such as the IFP became unavoidable. — Sapa.

F W will be told of 'plot' to murder IFP leaders

ARC 16993 (118)

Political Staff

DETAILED evidence of an alleged plot to eliminate the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal/Kwazulu will be put to President De Klerk today.

The evidence is in a report prepared by IFP officials and will be presented by Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Mr De Klerk at

their summit at Tuynhuys.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said the evidence included a report on the assassination of the IFP's chairman in Ixopo, Ethelbert Malinga, who was ambushed at 7.30am yesterday.

He was shot from the side of the road by a large group of men — possibly 30 to 40.

Mr Tillett claimed the killing was part of a campaign by the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe to eliminate the IFP leadership.

The ANC's deputy chairman in the Natal Midlands, Blade Nzimande, strongly denied the claim and said it was part of the IFP's attempt to discredit the ANC.



IFP delegation (18) A2L 16/9/93 'hoping to be heard — and to hear'



Political Correspondent

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his 10-strong delegation meeting President De Klerk and senior cabinet ministers at Tuynhuys today were "hoping to be heard", IFP negotiator Frank Mdlalose said.

Speaking soon after Chief Buthelezi's cavalcade swept into the Tuynhuys court for the 10am meeting, Dr Mdlalose would not be drawn on the sub-

stance of the talks, but said: "We are hoping to find each other."

"We are hoping to achieve the simple issue of being heard and hearing what the other person has to say."

Asked whether the IFP would be back at Kempton Park — the venue of multiparty talks — on Monday, he quipped: "By the way, where is that?"

Chief Buthelezi went straight into the cabinet room meeting.

His delegation included Dr Mdlalose, Ben Ngubane, Joe Matthews and Walter Felgate.

Across the table Mr De Klerk's 11-strong delegation included Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Chief negotiator Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Natal party leader George Bartlett.

FW in make-or-break bid to woo Buthelezi

Sowetan 16/9/93

Sowetan Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will today launch a make-or-break effort to convince Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join the Government in its quest for a federal dispensation for South Africa.

Speaking during his parliamentary question time yesterday, De Klerk hinted at the Government's approach to the critical meeting when he said: "Those who believe in federalism must find ways of co-operating more closely in regard to our common goals."

Government sources said De Klerk had cleared his diary for the whole of today to accommodate what will obviously be intensive discussions with Buthelezi and his nine-man delegation at Tuynhuys.

De Klerk will also be joined by a high-powered delegation of Ministers involved both directly and indirectly in the negotiation process.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is also regarding the meeting as highly important, with one of its members saying yesterday: "It is absolutely vital because of hardening attitudes in the IFP."

He said there was growing militancy among IFP members in both KwaZulu and on the Reef.

De Klerk said the Government had identified "what can be defined as the main obstacles which Chief Buthelezi sees from his side with regard to participation in the negotiation process".



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"We will be trying in a constructive spirit to see how we can remove those obstacles."

He pointed out that "in many instances" there was fundamental agreement between the Government and IFP on values and basic principles, including their approach to the economy and federalism.

Natal IFP leader killed in ambush

DURBAN. — An Inkatha Freedom Party leader in the Natal Midlands was shot and killed in an ambush in the Ixopo district yesterday. His driver was hacked to death nearby.

SAP spokesman Capt Henry Budhram said Mr Ethelbert Malinga, 64, was killed in an ambush on the Webbstown Road at 8am. About 100 metres away, Mr Malinga's driver, Mr Bongani Mtaka, 42, was found hacked to death in a taxi.

Mr Malinga had been looking for Mr Mtaka when he was ambushed and his vehicle overturned.

Violence also flared again in Ladysmith's Makheni township on Tuesday, leaving one person dead and five injured, police said yesterday.

● In Thokoza on the East Rand at least three people were killed in continuing violence on Tuesday, police said yesterday.

The body of a man with bullet wounds was found in Maboeja Street, Everest Section, at 8am and the body of another man at No Two Hostel at 3.40pm.

A woman was found dead with a head wound at Unit F, Extension Two, at 5.15pm, police said.

The identities of the three and the motives for the killings are not known.

In neighbouring Katlehong a house and nine squatter shacks were burnt down between 3pm and 4.10pm, police said. — Sapa

Govt, Inkatha bid to escape impasse

B / Day 16/9/93

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will field their full negotiating teams today to try to forge an understanding they hope will take them out of the negotiations impasse.

De Klerk's Tuynhuys staff confirmed yesterday that he had cleared his diary for a full day of talks. Their main objective was to clear the way for Inkatha's return to the World Trade Centre negotiations which it has boycotted since July 2 in objection to "sufficient consensus" decisions, particularly on the April 27 elections.

The meeting is a cabinet-to-cabinet summit between the SA and KwaZulu governments. The SA delegation is expected to include the NP and government fulltime negotiators, Ministers Dawie de Villiers, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels.

Other Ministers expected to be in the team include Natal NP leader George Bartlett, Law and Order's Hernus Kriel and Justice's Kobie Coetsee. At least five KwaZulu Ministers, including chief Inkatha and KwaZulu negotiators Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane, are expected at the talks, as is Inkatha's "stonewaller", Walter Felgate.

Tuynhuys sources said De Klerk was not approaching the meeting as being

a make-or-break issue. "If he cannot achieve what he wants, he feels they will just have to meet again, and again." Although there is some pessimism in both camps, several options are seen as keys which may unlock the problem.

The central problem, as Inkatha insiders see it, stems from last September's Record of Understanding between the ANC and government in which the ultimate writing of the constitution would be left in the hands of an elected constituent assembly/constitution-making body. Inkatha wanted the constitution agreed to and entrenched after bottom-up multiparty negotiations followed by elections. (11B)

Inkatha wanted considerable powers for regions to secure the Natal/KwaZulu region's borders and political autonomy in strong federalist terms.

The one door still left open by Buthelezi is Inkatha's assurance that it is still prepared to consider the final product of negotiations, including a new constitution, as a package. One key is to tailor a final negotiated package through ongoing bilaterals with the absent parties in such a way as to ensure ultimate acceptance at a multiparty negotiating plenary.

Arranging such a meeting of leaders has already been mooted by ANC president Nelson Mandela. — Sapa.

IFP is not going back

Sowetan 17/9/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE INKATHA FREEDOM Party would not return to the multiparty talks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after his high-level meeting with President F.W. de Klerk in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference afterwards, Buthelezi said the summit did not even discuss the matter.

"No real progress was made towards bringing the IFP back to the negotiations table, nor towards accepting the election date that has been set by the negotiating council," Buthelezi said.

Most of yesterday's discussion, Buthelezi said, centred on the "civil war and ethnic cleansing" going on in Johannesburg and on the East Rand.

"From the very word go the talks were blunt, very frank," Buthelezi said. He said no attempt was made "to skirt the issues".

A joint statement released after the meeting gave no further indication of the IFP's return to negotiations. It only mentioned that the two sides had "agreed that they would further pursue some of the gains" that had been made in the negotiations process.

The statement did, however, indicate a serious

attempt to revitalise the dormant alliance between the two parties.

De Klerk said yesterday's discussions were totally issue-driven.

"There has never been animosity, on a personal level, ever, in the relationship between myself and the Chief Minister and that in itself formed a sound foundation for today's discussions," he said.

De Klerk said the IFP's full participation in the negotiations process would be discussed in future bilateral meetings.

Misunderstandings

"There is light at the end of the tunnel that somehow or another the inclusivity must be achieved (and this means) that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government should be part of agreements reached," De Klerk said.

The two parties have also agreed that "divisive disagreements and misunderstandings" should be avoided.

A joint committee to address the issue of violence has been established.

It was reported that the IFP was to present Government with a "death list" of Inkatha leaders that had allegedly been drawn up by the ANC.

From the very word go the talks were blunt, very frank



Star 17/9/93

No early return to talks for Buthelezi

(11B)

From Page 1

towards the writing of a new constitution, which the party has rejected. The tone of the joint statement was, however, markedly different to a no-punches pulled statement delivered by Buthelezi at the opening of the meeting.

In it he said: "If I had not already undertaken to meet you today, I would see no point in seeing you as it seems to be a waste of time." But he said that probably the only reason for his being at Tuynhuys was to reconsider what was happening at the negotiations.

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African Government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here." He "hit out" at De Klerk and

his negotiators for "leaving me out" and continuing with talks. De Klerk also met Afrikaans Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen and Conservative Party leader Ferdie Hartzenberg yesterday morning. It is understood the meeting focused on the issue of self-determination.

These were: the constitutional state, the constitutional court, universal fundamental rights, comprehensive constitutional principles, and powers, functions and boundaries of the regions. This may indicate some movement from the IFP, with some of these issues being inherently part of the "two-
▶ To Page 3

BY SHAUN JOHNSON AND CHRIS WHITFIELD

Cape Town — President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday struck an uneasy truce after a marathon meeting aimed at repairing fraught relations between their organisations.

They emerged with little of substance after more than eight hours of talking which began with a defiant and combative opening statement by the Inkatha president.

Both leaders appeared content to settle for a relative improvement in their public relationship, which has deteriorated sharply since the IFP walked out of talks on July 2.

De Klerk said after the meeting that there was light at the end of the tunnel.

"I am confident that we stand at the beginning of a new period of constructive co-operation between the South African Government and the KwaZulu government," he told a media conference at Tuynhuys.

Buthelezi made it clear that the improvement in relations between the IFP and the Government did not herald an early return by his organisation to the talks table.

Elections

He said the meeting had focused on repairing relations between the two groups and there had been no real progress on a return to the World Trade Centre, participation in the Transitional Executive Council or the question of fighting elections.

Answering a question, Buthelezi said: "This was not even discussed. We did not discuss things that were decided (at the talks) in our absence".

However, he said it was "progress enough" that the two sides had begun to grapple with — rather than shirk — the issues that divided them.

The only agreements of substance that emerged were that two committees would be formed to probe constitutional issues and violence.

A cautiously worded joint statement issued last night added that the delegations had agreed "to attempt to avoid, by means of timeous bilateral talks at the appropriate level, any possibilities of future, divisive disagreements and misunderstandings".

The two sides had agreed to "strive towards common objectives" in five areas of the interim constitution.

LEADERS agree to set up two committees to probe constitutional issues and violence

NO early return by IFP

(11B)

Star 17/9/93

FW, Buthelezi declare uneasy truce after eight hours of talks

Buthlezi rejects TEC elections

Govt fails to woo Inkatha back to talks

B/Dey 17/9/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Government failed to woo the Inkatha Freedom Party back to talks yesterday during marathon, top-level discussions at Tuynhuys.

At a joint news conference President F.W. de Klerk tried to put on a brave face, expressing the hope that the eight-hour meeting would be the beginning of a new period of constructive co-operation between the parties.

But Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party had no plans to return to multiparty negotiations and its participation in the transitional executive council was not even on the agenda.

In a joint statement after the meeting, which included leading members of government and Inkatha, the parties said they would set up two committees to discuss violence and the "reasons for the current impasse in negotiations". The committees are expected to meet within a week.

But, said Buthelezi, "no progress" was made as far as Inkatha's return to talks was concerned. "We have not made any decision on going back. . . . It is not possible at present."

He also ruled out Inkatha's participation in the transitional executive council and the general election, saying decisions on these matters had been made in his absence. "We will not be bound by things decided in our absence."

Both sides agreed to strive towards common objectives on the constitution regarding a constitutional state, a constitutional court, universal fundamental rights, comprehensive constitutional principles and regions' powers, functions and boundaries. "The two parties agreed that they would

further pursue some of the gains already made in bilateral negotiations through further intensive consultation and discussions.

"In this way they would also determine the reasons for the present impasse in the negotiation process which had led to a lack of inclusivity, as well as the need to address the necessity for full participation in finalising the constitution. (113)

Sources said this statement indicated government's belief that Inkatha could not be drawn back into negotiations at this stage. But it intended laying the groundwork for its inclusion later.

However, this means Inkatha will not be party to important negotiations on an interim constitution. (2011)

Government and Inkatha agreed that they would attempt to avoid future disagreements and misunderstandings.

Buthelezi described the talks as "very blunt and frank". De Klerk said they had been "very good", and had been conducted in a positive and constructive spirit with no "shying away" from issues and "no cutting of corners".

He said the basis had been laid for finding solutions to some problems.

"There is light at the end of the tunnel."

The tone of the talks was set by Buthelezi's opening remarks, which he concluded by warning that if the NP went ahead with the ANC/SACP alliance and forced the results of their negotiations on Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, it alone "would be responsible before the people of SA and in the judgment of history for the drastic consequences which will be produced".

Back from the brink

cr 11/19/93



De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi will keep on talking

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A BRUISING showdown between the government and Inkatha was averted last night, after a marathon bargaining session between President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi brought the teetering talks process back from the brink.

After the IFP leader opened the long-awaited meeting with a stinging rebuke of the government, the two leaders emerged from their eight-hour encounter with an agreement to set up two committees to continue discussions on constitutional obstacles and violence.

They are expected to start meetings within the next week aimed at further narrowing the gap between the two sides, whose relations have been marked by acrimony and distrust in recent months. But Mr De Klerk's 11-member negotiating team failed in its goal of wooing Inkatha back to multi-party negotiations and did not extract a commitment from Inkatha to participate in elections planned for next April.

In addition, no agreement was reached on an Inkatha proposal to convene a constitutional convention of political leaders in South Africa "to review the negotiation mess we are in".

Relief

Western diplomats attending a Tuynhuys press conference hosted by the two leaders expressed relief that a breakdown in relations between the two parties had been averted, but said they were concerned that the proposed April 27 election date could be placed in jeopardy by another drawn-out round of bilateral talks.

The effective suspension of hostilities between the two parties followed a threat by Chief Buthelezi in his opening remarks of a "full-scale civil war" if Inkatha was left out of the negotiation process.

"If the NP wishes to go it along with the ANC-SACP alliance... the NP alone will be responsible before the people of SA and in the judgment of history for the dramatic consequences," Chief Buthelezi said.

Despite the subsequent thaw in the mood between the South African and KwaZulu governments, senior Conservative Party sources said there was scant chance of the party returning to talks.

During the joint press conference Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi agreed that their talks had been frank and blunt, but a subdued mood replaced the acrimony which marked the start of discussions.

Mr De Klerk put on a brave face after the lengthy discussions by submitting that there was "light at



BREAKDOWN AVERTED . . . President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi address a press conference at Tuynhuys last night, after a bruising eight-hour bargaining session between the government and Inkatha.

Picture: ANNE LAING

the end of the tunnel" and added: "We stand at the beginning of a period of constructive co-operation between the SA government and KwaZulu."

However, Chief Buthelezi stated that there had been "no real progress" regarding a return of the IFP to the World Trade Centre or the party's threatened boycott of an election.

But the fact that the parties were committed to "finding a way forward" on stumbling blocks such as violence and constitutional disputes, constitut-

ed progress in itself, he said.

President de Klerk said the main focus at the talks had been on the constitution and the setting up of the multi-party Transitional Executive Council would be "delayed until there had been agreement".

A joint statement issued by the two delegations after the talks noted that they would "further pursue some of the gains already made in bilateral negotiations through further intensive consultation and discussion."

"In this way they would also determine the reasons for the present impasse in the negotiation process, which has led to a lack of inclusivity, as well as the need to address the necessity for full participation in finalising the constitution."

The statement concluded: "The two delegations further agreed to attempt to avoid, by means of timeous bilateral talks at the appropriate level, any possibilities of future divisive disagreements and misunderstandings."

Top German lawyer to advise Buthelezi

(IB) WMI 17-23/9/93
Farouk Chothia

THE German government will send a top constitutional lawyer to South Africa in the next few weeks to advise the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) on constitutional issues.

The German government's decision underlines the growing concern in the international community at the IFP's refusal to return to the World Trade Centre, and its continual threats of civil war.

Observers believe it may also be an attempt to counter the influence that conservative United States lawyer Mario Ambrosini has on IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

African National Congress and government negotiators have often blamed Ambrosini — who was previously on the payroll of Renamo in Mozambique — for the IFP's rejection of compromises tabled at the World Trade Centre, particularly on the draft constitution.

In an interview, a spokesman for the German embassy in Pretoria, Michael Schmunk, said: "We want to contribute to stabilising a future democracy. We don't want the country to break up."

Schmunk said German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel had offered Buthelezi the services of a constitutional expert at their recent meeting in Bonn. "Chief Buthelezi accepted it (the offer) right on the spot," said Schmunk.

Schmunk added that Buthelezi would choose the constitutional lawyer he wanted, although the lawyer would be paid by Bonn. He would arrive in South Africa "in a couple of weeks".

"It might be a professor; it might be a high-ranking civil servant," Schmunk added.

Schmunk said the constitutional lawyer would give Buthelezi "independent and neutral" advice on the draft constitution emerging from the World Trade Centre.

Extra meeting for govt, IFP

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Political Staff (118)
THE government and the IFP will hold a further meeting next weekend in an attempt to build on the initial progress made at Thursday's eight-hour marathon session at the Tuynhuys.

On Thursday President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu

DT 18/9/93
Buthelezi agreed to create two committees — one to look at the negotiations impasse and the other at the question of violence.

Government sources disclosed yesterday that the chances of persuading Chief Buthelezi and the IFP to return to the World Trade Centre are almost nil and some other forum will need to be

developed to keep the IFP within the negotiating framework.

It is understood the government is hoping to play the role of go-between, liaising between the talks at the World Trade Centre and the bilateral forum consisting of the NP and IFP, operating what would amount to a "negotiating shuttle service".

The rural vote will hold sway!

C/Press 19/9/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE campaign for the hearts and minds of black voters in preparation for next year's elections has not yet started in earnest.

It is their votes, about 14,5-million in all, that will decide which political party dominates the often mooted government of national unity (GNU).

Although it is still early days, the National Party has already let it be known that it intends winning a substantial slice of this vote in order to become the majority party in the GNU.

Expectations of winning support among blacks run contrary to two conventional wisdoms. The first being that given its massive support in the black communities in particular, the ANC is seen as the obvious government in waiting.

In the second place and more importantly, it is argued that a party which introduced apartheid had no hope of winning any substantial black support.

NP leaders and functionaries dismiss the idea that the ANC will be the major party and also pooh-pooh claims that the NP are still stigmatised by apartheid.

They argue that most analysts agree they will perform better than the ANC in the coloured and Indian communities.

They also point out that while Mandela has attracted a large number of people at his recent rallies among coloured people in the Cape, these potential voters come largely from the main cities.

Comforting to the Nats are reports that in the Cape Flats apathy reigns as a large number of supporters of the former UDF are no longer politically active.

Such is the confidence of the Nats that at their recent provincial congresses in Natal, the Free State and Transvaal, the party was in an upbeat mood.

Observers say the party did not resemble an outgoing government at these congresses. Party leaders were always quick to point at the new black and coloured members as proof that they were being accepted outside the traditional white community.

The new Nats were also in high spirits and dismissed any claims that they were aboard a sinking ship. Their occasional shouts of "Viva de Klerk, Viva the National Party" added vibrancy to the pro-



MAVUSO ... Remembered for his government links.

ceedings.

While the party showed a brave face at these congresses, there are whispers that tensions are running deep between supporters of NP leader FW de Klerk and the hardliners led by Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel.

The fact that no defections have taken place so far amid widespread rumours that they were imminent, show the cohesion of the party. But for how long this unity will hold remains to be seen.

According to NP insiders, they hope to attract blacks by projecting an image of a party with sound economic policies and the ability to deliver much-needed jobs and social services like housing.

Put another way, they will try and project the ANC as a party that is going to drive away potential investors by implementing failed socialist policies, because of the ANC's alliance with the SACP.

Trying to win over blacks will be a gargantuan task. To achieve this, the NP would need, among other strategies, to recruit blacks with high standing in their communities in order to sell NP policies.

So far the "catches" that the party has made are largely unknown quantities. One of these "catches", former exile David Chuenyane, has seemingly politically correct credentials. Ex PAC man and guerilla. But no one knows much about him.

Another, John Mavuso, invoked his membership of the ANC before

it was banned. However, he is likely to be remembered for his links with the government on the Transvaal MEC for housing.

The party also has a baggage of people with controversial backgrounds like John Gogotya, the former president of the Federal Independent Democratic Association.

This phantom political party applied unsuccessfully to join the Multi-Party Negotiating Council.

For the Nats to provide a strong challenge to the ANC and PAC for black votes, people like Gogotya and Mavuso could prove costly.

Tricking people to attend NP rallies by offering them food, as happened in the northern Transvaal recently, will not do much to help the NP cause.

The rural communities are going to play a crucial role in the coming elections. Unlike their urban counterparts, they are not solidly behind the ANC, PAC or Azapo formations.

It is in the rural areas that parties such as Inkatha and other homeland-based parties are strongest. Though most surveys indicate Inkatha's declining popularity, none of these surveys have been conducted in rural KwaZulu.

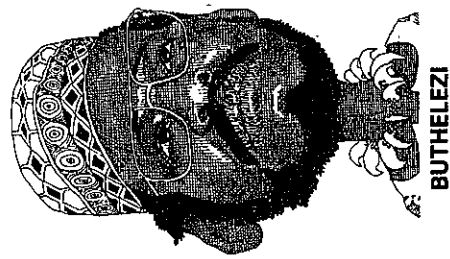
Inkatha has a strong infrastructure in these areas and with most chiefs reportedly behind the party, they cannot be taken lightly. Most importantly, the fact that elections are only seven months away does not give parties like the ANC and PAC enough time to canvass in the rural areas.

By forging an alliance (formal or loose) with Inkatha and other homeland-based parties, the Nats will be provided with the only realistic way of making inroads into the black vote.

Inkatha's claims of a deal between the ANC and the government for joint rule might not be unfounded, but this is not likely to stand in the way of a possible alliance between Ulundi and Pretoria.

Inkatha and the NP have a lot in common. They are both supporters of strong federal government and both also advocate a free-market economy.

Verwoerd must be smiling at the prospects of his creations (the homelands) continuing to serve the Nats so well.



There was no progress at last week's Government-KwaZulu summit, argues Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba.

FW in KwaZulu quandary



Star 20/9/93

If Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi approached his crucial meeting with President de Klerk on Thursday with any hope that some of his demands might be met, then he must have left Cape Town a disappointed man.

For Buthelezi must have known — he had said at the beginning of the meeting he did not think there was much the two leaders could talk about — that chances of De Klerk giving in to his comprehensive demands were slim if not non-existent.

And not just because De Klerk is unwilling to make more concessions to the IFP leader whom he is now desperately trying to appease in an effort to woo him back into negotiations, but because he is simply unable to accommodate the KwaZulu Chief Minister more than he and the ANC have already done.

Buthelezi's 10-page "preliminary remarks" — which he makes at the beginning of every important meeting he holds — to De Klerk on Thursday were very revealing. More than anything else, they indicated clearly what Buthelezi sees as his bottom line, and showed yet again that nothing anybody does will satisfy him.

In what can only be described as a terrible dressing down to De Klerk,

Buthelezi demanded nothing less than the scrapping of the present multiparty negotiations and agreements reached in that process, notably the holding of South Africa's first all-inclusive elections on April 27.

By so doing, he put De Klerk in a tight corner: while he is eager to accommodate Buthelezi and in the process keep his own National Party together, the concessions the chief now asks for are simply not his to give.

Vehicles

But back to the "preliminary remarks": Buthelezi sees these as vehicles for him to put his own concerns and priorities upfront, thereby ensuring the things he holds dear are discussed in the meetings.

His interlocutors, however, see them differently. ANC president Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, foreign leaders and ambassadors based here have often found themselves vehemently criticised and chided in Buthelezi's "preliminary remarks" before meetings with him.

Depending on the outcome of the meeting, such statements are sometimes not released to the press. And so the fact that Buthelezi found it necessary to release his preliminary statement on Thursday, only about

an hour before the end of the meeting, was the first signal that not all had gone well at Tynhuys.

Clearly, Buthelezi is unhappy about what he sees as the Government's collusion with the ANC at the expense of his party, and he said so to De Klerk. He is upset that negotiations have gone on without the IFP and KwaZulu while they were halted following the ANC's withdrawal from Cedesa 2 last year, and he said so.

He accused Government negotiators of not understanding "black politics", accused the Government of having moved away from policies it once shared with the IFP, accused Pretoria of not taking seriously what he says, said the agreed-upon transitional executive council could take actions which "could crash the financial operation and institutional autonomy of the KwaZulu government", and that his government would not implement agreements reached in the Negotiating Council.

He is also resentful about the international credit going to the Government and the ANC for progress in negotiations, and condemns "the smiling, the receiving of (awards) and boasting that the talks were still within the time-frames that were agreed upon between the Government and the ANC/SACP alliance".

Then he dropped the bombshell:

negotiations must be halted and a national constitutional convention be called "to review the negotiations mess we are in".

He told De Klerk and members of his Cabinet: "We must now pause and reconsider what is happening in negotiations. That is probably the only reason for my being here today.

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African Government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here."

Blackmail

Increasingly isolated here and abroad, Buthelezi then resorted to emotional blackmail and the kind of threats he has recently been making: he would resign as IFP leader if the party's general conference decided against his wish to return to negotiations, and Pretoria would be responsible for "the dramatic consequences" if it did not heed his calls.

But if Buthelezi is such a democrat, why would he resign and not abide by the decision of the majority of IFP members if they voted in favour of co-operation with other parties and organisations? His threats are hardly necessary.

Political observers know, and some of his top Cabinet Ministers privately agree, that he is *the* driving force behind the IFP and that that party's general conference and the IFP's central committee often endorse whatever he wants. He need not fear that they might go against him.

Buthelezi has now dared public opinion here and in the international community to do their damndest.

"No amount of pressure from within or from the international community will have any effect on me. I cannot be pressurised into persuading the people of this region (Natal-KwaZulu) to commit suicide," he said.

From a man who used to be sensitive to gentle proddings from Washington DC, London and Bonn, this is very worrisome.

South Africans should not be fooled by De Klerk's smiles at the end of the summit, the joint committees agreed upon and the undertakings to meet again. No progress was registered at what sources described as an acrimonious meeting.

It is now important for De Klerk to consider the options open to him to give legitimacy to agreements reached in negotiations, and calling a national and all-inclusive referendum might be the answer.

focus on politics

IT IS NOT ONLY the people of South Africa that are cracking up. A close look at the political parties of this beleaguered country reveal some serious fractures.

The ANC is seriously questioning the future of its alliance with Cosatu and the South African Communist Party as political leaders in the Freedom Charter axis are positioning themselves for Parliamentary politics, Government and South Africa beyond the election.

Cosatu earlier this month formally released some of its most senior leaders for inclusion on the ANC's election list and there is wide understanding among the alliance that "an evaluation of the alliance would take place" after the election.

Writing in *Mayibuye*, the ANC's mouthpiece, Cosatu's former secretary general Mr Jay Naidoo, who was released by the union for possible parliamentary duty, explains that this evaluation of the alliance would be based on conditions that would exist beyond the election.

"The alliance was formed in order to dislodge the apartheid system. The nature of the alliance now begins to change as the central issue is no longer the struggle against apartheid, but what the form and content of the system that will replace apartheid is," Naidoo says.

An enigma and inscrutable

There appear to be no discernible differences or looming splits in the ranks of Azapo. The marginalised position of the flagship of the Black Consciousness Movement, however, is likely to produce strains in the longterm as constitutional developments unfold.

The PAC is an enigma and as inscrutable as can be. The activities of its armed wing Apla are known to have resulted in differences among the leadership.

There has also to be greater clarity about a dissident PAC grouping, the Watchdogs of the Revolution.

Last week it was reported that the PAC's congenial and very articulate secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim was a sell-out.

The IFP seems fragile at this stage. There is a growing tendency within the party which favours a return to negotiations and participation in next year's elections. If the party continues to be marginalised, a split is likely to occur before the elections.

Currently, an intense battle is under way for the "ear" of party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is apparently be given "bad advice" by a rightwing element being led by Walter Felgate.

It is, however, the parties in Parliament that are the most fragile.

The Democratic Party is facing a critical period and it is showing. It was revealed this

The political parties in South Africa are echoing the fragmentation found in the nation. All have dissident groups which may pull out after the elections, argues

Political Correspondent **Ismail**

Lagardien: Sowetan 20/9/93



Jay Naidoo.

week that the present leader Dr Zac de Beer was falling out of fashion with the liberals and that attempts have been made to replace the old man with the Member of Parliament for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon.

Leon, who is a fine academic and an extremely erudite man, is given to tempestuous ranting and is becoming increasingly reactionary. His speeches in Parliament, one can be forgiven to feel, are more for effect than for any other use.

Yet, Leon is probably what the DP feels it needs as the country lies bare, exposed to the

IBB ~~IBB~~ ~~IBB~~

The only two parties likely to make it to the elections in April next year relatively unscathed are the ANC and Azapo. Beyond that lies great uncertainty for all.

uncertainty of democracy.

Across the floor, in the National Party, there is dissent. It is widely believed that if another whites-only poll of any sort were called today, the National Party would lose to the Conservative Party.

Its traditional support base is almost completely eroded and it is trying hard to build up black support. On another level, there is a serious attempt by far-rightists in the NP to seek closer links with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Labour Party has announced that it would contest the election under the banner and leadership of the ANC - that is if the Hendrickse dynasty actually makes it to April 27.

Barrel of a gun

Most of the LP Members of Parliament have either already joined the ANC or are on the verge of doing so.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, has already said that he would not be available for re-election as party leader at the end of the year when the party meets for its annual congress.

The Conservative Party is dead on its feet and has declared that its options lie through the barrel of a gun and the Afrikaner Volksunie's founders all resigned from the party over the past weeks.

The parties in the Indian House of Delegates are incidental to the process.

Nothing anybody does will satisfy Chief Buthelezi

11B ARG 20/9/93

There was no progress at last week's government-Kwazulu summit, argues Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

IF Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi approached his crucial meeting with President De Klerk last Thursday with any hope that some of his demands might be met, then he must have left Cape Town a disappointed man.

For Chief Buthelezi must have known — he himself said at the beginning of that meeting he did not think there was much the two leaders could talk about — that chances of Mr De Klerk giving in to his comprehensive demands were very slim if not altogether non-existent.

And not just because Mr De Klerk is unwilling to make more concessions to the IFP leader whom he is now desperately trying to appease in an effort to woo him back into negotiations, but because he is simply unable to accommodate the Kwazulu Chief Minister more than he and the ANC have already done.

Chief Buthelezi's 10-page "preliminary remarks" — which he makes at the beginning of every important meeting he attends — to Mr De Klerk on Thursday were very revealing. More than anything else, they indicated quite clearly what Chief Buthelezi sees as his bottom lines, and showed yet again that nothing anybody does will now satisfy him.

In what can only be described as a terrible dressing down to Mr De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi demanded nothing less than the scrapping of the present multi-party negotiations and agreements reached in that process, notably the holding of South Africa's first all-inclusive elections on April 27 next year.

By so doing, he put the hapless Mr De Klerk in a tight corner:

while he is eager to accommodate Chief Buthelezi and in the process keep his own National Party together, the concessions the chief now asks for are simply not his to give. It is as simple as that.

But back to the "preliminary remarks" which often serve as policy statements and usually impact on the agendas of meetings he holds with other leaders. Chief Buthelezi sees these as vehicles for him to put his own concerns and priorities upfront, thereby ensuring that the things he holds dear are discussed in the meetings.

His interlocutors, however, see them differently. ANC president Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, foreign leaders and ambassadors based here have often found themselves vehemently criticised and chided in Chief Buthelezi's "preliminary remarks" before their meetings with him.

Depending on the outcome of the meeting, such statements are sometimes not released to the Press. And so the fact that Chief Buthelezi found it necessary to release his preliminary statement last Thursday, only about an hour before the end of the meeting, was the first signal that not all had gone well at Tugnyhays.

Clearly, Chief Buthelezi is very unhappy about what he sees as the government's collusion with the ANC at the expense of his party, and he said so to Mr De Klerk. He is upset that negotiations have gone on without the IFP and Kwazulu while they were halted following the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa II last year, and again he said so.

He accused government negotiators of not understanding "black

politics", accused the government of having moved away from policies it once shared with the IFP, accused Pretoria of not taking seriously what he says, said the agreed-upon Transitional Executive Council could take actions which "could crash the financial operation and institutional autonomy of the Kwazulu government", and that his government would not implement agreements reached in the Negotiating Council.

He is also very resentful about the international credit going to the government and the ANC for progress in negotiations, and he condemns "the smiling, the receiving of (awards) and boasting that the talks were still within the time frames that were agreed upon between the government and the ANC/SACP alliance".

Then he dropped the bombshell: negotiations must be halted and a national constitutional convention be called "to review the negotiations mess we are in".

He bluntly told Mr De Klerk and members of his Cabinet: "We must now pause and reconsider what is happening in negotiations. That is probably the only reason for me being here today."

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here."

Increasingly isolated here and abroad, Chief Buthelezi then resorted to emotional blackmail and the kind of threats he has recently been making with a monotonous regularity: he would resign as

leader of the IFP if the party's general conference decided against his wish to return to negotiations, and Pretoria would be responsible for "the dramatic consequences" if it did not heed his calls.

But if Chief Buthelezi is such a democrat, then why would he resign and not abide by the decision of the majority of IFP members if they voted in favour of co-operation with other parties and organisations? His threats are hardly necessary.

Political observers know, and some of his top Cabinet ministers privately agree, that he is the driving force behind the IFP and that that party's general conference and the IFP's ever-expanding central committee often endorse whatever he wants. He need not fear, then, that their verdict might go against him.

Chief Buthelezi has now dared public opinion here and the international community to do their damndest.

"No amount of pressure from within or from the international community will have any effect on me. I cannot be pressured into persuading the people of this region (Natal-Kwazulu) to commit suicide," he said.

From a man who used to be sensitive to gentle proddings from Washington, London and Bonn, this is worrisome.

South Africans should not be fooled by Mr De Klerk's smiles at the end of the summit, the joint committees agreed upon and the undertaking to meet again. No progress was registered at what sources described as an acrimonious meeting.

Indian party joins Inkatha

CT 28/9/93
DURBAN. — The Indian Reform Party yesterday merged with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Speaking in Phoenix, a predominantly Indian suburb, where he was also opening an IFP branch, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party wanted Indians to contribute to the rebuilding of the Natal-KwaZulu region and South Africa as a whole.

Their entrepreneurial skills and business acumen were valued.

IFP and ANC youth meet

DURBAN. — Youth leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party met here on Saturday for a second round of peace talks. (H) (118)

But the meeting deadlocked and both sides agreed to meet again on Wednesday. (T) 20/9/93

The IFP Youth Brigade had demanded an apology for a remark by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a "puppet".

The ANC's regional youth league had taken exception to an IFP Youth Brigade resolution which called uMkhonto we Sizwe a "killing machine". — Sapa

VOTER EDUCATION Inkatha began as a cultural movement • Get an ID now

Looking at Inkatha Freedom Party

Sowetan 20/9/93

11B

By Mzimasi Ngudie

THIS week we look at the Inkatha Freedom Party. Following is an abridged historical account from the book *Political Organisations in South Africa A-Z*.
Published in 1991 the book does not deal with later developments like IFP's membership of the Concerned South Africans Group, the Inkathagate scandal, Bambata battalion and so on.

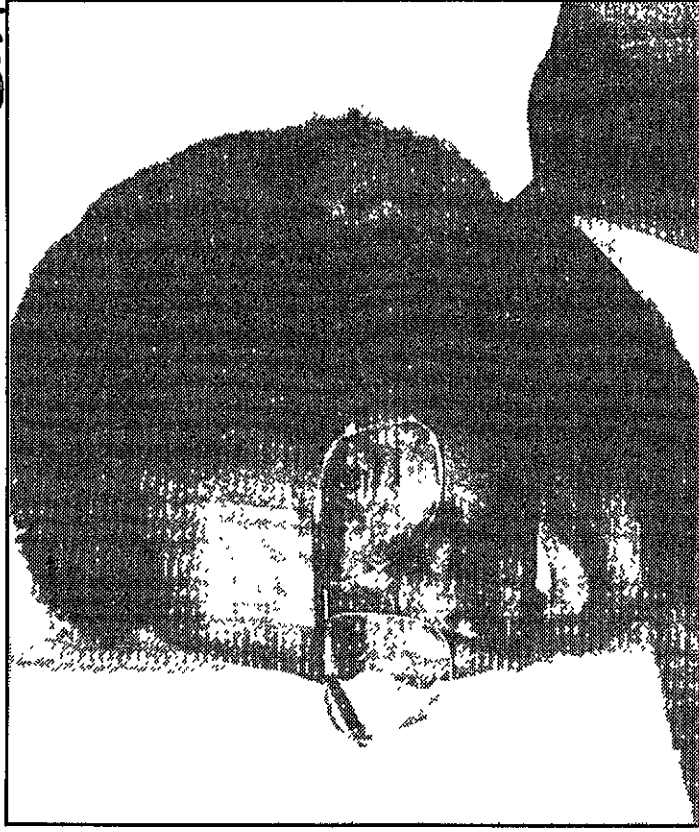
At present IFP is out of the talks and has rejected the Transitional Executive Council which is expected to be in place by October.

Two weeks ago Inkatha lost a Supreme Court application to have a decision at the multi-party talks overturned after Transvaal Judge-President Mr Justice CF Eloff said the court could not rule on the issue of sufficient consensus. Now in alliance with right-wing political parties opposed to multiparty talks, Inkatha first emerged as a cultural movement Inkatha yakwaZulu established by the Zulu king, Solomon ka Dinizulu, in 1928.

The cultural movement ground to a halt after a few years of its existence. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi revived it in March 1975, renaming it Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe.
Shortly after its inception in September 1977 Inkatha had more than 120 000 signed-up members.

Over the years membership has grown steadily, and in 1985 the one million mark was reached.

By the end of the 80s there were more than 1.5 million signed-up members, of



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

which the youth brigade numbered 600 000 and the women's brigade 500 000. In some circles, however, these figures are disputed.

Membership is open to all blacks over 18, giving Inkatha a broader base than would have been the case had it been a purely Zulu nationalist movement.

(During the 90s this policy was broadened to include whites - it is maintained that 100 000 whites are already members of IFP).

on a large scale.

The Inkatha youth brigade has in recent years assumed a paramilitary character. Members wear uniforms and take part in activities like marching. They receive training in a wide variety of practical courses and are educated in politics.

The organisation denies that it is paramilitaristic and says the so-called Youth Service Corps is used for social reconstruction.

Inkatha's economic policy is based on a free-market system qualified by the requirement that the redistribution of the national wealth should be acknowledged.

Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders have often rejected disinvestment and sanctions as mechanisms of change, declaring that black workers would suffer most under an effective sanctions campaign.

Inkatha's pro-capitalist viewpoint has won it widespread support of the Zulu business community.

The organisation has been very successful in overcoming the problem of potential class distinctions and has managed to win the support of a large section of the working class.

Concern about the possibility that large numbers of Zulu workers might join the progressive Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and its successor, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), led to the establishment of Inkatha's own trade union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), on May Day 1986.

There is, however, doubt about Uwusa's popularity among the workers. Though it allegedly has 150 000 signed-up members, it has enjoyed little support among workers outside Natal.

In line with its policy of non-ethnicity, Inkatha also tried to make an impact on national politics by becoming involved in the South African Black Alliance (SABA), a loose association formed in 1978 between the Labour Party, the Reform Party, the Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane, and, for a brief period, QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party.

After the Labour Party's decision at Eshowe in 1983 to participate in the tricameral parliamentary system SABA was disbanded.

Inkatha's relationship with other black organisations, including exiled and legal groups within the country, has been tense.

Inkatha took over the ANC symbols, the green, gold and black colours and Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, in an effort to demonstrate its viability as successor to and sister organisation of the ANC.

During 1978 and 1979 there was a remarkably close relationship between the ANC and Inkatha (as a university student Buthelezi was a member of the ANC). Subsequently the relationship between the two organisations rapidly deteriorated. By 1986 it was one of open antagonism.

The breach probably occurred as a result of Buthelezi's strong opposition to the school boycotts in Natal, his rejection of the ANC's position on sanctions and its use of violence.

Buthelezi slams ANC

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi showed no softening of his anti-negotiations stance at the launch of an IFP branch at Durban's largest Indian township, Phoenix, yesterday. *Sowetan 20/9/93*

He asked Indians to join forces with the IFP against the African National Congress and the National Party and promised to honour Indians' right to property and worship. (115)

Buthelezi also warned of a civil war

unless demands for federalism were delivered at the Kempton Park negotiations. *Sowetan 20/9/93*

In his second address to the Indian community in Natal, Buthelezi called on them to join forces with the IFP to stop the ANC and their "new-found allies". (116)

Top-Secret funds helped Inkatha

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government spent R92,5-million in secret funds on Project Kampong, reliably understood to include funding to Inkatha and its associates, in the seven years between 1985/6 and 1991/2, it was disclosed yesterday.

The secret funding to Inkatha and its trade union affiliate, the United Workers Union of South Africa, was suspended by President F.W. de Klerk after the Inkathaagate scandal in July 1991.

113 The size of Project Kampong — an average of R13,2m a year over the seven-year period — was revealed yesterday by the auditor-general, Mr. Henri Kluever, in a report tabled in Parliament.

He also said that because of "the magnitude of uncertainties as well as of several shortcomings and mistakes encountered" an audit opinion on Project Kampong was withheld.

Mr. Kluever gave no further details in his report about Project Kampong, which

was funded through the secret Special Defence Account, in his report on the accounts for general affairs for 1991/2.

The auditor-general yesterday revealed that mountains of cash had been paid out by the SADF on staff retrenchment packages and millions spent on secret projects that cannot be adequately audited for lack of information.

In a report on the SADF's secret Special Defence Account, Mr. Kluever revealed that between 1989 and 1992 just

under R1-billion was spent on retrenchment packages and the cancellation of contracts.

The account, which was allocated R3,7bn during the 1993/94 financial year, was used to finance staff retrenchment packages amounting to R378m during that period.

A top government source said last night this funding had been directed, among other things, to training Inkatha supporters at Capri.

● Arms curback cost R970m — Page 5

ANC 'yes' to visits

Political Staff A 12/21/73
JOHANNESBURG

Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and to welcome him to ANC headquarters here, according to church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two. (113) (2)

In a statement after their meeting with Mr. Mandela yesterday, clerics said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Chief Buthelezi."

NEWS TEC Bill to sail through Parliament today ● Mandela waves olive branch

Sowetan 22/9/93
Mandela ready to visit Ulundi

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi.

He also said he would welcome Buthelezi to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, according to the church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two leaders.

In a statement after their meeting with Mandela yesterday, Methodist Church Presiding Bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba and the Church of the Province of Southern Africa's Bishop Michael Nuttall said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Buthelezi".

The end of white rule

Sowetan 22/9/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE final nail will be driven into the coffin of white domination in South Africa tomorrow when Parliament is expected to pass legislation for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The TEC Bill and proposed laws for the creation of an Independent Media Commission and Electoral Commission will be voted on soon after 3pm and are expected to sail through Parliament.

The National Party majority in all three Houses, the Democratic Party, Labour Party and a smattering of Indian parties will vote for the Bill while the

Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party Members of Parliament will oppose them.

The IFP has said it would support the Bills for the Electoral Commission and Media Commission as well as that for the Independent Broadcast Authority but that it would oppose the TEC legislation.

Concession

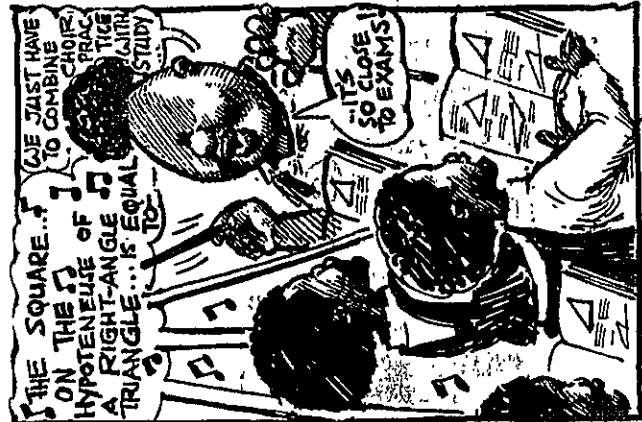
It is understood that the IFP was holding out for a concession on "constitutional matters" as a quid pro quo before it gives its support for the TEC Bill.

The thinking in the IFP is that the other three Bills were "good Bills" and that they were necessary if an election

was to be held.
"An election will be held at some point anyway", an Inkatha source said yesterday.

The draft legislation for the Independent Broadcast Authority (IBA) was tabled in Parliament yesterday completing the quartet of laws agreed on in the Negotiating Council and nailed together by the relevant technical committee.

The IBA allows for the opening of new radio and television stations in opposition to the South African Broadcasting Corporation. It also provides for the monitoring of broadcasts and regulates political advertising and coverage aimed at ensuring equitable treatment for political parties.



^{C1218193}
**Inkatha gets
its sixth MP**

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party gained its sixth MP yesterday when former House of Delegates education minister Mr Kisten Rajoo officially announced his membership.

Dr Rajoo, elected MP for Merebank for Solidarity in 1989, was minister of education and culture until the party lost control of the Indian house last year. Although he joined the National Party he failed to regain his portfolio.

Thokoza tense after IFP tour

JOHANNESBURG. — Thokoza and Katlehong were tense yesterday after Inkatha leaders abruptly ended a tour of East Rand hostels as the townships' residents protested against their presence.

The ANC's Mr Joe Modise and Mr Ronnie Kasrils visited the area yesterday to investigate the massacre of 18 people on the old Heidelberg/Klip River road on Tuesday night.

Mr Modise told about 200 people at the Thokoza Stadium that white policemen should get out of the townships as they were conniving with Inkatha.

His visit came just hours after

Buthelezi backs peace tour

DURBAN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela must finalise details for joint rallies in violent areas as a matter of urgency.

Mr Mandela endorsed the church-brokered plan earlier this week.

"In view of the hideous conflicts, ongoing deaths and intense suffering in the Transvaal and in KwaZulu/Natal in particular, it is my view that Mr Mandela and I should prioritise visiting these areas together without delay," Chief Buthelezi said yesterday.

He said they should visit the East Rand and then Estcourt and Ixopo in Natal. — Sapa

the IFP tour was ended when township youths threatened violence.

Earlier Inkatha officials, peace monitors and journalists were warned by police to leave Katle-

hong, where scores of youths barricaded the main street.

Also, a police search of the nearby Phola Park squatter camp yielded just two arrests, one firearm and ammunition. Police claimed those responsible for Tuesday night's massacre had fled to the camp.

At least 40 people have been killed in Reef violence since Tuesday morning: 24 died in two attacks near Thokoza on Tuesday, 18 died in the old Heidelberg/Klip

River Road massacre and six died in an attack on a minibus

● In Natal, a man was shot dead and three others were wounded in an ambush at Eshowe in Zululand on Tuesday.

Negotiators prepare to settle the constitution

MULTIPARTY negotiators would get down to the next and most crucial phase of discussions — finalising the constitution — on Tuesday, talks administrator Theuns Eloff announced yesterday.

In the meantime parties would hold more behind-the-scenes discussions.

Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party would meet on Sunday and Monday in their first meeting to follow up the summit last week between President F W de Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. **BIDAY 23/9/93**

At that meeting it was decided to form two joint committees to try to resolve the constitutional impasse and to deal with continuing violence.

Government will again try to woo Inkatha back into negotiations at the weekend, although sources say government holds out little hope of this.

Instead it is hoping to get a commitment that if negotiators accept its submissions on regionalism, Inkatha will also accept them and Buthelezi will endorse the draft constitution at a meeting of leaders by the end of October.

Sapa reports it is understood that neither De Klerk nor Buthelezi will attend

BILLY PADDOCK

the weekend talks, but senior KwaZulu negotiator and Inkatha central committee member Ben Ngubane will return from Washington to lead the KwaZulu delegation. **(IB) (Sapa)**

An Inkatha spokesman said the talks would take place at a venue outside Pretoria.

