

HOMELANDS - ~~GENERAL~~ KWA Zulu

1993

JAN - DEC

Patrick Laurence reflects on the risk of a war of secession in South Africa

Cracks are beginning to show

STAN 4/11/93.

SOUTH Africa, beset by deep-rooted political conflict and weakened by an ailing economy, faces a new danger as it starts the new year: secession and dismemberment.

Long haunted by the spectre of Lebanon, South Africans can no longer look calmly at developments in Yugoslavia. Secession and a war for territory lurk on the horizon as South Africa continues its perilous odyssey from the old apartheid order to an uncertain future.

The threat of secession has been made tangible by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Appalled by the prospect of a unitary state controlled by an African National Congress-dominated central government, Buthelezi has proposed an alternative constitution: one providing for largely autonomous regions or states.

To that end, Buthelezi, a politician of immense energy and matching determination, has been the driving force behind the adoption by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of a constitution for KwaZulu and Natal. The assumption behind his

move is that his IFP, together with its allies, will win majority support in the Zulu-dominated area of KwaZulu and Natal.

The next item on his agenda is to persuade the authorities to put the constitution to the people of KwaZulu and Natal in a referendum.

Working on the axiom that politicians do not risk referendums unless they are sure they can win them, Buthelezi must be reasonably confident that the constitution will be accepted if it is put to the vote.

Buthelezi's constitution is nominally one which provides for the establishment of a "Federal Republic of South Africa," in which KwaZulu-Natal or KwaNatal will be a partially autonomous state.

But the constitution actually seems to be closer to providing for a confederation of largely independent states, in which the component polities retain all the powers which they do not specifically concede to the confederal government.

The balance of power between the central government and KwaNatal in the proposed "federation" would clearly lie with KwaNatal, which would be able to veto the deployment of federal

troops in its territory and the imposition of taxes by the federal government.

Thus the new constitution states: "The state of KwaZulu-Natal is a sovereign member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa. (It) recognises its obligations toward the Federal Republic of South Africa... in so far as they do not infringe on the rights, powers and liberties guaranteed to the citizens and state of KwaZulu-Natal."

A distinguishing feature of a confederation is that the member states can withdraw or secede if they are dissatisfied or feel that their autonomy is threatened.

It has a particular resonance in the context of Buthelezi's assertion that KwaZulu has the right to "negotiate out of whatever contractual relationship the rest of South Africa establishes with the ANC."

Buthelezi's bargaining position can be summarised succinctly: either agree to the proposed federal-cum-confederal constitution or face the threat of secession by KwaZulu and Natal.

His initiative must be seen as a response to the rapprochement between President de Klerk's administration and the ANC, as re-

flected in their September 26 record of understanding and in their three-day bush indaba last month.

But the accord — which aims at reviving multiparty negotiations, establishing a transitional government and leaving the task of drawing up a final constitution to a popularly elected constituent assembly — has aroused anxiety in the National Party that De Klerk has conceded too much to the ANC.

De Klerk's decision to suspend or dismiss 23 military officers for suspected involvement in irregular or unlawful activities will have increased the unease among rank-and-file NP members.

Buthelezi has appealed over De Klerk's head to the NP members in Natal, with some success. Having wooed Natal's whites at a meeting in Durban City Hall, he held a public meeting in Pretoria where he courted Afrikaners to join him in escaping the threat of being held in thrall by an ANC-dominated central government.

The Conservative Party (CP) and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AV) favour an autonomous Afrikaner state. Between them, they have the allegiance of at least as many Afrikaners as De Klerk, if not more.

They are Buthelezi's natural allies in his quest for a confederation or a loose form of federation.

Significantly, the CP and the AV have joined hands with Buthelezi to form the Concerned South Africans Group, a broad alliance united by opposition to, and fear of, the ANC, and advocacy of a dispensation which will guarantee the rights of regions against the central government.

With them in the emerging coalition are Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gogo, leaders of the nominally independent states of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, both of which were established under the apartheid doctrine.