The spokesman said KwaZulu central committee member and Inkatha hardliner Walter Felgate was also in Washington but would return with Ngubane in time for the meeting.

Government's submissions on regionalism are not yet finalised and will probably be submitted to a negotiations technical committee only next week.

The planning committee at the World Trade Centre will meet early next week to assess the progress of discussions between various parties.

It will also look into the implementation of the transitional executive council, the independent electoral commission, the independent broadcasting authority and the independent media commission.

Fm 24/9/93

(118)

INKATHA Fm 24/9/93

Weighing the options

(118)

...telling how far Inkatha president Buthelezi will go in pursuit of what he risks losing a great deal if

his tough attitude backfires.

Possibly the biggest risk is that Pretoria could, ultimately, simply cancel KwaZulu's self-governing status if the party remains intransigent. It's hard to believe that Buthelezi would then consider the military option (against the might of the SADF), though some of his lieutenants have warned that a civil war could be unleashed in the event of the April 27 general election going ahead. Mass action is another option that has been raised by Inkatha, which potentially could undermine an election being held in Natal if not elsewhere.

(118)

Reincorporating KwaZulu into SA would, observes Natal University political scientist Ian Phillips, be much simpler than in the case of the independent TBVC homelands because of bilateral treaties which established the latter.

Centre for African Studies director Eugene Nyati maintains that KwaZulu and all the homelands should already have been reincorporated. "President FW de Klerk hasn't lifted a finger against Inkatha, but that's not because he can't; it's because he simply doesn't have the political will. In fact, some people believe he has over-indulged Buthelezi and given Inkatha the courage to continue pushing its luck."

Another reason for government's inaction, says Nyati, is that there is division in the Cabinet over where the Nats' best interests lie. "There are still some Cabinet members who believe a grand alliance between the Nats, Inkatha and the homeland leaders could factor the ANC out of power."

However, the political implications of reincorporation would be harder to handle than the legal niceties, even if reincorporation is the last resort against Buthelezi.

For all that, reincorporation would appear to be a risk that Buthelezi doesn't want to take. For this reason it would seem likely that his movement will participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), though Inkatha MPs gave mixed signals on this question on the first day of parliament's debate on the TEC.

Phillips believes one option Buthelezi might pursue would be to allow the KwaZulu government to return to the multiparty talks, but to keep Inkatha out. "In that way he will have a foot in the TEC while, as Inkatha leader, still be able to keep what he thinks is the moral high ground."

Another route, suggests Theo Venter of Potchefstroom's Institute for Future Studies, could be for Inkatha's interests to be conveyed to the TEC via bilateral meetings between the party and government.

The other big puzzle is whether Buthelezi will lead his party into the April 27 election.

Inkatha believe a constitution should be agreed before elections rather than leaving the drafting to an elected constituent assembly.

Though Buthelezi has said that the decision on participation will be made by party members at a special congress, it seems improbable that Inkatha will boycott the poll because to do so would probably sideline it during the crucial constitution-making phase.

Complete abstention from the transition process, including the poll, would, says Venter, be tantamount to Buthelezi's taking the Savimbi option. "And that would be in total contrast to the three fundamentals which Buthelezi says he stands for: democracy, free enterprise and federalism. Opting out would destroy any chance of achieving these. In all probability, his hard-ball game now is simply a means of squeezing out every possible concession before rejoining the process."

But there could be more to the Inkatha strategy than winning concessions at Kempton Park. It could also be about consolidating his Natal/KwaZulu power base in the run-up to the election.

Phillips believes Inkatha realises that, in order to achieve its political ambitions, it is essential to hang on to its KwaZulu seat. "Inkatha intends contesting the election and it is manoeuvring to gain greater control over the election process in Natal than it would otherwise have if it were fettered by full participation in TEC structures. That, I think, is Buthelezi's gamble."

One route Phillips feels the party might take is to try to have a combination of the KwaZulu government and the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority installed as the region's transitional executive.

"KwaZulu has a majority in the authority so that would install Buthelezi as a transitional authority in charge of the election

process. Under those circumstances the Independent Election Commission might not have a look in," he explains.

Nyati, however, believes that Inkatha's options depend less on strategies hatched in Ulundi than on whether government can make its mind up about where to draw the line against Inkatha. "Government and the ANC have bent over backwards to accommodate the party and it is difficult to see what other concessions can be given without debasing and undermining the integrity of the negotiating process," he says.

Though De Klerk failed in his marathon meeting with Buthelezi last week to convince the Inkatha boss to rejoin multiparty talks, the good news was their commitment to continue with bilateral discussions and set up two committees — one on violence, the other to explore "reasons for the current impasse in the negotiations."

Buthelezi ... brinkmanship for maximum concessions



Talks: IFP not out forever

DURBAN. — The IFP has not permanently withdrawn from multi-party talks, its national spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said yesterday. (1534)

The IFP was engaged in bilateral talks with both the government and the ANC in a bid to unlock the impasse which had led to their withdrawal from talks, Dr Jiyane said. CT 24/9/93

The IFP had a clear standpoint, that the new constitution should be drawn up before elections, and that South Africa should be a federal state, he said. — Sapa

'Get ready to fight' — king

102
11B
CT25/9/93

DURBAN. — Zulus should stand together to fight against a strategically orchestrated plan to "wipe us off the face of the earth", King Goodwill Zwelithini told 3 000 Zulus at a Shaka rally yesterday.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a separate speech to the crowd at Ensingweni, said patriotic Zulus must be prepared to fight to rule themselves, and not allow the TEC to govern KwaZulu.

The king alleged there were open threats to dethrone him, dismantle the KwaZulu government and forcefully remove the leadership of Chief Buthelezi.

He said violence had rocketed since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and was mainly focused on Zulus.

He also blamed the uncontrollable levels of violence in the country on "revolutionary forces", which he said had infiltrated communities and brainwashed children into defying authority.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi said there would be no peace in South Africa if Zulus were not allowed self-rule.

The TEC did not include the KwaZulu government nor the IFP and allowing it to rule KwaZulu was akin to "allowing foreigners

AWB 'will join forces'

LONDON. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has said the Zulus would fight alongside the extreme right-wing if an ANC government came to power.

Interviewed by BBC radio, he also said the demand by the AWB for an Afrikaner "homeland" of up to 25% of South Africa was a "rightful claim according to international law".

He was not prepared to negotiate a smaller area with the ANC, he said.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the Zulus, like the AWB, were opposed to plans for a unitary South Africa and they would fight together against any ANC-led government that might come to power.

"You will find the majority (of the) white people and the big Zulu nation... (will) fight shoulder to shoulder against the communist-inspired and communist-ruled African National Congress." — Sapa

to rule us", said Chief Buthelezi. "We must be prepared to fight for our freedom and the right to rule over ourselves."

• The outcome of a two-day bilateral meeting starting tomorrow between the central and KwaZulu governments will help decide the course of next week's multi-party talks.

A source close to the process said yesterday that, except for the report on local government, the agenda for debate had not yet been finalised. "They want to see what comes out of the bilateral, among other things."

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will lead the state delegation at the bilateral, to be held outside Pretoria.

After a planning committee meeting at Kempton Park yester-

day, Mr Meyer confirmed that the government would be handing in its submission on regional powers only next week, but denied it had been delayed because of the bilateral.

Also speaking after the planning committee meeting, ANC secretary-general and chief ANC negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said things were "going according to plan".

Negotiators next week would attempt to get the process to pick up speed with regard to constitutional issues.

Ciskeian chief negotiator Mr Micky Webb, whose party has often been accused with its allies of stalling talks, was also looking forward to a "useful" week. — Sapa

Buthelezi image taking a dive?

CIPRESS 26/9/93

11B 2111

By THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Reporter

PRETORIA should take steps to urgently reincorporate KwaZulu into SA by bringing schools, hospitals, pension administration and other homeland government services under central control to avert further erosion of human rights in that homeland.

This is the assertion in a September report from Africa Watch, a New York-based international human rights watchdog. The report launched a stinging attack on KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the role played by his KwaZulu Police and the SAP in violence in Natal and KwaZulu.

The authors based their document on interviews with individuals in Natal and KwaZulu, the Legal Resources Centre and the Human Rights Commission, the Pietermaritzburg Association for Christian Social Awareness and Mary de Haas of the University of Natal.

It is probably the most damaging report on Buthelezi's image here and abroad after an unauthorised biography, *Gaisha Buthelezi - The Chief with a Double Agenda* by the late "comrade Mzala" of the ANC.

The report says Buthelezi became a "favoured representative of black South African opinion" in the '80s during the Reagan Administration which, because of his commitment to capitalism and public opposition to the armed struggle, presented him as a moderate black leader.

His opposition to the use of sanctions to punish SA during the turbulent days of apartheid was used by the White House to legitimise the policy of "constructive engagement," the report claimed.

But with all the changes in SA, Buthelezi's international stature is

Tillet slams Africa Watch

By THEMBA KHUMALO

INKATHA Institute director Ed Tillet has dismissed research organisation Africa Watch as a "front for the disbanded Anti-Apartheid Movement".

AW recently published a damning report on Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the role of KwaZulu Police in fuelling violence.

Tillet said although AW was entitled to believe Buthelezi's image internationally was waning, that viewpoint was "subjective" and the

waning, the report pointed out. Further, the report claims, Buthelezi's welcome in the US has become more muted of late amid concerns of alleged Inkatha links with the Boipatong massacre, for example.

Despite new Assistant Secretary of State George Moose's meeting with Buthelezi during a visit in June, the Clinton Administration is ostensibly continuing the trend of putting Buthelezi on ice.

The report also said the Clinton Administration further regretted the departure of Inkatha and the Cosag group from multi-party talks in July this year, and urged them to return to the negotiating table.

Subsequently, Buthelezi accused the US of interfering in SA's affairs and of supporting the ANC, because of its support for the negotiation process, added the report.

It accused Buthelezi of having been supported by conservative governments in western Europe as well as the US.

It said throughout the '80s Buthelezi enjoyed privileged access to politicians anxious to find a black voice that opposed sanctions. In May this year, the

basis on which AW projected its criticism was "questionable".

"They'll do even things to denigrate Inkatha and portray the ANC as angels. We don't take them seriously."

"Our only crime to these people is that we reject the sugar-coated deals struck secretly between the ANC and the government."

"As far as we are concerned, there's no difference between the ANC and the NP. In fact the ANC has become the black NP," he said.

Leadership Institute and Albert Blaustein of Rutgers Law School, said the report.

On the role of the KZP and the SAP in Natal, the report alleged that the KZP colluded openly with Inkatha warlords in unleashing a vicious attack on residents of Esikhawini, north of Durban, especially on ANC members opposed to Inkatha.

Violence has continued since then. "Many of the most serious attacks have taken place despite warnings given to police by independent monitors and the ANC; during August 1992, both the SAP and the KZP failed to take appropriate action in response to repeated warnings that attacks were imminent," the report claimed.

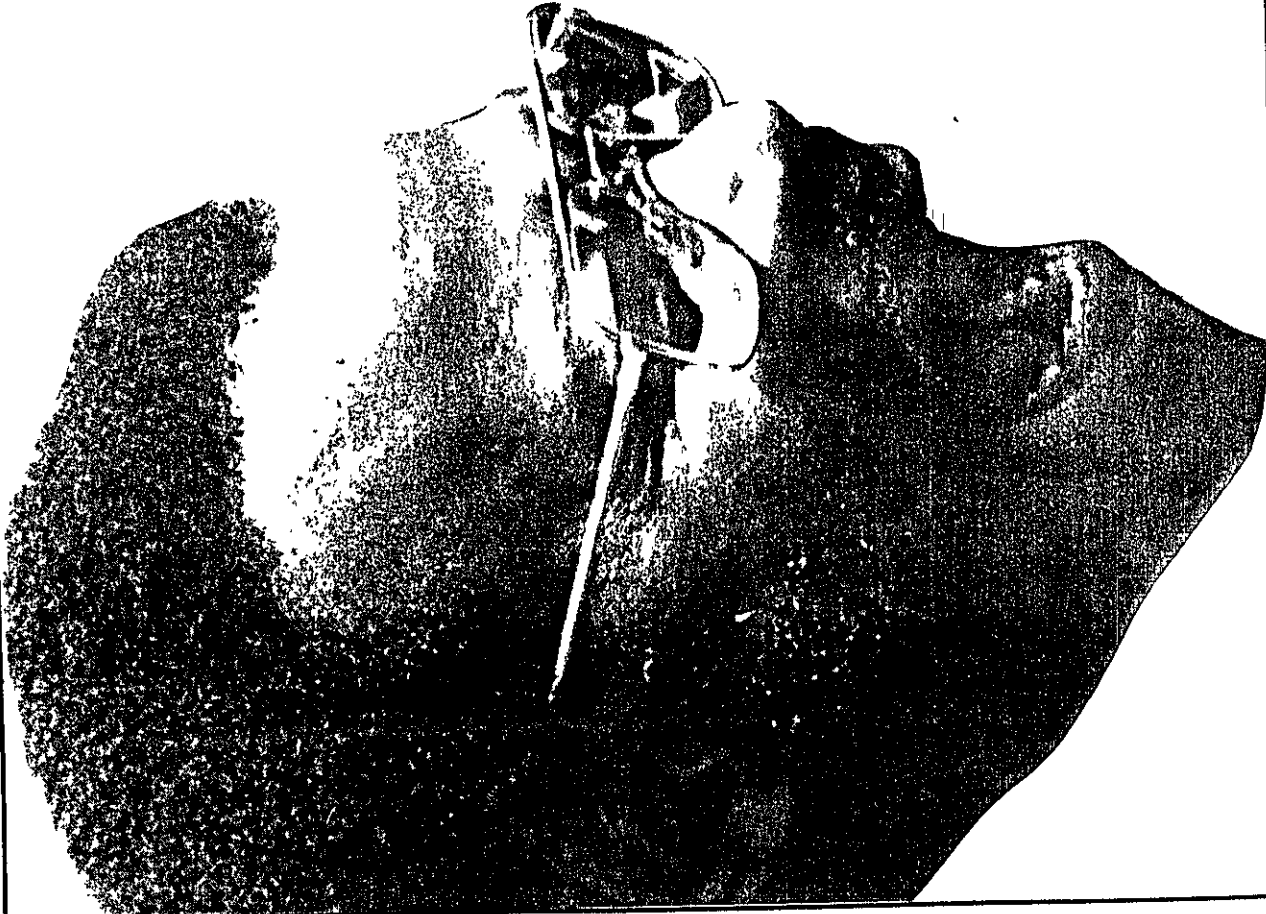
According to the report at least 15 000 victims have died in the escalation of inter-political rivalry since 1985 in Natal and KwaZulu.

"Much of the Natal province, both inside and outside the borders of KwaZulu, is gripped by what is in effect a low-intensity civil war between Inkatha and the ANC. Both sides have committed atrocities in support of their cause, for which they should be held accountable," the report said.

In some cases, however, there have been clashes between Inkatha and KZP policemen. Of the 29 people who died in the first seven months of this year, six were KZP members, the report said.

The report recommends that the SAP and KZP be brought under one command and that Pretoria should ensure that a unified police force adheres to the standards agreed under the National Peace Accord.

It further recommends that SAP officers be authorised to investigate matters within KZP jurisdiction where there is evidence that the KZP is not conducting a proper investigation.



Buthelezi: Just try to stop us

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, speaking at a Shaka Day rally in Umlazi yesterday, dared anyone to stop him forming armed units to protect Zulus.

At the same meeting, Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini accused the multi-party negotiating forum of plotting to obliterate KwaZulu and urged his subjects to fight against the Transitional Executive Council.

Responding yesterday to the call, law and order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said his department "deplored" anything that would perpetuate a climate of conflict.

Capt Kotze said yesterday that instead of going for the military option, politicians should look at the underlying causes of the conflict.

IFP to go ahead with armed units

This applied equally to the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi repeated his plea for Zulus each to contribute R5 to fund the "legal" units.

"If anybody tries to stop us by force, then so be it," he said to tumultuous applause from a crowd of some 10 000.

"We are not setting up a Zulu army . . . we intend doing this legally and openly, and without getting anyone's permission."

Chief Buthelezi justified the formation of protective units, saying there were various illegal

armies in South Africa, including the ANC's uMkhonto we Sizwe.

"So what I'm proposing is the least we can do" to stem the tide of Zulu killings, which he said was akin to ethnic cleansing in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi appealed to his supporters to pay R5 immediately to fund the establishment of the units.

He suggested at a rally on Saturday that these units might be deployed on the Reef. "I promise I will send these units up to protect you," he said.

King Goodwill said the KwaZulu government had pulled out of constitutional negotiations with his full support, as these talks would exclude Zulu self-determination.

Attempts to impose TEC rule on KwaZulu would fail, as Zulus would fight against subjugation. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

118 C927/9/93

Fight against TEC, chief urges Zulus

Durban — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini strongly rejected the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) at the weekend, and called on Zulus to fight against its implementation in KwaZulu (IB)

Buthelezi asked his supporters to help establish armed protection units to defend Zulus, and urged Zulus to contribute R5 each towards forming the units. (S)

He said the protection units were justified as other "illegal" armies were tolerated, and dared anyone to try to prevent

him from establishing them.

Addressing three separate Shaka commemoration rallies in Natal, the two leaders said Zulus would not allow "foreigners" to govern them.

The attack by Buthelezi and Zwelithini on the TEC contrasted starkly with statements by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, who addressed thousands of people at a "rival" weekend festival in KwaXimba, near Cato Ridge.

He appealed to all South Africans to accept the TEC Bill as signalling the irreversibility of the transition to democracy. — Sapa.

NEWS Warning of 'takeover' of KwaZulu • Cosag urg

Buthelezi: resist TEC

Sowetan 27/9/93

INKATHA CHIEF MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi yesterday repeated his rejection of the Transitional Executive Council and said Zulus must prepare to resist TEC rule in KwaZulu.

"If we allow the TEC to take over the running of KwaZulu then we are in effect allowing others to rule over us. Time and again I have said that I will never allow this to happen," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader

was addressing about 5 000 people at the King Zwelithini stadium in Umlazi as part of Shaka Day festivities. He again claimed there was a campaign to annihilate the Zulu nation. This campaign was taking place through killings and by negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. (11B)

"At the heart of the latest constitutional proposals now tabled at negotiations, is the aim to destroy KwaZulu as a political force before elections take

place next year," he charged.

He further claimed the TEC was undemocratic and was dominated by the African National Congress and its allied civic organisations. "No one must underestimate our determination to rule over ourselves. No one must underestimate our resolve to remain free from foreign rule. "If our enemies insist on subjugating us like the British and as the National Party tried to do, then we will resist." -- Sapa



NEWS Focus swings back to Kempton Park • Another

Sowetan 27/9/93

Talks race resumes

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's political agenda is taken up again at the World Trade Centre tomorrow after two weeks when another race begins to finalise a draft transitional constitution for promulgation in November.

The multiparty negotiations process resumes after being held back for the 14-day special sitting of Parliament in Cape Town where four pieces of draft legislation, including the Transitional Executive Council Bill, were approved.

The Bills were adopted by sufficient consensus of the negotiating council earlier this month in preparation for elections next April 27.

On the other hand, the Pan Africanist Congress said it would "dig our heels

in" and continue to oppose the TEC and interim constitution at the talks.

Plans are that Parliament will sit again for three weeks from November 8 with a finished draft interim constitution high on its agenda, giving negotiators at least four weeks to reach agreement.

Secret venue

Also, the week kicked off with a high-powered bilateral meeting at a secret Pretoria venue between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government which began yesterday. Discussions are expected to end about noon today.

The IFP is led by its chief executive officer, Mr Joe Matthews, and the Government by its chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer. (20/9/93)

The meeting is a sequel to a summit between State President FW de Klerk

and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Tuynhuys on September 16 aimed at getting the IFP back to the talks.

It is believed a compromise agreement with Pretoria might be struck with the IFP which would also benefit the restless Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments at the talks, as well as the Afrikaner Volksfront on the outside.

To this group compromise means those regional powers which may so wish be allowed to draft their own constitutions prior to the April 27 elections. (11/8) (11/8)

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said: "Our position is firmly against entrenched regions. We will continue to fight for a broadly mandated constituent assembly, unfettered by prior agreement. The parties involved in the talks have no such mandate".

I'M SO ASHAMED... SOMEBODY PLEASE



Inkatha rejects report that calls it undemocratic

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected a report by US-based Africa Watch that accused it and the KwaZulu government of being undemocratic and oppressive.

Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said the report was based on selectively chosen media allegations. Findings were also based on "so-called independent violence and human rights monitors who were, in fact, unequivocally aligned to one political grouping", Jiyane said.

He said nameless witnesses were quoted, and allegations used from what were referred to only as "non-aligned non-governmental organisations".

Other sources included two books which were bitterly hostile to Inkatha: One of these was a "defamatory book" entitled Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief with a Double Agenda, which had been removed from SA bookshelves after Inkatha had threatened legal action.

Jiyane said the report ignored "well-documented ANC violence" and said nothing about the long-standing assassination campaign against Inkatha leaders.

Africa Watch, which describes itself as a human rights agency, said in the study released last week that freedom of expression and free political activity were routinely denied in KwaZulu.

The report recommended that the SA government establish interim authorities over homelands until elections for a constituent assembly were held, and that it investigate the KwaZulu Police.

AWB sends out 'call-ups'

CAPE TOWN — The AWB has sent "call-ups" to western Cape people who it thinks may want to take part in training camps.

Those who cannot attend are asked to explain in writing. Those invited are asked to report with guns and uniforms.

AWB spokesman Nico Prinsloo emphasized that attendance was voluntary.

Own Correspondent

Another AWB member in Parow is reported to have said that commando members could use the firearms issued to them by the SADF. Prinsloo denied this. SADF spokesman Cmdt Brian du Toit said any commando member using an SADF weapon at an AWB camp would be liable to prosecution.

GRETA STEYN and SIMON BARBER

In what seemed to

Govt, IFP meet on constitution

Star 27/9/93

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party continue talks on constitutional issues today.

The two-day meeting in Pretoria is a continuation of discussions between President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi two weeks ago.

The teams will be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and the IFP's Dr Ben Ngabane. Discussion is expected to focus on the draft interim constitution and its federal

character.

The talks form part of the Government's strategy to continue negotiations with the IFP parallel to those at the Negotiating Council (NC)

The council will resume meeting tomorrow after a 14-day recess.

The focus in Kempton Park will be on the draft interim constitution and a new electoral Act

Negotiators will have to complete these two pieces of draft legislation within a month to allow enough time for them to be passed in the November session of Parliament.

Buthelezi's private army call slammed by NP, DP

APR 28 1993

PRETORIA. — The National Party has censured Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for calling on his supporters to establish armed defence units, describing it as "dangerous emotional politicking".

"It will not solve the problem but rather lay the basis for a civil war," NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said in a statement.

Addressing a Shaka Day commemoration rally on Sunday, Chief Buthelezi asked his supporters to help establish armed protection units to defend Zulus and urged them to contribute R5 each towards forming the units.

He said the protection units were justified as other "illegal" armies were tolerated, and dared anyone to try to prevent him from establishing them.

Chief Buthelezi's proposal may reflect many people's belief that violence be answered with violence. However, the destructive result of this will be an exhausting civil war."

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the NP deplored Chief Buthelezi's "dangerous emotional politicking, instead of (his) trying to find lasting solutions".

Democratic Party defence spokesman General Bob Rogers said: "The formation of yet another private army, legal or illegal, can only increase the level of conflict."

It would be more constructive if Chief Buthelezi agreed to contribute personnel to a national peace-keeping force in the short term, and in the long term for Zulus to join the new defence force in large numbers. — Sapa.

JOHANNESBURG. — Scores of late South Africans queued for hours at the Mozambican immigration office in Nelspruit yesterday where they were charged R140 each for visas. They were also allegedly charged 40c for an application form and R85 for vehicle insurance. Without warning, the Lebombo border office was closed Wednesday and tourists had to be led away.

CITY/M

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Zulu arms plan draws fire

3/Day 28/9/83

DIRK VAN EEDEN

PRETORIA — The ANC yesterday called on Zulus not to donate money for the formation of Zulu protection units, and the Law and Order Ministry called the idea "deplorable". (113)

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk also warned that Zulu protection units would not protect Zulus, who were "often the targets of violence", but would instead lay the foundations for civil war.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Inkatha's plan to set up "legal" defence units would contribute to violence in SA.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on all Zulus at the weekend to donate R5 each towards the setting up of defence units to counter "an onslaught against Zulus".

Kotze said it was high time political leaders stopped attempting to treat the symptoms of violence and negotiated ways to resolve the causes of the violence.

Van Schalkwyk said Buthelezi's proposals might confirm the idea many people held that violence had to be countered by violence.

"In the long term the result would be nothing other than civil war. It is a pity Buthelezi turns to emotional politics instead of looking for permanent solutions," he said.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the DP said yesterday that

Buthelezi's call for Zulu armed units came at the very time when all South Africans should be redoubling their efforts to bring about peace and understanding.

DP defence spokesman Bob Rogers said such an army would only increase conflict in SA. "It would be more constructive if Chief Buthelezi agreed to contribute personnel to the formation of the national peacekeeping force in the short term."

Sapa reports from Durban that the ANC in Natal has urged Zulus not to heed Buthelezi's call to finance "Zulu protection units", claiming they are aimed at strengthening Inkatha's "reign of terror".

ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande said Inkatha represented only a small minority of Zulus.

By making his call Buthelezi had exposed himself to be against the liberation of the African people, he said. The call on Zulus to arm themselves was irresponsible and reckless.

Nzimande also called on the regional dispute resolution committee and peace monitors to monitor and receive complaints about forced payment.

Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said at the weekend that Zulus in the Transvaal welcomed the protection unit initiative and were keen to donate the money.

Call for IFP army slammed

JOHANNESBURG — Inkatha's self-protection units would be founded under strict discipline and in terms of the National Peace Accord, its Transvaal co-ordinator, Mr Hennie Bekker, said yesterday.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked supporters at the weekend to help finance armed protection units.

The proposals drew sharp criticism from the ANC yesterday. It urged Zulus not to heed the call which was aimed at strengthening the IFP's "reign of terror".

The National Party followed suit, saying it was a recipe for civil war.

The ANC's criticism was ironic, Mr Bekker said. It had resisted all calls to disband uMkhonto weSiswe or its self-defence units, which were responsible for destabilisation and the "callous killing of people of different persuasion". — Sapa, Political Staff.

□ Mandela hits out at IFP leader but praises Viljoen

Buthelezi's call to arms is 'a declaration of war'

(11B) ARG 29/9/93

PETER FABRICIUS

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela says Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has "declared war" by calling on Zulus to arm themselves and prepare to fight.

Discussing threats to the negotiation process, Mr Mandela contrasted Chief Buthelezi's attitude with that of Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen, whom he praised as "a responsible man".

Mr Mandela was speaking at a news conference after meeting the board of the South African Free Election Fund (Safe).

Asked if there was any chance of getting Chief Buthelezi back into negotiations, he detailed the extensive foreign and domestic effort that had been made to do just this.

In spite of its failure so far, the ANC would continue to talk to Chief Buthelezi to try to persuade him to come back, he said.

"Now he has declared war and has called on Zulus to arm themselves to fight. I hope wiser counsel will warn him of the dangers."

Mr Mandela was asked whether the ANC's talks with General Viljoen held out any hope of bringing Chief Buthelezi back into negotiations — since both leaders seek a constitution with a high degree of regional autonomy.

Mr Mandela said he would not like to speak on behalf of Chief Buthelezi. "All I want to say is that he is in danger of being hopelessly isolated."

By contrast, Mr Mandela said his impression in talks with General Viljoen was that he was a "responsible man who understands that violence is neither in the interests of the country, nor of whites, nor of Afrikaners."

"I think he is trying to bring his people back to the negotiation table."

● Sports shoe maker Reebok indicated in talks yesterday with Mr Mandela that it intended to return to South Africa. ANC sources said.

Mandela and Buthelezi plan joint tour

B/Sow 29/9/93

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to visit violence-torn areas in Natal and on the East Rand together soon, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki announced yesterday.

Mbeki headed an ANC delegation in talks with Buthelezi in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi yesterday.

He said arrangements for the leaders' visits had been finalised and dates would be announced when Mandela returned from the US.

Buthelezi welcomed the proposed visits, saying he was certain his and Mandela's joint appearances would do much to reduce violence.

The meeting followed an agreement between Mandela and Buthelezi to tour embattled areas in a bid to stem the hideous violence.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, who facilitated the meeting, said the delegations had also discussed the continuation of talks on constitutional issues.

● See Page 2

Star 29/1/93

Buthlezi is accused of 'declaring war'

BY PETER FABRICIUS
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday launched a scathing attack on Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi, whom he accused of having "declared war" by calling on Zulus to arm themselves.

Speaking at a press conference after meeting the board of

the South African Free Election Fund in New York, Mandela contrasted Buthlezi's attitude with that of Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen, whom he called "a responsible man".

Mandela detailed extensive foreign and domestic efforts made to draw Buthlezi back

into negotiations, and said the ANC would continue to talk to the IFP leader.

"Now he has declared war and has called on Zulus to arm themselves to fight. I hope wiser counsel will warn him of the dangers," he said.

The ANC leader's criticism of

Buthlezi came on the same day the organisation's national chairman Thabo Mbeki and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma held talks with the Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister in Ulundi to finalise arrangements for Mandela and Buthlezi to address joint rallies in war-torn areas.

IFP national communications

director Dr Ziba Jiyane today told The Star the planned joint rallies would go ahead despite Mandela's latest criticism of Buthlezi.

He said it was strange that Mandela would not concede that Buthlezi's call was merely meant to arm Zulus with self-defence in the face of unremitting attacks from the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe.

'Progress' in Zulu talks

ET 30/9/93
PRETORIA — Progress had been made in the bilateral talks between the government and a Kwa-Zulu delegation which continued here yesterday, a government spokesman said.

(15)
The talks, intended to woo the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party back to the multi-party negotiations, continue in Durban today.

Constitutional discussions were "constructive and progress had been made", he said. — Sapa

Teachers' body to join ANC's voting campaign

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) is to apply for immediate affiliation with Cosatu and Paroys, its weight behind the ANC election campaign.

The union made these announcements in a statement yesterday after a two-day national council meeting here.

Sadtu also suggested five of its office bearers be included in the ANC's election list. — Sapa

Four killed in station attack

JOHANNESBURG. — Gunmen opened fire on passengers at Soweto's Ikwezi station last night, killing three men and a woman. Police said they were expecting arrests shortly.

And on Tuesday, a commuter was stabbed while travelling to Germiston station. He later died.

Three people were wounded when up to 20 men fired AK-47 rifles and small arms into the Scaw Metals hostel in Waver-

deville, Germiston, this week. They used a sledgehammer to smash a hole in a wall.

Twelve people were killed and 20 injured at the same hostel a month ago.

An IFP spokesman said members of the ANC's military wing uMkhonto weSizwe had attacked them in a bid to drive Inkatha out of the hostel.

In KwatThema an IFP official Mr Samuel Motha, 35, was shot dead early yesterday as he left home for work.

The bodies of seven people, including two policemen, were found in Thokoza, Kaitleng and Tsakane on the East Rand on Tuesday and yesterday.

All seven had been shot dead, and two of the bodies had also been burned.

Taxi driver Mr Peter Mapane, was shot dead near Thokoza on Tuesday morning.

In Natal two men were shot dead and a woman was wounded when gunmen fired on them in their huts near Estcourt. The huts were set alight. — Sapa

- 18:00: The East Rand and the beautiful
- 18:00: Top 20. Hit Parade. Presenters Lawrence Dube, Neil Johnson.
- 18:57: Devotion
- 19:00: News
- 19:30: Prospects. Magazine programme with profiles, consumerism, technology, health, the arts.
- 20:00: The Puppet Masters. Xhosa series about a young man forced into a life of crime. English simulcast.
- 20:30: Escadumo. Traditional music
- 21:00: News
- 21:12: Cassidy. Becoming more and more involved. Charlie has to think deeply about her future. Final.
- 20:00: 48 Hours. News magazine.
- 21:00: Absolution. A student wants to get even with the priest who forbade him to have contact with a drifter. Richard Burton, Dominic Guard, Dai Bradley, Andrew Keir, Williboughby Gray, K-9. A narcotics policeman and his four-legged partner. James Belushi, Kevin Tighe.
- 01:00: Judgment in Berlin. One plane passenger and three defectors. Martin Sheen, Sean Penn.
- 03:00: Deceived. A widow discovers her husband's double life. Goldie Hawn, John Heard.
- 00:05: Transmission ends

Top IFP man hurt on campus

JOHANNESBURG. — An IFP central committee member Mr Themba Khoza was slightly injured after Vista University students disrupted a panel debate at the university's Soweto campus yesterday, an IFP statement said. — Sapa

More than 200 police officers on strike in PH

PORT ELIZABETH. — More than 200 members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcu) went on strike yesterday at all police stations and the New Brighton Magistrate's Courts, bringing the administration of justice to a halt.

Senior police officers and a delegation representing the striking police met yesterday. The meeting will continue today.

The strike is in protest against the "sudden and unacceptable" transfer of the strikers' popular leader, Captain Mzingisi Moshara.

Police in pre-dawn swoop on ANC office

EAST LONDON. — Police swooped on the ANC office here in a pre-dawn raid yesterday morning after an MK soldier and two other people were arrested for carrying illegal arms.

The MK member, identified by the Border ANC as Mr Petros "Bushy" Vanyu, is a regional ANC hanson officer.

Mr Vanyu, 30, Mr Luthondo Beza, 30, and an unidentified woman were detained at a road-block in Cathcart late on Tuesday night.

Two R5 rifles, a BXP sub-machinegun and 75 9mm rounds of ammunition were confiscated from the car in which they were travelling.



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Keys urges investors to return

Own Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys appealed here to the international financial community yesterday to return to South Africa with the same zeal that characterised its flight from the country during the sanctions years.

In his statement to the IMF, Mr Keys described foreign funding as "a crucial element" in any future South African economic strategy.

He also promised sound economic policies in a new South Africa and underlined the "co-operative spirit and sense of financial responsibility" that already existed in the country.

Nats 'most favoured by coloureds'

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party is most favoured by coloured people and Asians, securing a 46% and 39% vote respectively, a Markinor research group has found from a Gallup poll.

The ANC came second, mustering 16% of the coloured vote and 17% from Asians.

In a similar survey whites gave the NP a 43% first-choice vote and blacks three percent, while the ANC got two percent of the white and 68% of the black vote.

President F W de Klerk as a leader scored 78% of the coloured vote, 73% from Asians, 70% from whites and 35% from blacks. Mr Nelson Mandela scored 70% of the black vote. — Sapa

'Progress' in Zulu talks

PRETORIA. — Progress had been made in the bilateral talks between the government and a Kwa-Zulu delegation which continued here yesterday, a government spokesman said.

The talks, intended to woo the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party back to the multi-party negotiations, continue in Durban today.

Constitutional discussions were constructive and progress had been made, he said. — Sapa

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IFP warns govt it will 'resist'

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday warned the government not to "go it alone" with the ANC-alliance and cut negotiations short.

The IFP warned:

- Any attempt at imposing a constitutional arrangement prior to agreement of all major parties would be "vehemently resisted"; and
- Called for an urgent summit

of leaders.

The IFP statement came after the ANC and the government made their "final offer" to the Freedom Alliance.

Mr Carl Werth, Natal CP leader, said the "offer" would be considered.

The Freedom Alliance which includes the IFP has been given six days to consider the offer. Regarding the breakdown in

talks between the government and the Freedom Alliance, President F W de Klerk said he could not see how the alliance could turn down the government's offer of a meeting.

An IFP spokesman said many parties were still concerned that the two stage process at the multi-party talks will open possibilities for parties to renege.

The battle for the Zulus

WMI-7/10/93
 (118)

Both the ANC and Inkatha held events to mark the 165th anniversary of Shaka's death, but the views expressed were very different, reports **Farouk Chothia**

CLAD in impeccably traditional animal skins and furs, the *amabutho* engage in mock-battle, knocking their sticks against shields, falling to the ground, somersaulting, rising to their feet, bending their backs and positioning themselves for an attack.

In a voice filled with passion, "peoples' poet" Mzwakhe Mbuli stirs the crowd into a frenzy as he invokes the memories of the Battle of Isandlwana when Zulu warriors defeated the British colonial army in 1879.

Arms, ankles, necks and hips swathed in beads, bare-breasted women swirl their bodies in rhythmic beat to the shrill cries of the thousands who have gathered.

The site: a dusty patch of land in rural kwaXimba, between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The occasion: the first major African National Congress cultural festival to mark the 165th anniversary of the death of the founder of the Zulu nation, King Shaka.

Firing the first salvos in its election campaign — bound inextricably to its effort to reclaim Zulu culture from the Inkatha Freedom Party — the ANC broadened the occasion to foster harmony among South African ethnic groups.

On the platform with ANC-aligned Zulu chiefs were traditional leaders from as far afield as the Transkei and the Eastern Cape. After a praise poet donned a feather cap and sang in his honour, the ANC-aligned traditional leader of kwaXimba, chief Zibuse Mlaba, declared: "Tribalism is a thing of the past. We have come to bury it. We are not here to honour only Shaka — but to also honour other African heroes like Hintsa, Sekhukhune, Moshoeshe and Cetshwayo."

Flanked by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was also fighting for the soul of Shaka. He travelled to Shaka's gravesite in Stanger, as well as to Mthunzini in Northern Natal and Umlazi, near Durban.

As the sea of people rose to chant "*Shenge*" in his honour, Buthelezi invoked images of far-away Bosnia by stoking the tribal embers and beating the war drums.

"If we allow the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to take over the running of kwaZulu, we are saying it is okay to allow foreigners to rule over us — this no patriotic Zulu can ever allow," said Buthelezi.

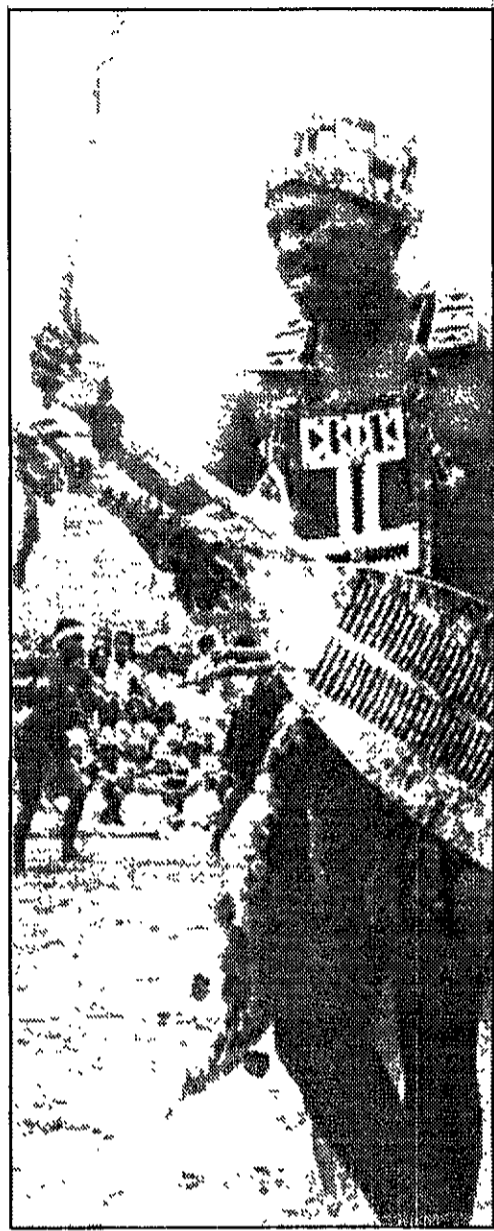
Counter-attacking in kwaXimba, the 33-year-old Mlaba said: "We are part of the seven-million Zulus — and we want peace and progress. We want a TEC and we want elections in April."

To reinforce the point that they were prepared to be governed by "foreigners", the ANC-supporting Zulus burst into thunderous applause when their Xhosa-speaking deputy president, Walter Sisulu, said that the TEC would lead to the demise of apartheid and the birth of democracy.

In an interview, ANC Natal Midlands deputy



Zibuse Mlaba ... ANC-aligned leader of kwaXimba



Zweli Mkhize ... ANC Natal Midlands treasurer

president Blade Nzimande said Buthelezi had used a clever ploy by depicting anyone opposed to his political line as being "unpatriotic".

"It is something the National Party did. If you are an Afrikaner then you must be NP — or else you are unpatriotic," said Nzimande. Thus the great schism in the Zulu nation — which Buthelezi portrays as a monolith loyal to him — was graphically illustrated at the two separate celebrations.

It was ironic that Shaka Day — a celebration of Zulu unity — this year served more to demonstrate the sharp divisions among Zulus in South Africa. Although oral tradition traces the Zulu nation back some six generations before Shaka — to Mandela — Shaka has long been heralded as the "father of the Zulu nation" because he forged unity out of disparate tribes and clans in the region. A mere eight generations later, Shaka's legacy has been desecrated, his nation torn asunder, and his modern successor widely seen as Buthelezi's puppet.

Using the praise words "*uBhejane — aphume estqhwini, kukade bemvatele*" (rhinoceros — come out of the game reserve; you have been there for too long), Contralesa's national president, Xhosa-speaking chief Sango Patekile Holomisa, urged Zwelithini to embrace both ANC and IFP members as his "legitimate children".

"We are convinced that were he (Zwelithini) to do that, the burden of other traditional leaders in this region would be lightened and the violence would abate," said Holomisa, adding: "The great places of traditional leaders and the palaces of the king should once again be places of refuge and safety for everybody."

Nzimande said the ANC wanted to restore the prestige of the monarchy as a symbol of unity. "We believe that the closest assistant of the king (currently Buthelezi) should be non-sectarian and above party politics," said Nzimande.

He added that the IFP leader was wrong to claim that the king's "prime minister" had traditionally come from the Buthelezis. "The prime minister of Shaka, Dingaan and Mpande was not a Buthelezi. It was only with Cetshwayo that Buthelezi's grandfather became prime minister," Nzimande said.

A pawn in the political game of the ANC and IFP, Zwelithini sent confusing signals, mixing calls for peace and unity with threats of war.

In one voice, he accused the multi-party negotiation forum of attempting to annihilate the Zulu nation and warned: "These attempts will fail." But he also pleaded for unity, saying: "Let Zulu unity and power spread across the length and breadth of South Africa to conquer fear and injustice," he said.

Reaching out to Zwelithini, the ANC has invited him to another cultural festival in Durban next month. Traditional leaders from throughout Southern Africa — including King Mswati of Swaziland and King Moshoeshe of Lesotho — have been invited to attend.

But with his future inextricably linked to Buthelezi through the control of purse strings and family ties (Buthelezi is his uncle), Zwelithini is unlikely to accept this olive branch.

An additional factor is his suspicion of the ANC which Buthelezi reinforced at the weekend by stressing that he and the IFP had stood by the monarch when the ANC regarded traditional leaders as stooges of apartheid.

With Zwelithini unable to break away from the IFP and assume a non-partisan role, the unity Shaka forged and the sacred Inkatha kwaZulu coil — an heirloom symbolising the unity and strength of the Zulu nation — may remain fractured until a new king sits on the throne in Nongoma.

MK moles who infiltrated the SADF

WM 8-14/10/93

(11A)



A former captain in the SADF Permanent Force tells how he spied for Umkhonto weSizwe, writes **Stephen Laufer**

DETAILS of Umkhonto weSizwe's infiltration of moles into the South African Defence Force are emerging for the first time

The *Mail & Guardian* has spoken to the most senior MK mole — a former permanent force captain and graduate of the SADF's elite Military Academy at Saldanha Bay who was rising rapidly through the ranks during the mid-1980s.

And Ronnie Kasrils, the man who for years ran MK's moles inside the SADF, this week lifted the veil on "a sensitive operation which gave Cuban, Angolan and African National Congress forces eyes and ears" inside the apartheid military establishment.

Kasrils spoke for the first time of "about a dozen Permanent Force officers" who were also MK intelligence operatives, and about the "roughly 100" Citizen Force soldiers who regularly supplied information on their units. As young white men, they were in the unique position of being able to penetrate to the heart of the South African military establishment.

Kasrils was MK's military intelligence chief from its inception in 1983, working out of poky flats in London and large Lusaka houses rented on the pretext that he and his group were agricultural researchers.

MK's most successful plant graduated from the Military Academy in 1987, his sights set on senior command. Completion of the academy course is regarded as an officer's ticket to rapid promotion, with many graduates eventually becoming brigadiers and generals. By the time he left the force, this MK mole was due for promotion to major.

For years, he passed on military training manuals, internal telephone directories, sketches of military bases and other SADF documents to which he had easy access. He is sceptical as to the importance of this material, but Kasrils says it and similar documents obtained by other MK moles was central to understanding what the SADF was up to.

"With time we had their telex



Ronnie Kasrils ... Greatest victory was Cuito Canevale

directory which listed every unit and, by detailing shared lines for encrypted messages, pointed to key organisational relationships between units. And we got our hands on the operator's manual for SADF military intelligence's computer system."

But the prize, says Kasrils, was the SADF's battle order, which revealed where units had been, where they were at any given time and where they were headed. "This, and information on South African weapons development, served our allies as much or more than it did us," he said.

Like most of MK's shadow men, the Saldanha graduate — who has asked to remain anonymous for reasons of personal safety — found life lonely in the SADF.

In 1985, he was asked to take a holiday in Britain, where he met "Khumalo" and "Bill" — Kasrils and his chief analyst. A month of lectures and discussions on political issues was interspersed with counter-surveillance training — endless walks

around London learning to look over his shoulder.

On his return to South Africa, the Saldanha man was ordered to cease contact — he was to be a sleeper, to be reactivated at a later date, when he had reached senior rank. Nobody knew at that stage, said Kasrils, how long the conflict would continue.

"Our intelligence capability was expanding all the time," asserts Kasrils. "We had PF people in Messina, in the key Far Northern Command, who knew the border patrol system. They aided us in infiltrating MK members and in identifying military targets in the region."

This intelligence work allowed MK to reduce its casualty figures from a high of 200 annually in the mid-1980s to around 60 by 1989, despite rising numbers of infiltrations, says Kasrils.

The SADF's Eastern Transvaal command, with its headquarters in Nelspruit, was also infiltrated. It was key to military operations on the

Swazi and Mozambique borders.

MK intelligence's exploits are featured in Kasrils' new book, *Armed and Dangerous*, to be published next month.

The organisation had its greatest victory in 1987, he believes, when it was able to give MPLA and Cuban forces in Angola advance warning of a major South African incursion into Angola. The invading forces met their nemesis in Cuito Canevale.

"Our Citizen Force network had instructions to inform us whenever they received callups," recalled Kasrils. "and we knew from reading official literature put out by the SADF that they were planning a major exercise at the army battle school at Lohatla in the northern Cape."

Putting two and two together, and comparing the SADF's preparations for the Lohatla exercise with an earlier Angolan incursion, Kasrils' analysts were sure an invasion was imminent. The Angolans and Cubans were informed, and were able to engage — and ultimately beat — the SADF.

Kasrils remains convinced the SADF had many more men deployed at Cuito than hitherto admitted. "They claimed to have sent 3 000 soldiers into the field, but our analysis shows they had up to 10 000 men there."

Communications between MK intelligence headquarters and the SADF moles were generally unsophisticated, relying on couriers and a simple telephone answering system.

"We had answering machines at numbers in England, and whenever a CF soldier was called up, he'd phone and say a code name, leaving a message for Auntie Agatha or someone about when he was coming to tea. We knew the date meant his callup date, and could thereby work out which units were being mobilised. Because these cadres were from across the country, we always knew when there were large-scale CF deployments."

None of MK's Permanent Force officers were recruited while serving. Having joined the illegal underground as students or immediately after completing their national service, they were encouraged to make a career in the SADF, in the hope that, with time, they would rise to senior and influential rank.

Asked whether some of the moles are still serving, Kasrils grins. "Let's leave that out. Let's keep them guessing."

WMS-14/10/93 (11A)

Ferial Haffjee

Day'll dawn on Sandton's darkness

THE Sandton branch of the African National Congress is so well off that it pays the telephone account of the Alexandra branch.

"This is the most revolutionary branch in the country," quipped a member at the branch's annual general meeting last Saturday, to which guest speaker Tokyo Sexwale replied: "The most revolutionary in terms of finances."

The branch lived up to his expectations: by the end of the meeting, the secretary carefully guarded a bank packet bulging with pink notes. According to the chairman's report presented at the meeting, the branch collects not only subscriptions, but also receives generous donations from members and a subsistence allowance from ANC MP Dave Dalling.

But fiscal significance was the only stereotype the Sandton branch satisfied.

In a sea of black faces, only the odd Sandtonian resplendent in leather and denim, a woman in an ANC tracksuit top and the grey-haired couple who brought their carefully groomed poodle along to the meeting, could be spotted.

If its AGM is anything to go by, most of the branch's 750 members are the domestic workers, gardeners and other black workers in the area. Bright yellow voters' manuals in Tswana — "Re Loketsego Go" — and Afrikaans — "Die Regom-te Regeer" — and ANC constitutions in all languages were handed out.

Perhaps there were no English manuals because Sandton's property owners got their IDs years before and have been "Making their X for freedom" for many decades.

But despite its unexpected mem-

bership, the meeting was classic northern suburbs stuff: from the tea (served in ceramic cups) to the variety of cakes (black forest and cream) and the sandwiches (delicate numbers filled with cucumbers and tuna and wreathed in lettuce leaves). This and the majority white branch executive showed you were in Sandton and not Soweto.

The guest speaker, national executive committee member Tokyo Sexwale, who had obviously been expecting an audience of a lighter hue, steamed ahead like a zealous missionary, determined to remodel the few convertibles.

The branch carefully chose a speaker whom northern suburb housewives had voted the sexiest in the land. And he did not let them down. In poetic fashion, with gentle

budget that will address all problems."

Perhaps he did not notice that even as he spoke, the numbers of those he addressed dwindled even further. The more polite waited until he finished and then left, not even waiting to vote in the branch's elections. (Where, incidentally, a white person, Alex Anderson, was voted chairman almost unanimously by the black audience, who seemed to know him well.)

How many heard Sexwale's message in English? Sexwale silenced his interpreter early in the meeting, saying: "You're saying things I didn't, so I prefer to translate myself."

A five-minute translation sufficed for the ANC's Sandton branch's black members.

One hopes he didn't leave out the bit about the first, second or third budgets and the best line from his speech: "Every darkness will be followed by day."

modulations of tone and much gesturing, Sexwale implored: "You can't leave the country which has made you what you are."

He rambled on about "economic patriotism", and said that "when you are here in Sandton, it is difficult to understand the pain of a country that must change."

"I speak about wealth creation before wealth distribution" and "we are not married to nationalisation, we are married to solving the problems of the country".

He further assuaged his audience's fears about radical restructuring in the form of pool taxes and the like.

"The budget is lean and the family silver has been stolen. We won't have houses and schooling as soon as Mandela is in government."

"It is not the first, second or third

Rocky going in the

Northwest region

WSM 8-14 10:42 (114)

What charismatic Bop coup leader Rocky Malebana-Metsing would probably really like is to rule the far Western Transvaal. But first, he'll have to defeat stiff competition from the combined might of the right, reports **Stephen Laufer**

PONTING at labourers' shacks and then at a substantial farmhouse on the flat, still winter-brown landscape of the far Western Transvaal, Rocky Malebana-Metsing asks a rhetorical question: "You don't believe these people here will vote differently to what the farmer tells them, do you?"

The African National Congress leader in the region, Malebana-Metsing is a man facing an uphill political battle. This is the area Ferdi Hartzenberg, Eugene TerreBlanche, Constand Viljoen, Rowan Cronje and Lucas Mangope call home.

It is an area dominated by conservative politics — of both the small and the large "C" variety — offering all kinds of permutations involving farmers, ex-military men, white ministers, and authoritarian black homeland politicians.

Any one of these combinations, especially if it includes Mangope, may give the right the strength to win a majority in the region, says Malebana-Metsing. He believes such a coalition is under negotiation.

choose to stay out of the election, raising the stakes for Bophuthatswana's return to South Africa.

Last week, Mangope met a group of CP farmers, councillor, and MPs from the Western Transvaal led by CP chief Hartzenberg. A Bop spokesman said further meetings with the CP group were planned.

Both options have their attractions for the homeland's leader: with up to 60 percent of the North West Region's black voters within his sway, Mangope holds the trump card which could deliver power in the area to whichever grouping he chooses to ally himself with. Particularly if, as seems likely, the Bophuthatswana president continues to deny the ANC free access to voters in the run-up to the election.

A victory for a Bop-CP or Bop-Afrikaner Volksfront alliance could give the white right the basis for demanding the northwest region as their autonomous homeland. "The danger here of a parting of the ways with the rest of South Africa is at least as great as with Inkatha in Natal, probably greater," said Malebana-Metsing.

But Bophuthatswana's other option could prove just as enticing, he believes. Mangope recently visited Latvia in a further attempt at gaining international acceptance. Emerging from over four decades of external domination, many Baltic politicians with at best a shaky knowledge of Southern African history may have been inclined to swallow

Mangope's self-determination spiel. They could give Bop valuable short-term

Which may be why, with the elections at least seven months away, he is already running, and running very hard. Spurring him on are a politician's ego and a local militant tradition associated with paramount chief Abram Molloa's long opposition to forced removals.

Something of a jack of all trades, the 44-year-old Malebana-Metsing has an MBA, is an ordained Apostolic Faith Mission minister and head of the anti-Bop campaign. He is a barrel of a man, with the energy and charisma to sway a large crowd and, in private conversation, the soothing voice and manner of the pastor.

Given the choice, he would add a further title to his name: Governor of the Northwest Region.

His faith, says Malebana-Metsing, inspires much of his political work. The reason people want to kill him is much more of this world. He led the 1988 coup attempt in Bophuthatswana. His enemies, he believes, are to be found within Mangope's establishment and among the seconded South African security policemen whose careers stalled when they failed to foresee his attempted seizure of power.

Their attacks and threats on his life make the constant presence of bodyguards necessary — as was evident on a recent trip from his Klerksdorp office to the Zeerust township of Ikageleng, where he was the main speaker at an ANC meeting. On the road, Malebana-Metsing spoke about the politics which could shape the future of the North West Region, which is likely to comprise the Western Transvaal and the Northern Cape.

"Mangope has two main options for the next few months," said Malebana-Metsing. "He can form an alliance with the Conservative Party or he can

backing for an act of defiance against South Africa. "Unlike Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who stands to become irrelevant by staying out of the electoral process, Mangope could force a special deal by resisting participation," estimates Malebana-Metsing.

A certain amount of international standing could allow him to hold out for separate negotiations on Bop's reincorporation. This would come with a price tag.

Among Mangope's advisers, claims Malebana-Metsing, are several academics in or close to the Democratic Party. "The DP," argues the ANC man, "is backing Mangope because in their eyes he represents a stand for federalism."

In Ikageleng, Malebana-Metsing is in his element, meeting and greeting organisers and old ANC stalwarts. He seems to draw strength for his uphill battle from a conversation with several veterans of Umkhonto weSizwe's Luthuli Brigade, the first unit to see action in the Wankle campaign of the early 1960s. "They joined in large numbers from this area, following Chief Molloa," he recounts proudly.

Beaming, Malebana-Metsing sings along with *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* at the opening of the meeting. The hymn has special significance for him, he has explained on the road from Klerksdorp. "It is a good compromise between those like myself who would prefer to open meetings with a prayer and those like the members of the communist party who would prefer no reference to God at all."

He is comfortable with the role of the South African Communist Party in the ANC-led alliance, said Malebana-Metsing. Militancy, it seems, can take many forms.

All Biko needs is 'one honest cop'

(119) Wm 8-14/10/93

Stephen Laufer

SIXTEEN years after Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's death, one of the lawyers for the family has said that for justice to be done it would take just one policeman or doctor who knew the truth to break ranks.

Calls for the inquest to be reopened were made this week by the Azanian People's Organisation, which plans to hold rallies to back its demands next weekend. But Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has not been formally asked for a re-examination of the case, said his spokesman, Werner Krull.

The law makes it virtually impossible to reopen an inquest unless new evidence is presented, explained George Bizos, one of the advocates who represented the family at the initial judicial hearing into the death. Fresh facts could come from one of the security branch officers involved in Biko's interrogation, or from one of the district surgeons called to examine him.

But time is beginning to run out on possible criminal prosecutions, warned Bizos, because the most likely charge of culpable homicide has a statute of limitations of 20 years, leaving just four years to investigate and bring charges.

"The first prize would go to someone who would be prepared to step forward and speak the truth, possibly in exchange for indemnity," suggested Bizos. "Someone must be prepared to break the conspiracy of silence and put the others in the dock, if we are to know what happened."

And as if hinting that he might yet want to become that prize winner, one of the district surgeons called by the police to examine Biko, Dr Ivor Lang, self-critically told the *Mail & Guardian* this week that "things might have been different had we had the opportunity of hospitalising the



Steve Biko: What really happened?

patient when we wanted to hospitalise him".

Lang and his colleague, Dr Tucker, were severely criticised by the Medical and Dental Council for their failure to assist Biko adequately. They were also taken to task for authorising his removal by police from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria by road, despite his very visible state of extreme physical distress.

Bizos believes that they know what had happened to the BC leader. "With Biko semi-conscious, the police had a grave problem on their hands which only the district surgeons could deal with. It is reasonable to assume that the SAP trusted the doctors, and that they would have told them exactly what had happened."

Biko's journey to Pretoria, authorised by the district surgeons, was to be his final agony. Brain-damaged and incontinent, he did not survive the hours shackled in the back of a bumping Land Rover.

Yet after weeks of detailed forensic and other evidence, Magistrate Prins, who presided over the original inquest, found in a brief ruling that

no blame could be apportioned for Biko's death.

Bizos believes that Prins erred. "No reasonable court could have come to that conclusion. Although Prins was probably not acting in bad faith, I am sure that he was influenced by the surrounding circumstances, as judicial minds usually are. Those circumstances would have defined criticism of the security forces as unpatriotic."

But the evidence of police culpability was overwhelming, he believes. "Medical experts like Neville Proctor and Jonathan Gluckman presented evidence which proved the police version of events leading up to Biko's death was wrong."

The evidence, which was not contradicted by the state during the inquest, showed that a blow to Biko's head had smashed his brain against the back of the skull, inducing unconsciousness for at least half an hour. "But the police claimed that he had banged his head against a wall before getting up and fighting them for several minutes — a physical impossibility, given the nature of the injury," said Bizos.

A general rule of law would have required the magistrate to find against the police, believes Bizos. "If a false version of events is tendered — and this was clear to the magistrate — the court should draw the worst inference as to the truthfulness of the witness."

But with the inquest ruling as it stands, the police involved in the Biko case may well go scot free. They include Colonel Deon Niewoudt, recently accused in the Goniwe inquest of involvement in the deaths of police colleagues in an attempt to frame the African National Congress, and Colonel Harold Snyman, now peacefully retired.

Said Bizos: "At a minimum, charges relating to defeating the ends of justice should be possible."

Graves desecrated for scrap metal

(120) Wm 8-14/10/93

Mduduzi ka Harvey

"STEALING from the dead to feed the living" is on the rise at cemeteries and crematoriums in and around Johannesburg. Hunger and recession are undermining respect for the dead.

Flowers are being stolen from graves, to be resold to other mourners at a cheaper price. They are also being transferred from one grave to

another for cash.

Metal ornaments, vases, monuments and marble artefacts are specially in demand. Some grave robbers go to the extent of stealing aluminium grave markers and selling them to scrap metal dealers.

There is also a rise in vandalism, with tombstones being toppled, especially at the Newclare, Johannesburg, cemetery. At least 12 cases are

reported weekly.

Marius Labuschagne, the Johannesburg council's manager of planning and control, who deals with the Braamfontein, Brixton and West Park cemeteries, said the problem was at its worst during the school holidays.

Labuschagne said arrests had been made at West Park and that stolen vases had been recovered from bags hidden in the cemetery.

What's ailing MK's muscleman?

(11A)

WMB-14/10/93

Mduduzi ka Harvey

HAS Mzwandile Piliso, former head of intelligence and security for the African National Congress, been transferred to a low-level regional job for his own health — or for the health of the organisation?

Implicated in August by the Motsuenyane Commission into human rights abuses in ANC camps, Piliso relinquished his post as head of Human Resource Development at ANC headquarters at the end of last year. He now serves on the Umtata ANC's regional executive committee, amid rumours that he is very ill.

Piliso was the most senior Umkhonto weSizwe recruiting and training officer in Angola in the late 1970s, in charge of collecting intelligence, screening ANC recruits and allocating them to different departments. He was also responsible for the establishment of military camps there. At the notorious Camp 32, or Quadro, built in 1979, he was responsible for monitoring the incarceration of inmates and their grievances and reporting them to the ANC's executive.

Piliso told the commission that the ANC believed most enemy agents were forced to infiltrate the ANC to avoid imprisonment or some other serious threat.

Piliso was responsible for stepping up ANC security in 1976 after a boast by then minister of police, Jimmy Kruger, that "of every 10 who cross the border to join the ANC, five are mine".

MK training 'is legal'

(11A)

WM 15-21/10/93

Farouk Chothia

UMKHONTO weSizwe is training its cadres inside the country in preparation for a national peace-keeping force — and the South African Police does not intend clamping down on them.

In a statement late last week, MK southern Natal commander Mandla Sithole said the training was being conducted in "broad daylight" in Durban's black townships — but that no cadres were being trained in the use of weapons. He said the training was confined to "drill training, marching, basic physical fitness (and) military education".

SAP representative Major Hamilton Ngidi said that if the training was not in the "use of weapons of war", then MK was acting within the law. Before Sithole's admission, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose told a Durban press conference that the organisation had "captured on video part of a massive MK training operation".

"The video footage shows a group of

approximately 300 people marching and drilling along the main street in kwaMashu (which falls under kwaZulu)," said Mdlalose.

The kwaZulu Police are not known to have arrested anyone in connection with the training. According to local press reports, Mdlalose criticised the South African government for not stopping the training, saying that it was its responsibility to satisfy the security needs of all its citizens. KwaZulu was not an independent country and it needed to be provided with adequate security.

In an interview, Sithole said: "Training is taking place in almost every township. It started about three months ago. Comrades are flooding in." He added that since the issue became public the South African Police (SAP) has been "harassing" cadres, waking them up at night and questioning them about their activities.

Sithole said that once the transitional executive council comes into place, he expects MK to be given access to SADF bases. "They will be used as assembly points," said Sithole.

Bodyguards can't get gun licences

(11A) w m 15-21/10/93

Pamela Dube

AFRICAN National Congress Youth League leader Peter Mokaba and his security aides are still being denied firearm licences — despite the recent disclosure of an assassination plot against him.

The same applies to the entire Pan Africanist Congress leadership. In recent weeks shots have been fired at the house of PAC president Clarence Makwetu and at the car of his bodyguards.

The ANC says it complained about Mokaba's case to President FW de Klerk, but has received no answer.

Mokaba and the PAC say that when the issue is raised with the police, they are offered police protection instead. Neither wants this.

Says Mokaba: "I don't see how I can be protected by my own enemies — the police. What I want is to be able to protect myself from them and have my bodyguards armed."

A PAC security representative says that since early this year his department has been in constant contact with John Vorster Square police station over firearm permits.

"Every time we contact them, we are told 'Pretoria is still looking into the matter'. Even

president Clarence Makwetu himself does not have a licence. How do they expect us to protect ourselves from the enemy when we are unarmed?"

He says because of the refusal to grant permits, some of the PAC leadership had registered their guns with the Transkei police, and had been given 30-day import/export licences by the South African authorities. "Most have expired, and our guns have been seized by the SAP. Currently some of our leaders — Jaki Seroke, Enoch Zulu and Maxwell Nmadzivhanani — are on trial because of that."

Mokaba has recently been targeted by rightwing elements and the PAC say their president's life "is under threat from both the enemy and the Watchdogs (a militant PAC youth faction). There have been attempts on his life and some of our leaders in the last few weeks".

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa says his organisation has been struggling for three years to secure gun licences for the bodyguards of ANC leaders. "They always find a reason not to. This is dangerous for our leaders."

According to Mamoepa, that it has taken a year for Tokyo Sexwale, the leader of the

ANC's PWV region, to obtain a licence. "We are currently fighting to get permits for his bodyguards."

South African Police media liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen says the original application from Sexwale "was mislaid, and when inquiries regarding his licence were made, he was requested to furnish a duplicate application.

"Within a week of receipt of the second application, a firearm license was issued to Mr Sexwale."

According to Barkhuizen, it is not the policy of the SAP to furnish reasons for the refusal of a firearm "unless the applicant submits a written request".

Applications for firearms licences are "considered on merit.

"It implies that the applicant must be fit in all respects and competent to possess a firearm and that just grounds for the possession of the specific firearm exists.

"Further factors ... are whether the applicant has previous convictions which indicate that he has a tendency towards violence."

Mokaba feels the ANC is also to blame. "The ANC is not doing enough to pressure the police on the matter. They should battle to give it's people protection "

IFP chief defects to Contralesa

Farouk Choithia

AN Inkatha-aligned chief in the Natal Midlands has defected to the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Chief Nkosiyezwa Gcumisa appeared at an African National Congress cultural festival at kwaXimba, in the Natal Midlands, at the weekend, becoming the latest IFP-aligned chief to move over to Contralesa.

In an interview, Gcumisa indicated that a close affinity for firebrand ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala lay behind his defection. "Gwala was born in Swayimane and I am from Swayimane," Gcumisa said, adding: "My people are ANC members and

WMI-7/10/93 (115) (115)
we are not fighting any organisation." His respect for Gwala is ironic: the IFP has always portrayed him as a "loose cannon" who wants to destroy the chieftaincy.

Gcumisa's defection indicates that the ANC has launched a concerted effort to win over chiefs in the run-up to elections, as traditional leaders wield enormous influence over their subjects. Said ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande: "We believe the IFP is undermining the chiefs, who now have to take orders from warlords."

However, Contralesa's Natal membership is still small, with only a handful of chiefs having openly identified themselves with the organisation. Most still pay their allegiance to the kwaZulu government.

14 IFP leaders killed

WMI-7/10/93 (118)

The murder of kwaThema branch chairman Samuel Motha this week is part of an orchestrated campaign to assassinate IFP leaders, the organisation claims.

Ferial Haffajee and Stephen Laufer report

THIS WEEK'S dawn slaying of the Inkatha Freedom Party's kwaThema branch chairman Samuel Motha brings to 300 the number of IFP office-bearers killed since the National Peace Accord was signed in 1991.

Since July this year, 14 Inkatha officials have been killed. "These are planned assassinations," charged the organisation's Suzanne Vos. She said the assassins were "highly skilled" and that the assassinations had been "well-orchestrated".

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said the assassination campaign was directed at "educated, literate Inkatha members who wield influence in their communities. The obvious strategy is to create a power vacuum which would facilitate penetration of the communities by the African National Congress."

IFP Transvaal leader Humphrey Ndlovu claimed that Motha's death was part of a campaign by Umkhonto weSizwe to get rid of Transvaal leaders of the organisation.

Tillet said attacks were carried out professionally. "The attackers carry out reconnaissance of their targets, post gunmen at all entrances to a property, and often catch our people in deliberate crossfire."

One of the more insidious effects of the assassination campaign, said Tillet, was that Inkatha members were increasingly reluctant to hold office within the organisation. "Taking a high profile position means exposing yourself and becoming a visible target."

Motha was killed at dawn on Wednesday. He was shot on his bicycle a few streets from his home while on his way to work. His wife, Nomsa Motha, found his body when she went to investigate the shots. The night before his murder, Motha told his two brothers that he believed he would be killed.

Motha's death follows that of Absalom Shoji, the chairman of the organisation's Katlehong branch. He was killed while inspecting the remains of his house which was set alight while he was in Natal. Shoji's body was stolen from a mortuary and has not yet been recovered.

"We will not allow ourselves to be driven into extinction," said Tillet. "That is why there has been a phenomenal response to Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi's call last weekend for R5 contributions to the formation of self defence units."

Tillet was unable to say how much had been donated by Thursday, but said money was "being collected at all kwaZulu magistrate's courts, which are also distribution centres for pensions".

According to the IFP, the following branch chairmen in Natal and Transvaal have been killed since July this year: Petrus Boy Masinya, shot on July 3; Bonginkosi Sithole, shot on July 6; Japan Mzotho, shot on July 14; Tollman Khawula, shot on July 16; Movovo Ngobese, hacked to death on July 25; Absalom Shoji, burnt to death on July 25; Simon Mazibuko, shot on August 7; Elias Dladla, shot on August 24; Ethelbert Malinga, shot on September 15; and Motha, shot on September 29.

Other officials killed in Natal and Transvaal include deputy branch secretary Patrick Khanyile, shot on July 4; deputy branch treasurer Wilson Lombo, shot on August 1; Youth Brigade chairman Sithelo Khumalo, shot on August 3; and branch organiser Simon Mattanda, shot on August 17.

Buthelezi wants a stronger Cosag

(11B)
WM 8-14/10/93

Farouk Chothia

KWAZULU chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) "exists only in name" and must be restructured to become an effective opponent of the government and the African National Congress.

Buthelezi's frank admission is likely to increase tensions within the group, as he envisages a situation which would give him effective control over it.

Addressing Cosag leaders in Durban last Sunday, Buthelezi suggested each of the Cosag parties should enter into separate bilateral talks with the South African government — but that the kwaZulu government should be represented in each delegation.

In what appeared to be an attempt to bolster his influence, Buthelezi told the Cosag leaders to consider including the Inkatha Freedom Party "in some or all of the proposed meetings".

Calling on Cosag leaders to set aside their differences on federalism and confederalism, Buthelezi said bilateral talks would keep up pressure on the government and the ANC to "abandon what they are doing" at the World Trade Centre.

But he cautioned: "We must not oppose the government in such a way that it is forcefully driven into the hands of the ANC."

He said Cosag became "divided and damaged" when the IFP, kwaZulu government and the Conservative Party



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Cosag now exists in name only

walked out of multiparty negotiations earlier this year while Boputhatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) remained at the talks.

"If you read one of the documents of the ANC, you can see that there was a well-considered strategy to divide us and that they gloated about having succeeded in doing so," Buthelezi said.

Cosag now "exists only in name" and "maybe it has already outlived its usefulness — I don't know. It is not possible to simply put Cosag (back) on track and to send it thundering off to a new future."

In a second proposal to inject new life into Cosag, he suggested the formation of a "small work group" which would focus on ways to "terminate the World Trade Centre process before it reaches the stage of a final plenary".

He said the "working group" could propose a meeting of South African leaders to set up a constitutional convention as a forerunner to elections for a new government.

The sudden silence of voluble Willmer

Farouk Chothia

WM 15-21/10/93 (118)

BRITISH-born Natal rightwinger Brendan Willmer says he has evidence that Umkhonto weSizwe is planning a "holocaust" against Inkatha by deploying 4 000 cadres to assassinate Inkatha Freedom Party leaders next January. But he refuses to present it to the Goldstone Commission.

Willmer's coyness about MK's alleged "Operation Mbokodo" could land him in hot water. A commission spokesman said it was considering whether to prosecute him under the Prevention of Violence and Public Intimidation Act which carries a maximum fine of R4 000 or a prison sentence of up to 12 months.

Willmer said this week that he would stick to his position, "regardless of the consequences".

The founder in March this year of the Natal Freedom Campaign — which will campaign for federalism — the 48-year-old Willmer was reportedly linked in his youth to the British National Front and the Nazi-leaning British National Youth.

Denying that he was a Nazi — press reports also claimed at the time that he once idolised Hitler — Willmer said he "regretted" his past and had "publicly apologised" to the Jewish community. "I'm now a friend of Israel," he said, adding: "Some mature and grow with evolution. Others remain stuck in a time warp. I hope I've grown."

Willmer's decision to return to the political landscape after a decade's absence indicates that the white rightwing is rallying behind the IFP in Natal in an attempt to oppose the

African National Congress. Addressing about 80 supporters in the Durban City Hall last weekend, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Tienie Groenewald called on his followers to back the IFP.

At a public meeting last month and in a fax blitz to a wide spectrum of people, Willmer claimed that MK was planning to destroy the IFP in an operation involving 4 000 fighters beginning in the new year — charges that the ANC has denied. At the request of the Goldstone Commission Willmer gave evidence in camera on October 4 but refused to appear again last Friday. He said he had promised to protect the identity of his source, who came from the "intelligence" community.

Willmer said the commission's investigations would not be hampered by his non-co-operation as "sections of the state security establishment" were also aware of "Operation Mbokodo".

The first Natal chairman of the Conservative Party and founder of the rightwing Civic Action League, Willmer returned to Britain in 1984 after immigration authorities refused to give him a residence permit for South Africa. After returning a few years later, Willmer was given South African citizenship last December and regards South Africa as his "motherland". He sees the ANC as "the puppet of the Communist Party".

IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane spurned Willmer's newfound sympathies for the IFP, saying: "He's a person with a chequered history. We don't have any ties with the NFC. There could be members working with him but they do so as individuals."

'FW lost will to rule'

PONGOLA. — Democracy is within South Africa's grasp but it is threatened by a capitulating government and the failure of the security forces to resist a revolutionary takeover, said KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez. (18) CT/11/93
Speaking at a rally here on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi accused the government of bowing to the ANC and said it did not have the "guts" to govern a transition to democracy. And

President F W de Klerk had lost the will to rule a few years ago.

It was running after the ANC, he said, desperately hoping to take part in an ANC government in the future as its junior partner.

Calling for self-determination for KwaZulu/Natal, Chief Buthelezi urged "the establishment of a regional building block here in which Zulus and their Indian and white compatriots can show their democratic worth."
— Sapa

Thousands in IFP anti-Popcru march

JOHANNESBURG. — Thousands of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched through the centre of the city here on Saturday to protest against the activities of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru), which the IFP says are subversive and dangerous.

In a memorandum handed to John Vorster Square police station commander Brigadier Hansie Kohne, by IFP Witwatersrand leader Mr Themba Khoza, the IFP expressed its "outrage" at Popcru's activities.

The march was marred by a number of incidents, including intimidation of journalists and the assault of at least one pedestrian who was hit on the forehead with a knobkerrie.

A heavy security force presence was maintained throughout the march. — Sapa

11/11/93

Govt, ANC under fire

Sowetan 1/11/93

A CAPITULATING government and the failure of the security forces to resist a revolutionary takeover is threatening democracy in South Africa, according to KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at a rally in the southeastern Transvaal town of Pongola on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi accused the government of bowing to the African National Congress and said it did not have the "guts" to govern a transition to democracy.

It was running after the ANC, he said, desperately hoping to take part in a future ANC government as its junior partner. (113)

And President FW de Klerk lost the will a few years ago to rule as the "*de facto* and *de jure*" president of South Africa, he said.

Chief Buthelezi also charged that when Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer took over from retired Dr Gerrit Viljoen as the Government's chief negotiator, there had been a steady retreat "from democratic bul-

warks".

"We were actually betrayed. The betrayal by the National Party found its extreme expression in the signing of the Record of Understanding by Mr (FW) de Klerk," he said.

"When, in the plenary session of Codesa I, Mr De Klerk made his astonishing announcement of his acceptance of a two-phase process, we were all dumbfounded.

"We know the ANC. We came out of the old ANC. I was steeped in the political fore of the ANC."

Buthlezi role 'imperative' (18)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — It is imperative that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is included in the peace process in South Africa. Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd told parliament yesterday.

Mr Hurd said: "We are saying to him, 'You must join the peace process and we are saying to others, 'He cannot be safely left out. He feels that occasionally he has been isolated."

ET4 11/93
Liberal MP Mr Simon Hughes had urged the government to try to ensure Chief Buthelezi's participation in the April 27 election.

NEGOTIATIONS

Fm 5/11/93

Will they talk or shoot?

The extension this week of the talks deadline is clear evidence of a willingness by both government and the ANC to accommodate the Freedom Alliance.

The extension of the deadline by a week to November 12, and the various constitutional proposals put forward jointly by government and the ANC at the multiparty talks over the past few days, indicate how important the two parties regard the Alliance's inclusion in the transitional process.

The Alliance comprises Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), CP and the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. The extra week provides the Alliance with an opportunity to participate in the final phase of negotiations on the interim constitution.

Additional attractions to draw the Alliance back into the talks include joint proposals this week by government and the ANC that:

- The interim government elected in April should rule for five years, and not just until the constituent assembly has finalised a permanent constitution;
- That parties winning more than 20% of the vote should be allowed to nominate the two proposed executive vice-presidents;
- That provincial governments should be given a considerable degree of autonomy; and
- That a fairly conservative approach to local government reform should be adopted.

Alliance spokesman and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje says the Alliance was initially worried that the two days of talks would simply be a PR exercise, but had been convinced by government that it was possible to accommodate the group's views. He adds that government and the Alliance are not too far apart and he believes agreement is possible if government is committed to finding a solution.

However, senior negotiators in both the ANC and government camps now believe they have given as much as they can and want compromises and suggestions from the Alliance. For example, government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer has insisted that the AVF must table its own proposals at this week's talks.

It is understood that while government is not expecting all Alliance members to return to the talks, it hopes there is sufficient dis-

agreement for the Alliance to split. Those most likely to return to the World Trade Centre are the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, but the AVF, CP and Inkatha are by far the most important members and will be the most difficult to convince that they should be part of the process.

Government and the ANC believe they have gone far enough to accommodate the federalist aspirations of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — as long as he is prepared to compromise as well. Proposals for strong provincial governments could also sat-

militant white conservatives are reportedly well armed and fairly well trained for small skirmishes and terrorism. But they are not considered to be a long-term threat because of their logistical inability to sustain concerted armed resistance.

In addition, most whites still enjoy relative peace and security and have a good standard of living. Rightwing morale would probably crack quite quickly under the rigours of a terrorist campaign, particularly if a new government can show that the fears on which their resistance is based are unfounded.

The Right wing may also be hoping in vain for support from within the SADF and SAP. Armed action by conservatives is unlikely to be tolerated by the security establishment. Jakkie Cilliers, co-director of the independent Midrand-based Institute for Defence Policy, believes a showdown between the security forces and the Right wing is inevitable. "The Right wing is continually pushing the limits of the law and can't continue. It's in the interests of the

security forces to be seen to act impartially."

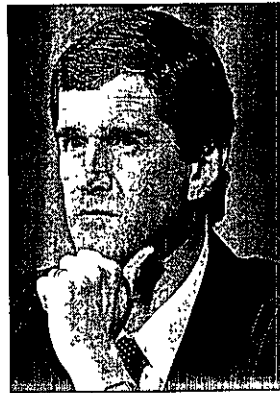
He believes the command structures in the SADF in particular will remain loyal to government. The rebellion, if it happens, will be among the rural-based commandos, but even then insurrection is unlikely to be widespread. (*Current Affairs* October 29). ■



Buthelezi



Cronje



Meyer

isfy moderate elements in the AVF and CP. But hardliners in all three groups are unlikely to be satisfied.

An indication of the group's attitude came from Cronje on the eve of the talks. He said the Alliance did not agree that the latest proposals provided for a federal constitution or exclusive powers for the provinces. "It simply is not true what some people are saying."

The best-case scenario at this week's talks — but also the most unlikely — would be full agreement by all Alliance members to take part in the final week of talks at Kempton Park. The worst case would be the total breakdown of the talks and a hardening of the Alliance's position. The middle road, and the most probable, would be the sufficient softening of the Alliance's position to justify giving it more time to consider its options.

Total rejection of the current negotiation process or a split in the Alliance could set the scene for eventual violent confrontation between rightwing conservatives and hardline Inkatha supporters, on the one hand, and the security forces on the other. Radical elements in the AVF have apparently already started mobilising for armed resistance and urged supporters to prepare for a siege of sorts by stocking up on food, water and other essentials.

The danger of rightwing violence is difficult to fathom. While relatively small, the

THE CABINET

Good old Pik

Public criticism by Foreign Minister Pik Botha of government's performance over the past few months may have ruffled the feathers of a few Cabinet colleagues but his comments undoubtedly won back many disillusioned Nat supporters.

In response to questions at a Nat information meeting in Sandton last week, Botha admitted that government had botched a whole range of recent actions, including the Umtata raid, the petrol price increase, the appointment of the SABC board and the Walvis Bay issue. He apologised for some of the harm done.

The admissions and apologies were widely interpreted as a political blunder. Some commentators even suggested that they were grounds for legal action against government.

But Botha has been in politics far too long to make such basic errors. It is more likely

CONSTITUTIONAL talks are set to go down to the wire this week — with only four days left to get the dissenting Freedom Alliance (FA) parties on board a peace settlement. ~~201A~~ ~~211A~~ 11B

It seems increasingly unlikely that alliance member the Inkatha Freedom Party will be part of an agreement — its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, left yesterday for a foreign visit that will apparently see him back in the country only after the talks deadline has passed.

But in a surprise development the Afrikaner Volksfront appeared to break ranks from the FA when it met the ANC for bilateral discussions yesterday — despite

an FA agreement that it would negotiate as a bloc.

It is understood that strains in the organisation have been heightened in recent days and some in its ranks may be leaning towards accommodation with the multi-party process at the World Trade Centre.

Adding to the pressure on the alliance is a growing determination among talks participants, the ANC in particular, to forge ahead during the coming week and reach an historic settlement.

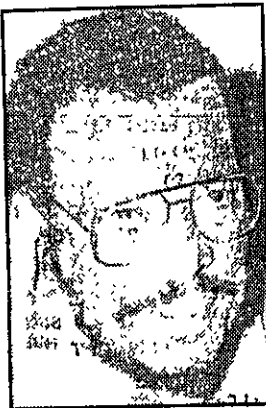
In a joint statement yesterday the ANC and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen revealed that they had met and said "a constructive interchange of ideas took place".

Surprise

It added that the meeting would be continued "in the near future".

The statement said the AVF took part as a subcommittee of the Freedom Alliance, but other FA members were yesterday surprised to hear of the development.

Buthelezi's absence during the coming week has astonished negotiators at the World Trade Centre, who suggested it placed his commitment to seeking a solution in doubt.



BUTHELEZI: Shock over foreign visit.

Final countdown for peace talks

Four days to bring Right on board

P.T.O.

Sakubona, Onse boeremeisie

BY ZANELE VUTELA

A WHITE girl moves easily through thousands of cheering Inkatha supporters on a march through Johannesburg's streets.

One could have assumed she was a journalist, except for her Inkatha T-shirt and her constant consultation with Inkatha leaders and marshals. She seems to belong.

She is Nicki Brits, 24, petite with dark piercing eyes, who told City Press: "I am a normal person with a love for Inkatha and for the people I work with."

C Reed 7/11/93

Brits, a Stellenbosch University political science honours graduate, said that when the way became clear three years ago for South Africans to join political parties of their choice she joined Inkatha. She is now a member of both the National and Transvaal executive committee of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Why Inkatha? "Inkatha has definite constitutional policies on education, health, the economy and women's issues. It was a natural choice," she said. She was born in

Durban, grew up in Cape Town "with some stints in Johannesburg where I developed my Inkatha connections", she said, adding that her whole family supported Inkatha.

"I've never been comfortable with the traditional white rightist organisations."

Why not the ANC?

"My family has always been non-violent and when it comes to reconciliation, you cannot do it with the gun."

She says: "I have worked a lot in Thokoza, Katsieng and the Natal Midlands and I am still not convinced that the ac-

cusations that Inkatha is responsible for the violence are true.

"The violence is multifaceted," she says. "It is also deeply rooted in the actual conditions of deprivation that people have had to live under."

Brits also works with Inkatha's research department where she receives reports on violence from various sources and undertakes further area investigations. "I determine what could have been the cause of the violence; what was done about it; what could be done and what worked."

Her eyes shine when she continues: "And I have the greatest respect and love for Humphrey Ndlovu. People laugh when I call him Baba instead of Gatseni, but he'll always be Baba to me."

112

she says: "Brits cannot contain her admiration for Inkatha, of which she said, "It is the experience of my life. These last three years have been more than a learning process; it's been living. I've learnt what it is to be a South African, to share the pains and the joys."

Eyes on Freedom Alliance as talks deadline looms

Star 8/11/93

(118)

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

South Africans face a nail-biting week as the country waits to see whether a negotiated settlement will be endorsed by the Freedom Alliance (FA) — or what its reaction will be if talks are concluded without it.

It appears increasingly unlikely that FA members will come on board before Thursday evening's talks deadline — which could be extended by a day or two.

Suicidal

Acting Bophuthatswana President Thate Molathwa warned yesterday that if the ANC and its allies insisted on sticking to the "suicidal deadline, then they and they alone must be held responsible for the consequences of their actions".

But there was confusion over a communique issued by the Preferential Trade Area summit in Uganda, in which it applauded a decision by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in the election.

A copy of Buthelezi's

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

DRAFT INTERIM CONSTITUTION

With three days left to wrap up South Africa's negotiated settlement, the Negotiating Council will today discuss the draft Electoral Bill and the role of traditional leaders in the new South Africa.

Tomorrow will be spent on internal consultations by the 21 parties.

On Wednesday, negotiators will continue to identify discriminatory legislation which is to be repealed and discuss fundamental human rights during the transition.

The council is scheduled to finalise the draft Electoral Bill and draft Interim Constitution on Thursday. Negotiators have been asked to be available on Friday and Saturday, if necessary, to finalise the transition package.

A plenary session at which the leaders will be present is scheduled for next week.

ESTHER WAUGH

address to the Kampala summit on Saturday — faxed to The Star — makes no reference to this.

IFP sources said yesterday that they knew of no such decision.

Buthelezi, who met Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo yester-

day, said a free election could not be held while violence continued, Sapa-AFP reports.

Buthelezi said he had discussed with Mubarak the reasons why the IFP was opposed to negotiations.

As the talks deadline approaches, the Govern-

ment meets FA members today in a last-ditch effort to convince them that the draft Interim Constitution accommodates their aspirations.

The Government and the ANC are understood to have taken a decision to press ahead with or without the FA, but a senior Government negotiator said yesterday: "We are still going to try our utmost ..."

Wisdom

ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend that the election would go ahead with or without the right wing, and that the ANC would not make any more concessions to federalism.

He hoped that "wise men in the Freedom Alliance" would realise the wisdom of rejoining multiparty negotiations.

The ANC's executive will meet tomorrow and the Cabinet will gather in Pretoria.

These meetings are likely to consider the next steps if the FA does not become part of an agreement.

11/15

Buthelezi:
No SA poll
in violence

(115)

CAIRO. — Free elections cannot be held in South Africa so long as a wave of violence grips the country, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi, who met Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, said he discussed the reasons why the IFP opposed negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi arrived in Cairo late on Saturday at the invitation of Mr Mubarak, who holds the rotating presidency of the Organisation of African Unity.

Mr Mubarak stressed the importance of closing African ranks, notably during this very delicate period for South Africa.

Egyptian officials said Chief Buthelezi's visit was in line with Cairo's efforts to bring together the opposing resistance movements ahead of the elections, in reference to the long-standing dispute between the ANC and IFP. — Sapa-AFP

KwaZulu defence training confirmed

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu legislative assembly has confirmed the existence of a training camp for self-protection units and has slammed as "irresponsible" speculation in the press on the location of the camp as this could "endanger the lives of trainees".

Assembly secretary Mr Robert Mzimela said in a statement about 500 men drawn from Natal-KwaZulu and Transvaal were undergoing training "in terms of the national peace accord".

He said the "privately funded training programme" was announced last month because of the "increasing attacks on rural communities and the state's failure to stem the attacks".

"It is irresponsible for the press to reveal the venue," said Mr Mzimela. "There has already been one attack on us and we appeal to the press not to endanger the lives of our trainees by speculating about the training venue."

IFP meets displaced Alex families

Star 9/11/93

■ BY ANNA COX

The Inkatha Freedom Party met displaced Alexandra families last night to extend a hand of friendship and to welcome them back to the "Beirut area".

The Beirut area is a stretch of land between the hostels and greater Alexandra which was vacated when violence broke out between the IFP and the ANC in March 1992. (118)

Some 3 500 families were forced to move out of the area, which became a buffer zone between the parties, and have since then been living in squalid overcrowded conditions in church halls, municipal offices and recreation centres.

The houses were looted and

vandalised and today only the shells remain.

Because consensus could not be reached between the political parties about the reconstruction work, the residents have been living in make-shift accommodation for the past 18 months.

Transvaal IFP regional organiser Themba Khoza, who called last night's meeting, said that peoples' lives had been badly affected by the violence and it was of utmost importance to get them back into their homes.

"These people have been living abnormal lives in shocking, overcrowded conditions and leaders cannot sit with clear consciences while they continue living with this prolonged suffering," he said.

Jeremiah Meduna, general secretary of the Displacees' Coordinating Committee, has been living in the Alexandra municipal offices. He said his life was "miserable".

Most displaced people were not politically aligned but had been caught in a political web.

Last week, the Development Task Group, which consists of Randburg officials, political parties, civic organisations and community-based organisations, decided to move the bulldozers in to demolish the old homes.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has provided R3,5 million for the work. The construction of new houses is expected to start in January.

Youths train for war in Natal

REPORTERS Ido Lekota and Lindiwe Ngakane went to the Umfolozi Game Reserve to find out about recent reports of a training camp where youths believed to be IFP members are said to be receiving military training. This is their report

Our mission was to find the training camp "somewhere near the western side of the Umfolozi Game Reserve". We arrived at night and, under cover of darkness, spent a fruitless evening searching for evidence. Only the sounds of nocturnal wildlife filled the air. There was nothing sinister — just darkness and stars.

Early on Friday we headed for the western gate of the reserve to continue our mission. Were we on a wild goose chase? Perhaps the camp was a figment of someone's imagination.

Suddenly, the quiet of the wilderness was shattered by the sound of gunfire. Like a battle in progress it seemed to be coming from the southwestern corner of the reserve. There was little doubt that we were now close to the camp.

Heading in the direction of the noise we discovered that the gunfire was coming from a desolate area not more than a kilometre from the game reserve's gate.

We discovered that the camp shares a fence with the reserve and is situated in a rugged area covered with dense bush.

Access to the camp is down a dirt track marked by two stone pillars hardly 50 m from

the western gate of the reserve. The dirt road leads to a guard post manned by at least 15 youths in blue overalls armed with automatic rifles. Several of the youths could be seen lurking in the bushes around the guard post.

Our requests to proceed into the camp were refused by the youths, who claimed the area was private property. They also refused to tell us who was

being trained inside and what for, but they did confirm that they were not members of the KwaZulu Police.

While leaving the area we saw a white combi with an ND registration full of young men entering the gates leading to the camp.

IFP sources revealed that the area where the camp was discovered is in an area controlled by a member of the

nothing to do with the recent call by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for Zulus to pay R5 a head to set up self-defence units.

The R5, according to sources, was being used to train 400 youths at an undisclosed venue.

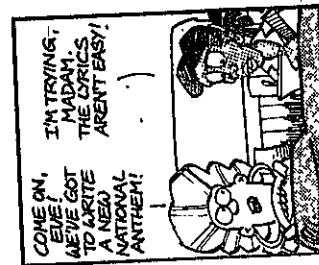
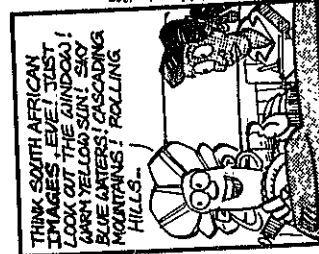
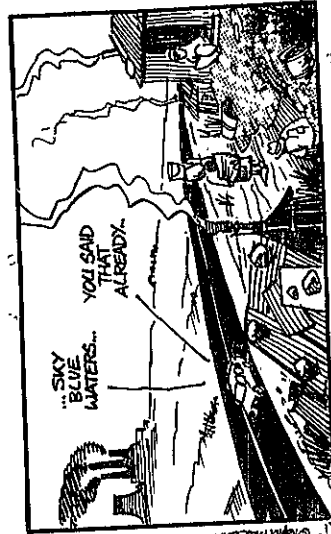
The revelation about the Umfolozi military camp has drawn sharp criticism from both the ANC and the National Party. The Goldstone Commission is to be called upon by the NP to investigate the camp.

Residents at Gezinsila near Eshowe have reported the presence of men in their area who were believed to have been trained at another KwaZulu military camp.

Already they have been supposedly linked to the deaths of at least eight ANC supporters.

ANC spokesman for northern Natal, Senzo Mchunu, has expressed deep concern about the "military-style training" going on in Natal, which he said was similar to the Afrikaner Volksfront "amassing weapons for civil war in other provinces".

KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Velaphi Ndlovu has said KwaZulu has the right to train young people for self-defence units in terms of the National Peace Accord.



MADAM & EVE By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico

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THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

INTERIM CONSTITUTION:

Pressure is mounting on the Negotiating Council to complete the draft Interim Constitution and draft Electoral Bill by tomorrow evening's target deadline. But, Friday and Saturday have been set aside should more time be needed.

The council did not meet yesterday to allow for internal consultations by the negotiating parties.

When the council reconvenes today, it is scheduled to debate and finalise proposals on the civil service and finance, which emerged from ANC/Government talks.

Negotiators are also to finalise the issue of fundamental human rights during the transition.

These do not constitute a complete Bill of Rights, but will be included in a chapter in the Interim Constitution.

Other matters on the agenda are the repeal of discriminatory legislation and the role of traditional leaders in all levels of government.

ESTHER WAUGH

Buthelezi tells UN of civil-war fears

Star 10/11/93

BY MIKE LITTLEJOHN

New York — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi again raised the spectre of civil war in South Africa in an address to a United Nations General Assembly committee yesterday, calling for a federalist solution to the country's political problems.

He asserted that South Africa now faced the "most difficult part of the transition".

Buthelezi called for a federal system where each distinct region was given the right to govern itself.

Charging that negotiations had been shrouded

in secrecy, he alleged that there were secret deals between the Government and the ANC.

The two parties, he said, seemed determined to have exclusive and total control — "something which I consider quite dangerous" (118)

He warned that the "tendency in negotiations towards acceptance of any solution that left the main problems for later discussion" was a recipe for disaster.

"I have again and again warned that if things go wrong in South Africa they will go very wrong," declared Buthelezi.

Buthelezi's warning on civil war

ARG 10/11/93

The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi again raised the spectre of civil war in South Africa in an address to a United Nations General Assembly committee, during which he called for a federalist solution to the country's problems.

In remarks delivered at his customary rapid clip — which

must have presented problems for the UN interpreters — he asserted that South Africa now faced the "most difficult part of the transition."

He warned that the tendency in negotiations towards accepting "any solution" that left the main problems for later discussion was a recipe for disaster.

"I have again and again warned that if things go wrong

in South Africa they will go very wrong," he said.

He said that more people had died in South Africa already than during the Vietnam war and unless negotiations succeeded there could be an explosion of violence that could take decades to heal.

Chief Buthelezi appeared before the committee on decolonisation.



focus on violence

Sowetan 11/11/93

Questions are being asked why joint rallies agreed to by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi 34 months ago have not taken place. Investigations editor **Mathatha Tsedu** inquires:



THE massacre of 10 ANC youths in Natal last weekend, and the murder of an IFP leader's son, have focused attention on tensions between the two organisations.

Joint rallies, a constant item of agreement in statements by the two leaders, are no nearer happening than they were before their very first meeting in January 1991, according to representatives of the two organisations.

Finger pointing and counter accusations of a lack of interest characterised the responses by both organisations this week when *Sowetan* made inquiries about why the rallies have not taken place.

Meanwhile, the slaughter is continuing with over 9 000 people killed in just over three years.

And politicians fiddle while villages and townships burn.

But all is not lost, it seems. The conveners of the last summit between Mandela and Buthelezi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Stanley Mogoba, were yesterday huddled in a church leaders' meeting in Johannesburg where the issue of violence and the joint rallies were to feature high on the agenda.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told *Sowetan* his organisation had done all it could to get the rallies going but "they have not happened because the other side is not keen".

Niehaus said the ANC may still pursue the idea of joint rallies but this was not on top of their agenda right now.

"We are prepared any time. The delay in the rallies materialising is not the ANC's fault. We even sent Thabo Mbeki (national chairman) to Ulundi but so far nothing has come of the whole thing.

"We are committed to the idea and our president, Mandela, has publicly stated that we are ready to do these rallies. But I cannot say that it is one of the priority items on our agenda right now, not with the reluctance on the other side," Niehaus said.

IFP central committee member and spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos rejected Niehaus' statements and said when Mbeki met with Buthelezi in Ulundi more than a month ago, the IFP had handed him dates on which the rallies could take place.

"They have not responded and if Niehaus says it is the IFP that is delaying the process, he is at the very least not telling the truth."

"The idea of joint rallies came from Chief Minister Buthelezi and it would be unthinkable that we would be the one letting the idea die," Vos said.

The rallies were decided upon at the first face-to-face meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi in Durban. Nothing came of the resolution.

At the second summit in Johannesburg on June 23 this year, the two leaders reiterated their commitment to the process of joint rallies, but again, four and half months later, the rallies have not materialised.

The call was based on a finding that the



All smiles ... but when will the tension between Mandela's ANC and Buthelezi's IFP be a thing of the past?

violence between supporters of the two organisations in Natal and on the Reef was due to political intolerance.

The summits by the leaders, and the rallies, would serve to show supporters that differences in political belief were not synonymous with war. So the thinking went.

Many poured cold water on the idea, saying the violence was a complex phenomenon which could not be turned off at the point of a joint rally.

Head of the Centre for African Studies Mr Eugene Nyathi, speaking on the eve of the June summit, said: "I have a feeling both parties recognise very little will be achieved although they must see the public relations value of attending."

With 33 people killed on the eve of the summit, it was probably inevitable that the two leaders should reiterate the joint rally strategy.

In the meantime, on the East Rand alone, an average of 30 people are killed each weekend, with about seven bodies picked up randomly daily in one of the country's least publicised

In Natal, the polarisation has intensified, with declared IFP villages and ANC villages. The massacre of the ten youths on Sunday at the homestead of Chief Alpheus Molefe, followed an attempt by the ANC to hold a rally in the area, an IFP stronghold.

The IFP, on the other hand, has lost leaders at the hands of gunmen who it alleges are members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

On Saturday night, IFP Transvaal leader Mr Vitas Mvelase lost his son at the hands of gunmen who shot him dead at his Ladysmith home. Mvelase's other son, Francis, was killed and necklaced in March this year.

IFP Transvaal co-ordinator Mr Hennie Bekker said in response to the latest Mvelase killing that it could have "serious repercussions for the peace process".

It is an observation that many would agree with.

Joint rallies would serve to dampen the war psychosis and introduce an element of peace and tolerance.

Step up struggle — Jaap

PRETORIA — The Freedom Alliance should terminate talks with the NP and ANC and intensify the struggle outside the negotiations forum, HNP leader Jaap Marais said yesterday.

He urged the alliance to reject the constitutional proposals put forward at multiparty talks.

His call followed President F W de Klerk's statement on Tuesday that a "bosberaad" and other talks between government and the Freedom Alliance might have laid the basis for an agreement.

"Mr De Klerk has realised that the NP is rejected by Afrikaners and other whites, therefore he is anxious to include his white opponents in the final phase of his and the ANC/SA Communist Party's constitutional schemes, which will lead to a transfer of power to the ANC/SACP," Marais said.

De Klerk also wanted to involve Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Zululand so they, with whites, could be subjected to ANC/SACP rule.

Marais said whites should unite and demand a white election to thrash the De Klerk administration and pull SA away from the precipice. — Sapa.

Buthelezi says ANC seeks one-party state

NEW YORK — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged on Tuesday that the ANC, with the acquiescence of the country's government, was seeking to establish a one-party state.

"The SA government and the ANC envisage the formation of a transitional government structure which will usurp the functions of the present government for the benefit of the ANC," he said.

Appearing as a petitioner before the General Assembly's special political and decolonisation committee, Buthelezi said the NP was

"looking for political survival under a possible ANC/SACP majority through establishment of a short-lived government of national unity."

But such an arrangement would prove ineffective. Not only would the NP suffer from its own lack of foresight, he said, "but the future security of every citizen of this country would be placed at unnecessary risk", he said.

"The ANC/SACP alliance is fighting for the full takeover of the central apartheid structure, merely changing NP policy for a policy of its own.

"SA would then once again be victim to the dictates of an all-powerful, one-party state," he said.

Buthelezi said the SA government had "bar-gained away the certainty of constitutional structures capable of protecting freedom, democracy and pluralism for all citizens of SA." This was a costly price to pay for a few more years of government control during the period of transition.

Earlier the ANC's Trevor Manuel called on the SA government to end the current violence.

All key political players should become partners in the effort to mould a new SA. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Comment: Page 8

ES LIMITED

SEPTEMBER 1993

IFP won't be at polls — Chief

115 07/12/11/93

JOHANNESBURG. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party will not take part in the elections and will resist any decisions that the multi-party negotiating council might foist upon it.

Chief Buthelezi, asked yesterday what form that resistance would take, said that would be decided by his party and the Freedom Alliance.

He said Inkatha would not participate in next year's elections unless his demands were met. To suggest he was not prepared to stand in elections was "rubbish, but first things must be done first".

Talking at Jan Smuts airport on his return from New York, Chief Buthelezi reiterated that the IFP would take part in the election only after a final constitution had been agreed upon.

The holding of elections in KwaZulu

would not, however, be prevented, he said.

His statement came as President F W de Klerk said in Uppington that if the Freedom Alliance was prepared to be reasonable and realistic, there was no longer any reason for its members not to fall in with South Africa's new constitution.

Addressing a National Party rally, he said most of the problems the alliance had put on the table would be satisfactorily solved, through agreements to be concluded soon.

Chief Buthelezi said he had not been subjected to any pressure from UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to rejoin multi-party talks.

He said his party would not be returning to Kempton Park. However, talks between the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha is a member, and the government would continue. — Own Correspondent, Sapa.

Fwi 12/11/93

cessions could well have been at the expense of voter support. Inkatha's links with the white Right must have alienated many black potential supporters.

The policy also has broader implications than simply confusing everyone. It is hampering the already difficult task of voter education in Natal/KwaZulu (118) (118)

Richard Mkolo, national chairman of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education, says problems arise in Inkatha and ANC areas, where parties are not interested in impartial voter education.

The Institute for Multi-Party Democracy's Natal regional co-ordinator, Eric Apelgren, says the voter education programme in the region is progress-

ing well with about 2 000 trainers already in the field. But he concedes there are problems such as apathy and lack of enthusiasm. "This results partly from uncertainty over an election date but is also a by-product of violence and the lack of defined policies among the leading parties. It is hoped that will change when political campaigns move into top gear."

Other impediments to voter education, he says, have included no-go areas and the reluctance of some traditional leaders and the KwaZulu government to allow education programmes in certain areas. But he says Inkatha members have shown considerable enthusiasm for voter education.

If Buthelezi is to lead the party into an election, he'll have to decide soon or lose valuable campaign time. ■

SECURITY

Private parade

While the political parties talk peace, the arms race and resulting tensions appear to be on the increase, particularly in Natal.

The latest revelation is of an Inkatha-linked training camp west of the Umfolozi game reserve in northern Natal, where hundreds of young blacks are reported to be undergoing weapons training by khaki-clad white instructors.

It comes as no surprise that the camp exists or that it should elicit a strong response from Inkatha's arch rival, the ANC, though the ANC condemns on shaky moral grounds. It is training MK members — in far greater numbers, according to Inkatha

— in the townships.

But, according to Inkatha's Peter Miller, the camp was never a clandestine operation and claims to the contrary are nothing but "blatant propagandist nonsense. It was never either deliberately concealed or publicised and its establishment conforms to the terms of the National Peace Accord," he says.

According to a spokesman for the accord, chapter five of the agreement allows for the establishment of self-protection units, but not private armies. However, since no complaint has been lodged, this operation has not been investigated.

Miller adds that, far from being a major military threat or sinister assault force, the

aim of the training (which has been in progress for about three weeks) is defence-orientated and aimed at training people to protect their own communities and individuals vulnerable to political violence. The recruits are, he says, essentially being trained in self-protection techniques and small-arms fire.

"Remember that just short of 300 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated since the signing of the Peace Accord and nearly 1 000 card-carrying members have also been murdered. It amazes us in Inkatha that people expect us to meekly accept being killed. No reasonable person can refuse those communities the right

to take steps to defend themselves."

Miller adds that the training is not being run under the auspices of either Inkatha or the KwaZulu government. Nor is it linked in any way to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's plan to raise an army, paid for by a R5/head levy, for the protection of vulnerable individuals and communities.

The Umfolozi facility, says Miller, is a private initiative taken by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and certain tribal leaders. "It is being done so in their personal capacities, not on behalf of either government or party. They have selected the people to be trained and are funding it through private sources themselves." ■

TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Culture clash

While negotiators at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park battled this week to cobble together an interim constitution before Friday's deadline, a potentially powerful group of traditional leaders waited for acknowl-



Inkatha's Buthelezi ... watching his options narrow

INKATHA Fwi 12/11/93

The thief of time

Will Inkatha take part in the election? One central executive committee member says no. Another gives assurances that Natal will not be allowed to fall into other hands by default. But the organisation is going ahead with plans announced earlier this year to gear up for an election, whether or not it is held on April 27. As one commentator put it, "it's like mobilising troops when there is no war on. Nothing is more demoralising."

These mixed signals may confound political opponents but they also do little to enhance Inkatha's credibility (118) (118)

Influential central committee member Walter Felgate stresses nothing has changed. Inkatha, he says, will not take part in elections for a constituent assembly or a two-phased transition.

Contradicting that, Zimbabwe's national news agency reported applause for party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's announcement, at the Preferential Trade Area summit in Uganda, that Inkatha would participate in the election. That statement has not been confirmed though.

Adding credence to the report, Inkatha election strategist Peter Miller promises that regional government in Natal will not fall into other hands by default. He says election and campaign preparations are well under way. Arthur Konigkramer, publisher of Zulu newspaper *Ilanga*, has already been appointed campaign manager.

The ambiguous stance suggests this is part of a brinkmanship exercise to squeeze the last drop of regional concessions from the multiparty negotiations. But hard-won con-

NEGOTIATIONS

Fm 12/11/93

The caravan moves on

The failure of government and the ANC to draw the Freedom Alliance into the mad dash towards this week's deadline for finalising the interim constitution may be far less serious than it seems. Analysts believe the alliance took a strategic decision some time ago not to return to the talks, except in the highly unlikely event of its demands being met.

This view is supported by the early withdrawal of Inkatha negotiators Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane from important bilateral talks with government last week, so that they could accompany leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on a foreign visit. Inkatha is a senior partner in the alliance.

Buthelezi's action in leaving SA at such a crucial time in the bilateral negotiation process was interpreted as an indication that he had no intention of returning to the World Trade Centre before today's deadline.

A similar stance appears to have been taken by other alliance partners who, it is understood, made little effort to soften hard-line positions during last-ditch talks with government this week.

Freedom Alliance leaders apparently decided that their input in the final stage of negotiations would have virtually no impact on the interim constitution. Participation could in fact have backfired by bolstering the credibility of government and the ANC, while undermining alliance support if — as was likely — it was unable to force acceptance of its main demands.

By not endorsing the interim constitution the alliance's future options are open. It can either participate in April's general election or campaign for a boycott. A boycott would have been hypocritical had the alliance been part of the process.

The more pressing problem facing government and the ANC this week was lack of time to finalise niggling details of the interim constitution and related measures, such as the electoral law and rights concerning strikes and lock outs. Discussions in the

National Manpower Commission over the right of employers to lock out strikers deadlocked this week. The issue — the only outstanding matter over which Cosatu has threatened a national strike — has been referred to the negotiators at Kempton Park.

Negotiators took a break from public discussion on Tuesday to give parties a chance to brief their leaders on final decisions that needed to be made this week. As the *FM* went to press the Cabinet was meeting in a special session in Pretoria, after which President F W de Klerk was due to address a press conference on government's latest view of recent developments.

The Freedom Alliance chairman, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, says that if the alliance is not part of the agreement on the interim constitution it will not take part in the elections.

Earlier this week negotiators believed the interim constitution would be ready for endorsement on Thursday, but were preparing to push the deadline to Saturday if necessary to finalise "outstanding matters."

A plenary session of the negotiating parties, including their leaders, is scheduled for Tuesday, at which the package of agreements on the Transitional Executive Council and interim constitution is to be given the go-ahead.

De Wett Schutte, a political research specialist with the Human Sciences Research Council, has little doubt that the interim constitution will be "forced through" within the next few days, leading to an important new phase in the transitional process. He believes the Freedom Alliance's absence from the World Trade Centre is not particularly important. "Nothing the alliance could have said or done would have changed the pace or direction of the process." Participation might also have exerted considerable pressure on the alliance, whose constituent parties have widely divergent views on key issues.

Schutte believes political dynamics may change significantly following the adoption of the interim constitution. Possibilities include a narrowing of the ideological gap between the NP and the alliance, and even a formal coalition to oppose the ANC in the election and in the constituent assembly. He does not foresee the alliance boycotting the election because

boycotts are generally unsuccessful strategies.

The possibility of an anti-ANC coalition was given more weight at the weekend when the results of an opinion poll suggested that the ANC would win 57% of the vote next year, compared to 15% for the NP, 9% for the IFP, 4% each for the CP and DP, 5% for the PAC and 3% for regional parties.

Peter Vale, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, says the alliance's absence from the negotiations tends to be viewed either as a precursor to an horrific civil conflict, or as being largely irrelevant because of the alliance's general lack of support. He backs the latter view.

Buthelezi's international allies appear to be abandoning him and the white Right is being restrained by Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen.

Vale says, while conspiracies between government and the alliance can't be ruled out, the latter appears to be an extremely divisive force within the NP, with some senior Ministers wanting nothing to do with the alliance.

Meanwhile, in a tough speech at the weekend, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned rightwingers "and their black surrogates" that they would be crushed if they tried to prevent the election taking place. He told a rally in Transkei that people who believed they could prevent next year's election were "living in a fool's paradise."



REGIONS

Cape solidarity

Fm

The political minefield facing an interim government over boundaries for new provinces has again been highlighted. There is growing opposition to a proposal to hack off a slice of the west coast from the greater western Cape and include it in a northern Cape region to be governed from Kimberley. 12/11/93

The proposal is part of a nine-region package presented to negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last month by the Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation of Regions. Final decisions were side-stepped and effectively left to the constituent assembly and interim government to be elected next year.

West coast communities have rejected the suggestion that all areas north of Piketberg, about 100 km from Cape Town, should be included in a massive northern Cape province. The 230 000-strong population of the region, which stretches 300 km up the west coast to Vanrhynsdorp on the Namaqualand border, identifies strongly with the greater

IFP is united, says Mdlalose

Star 12/11/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Inkatha Freedom Party would not return to multiparty negotiations until there was "respect for proper negotiations", IFP chief negotiator Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference addressed by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on their return from the United States, both Mdlalose and

Buthelezi denied there was a split within the IFP, with Mdlalose categorically saying his party would not return to the talks.

"There is no split whatsoever in the IFP, and there is no question of (us) going back to the negotiations chamber until there is respect for proper negotiations," said Mdlalose.

However, Buthelezi would not commit himself either way, only saying

negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, Government and ANC were still continuing. (113)

He would not comment on whether there was a split within the FA.

Buthelezi reiterated his view that the Interim Constitution did not adequately provide for federalism, and took swipes at both President de Klerk and the Democratic Party for saying federalism was guaranteed.

Buthelezi rejects ⁽¹¹³⁾ US appeal

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the negotiating parties at Kempton Park have put new pressure on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the negotiating council.

Mr. Christopher asked Chief Buthelezi to return to talks, while at the council the IFP's political opponents have given themselves powers to scrap laws in Kwazulu that restrict political activity.

But Chief Buthelezi is refusing to budge. He met Freedom Alliance allies last night and negotiators from the alliance meet today.

Chief Buthelezi spoke at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after returning from overseas.

He said US Assistant Secretary of State George Moose had given him a letter from Mr Christopher.

"The letter talked about my track record as an opponent of apartheid, and made the suggestion that I return to the mainstream talks."

But Chief Buthelezi rejected this idea and also rejected the settlement at Kempton Park as not being federal. He was non-committal about taking part in the election.

Chief Buthelezi will consult his legal advisers and the Kwazulu cabinet about the decision by the negotiating parties at Kempton Park that laws which impeded free political activity should be repealed.

The negotiating parties are to give the Transitional Executive Council power to recommend that the State President change laws formulated in any of the six self-governing territories — or by the central government — that impede free political activity.

Multiparty decisions will be resisted, says Buthelezi

12/11/93
B/DAY

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday his party would resist any decisions which the multiparty negotiating council would "foist" upon it and it would not take part in the election.

Buthelezi, asked what form that resistance would take, said that would be decided by his party and the Freedom Alliance.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his arrival from New York, Buthelezi said he had not been subjected to any pressure from UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to rejoin multiparty talks.

Buthelezi said Inkatha would not participate in next year's elections unless his demands were met. To suggest he was not prepared to stand in elections was "rubbish, but first things must be done first".

He reiterated his organisation's position that it would take part in the

WILSON ZWANE
election only after a final constitution had been agreed upon. The holding of elections in KwaZulu would not, however, be prevented, he said.

Asked whether claims that it was a sign of ill-respect for negotiations on his part to go overseas when they were at a crucial stage, Buthelezi said such claims were "propagandising" his visits.

He said he could not possibly have been expected to turn down an invitation to address — for the first time — the Preferential Trade Area conference in Kampala, Uganda.

Buthelezi said he was not fazed by the progress of talks at the World Trade Centre. "I am a person who has, perhaps, perfected the art of waiting," he said.

He said his party would not be returning to Kempton Park. How-

ever, talks between the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha is a member, and government would continue.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said "Inkatha would not return to multiparty talks unless respect for 'proper negotiations' was shown."

Asked about an agreement at the multiparty talks that self-governing states should cease to exist, Buthelezi said he would have to consult his legal advisers before commenting.

Inkatha is to report back to the alliance. Alliance members will meet government today for further talks.

On polls which suggested that Inkatha's support did not exceed 10%, Buthelezi said he did not dispute them as he was not "a guru on polls".

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana Local Government Minister Hendrick Tlou yesterday dismissed claims that the government had lost its political grip on negotiations.



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a Press conference at Jan Smuts airport yesterday after arriving from New York that Inkatha would not participate in next year's elections unless its demands were met. Picture: ABDUL SHARIF

Sanco to investigate development agencies for farmers

IFP 'getting set for polls'

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is preparing to go to the polls next year but will not contest elections for a constitution-making body, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday. *CF 13/11/93*

The IFP is preparing itself and gearing itself to be able to take part in national democratic elections for a new government sometime in 1994," Dr Mdlalose said.

"The IFP is not interested in elections for a constitution-making body," he stressed.

His statements came amid confusing signals from the IFP on its stance on elections. —

Sapa

NEWS Inkatha chief criticises FW de Klerk • Dismissal of 85 workers challenged

Union goes to court

Sowetan 15/11/93

By Ike Motsapi

THE National Union of Leather Workers is challenging the dismissal of 85 of its members by a Johannesburg company in the Industrial Court.

Mr Phillip Basson, organising secretary of the NULW's Johannesburg branch, said 85 workers at Transvaal Hide and Skin Producers, City Deep, were dismissed without valid reasons on August 13.

The matter is due to come before the court by the end of the month.

He said some of the dismissed workers were not even at work when management took a decision to fire them.

Mr Urie Fourie, human resources manager of the company, confirmed that the matter had been referred to court by the union.

Fourie said the workers were dismissed when they went on a wage strike while talks over the matter were still continuing.

THERE were still very complex differences between the Government and the Freedom Alliance and it would be a miracle if they managed to reconcile them, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday night.

"It will really be a miracle if we find any rapprochement with the South African Government. They have stated repeatedly to us that whatever is agreed

Sowetan 15/11/93

upon, has to get the green light from the ANC-SACP alliance," he told a Greek Chamber of Commerce and Industries Man of the Year award ceremony in Sandton, Johannesburg.

He said he was astonished about President FW de Klerk's announcement that most of the alliance's problems had been solved in talks.

Buthelezi also launched a scathing attack on De Klerk, saying he had lost

respect for the President. Stung by De Klerk's reported reference's this week to "builders and breakers" of democracy, Buthelezi said that had he not been a "builder" he would not have advocated non-violence.

"And if I was a breaker I would have urged my people to take up arms and engage themselves in the armed struggle." — *Sapa.*



de Klerk • Dismissal of 85 workers challenged

FA, Govt 'poles apart'

Sowetan 15/11/93

THERE were still "very complex differences" between the Government and the Freedom Alliance and it would be a miracle if they managed to reconcile them, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday night.

"It will really be a miracle if we find any rapprochement with the South African Government. They have stated repeatedly to us that whatever is agreed

upon, has to get the green light from the ANC-SACP alliance," he told a Greek Chamber of Commerce and Industries' Man of the Year award ceremony in Sandton, Johannesburg.

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"And if I was a breaker I would have urged my people to take up arms and engage themselves in the armed struggle." — Sapa.

'Miracle' if agreement reached - IFP

Star 15/11/93

■ STAFF REPORTER

Despite ongoing talks between the Freedom Alliance and the Government, any coming together between the two groups was unlikely, according to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at the Greek Chamber of Commerce Man of the Year Awards on Saturday, Buthelezi said: "It will really be a miracle if we find any rapprochement with the South African Government. They have stated repeatedly to us that whatever is agreed upon, has to get the green light from the ANC/SACP alliance."

He said that under the proposed dispensation, the regions would have "less powers than the KwaZulu government enjoys at present."

"Nothing has lowered my respect for President de Klerk more than these sleight-of-hand politics when he tells the world that the constitution coming out of Kempton Park gives us a federation," Buthelezi said.

"I am afraid I find that the future for me does not appear very clear since I can see no peace in these circumstances," he said.

IFP hits back at Mandela

CT 15/11/13
JOHANNESBURG. —
ANC leader Mr Nelson
Mandela had no right to
criticise the KwaZulu
government's training of
self-protection units, as
the ANC had failed to
control its own self-de-
fence units, the IFP said.
IFP Transvaal chief
co-ordinator Mr Hennie
Bekker said the training
of the units needed to be
put in perspective in the
light of the killing of
more than 3 000 IFP
members. — Sapa

Solution will
'be a miracle'

et 15/11/93
JOHANNESBURG. — It would be a 'miracle' if the government and the Freedom Alliance resolved their differences, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

He told a Greek Chamber of Commerce and Industries function here he was astonished at President F.W. de Klerk's announcement this week that most of the alliance's problems had been solved in bilateral talks. — Sapa

Mandela 'under attack'

Sowetan 15/11/93

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had no right to criticise the KwaZulu government's training of self-protection units, while the ANC continued training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and failed to control its own self-defence units.

Inkatha Freedom Party official Mr Hennie Bekker said the training of (Inkatha) units needed to be put in perspective in the light of the killing of more than 3 000 IFP members and 350 IFP leaders since 1987. (11B)

Bekker said: "Mr Mandela dares to make remarks about these units in spite of the continued training of ANC MK units in foreign countries. (11B)

"Now that the KwaZulu government

and Inkatha wanted to protect the lives and security of its followers, the ANC leadership has the temerity to criticise our self-defence action while it acknowledges that some of the ANC's self-defence units were totally out of control."

The IFP official was reacting to Mandela's criticism of the training of 600 IFP recruits who, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly says, underwent paramilitary training to protect communities threatened by political violence.

The recruits, dressed in loose blue overalls, marched and sang gospel songs at their passing-out parade at the Mlaba training camp in Umfolozi last Friday. -- Sapa.

LOCAL

First Tvl batch to attend camp

IFP men leave for 'protection' course

BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT
CRIME REPORTER

A large group of Reef IFP members left for Natal yesterday to receive training at the organisation's newly formed protection-unit camps.

IFP Transvaal political director Themba Khoza said the group was the first batch from the Transvaal to attend the course "to be held in the Umfolozi area" north of Durban.

Police said about 150 men had left for the course yesterday, but Khoza could not confirm the figure. He said the men were all from the PWV region.

"The people who were taken were actually requested by their

chiefs from their respective areas in Natal," said Khoza.

The course was "a couple of weeks long".

Khoza said he did not know exactly where the men would be trained or what training they would receive.

All he would say was that they would be trained to "protect their respective communities".

Asked whether there would be more similar courses, Khoza said: "I would love to see many more. Since this training started in Natal, the attacks on Zulu chiefs and headmen have dropped. It would be good to train anything that is a male."

Before leaving for Natal yesterday, the men met senior

Transvaal IFP officials at the organisation's Kerk Street offices in Johannesburg.

The press was not allowed in. A photographer of The Star said he was threatened outside the offices as the armed men alighted from buses. (12)

In the presence of Transvaal IFP deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu, the men threatened to kill him and told him to "go to Mandela", he said.

Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said police were called to the scene when a woman, suffering from shock after seeing the armed men, had a convulsion outside the IFP offices.

Star 16/11/93



focus on talks

Sowetan 17/11/93

LEADERS OF THE 21 parties in multiparty negotiations meet at the World Trade Centre today to put the final seal of approval on a new transitional constitution for South Africa.

In spite of what earlier seemed irreconcilable obstacles, especially as the talks reached a crescendo this week, major agreements were reached on Monday and yesterday — both inside and outside the World Trade Centre.

Significantly, leaders of the likes of Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk will today ratify a package of transitional legislation to be sent to Parliament which sits next Monday.

Specific agreement has been reached on the Electoral Bill, demarcation of regions, constitutional courts, traditional leaders and land ownership.

Outstanding issues apparently concluded between the African National Congress and the Government on Monday included: a deadlock-breaking mechanism for drawing up a final constitution; specified percentages for Cabinet decisions; regional constitutions; the police; and the draft Electoral Bill.

● **Electoral Bill:** A multiparty interim elections committee has been agreed upon to facilitate logistical planning for the elections, prior to the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission. The Freedom Alliance — in spite of its boycott of negotiations — has asked that it be allowed to nominate three members to the interim elections committee.

In its representation, the FA said it had "agreed" to nominate three members, but warned that "this is not an endorsement of the (Electoral) Act or the elections".

The FA made several other inputs on details pertaining to elections, including the number of voting days, and voters' cards.

Another matter on the draft Electoral Bill, concerning the way in which the list of parties will be presented on ballot papers, was agreed to by the council.

One matter concerning the Electoral Bill which the council still has to consider is whether voters should be required to record one vote for the regional party of their choice and one for the national assembly.

The technical committee on the Electoral Bill explained this meant the first name on the list would be drawn out of a hat, to be followed in alphabetical order by the rest of the parties.

People imprisoned for violent crimes will be among the convicts not allowed to vote in South Africa's first democratic election, it was agreed.

Murderers, rapists, kidnappers and people imprisoned for robbery, fraud or bribery were among those ruled unworthy of franchise.

● **Regions:** The negotiating council on Monday agreed to the regional borders for South Africa's transition period, but based their approval on a series of post-election referendums for those areas still in dispute.

The agreement entailed acceptance, for the purposes of the scheduled April election, of the

Drawing up the transitional constitution has been a long haul. As the negotiations race to the finish line, a few matters remain to be agreed. Political correspondent **Themba Molefe** gives an overview:



Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk ... signing today.

‘The Freedom Alliance — in spite of its boycott of negotiations — has asked that it be allowed to nominate three members to the interim elections committee’

nine-region map already proposed by the demarcation special committee, coupled with separate counting of ballots in controversial areas, to facilitate these referendums.

The nine regions as demarcated on the present map are Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Western Cape, Northwest, PWV, Eastern Transvaal, Orange Free State, Northern Transvaal and KwaZulu-Natal.

Central to the committee's proposal was an apparent trade-off between the Government and the ANC on the Eastern and Northern Cape regions.

The proposal on these regions called for votes in the Eastern Cape, which on the provisional map incorporates Transkei and Ciskei and the old Eastern Province, to be counted in two blocs.

A 60 percent majority would be able to decide by referendum if the people of this region wanted to split into two regions as favoured by the Government.

Generally, the sensitive issue of TBVC residents and their part in the scheduled election is also still outstanding. The council debated the Bill again yesterday.

Mandela and De Klerk yesterday met to finalise agreements before the plenary session. This meeting dealt with, among other things, the issues of what percentage will be required for decisions taken in a new multiparty cabinet, and deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On the issue of executive decision-making, the ANC is still proposing an ordinary majority of members of the multiparty Cabinet, while the National Party is asking for a two-thirds majority.

● **Police.** Agreement is understood to provide for a national and nine provincial police forces.

Each provincial police force will reportedly have its own commissioner of police, who will be responsible to a regional police minister.

● **On Constitutional Courts** the Democratic Party was still to decide yesterday on taking action after objecting to political appointments to the courts as agreed by consensus in the talks. The court has to uphold South Africa's new constitution, including the Bill of Rights.

It was also agreed that those who lost their land which was taken from them since 1913 would be compensated.

CAPE

ANC killing us at the rate of one every six days — IFP

Aug 18/11/93

IFP

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party charged today that its leaders were being assassinated at the rate of one every six days as a result of ANC "death squad" activity. National IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane, expressing his party's "deep concern", said that ever since the ANC signed an agreement in 1990 with the government "to legalise

Umkhonto we Sizwe's training, thousands of trained killers have been let loose upon hapless communities throughout the country". "Safe in the knowledge that Pretoria has been browbeaten into submission, ANC hit squad activity has intensified dramatically. In the past few months alone over 5 000 recruits have been sent

to Uganda and Transkei for training. On the streets of Durban's townships thousands more are receiving training with AK-47s." Dr Jiyane said the strategy was abundantly clear. "Through intimidation and violence, the IFP intends destroying the IFP."

"These savage killers even stoop so low as to don the garb of the supposed enemy — the regime — to kill our people, as recent massacres of our people attest. "Our leaders are being assassinated at the rate of one every six days, in an attempt to emasculate the IFP's structures and leadership on the ground." — Sapa.

Training camps cause stir

BY CHARMEELA BHAGWAT
CRIME REPORTER

The Inkatha Freedom Party's decision to recruit Reef members for training at protection unit camps in Natal was an attempt to "create a private army in anticipation of the April 27 elections", the ANC charged this week.

The IFP took its first batch of about 150 members from the PWV area to the Umfolozi area north of Durban on Monday to undergo training.

Transvaal IFP political director Themba Khoza said on Monday that the men would return to the Reef after their training to protect their communities. He said the men had been asked by their chiefs in Natal to attend the course.

Khoza said the course was "a couple of weeks long" but could not say exactly what training the men would receive.

The ANC has demanded that the Goldstone Commission investigate the objectives of the training and the sources of funding and weapons.

IFP 'wooded every way we know' (118)

ARC 19/11/93

EMPANGENI. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela says the ANC has exhausted all avenues in trying to bring Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi back to the transition process.

"We've done everything heavenly possible to get him back to negotiations. If you have a plan we'd like to hear it," he said last night.

The ANC president was fielding questions, most of which concerned the IFP's non-participation in the constitutional process, from a mixed race audience in Empangeni town hall.

He said he had made umpteen attempts to draw Chief Buthelezi back to multiparty talks but said it had been impossible to change the Inkatha leader's attitude.

"What more can you expect us to do?" he asked.

In an apparent swipe at Chief Buthelezi, the ANC leader said while most major political organisations were talking peace and negotiating, others were training for civil war.

There could be no military solution to the wave of fighting sweeping the country. "The solution is to talk peace". — Sapa.

Fm 19/11/93

seems to have forgotten its own self-protection units.

A visit to the training camp — strategically located on land owned by KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) member Nkosi Magenda Mlaba — makes it clear that though conditions are primitive and the operation is run on a shoestring, the camp is what it claims to be. The location, according to camp commander Philip Powell, who is a former security policeman and Inkatha stalwart, was chosen because of its proximity to a clinic and the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi.

Powell maintains that the 600 recruits aged between 18 and 68 are trained over five weeks and equipped to protect local communities threatened by violence. But how they will be used, he concedes, is up to the people who sent them — the sponsors of the operation who are members of the KLA and certain traditional leaders — aided and abetted by the homeland government which provided equipment and training instructors drawn from the KwaZulu Police.

Powell denies any rightwing paramilitary participation in the project and explains that training is similar to that which security companies provide for armed guards — weapon training, anticipating and repelling attacks and ambushes and how to think and react correctly under fire. He says that the new trainees should promote, not endanger peace since would-be attackers will be more reluctant to attack well-organised and defended communities. (10) (11)

The flipside is that the training facility will pour ever more partisan people trained to kill into highly charged communities.

Evidence of just how high tensions are running comes from a Human Rights Commission report that Natal had its highest ever monthly death toll from political violence with 215 fatalities in October.

Self-protection in this light seems important, particularly in view of controversy over the role of the security forces. In this regard the Goldstone Commission's timing seems impeccable in deciding to hold a preliminary inquiry into a number of issues related to and including self-protection units.

If the inquiry becomes a full-fledged investigation, Judge Richard Goldstone will be better placed than most to sift through the bluster and propaganda from all sides to establish where, whether and when self-protection units are what they claim, or if they are in reality evil political weapons to eliminate political opponents.

Goldstone has promised to look into issues such as security force protection, the desirability and training of community-based self-protection units and even the relevance of the National Peace Accord in this regard.

But perhaps most important, assuming the inquiry proceeds, is that Goldstone will look at the regulation of these units and how they can be made accountable, along with auditing their membership and arms. If he succeeds it will doubtless be a giant blow for peace. At this stage, however, his task seems all but impossible.

SELF-PROTECTION UNITS

Sifting through bluster

Fm 19/11/93

KwaZulu's recently exposed self-protection unit training scheme has faced a barrage of opposition out of proportion to its importance or significance. Nevertheless, justification for the units is dubious at best. (10) (11)

Leading the charge is the ANC which accuses Inkatha of various forms of malicious intent ranging from the creation of a private army to deliberately fomenting township violence, to a seemingly far-fetched suggestion that it is the nucleus of a force to spearhead Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's war of secession. But the ANC

tution • Armed struggle on agenda

Buthelezi may contest elections

Sowetan 19/11/93

■ CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IFP

leader says he is guided by his constituency:

RATIFICATION of the draft constitution by multiparty negotiators was illegitimate and unrepresentative, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday. (113)

Addressing a visiting Dutch government delegation, Buthelezi said, however, that he would participate in next year's elections if his supporters told him to do so.

He said he had opposed participation in the election of a constituent assembly "because I was mandated to do so".

"I do not have the luxury of doing what I want to do. My people will tell me what to do," he said.

Buthelezi said what had come out of multiparty negotiations "has so alienated the IFP and other parties that they can no longer take part in the World Trade Centre process".

He said the African National Congress and the Government were hoping that, by following the constituent assembly route, they would establish a transitional process

that would entrench centralised power for the future government.

The constitutional process implied that issues of national importance would be resolved by the Government and the ANC alone, "irrespective of the fact that the outcome of their decisions will have reverberations which extend far beyond their interests," said Buthelezi.

Reconciliation

If the ANC and the Government were allowed to succeed, the chances of peace and reconciliation would be negligible.

Buthelezi claimed the IFP, "the most underrated political party in the country", had more to gain from an election than any other party.

"Elections will do us more good than any other party. We want an election now under a final democratic constitution.

"I would, however, rather go into the political wilderness than legitimise a wrong constitution by entering into elections under it," he concluded. — Sapa.

Don't pay R20 to IFP fund — call

Sowetan 19/11/93

ANC STATEMENT Buthelezi's

party accused of preparing for war:

THE ANC yesterday called on South Africans not to pay their "hard-earned R20" to the Inkatha Freedom Party's Solidarity Fund, accusing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party of preparing for war. (113) (113)

In a statement yesterday, ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said like the R5 "demanded" by Buthelezi about a month ago for the formation of self-protection units, the Solidarity Fund was aimed at "creating more training camps for the death squads that have caused havoc in our communities".

"The Fund is aimed at prolonging the lifespan of the KwaZulu bantustan and therefore prolonging corruption and misery of all our people. Any cent donated to this fund means a day more of misery, death and destruction," Makhaye said.

The ANC, he said, was already aware that in areas like Mpumalanga outside Hammersdale large sums of money were forcibly taken from pensioners. The people had to report such incidents "to democratic structures and expose them in the media".

Meanwhile, ANC officials in Natal have taken special security precautions for ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit following the IFP's call on supporters to attend his meetings.

IFP regional secretary Blessed Gwala issued a statement this week calling on IFP members to attend Mandela's people's forums and question him on violence and other issues.

ANC regional secretary Senzo Mchunu told *Sapa* he had been in touch with Gwala over the statements and he had also taken special security measures to prevent possible confrontation.

He said IFP supporters were among those who had received special invitations to a people's forum in Empangeni on Thursday night. Gwala had misinterpreted this gesture as an invitation to all IFP supporters, he claimed.

Meetings had been held with the South African and KwaZulu police to ensure Mandela's visit on Thursday went off smoothly, said Mchunu.

Of particular concern was an afternoon meeting in Mandini's Sundumbili township which has been affected by political violence over the past few months.

NEWS FEATURE *Achievements of democracy negotiators have symbolic meaning for world*

Road open to black rule

Sowetan 19/11/93

HISTORIC CEREMONY *Interim*

Constitution inaugurates whole new era:

SOUTH AFRICA's leaders set the country firmly on the road to black majority rule in an historic ceremony heavy in symbolism.

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and other black and white leaders approved early yesterday an interim constitution to give the five-to-one black majority the vote for the first time.

Political analysts said the achievements of the democracy negotiators had a symbolic meaning for the world at large.

"It's the beginning of a new era in our relations with the international community," Antoni van Nieuwkerk, senior researcher at the South African Institute for International Affairs, said.

"The plenary session with the leaders has a very high symbolic value and will send out the message to the international community that we are making good progress in the negotiating process."

"It is a signal that tells the international community the time has now arrived for closer co-operation and involvement with South Africa," he said. Van Nieuwkerk said the country would need "a whole lot of independent observers and monitors" in the run-up to

There is great symbolism in signing away apartheid and getting on with a new life

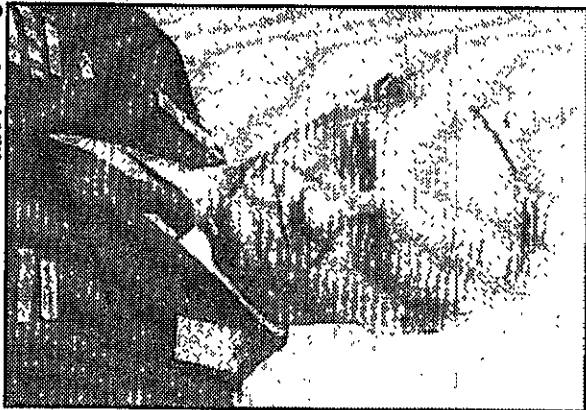
the first nonracial elections set for next April 27.

The International Commission of Jurists has also issued a plea for "massive help" from the international community to ensure free and fair elections.

"There is great symbolism in signing away apartheid and getting on with a new life," said analyst Gary van Staden of stockbrokers Kaplan and Stewart.

But missing from the barn-like conference chamber at the World Trade Centre were rightwing whites and conservative black leaders from homelands created by apartheid. The white rightwing vehemently opposed the constitutional package.

The leader of the right-wing umbrella Afrikaner Volkfront, former Defence Force chief General Constand Viljoen, said acceptance of the interim constitution would mark the start of a violent



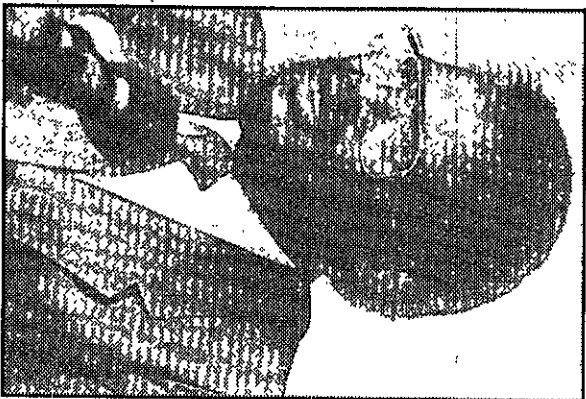
Constand Viljoen

communist takeover of the country.

The leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Eugene Terre'Blanche, also raised the prospect of communist domination and told his followers to prepare for war.

Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu black homeland, said democracy negotiators could expect resistance to their agreement.

The leftwing Azanian People's Organisation, which has steadfastly rejected the forum as a sham, has labelled the outcome a sellout deal which en-



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

trenches white privilege.

Azapo said the economic imbalances imprinted by years of white domination would ensure that whites continued to control and direct the state.

Azapo is to hold consultations with its exiled sister organisation this weekend where their way forward is expected to be charted. The organisation has said it would not take part in elections.

But De Klerk and Mandela left the door open for their opponents to return to the democracy process **(118)** **(119)** **(120)** **(121)** **(122)** **(123)** **(124)** **(125)** **(126)** **(127)** **(128)** **(129)** **(130)** **(131)** **(132)** **(133)** **(134)** **(135)** **(136)** **(137)** **(138)** **(139)** **(140)** **(141)** **(142)** **(143)** **(144)** **(145)** **(146)** **(147)** **(148)** **(149)** **(150)** **(151)** **(152)** **(153)** **(154)** **(155)** **(156)** **(157)** **(158)** **(159)** **(160)** **(161)** **(162)** **(163)** **(164)** **(165)** **(166)** **(167)** **(168)** **(169)** **(170)** **(171)** **(172)** **(173)** **(174)** **(175)** **(176)** **(177)** **(178)** **(179)** **(180)** **(181)** **(182)** **(183)** **(184)** **(185)** **(186)** **(187)** **(188)** **(189)** **(190)** **(191)** **(192)** **(193)** **(194)** **(195)** **(196)** **(197)** **(198)** **(199)** **(200)** **(201)** **(202)** **(203)** **(204)** **(205)** **(206)** **(207)** 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expected the right wing to "puff and puff", but still fail to blow the house down.

Political sources said Lucas Mangope, leader of the Bophuthatswana black homeland, might prove the most difficult of the black conservatives to deal with because he believed his homeland might have a chance of surviving on its own. The sources said that, despite the denials of Inkatha leaders, Buthelezi's movement could split, with a breakaway group contesting the elections on its own. — *Sapa-Reuters and Sowetan Reporters.*

Private 'dissent' may split the IFP

(18) 27/11/92

Political Staff
IT'S "high noon" for the Inkatha Freedom Party — and observers believe a split may be imminent between the hardliners and those who want a more pragmatic approach to the elections in April.

Although no one in the IFP would go on record about any imminent division, some Inkatha sources have conceded privately that there is appar-

ently a growing repudiation among some IFP members that if they contest the elections aligned to the right wing they may be "doomed".

Addressing a meeting in the Empaneni town hall last night, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the ANC had exhausted all avenues in trying to bring IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the transition.

World leaders and top South African businessmen have also failed to

woo him back to the talks.
Chief Buthelezi, would not say yesterday if the IFP would be taking part in the elections, but said a special congress of the party would be held to discuss the matter.

The IFP's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, told a press conference in Durban last week the party was "actively moving ahead to ensure a high level of organisation to meet the challenges of transition to a new

South Africa in which the IFP will play a key role".

Mr Kobus Jordaan, spokesman for the Democratic Party, said it was time for a lot of introspection within Inkatha.

● Members of the Freedom Alliance are scheduled to meet members of the South African government in Pretoria today.

● R33m jet for KwaZulu — Page 2

Zulus will resist, says Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Zulu people would meet the present draft constitution, when it became law, with "determined resistance", the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

And in Maritzburg the IFP rejected with "absolute disgust" the ANC/govt decision to permit only a single ballot paper at next year's elections.

IFP political director Mr Peter Miller said the effect was to prejudice parties that tended to have a regional power base rather than a national power base.

The action was "collusion" to prejudice smaller parties and to prevent political expression in regions.

Mandela's many faces

(11A) W/M 19-25/11/93

Parading the slogan 'Your problem is my problem', Nelson Mandela launches the ANC's election campaign in Natal. Farouk Chothia reports

KICKING off the African National Congress election campaign with a whirlwind tour of Natal, Nelson Mandela unmasked a few of the many faces he will wear as he fights for the hearts and minds of South Africa's 21-million voters.

In a hectic schedule which saw the helicopter-borne ANC president address 13 public meetings in three days, he donned a wide range of personas — from the loving father who kissed little children to a toyi-toying activist showing the masses how to mark an X for the ANC on April 27.

As a young drum majorette garlanded him at a rally in Nkhlalakahle township in Greytown, Mandela kissed her on the cheek, before making her sit on his lap. To the 1 000-strong crowd he sent a clear message: he was a father who loved his children.

It was a shrewd move to counter a possible election strategy of the National Party which would project President FW de Klerk as the torch-bearer of strong family values.

One striking feature of Mandela's campaign trail was the vicious attacks he launched on De Klerk from every public platform, taking South Africa back to the pre-1990 era when the battle lines were clearly drawn.

He even reverted to the rhetoric of the 1980s: far from being a "man of integrity" — Mandela's phrase when he needed De Klerk as a negotiating partner — the state president was a "man who does not care about black lives".

So damaging were the attacks that three senior NP leaders — Roelf Meyer, George Bartlett and Dawie de Villiers — issued a joint statement accusing Mandela of deepening "racial polarisation" in South Africa.

In buoyant mood at a rally in Ixopo, a sharp-tongued Mandela said: "On April 27, we'll bury the NP together with its black surrogates. It's the last time we'll ever hear of them."

While stressing that he was still committed to a government of national unity, he delivered a back-handed swipe at De Klerk by indirectly linking him to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "If De Klerk or his black surrogates are able to get five percent of the total vote, then De Klerk will serve in government," he said.

Mandela even made a pitch for the support of members of the South African Police, reaching out to a force which will play a crucial role in ensuring that ANC supporters in volatile Natal are protected when they go to the polls.

While repeatedly demanding the withdrawal of the Internal Stability Unit from black townships, he shook hands with ISU members in Ixopo. Thrilled, one Indian policeman remarked: "He is a classic leader."

Addressing the policemen, Mandela used the traditional police "Mutt and Jeff" routine. He started on the offensive: the police force, army and civil service were established to defend white minority rule and regarded every demonstration by blacks as a declaration of war on white supremacy, he said. The police and the army were not competent to defend democracy.

As faces reddened, he offered an olive branch: "(But) we are aware



Trump card ... Nelson Mandela's charisma is being used to garner support for the ANC among those traditionally opposed to the movement

there are many policemen who are forgetting the past — they must be part of the transformation process. We will use these policemen as we reorganise the police force. The doors are wide open."

With the theme "Your problem is my problem. Your solution is my solution", Mandela staged question and answer sessions with potential voters wherever he went.

Both blacks and whites raised questions about the economy and violence. But these reflected their differing vantage points: blacks wanted to know how they would escape poverty, while whites seemed more concerned about nationalisation and higher taxes.

In the black squatter settlement of Inanda, community leaders told the ANC leader: "We have no houses, no roads, no electricity, no water, no sewerage, no creches, no clinics, no security, no good transport."

Mandela blamed the NP and promised a reconstruction programme. But he cautioned: "Nobody should have exaggerated expectations. We'll try to deliver the goods if voted into office."

In Greytown, white businessmen voiced concerns that the ANC was not fully committed to a market economy. Dismissing the argument, Mandela said: "More than 86 percent of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are owned by five big conglomerates. Where is the free market in that?"

Indians complained about the draft constitution's failure to recognise as official their vernacular languages, including Gujarati and Hindi. Disarmingly, Mandela admitted that this was a "serious omission" for which he had no explanation. He promised that the ANC would address it.

Another sensitive issue surprisingly off the white agenda was the ANC's alliance with the South African Com-

munist Party — indicating that whites have either accepted it as a fait accompli or no longer see the SACP as a threat.

Aware that the issue could drive away potential voters, the ANC appears to have decided to downplay it. Significantly, neither the party's flag nor its slogans featured prominently on Mandela's tour — in sharp contrast to the days when its flag was hoisted alongside the ANC's and chants of "Viva ANC!" were followed by chants of "Viva SACP!"

Said an ANC leader: "We want people to focus on the ANC, its flag and its logo. That is what is going to be on the ballot paper."

Mandela's decision to kick off his "people's forum" campaign in Natal signals the importance of the region in the ANC's bid to win the national elections.

With the PWV region, Natal has the highest voter population — 23 percent — and is the only province where the ANC faces a serious challenge from both the IFP and the NP.

To secure the rural vote, the ANC once more tried to recapture Zulu culture from Inkatha. In the rolling hills of Swayimane, a regiment of Zulu warriors escorted Mandela to the platform, handing him a shield and stick. Later, the warriors brought a bull to the platform, as a gift for him. Filled with emotion at the gesture, Mandela promised he would return after April 27 to slaughter the bull and celebrate the ANC's victory.

Mandela the man is the ANC's trump card, and there must have been some worries about his ability to stay the election course: at times he seemed tired, walking slightly bent and having difficulty rising to his feet.

But in a tribute to his amazing energy at 75, he bounced back, finishing his tour by toyi-toying with The Young Lions of Pietermaritzburg at a mass rally at the city hall.

Buthelezi blusters as IFP gets ready

WM 26/11 - 2/12/93 (115)

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is still rejecting the April 27 poll but the IFP is moving into election gear, writes **Faruk Chothia**

Faruk Chothia

WHO is the most principled and consistent leader? "Shenge!" — the mixed crowd of whites and blacks replied in one loud voice.

"Who represents integrity, religious and family values?" "Shenge!"

"Who is the fearless champion of federalism?" "Shenge!"

"Who is the champion of non-violence, negotiations and decency?" "Shenge!"

Introducing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (whose clan name is Shenge) with these words to a 1 000-strong crowd at the Durban city hall on Monday evening, Inkatha Freedom Party national political director Ziba Jiyane signalled that the IFP was moving into election gear — and unveiled some of the central themes around which it will contest elections.

Of all the parties, it appears that the IFP will place the strongest emphasis on family values in a bid to win votes.

Unlike the ANC and the National Party, the IFP has made "the family" the central theme in its logo unveiled in newspaper advertisements last Sunday. The logo also signals that the IFP intends to project itself as a moderate party. The perfect nuclear family: a mother in high-heeled shoes and a

short skirt walks with husband and two children into the new era, following the rays of the sun.

The emphasis on modernism is significant: it suggests that the IFP sees its future constituency as urban-based, rather than in the dwindling rural population. Traditional Zulu culture, on which the IFP has traditionally relied for its support, does not feature at all in the logo.

And with the family shaded in both black and white, the logo suggests that the IFP is attempting to woo voters across the racial spectrum.

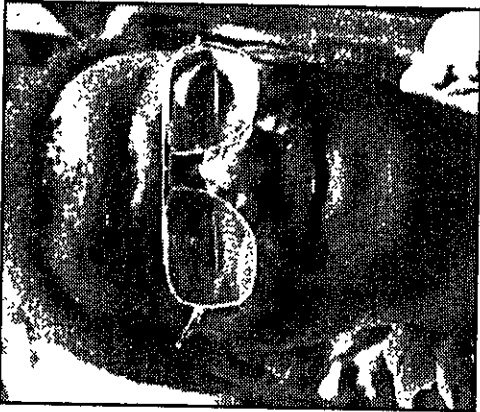
In another sign that the IFP is gearing up for elections, IFP media spokesman Ed Tillet pitched for white support in his address at the city hall, urging them not to vote for the NP and Democratic Party, as this would merely split the anti-ANC vote.

He said the "fundamental weakness" of the NP and the DP was their failure to build a constituency among blacks, who would determine the outcome of elections. "The IFP can and will deliver the black vote — of that there is no doubt," added Tillet.

Significantly, Buthelezi did not pursue the election theme in his address; focusing rather on rejecting the interim constitution and the April 27 poll.

This reflected a rift within the IFP between Buthelezi and his close confidant, Walter Felgate, and party moderates such as former DP MP Mike Tarr, kwaZulu government chief negotiator Ben Ngubane and IFP chief executive officer Joe Matthews.

Throwing the gauntlet down to the



Threats ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi

moderates, Buthelezi said the IFP planned to hold a special general conference where he would seek a mandate for his rejectionist stance.

In a clear warning to the moderates, Buthelezi charged: "Those who will be with me will be with me and those who move to oppose me will be against me. That will be their prerogative. All I want is clarity on who is with me. I am confident that I will be getting the mandate I am looking for."

In what appeared to be a bid to rally support, Buthelezi threatened for the third time this year to resign as IFP president if the conference voted against his position. "I have said in the past this may well be a time ... for me to reconsider my own position," he said.

Aware that his verbal salvos are alienating potential funders of an elec-

tion campaign, Buthelezi seems to be now using more measured words: the phrase "civil war" featured only once in his eight-page speech.

Against this backdrop, it appears that Buthelezi had repeatedly threatened civil war in the past to extract concessions from the ANC and the NP before they finalised the interim constitution.

In his city hall address, Buthelezi spoke of "peaceful civil resistance and possible disobedience" in a campaign for "democracy, real freedom and justice".

But he also made a veiled threat to take up arms: "In life, there are things people must struggle for with all they have. These are things where people should not be afraid even to pay the supreme price with their lives. I am convinced such a battle has begun in South Africa."

Elections, however, did get a small mention in Buthelezi's speech. He said the IFP was preparing "full blast" to contest the poll — though it would not be for a constituent assembly.

Observers believe that Buthelezi is deliberately sending out confused signals, hoping to extract last-minute concessions from the NP and ANC.

At the same time, the kwaZulu leader hopes to win further support among white voters, paving the way for the IFP to emerge ahead of the NP in the elections. This would make him — and not FW de Klerk — the deputy president. In fact, the main target of his attacks was the NP, rather than his long-time opponent, the ANC.

IFP may fight election without Buthelezi

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's continued rejection of the April 27 poll is causing tensions within his party. IFP leaders are considering fighting the election without him, reports **Farouk Chothia**

LEADING figures in the Inkatha Freedom Party are thinking the unthinkable. They are not ruling out the possibility of contesting next April's election without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But they insist this eventually — the political equivalent of *Hamlet* without the prince — is unlikely to happen.

Speculation has been fuelled by two developments this week. At an IFP rally in Durban on Monday, Buthelezi warned he would resign as president if a planned special IFP conference voted down his rejectionist stance on elections. It was the third time he has made this threat this year.

And in Washington, Buthelezi's former close associate and past Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said he thought the IFP leader might soon retire from public life and leave his party to fight elections without him.

Dhlomo, who quit his Inkatha post in 1990 and now heads the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, reportedly said it was not in Buthelezi's nature to participate in a process he had so vehemently opposed. At the same time, many rising IFP leaders were keen to fight the elections, and tensions were simmering in the organisation.

In an interview, IFP national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said he expected the IFP to survive even if Buthelezi stepped down as its leader at a special general conference to be held either next month or early next year. However, for this to happen, Buthelezi would have to give the party his blessing.

Jiyane said that while he respected Dhlomo's view, as he had "knowledge" of Buthelezi, he did not agree with his assessment.

It was unlikely that the special general conference of the IFP would go against Buthelezi's wish to boycott



Oscar Dhlomo: Buthelezi may quit

the April poll.

"Chief Buthelezi is very popular in the IFP. Nobody can conceivably challenge his leadership," Jiyane added.

Observers believe that IFP moderates, who want the IFP to fight the election, may attempt to strengthen their hand through internal elections for a new central committee. Jiyane said that the IFP planned to hold elections for its leadership structures at

branch and provincial level.

And although only the IFP annual general conference can elect a new central committee in terms of the constitution, the organisation will "consider" holding elections for the central committee at the special general conference.

Observers point out that the IFP has not held central committee elections for the last five years.

Buthelezi appointed his closest confidant, Walter Felgate, to the central committee. If elections are held, IFP moderates could try to oust him, paving the way for them to increase their influence over the IFP president.

Dhlomo — a former right-hand man of the IFP chief — said he believed Buthelezi would consider retirement more seriously if he was left in peace and given recognition for his role in the liberation struggle.

"For Buthelezi to participate in the transitional executive council and government of national unity after his determined opposition to every aspect of the transitional arrangements would be a humiliating climbdown which, as I know him, he would find hard to swallow."

"Through his consistent stand, he

may be preparing quietly to make his exit from political life," said Dhlomo.

There is little prospect, however, of IFP moderates seeking to oust Buthelezi. Besides his overwhelming personal hold on the party machine, the IFP's support among both rural blacks and whites in Natal largely depends on him.

Observers believe that possible successors to Buthelezi are IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose, or kwaZulu government chief negotiator Ben Ngubane. Jiyane — a former exiled leader of the Pan Africanist Congress — stands an outside chance.

Since he joined the party early this year, he has had a meteoric rise in the IFP, being its constitutional adviser at the World Trade Centre Talks and later appointed as its media spokesman and national political director.

He also serves on the IFP election commission.

IFP moderates are keeping their options open with some even considering the possibility of breaking away from the IFP to form a new party with disaffected Nats.

... While others get ready for war

Stephen Lauffer, Jan Taljaard, Farouk Chothia, Estelle Randal

A LONG-STANDING feud between Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a local chief in northern Natal forms the backdrop to last weekend's bloody assault in Nqutu which left at least 12 people dead and several wounded, including a three-year-old child, the chief, Elphas Molefe, and one of his sons.

The Nqutu killings come as violence monitors reported an upsurge in politically motivated deaths in Natal and the existence of at least one Inkatha military training camp. In the week ending last Tuesday, the death toll in the province was higher than in the PWV area for the first time in four months. At 215, October's death rate was the highest in over three years, reported the Human Rights Commission.

Molefe is a Sotho whose forefathers were granted land in the Nqutu area by the British in 1879 for assisting them in their wars against the Zulus. But it is his own political affiliations which have incurred Buthelezi's wrath: he has aligned himself with the African National Congress and Contracea and was suspended without pay by Umtali after visiting the ANC in exile in 1989.

Speaking from his hospital bed, Molefe told the *Mail & Guardian* he had stopped attending meetings of the kwaZulu legislative assembly

shortly before his suspension. "I did not want to join Inkatha."

Sunday's killing spree came after local organisers cancelled a meeting with Youth League leader Peter Mokoabe and Winnie Mandela on the advice of ANC intelligence, who said they had information that the gathering was to be attacked by Inkatha cadres. Human rights workers active in the area also reported being told to stay out over the weekend by the kwaZulu police because "something was going to happen."

But Inkatha spokesman Ziba Jiyane "rejected with contempt" ANC claims that his organisation had been responsible for the massacre, saying the use of AK-47s proved their innocence. AK-47 assault rifles are freely available on the illegal South African weapons market and have frequently been seized during police raids on Inkatha-held hostels.

Molefe said he believed the attack was politically motivated. ANC members in his area had been receiving threatening phone calls, and it was well known that the youth in his area use his house for meetings. His kraal had recently been surrounded by amabutho led by another local chief, Genene Ngcobo, said Molefe. "They were carrying spears and other traditional weapons and they were singing a song about people who break away not being welcome in kwaZulu. I reported the incident to the magistrate."

The Goldstone Commission is



Feud ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi

investigating Sunday's attack. The upsurge in political violence in Natal appears to signal the emergence of a two-pronged strategy in Umtali borrowed from Umtali's Jonas Savimbi, with Inkatha preparing simultaneously for elections and for war.

Plans for a R10-million Inkatha election fundraising drive (see companion story) and revelations of military training suggest that Buthelezi is putting into practice a plan designed to accommodate both hawks and doves within his camp.

Talk has been rife in rightwing circles for months about clandestine training for Inkatha organised by the Afrikaner Volksfront, and using the skills of former SAP and SADF counter-insurgency specialists. This week, AVF headquarters denied any involvement or knowledge of military training.

Inkatha training base exposed

WM 12-18/11/93 (11B) (11C) From Page 2

Training is taking place in remote areas of Zululand and possibly in southern Mozambique, say the rumours. Inkatha admitted this week that it was using a training base at Umfolozi exposed last week by Durban journalists.

Situated in the rugged hills between Umtali and Umfolozi, the camp is close to the Umfolozi game reserve, and park visitors complain frequently of hearing gunfire late at night.

Giving credence to the growing reality of an Inkatha-AVF military axis, the latest edition of the Volksfront's magazine *Dexter* features an article under the heading "Afrikaner and Zulu — a military combination to fear".

Dexter says Inkatha has the numbers — up to three million potential soldiers — and the AVF the ability to procure military hardware.

Further information gleaned from normally reliable rightwing sources in a series of interviews suggests that:

● Former 32 battalion officers associated with the AVF — whose names are known to the *Mail & Guardian* and who have recently been seen in Natal, hundreds of kilometres from their usual stamping grounds — have been moulding traditional Zulu impi into conventional infantry units over the past several months.

● The Volksfront generals, including Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald, pay regular visits to the training camps.

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IFP-AWB pact vetoed

Referring in the invitation to it as a "non-aggression pact (*nle-angvalsperdrag*)" he this week described the proposed deal as being more a "pact of solidarity".

The pact signed by Myeni and Terre'Blanche in March last year caused severe embarrassment in senior IFP circles.

A SECOND secret pact between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in the Transvaal has been called off after intervention from Ulundi.

The IFP was this week preparing to sign a "non-aggression pact" with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in Vereeniging. But Natal spokesman Ziba Jiyane told the *Mail & Guardian* that Transvaal leader Themba Khoza had been instructed "to tell the people in Vereeniging not to go ahead with it."

"It is official IFP policy not to enter into any kind of agreement or deals with the AWB," Jiyane said. "We cannot allow this to proceed."

IFP supremos have once before had to rein in their Transvaal region, when they

Attempts to forge closer ties between Inkatha and the far-right were shot down by Ulundi this week. **Jan Tajaard reports**

scotched a planned non-aggression pact between Terre'Blanche and Musa Myeni.

Apparently organised by the local branch of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the signing of the treaty is due to take place tomorrow and is to be signed by Terre'Blanche and Mwezi Twala of the IFP. Apart from Twala and Terre'Blanche, speakers at the event are scheduled to include Volksfront strategist and member of the AVF directorate

event. Earlier this week Volksfront regional secretary in Vereeniging Bill Moorcroft waxed lyrical about the event.

"Everything will be there," he enthused. "The AWB commandos, the brass bands, the horses... we are only leaving the aeroplanes at home."

In an invitation to rightwing groups this week, Moorcroft called on all interested groups to attend and support the event.

Central committee member Walter Felgate immediately reacted by stating that the IFP did not support the pact and that Myeni had acted "out of mandate".

Myeni also repudiated reports of a formal pact by terming these "deliberate mischief-making".

He said the planned deal had merely covered the principles of peaceful co-existence and the peaceful resolution of disputes at local level.

IFP moderates plan elections ...

Inkatha moderates are preparing to contest the elections despite threats of a boycott from more hardline members of the organisation, report

Farouk Chothia and Chris Louw

RAISING R10-million, unveiling a party logo to capture the dawn of a new era, ditching the white rightwing, forming a new black alliance under the name African Federal Congress — these are some of the plans of Inkatha Freedom Party election strategists as they gear up for elections.

The strategies reflect the thinking of Inkatha moderates, who are extremely anxious that the IFP should participate in the April poll. On the other side of the rift are IFP president Mang-

sothu Buthelezi, and his close confidant, Walter Feigate.

Feigate has repeatedly threatened a boycott of elections, but there are signs that even he is beginning to accept the inevitable. During the boss' beraad last week, he made it clear that the government only had to "give a little more" for the IFP to reconsider its stance. A boycott could precipitate severe internal conflict and an exodus from the IFP, particularly by defectors from other parties such as former DP MP Mike Tarr. Said one source: "The moderates don't know whether Feigate is serious or holding out for more concessions from the ANC and government. Clarity will come soon."

The moderates were this week buoyantly preparing to take on the ANC and NP in elections, even though the election will be for a federal government, rather than a constituent assembly. Said one IFP leader: "We'll continue fighting for federalism through parliament. It took Belgium 20 years to achieve a fully fledged federal state."

Cape Town organiser Malcolm

Bagley has told the *Mail & Guardian* the IFP is recruiting new members specifically with an eye to elections.

And recently, the managing director of the IFP-owned *Itanga* newspaper, Arthur Koningkramer, resigned to become manager of the IFP's election campaign. Insiders consider him ideal for the job. "He's a good organiser, a decisive decision-maker, and a meticulous planner," said a source.

IFP sources said this week the organisation would shortly unveil a party logo, and that it would portray the IFP as a national, rather than Zulu party.

After extensive research among potential voters, the election commission had narrowed the choice of a logo down to three and the central committee was likely to make a final choice in the next few weeks.

"The dawning of a new era will be the central theme. The logo will also reflect all the people of South Africa — though how this will be done is still being debated." The source added that the election campaign would cost about

R10-million, but that because of its ambivalent stance on elections, the IFP was finding it difficult to raise money.

The key players in the IFP election campaign are all moderates — and many are 1993 recruits. They include:

- Chief executive officer Joe Matthews, chairman of the election commission. A former senior figure in the ANC/SACP alliance, Matthews is seen as a "brilliant intellect" able to read the ANC's election game-plan.

- A long-standing friend of Buthelezi, Inka Mars, is seen as playing a key role in raising election funds through her connections with local business and links with potential funders in Europe. She travelled with Buthelezi during his recent European tour.

- The only Indian in the election commission, Farouk Cassim, has been establishing contacts with potential Middle Eastern funders. Articulate, he is likely to feature prominently on public platforms. He has been focussing on strategy to win support among Indian voters.

- Former DP MP Mike Tarr is held in high esteem by IFP moderates for trouncing Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte in the Pietermaritzburg North seat in the last general election.

- Sacked by president FW de Klerk as Natal MEC shortly before he joined the IFP earlier this year, Peter Miller is asserting himself in the IFP — and pushing hard for participation in next April's elections.

- An intellectual, Ziba Jiyane is one of the top strategists in the election commission. As former director of the Pan Africanist Congress publicity department, he will also concentrate on the IFP's propaganda campaign for the elections.

- The kwaZulu government's chief negotiator, Ben Ngubane, also serves on the election commission. IFP moderates believe he is a polished politician who needs to have a higher profile in the run-up to elections, having been sidelined for too long by Buthelezi and Feigate.

IFP Women's Brigade chairman Faith Gasa also serves on the election commission along with former Nat MPs Jurie Mentz and Hennie Bekker. IFP sources are confident of winning 60 percent of the vote in Natal/kwaZulu, and of giving the ANC a run for its money in national elections despite recent opinion polls that give it well under 10 percent of the national vote.

The moderates are undecided on whether the organisation should contest the election on its own or in alliance with other black parties.

"We could create a new federal grouping and contest an election under the name of the African Federal Congress or the African Federal Party. But we might decide that the IFP should contest the election alone, as it is already well-respected and popular," said one source. Many IFP leaders were not keen to contest the election under the banner of Freedom Alliance.

The IFP believes that a strong commitment to federalism could be the key to winning votes in the election. It predicts that 17 million of the country's 21-million voters will go to the polls. "This means that we need 8.5-million voters to obtain 50 percent — and that's within our reach," one source said.

Some IFP strategists believe that a pro-federal bloc of parties could win close to 8-million votes. This would include three million white votes, one million coloured votes and 250 000 Indian votes, giving a total of 4.25 million votes. They also believe two million Zulus, one million Tswanas and 500 000 Gazankulu voters would back a pro-federal alliance, bringing the total to 7.75-million. "We're bound to pick up votes from Ciskei, Lebowa, Transkei and other homelands as well," said the source.

IFP will resist constitution

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Interim Constitution adopted by the plenary session at the World Trade Centre this week will be met with "determined resistance", Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared yesterday.

He and the Zulu people could not be expected to "be faithful and diligent" in assisting with the implementation of the constitution and the transitional phase, he said.

The interim document's silence on the positions of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Zulu nation compounded the problem.

Levelling the political playing fields, he said, did not necessitate "the destruction of the identity of a people (or) the elimination of self-determination for the Zulus."

"The Zulu people, and blacks across the country, were faced with

white minority oppression ... and we met (this) with resistance.

"What we learnt in the struggle against apartheid we will employ in our struggle against a constitution which, if left to run its course, could only produce grave consequences for all of us," said Buthelezi.

He was now consulting his colleagues in the IFP/KwaZulu government

Star 19/11/93
about the party's next moves.

Buthelezi said President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela would in the end know that the best they could do together would result in tarnishing the image of De Klerk and incurring the anger of a large percentage of South Africans.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance will con-

tinue to hold talks with the Government and ANC. (113)

Parliament begins its three-week short session on Monday.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais rejected the Interim Constitution.

The Afrikaner Volkfront (AVF) will hold a press conference today to announce its response to the World Trade Centre package.

However, unconfirmed reports said the AVF and the ANC began two-day top-level talks yesterday to seek agreement on an Afrikaner homeland.

Sapa reports that in Bisho yesterday, the Ciskei government warned it would not be easy to rescind the status of independent homelands.

Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda will be reincorporated into South Africa once Parliament enacts Negotiating Council recommendations during the short session. — Sapa.

Buthelezi gives warning of 'determined resistance'

BIDAY 19/11/93

11B

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi pledged to meet the new constitution with "determined resistance" while he and other Freedom Alliance members pondered their futures yesterday.

Buthelezi said he would call a special general conference of Inkatha to decide what the organisation's next step should be. He would also consult the KwaZulu government and its legislative assembly.

"What we learnt in the struggle against apartheid we will employ in our struggle against a constitution, which, if left to run its course, could only produce grave consequences for all of us," he said.

Buthelezi suggested he might disrupt the implementation of the new constitution, saying: "Nobody should expect us to be faithful and diligent in assisting (its implementation)."

Buthelezi reiterated his statement that he would not consider himself bound by the decisions made at the World Trade Centre, since he had been excluded "by the behind-the-scenes manipulations of the government and the ANC/SACP alliance".

Freedom Alliance negotiators are scheduled to meet government in Pretoria today.

One of the key members of the alliance, the Afrikaner Volksfront,

TIM COHEN

met the ANC yesterday only hours after the new constitution had been agreed. The talks, led by ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki and Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen, continue today.

Reuter reports that Volksfront secretary Koos van Rensburg said: "We think our chances of agreement are better than 50%. We are absolutely determined to find a solution in a negotiated way. The alternative is unthinkable."

Sapa reports that President F W de Klerk warned parties threatening violence to beware, saying they would incur the wrath of the law.

Speaking in Durban after a meeting with Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, he said: "We dare not allow anyone to jeopardise the legitimate democratic process by illegal means."

He said he had emphasised to Anyaoku the importance of the Transitional Executive Council after Wednesday's finalisation of the interim constitution.

Anyaoku congratulated De Klerk and fellow leaders on their success in negotiations, saying the Commonwealth was "delighted" with the achievement.

He said the Commonwealth re-

affirmed its commitment to helping the transition "in any way we can".

Commonwealth members had much to offer in "meeting the challenge of pluralism".

De Klerk said he welcomed the help of the Commonwealth before and during the elections. More observers were needed.

The country also needed the expertise of Commonwealth members for the electoral commission.

De Klerk said he was encouraged by the Commonwealth's "constructive approach" during the transition.

Anyaoku arrived on Wednesday to attend the multiparty plenary session at the World Trade Centre and to discuss Commonwealth assistance to SA.

He said he had met ANC president Nelson Mandela, and planned to meet other leaders.

Sapa reports that NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said Viljoen's war threat on Wednesday and statement that right-wingers should undergo military training were dangerous and groundless.

Van Schalkwyk rejected the "wild" allegation that half the population had been ignored in drafting the constitution. Government and the NP had "bent over backwards" to involve right-wingers and the Freedom Alliance in the negotiations.

Home Affairs launches R3,5m voters' ID awareness campaign

BIDAY 19/11/93

PRETORIA — The launch of an awareness campaign aimed at encouraging potential voters to acquire IDs ahead of next year's election was announced yesterday by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte.

The campaign, which will cost the department about R3,5m, would include newspaper, TV and radio advertisements as well as the distribution of 21 000 T-shirts, he said.

About 2 350 outdoor advertising boards would be erected in rural areas, and further notices and fly-sheets would be placed in 1 500 buses, Schutte told a media conference.

The campaign was aimed particularly at the 13% of the population who did not yet have IDs but who were eligible to vote.

"After this campaign, and other actions, nobody will be able to say they were not able to vote on April 27

ADRIAN HADLAND

because they could not get an ID."

The acceptance by the negotiating council's plenary session yesterday morning of the Interim Electoral Act meant the time was ripe for an intensification of the awareness campaign, Schutte said.

"Everything now is moving ahead towards the election."

Schutte estimated that more than 90% of SA's population who were eligible to vote were now in possession of the relevant documents.

These included the old reference books and identity cards as well as permanent residence permits.

The agreement by the department earlier this month that photographs for IDs would be provided free of charge had resulted in a very positive influence on the number of applications, Schutte added.

Thousands will not vote, says HSRC

BIDAY 19/11/93

GERALD REILLY

THE fear of violence and intimidation as well as political illiteracy could keep tens of thousands of voters away from the polls on April 27.

A recent HSRC survey showed that 23% of respondents in the northern Cape, Karoo and Free State, 22% in the eastern Transvaal and 36% in Natal had decided not to vote.

HSRC constitutional analysis cen-

tre head Bertus de Villiers said a large proportion of the electorate was already intimidated because of escalating violence.

More than 50% of eligible voters — most in rural areas — were politically naive, believing their votes would not remain secret.

New peace day set for January 1

JOHANNES NGCOBO

BUSINESS and labour organisations yesterday declared January 1 SA Peace Day and pledged to produce a million T-shirts for the occasion.

This follows the success of the September 2 peace day, when thousands of South Africans demanded more peace paraphernalia.

Speaking at Cosatu headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday, National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said the task of business and labour was to promote peace.

He said the T-shirts were an ideal way for people to show they supported the idea of peace in SA.

SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union assistant general secretary Ebrahim Patel said the manufacture of the T-shirts at textile factories would create jobs for the unemployed.

"The idea of manufacturing local peace T-shirts stems from workers who want to contribute towards peace in our country," said Patel.

The T-shirts will be available at 2 000 Pick 'n Pay, Checkers/Shoprite, OK, Edgars, Sales House, Pep Stores, Ackermans, Smart Centre, Woolworths, Foschini, Markhams, American Swiss, Hyperama, Truworths and Jet outlets countrywide.

They will cost R10 and will depict a dove with an olive branch in its beak.

Freedom Alliance may not last the course

DALE LAUTENBACH

Weekend Argus-Political Staff

HOPE'S that the Freedom Alliance might find accommodation as an intact group in the new dispensation appear to be slipping away.

"I just came because I promised to come. Nothing is going to happen at this meeting," snapped KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his way in to meet President De Klerk last night with his Alliance colleagues. Alliance executive chairman Rowan Cronje was noncommittal but definitely not hopeful.

He said only that the government had, at an earlier meeting yesterday, given the Alliance negotiating team a two-page document in reply to their written proposals.

Sources in the Afrikaner Volksfront have meanwhile hinted that their talks with the ANC are making some progress and that, because their constituency is impatient with the Alliance's apparently futile encounters with the government, last night's meeting with Mr. De Klerk could be the last. But Mr. Cronje said earlier yesterday that the two concessions on provincial guarantees reached at Kempton Park on Wednesday night indicated progress and were agree-

ments with which the Alliance could live. No further progress, however, was made in the government-Alliance meeting yesterday afternoon.

Dawie de Villiers said after the meeting that the two sides would meet again next week for more substantial talks.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer repeated his assertion that the door was open for the Alliance and that amendments to the constitution were possible up to the last practical moment, when the document must go to parliament.

But given the attitude of Chief Buthelezi at the start of last night's meeting, it ap-

pears unlikely that the KwaZulu government and the IFP will take up this offer.

Despite this, senior sources in the IFP had indicated that they intend fighting the elections.

■ Sapa reports that the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront have decided to establish a joint working group following two days of discussions outside Pretoria.

Constance Mlilo led the AVF delegation while the ANC delegation was headed by its chairman, Mabo Mbeki.

Observers said they believed the AVF's demand for a "Volksstaat" and self-determination for whites had been central.

Inkatha predicts corrupt ANC reign

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE corruption in the governments of KwaNdebele and Lebowa disclosed this week gives voters a glimpse of future ANC rule, according to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane said yesterday the KwaNdebele and Lebowa governments were members of the ANC-led Patriotic Front. The people of South Africa could judge for themselves how other parties measured up when it came to integrity

in government.

The De Meyer and Parsons reports indicated "theft, kickbacks, fraud, maladministration, tax evasion, tender irregularities, needless expenditures and chaotic administrative control" in virtually every department of these two governments.

It was reasonable for South Africans to judge the ANC-led Patriotic Front by the performance of those in it who already administered governments.

Voters should not be misled

by pie-in-the-sky promises made by organisations that had not even "delivered a toilet to any community", he said.

The IFP, on the other hand, "proudly" reminded South Africans that the Kwazulu government had been declared "the cleanest of all the homeland administrations".

Despite being underfunded because it refused independence, the Kwazulu government's "record of delivery speaks for itself".

Buthelezi keeps all doors open

S Times 2/11/93

By RYLAND FISHER

AS POLITICAL pundits throughout the country joined the guessing game over his possible participation in South Africa's first non-racial elections next year, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi employed the age-old trick of politicians — using many words to say as little as possible.

In an interview on Friday, he criticised the "unilateral imposition" of the draft constitution by the government, the ANC and their allies.

However, he did not rule out participation in the elections, saying he would "draw on the collective wisdom" of his party members before making a decision.

"We are holding a central committee meeting next Sunday and I will ask them to call an early general conference of the party next month. I will get my next step from that. I can't predict what will happen," he said.

Mr Buthelezi refused to say whether he felt he should take part in the elections, saying he always consulted his voters.

He was as evasive on how far he was prepared to go in resisting the draft constitution. "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it," he said.

Mr Buthelezi also lashed out at his political rivals, claiming ANC president Nelson Mandela hated him and that his confidence in President F W de Klerk had been shattered.

Asked if he felt opposition to the elections could lead to violence, he said: "There is a civil war in this country and, quite clearly, if tensions go up, that will escalate.

"But I've never myself said I wanted any civil war. I've never believed in taking up arms."

He was "not personally interested in an election where you decide the issue of who is going to write the constitution".

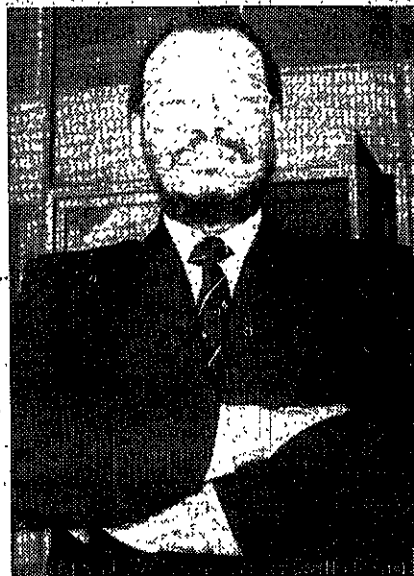
"I thought there'd be a constitution agreed upon, even if you referred it to a referendum, and then you'd have an election.

"Those are my personal views. But the issue is too important to be decided just on the basis of my feelings."

He denied there was a split in the IFP over possible participation in the election, saying the issue had been debated in several central committee meetings.

"I feel the IFP should have a special general conference, probably in a month's time ... then we'll see what the majority view is."

He predicted "very tough times ahead



WILL HE OR WON'T HE ... Kwazulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his Ulundi office. Picture: HORACE POTTER

for the Zulu people" if central government funds were cut off.

"Kwazulu is part of South Africa and the people of Kwazulu are taxpayers." Money was allocated from the national fiscus for school, clinics and pensioners. The money belonged to the Zulu people, Mr Buthelezi said.

He claimed the Kwazulu/Natal region was underfunded by the government.

"That's why I feel so strongly about the constitution which has been passed, which is a unitary system constitution, which means that with the hatred I can see from Mr Mandela's utterances, quite clearly if his party wins, the Zulu people will suffer even worse as far as the allocation of funds is concerned."

Mr Buthelezi said Zulus wanted to be part of South Africa but: "We would like to manage our own affairs at regional level and we would like to know what our king's status is."

"The fact of the matter is that the king is not accommodated and the Zulu people are being obliterated from the map."

Mr Buthelezi, who said he had "loved Mr Mandela all my life" denied political parties other than the IFP faced restrictions when campaigning in Kwazulu.

"Which party has ever complained? Only the ANC has made propaganda about it. Yet, here, Mr Mandela is campaigning, he is going all over the place and I have never said that he should not be free to campaign here."

Inkatha plays guessing game on April 27 election plans

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is continuing to keep voters guessing if it is to take part in the April 27 election.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi will launch the IFP's Umgeni North branch at the Durban City Hall tonight. According to a statement by the IFP, his theme will be "Negotiations crunch: who are the real spoilers?"

This is in keeping with his rejection of the political settlement reached at the multiparty talks.

Chief Buthelezi has linked this with a rejection of the April 27 poll.

However, in the same state-

ment, branch convener Ed Tillett said the election battle in Natal would be a two-way contest between the African National Congress and the IFP.

Parties whose support bases were not substantially rooted in the black majority would be marginalised "in the forthcoming elections", Mr Tillett predicted.

Mr Tillett's talk of "the forthcoming elections" has to be seen with the IFP's elaborate advertising campaign in Sunday newspapers.

Johan Steenkamp, information officer of the NP in Natal, predicted today that the IFP would take part in the April 27 poll. The IFP's choice was be-

tween taking part in the election, or being marginalised, Dr Steenkamp said.

He predicted that the IFP campaign would be a negative anti-NP and anti-ANC campaign, portraying them as partners who had been taken for a ride by the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, the bureaucratic wheel continues to turn against the Kwazulu government, which ceases to exist on April 28 next year, being overtaken by the provincial government of Natal/Kwazulu. The multiparty talks have given Howard Varney of the Durban Legal Resources Centre the task of drafting legislation that will abolish Kwazulu laws that are seen to be discriminatory.

NEWS Mandela ends tour

IFP boss' tough stance

Sowetan

22/11/93

THE Freedom Alliance would be radicalised if the Government and African National Congress failed to recognise the movement, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday.

Addressing an IFP rally in Pretoria, he said no government would be able to prevail against the force and political strength of the FA — the second strongest political force in the country.

Buthelezi said he did not want the FA to be radicalised, "but if that is what is going to be, then let it be".

IFP supporters bearing traditional weapons danced and sang through the streets of Pretoria to attend the rally on the rugby fields of Berea Club. Buthelezi said there would not be peace and democracy in the country if the ANC/SA Communist Party and the Government were allowed to proceed with their plans to totally dominate South Africa.

Civil war

(113)

"There will only be a polarised South Africa lying helpless before escalating violence, with civil war bearing down on it."

The Government and ANC/SACP could still turn back from this path.

"If they do not hear my call for freedom and justice and democracy, I will fight them every inch of the way forward until I have diverted them from destroying South Africa."

Buthelezi warned that the ANC/SACP would dump the Government in the political trash cans in which it was going to dump the present draft constitution.

Buthelezi said he had been targeted for total destruction, and he was only alive because his police had uncovered these plots to kill him and found the caches of arms and ammunition.

Inkatha launches campaign

BDA 22/11/88
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has launched a massive publicity campaign despite its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisting he will not lead it into elections for a constitution making body.

In full-page newspaper advertisements, Inkatha appealed to the public to "join the crusade" and declared itself to be "a power for good" (118)

And according to the language Buthelezi and Inkatha spokesmen have been using lately, it would ap-

pear that Inkatha is under increasing pressure to re-join the mainstream political process.

This could be clarified by the KwaZulu chief minister at a public meeting in Durban's City Hall tonight.

At a rally in Pretoria on Saturday Buthelezi, although rejecting the constitution endorsed by negotiators at the World Trade Centre, said the Freedom Alliance would "come

second if an election were to be held tomorrow".

However, he said the alliance did not have to enter an election to prove its support and would demonstrate its power by fighting the "treachery in negotiations".

Buthelezi told the crowd: "I will not make the illegitimate constitution legitimate by participating in an election under it." He repeated earlier promises to hold a special general conference of Inkatha to decide on poll participation.



part of the celebration... blocked off to allow crowds to join the party.

New Act will result in greater civil litigation

ERIC JANKOWITZ

THE Occupational Health and Safety Act, due to come into operation on January 1, would result in increased civil litigation, Webber Wentzel labour lawyer Gasant Orrie said.

Speaking at a conference last week, Orrie warned of maximum fines of up to R100 000, two years' imprisonment or both if an employer was found to have been negligent, resulting in a death or injury.

"Apart from providing and maintaining safe systems of work, plant and machinery, an employer is required to provide such information, instructions, training and supervision as may be necessary to ensure, as far as is reasonably practicable, the health and safety at work of his employees," he said.

Employers also had to take all the necessary measures to ensure that the requirements of the Act were complied with by any person on the premises where machinery was being used.

He said it might be necessary for employers to stipulate any breach of these requirements as a disciplinary offence. Employers should also consider making employees' functions and duties clearer in job descriptions so as to encompass safety standards. These should be communicated to all employees.

On the issue of non-employees directly affected by an operation, Orrie said com-

Picture: ABDUL SHARIFF

Hyper burnt down in February application.

Asapo will not take part in election

HARARE — The Azanian People's Organisation (Asapo) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will not take part in SA's first non-racial election in April next year, Ziama news agency said.

The parties are holding two-day consultative talks in Harare.

Asapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa yesterday labelled as a "sell-out settlement" the adoption of an interim constitution by negotiators last week.

He said Asapo and the BCMA would launch a campaign to persuade South Africans not to vote in the election.

"We hold the opinion that a sellout settlement is in place in SA and that sham elections are going to be held to legitimise

the continuation of white rule. "We will try to convince our people not to sell their birthright and freedom by casting votes that will put them in perpetual slavery," he said.

Illiterate blacks in SA were ill-informed about the implications of the choices they would make in April.

"Asapo will explain why the elections cannot be supported and why the Kempton Park package cannot satisfy the interests of blacks in the country."

Asapo and BCMA demanded "total freedom" that enhanced the status of the oppressed, he said. Mabasa also predicted violence would escalate in the wake of the election.

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Buthelezi told the crowd: "I will not make the illegitimate constitution legitimate by participating in an election under it." He repeated earlier promises to hold a special general conference of Inkatha to decide on poll participation.

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Own Correspondent

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This could be clarified by the KwaZulu chief minister at a public meeting in Durban's City Hall tonight.

At a rally in Pretoria on Saturday Buthelezi, although rejecting the constitution endorsed by negotiators at the World Trade Centre, said the Freedom Alliance would "come

tenative local government experience.



Buthelezi threatens to quit ^(11B)

ARC 23/11/93

**MICHAEL MORRIS and
MARTIN CHALLENOR
Political Staff**

FREEDOM Alliance negotiators meet the government for make-or-break talks today after a threat by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to quit if the IFP opts to fight the election under the interim constitution.

Chief Buthelezi's threat is being interpreted as an unambiguous signal that the IFP will not contest the election unless it succeeds in securing further concessions on regional powers.

IFP sources said the party would never survive as a political force without Chief Buthelezi.

The government remains

committed to bringing the Freedom Alliance "on board" and intense discussions are expected today. Sources said the key to agreement was a strengthening of regional powers.

Speaking in parliament yesterday, President De Klerk said agreements reached "in the next week or so" could still be written into the draft negotiated constitution, with the blessing of the multiparty forum.

"Given a genuine willingness and sense of urgency on the part of the Freedom Alliance ... (it) remains possible" to include them in the process. The government was prepared with the Alliance to "look at what more may be done".

Mr De Klerk added last night: "It is up to the Alliance to articulate what specifically more it wants, within the framework of federalism. We are then prepared to go back to the Negotiating Council, if we are convinced their demands are attainable and reasonable."

Today's talks between the government and the Alliance are expected to focus on documents exchanged last week which explored possible areas of agreement between the Alliance and the negotiation process.

These documents are understood to contain a long list of clauses or conditions which the Alliance wants to insert in the draft constitution.

● See page 17

Buthelezi hints at IFP rifts

118

CT23/11/83

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night that he was aware of rifts developing in his party over the new constitution endorsed by negotiators last week.

Addressing a packed city hall here, he repeated his warning that he could resign his leadership if an IFP special general conference decided to contest the April elections.

Chief Buthelezi said he will not lead the IFP into an election under the present draft constitution and has urged his supporters to fight a "fatally flawed constitution".

But his party would continue to prepare for elections in April because "there will be elections next year once we have reached true multi-party consensus".

The IFP has consistently said it will not fight the April elections before a final constitution is drawn up, but is planning to contest elections "sometime next year".

Chief Buthelezi hinted that the

Warns he could quit leadership

IFP could embark on a civil disobedience campaign to protest against the current transition process and supporters "should not be afraid to pay the supreme sacrifice"

The IFP's new Umgeni north branch, which boasts members in Durban North, Umhlanga, Phoenix and Newlands east and west, was launched at the meeting which began with entertainment by a troupe of Indian dancers.

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP remained committed to a speedy negotiated settlement but was "in a mood to fight for democracy, real freedom and justice".

"With your support I feel certain that we will win that fight

through peaceful resistance and possible civil disobedience. In life there are things that people must struggle for with all they have.

"These are things where people should not be afraid even to pay the supreme sacrifice with their lives. I am convinced such a battle has begun in South Africa..."

In a speech in which he lashed out at the media for conducting a "calculated and concerted campaign" against him, Chief Buthelezi said he would seek a mandate from an IFP special conference to proceed with the "second phase" of the struggle.

"I will be calling a special general meeting of the IFP... I have said in the past there may well be a time after such a conference for me to reconsider my own position. I now repeat that statement."

In what appeared to be the first subtle confirmation of divisions in the organisation he said:

"Those who will be with me, will be with me — and those who move to oppose me, will be against me."

"All I want is clarity to know who is with me. I am confident that I am likely to get the mandate I will be looking for." — Own Correspondent, Sapa

SA 'held to ransom'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was "holding South Africa to ransom" by refusing to state whether or not the IFP would contest the April 27 election, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

He forecast that the IFP would go into the election "with or without Buthelezi".

His statement came as former IFP general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, predicted

that IFP Chief Buthelezi would retire from public life rather than lead his party into next year's elections.

Speaking at a lunch hosted by Idasa Dr Dhlomo said; however, it was unlikely Chief Buthelezi would take up arms against a new government.

Dr Boraine drew an analogy between what happened to Mr P.W. Botha and what might happen to Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Botha had left a gap when he relinquished the

CT 25/11/93 (118)
role of leader of the NP and those in the NP leadership critical of him "took the gap". Within months, the former State President was ousted from office.

"South Africa is bigger than any of its leaders but all three are important if we are going to have peace," said Dr Boraine.

Dr Boraine posed the question: "If the IFP does particularly badly in the election and loses in KwaZulu/Natal, will they accept the result?"

'Tensions simmering within IFP'

Buthelezi 'may quit public life'

Star 25/11/93

BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

Washington — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's old confidante Dr Oscar Dhlomo believes Buthelezi may soon retire from public life, leaving the IFP to fight the April elections without him.

Former IFP secretary-general and KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dhlomo said yesterday that it was not in Buthelezi's nature either to take part in a process he had so vehemently opposed or to "be a freedom fighter against democracy because there are aspects of the constitution he does not like".

Dhlomo — who resigned his IFP and KwaZulu offices in 1990 and is now executive director of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy — said he believed Buthelezi would consider retirement more seriously if he was given the assurance that he would be left in peace and accorded recognition as one of the leaders who had played his part in the liberation struggle of the '70s and '80s. (12)

Dhlomo was speaking at the Aspen Institute/Carnegie Endowment South Africa Forum.

He said that tensions were already

IT WAS not in the nature of Buthelezi to take part in something he had so vehemently opposed, or be a freedom fighter, former confidante says

simmering within the IFP over the elections. Many up-and-coming young IFP leaders aspired to a role in the post-apartheid South Africa which would be impossible if the IFP did not contest the elections.

He believed the IFP would take part — possibly without Buthelezi who had indicated that if the party decided to go in, he would have to "consider" his options.

"For Buthelezi to participate in the TEC and Government of National Unity after his determined opposition to every aspect of the transitional arrangements, would be a "humiliating climb-down which, as I know him, he would find hard to swallow.

"Through his consistent stand against the process, he may be preparing quietly to make his exit from political life," Dhlomo said.

Buthelezi 'may quit public life'

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi might retire from public life rather than lead his party into next year's elections, former Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo predicted here yesterday. Dhlomo, who now heads the Institute for Multiparty Democracy in Durban, thought it would be out of character for Buthelezi to take up arms against the interim constitution or a new government. At the same time, his objections to the new order were so deep-seated that he would find a "climb-down" difficult. **B/S**

Dhlomo interpreted Buthelezi's talk of retirement in a Washington Post interview last weekend as an indication that he was "quietly preparing for an exit". Dhlomo was confident that Inkatha would participate in elections, with or without Buthelezi, but that his departure would leave Inkatha in some disarray because there was no obvious successor. Inkatha was already preparing to run, Dhlomo said, noting that it had been receiving campaign training from the International Republican Institute. **11B**

There were "simmering tensions" in the party's ranks over Buthelezi's rejectionist stance. Dhlomo thought the only way Buthelezi would lead his party into elections was if he received a strong appeal from his supporters, but even that might not change his mind. **25/11/93**

White homeland lacks much allure

BIDON 25/11/93

BILLY PADDOCK

enthusiastic, with most enthusiasm coming from 16- to 24-year-olds. Support for the white homeland was strongest among Volksfront supporters (43%), with the CP trailing by one percentage point. White Inkatha supporters (12%) supported the idea, beating NP supporters with 11%.

All people polled who said they supported the ANC rejected moving to a white homeland. Support for moving to a white homeland was fairly equally distributed between the Free State (25%) and white Transvaalers outside the PWV area (28%). The least support, 5%, came from the Port Elizabeth/East London/Cape Town area.

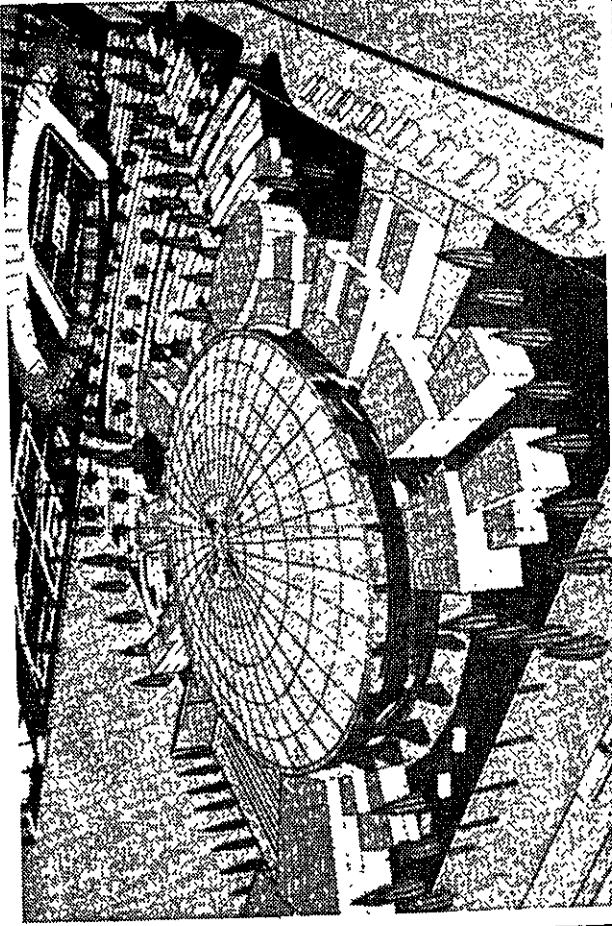
Sapa reports members of the whites-only SA Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union are going to approach a vehicle manufacturer to work overtime without pay to provide Volksfront leader Gen Viljoen with a car. This follows a Volksfront head office request on Tuesday that regional leaders should approach motor dealers who support its cause to supply two cars, one of which should serve as a "VIP" car. Iron and Steel general manager Nic Cellier said yesterday that one of the union's branches had offered its services and the unnamed manufacturer would be approached. The union is a Volksfront member.

NEARLY half the supporters of the Afrikaner Volksfront would not want to live in a white homeland, Markiner deputy MD Christine Woessner said yesterday. However, a Markiner survey conducted among 800 whites this month indicated about half a million whites favoured such a homeland — 12% of the support coming from Inkatha Freedom Party supporters. "What is especially surprising is that about half the Volksfront supporters would not be part of a white homeland. In fact, only six out of 10 are in favour of the concept itself and only slightly more than half (54%) consider it a viable proposition," Woessner said.

The Volksfront, led by arch-conservative Gen Constand Viljoen and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, refused to comment last night. Volksfront media spokesman Stephen Maninger said there would be no comment until the Volksfront had studied the results of the survey "and have had the opportunity to question her (Woessner) about her methodology and other details".

The survey indicated that 28% of whites were in favour of the homeland, with 22% believing it was a viable option. But only 14% of whites would be prepared to pack their bags and move to such a white homeland. People in the lower income (less than R2 999 a month) and education (Standard 9) groups were the most

enthusiastic, with most enthusiasm coming from 16- to 24-year-olds. Support for the white homeland was strongest among Volksfront supporters (43%), with the CP trailing by one percentage point. White Inkatha supporters (12%) supported the idea, beating NP supporters with 11%. All people polled who said they supported the ANC rejected moving to a white homeland. Support for moving to a white homeland was fairly equally distributed between the Free State (25%) and white Transvaalers outside the PWV area (28%). The least support, 5%, came from the Port Elizabeth/East London/Cape Town area. Sapa reports members of the whites-only SA Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union are going to approach a vehicle manufacturer to work overtime without pay to provide Volksfront leader Gen Viljoen with a car. This follows a Volksfront head office request on Tuesday that regional leaders should approach motor dealers who support its cause to supply two cars, one of which should serve as a "VIP" car. Iron and Steel general manager Nic Cellier said yesterday that one of the union's branches had offered its services and the unnamed manufacturer would be approached. The union is a Volksfront member.



A model of the R106m Soweto sport and cultural complex, which shows the covered stadium surrounded by units which will include a conference centre, library and hotel. The sports park on the right, and to the left is the baseball diamond. Graphic: Kerry Brookbank, Architects

Mandela wrong on land, says SADF

WILSON ZWANE

THE SADF yesterday denied an allegation by ANC president Nelson Mandela that it was the country's richest landowner and said much of the land it had use of was suitable only for conservation. **B/S**

Mandela said on Tuesday a new government would redress land ownership inequalities by — among other things — using vast tracts owned by the SADF. The SADF said yesterday it did not own land. Land was allocated to it by the Public Works Department and as soon as the SADF did not have a use for it, it gave the land back. **25/11/93**

Elaborating on Mandela's remark ANC agricultural spokesman Derek Hanekom said the SADF land would not be expropriated as it was state-owned. It would, instead, be used as part of a new government's redistribution programme, Hanekom said.

used for training areas, bombing ranges shooting ranges and buffer zones around airstrips and ammunition depots. A Public Works spokesman said if any of its "clients" handed back land, the department disposed of it along normal market lines. That is, it sold it by public auction or tender.

Of this, 500 000ha is undeveloped and is

POLITICS

Fri 26/11/93

Now for the hard part

The gulf between government and the Freedom Alliance on how to shape a new constitution is far wider than believed by optimists. There seems little hope that differences will be resolved on the basis of current bilateral negotiations.

Another round of talks was under way in Cape Town as the FM went to press, but neither side expected much progress. However, it was likely that the door would be left open for further discussion.

How to deal with the Alliance is becoming a major problem for both government and the ANC. It may in fact be easier for President F W de Klerk to convince the ANC of the need for a referendum to break the deadlock, than to get the Alliance back on board before April 27.

The Alliance comprises a rightwing grouping under the banner of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Inkatha and the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. De Klerk is understood to be increasingly disturbed by repeated claims by the CP that he has left Afrikaners in the lurch and that the Alliance has more backing than the groups represented at the multiparty talks.

In parliament this week, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg taunted De Klerk by suggesting that the Alliance was "at least" the second most popular political grouping after the ANC. And, at a public meeting in Durban this week, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed the Alliance represented more than half the country's population. He warned that if the Nats and the ANC ignored "the majority of SA's population" the country was "heading for an abyss."

But these calculations of support appear to assume that all Zulus and Afrikaners back the Alliance.

The parliamentary debate on the negotiation process illustrated the extent of the gap between government and the Alliance. They could not even agree on the basic constitutional concept that underlies their differences — though there should not be surprise at this.

De Klerk was apparently under the impression that the basis of current negotiations was the acceptance of federalism as a point of departure. He said this was confirmed to him by Alliance leaders twice last week. If this were not the basis of talks, negotiations would be "senseless." The issue for discussion was how to strengthen the federal concept.

But speaking immediately afterwards, Hartzenberg strongly rejected De Klerk's interpretation of the CP's position, which he said was confederalism and not federalism as envisaged by the interim constitution. In a confederal system, the CP's envisaged *volk-*

staat would in effect be an independent country that would have an arm's-length relationship with neighbouring states.

The interim constitution agreed to by the multiparty negotiators provides for a federation, in which not all the powers of the constituent members will be exclusive of central government. Hartzenberg said this was a union rather than a federation — and he has a strong theoretical case.

At the Durban meeting, Buthelezi also indicated support for confederalism. He said the interim constitution was fatally flawed. However, he was preparing to contest the general election next year in the belief that "true multiparty consensus" would be achieved by then. But the chances of this happening appear slim. The dispute between government and Inkatha goes beyond the interpretation of federalism. Buthelezi is also opposed to a two-phase transition and wants multiparty negotiators rather than an elected constituent assembly to draw up the final constitution.

He was prepared to continue talking to government "in the hope that sense will in the end prevail . . . Our arguments to the government will be that the only way we are going to achieve peace and stability is for SA's negotiators to draw up a final constitution before elections next year. We have a fight to put up against a fatally flawed constitution."

If agreement was not reached, Buthelezi

Centre would not be changed. He said it was up to the Alliance to provide further specific details of its demands within a federal framework.

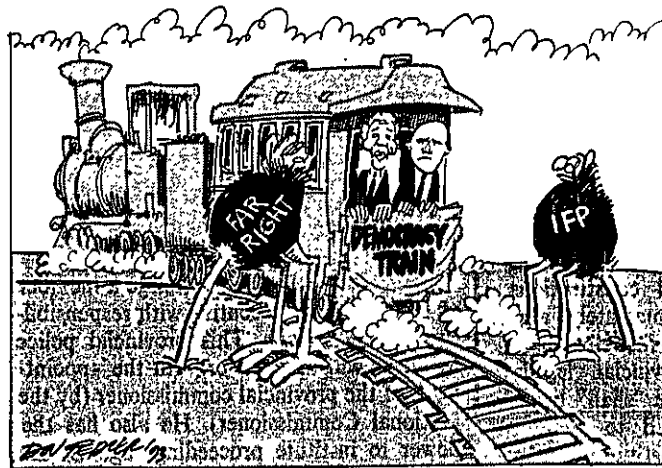
"We are then prepared to go back to the negotiating council if we are convinced their demands are attainable and reasonable."

During the parliamentary debate De Klerk tried to split the Alliance by suggesting that Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei should not associate with the CP if that party rejected federalism and nonracialism. He urged Alliance partners — particularly Inkatha — to "have the courage to dissociate themselves unequivocally from the CP." If they did not, the Alliance would be branded as the "apex of opportunism . . . It is simply not good enough that the Freedom Alliance presents itself as a political entity when that suits it while glossing over the fundamental conflicts of policy within its ranks."

De Klerk said it was still possible to bring them on board "given a genuine willingness and sense of urgency on the part of the Freedom Alliance." He said agreements reached within the next week or two could still be endorsed by both the negotiating council of the multiparty forum and parliament. "We believe that we have already made constructive proposals and are prepared to look together with the Alliance at what more can be done."

But it was clear from the CP's attitude that agreement is a long way off. The party is simply not prepared to consider at this stage the sort of nonracial framework within a federal system that government insists is a basic condition for participation in the election. The party was unmoved by De Klerk's claim that the new constitution provides an effective balance of power between the provinces and central government. Instead, Hartzenberg and colleague Fanie Jacobs warned government of Afrikaner resistance if military action were taken against Alliance partners who refused to accept the interim constitution.

De Klerk is not in favour of using force — which does not mean that the use of force can be ruled out. If the war talk of some elements in the Alliance turns out to be more than bluff, it is by no means unthinkable that the Defence Force will be called in to preserve the union and restore stability within it. ■



said he would not lead Inkatha into the election. If the party decides at a special congress in January to contest the election on the basis of the interim constitution, he will step down as leader.

But in a TV interview at almost the same time as Buthelezi was speaking, De Klerk said while every effort would be made to accommodate the Alliance, the essence of what had been agreed at the World Trade

Armed wing sowing voter terror — IFP

■ ELECTORAL INTIMIDATION

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress' armed wing has embarked on an operation to intimidate voters and sow terror in Natal's communities to ensure victory at next year's elections, the Inkatha Freedom Party claimed yesterday.

It said Umkhonto we Sizwe would intensify its "Operation Sunrise" early next year with the aim of "forcing the broad electorate into submission".

The IFP had submitted a "highly confidential document" to the Government, outlining the alleged covert operation.

IFP president Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi also referred to the alleged operation recently, claiming MK is out to eliminate Inkatha office bearers.

The ANC in southern Natal slammed the claims yesterday as an attempt to create political ground for attacks on its members and its soldiers.

"It is an attempt to explain away the training of IFP death squads and their preparation for a civil

Confidential document sent to Government:

Sowetan 26/11/93
war to hold South Africa to ransom," said regional media officer Mr Dumisani Makhaye.

He said the MK "operation" existed only in the "poisoned and small minds of the most reactionary and violent sections of the apartheid security forces" ~~(IFP)~~ (11B)

The ANC believed the IFP's information was coming from elements in the security forces which had infiltrated the IFP.

IFP national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said the information had come from "our intelligence sources who operate in the ANC".

The IFP says large-scale MK training is taking place to ensure the ANC's army is well represented in the joint peace-keeping force and in future security forces.

But, a small group of highly trained MK cadres will remain outside the peace force and the integrated security forces. This will be MK's "Special Operations Unit" the IFP claimed.

"This elite squad of professionals will be involved only in major offensive operations such as assassinations of key opponents, sabotage of crucial 'enemy' installations and attacks against any hostile military forces."

Other IFP allegations include surveillance by MK of the rightwing and attacks to counter threats from this grouping. The IFP further alleges that KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana are being targeted and political opponents in these territories will be "eliminated." — *Sapa*.

AWB and IFP to conclude a pact

CT26/11/93 (118)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The AWB and Inkatha Freedom Party are expected to meet tomorrow in Vereeniging to conclude a "solidarity" pact, in terms of which "an attack on the Zulus will be an attack on the AWB".

AWB spokesman Mr Johan Thompson said the agreement would be between the East Rand and Vaal regions of the two organisations.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was expected to attend the meeting.

Inkatha's Transvaal deputy chair-

man, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said Inkatha's Vereeniging branch had arranged the meeting.

Mr Thompson said the AWB was providing military-style training to Inkatha members in the Transvaal.

"We train them only in the use of firearms. We don't give them firearms," he said.

● Sapa reports that Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said in Bisho that he had an agreement with Mr Terre'Blanche that the AWB would defend Ciskei if the South African government turned against it.

D-day looms for Buthelezi with IFP crisis vote

116

ARC 27/11/93

Weekend Argus Correspondent

TOMORROW is D-Day for Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party meets in Ulundi to decide whether to participate in the April 27 election.

Chief Buthelezi has already placed his leadership on the line by announcing that he would retire from politics if his party opted to participate in a poll under a constitution which he believed was seriously flawed.

The decision will be a watershed for the party which has vigorously campaigned — with Chief Buthelezi crossing the length and breadth of the country — against the constitution since the party left multi-party negotiations in early July.

However, Inkatha insiders say there is increasing pressure on the party to participate in the poll despite widespread agreement within the rank and file with the chief minister's reservations about the limited powers of regions and constitutional deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

One source said it would be foolish not to participate as it would throw the party into the political wilderness.

Inkatha Pietmaritzburg North MP Mike Tarr said if a decision to participate was taken, it would be done on the proviso that the party won concessions when the Freedom Alliance met the government on Monday.

Inkatha meets to decide on election participation

Star 27/11/93

THE central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party meets in Ulundi tomorrow to decide whether to participate in the April 27 elections.

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DONALD PRESSLY

mechanisms. (IB)

One source said it would be foolish not to participate as it would throw the party into the political wilderness.

It is understood that the central committee will be presented with two options — to take a final decision on the poll or defer the decision to a special general congress.

Concessions

However, Inkatha Maritzburg North MP Mike Tarr said if a decision to participate was taken, it would be done on the proviso that the party won concessions when the Freedom Alliance met the Government on Monday.

Inkatha election strategist Peter Miller confirmed it was unlikely that decisions would be made that would pre-empt Mon-

day's talks.

This would constitute a face-saving measure for Buthelezi, one source pointed out, adding: "There's a fine dividing line between Dr Buthelezi's rejection of a constituent assembly and a parliament with restricted powers to change the constitution."

Another outcome of tomorrow's meeting would be to defer the poll decision to another central committee meeting if there are serious disagreements on the way forward.

One source emphasised that if Inkatha agreed to enter the poll at the weekend it would remove a bargaining chip when the alliance met the Government in Pretoria on Monday. The special congress is an option which will be taken only if there are serious divisions over participation in a poll, as there would be logical problems in calling all the party's branches together before January next year, he said.

Buthelezi may resign

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday his time as leader of the IFP might be over.

On the eve of a meeting of the party's central committee to discuss participation in the elections, he told supporters at a rally in Vryheid he was despondent.

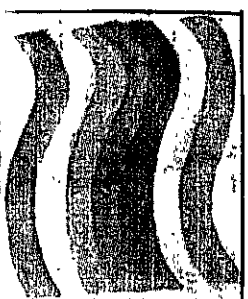
He said: "I have never had illusions that I am indispensable or irreplaceable. If this is the time for someone else to be at the helm of the IFP leadership, so be it."

Former IFP general secretary Oscar Dhlomo reportedly said in Washington this week he thought Chief Buthelezi might retire soon.

— Sapa-AFP (118)



BLOOD THIRSTERS



BROTHERS

Inkatha and AWB to form 'hitsquads'

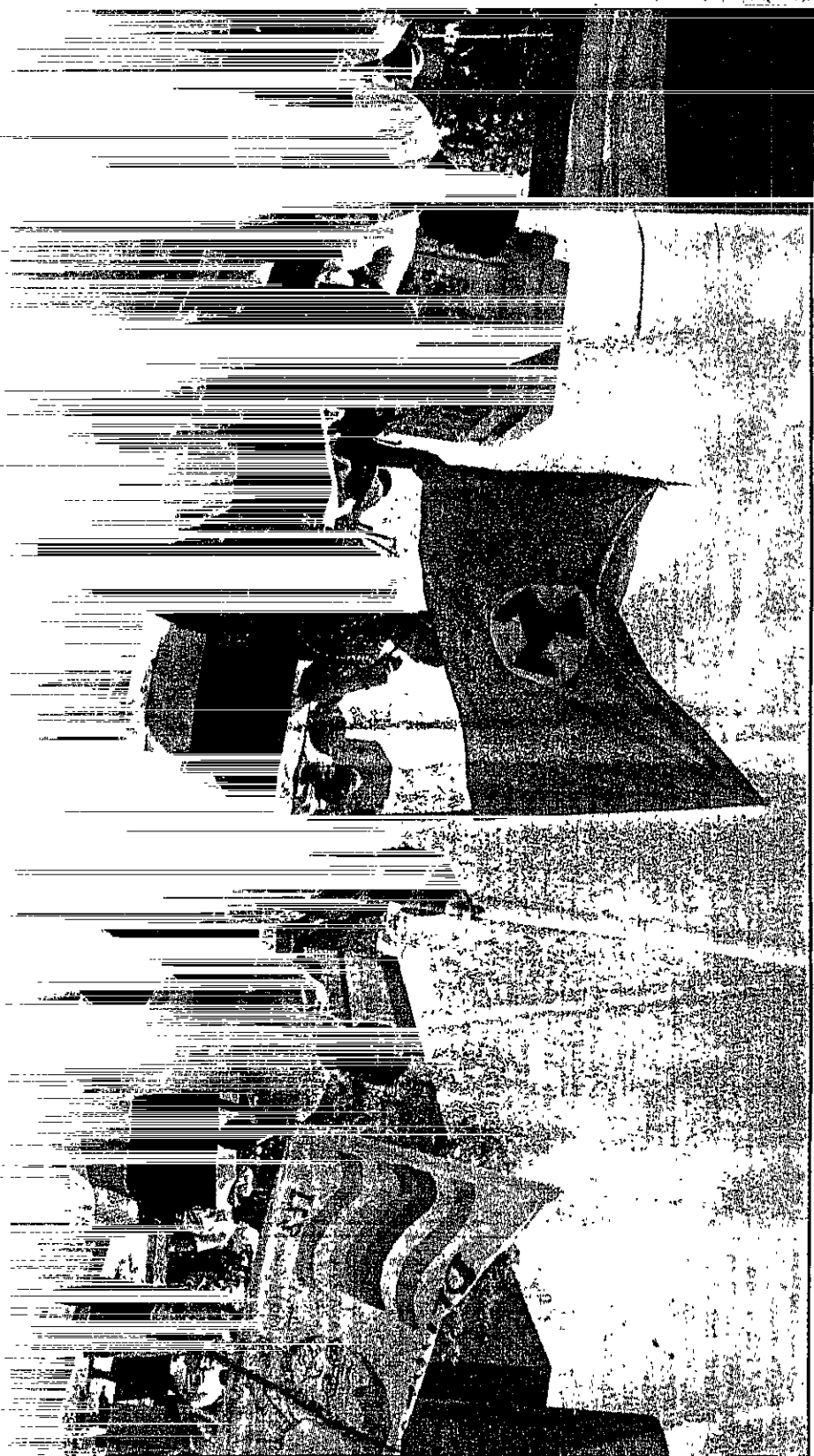
against ANC

By MOSES MAMAILA
CIP 1990 28/11/93

INKATHA and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday pledged to form underground units aimed at "protecting the two organisations against the ANC and its communist allies".

The Vaal Triangle region of Inkatha and the East Rand region of the AWP signed a pact at Vereeniging which committed them to working together in underground structures later described by an Inkatha interpreter as "hitsquads".

The accord was signed by AWP's Eugene Terre'Blanche and Inkatha regional leader Myezi Twala - in full view of the media and supporters of the two organisations.



Moments after the signing of the pact, Inkatha's Transvaal deputy leader Humphrey Ndlovu refused to comment and referred enquiries to Inkatha's director for political affairs, Dr. Zingiba Jiyane, who could

LIKATHA and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday pledged to form underground units aimed at "protecting the two organisations against the ANC and its communist allies".

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The accord was signed by AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche and Inkatha regional leader Mzezi Twala — in full view of the media and supporters of the two organisations.

Moments after the signing of the pact, Inkatha's Transvaal deputy leader Humphrey Ndllovu refused to comment and referred enquiries to Inkatha's director for political affairs, Dr Supha Nyane, who could not be reached.

However, the pact was dismissed by Inkatha's Transvaal youth leader Themba Khoza, who said it was "null and void".

Addressing hundreds of uniformed AWB members and Inkatha imps who were armed with traditional weapons, Twala called on Inkatha members to strengthen the unity between the AWB and Inkatha.

"We need to build up this unity not only in the rallies but also underground so that communism is not implemented in SA," said Twala, who received thunderous applause after his call.

His interpreter was even more frank. Translating what Twala was saying to the predominantly Zulu following, the interpreter said: "We are called upon to form hisquads with the AWB and self-protection units in our fight against the ANC."

In his address Terre'Blanche called on the AWB to form a military front with the Zulu imps to fight the ANC and the communists.

He warned that nobody could govern this country without the support of the "boer and the Zulu".

Vereeniging came to a halt as hundreds of imps and boers marched side by side, with some Inkatha members chanting "Viva AWB" slogans.

Terre'Blanche drew loud response when he chanted to the black marchers: "Long live the Zulu king Zwelithini long live. Long live the Zulu nation!"

When Twala was asked by City Press before the march whether he was defying Ulundi, he said: "Our organisation believes in federalism and this means giving more power to the regions. The regions are autonomous and can actually take decisions on their own without the approval of the national leadership."



VOLK'EN IMPI Inkatha supporters show their true colours in a joint march with the AWB yesterday.

By FRED KHUMALO

MAN GOSUTHU

Buthelezi's resignation from Inkatha would create within the party a climate where democratic principles would be observed — and Inkatha would be a fully fledged party, not a manifestation of the Buthelezi personality.

This is according to University of Natal political scientist Dr Ian Phillips, speaking in the wake of Buthelezi's threat to resign from Inkatha.

Addressing a crowd of supporters at the Durban City Hall this week,

EVANS BOWEN

There's life after Buthelezi

Buthelezi threatened for the third time this year to resign as Inkatha president if his position with regard to the interim constitution was not supported at a general conference.

Buthelezi's threat reflected the rift within Inkatha between Buthelezi and his close confidante Walter Fezile on the one side and party moderates on the other.

"It would be strange for him to resign. He is a power-hungry person. And without the KwaZulu government and Inkatha he has no power," said Phillips.

He added that contrary to popular belief, Buthelezi was preparing for elections.

"He wants to come out at the last minute and announce that he is after all taking part in the elections. He wants to create drama at the last minute," said Phillips.

Rightwing march: Call on IFP

APCT 29/11/73

(118)

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has called on the Inkatha Freedom Party national leadership to distance itself from the IFP Vaal Triangle branch's public association with the rightwing Afrikaner Weer-

standsbeweging at the weekend in Vereeniging. About 600 IFP supporters carried AWB flags as they marched with AWB supporters on Saturday. The two parties then signed a "non-aggression pact"

Primary trigger behind violence

Buthelezi stands firm on elections

Sowetan 29/11/93
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi stood firm at the weekend on his rejection of next year's April election and again predicted that South Africa would be plunged into civil war. (11B)

Buthelezi also repeated that he would not lead his party into constituent assembly elections, saying he had never had illusions that he was indispensable and IFP supporters would have to decide on his leadership.

He told about 4 000 supporters at Vryheid in Northern Natal that federalism was the only way to ensure peace in South Africa. "It is our only chance of saving our country from the civil war which is otherwise sure to come."

He said the IFP was not calling for civil war, but cautioned:

"There is no saying what our followers will do when they realise that they have been betrayed by the National

Party and the African National Congress."

And Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope at the weekend supported Buthelezi and also warned of possible civil strife in South Africa should the constitutional dispensation agreed to at multiparty talks be implemented.

Addressing the Bophuthatswana Defence Force's 14th annual parade at Odi Stadium near Mabopane, Mangope reiterated his stance of non-participation in next year's April 27 election under the proposed dispensation.

He maintained that the Freedom Alliance was supported by "many millions" saying "authoritative and impartial polls indicated that should the Freedom Alliance decide to participate in elections, it would inflict a crushing defeat on the National Party at the ballot box." — *Sapa*.

POLITICS Heads will roll, says party spokesman ● '1

IFP rejects pact signed with AWB

By **Sowetan Reporter** and **Sapa-AFP**

Sowetan 29/11/93
■ PACT SIGNED Vaal ignores

orders against parade with AWB:

THE INKATHA FREEDOM Party national leadership yesterday distanced itself from a non-aggression pact signed between its Vereeniging branch and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on Saturday.

"The alleged pact is irregular and does not carry the sanction of the central committee or the national leadership who are the only bodies with the authority to enter into such arrangements," the IFP central committee said in a resolution after an all-day meeting at Ulundi in KwaZulu.

The committee said it had instructed its Transvaal leadership to investigate and report back on the matter.

AWB and IFP members marched through Vereeniging in the Vaal Triangle on Saturday before signing the pact, which promised that both sides "will at all times give support to each other" in the event of aggression by the

African National Congress and its ally the South African Communist Party.

Television footage of the event made headline news around the world.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche labelled the pact "historic" and said the IFP and AWB would fight together against an ANC government. *(IB) (SAPA)*

While distancing itself from the pact, the IFP central committee noted, however, that "communities who are being subjected to a systematic and organised campaign of assassination and murder are sometimes driven to seek security and protection from whatever source is available".

Earlier the IFP had been thrown into disarray after the Vaal region ignored instructions from Ulundi to cancel a joint march with the AWB.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said heads would roll following the march and the pact.

The AWB and the IFP joined forces in a march in Vereeniging — the first such march featuring both white extremists and supporters of a conservative black party.

The procession was a contrasting affair with uniformed and armed AWB troops marching in formation and spear-carrying IFP supporters doing the traditional black toyi-toyi dance.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, on horseback, led about 300 AWB supporters while behind them came about 200 IFP supporters singing and chanting.

During the march, young IFP supporters were seen carrying the swastika-style AWB flag.

IFP spells out its election demands

CT 26/09/11/93 (11B)

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party central committee yesterday set six conditions which it said had to be "substantially met" before it could recommend IFP participation in the April 27 election to a special party conference.

The committee, in a resolution passed after an all-day meeting, instructed its negotiators to continue negotiations "only within the parameters" of these demands.

The IFP and its Freedom Alliance partners have rejected the constitutional deal approved in multi-party talks at Kempton Park.

The alliance and the government are due to meet today for further talks. Conditions set by the committee include:

- Acceptance of an alliance clause dealing with the division of power between regional and central government.
- The amendment of the interim constitution to give all regional states a basic constitution which could be amended autonomously "as each state adapts to its own circumstances".
- The scope for final formulation of the principle of self-determination suitable to the fact that South Africa is a plural society", and
- The adoption of a two-thirds majority and "specified majorities" for amendment of the new constitution and the abandonment of the deadlock-breaking mechanisms. — Sapa

AWB pact proves headache for IFP

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party national leadership yesterday distanced itself from a non-aggression pact signed between its Vereeniging branch and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on Saturday.

(115)
The IFP central committee said after an all-day meeting at Ulundi that the pact was "irregular and does not carry the sanction of the central committee or the national leadership".

The committee said it had instructed its Transvaal leadership to investigate and report back on the matter.

29/11/93
Television footage of the AWB and IFP march through Vereeniging made news round the world. — Sapa

Inkatha, AWB defence pact 'disconcerting'

(115) ARG 29/11/93
THE signing of a defence pact between the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Inkatha Freedom Party was very disconcerting, Natal MP and Democratic Party spokesman on regional development Kobus Jordaan said today.

He said it appeared that at grassroots level the IFP was taking Mangosutho Buthelezi's war talk literally.

The signing of the pact between Eugene Terre Blanche and IFP leader Joisa Twala in Vereeniging yesterday is extremely disconcerting.

In spite of instructions from a senior IFP official not to proceed with the pact, the local IFP leadership went ahead.

"A party which claims in full-page adverts that it stands for integrity and freedom must translate those slogans into deeds." Sapa.

Leader tries to put Star 29/11/93 halt to Soweto crime

BY MOKONE MOLETE
SOWETO BUREAU

Among the many hats ANC Soweto sub-region chairman Sidney Phuti wears is that of peace-maker.

A member of the local peace committee and convener of last month's Soweto crime summit, Phuti believes that violence can be contained with the help of the community.

Various organisations, including the police and the SADF, took part in the crime summit.

"We are in the process of implementing resolutions from that summit," Phuti said.

These include setting up a 24-hour crime centre.

"This will enhance community involvement in combating crime as they will be reporting incidents to this centre."

While waiting for these plans to come to fruition, Phuti in his capacity as the ANC's political

leader and peace committee member has intervened in situations that he said could have escalated into open war.

Among these are intervening in clashes between rival taxi associations and mediating in squabbles between Mzimhlophe hostel inmates and residents from the surrounding townships.

The latter intervention has resulted in a 24-hour radio link between the two groups, helping shop owners whose businesses are threatened by gangs.

Phuti points out that political leaders have also fallen foul of criminals. Soweto region committee members Funky Sekete and Basil Zuma were murdered and ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale and foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki's cars were stolen in Soweto.

He believes that once political violence has been contained, it will be a lot easier to deal with "ordinary" crime.

Star 29/11/93 IFP leadership rejects AWB pact

Ulundi — The Inkatha Freedom Party national leadership yesterday distanced itself from a non-aggression pact signed between its Vereeniging branch and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on Saturday. (112)

"The alleged pact is irregular and does not carry the sanction of the central committee or

the national leadership who are the only bodies with the authority to enter into such arrangements," the IFP central committee said in a resolution after an all-day meeting at Ulundi, KwaZulu. It said it had instructed its Transvaal leadership to investigate and report back on the matter. — Sapa.

Today's

TEC to be born, FA to decide on election

Crunch week ahead for SA

Star 29/11/93

NEGOTIATORS as well as boycotters must make some crucial decisions in the next few days

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

South Africa faces a week of profound political change and crucial decisions as preparations for multiparty transitional structures approach finality, the World Trade Centre talks wrap up, and boycotting parties debate whether to take part in elections.

In Parliament, it is expected that legislation to give birth to the Transitional Executive Council will be debated. The TEC — the first phase of shared rule — should be up and running in Pretoria early next month.

At the World Trade Centre, negotiators are finalising outstanding issues, in particular the Local Government Transition Bill and the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

At the same time the Freedom Alliance, which includes the IFP, is expected to continue talks today with the Government to discuss the FA's response to offers of possible alterations to the transitional package agreed at this month's negotiating plenary session.

These discussions will be decisive as to whether the FA — or parts of it — agree to take part in next year's election. (SAPA) (118)

The Government-ANC proposal offers bigger powers of local taxation, and autonomy in road planning, development, agriculture, health services and public works. The powers and functions of the regions are seen by the FA as crucial.

Sources within the FA said yesterday it had been engaged in negotiations with the Government over the past few days over these proposals, but had not yet made any decisions.

Also yesterday, after an all-day meeting at Ulundi, the central committee of the IFP refused to take part in the April elections, saying it was not a party to the TEC Act signed by President De Klerk last week.

In order to take part in elections, the committee said, key issues had to be resolved. These include the division of power between states and federal government as well as funding arrangements.

It said De Klerk's signing of the TEC Act was "in breach of a solemn undertaking by the State President that there would be no implementation of any aspect of the transition until a constitution and all the attending Bills had been approved as a package".

"The central committee considers that this alone would justify the IFP refusing to par-

► To Page 3

Star 29/11/93
Crunch week ahead for SA

◀ From Page 1

icipate in the elections scheduled for April 27," it said.

An IFP spokesman told Sapa that the committee meeting had decided that a special general conference would be held to consider the IFP's way forward, but no date had been set.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned at the weekend that he would resign if his party decided to contest the elections, sparking speculation that a pro-elections group might split from the IFP and form a new political party.

Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope has warned of possible civil strife in South Africa should the constitutional dispensation agreed to at multiparty talks be implemented. Speaking on Saturday near Mabopane, he said the alliance was supported by "many millions". (SAPA) (118)

Parties blast IFP for consorting with AWB

Row over 'defence pact' snowballs

Star 30/11/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Cape Town — The dispute over the signing of a "defence pact" between the Inkatha Freedom Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in Vereeniging continued to snowball yesterday.

It has become evident over the past two days that the pact could prove to be an election liability for the IFP, with opposition parties already blasting the party for consorting with the right-wing extremists.

Yesterday the National Party's media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the IFP had "painted itself into a corner" by being part of the Freedom Alliance, which includes the AWB.

"All that has now happened is

that senior officials of the IFP have taken the alliance on national level to its logical consequence on regional level," said Van Schalkwyk.

Democratic Party Umhlanga MP Kobus Jordaan described the deal — which he said included the "establishment of subversive underground structures" — as extremely disconcerting.

"Despite the instructions of senior IFP official Dr Ziba Jiyane not to proceed with the pact, the local IFP leadership went ahead," said Jordaan.

"It appears that at a grass-roots level the IFP is taking Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's war-talk and being in bed with the Freedom Alliance literally," the DP MP added.

The IFP central committee

has already moved to distance itself from the pact, saying after a meeting on Sunday that it was "irregular and does not carry the sanction of the central committee or the national leadership".

The ANC yesterday welcomed the central committee's decision to repudiate the pact, but called on the IFP to take disciplinary action against erring members.

"We believe that the Vereeniging branch signed the pact because of the confusing signals, particularly the repeated calls for civil war, that the IFP national leadership has been sending their members," the ANC said.

"As a result, the IFP national leadership must bear full responsibility," it said.



POLITICS

Tough Ulundi talks for Freedom Alliance hawks

Political Staff
FREDOM Alliance leaders and their negotiators gather in Ulundi today for a meeting expected to set the political climate for the next few months. The alliance negotiators will arrive for the 2pm meeting fresh from a series of talks with government counterparts in which efforts have been made to close the gap between the organisations.

There have been indications from alliance sources that con-

siderable progress has been made on key issues, but the success of these talks now depends on ratification by alliance leaders.

Although negotiators have been encouraged by progress in recent talks, they point out that in the past such progress has been dashed when certain leaders dug in their heels.

There is concern over the recent attitude of Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe- lezi and pessimism over the

prospect of getting him aboard a settlement.

The alliance has rejected the negotiated interim constitution talks and said it would not contest an election without changes.

Given developments in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through parliament during the present sitting — now apparently due to run to December 22 — today's meeting will almost certainly amount to the final op-

portunity for the alliance to join a political settlement.

An alliance negotiator said yesterday that negotiating teams had almost reached agreement on the clause in the interim constitution on regional powers.

Another sub-committee was close to resolving differences on taxation powers.

A critical alliance demand is for a two-ballot voting system, with one vote for the national

legislature and another for provincial parliaments. The existing agreement is for one ballot paper.

An alliance negotiator said yesterday that he was "bullish" about progress in bilateral talks with the government.

This follows speculation of divisions in the alliance and the extraordinary announcement by the Afrikaner Volksfront, an alliance member, that it would form an alternative government for Afrikaners.

Pessimism about Buthelezi coming aboard

FA meets in Ulundi today

Star 2/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Freedom Alliance (FA) leaders and their negotiators will gather in Ulundi today for a meeting expected to set the political climate for the next few months.

The FA negotiators will arrive for the 2 pm meeting fresh from a series of talks with Government counterparts in which efforts have been made to close the gap between the organisations.

There have been indications from FA sources that considerable progress has been made on key issues, but the success of these talks now depends on their ratification by the FA leaders.

Although Government negotiators have been encouraged by the progress in recent



Buthelezi . . . his attitude is causing concern.

talks, they point out that in the past such progress has been dashed when certain FA leaders dug in their heels.

There is particular concern over the recent attitude of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and considerable pessimism over the prospect of getting him aboard a settlement.

The FA has rejected the negotiated Interim Constitution from the World Trade Centre talks and said it would not contest an election unless changes were made.

Given developments in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through Parliament during the current sitting — now apparently due to run to December 22 — today's meeting will almost certainly amount to the final opportunity for the FA to come on board a political settlement.

Before the resumption of talks with the Government, an FA negotiator stressed yesterday morning that all elements of the FA were in on the talks and party to agreements.

This follows speculation of divisions in the FA and the extraordinary announcement

by alliance member the Afrikaner Volksfront that it would be forming an alternative government for Afrikaners.

The FA source described today's meeting of FA negotiators with leaders as critical: "We are going to present to them the latest negotiated position and they are going to have to make a decision."

The decision will be conveyed to the Government at another meeting of negotiators tomorrow.

It is understood that the FA might delay making a public announcement on its intentions until well into the new year.

There is continuing speculation that the FA intends to contest elections on a national basis as an alliance with the individual parties contesting provincial polls.

MM 3-9/12/93 (118)

IFP dissenters back Buthelezi's last bid

Following a plea by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP dissenters have conceded the party should not take part in next year's elections if a final list of demands is not met. **Chris Louw** reports

WITH only a few days to go before the transitional constitution negotiated at the World Trade Centre is passed into law by parliament, the Inkatha Freedom Party seems to have closed ranks in a final bid to bargain a better deal for itself.

At last Sunday's central committee meeting, senior IFP members who up to now have questioned the party's boycotting strategies, undertook to abide by a decision not to take part in elections if specific demands were not met by the government.

In exchange for their support, the IFP leadership has moved away from its rejection of the present two-phased process towards majority rule. Dissenters within the IFP were brought into line after a 10-hour debate in Umtata and a personal plea from KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who insisted that a list of six demands was "the barest minimum that we can live with".

Taking part in the debate were Mike Tarr and Peter Muller, two IFP members known to have had reservations about the course chosen by the leadership. Both agreed that if demands set by Buthelezi were not met, the IFP should not take part in next year's elections.

The Freedom Alliance, which includes the IFP and white rightwing groups, meets government negotiators today to discuss ways of overcoming their differences. IFP central committee member Farouk Cassim this week threatened that the IFP would take the "UDF option" and boycott the elections scheduled for April 27 next year if last-minute changes were not made to the transitional constitution.

IFP central committee member Farouk Cassim this week threatened that the IFP would take the "UDF option" and boycott the elections scheduled for April 27 next year if last-minute changes were not made to the transitional constitution.

Cassim predicted that the government and the Freedom Alliance would meet each other as far as Clause 118 of the transitional constitution — dealing with the powers of the regions — was concerned. He based his optimism on the fact that a strong lobby in the National Party caucus was also not satisfied that enough powers were afforded to the regions.

"The NP caucus' demands seem to coincide with ours," said Cassim, adding that if Clause 118 was granted "then it follows logically that our next demand — for the regions to have control of their own finances — should also be met".

Autonomy, Cassim said, meant lit- tie if the provinces in a federal South Africa did not have the "power to tax". He dismissed the possibility of civil war, saying it was "a distant prospect". Of more immediate concern to both the NP and the African National Congress should be the question of how to involve the Freedom Alliance in the elections. "Meeting our conditions will be the smaller price to pay."

The demands set by the IFP include: ● Acceptance of a clear division of power between regional and central government. ● The amendment of the interim constitution to give all regional states a basic constitution which could be amended autonomously "as each state adapts to its own circumstances". ● The scope of final formulation of the principle of self-determination suitable to the fact that South Africa is a plural society. ● The adoption of a two-thirds majority and "specified majorities" for amendment of the new constitution and the abandonment of the dead-lock-breaking mechanisms.

During question time in parliament on Wednesday, President F.W. de Klerk indicated that "progress was made" between the Freedom Alliance and the government as far as Clause 118 was concerned.

The parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs met yesterday and will meet again today and tomorrow to discuss the transitional constitution. The committee includes members of all parties in parliament.

Lost in the translation

11B
WM 3-9/12/93

The AWB and IFP may have a common cause but their languages are very different, writes **Jan Taljaard**

MYEZI TWALA was a worried man. Looking decidedly uncomfortable on the makeshift stage atop a flatbed truck, he was slowly moving his head to and fro. No, no, no, he seemed to be muttering.

The object of his silently expressed chagrin was merrily translating away in Zulu, interpreting freely as he went along: "We are called upon to form hit squads with the AWB and self-protection units in our fight against the ANC."

Poor Mr Twala, regional organiser of the IFP in the Vaal Triangle. Not only was his national leadership distancing itself from the pact signed with the AWB's Eugene Terre-Blanche, but now the translator was taking liberties.

Twala had merely said that the unity between the IFP and the AWB should be built up "on the ground, above the ground and even underground". And now the translator was saying what he thought was meant by underground.

The regional organiser turned his painful expression away, lifting his eyes above the assembled gathering of AWB and IFP members sitting in neatly segregated groups on the grass in front of the Vereeniging Civic Centre.

Floating on the fringes was a group of five camouflaged whites milling forlornly underneath two multi-hued flags in shades of pastel. They belonged to the White Liberation Army, military arm of the Springs Israelviston Sect. They do not believe that black people have souls.

Ah, but there was one person on the stage enjoying himself immensely. Smiling smugly from behind his mane sat the die-hard Lion of the Western Transvaal himself, Eugene Terre-Blanche well-known attender of court cases and signatory of non-aggression pacts.

A little while later he was to put his feelings into raucous bellows of belligerence: "The Boer and the Zulu have now decided that we will fight to the last drop of blood! We are not here to enter into an election pact, but to mould a military

force!"

This seemed to perk the translator up considerably after he had just been softly berated by Twala.

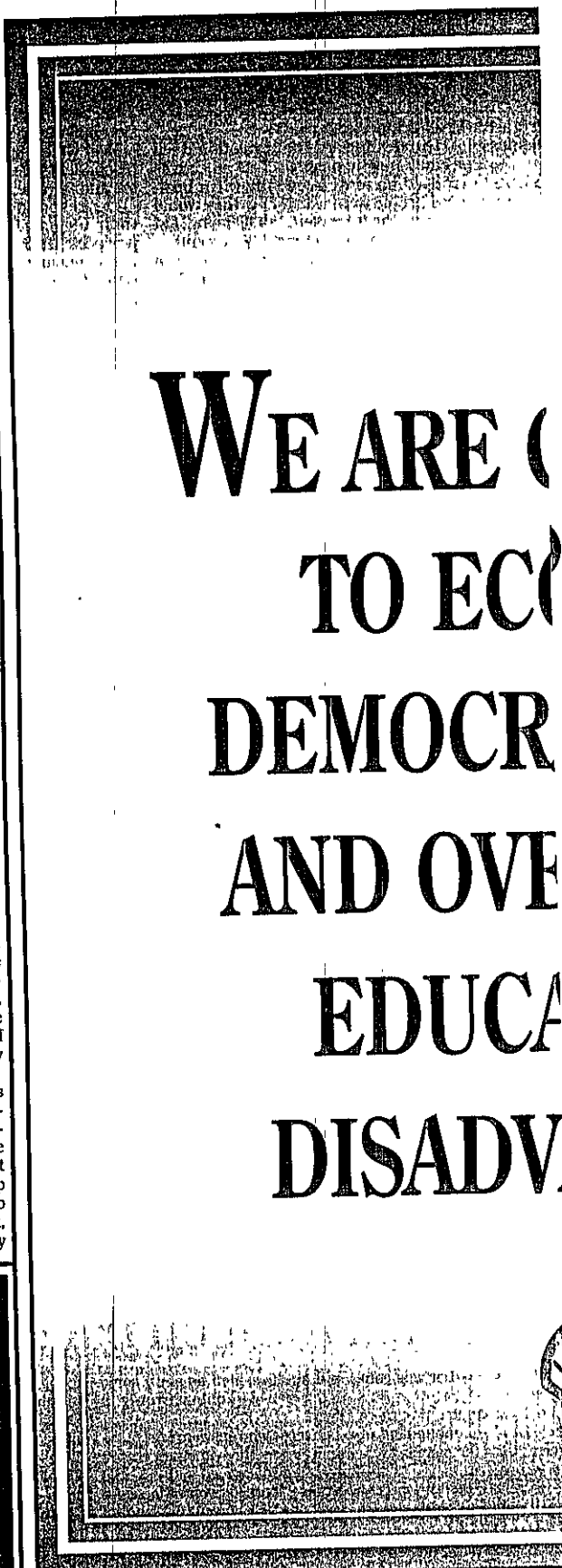
Grabbing his cue at the end of a lengthy, traditional song of praise in Zulu, he translated for the benefit of the AWB faithful who had been staring in wide-eyed amazement: "That is a song of praise for the king. It is a signal that we are going for a war."

The faithful cheered, Terre-Blanche positively glowed, even

Twala's spirits had lifted. As the AWB members broke into their familiar chant, Twala rhythmically pounded the air with his fist: "Aaa, Wee, Beel", he smiled.

The combined gathering came to an end, on a much more unanimous note than an AWB member that morning would let on was possible.

Asked when the march was going to start, he shrugged his shoulders: "Don't know. The kaffirs are late as usual."



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Alliance must join talks - Mandela

High noon for FA over TEC

Star 3/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — South Africa will know today whether the Freedom Alliance will finally become part of a constitutional process leading to next year's general election.

FA negotiators, armed with fresh mandates from the FA's summit in Ulundi yesterday, will meet their Government counterparts today in a last-ditch attempt to reach agreement before the launch of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in four days' time.

After their meeting last night, FA leaders were tight-lipped about the line they might take at today's negotiations, except to say they would demand "a more federal state". Spokesman Rowan Cronje reiterated the FA's rejection of the draft Interim Constitution and the planned establishment of the TEC.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the FA would do everything in its power to ensure that its objectives were achieved in a peaceful manner.

Before yesterday's meeting, Cronje had said FA and Government negotiators were

LAST-DITCH attempt to come to an agreement before launch of council on Tuesday

~~SECRET~~ (118)
close to agreement on clause 118 of the Interim Constitution — the section that deals with the powers and functions to be allocated to regions.

Given the mounting pressure to get the Interim Constitution through the current sitting of Parliament — expected to end on December 22 — it now seems increasingly unlikely that agreement can be reached with the FA in time.

However, should progress be made today and endorsed by the FA within the next few days, the new agreement could be included in the Interim Constitution before it is voted on by Parliament.

Earlier yesterday, Government spokesman Dave Steward said there was "cautious optimism that the two sides are getting closer together".

The Ulundi meeting, called to thrash out a fresh response to Government constitutional proposals, was attended by

Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront head General Constand Viljoen.

Issues on which the negotiating teams are reported to be close to agreement include the powers of taxation to be ceded to the provinces.

Increasing the pressure yesterday on the FA to make a decision, was news that work has begun on preparing the Interim Constitution for tabling in Parliament.

The opening of debate on the document is scheduled for Tuesday, but this appears to be somewhat ambitious. It is believed that the current sitting of Parliament will end only on December 22 — by which time the Interim Constitution will have been passed — and it is unlikely that amendments could be made after that date.

Meanwhile, speaking in Rustenburg last night, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC was still committed to persuading the right wing to join negotiations, but it would not tolerate rightwingers remaining outside the process and threatening civil war.

Buthelezi raps IFP pro-election leaders

Star 4/12/93
ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised statements by "certain" IFP central committee members which gave the impression the party had watered down its demands

with a view to participating in the April 27 election.

(118)
Buthelezi was apparently reacting to a remark in the House of Assembly yesterday by IFP MP for Vryheid, Jurie Mentz, that Inkatha would take part in the election.

"At present the party's position is that we are not participating in an election for a constituent assembly. This is the position until the general conference decides otherwise," the IFP leader said. — Sapa.



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IFP's Mentz: 'We don't want war'

27/4/1993 (11B)
THE Inkatha Freedom Party would "take part" in April 27 elections, Mr Jurie Mentz (IFP Vryheid) said yesterday, but IFP leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said it would not.

Speaking in the special debate on the Transitional Executive Council, Mr Mentz said the IFP did not want war.

"Just be reasonable — give us our bottom line," he said.

After January, Mr Mentz said,

Parliament would be finished and the TEC would then govern South Africa. "We say this is a coup d'etat."

To an interjection, he said: "We are going to take part in the election, I assure you."

But Chief Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at certain IFP central committee members for "undermining the purpose" of an IFP extraordinary general conference next month.

Chief Buthelezi said in a

statement he was puzzled by utterances by certain IFP central committee members which gave the impression the IFP had watered down its demands to accommodate the IFP's participation in elections.

The extraordinary general conference of the IFP had been called to decide on this issue, Chief Buthelezi said.

"At present the party's position is that we are not partici-

pating in an election for a constituent assembly. This is the position until the general conference decides otherwise."

Another IFP statement issued yesterday by Mr Farouk Cassim, secretary of the IFP's parliamentary caucus, said the IFP stood by its November 28 central committee decision to exhaust all avenues of negotiation before deciding whether to contest elections — Sapa.

Zulu king: Alliance missed opportunities

DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said yesterday that the conservative Freedom Alliance, by abandoning the democratic process, had made peace difficult to achieve.

King Goodwill, who has previously strongly aligned himself with Inkatha Freedom Party, a key alliance member, said the alliance had missed opportunities to negotiate an acceptable constitutional settlement.

"The fact that we have not achieved an all inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa that much more difficult," he said in a speech to government public relations staff.

King Goodwill said that democracy negotiations had been marred by the failure of the different parties to get to grips with each other's policies.

ANC praises Zulu king on his speech

SI Times 5/12/93

Deadline for commitment

By MARLAN PADAYACHEE

THE ANC yesterday welcomed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's criticism on Friday night of the parties that had pulled out of the World Trade Centre talks.

ANC Natal Midlands executive committee member Blade Nzimande said the king's statements would shatter IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claim to speak on behalf of the Zulu nation.

The king's speech at a banquet for the Kwazulu government's public relations staff in Durban fell short of publicly criticising the Freedom Alliance — of which the Zulu-based IFP is a key member — but the monarch was unhappy the parties had broken away from the talks.

"Although walk-outs express a form of communication, it is one that South Africa can do without," the king told his audience.

"While those aggrieved parties certainly had their own views as to why they embarked upon such a drastic course, the fact that we have not achieved an all-inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE government wants a commitment from homeland leaders and right-wing parties in the Freedom Alliance today that they will participate in the Transitional Executive Council and the April 27 elections before changes are made to the constitution. *SI Times*

Substantial progress was made when Freedom Alliance and government negotiators met on Friday night in an attempt to hammer out changes that would satisfy the alliance's demands. *SI Times*

But agreement still has to be reached on the number of ballots cast in the election, the writing of provincial constitutions and deadlock-breaking mechanisms. *SI Times*

Sources at the talks said the ANC had indicated it was prepared to make itself available for talks with the government and Freedom Alliance tomorrow to discuss any changes.

The negotiating council will meet tomorrow night to finalise technical details and discuss constitutional amendments arising from the talks.

However, the government has made it clear to the Freedom Alliance that no amendments will be made unless the leaders commit themselves to endorsing the process and participating in the elections.

The government wants this commitment from the leaders by the end of the day.

peace in South Africa that much more difficult," the king said. *(118)*

Dr Nzimande commended King Zwelithini for siding with progress, saying it was important that the king had risen above party politics and treated all political organisations

equally, reports Sapa.

"His statements give us hope that he can play the unifying role he is supposed to, and contribute to building democracy in South Africa.

"Even more important is that his statements underline the fact that the

Freedom Alliance is a group of spoilers. We're glad the king is realising that now," Dr Nzimande said.

The Zulu king has been criticised for appearing on IFP platforms with Chief Buthelezi and for propounding the IFP's political line in many of his public speeches.

Also reacting, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said his organisation was encouraged by the king's "sobering words".

Mr Radebe said the king's wisdom had prevailed in a difficult period, adding that the king's statements in support of negotiations indicated the crucial role he could play in bringing all parties to the negotiation table.

A spokesman for the IFP said: "The king is genuinely unhappy about the impasse. But certain commentators have mischievously interpreted that as an attack on the Freedom Alliance."

The spokesman said Chief Buthelezi could not be reached for comment.

CIPROD 5112193

By SIPHO KHUMALO
and Sapa

ZULU King Zwelithini's criticism of the Freedom Alliance would shatter Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claim to speak on behalf of the Zulu nation, ANC Midlands executive committee member Blade Nzimande said yesterday.

The king's censure of the alliance for walking out of the multiparty talks could also indicate emerging tension between the monarch and Buthelezi - a development which could have serious political repercussions for Inkatha.

The king said on Friday that SA could do without walkouts from negotiations, thereby impeding the peace process.

Nzimande, commending the king for commitment to progress, said it was important that he stood above party politics and treated all political organisations equally.

The Zulu king has been criticised for appearing on Inkatha platforms

Chief out of step with the king

with Buthelezi and for propounding Inkatha's political line in his speeches. (11B)

The king's statements on Friday night were the first in which he publicly opposed the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha is a major partner. (11B)

And, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said his organisation was encouraged by "the sobering words of his majesty the king".

Radebe added that the king's stand would

certainly go some way in unifying people.

This development comes in the wake of what seems to be divisions within Inkatha over participation in the coming elections.

The Inkatha president also found himself at loggerheads with his own central committee this week.

Two senior Inkatha leaders said they would contest the April 27 elections, resulting in Buthelezi wrapping them on their knuckles.

Inkatha CEO Joe Matthews said last week that the organisation has spent some R2-million on advertisements for the election.

Buthelezi's close confidante, Walter Felgate, declined to comment.

Meanwhile, ANC deputy general secretary Jacob Zuma described the king's comments as appropriate and urged all parties to take guidance from it.

Rumour has it that the king has been pressurised by the royal family to be non-partisan.

FA stumbling block

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Conservative Party chief Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg are believed to be the main obstacles to a constitutional agreement with the Freedom Alliance.

Sources close to both the South African and Bophuthatswana governments said the problem could be solved only if Buthelezi would ease up on his demand for the federal option.

The sources said that except for the Conservative Party and Inkatha, all the other members of the FA wanted to take part in the Transitional Executive Council which sits in Cape Town tomorrow to conclude constitutional negotiations in preparation for next year's elections.

These developments follow optimistic comments after the Government and the FA met last week and edged closer to each other on constitutional matters.

On the other hand, Hartzenberg, who is also Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader, has been said to be holding out on the demand for the Afrikaner Volkstaat as FA members believe negotiations with the Government and the African National Congress were bringing a solution around the rightwing problem.

Buthelezi's problems were com-

Sowetan 6/12/93
pounded this weekend by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's criticism of the IFP leader and the FA regarding negotiations.

Zwelithini said the absence of a number of parties from talks pointed to the inability of political parties to accommodate and compromise and that "one could only rue the missed chances politicians had of forging a future acceptable to all."

He said the country could do without walkouts at negotiations.

Test of will (113)

Buthelezi has undertaken to test the will of KwaZulu/Natal about fighting the elections. He would do this through a special conference of the IFP next month.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council moves from Kempton Park to Cape Town today in preparation for the installation of the TEC tomorrow.

Crucial debate on the final draft of the interim constitution begins on Thursday or Friday and it is hoped that the rest of the package of the Kempton Park agreements would be enacted before Christmas.

The Bills to be approved and passed by Parliament are the Electoral Act, Local Government Bill and the Constitution itself.

Buthelezi, IFP pressurised

11B
CT6/12/93

DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's weekend criticism of boycott politics has sparked hectic speculation over the Inkatha Freedom Party's election strategy.

Some politicians believe it will force IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into participating in the April 27 poll, but others think the king's speech was vague enough to leave him more room to manoeuvre.

Chief Buthelezi could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Attempts to obtain the king's comment on interpretations of his remarks as being a major setback for Chief Buthelezi were unsuccessful.

In his speech to public relations staff of the SA and homeland governments in Durban on Friday, King Goodwill criticised all parties for their failure to

Zulu king sets off speculation

reach an all-inclusive political settlement.

It was clear from the day constitutional negotiations started that an inclusive settlement was vital, he said.

"Yet as the talks lingered on, the talks became less and less representative. In so doing our constitutional transition unfortunately began to resemble more and more the follies of the past."

His somewhat startling dressing down of political parties has drawn praise, particularly from

the ANC.

At the same time it is seen to put massive pressure on Chief Buthelezi to have the IFP enter the election, or risk estrangement from the Zulu king — in whose name, too, he has been fighting for greater autonomy for Natal/KwaZulu.

ANC sources said the king's comments had established his neutrality.

The timing of the king's remarks are significant as it is possible that Chief Buthelezi's role as the king's paymaster may be usurped by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) which begins sitting tomorrow.

In terms of the TEC bill, the council will have the power to make recommendations on "matters of material concern to traditional leaders" and "approve .. changes in the remuneration of traditional leaders".

Zulu King's views might spur IFP

Star 6/12/93

■ BY PAUL BELL

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's unhappiness at the boycott of the constitutional process by "aggrieved parties" may be the shock which the Inkatha Freedom Party requires to reconsider its position rapidly and to take part in the April 27 election, insiders believe.

The king's views, expressed at a banquet on Saturday, came on the eve of a Freedom Alliance decision to attend a trilateral meeting with the Government and the ANC.

It is understood the king fears that the IFP's continued resistance to the constitutional and elections package agreed to by

the Negotiating Council could be leading him and his kingdom up a cul-de-sac. (S) (11B)

The king told a KwaZulu government publicity staff banquet in Durban that while "aggrieved parties certainly had their own views on why they embarked on such a drastic course", their withdrawal had made the achievement of peace "that much more difficult".

His message is believed to have contained an implicit warning to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that if Buthelezi was tempted to withdraw to his last line of defence — the support of the Zulu nation — he might not be able to rely on it.

King invites 'threatened' Zulus to pray

KING Goodwill Zwelithini has invited Zulus to a prayer meeting at Isandhlwana next Thursday, the Day of the Vow.

In a statement issued on the king's behalf, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the king felt Isandhlwana was the right venue and December 16 an appropriate date. ~~(18)~~ (11B)

The occasion would have a bitter-sweet meaning for Zulus. It was at Isandhlwana that Zulu impis triumphed over British soldiers. But it was on this day, a century

earlier, that the Boers routed Zulu impis.

Buthelezi said the king had called for the meeting to pray for "the Zulu nation, which is under threat on account of violence, and his kingdom, which he feels is under threat". Zulus unable to attend the prayer meeting were asked to pray together at noon on that day.

Asked whether cattle would be slaughtered at the meeting to appease ancestral

spirits, the king's office said: "Wait until December 16." Traditionally, Zulus slaughter animals as sacrifices to call for divine intervention.

In another development, the king denied that he had criticised political parties, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, for walking out of multiparty talks.

Zwelithini said nowhere in his weekend speech, in which he lamented the withdrawal of certain political parties from the multiparty negotiations, had he referred to Inkatha or the Freedom Alliance.

BINAY 7/12/93
WILSON ZWANE



King 'misquoted about alliance'

Sowetan 7/12/93

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelethini has bluntly rejected suggestions that recent comments by him were intended as criticism of the Inkatha Freedom Party or Freedom Alliance.

In a rare Press statement issued yesterday the king said: "In no way whatsoever did I intend criticising any political party for withdrawing from negotiations, as has been reported in the Press."

On Friday the king had, during an address to a Songusa Public Relations Institute dinner, referred to parties who had walked out of talks.

"Although walkouts express a form of communication, it is one that South Africa can do without," he said, a comment that was widely interpreted as criticism of the IFP and its FA allies.

"While those aggrieved parties certainly had their own views as to why they embarked upon such a drastic

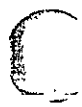
course, the fact that we have not achieved an all-inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa that much more difficult," he added. *(113) (107)*

Yesterday he rounded on media interpretations of his comments, saying they were distorted and taken out of context.

He was "in no way" passing judgment on the decision of certain parties to walk out of talks.

King Zwelithini said "no portion of my speech contained any apportionment of blame of any specific political parties".

He charged that the speech had been deliberately distorted by the media for the purpose of "clobbering those parties and organisations who are, in fact, being clobbered daily by the media anyway". — *Sowetan Correspondent*



Goodwill, Buthelezi rift denied

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi remained high spirited yesterday on the latest row involving King Goodwill Zwelithini — but announced he will share a platform with the king on the Day of the Vow to pray for peace.

The announcement that they will appear together in public at the Isandlwana prayer meeting on December 16 is being interpreted as a move to assure the Zulus there is no rift between the chief minister and the monarch.

King Goodwill slammed the monarch yesterday for "distorting" remarks he made on Friday about the withdrawal of certain political parties from multi-party negotiations.

Reacting to reports suggesting he rebuked the IFP for walking out of the World Trade Centre, the king said his speech had been deliberately distorted.

"I was in no way passing judgment on the decision of certain political parties who withdrew from talks. In fact, I did not mention the IFP or the Freedom Alliance. We believe all political parties have failed to communicate. I was lamenting this fact," the African National Congress, which earlier praised the king's speech as a sign of the monarch's neutrality, declined to comment officially on King Goodwill's latest statement. However, senior ANC sources claimed the king had been "bullied into issuing this so-called retraction".

7/12/92

(IP)

7/12/92

All-out bid to woo Buthelezi

CR 3/12/93 (11B)

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has become the focus of negotiations get the Freedom Alliance back into the political process.

Alliance leaders travelled to Ulundi and visiting British Minister of Overseas Development Baroness Lynda Chalker said she would try to persuade Chief Buthelezi to take part in the elections.

After meeting President F W de Klerk, Baroness Chalker said she would try to persuade Chief Buthelezi when they meet in Ulundi tomorrow that Inkatha's participation was essential.

"If people do not participate in an election, they cannot complain about what they get after such an election," she said.

Mr De Klerk said the door would remain open for Inkatha's participation until lists for the elections were published.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha parliamentary caucus said it had com-

'Door still open for IFP'

THE door would remain open for Inkatha Freedom Party participation in the formal political process until lists for the election were published, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting with British Minister of Overseas Development

Lady Lynda Chalker, he said another door would close when Parliament rose.

"If they don't walk through that door we'll accept the constitution without them." — Sapa

mitted itself to argue for Inkatha's participation in the elections, provided major obstacles to a free and fair election were overcome.

It disputed ANC and government allegations that Inkatha was not serious about negotiating a political settlement, but conceded it had tried to stall negotiations by "filibustering".

The caucus said contacts between all parties were continuing.

However, the deadlock between the Freedom Alliance and government and the ANC remains unresolved, with all sides saying the ball is in the others' court. Alliance leaders are to meet on Friday to consider their

response to Monday's "aborted" meeting with government and the ANC. They went to Ulundi yesterday for urgent talks with Chief Buthelezi.

The Alliance said it was concerned about the conflicting positions adopted by the ANC and government and which it said lay behind the failure of Monday's meeting.

The government delegation had indicated that an Alliance commitment to take part was contingent on agreement being reached on unresolved issues.

The ANC had been adamant that a commitment would be required from the Alliance, irrespective of the outcome of negotiations, and this was "unacceptable".

Chalker in bid to persuade Buthelezi

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday became the focus of negotiations to get the Freedom Alliance back into the political process, with alliance leaders travelling to Ulundi and visiting British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker saying she would try to persuade him to take part in the elections. *B/Day*

After meeting President F W de Klerk, Chalker said she would tell Buthelezi at a meeting in Ulundi tomorrow that Inkatha's participation was essential. She would not be trying to tell him what to do, but would "ask him questions and point out that a government of national unity would be stronger with Inkatha's participation".

"If people do not participate in an election, they cannot complain about what they get after such an election," she said.

De Klerk said the door would remain open for Inkatha's participation until lists for the election were published. *(118)*

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown yesterday sounded a note of sympathy for the Inkatha leader. *8/12/93*

Brown, who spent 90 minutes with Buthelezi during his trade mission to SA last week, said Buthelezi's constituency was "significant" and he was "obviously in great personal pain now. He is concerned about the future of those he represents in this new nonracial democratic society".

Brown also predicted that Buthelezi and the Freedom Alliance would take part in the elections as a matter of realpolitik.

Meanwhile the Inkatha parliamentary caucus announced that it had committed

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

B/Day

8/12/93

□ From Page 1

itself to argue for Inkatha's participation in the elections, providing major obstacles to a free and fair election were met.

It disputed ANC and government allegations that Inkatha was not serious about negotiating a political settlement, but admitted it had attempted to stall national negotiations by "filibustering". Nominated House of Delegates MP Farouk Cassim said "there was a phase where we did participate in filibustering, but that stage is over now". The caucus said contacts between all parties was continuing. *(118)*

However the deadlock between the Freedom Alliance and government and the ANC remained unresolved with both sides saying the ball was in the other's court. Alliance leaders will meet today to consider their response to Monday's "aborted" meeting with government and the ANC. They went to Ulundi yesterday for urgent

talks with Buthelezi.

The cancellation of Monday's meeting was neither the alliance's fault nor its responsibility. The meeting did not take place because the government and ANC delegations had refused to proceed with negotiations unless the alliance "unconditionally committed itself to participation in the transitional process, irrespective of the outcome of such negotiations".

The alliance said it was concerned about the conflicting positions adopted by the ANC and government. The government delegation had indicated that an alliance commitment to participate in the process was contingent on agreement over outstanding issues being reached. The ANC had been adamant that a commitment would be required from the alliance, irrespective of the outcome of negotiations, and this was "completely unacceptable".

IFP committed to talks - caucus

Star 8/12/93

Cape Town. — The Inkatha Freedom Party's parliamentary caucus has committed itself to argue for the IFP's participation in the April 27 election, it said in a statement yesterday.

The caucus said it would present its case for participation, provided major obstacles to a free and fair election were removed, at a special party congress next month.

Following a deadlock in negotiations between the Freedom Alliance — of which the IFP is a major player — and the Government and ANC on Monday, the caucus decided to hold a press conference at Parliament yesterday to put its version of events.

The seven-member caucus released a statement saying the current demand of the Government and ANC-SACP that the IFP should "commit yourself before we even begin to talk to you" was a bullying tactic inconsistent with the spirit of bona fide negotiations.

The statement said: "We insist on the Government, ANC and SACP delegations dropping their unreasonable prior conditions so that the remaining key problems can be satisfactorily resolved without further delay or obstacles.

"The IFP remains com-

mitted to negotiations as the only viable route to a peaceful and lasting solution."

(11B)
If the major obstacles to a free and fair election were removed, and this included the constitutional issue and the extent of violence in the country, the IFP special congress would, on balance, recognise the progress made and react accordingly.

It was a matter of the "utmost deep regret" that the proposed trilateral meeting on Monday had been scuppered by the Government and ANC-SACP delegations "without cause or justification". It was inconceivable that they could have demanded any kind of commitment as a prior condition for the discussions to begin.

Caucus secretary Farouk Cassim said he had gained the impression from having been involved in a number of bilaterals with the Government that the two sides had often found each other, only to find days later that the decisions had been recorded differently from what had been decided.

If Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were clear in writing as to what he wanted from the IFP, it would be able to say "yes" or "no".

FA leaders to meet chief

Star
8/21/93
Mmabatho — The principals of the Freedom Alliance left for Ulundi yesterday to hold urgent talks with IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi did not attend yesterday's alliance meeting in Mmabatho, which was a follow-up to

the alliance meeting on Monday with the Government and the ANC.

The trilateral failed, with the alliance rejecting proposed concessions and refusing to agree to take part in transitional structures of the coming election. — Sapa.

(118) (3-77)

Ex-CP men join IFP

By NORMAN WEST

FORMER CP member Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, yesterday crossed the floor to join the IFP.

Mr van der Merwe had been sitting as an Independent since his expulsion two years ago from the CP. 19/12/93

He announced his move during a debate on the interim constitution.

He said his decision was in the best interests of the Afrikaner because Inkatha was the only party which was serious about federalism and alliance politics. (113)

Mr van der Merwe launched a stinging attack on the ANC, calling it "hypocritical and power-drunk".

Mr van der Merwe was the second CP man to join the IFP this week.

Mr Cehill Pienaar crossed over on Friday.

Mr Pienaar, who was an Independent after he left the Afrikaner Volksunie, said the IFP was the only party espousing true federalism in which groups and nations could achieve maximum autonomy and exercise this in a meaningful way.

He said the IFP and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, deserved the support of all freedom-loving South Africans who wished to see freedom and prosperity flourish in a federal South Africa.

Meanwhile, SAPA reports that, with the likelihood of a "no room at the inn" sign being put out for non-aligned MPs in the new national assembly, other members of the outgoing Parliament are scurrying to make their destinies known:

● Mr Chris de Jager, MP for Bethal, told Parliament yesterday that he was quitting politics.

● Mr Hansie Christians, Ravensmead, said he was making his last speech in Parliament.

Mr de Jager, a former CP member, is resuming a law practice. Mr Christians said he would urge people to vote for the National Party.

Mr de Jager said there was no room in Parliament for those "not harnessed to caucus decisions".

Independents were not readily heard, he said — so much so that they had been written out of the new constitution.

Inkatha slates G'stone findings

118
CT 9/12/93

Political Staff

FINDINGS by the Goldstone Commission of the involvement of an SADF-trained KwaZulu Police (KZP) hit squad in the murder of several Natal ANC leaders were described yesterday by the IFP as a distortion — but were praised by the ANC and DP.

The IFP's Mr Ed Tillett said while there "may be ruth" in the allegations, the report diminished the credibility of the commission as it had consistently failed to take up IFP requests to probe attacks on scores of its supporters.

The report said that three KZP policemen — two of whom have been suspended and the other dismissed from the force — had been arrested and at least two more arrests were expected.

According to commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, there was "credible evidence" of the hit squad activities.

Caprivi

The facts had come to light after the SAP had been requested to probe the alleged hit squad's activities at the request of the KZP commissioner, Lieutenant-General R During.

SAP Brigadier E du Preez, who headed the probe, found that the men had been trained by the SADF in the Caprivi in 1986.

Evidence showed that there was a "high probability" that a squad of five KZP men were behind the killings of nine people — including ANC leaders — last year and this year.

The commission considered the disclosure of the information to be in the public interest.

However, it was reported that General During said yesterday he regretted the timing of the disclosures.

General During said he had asked the SAP to investigate after receiving information that some KZP members were involved in criminal activities.

The Ministry of Law and Order's Captain Craig Kotzé said it was clear that hit-squad activity was a manifestation of the political rivalry and intolerance between the ANC and Inkatha. — Sapa

● Good cops, bad cops — Page 6

Buthelezi blames colonial action

ET 10/2/93 (11B)

ULUNDI. — Britain had dragged KwaZulu into the Union of South Africa and the territory would never again be dragged towards a destiny it had no hand in shaping, its chief minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told visiting British Overseas Development Aid Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker yesterday.

In a sharply-worded memorandum presented to the baroness during her visit to Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi criticised Britain's colonial involvement in KwaZulu.

"Britain accepted the offer of hospitality by KwaZulu in order to build up its forces and to march against its hosts. Britain conquered KwaZulu, annexed KwaZulu to Natal, and it was under British colonial rule that KwaZulu was dragged into the Union of South Africa without consultation and without so much as by your leave," said the memorandum.

"These acts of colonial subjugation, conquest in war, annexation into

Natal, and KwaZulu's subsequent incorporation into the Union of South Africa have written history on the very soul of the Zulu people."

Chief Buthelezi told the baroness he had sworn "that never again will KwaZulu be dragged towards a destiny we had no hand in shaping".

Quoting news reports, Chief Buthelezi added: "Now I hear, Madam Minister, that you think President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have done 'more than enough' to satisfy the Freedom Alliance's demands . . ."

He added he knew the baroness, like many other international observers, believed the draft constitution would give rise to a working democracy. However, the ANC had given only a verbal commitment to democracy.

"While you may believe the ANC will meet its publicly expressed commitments, we on the side of the opposition are not prepared to stake our future on verbal assurances alone." — Sapa

Buthelezi castigates Britain

Biday

10/12/93

ULUNDI — Britain had dragged KwaZulu into the Union of SA and the territory would never again be dragged towards a destiny it had no hand in shaping, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told British Overseas Development Aid Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker yesterday.

In a sharply worded memorandum presented to Chalker during a visit to Ulundi, Buthelezi castigated Britain's colonial involvement in KwaZulu.

"Britain accepted the offer of hospitality by KwaZulu in order to build up its forces and to march against its hosts. Britain conquered KwaZulu, annexed KwaZulu to Natal, and it was under British colonial rule that

KwaZulu was dragged into the Union of SA without consultation and without so much as by your leave," said the memorandum.

"These acts of colonial subjugation, conquest in war, annexation into Natal, and KwaZulu's subsequent incorporation into the Union of SA has written history on the very soul of the Zulu people." (113) (114)

Buthelezi told Chalker he had sworn "that never again will KwaZulu be dragged towards a destiny we had no hand in shaping.

"KwaZulu, His Majesty of the Zulu nation, and I myself as traditional prime minister to His Majesty, will have a say in what is to become of our land, culture and our heritage."

Buthelezi added: "Now I hear,

Madam Minister, that you think President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have done 'more than enough' to satisfy the Freedom Alliance's demands..."

Buthelezi told Chalker he doubted the politics of the SA government and the ANC "will stamp out ethnic realities and obliterate the pluralism which is ... fundamentally inherent in SA society".

Buthelezi added that he knew Chalker, like many other international observers, believed the draft constitution would give rise to a working democracy but warned that the ANC had given only a verbal commitment to democracy. "We are not prepared to stake our future on verbal assurances alone." — Sapa.



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SOWETAN

muscle ● Car manufacturers close over dispute

Now TEC challenges Chief Buthelezi

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council flexed its muscle for the first time yesterday, effectively challenging KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi with two resolutions that could brush aside his authority. (118)

One of the resolutions called on the South African Police to act immediately in violence-ravaged areas of Northern Natal and KwaZulu in order to restore security and protect property and lives.

African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking in the debate, said some of the areas involved fell under KwaZulu

where "the KwaZulu Police have just been standing by when people's houses are being torched and people are being killed".

"The SAP has a national jurisdiction and ought to immediately protect people in that part of the world," Ramaphosa added. Another resolution demanded that KwaZulu Police commissioner Mr Roy During must report directly to the TEC within three days on the Goldstone Commission's report that "hard evidence" indicated a hit squad of KZP members had killed nine people, including ANC members. Given that Buthelezi is also the KwaZulu Minister of Police, the resolution amounts to a call to circumvent his authority.

The resolution said steps would be taken once During's report was received.

In only its second sitting, the TEC indicated it intended playing a significant role. It also rapidly responded to the Goldstone Commission report on the police Internal Stability Unit. It demanded that all documents of the controversial ISU on how it "discharged its functions" be made available.

The TEC ordered that a delegation consisting of Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Ramaphosa and SAP officers give attention to the "proposal that the ISU be removed from the East Rand and Bhambayi in particular".

C

'Zulus dragged into SA'

SAPA 10/12/93

Ulundi — Britain had dragged KwaZulu into the Union of South Africa and the territory would never again be dragged towards a destiny it had no hand in shaping, the self-governing territory's Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told visiting British Overseas Development Aid Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker yesterday.

In a memorandum, Buthelezi castigated Britain's colonial involvement in KwaZulu.

"Britain conquered KwaZulu, annexed KwaZulu to Natal, and it was under British colonial rule that KwaZulu was dragged into the Union of South Africa with-

out consultation and without so much as a by your leave.

"These acts of colonial subjugation have written history on the very soul of the Zulu people. Never again will KwaZulu be dragged towards a destiny we had no hand in shaping. (118)

He said he also doubted the politics of the Government and ANC.

Buthelezi said he knew that Chalker, like many other international observers, believed the draft constitution would give rise to a working democracy but added that the ANC had given "only a verbal commitment to democracy". — Sapa.

Star 10/12/93
**Report aimed at
'discrediting IFP'**

Ulundi — The timing of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry report into alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads was an attempt to discredit the Inkatha Freedom Party for not taking part in the Transitional Executive Council, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a statement yesterday. (118) ~~(118)~~

Buthelezi questioned why the KwaZulu Police were singled out by name when the report did not mention the "atrocities perpetrated by Umkonto we Sizwe and the ANC-dominated self-defence units in the townships". — Sapa.

Buthlezi accuses Goldstone

Sowetan 10/12/93

THE timing of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry report into alleged KwaZulu police hit squads was an attempt to discredit the Inkatha Freedom Party for not taking part in the Transitional Executive Council, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi said yesterday. (12)

Responding to the report in a statement, he said the commission was helping the Government and the African National Congress to make political capital.

"For a commission which was briefed to inquire into the phenomenon of public violence and intimidation, it has come a long way to being a political body."

Buthlezi questioned why the KwaZulu police were singled out by name when the report did not mention the "atrocities perpetrated by Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC-dominated self-defence units in the townships".

Added to this was all the violence going on in the country at present.

"Furthermore, allegations of hit-squad activities against the KwaZulu Police have been made on other occasions and at no stage was such evidence able to stand the test of cross-examination," Buthlezi said. — Sapa.

INKATHA

FM

10/12/93

(118)

More mixed signals

The name KwaZulu will not feature on maps of post-apartheid SA and that's official, according to ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa. His statement, greeted with cheers, was made in Durban at an ANC-organised conference on small and medium business development policy.

Ramaphosa said the ANC's southern Natal branch had proposed the deletion of the name KwaZulu — and that multiparty negotiators at Kempton Park had, after the matter was researched, accepted that the



King Goodwill ... shot across Buthelezi's bows

name KwaZulu has no historical significance but is a creation of apartheid. On that basis, when the country's new regions come into being, the KwaZulu/Natal area will be known simply as Natal.

Zulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claims that the ANC is intent on destroying the Zulu nation — a claim emphasised by his invitation, on behalf of King Goodwill Zwelithini, to Zulus to attend a meeting on the Day of the Vow to "pray for the Zulu nation" at Isandhlwana, where the British forces succumbed to the Zulus in the last century.

But such is the confusion that surrounds Buthelezi and his political manoeuvring that even the king has (deliberately or inadvertently) criticised him. Hours after Ramaphosa spoke, King Goodwill told public sector PROs that the absence of several parties from the talks was an indication of the inability of parties to compromise. And, though he later stressed that his speech was not intended to point fingers, he also clearly stated: "Though walkouts express a form of communication, it is one that SA can do without."

Pro-electionists in Inkatha — rumoured to include national chairman Frank Mdlalose, director Joe Matthews, MP Mike Tarr and

Peter Miller — adamantly believe abstention would consign the party to the political wilderness. The other group — including Buthelezi and Walter Felgate — are equally fervent about abstaining. The result is a series of mixed signals from the organisation.

Buthelezi's talk of not leading Inkatha in the election has led to rumours that he will retire from politics.

UCT political scientist David Welsh says: "Buthelezi has painted the party into a corner over the election issue, possibly as a result of personal pique at the ANC's failure to recognise his not inconsiderable contribution to bringing down apartheid, including refusal to negotiate until Nelson Mandela was released from prison."

He says Buthelezi is no longer making a useful contribution to the political process and appears, on TV at least, to be undergoing "some sort of stress-induced crisis." On that basis his best and most dignified option might be to retire. (See *Leaders*)

Chief Buthelezi's self-made tragedy

APR 11/12/93

(NB)

SOME people say that Mangosuthu Buthelezi is too proud for his own good and that he deserves all the trouble that he is running into right now.

More contemplative people would say that where Chief Buthelezi finds himself at the moment is a tragedy, albeit a largely self-made one.

This tragedy impacts on himself, his party, the people of Natal and KwaZulu, their future, and, indeed, the prospect of democracy in South Africa. There is no cause, really, for anybody to gloat about Chief Buthelezi's difficulties.

Five years ago, he had so much going for him. He was standing up to P W Botha by demanding that African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other political leaders be released from prison before constitutional negotiations could start.

He was the darling of the business world for his stand against sanctions, and fêted abroad by people looking for a champion against apartheid.

The question must be asked: So what went wrong?

There are many answers. For a start, the political violence spawned by apartheid policies ensnared the KwaZulu government staff and Inkatha, as the IFP then was.

Chief Buthelezi, however, should have taken a tougher public stand with IFP members who initiated political violence. He should have more actively and publicly sued for peace with the ANC.

On the negotiation front, Chief Buthelezi should not have allowed himself to land in the position where his differences with political opponents drove him out of talks. This merely gave opponents bigger sticks with which to hit him. It has proved to be poor strategy.

Chief Buthelezi should have stayed at the World Trade Centre and fought, maybe even leading from the front by being present himself.

The transitional constitution about to go through parliament would have been more sound for his input.

Under no circumstances, should Chief Buthelezi have allowed himself to get so close to the rightwing. White parties in the Freedom Alliance do not want a non-racial settlement. One has to be blind and deaf to not know that.

Some people might be tempted to ascribe his political position to his personality traits. Yes, he is stubborn, combative, confrontational, a prickly personality. South African cabinet ministers openly

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is in deep political trouble. Problems are building up steadily in his camp and the way he handles them will have an impact on the country, reports **MARTIN CHALLENGOR** of the Weekend Argus political staff.



□ BUTHELEZI ... in deep trouble

say he is autocratic, happy only when things are going his way.

Indeed, Chief Buthelezi has had personal clashes with, and lost, good people

Chief Buthelezi's present position can be attributed, in part, to his strong sense of Zulu history and the royal bloodline, and his own place in it.

His concern for the future of Zulu culture and its people is re-enforced by his misgivings about the degree of federalism in the transitional constitution.

Chief Buthelezi and IFP leaders are genuinely concerned about what they see Umkhonto we Sizwe doing in Natal. Insiders speak of a fear in Ulundi that they may fall victim to a tribal assault under a future government.

This fear should not be minimised.

Faced with these issues, Chief Buthelezi has played bad politics. It means he is on the outside while his opponents are being fêted around the world.

Almost the whole world, however, and even political opponents at home, want

Chief Buthelezi in the election and in the government of national unity.

He has suffered major setbacks in the past few weeks. Former confidant Oscar Dhlomo raised questions about Chief Buthelezi's future when he said in America on November 25 that it was not in the chief's nature to take part in a process he had so vehemently opposed. Nor could he take up arms against the new constitution.

Now, everyone is asking if Chief Buthelezi is about to bow out. Word on the political street is that some people in the IFP asked Dr Dhlomo to say these things.

Their leaders were powerless to stop the IFP and AWB signing a self-defence pact in Vereeniging on November 29. Political opponents have pictures of IFP members with AWB flags, and are itching to use them in election campaigns.

Not one of the top 100 business people opted in a survey in early December for Chief Buthelezi to be the future state president

The ink was hardly dry on these reports when Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu publicly criticised the political tactics used by the Freedom Alliance on December 3. It was the first public crack in the Buthelezi-king relationship for more than 12 years.

Lieutenant General Roy Doring, head of the KwaZulu police, told the South African police of things going wrong in his force.

The Goldstone Commission reported on December 8 that five members of the KwaZulu police, trained in the Caprivi by the SADF seven years ago, had killed nine people in the past two years. When reports of the training were first published, Chief Buthelezi insisted they were untrue.

Diplomatically, world leaders have told Chief Buthelezi to be more positively involved in constitutional negotiations and to take part in the election.

The most recent person to tell Chief Buthelezi this was Baroness Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development.

Future problems loom. The KwaZulu government legally ceases to exist on April 28 1994. Its staff from then will be paid by the new national government and the Natal/KwaZulu province. Provision was made in the constitution for traditional chiefs to sit in at local government, provincial government and national level.

The question on everybody's lips is: Where will Chief Buthelezi be on April 28 1994?

Parliament holds key to Inkatha vote

St. Louis 12/12/93
PARTICIPATION in next year's general election by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Freedom Alliance partners could depend on Parliament, according to an IFP central committee statement issued yesterday. (12)

It said that, if Parliament passed the Constitutional Bill without changes, the central committee would recommend to its special general conference early next year and FA partners that they should not participate in the elections.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to conference and to its allies in the FA that there should be participation in the general elections and in the preparations leading thereto." — Sapa

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Indications that Freedom Alliance members intended fighting next year's election emerged at the weekend.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee said yesterday it would recommend to the party's special general conference that it contest the election if "well-defined minimum conditions of Inkatha are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election".

Sources say government, the ANC and the alliance are close to agreement on these minimum conditions for greater regional powers. Alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje has said only "half an issue" remains outstanding. (118) (125)

BIDAY 13/12/93
**Freedom Alliance
gives positive hint**

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo confirmed at the weekend that he, and possibly other alliance members, would be taking part in the transitional process.

"We will fight the elections, left, right and centre because not doing so will be a failure to provide the electorate with an alternative to the ANC-SACP alliance," said Gqozo. "Conditions of participation of ourselves and other members of the alliance will have to be found."

Senior Inkatha central committee mem-

□ To Page 2

BIDAY 13/12/93
Freedom Alliance

□ From Page 1

bers, convinced that the party's bottom line has already been met by government and the ANC, have mounted a concerted attempt to persuade Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in the elections. "We are eager to establish a new democratic dispensation through elections at the first possible opportunity," the committee said on Saturday. (118) (125)
With the tabling in Parliament of the

interim constitution delayed by almost a week because of CP objections, the door is still open for the alliance's demands to be met and for its members to commit themselves to the poll.

If the alliance's demands are met by government and the ANC, a special meeting of the negotiating council is likely to be called this week to redraft parts of the constitution.

Decorum goes out as politicians advertise

Sowetan 13/12/93

■ IGNORING RULES The Nats are just a

FIVE MONTHS BEFORE the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media. Sunday newspapers at the weekend carried full page adverts by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party's advert is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?"

Stating "we have made the change", the advert attempts to establish the NP as the driving force behind change. The NP also placed their advert in the ANC-aligned *Sunday Nation*.

The ANC advertised itself as "a political party that with a difference", as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about

little too robust, claims the ANC:

their concerns, in its "Peoples' Forums". The ad emphasises the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter. In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party, challenges the Goldstone Commission's report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved in the killing of political opponents.

Presented as an "open letter to the Goldstone Commission", the advert quotes President Fw de Klerk as saying: "(The ANC's) major role in creating a climate for violence and politically

motivated murders is undisputed..."

The advert concludes with a "challenge" to Goldstone to tell the public what recommendations his commission would make to "prevent MK's murderous activities".

The adverts are already challenging South Africa's advertising rules.

The Press Council is to adjudicate on an NP advert the ANC has labelled "malicious" and "libelous". The ANC claims the ad depicted it as a party that intimidated people and stopped them going to work. — *Sapa*.

IFP sets out its conditions

Sowetan 13/12/93

PARTICIPATION in the April 27 general election next year by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Freedom Alliance partners could depend on Parliament, the IFP central committee said at Ulundi in KwaZulu at the weekend.

The central committee said in a statement if Parliament passed the Constitutional Bill without making changes, it would recommend to its special general conference and Freedom Alliance partners that they should not participate in next year's elections.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to the conference and its allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the

general elections and in the preparations leading thereto. (118)

The committee also criticised the Transitional Executive Council on its decisions on KwaZulu.

The TEC this week decided to send South African Police reinforcements into parts of KwaZulu and demanded the KwaZulu police commissioner gave information on alleged hit-squads within three days.

"The peremptory demand directed at the Commissioner of Police of KwaZulu to which a time limit was attached, was politically motivated and therefore *mala fide* and contrary to the principles of natural justice.

"It is known that before the TEC was established, prominent heads of certain political parties uttered public threats to attack the integrity of KwaZulu as soon as the TEC was established." — *Sapa*.

IFP against voting in polls

CT 13/12/93

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The IFP central committee will advise its special general conference and its allies not to participate in the forthcoming general election next year, if Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands.

This was announced after the party's central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

The committee will "present a full and comprehensive political and constitutional report to the conference detailing the various options faced by the party".

"The IFP reiterates its conviction that the final decision on participation in transitional institutions and the proposed general elections will be taken as a special general conference of the IFP to be held early in 1994.

"In the event that Parliament

Change to constitution demand by party

adopts the constitution as it stands, the central committee will recommend to the special general conference and to its allies that the peoples of South Africa should not participate in the elections," the IFP said in a statement.

The organisation said if its minimum demands were met and conditions were favourable for

holding free and fair elections, the central committee would recommend to conference and to the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections.

The meeting also expressed its indignation at the recent decision taken by the Transitional Executive Council with reference to KwaZulu.

"The pre-emptory demand directed at the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police to which a time limit was attached, was politically motivated and contrary to the principles of justice," the IFP said.

The development comes just days before Parliament is set to consider the interim constitution. Political observers had expected the IFP to announce that it was now ready to participate in the elections.

TEC may butt heads with IFP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council is set for a showdown this week with the defiant KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party after they decided at the weekend to flout the authority of the newly established multi-party body.

Both KwaZulu and the IFP central committee have forced a stand-off with the TEC by flatly rejecting its unanimously approved order for an urgent report on a hit squad in the KwaZulu Police (KZP) and the deployment of South African security forces in strife-torn Northern Natal.

With the credibility of the TEC now on the line with the first real test of its authority, parties are expected to take a firm stand when the management committee meets in Cape Town tonight and the full council goes into session tomorrow.

The National Party's representative on the TEC, Dr Dawie de Villiers, last night responded to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's defiance by saying, "We cannot allow the law of the land — which the TEC is — to go unheeded."

While KwaZulu was not currently part of the TEC, it was part of South Africa and the TEC could obviously not stand by idly and allow itself to be turned into a lame duck, he added.

Dr De Villiers said it was the government's view that the TEC should be "firm but not too confrontational" in dealing with this direct challenge to its authority but acknowledged that other parties in the TEC would be "shouting for blood".

However, TEC members yesterday admitted that the body was facing a complex dilemma in tackling the recalcitrant Alliance parties boycotting the TEC on the one hand while trying to woo them back into the transitional and election processes on the other.

Alliance spokesman Mr Rowan Cronje yesterday accused the TEC of victimising anti-ANC parties in a bid to score political points.

'Bad faith'

"It is obvious that the TEC is looking for a political showdown by setting out to tackle the ANC's enemies rather than trying to ensure free and fair elections for all."

In rejecting the orders issued by the TEC, the central committee of the IFP also accused the TEC of "bad faith".

IFP spokesman Mr Mike Tarr said the TEC had adopted "a calculated political strategy".

The ANC TEC representative Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the SA Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo have emphasised that the TEC will not countenance challenges to its authority by the homelands.

As TEC members this week grapple with how best to assert the authority of the new body and how to respond to calls for the police's internal stability division to be withdrawn from certain townships on the East Rand and Natal, MPs in Parliament will begin a frantic rush to dispose of a wide range of transitional legislation, including the interim constitution.

KwaZulu and TEC on collision course

Star 13/12/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A fierce clash is looming between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu government and the multiparty Transitional Executive Council following KwaZulu's decision to defy a TEC injunction last week.

The TEC has called on KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy During, to report by today on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a five-member hit squad — allegedly responsible for the murder over the past two years of at least nine people, including ANC members — existed within the KZP.

During and SAP Brigadier E S du Preez, who conducted the investigation into the KZP at During's request, had been requested to make available to

the TEC any information at their disposal by today.

However, Daring told the TEC on Friday that he could not comply with its injunction because the KwaZulu government, which was not party to agreements leading to the installation of the TEC, had ordered him to ignore the order.

The looming confrontation comes amid encouraging signs at the weekend that the Freedom Alliance (FA), of which the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is part, might be close to taking its seats on the TEC, and contesting next year's April 27 elections. (123)

Following an FA meeting in Pretoria yesterday afternoon, FA chairman Rowan Cronje said only "half an issue" remained to be resolved, while the IFP's central committee

said it would recommend to the party's general conference that it should contest the elections "if well-defined minimum conditions" are met.

Another indication the alliance was moving closer to co-operation was Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's confirmation at the weekend that he was planning to take part in the transition process.

TEC sources said yesterday that tough action was contemplated against KwaZulu. Observers said this might include a massive deployment of SAP and South African Defence Force personnel in Ulundi to search KZP headquarters.

Buthelezi has slammed the Goldstone Commission, dismissing its report as an attempt to gain favour with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission.

(11B) (207A)

IFP angry Sowetan 13/12/93 over killing

By Joshua Raboroko

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has threatened to march on the Bekkersdal Police Station on Saturday to protest against the killing of their local secretary, allegedly by members of the Azanian People's Organisation at the weekend.

The IFP said the police should immediately arrest Azapo members allegedly responsible for the killing of Mr Robert Hlomuka (23) at a funeral on Saturday afternoon.

Police liaison officer Major Herman Oosthuizen said Hlomuka was stabbed to death as mourners were leaving the cemetery.

He appealed to the community to help them trace the suspects. No arrests have been made.

The regional organiser of the IFP, Mr Aaron Gazu, said Hlomuka was attacked and hacked with pangas. (11B)

The IFP was demanding that the police should immediately arrest the suspects by tomorrow, failing which they would march to the local police station where they would present a memorandum to the station commander.

"Failure by the police to make an early arrest will be sufficient evidence to us that the police are unfair," he said.

Ads for election hitting newspaper readers

JOHANNESBURG. — Five months before the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media with parties buying advertising space to win the hearts and minds of the public.

Sunday newspapers yesterday carried full-page advertisements by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party has chosen the political theme of change to woo voters to its side.

The message of change is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?"

"The coming election will not be

about apartheid or armed struggle, it will be about future peace and stability, about progress and prosperity, about national building."

The ANC also tries to position itself as "a political party with a difference", as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about their concerns, in its "Peoples' Forums".

Their advert emphasises popular

participation and focuses on the organisation's 1950s campaigns, like the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), challenges the Goldstone Commission's fourth interim report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved

in the killing of political opponents.

The adverts are already challenging South Africa's advertising rules.

The Press Council has reluctantly been called on to adjudicate on an NP advert, which appeared in the Sunday Times last month, after the ANC labelled it "malicious" and "libellous". — Sapa

Pylon sabotage kills two

JOHANNESBURG. — Eskom yesterday confirmed that a powerline near Vosloorus on the East Rand was sabotaged on Saturday evening, resulting in two freak accidents which claimed the lives of at least two people.

Eskom communications manager Mr Kevin Morgan said in a statement: "Explosives were used to blow up three legs of the tower which caused the tower to collapse and the conductor to fall across the road." This caused two serious accidents when two vehicles collided with the conductor.

According to Mr Morgan, three people were killed and eight injured in the accidents. East Rand police could confirm only two deaths and 14 injuries.

Mr Morgan said all substations and power-lines in the area had been checked and no other explosive devices had been found.

Police said they were investigating the sabotage. — Sapa

IFP against voting in polls

Change to constitution demanded by party

Political Staff
DURBAN. — The IFP central committee will advise its special general conference and its allies not to participate in the forthcoming general election next year, if Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands.

This was announced after the party's central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

The committee will "present a full and comprehensive political and constitutional report to the conference detailing the various options faced by the party".

holding free and fair elections, the central committee would recommend to conference and to the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections.

The meeting also expressed its indignation at the recent decision taken by the Transitional Executive Council with reference to KwaZulu.

"The pre-emptory demand directed at the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police to which a time limit was attached, was political in motivated and contrary to the principles of justice," the IFP said.

The development comes just days before Parliament is set to consider the interim constitution. Political observers had expected the IFP to announce that it was now ready to participate in the elections.

ANC denies it aimed to

'infiltrate'

Own Correspondent
CT13/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has denied allegations made in a Sunday newspaper that its national intelligence and security wing, known as NAT, aimed to infiltrate political groups and seize control of key state organs.

The question of seizure was out of the question and the issue was rather that state organs needed to be transformed in order to become accountable to a democratic government and SA's people, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

According to the report, which likened NAT to the Broederbond, the ANC aimed to take control of state security agencies after elections next year, infiltrate the right-wing and TEC subcommittees, influence the Goldstone Commission, "handle" disloyal members, and use Popcorn to recruit black police officers, among other things.

This was to be achieved over five years.

Mr Mamoepa said there was no need for the ANC to infiltrate the TEC as "we have an opportunity to be part of it". He rejected the suggestion that likened NAT to the Broederbond.

The ANC was not talking of infiltration but rather a multi-pronged approach to strengthening the democratic process by finding political solutions, he said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos said it was "well known" that NAT had been trying to break Inkatha and win the support of King Goodwill Zwelithini, as was claimed in the report.

Assassination CT 15/12/93 'conspiracy'

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC says it has documentary evidence that a group of 12 IFP members — two of them members of the KwaZulu Police, trained in the Caprivi Strip — have conspired to assassinate three senior ANC officials during the festive season. (11B)

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said the leaders targeted for assassination were its legal department head Mr Matthew Phosa, Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala and Southern Natal regional secretary Mr Sibusiso Ndebele. Police are investigating. — Sapa

I will defy TEC – Buthelezi

Star 16/12/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday told the multiparty Transitional Executive Council that any of its directives affecting his government would be defied.

Addressing the KwaZulu Caucus, Buthelezi said TEC directives had no legitimacy in the eyes of the KwaZulu government and would therefore be treated "with the contempt they deserve" and be strongly resisted. And he said he would be "in the frontlines of the bat-

tle" against the TEC.

He had earlier ordered KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Doring to ignore a TEC injunction to give it a report on the activities of an alleged KZP hit squad. Buthelezi said yesterday he agreed with Doring that KZP members found guilty of transgressing the law in the conduct of their duty had to be held accountable for their actions, but he did not think it fair "to tar every member of the KZP with the same brush" just because some individuals might have committed

transgressions.

He added that although the official reason for the TEC's existence was levelling the political playing field, its real intention was to destroy the KwaZulu government and IFP.

The TEC's directives were therefore a test of KwaZulu's authority and of the enforceability of the multiparty body's decisions in KwaZulu. He said the ANC and its allies had failed to annihilate the IFP and the KwaZulu government on their own, and had now enlisted the support of the Government through the TEC.

(118) ~~(118)~~

Zulu Kings defiant

Resist, I command you. Resist, I implore you!

AVF *12/19/83*

battle

call for

Volksstaat

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg called on Afrikaners at the Voortrekker Monument yesterday to commit all they had to the battle for a Volksstaat.

At Blood River, Afrikaner Volksfront head General Constand Viljoen said Afrikaners were again facing a "dark night" and had to prepare "physically and spiritually" to struggle for freedom.

Tunhouts at both venues were higher than expected. Nearly 80 000 people flocked to the Voortrekker monument on horses and in ox wagons waving the Vervetvler Hag.

Battle
 "Again, dark days have come to our people," said Dr Hartzenberg, and just as at the time of the Battle of Blood River, Afrikaners stood to lose everything.

The crowd applauded when he said Afrikaners would continue to commemorate the battle, despite threats from the left that it would be the last Day of the Vow.

General Viljoen said the Afrikaner was threatened by communism and suffering from disability in its ranks.

Speaking after the ceremony he said negotiations with the ANC were continuing and he was optimistic differences could be resolved within the next few months.



SALUTE . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela (left) salutes ranks of Ukhonto weSizwa (Uk) the ANC army which waged a 30-year campaign against the apartheid government, in Soweto yesterday. Standing next to him is MK leader Mr Joe Modise. **Report Page 2**

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini aligned himself yesterday with Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to throw down the gauntlet to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) by ordering his subjects to defend Kwazulu "with their lives".

"Until we get what is justly ours, there can be no rest for any true Zulu . . . Resist! I command you. Resist, I implore you," the king said.

"I will die rather than insult the memory of my great ancestral kings by handing over the land of their people to our political enemies."

The Zulu king and Chief Buthelezi were addressing a crowd of about 10 000 supporters.

Most were dressed ceremonially and brandished traditional weapons at the Isandlwana hilltop in Kwazulu where Zulu regiments routed British troops in January 1879 before being conquered a few months later.

Earlier, the IFP president and his monarch broke down in tears as a southsayer quipped that the Zulu king's future was at stake.

King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi warned of a second invasion as they chided hundreds of attacks on Zulus and the removal of the word Kwazulu from the new constitution by the ANC government and Chief Buthelezi said: "We demand Zulu self-determination. There is no other way forward for democracy."

In Soweto, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, in a speech in MK combat uniform, criticised South Africans to construct dispirited political factions.

Addressing about 15 000 supporters at the 32nd anniversary celebrations of the ANC's armed wing Ukhonto weSizwe, he said it was par-



AT ISANDLWANA . . . IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (right) confers with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at a ceremony at the historic battle site yesterday.

ticularly the far right-wing potential source of internal destabilisation and conflict (see Page 2).

In Natal, ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala warned AWP leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, who spoke of war on Wednesday night, that he was "playing with fire" and if he wanted war, Afrikaners would also die in numbers. (see Page 2).

Largest gathering
 At what was believed to have been the Day of the Vow's largest gathering, an estimated 80 000 people at the Voortrekker monument heard CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg say Afrikaners were prepared to negotiate the full implementation of a Volksstaat but "if we are not granted this, the Afrikaner nation should secure our freedom and our rightful place in South Africa."

ANC addressing over 1 000 supporters at the site where Voortrekkers defeated the Zulus in 1838, Afrikaner

Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen yesterday urged Afrikaners not to lose faith in the face of "crisis".

"If Afrikaners achieve a 'victory' in South Africa, they will reaffirm the Vow of Blood River. 'With God on our side, no army is big enough.'"

In Kwazulu, King Goodwill implored his subjects to "achieve our right to self-determination."
 "My people, we have ascended the hills to pray for the strength that we will need in the struggle in which we can give no quarter until victory is finally ours," he said.
 Chief Buthelezi said he had been told by ANC legal department head Mr Mattheus Phisoa and SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo that "army tanks will roll."
 "Let them roll," he said. Referring to the British conquest, the king said "Be prepared to pay (a similar) price for this second invasion."

King urges Zulus to defend 'what is ours'

□ 'We will not be dragged into a new SA' ARC 17/12/93 (116)

LINDWE NGAKANE

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi have urged Zulus to be prepared to defend their right to self-determination in the face of threats from the Transitional Executive Council and the transitional constitution. Addressing an audience of several thousand at the battle site where Zulu impis defeated British forces, the king told the Zulu nation to prepare to defend their right to self-determination against the threat of annihilation by the TEC — just as their kingdom was defended against invading British armies in 1879.

"On the 2nd of December ... the negotiators at Kempton Park decided to remove the name Kwazulu from the constitution that is now before parliament ... In other words, Zulus have no longer a place of the Zulus (Kwazulu) in South

Africa," he said.

He said he had reached a stage where he could no longer remain silent about the decisions of the Negotiating Council and the TEC.

"We will not be dragged into a new South Africa that we reject."

He said Zulus had a right to self-determination for which they must prepare to fight.

"Until we have what is justly ours, and we achieve our right to self-determination ... Resist, I command you, resist I implore you."

He called on all Zulus to emulate the Afrikaners, who made a covenant with God before the Battle of Blood River to give them strength to resist the second invasion of the Zulu kingdom.

"My message to you ... is that you must disperse into these hills around us today and pray to the Almighty God for strength and wisdom because there is a second invasion of Kwazulu about to begin," he said.

Throughout his speech the King drew parallels between the British invasion of Zululand in 1879 and attempts to remove Kwazulu from the new South Africa and stressed the historical importance of his relationship with Chief Buthelezi.

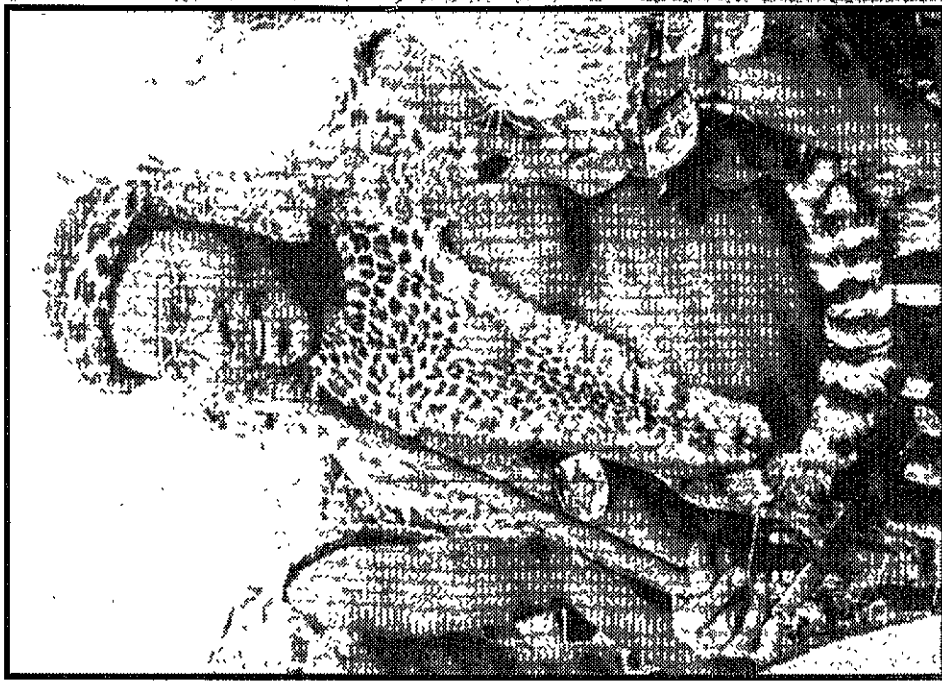
Drawing shouts of anger from the crowds the King asked them if they were willing to hand over what was theirs without resistance.

Also speaking at the commemoration, Chief Buthelezi dismissed talk at negotiations of "levelling the playing fields" as an attempt to destroy Kwazulu.

He said the new constitution was an attempt to remove from the chiefs the power to determine who can hold meetings in their areas.

"If the chiefs cannot do that, then what are they there for?" he asked.

"We demand Zulu self-determination. There is no other way forward for democracy, either for us or anybody else in the country."



BATTLEDRESS: A Zulu warrior chief of the IFP stands in full traditional regalia and with a semi-automatic pistol slung over his shoulder at a rally at Isandlwana yesterday.

Growing hope

STAR - 17/12/93 (11B)

(11E)

THERE are indications that Inkatha may be brought into a settlement

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Parliament today began debate on the Interim Constitution — the passage of which will amount to the death knell for apartheid — amid tentative indications that the Inkatha Freedom Party might be brought into a settlement.

The historic debate on the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill — the fruit of years of negotiations — will last three days and include an unusual Saturday sitting.

As the debate began this morning, plans were being made for behind-the-scenes talks between the Government and the IFP.

Senior IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane was scheduled to fly into Cape Town later today after a morning meeting in Pretoria with Freedom Alliance colleagues.

The negotiators have until Wednesday — when Parliament will vote on the Interim Constitution — to seek a solution that would bring the IFP on board.

Earlier this week the parliamentary joint committee on constitutional matters, minus the boycotting Conservative Party, passed the Bill without substantial changes.

This was done to allow the parliamentary debate to go ahead, but IFP members said yesterday they had been given an assurance that certain clauses — which the IFP, in a detailed submission to the committee, had asked to be changed — could be revisited if there was progress in talks outside the debating chamber.

IFP member on the committee and MP for Vryheid Jurie Mentz said communications between the IFP, its Freedom Alliance partners and other parties were going ahead.

"I am positive and optimistic about what might happen," said Mentz. "There will be some contact and negotiating going on while the debate is proceeding. Amendments can still be submitted."

Mentz added that there was "so much understanding" between members of the joint committee since the CP had walked out that he was optimistic an acceptable solution could be found.

Mentz's remarks appear to raise the possibility of the IFP becoming part of a political settlement without its right-wing allies in the Freedom Alliance. This would amount to a devastating blow to the right wing, resuscitated in recent months by its association with the IFP.

However, Government sources were yesterday extremely cautious, pointing out that the IFP's MPs tended to be more accommodating than other members of the party.

Some sources were bluntly sceptical of the chances of a breakthrough, saying that every opportunity for progress in the past had been dashed when draft agreements had been referred to IFP leaders.

OVER IFP

IFP denies friction with CP

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday denied there was a split between it and the Conservative Party after the CP walked out of a parliamentary standing committee which was discussing the draft interim constitution. (115)

The IFP said its MPs had been authorised to participate in the proceedings of the committee only within the limits set by the Alliance doc-

ument setting out its requirements for acceptance of the Interim Constitution Bill. CJ 17/12/93

"Only the IFP central committee may authorise any departure ... from those requirements.

"To infer that IFP participation in the debate is in itself cause for optimism or indicative of a split in the Freedom Alliance, is both misleading and malicious," an IFP statement said. — Sapa

Independent

MP joins IFP

MR CENIL PIENAAR, who was a Conservative Party and then an Afrikaner Volksunie MP before becoming an independent, has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Pienaar said in a statement yesterday the IFP was the only party espousing true federalism in which groups and nations could achieve autonomy and exercise it in a meaningful way.

"This party and Chief Minister Buthelezi deserve the support of all freedom-loving South Africans who wish to see freedom and prosperity flourish in a federal South Africa," he said.

"I therefore today pledged my support to the IFP." — Sapa

TRANSITION

FM 17/12/93

A date with reality

The ANC faced its first real test as a government-in-waiting this week when KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi continued his defiant stand against the Transitional Executive Council (TEC)'s demands for information on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

As the FM went to press the TEC was due to meet in Cape Town to consider its options. The line taken by the ANC was expected to be decisive.

At its first working session last week the council called for a full report within three days from senior officers investigating "credible evidence" of an alleged KwaZulu Police hit squad revealed in a report by the Goldstone Commission.

It was also proposed that the SAP's Internal Stability Unit should be withdrawn

from East Rand townships and the Bham-bayi region of Natal. The government's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa were mandated by the TEC to meet Law & Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL urgently to discuss the issues, both of which were due to be debated further at this week's session.

After the TEC meeting, SA Communist Party representative Joe Slovo commented that the council's action was an indication that it was determined to assert its powers to ensure a free and fair general election and would not simply be "a toy telephone."

But within hours of the decision, KwaZulu Police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy DURING was instructed by the homeland's government to ignore the TEC's request for information. In a brief statement to the TEC he said: "I am directed to respond to your council's resolution as follows:

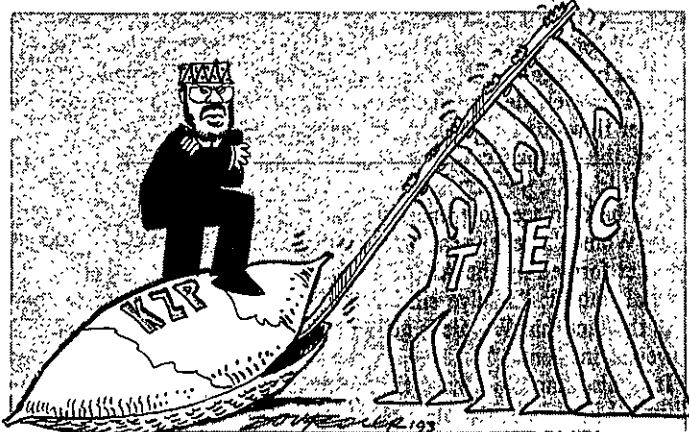
"The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information.

"The fourth interim report of the Goldstone Commission was based on information submitted to it by the SA Police for action by the commission. Any further information required by the TEC should accordingly be sought from either the Goldstone Commission or the SAP."

Ironically, the investigations that uncovered the alleged hit squad were initiated by DURING himself. The Goldstone Commission

reported that the squad had probably murdered at least nine people, including ANC leaders. It seems, therefore, that the decision not to co-operate with the TEC was purely political.

Members of the TEC were cautious in their response to KwaZulu's defiance, but insisted that the council was a statutory body and could not be ignored without consequences. It was not immediately clear what



action the TEC was likely to take, though negotiation rather than confrontation was expected to be the first choice.

A showdown between Buthelezi and the TEC will complicate efforts to reopen negotiations with the Freedom Alliance. Though Ciskei Foreign Minister Mickey Webb was reported this week to have said the alliance was keen to continue talking, there were indications that neither Buthelezi nor the Afrikaner Volksfront partners was serious about rejoining the process.

Alliance leaders were due to meet this week to draft a new set of proposals to government but, after a meeting at the weekend, the Inkatha central committee said if the Interim Constitution Bill were approved by parliament without changes during the current session, it would recommend to a special party congress next year that Inkatha should boycott the election.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to conference and to its allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections and in the preparations leading thereto."

But there is little chance of that happening. The establishment of the TEC was a massive step forward in the transition process and leaves the alliance far behind. The multiparty negotiators are now not prepared to stop the process, which means the alliance will have to consider significant compro-

mises if it hopes to catch up.

Meanwhile, a new Markinor opinion poll (based on a rating of one to 10) finds that Buthelezi's popularity among blacks substantially trails that of ANC leader Nelson Mandela who rated 8,7 points in November (0,3 points up from May) and President F W de Klerk with 4,3 (also up from 4,1).

Buthelezi's — and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen's — ratings trail far behind with an identical tally of 1,8 (down from 2,1 and 1,2 respectively).

□ The TEC's budget for the nine months until June will be R18,5m and include R5m on salaries for administrative support staff, R3,2m for office rental, R2,7m for office furniture, R1,5m for airfares and R1,2m for transport.

The council and its seven subcouncils will work from Cape Town and the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park until their newly renovated offices in Pretoria are ready at the beginning of next year.

Deon Rudman of the Justice Department and National Peace Committee has been appointed as the TEC's executive director. His deputies are the ANC's Janet Love and Theuns Eloff, who headed administration at the multiparty talks.

The TEC has appointed Renosi Mokate of the Development Bank of Southern Africa to head the Independent Electoral Commission and Piet Colyn, director-general of Home Affairs, as director. They will be assisted by Yunis Mohamed and JT Madiba. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY FM 17/12/93 Justifying a role

The Democratic Party hopes to follow up gains it made during party negotiations in shaping the interim constitution. It wants a strong enough showing in next year's election to enable it to influence the drafting of the final constitution.

The party's "Write it Right" campaign launched by leader Zach de Beer in Cape Town last week will be a key element in efforts to win support. De Beer says that while the DP will vote for the interim constitution in parliament during the current session, it believes certain aspects of the document are "seriously flawed".

The "Write it Right" campaign is aimed at rewriting the flaws which came about "thanks to National Party/ANC agreements." The campaign will focus on:

- Stronger provincial powers for real federalism;
- Two ballots to give voters the right to choose; and

P.T.O. →



DECEMBER

15

ZULU defiance and

SITING 1912/93

113

By CHRIS BARRON

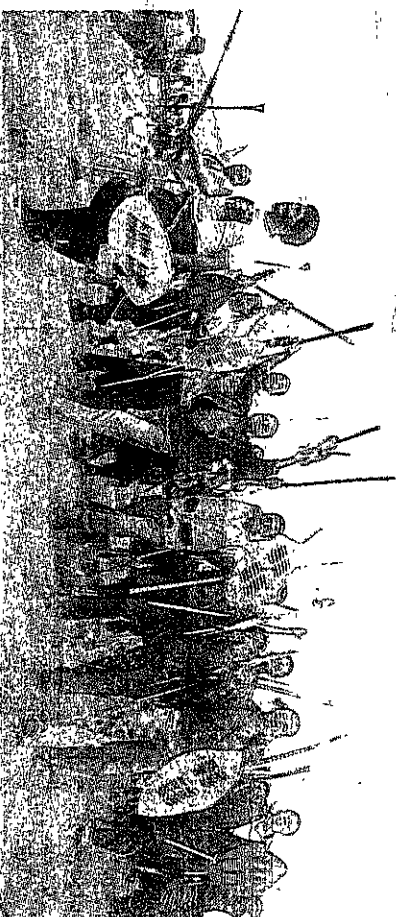
CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened his mouth wide, closed his eyes and howled. He sounded like Tarzan preparing to leave his branch to rescue Jane. Or like King Lear dementedly appealing to the gods after being stripped of his glory and prestige.

In fact, he was leading his Inkatha followers in a traditional Zulu song after addressing about 10,000 of them at Isandhlwana on Thursday.

There was, however, all the defiance of a Tarzan in his voice. And the pathos of a Lear.

● Known over the years by a variety of names — Dingaan's Day, Day of the Covenant and Day of the Vow — December 16 was celebrated under National Party rule as a religious holiday marked by church services, political orations and sobriety.

● On Thursday, undoubtedly the last time the day will be observed as a national public holiday, things were a little different. Shops and cinemas were open, not a single cabinet minister made a speech and celebrations ranged from the religious to the military



WARRIORS... IFP supporters arrive

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

few illusions about the extreme fragility of his future.

His mask of defiance on Thursday served only to heighten the sense of underlying pathos.

"When the lion roars he is not hunting, but is steeled and ready to attack," he said. But his voice, tending to crackle and waver even when at full throttle and with the aid of a loudspeaker, failed to give the sentiment much conviction.

A platoon of grim-faced young men in brown overalls and green bush hats who were paraded briefly in front of Chief Buthelezi, King Goodwill Zwelithini and other dignitaries by a fierce-looking pot-bellied white man in a green bush cap didn't do much to suggest a lion roaring or a nation "steeled and ready to attack" either.

Grizzled old warriors dressed in skins and sporting shields and spears chortled delightedly as the youngsters, looking more

like a squad of disciplined gardeners without their spades than frontline soldiers ready to die for king and country, were told to turn this way and that.

Chief Buthelezi smiled on them like a proud father while King Goodwill, looking like Tsar Nicholas II in a buttoned black tunic and fingering a ceremonial dagger in a silver-embossed scabbard on his lap, stared ahead with the same dignified impassivity he wore for most of the proceedings.

If he'd upstirred trouble two weeks before by what was generally regarded as an implied criticism of the IFP for walking out of multi-party talks he made up for it this time round with such glowing references to Chief Buthelezi that, on at least one occasion, the chief minister couldn't contain himself. He came bounding out of his chair with hands clasped above his head.

"I have not come here to talk party politics," said the king. All he wanted to say was "we have claimed the Kwazulu government as Zulu property" and "it shall not be taken away from us."

He was "not making an IFP stand", he stressed, but "in this matter I stand inseparable from my uncle."

Chief Buthelezi couldn't have put it better if he'd written the king's speech himself.

By the time he took the podium there was little left for him to say. As he said it though, the hull of Isandhlwana loomed above his head like a huge boot descending from heaven to squash all human pretensions beneath it.



BROTHERS IN ARMS... Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in camouflage gear watch as MK officially disbands
Picture: JOE SEFAL

Bold last-ditch bid to win over Inkatha

STIRLING

1912/93

Hark! The herald angels are taking an ice-cream break

By EDYTH BURRING
Political Correspondent

TOP government ministers are backing a proposed last-minute change to the constitution that will see Inkatha taking part in next year's elections and result in a split in the Freedom Alliance.

Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim said yesterday a deal reached between IFP and government negotiators on Friday night had been faxed to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Lam yesterday for his approval (113) (3/12/93)

The agreement allowed for:
 ● Provinces to have exclusive powers, including those of original taxation; and
 ● Provinces to draft their own constitutions without interference from central government.

If these terms are accepted, the constitution will meet Inkatha and Bophuthatswana's demands, but leave the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront out in the cold.

Time is now crucial — Parliament is to vote on the constitution on Wednesday.

Last night, a response from Mr Buthelezi was still awaited, but Mr Cassim, Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz and Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje were locked in talks with government ministers, including Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Local Government Minister Tertius Dsepoort.

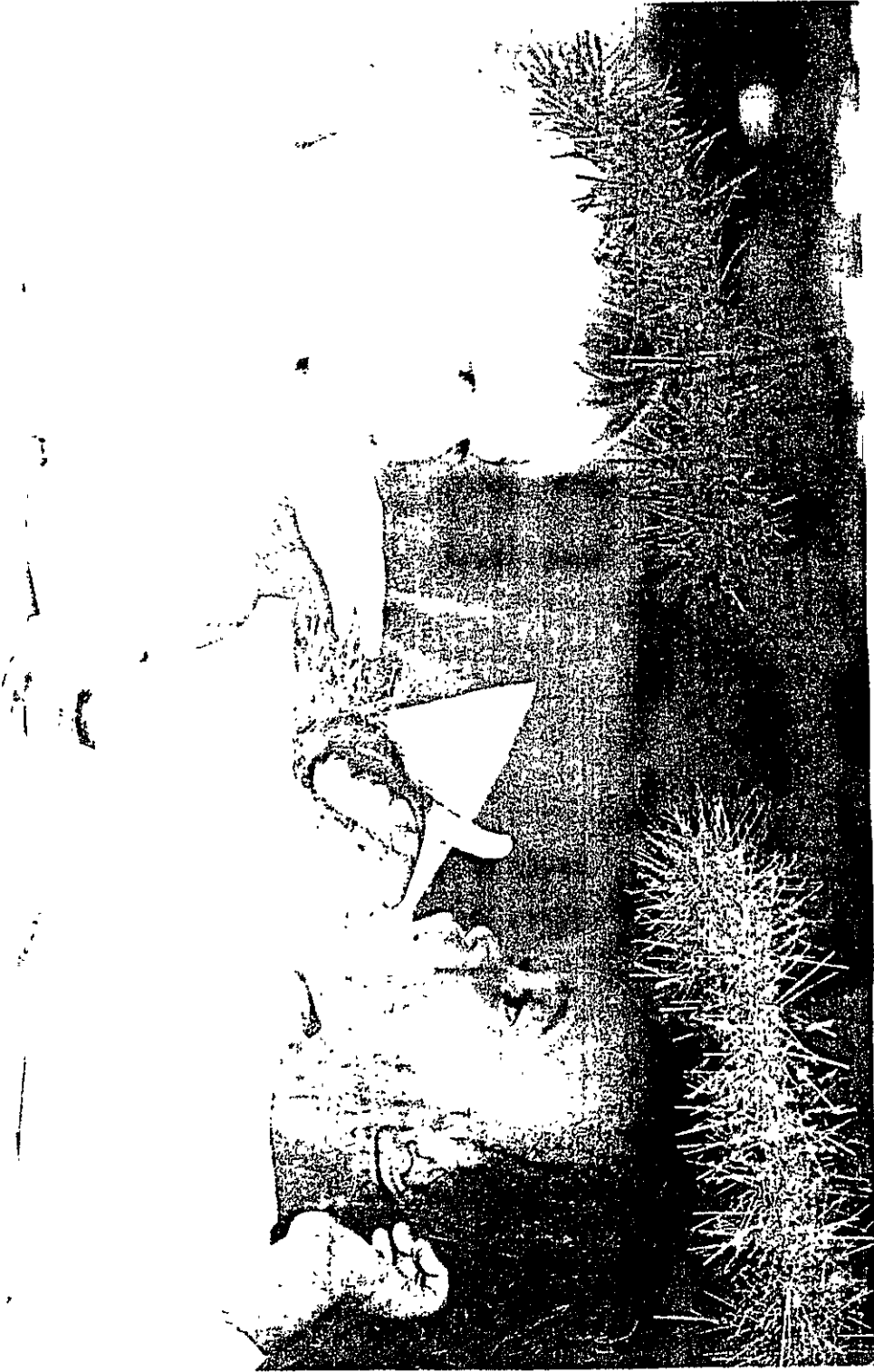
Mr Dsepoort told the Sunday Times yesterday the IFP had cut its demands to "a bare essential".
 "What they ask for is very reasonable and in line with sound democratic principles. It would be a pity to miss this opportunity to reach a settlement," he said.

If the IFP wanted the constitution to improve protection of the integrity and autonomy of regional constitutions and spell out the exclusive powers, these were reasonable demands that the government should support, Mr Dsepoort added.

Later, he echoed these sentiments in the debate on the constitution in Parliament.

Mr Cassim is spearheading an attempt by Inkatha moderates to effect last-minute changes to the constitution. If they succeed in this, they say, the IFP will take part in next year's elections.

However, sources said government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was sceptical.



awaited, but Mr Cassim, Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz and Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje were locked in talks with government ministers, including Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont.

Mr Delpont told the Sunday Times yesterday the IFP had cut its demands to the bare essentials.

"What they ask for is very, very reasonable and in line with sound democratic principles. It would be a pity to miss this opportunity to reach a settlement," he said.

If the IFP wanted the constitution to improve protection of the integrity and autonomy of regional constitutions and spell out the exclusive powers, these were reasonable demands that the government should support, Mr Delpont added.

Later, he echoed these sentiments in the debate on the constitution in Parliament.

Mr Cassim is spearheading an attempt by Inkatha moderates to effect last-minute changes to the constitution. If they succeed in this, they say, the IFP will take part in next year's elections.

However, sources said government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was sceptical about whether Mr Cassim and other IFP MPs were negotiating with the full backing of Mr Buthelezi.

Mr Meyer is insisting on a meeting between President F W de Klerk and either Mr Buthelezi or all the leaders of the Freedom Alliance to establish clarity on this matter.

Mr de Klerk offered to meet alliance leaders today, but they said a meeting would only be possible tomorrow.

Mr Meyer said in Parliament yesterday it would be too late to start discussing further amendments to the interim constitution on Monday.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa also expressed doubts about the mandate of the IFP parliamentarians.

He said the Freedom Alliance had refused to commit itself to taking part in the elections if the constitutional amendments it proposed were agreed to.

"They now want us to take a leap in the dark. They are expecting us to do much more than what duty requires," he added.

This week's last-minute negotiations were the result of last Saturday's tense IFP central committee meeting at which party moderates took on hardliners and won from Mr Buthelezi a mandate to continue negotiations.

Sources said hardliners like Mr Buthelezi's most trusted adviser, Walter Felgate, had urged an end to negotiations, and revolutionary action, while press spokesman Sue Vos had talked of going into exile.

The debate was swung by Mr Cassim, backed by IFP moderates Joe Matthews and Ziba Jiyane, who



Bold bid to woo IFP

From Page 1
had proposed a last attempt to clinch a deal.

Their victory has resulted in the first signs of a break-up of the Freedom Alliance. **S I T I M E D**

While IFP MPs participated in joint committee discussions about the constitution, Conservative Party members walked out. **19/12/93**

Significantly, CP and Afrikaner Volksfront members have not participated in the last-minute talks with government ministers, including the meeting underway last night. **(118) (S I T I M E D)**

However, DIRK VAN

EEDEN and RYAN CRESSWELL report that AVF leaders Tienie Groenewald and General Constand Viljoen drove to Ulundi and held a clandestine meeting with Mr Buthelezi on Friday night.

A Volksfront spokesman, Mr Stephen Maninger, said: "General Viljoen met the chief minister to discuss internal alliance matters."

Mr Maninger said he could not elaborate on the talks.

Mr Buthelezi's assistant private secretary, Mr G G Dlamini, said he did not know whether the meeting took place or not.



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Alliance makes last-ditch bid for deal

Buthelezi fires broadside at NP and ANC

BIDM 20/12/93

GAVIN DU VENAGE
and ADRIAN HADLAND

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched a blistering attack on the NP and ANC yesterday as Freedom Alliance leaders met in Cape Town in a last-minute effort to get Inkatha to take part in next year's election.

Addressing an Inkatha youth rally near Hibberdene on the Natal South Coast, Buthelezi said: "Inkatha rejects everything the ANC and SA government stand for."

He said it appeared that taking part in the election was "quite impossible" because of the intransigence of the ANC/SACP alliance, the NP and SA government, and their failure "to accommodate our demands".

He promised his supporters they would know in January whether Inkatha would take part in the election. Inkatha's special general conference in January would decide finally on the question.

"In the event that Parliament adopts the defective constitution as it stands today, I will strongly recommend to you that the people of SA should not participate in the election," Buthelezi said.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, then I will recommend to the conference and to our allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections and in preparations."

Buthelezi's strongly worded speech contrasted sharply with reports yesterday that Inkatha and government were close to a deal that could lead to Inkatha taking

part in the election. The deal would allow for provinces to have exclusive powers, including powers to raise taxes and to draft laws without central government interference. (118)

Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim was reported as saying a deal had been reached and had been faxed to Buthelezi for approval.

Alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje said after the meeting yesterday that alliance negotiators were due to present government with legally formulated constitutional amendments last night.

Alliance negotiators, including Inkatha's Cassim and Ben Ngubane, the CP's Tom Langley and Ciskei's Mickey Webb, spent the morning converting 13 demands into formal constitutional proposals.

The demands were announced last week in a letter to government negotiator Roelf Meyer. They included greater scope for regional constitutions, a two-ballot voting system and non-interference in the TBVC states before the election.

Cronje said that while government had been willing to discuss constitutional issues without forcing the alliance to take part in the election — which had led to the breakdown of talks last week — the perception remained within the alliance that some government members did not want a settlement.

If government and the alliance reached an agreement, the alliance's principals — such as Buthelezi — the ANC and the negotiating council would have to ratify it.

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

BIDM 20/12/93

□ From Page 1

Debate on the new constitution continues this week but could be postponed if a breakthrough between government and the alliance is achieved. (118)

Buthelezi told the rally the interim constitution was bad for SA and should be resisted. If fighting for democracy meant Inkatha would not take part in the elections, the party would show the courage and conviction to back its decision.

He said by the time of Inkatha's special conference the party would know its options. It would then decide whether to take part in the election. If it did not take part, it would prepare voter education programmes for the 1999 election.

Buthelezi stuck to the demand for the final constitution to be written now, not after the election. Inkatha would stand by its refusal to take part in the constitutional process for as long as it was possible for a single party to write the constitution.

He said: "We reject any election date set up deliberately to put the ANC/SACP alliance in a position to do this." As long as these parties were bent on taking power for themselves, Inkatha would fight for democracy.

Buthelezi also rejected the Transitional Executive Council, which he said was as illegitimate as the apartheid laws that preceded it. The TEC had been set up solely to destroy KwaZulu and not to level the playing fields before elections, as was claimed.

"Just as predicted by Inkatha, as soon as the TEC was legislated into place, the KwaZulu government was earmarked as its first target for destruction.

"We will never allow the ANC to use the TEC as a tool to destroy either Inkatha or the KwaZulu government. We are determined to do everything that is legal to fight that battle."

Buthelezi still wavering

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Despite indications that negotiators were on the verge of a breakthrough in Cape Town, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisted yesterday that his party would not decide on participation in elections until January.

Addressing about 5 000 supporters at an IFP Youth Brigade rally at Mthwalume High School on the Natal South Coast, Chief Buthelezi said if

Parliament adopted the "defective constitution" as it currently stood, he would recommend that the IFP should not take part in the April 27 poll.

This conference is scheduled for January 9; some time after the interim constitution will have been passed.

Chief Buthelezi would only recommend participation in the elections if the IFP's "now well defined minimum demands" were met and conditions for a free and fair election were created.

(113) CT 20/12/93

'AWB not IFP friend' — chief

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party has no relationship with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or its leader, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche.

The Inkatha leader was reacting to reports in Sunday papers about plans by the AWB to kill blacks. (12)

Speaking at Mthwalune, on the Natal South Coast, Chief Buthelezi said the fact that the AWB is part of the Freedom Alliance does not make it a friend of the IFP. CT 20/12/93

● NP MP Mr Johan Steenkamp yesterday called for a thorough inquiry into the alleged right-wing war plan which includes a provision for mass graves for blacks. — Sapa-Reuter

Buthelezi wants urgent talks on use of police in Kwazulu

ARC 22/12/93 (11B)

Political Staff

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to urgently discuss with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel the decision by the Transitional Executive Council to deploy the South African Police in Kwazulu areas.

Chief Buthelezi is deeply worried by the TEC's order. He fears that in the prevailing political climate it could prove a recipe for tragedy.

"I do not know whether they have really thought this through," Chief Buthelezi said today.

The TEC last night sent a message to police to immediately secure lives and property in Empangeni, Nqutu, Dumbe and Newcastle.

TEC delegates were responding to a police report signed by Major-General W A van der Merwe, head of the Internal Stability Division, and compiled in part by the Natal Regional Commission. It was seen by police Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe.

The report said the security situation in Empangeni, Nqutu,

Dumbe and Newcastle was unsatisfactory. The regional commissioner said: "With the advent of the festive season large numbers of migratory workers are expected to return.

"Most are IFP supporters and fear of possible attacks on ANC supporters has been expressed.

"It is respectfully submitted that the apparent lack of confidence that the ANC has in the Kwazulu Police to effectively police and protect lives of their supporters has given rise to requests for the SAP to be deployed on a permanent basis under Kwazulu Police jurisdiction.

"In areas where the ANC has no support such a step is not necessary," the regional commissioner said.

The regional commissioner attributed the violence to "the continuing struggle for political domination by the ANC and IFP."

Chief Buthelezi said today that he did not think it was legal that the SAP "can just be told to go into our territory

like that without our agreement".

He did not think the TEC had the right to make an order like this.

"It is a recipe for a tragedy. I am going to take it up with the Minister of Law and Order and with the commissioner."

Chief Buthelezi said General Van der Merwe had not hidden things from him before. General Van der Merwe had "never hesitated to ask for an appointment" to discuss issues.

"It is provocative and grossly irresponsible in the extreme because of the level of violence," he said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the TEC last night that the police report warned of "a complete destabilising of peace and law and order in Northern Natal."

● Commissioner of the Kwazulu Police Lieutenant-General Roy Doring has been ordered to appear in person before the Transitional Executive Council to answer its questions about an alleged hit squad within his force.

Buthelezi angry over SAP decision

Star 22/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described the Transitional Executive Council decision to deploy SA Police in areas of KwaZulu as "provocative and grossly irresponsible".

He intends urgently taking the matter up with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, he said last night.

The TEC ordered the SAP last night into areas of KwaZulu and northern Natal to protect lives and property over the festive season. The move follows the refusal of KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Durling to provide information demanded by the TEC on an alleged KZP hit squad, first revealed by the Goldstone Commission (GSC) (IB).

The decision to order the police into four areas in the northern Natal region — including parts of KwaZulu —

was taken after a report by police on the area had been submitted to the TEC.

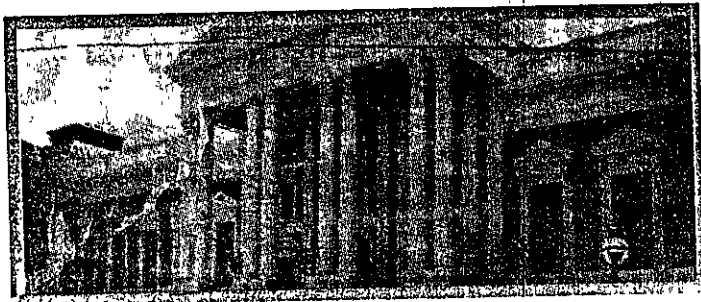
It was put to the TEC by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The acting head of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit, Major-General W van der Merwe, said in his report that although certain areas in northern Natal appeared to be "stable", others such as Empangeni, Nqutu, Dumbe and Newcastle were "unsatisfactory".

The Regional Commissioner in Natal, General Pierre Steyn, said in a report that there was a "tense situation in Empangeni between supporters of the ANC and IFP". Nqutu was described as "volatile", while Dumbe was "quiet but tense".

Newcastle areas policed by the KZP were "stable". Although the Madadeni/Osozweni areas of Newcastle had been IFP-orientated, the ANC "by means of the youth and criminal element ... slowly gained control of the community".

White rule ends



Soweto 23/12/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA HAS A NEW Constitution — the first to be jointly written with the majority of its citizens. However, emotions ran high in Parliament when Conservative Party MPs rose and defiantly sang the Afrikaner national anthem *Die Stem* in protest against the adoption of the new interim Constitution.

After State President FW de Klerk has signed it into law, this Constitution will become effective until 1999. (S.A) (112)

"We will not recognise the Constitution, we will not take part in the interim structures and we will not recognise the result of the election," said CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg in his address.

Hartzenberg said the struggle would intensify and that revolution was inevitable.

"This is a communist takeover," said Hartzenberg. The words "traitors" reverberated in the CP benches as its MPs attempted to disrupt the voting process on the Constitution.

During the voting, a CP MP shouted: "The traitors will press the blue button (meaning 'Yes') and the fighters will push the red button."

CP MP Mr Jan Hoon was ordered out of Parliament and left the chamber while MP Mr Leon Louw refused to withdraw a "traitor" remark and defied Speaker Mr Eli Louw's order to leave.

The division was clear as tradition was broken: National Party MPs sat as CP Members rose

in unison to sing the anthem.

Hartzenberg said the constitution proposed forceable reincorporation of Freedom Alliance members Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, a leading component of the FA, rejected the report of the joint committee on constitutional affairs recommending the adoption of the Constitution.

IFP MP Mr Jurie Mentz said the party, however, would contest the election. The FA proposed amendments that exclusive powers be given to provincial/regional governments and a two-ballot paper voting system. The IFP also wants its region to be known as KwaZulu/Natal.

The FA's objections in Parliament came against a backdrop of a stalemate between itself and the African National Congress and Government over the FA's refusal to commit itself to the outcome of the constitutional process and participate in its structures.

FA leaders have to confirm their commitment not later than January 24 to facilitate a meeting of the multiparty negotiating council to discuss the five-member group's proposed amendment to the constitution.

All agreements thereafter will be included in the interim Constitution.

Also passed yesterday were the Electoral Bill, Transfer of Walvis Bay to Namibia Bill and the Local Government Transitional Bill.

De Klerk, who addressed "the last white Parliament" yesterday, was poised to sign the new Constitution into law last night.

●See Page 3.

IFP may quit peace structures

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The IFP was disenchanted with peace structures in the Transvaal and was considering withdrawing from them in the coming year, it was learnt at the weekend.

A source said the IFP felt that peace committees and foreign observer missions were unable to curb violence.

The IFP's Transvaal deputy chairman, Mr. Humphrey Ndlovu, has indicated he will no longer take part in anything associated with peace structures.

Sapa

(118) CT 27/12/93

Buthelezi says deadlock could be broken soon

ULUNDI — The deadlock keeping the Inkatha Freedom Party out of the transitional process could be broken soon, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in his New Year's address yesterday.

Buthelezi said there were "very simple solutions which, in a matter of days, could break the deadlock", Sapa reports.

Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, which includes Inkatha, have until January 24 to reach agreement on constitutional issues which the alliance believes are too limited, such as regional powers.

"The traps and trickery and the blatant imperfections in the constitution recently and expediently passed by Parliament must be done away with," Buthelezi said. "Answers lie in the tried and tested constitutions of nations we respect and it is my plea that we avail ourselves of their col-

lective wisdoms."

Natal administrator Con Botha said in his New Year's message that Natalians had reason to be optimistic about 1994. "After so much conflict, we must hope that the Natal of 1994 is going to become a more peaceful place in which to live," he said. "There is no doubt that the horrifying violence of the past few years has taken a huge toll."

The Organisation of African Unity has appealed to all South Africans to give peace a chance.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said in his New Year's message from Addis Ababa that Africa remained concerned at the level of violence in SA, especially as preparations for the April 27 election gained momentum. (118)

International observer missions in SA — from the UN, the OAU and the Commonwealth — said the attention of the world would be focused on the

April election and the emergence of a democratic, nonracial government.

"This transition may well be one of the most notable events of this century. SA would surely wish to look back on it with great pride as a major contribution not only to modern SA but also to the African continent and other troubled countries," they said in a joint New Year's message.

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said peace would come under more strain in the first four months of 1994 than ever before. Gildenhuys yesterday appealed to all South Africans to reject violence and to demand from leaders they conduct politics in accordance with the national peace accord's code of conduct.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said in its New Year's message that 1993 would go down in history as the year in which white supremacy was legitimised by some of the oppressed. — Sapa.

Hunt for missing healer continues

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — A search continued on the top of the amphitheatre at Royal Natal National Park in the Drakensberg yesterday for a 70-year-old traditional healer who is missing after leaving a QwaQwa village on December 23 in response to a vision that he should collect three sticks from three mountains.

The Natal Parks Board and the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources are helping QwaQwa authorities search for Thomas Banda, who was expected back in Namahadi village on December 25.

In another Berg drama this week a Randburg man, Jimmy Erasmus, was rescued by Parks Board staff after he slipped and gashed his right shin while climbing up the Crack in the Mahai Valley area of the Royal Natal National Park with his family.

Park staff carried him down steep sections of the route by stretcher and then put him on horseback.

No bail for right-winger

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER AWB Wenkommando "general" Dirk Jacobus Ackerman, currently in custody on public violence charges relating to the right-wing World Trade Centre siege, was refused bail by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday. (118)

Ackerman, 46, is due to stand trial with 17 other AWB members in March next year for their alleged involvement in the siege on June 25.

After a tip off police arrested him at a Kroonstad resort in September.

Ackerman was initially held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on terrorism charges, but released on R20 000 bail by a Bloemfontein court. He was, later rearrested on additional charges of public violence arising out of alleged involvement in the siege.

He resigned his position as a Wenkommando general last month, but is still an AWB member.

Applying for bail this week he denied evading arrest by police investigating the siege but admitted

shaving off his beard, dyeing and cutting his hair and changing the shape of his glasses. (118)

He said he did this to evade security police whom he feared would detain him under section 29.

The state opposed bail, saying Ackerman would not stand trial if released. According to police evidence the same informer had said Ackerman intended leaving the country if granted bail.

Dismissing the application Regional Magistrate D Smith said implicit reliance could not be placed on Ackerman's insistence under oath this week that he would stand trial.

She said surrounding circumstances had to be taken into consideration. In this regard the police, before Ackerman's arrest, had been correctly informed about his whereabouts, that he was in disguise and armed.

The magistrate said it was clear from Ackerman's conduct that he had been evading the police.

IFP could join transition soon, says Buthelezi

Star 31/12/93

Ulundi — The deadlock keeping the Inkatha Freedom Party out of the transitional process could be broken soon, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in his New Year's message.

Buthelezi said there were "very simple solutions which, in a matter of days, could break the deadlock".

The Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, which includes the IFP, have until January 24 to reach agreement on constitutional issues which the alliance believes are too limited, such as regional powers.

"The traps and trickery and the blatant imperfections in the constitution recently and expeditiously passed by Parliament must be done away with," Buthelezi said in Ulundi.

"Answers lie for all to see in the tried and tested constitutions of nations we respect and it is my plea that we avail ourselves of their collective wisdoms.

"We must not repeat the mistakes of others and suffer the miseries endured by millions around the world."

It was reported from Durban

yesterday that the IFP's central committee will meet on January 8 to take a decision on the party's participation in the April 27 election.

However, that will not be the party's final position.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said the central committee decision would be a recommendation and not binding on the party.

He said the recommendation would have to be canvassed among the IFP's grassroots support before being accepted as the official party position.

Postponed

The IFP had planned a special general conference on January 9 for the central committee recommendation to be ratified by members, but that meeting has now been postponed.

Tillett said the special meeting would take place after further clarity on the Government/ANC acceptance or rejection of the IFP's proposed changes to the outcome of the multiparty talks.

The general meeting will take place before January 24.

IFP positive on progress

ULUNDI. — The deadlock keeping the IFP out of the transitional process could be broken soon, its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in his New Year's address yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said there were "very simple solutions which, in a matter of days, could break the deadlock".

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Freedom Alliance, which includes the IFP, have until January 24 to reach agreement on constitutional issues which the alliance believes are too limited, such as regional powers.

"The traps and trickery and the blatant imperfections in the constitution recently and expeditiously passed by Parliament must be done away with," Chief Buthelezi said here.

31/12/93
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31/12/93
"We must not repeat the mistakes of others and suffer the miseries endured by millions around the world," he said. — Sapa