Like Buthelezi, Mangope and Gogo favour an essentially confederal formula — albeit one presented as a federal prescription — which will leave the power of their polities largely untouched.

This trio of black leaders is vehemently opposed to the notion that a popularly elected constituent assembly should be empowered to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

They contend that South Africa's first popular election should come after the constitution, not before it; they argue consequently that a new constitution

should be drafted by a representative multiparty conference or national convention of political leaders, not by the majority party after the elections.

Their stand has caused their political enemies to accuse them of seeking to impose a constitution on the country, of having contempt for "the people" and of subverting democracy.

Whatever epithets may be hurled at them, they represent a potentially powerful bloc, one which is poised to generate centrifugal forces of secession if its members do not get their own way.

The ANC, fully aware of these perils, has accused the IFP of opting for "enforced balkanisation on the model of the bantustan past."

It requires no great perspicacity to predict that debate about the boundaries and powers of regions will be the major issue in constitutional talks this year, as it was last year.

Whether a compromise can be found, and a war of wars of secession averted, will be the supreme test for the politicians, particularly De Klerk, whose revived rapport with Nelson Mandela and past friendship with Buthelezi places him in the position of a potential intercessor. □

Why KwaZulu's 'go-it-alone' constitution is the answer

THE constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal, recently adopted by the KwaZulu legislature and scheduled for submission to popular referendum, sets in place a very advanced and admirable federal system.

The constitution reserves to the Federal Republic of South Africa a much broader and more extensive list of powers than those originally reserved to the federal government in the United States constitution.

Moreover, the constitution completes the system of vertical checks and balances, providing not only

for a federal system but also for regionalisation within the state of KwaZulu/Natal.

The state will be divided into regions so as to respect existing social and cultural divisions. These regions will have both administrative and legislative powers to be exercised within the framework of state legislation.

The relationship between federal states and

that, theoretically, the constitution would allow the state to exclude the power of taxation of the Federal Republic of South Africa within its territory.

This type of criticism completely ignores the reality of federalism; that the federal government provides essential services and functions to the people of the state and it has, and will always have, the upper hand.

In fact, the federal government can threaten to terminate essential services, making it impossible for the state to operate.

Therefore, it becomes essential to build a system of checks and balances which guarantee that the federal government does not expand its powers at the expense of the jurisdiction of the state government.

Other unfair criticisms against the constitution pointed to the provision allowing for a state militia. This criticism seems to ignore the fact that state militia forms 40 percent of the US armed forces and that in the US federal

troops are not allowed to enter a state or engage in any activity without the

consent of the Governor of the State.

Of course this does not apply to the activity of federal police and court marshalls.

Perhaps the greatest merit of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal is that it fully protects the integrity of civil society in all its forms, thereby perfecting the system of checks and balances and protecting the people against all the modern evils of government.

● Professor Blaustein is a constitutional adviser to Inkatha.

STAT 10/11/93

ALBERT BLAUSTEIN defends the recent proposed constitution for a semi-autonomous KwaZulu/Natal

Leaders 'must shoulder blame for camp abuses'

13/01/93

SENIOR ANC and SACP officials, including Chris Hani, Joe Slovo and Oliver Tambo, had to accept responsibility for atrocities committed in ANC camps, even though they were not directly involved in the abuses, advocate Bob Douglas said yesterday.

Speaking at the release of an International Freedom Foundation-commissioned report on the ANC abuses, Douglas said the "Nuremburg principle", which dictated that those in command had to take responsibility for the actions of subordinates, applied in the ANC's case.

His 64-page report said the SACP, helped by the KGB, had established the ANC security department known as Mbokodo and had continued to control it during the ANC's years in exile.

Douglas said an ANC internal commission and an Amnesty International inquiry into the abuses "did a good job" within the confines of its terms of reference, but both had failed to say who was to blame for the atrocities.

He had interviewed 40 returned exiles about their experiences in ANC camps and had found their accounts corroborated each other and were credible.

RAY HARTLEY

The ANC dismissed the report as an "attempt to undermine and sow division within the ranks of the ANC and its allies, and to create a totally misleading perception of the ANC in exile.

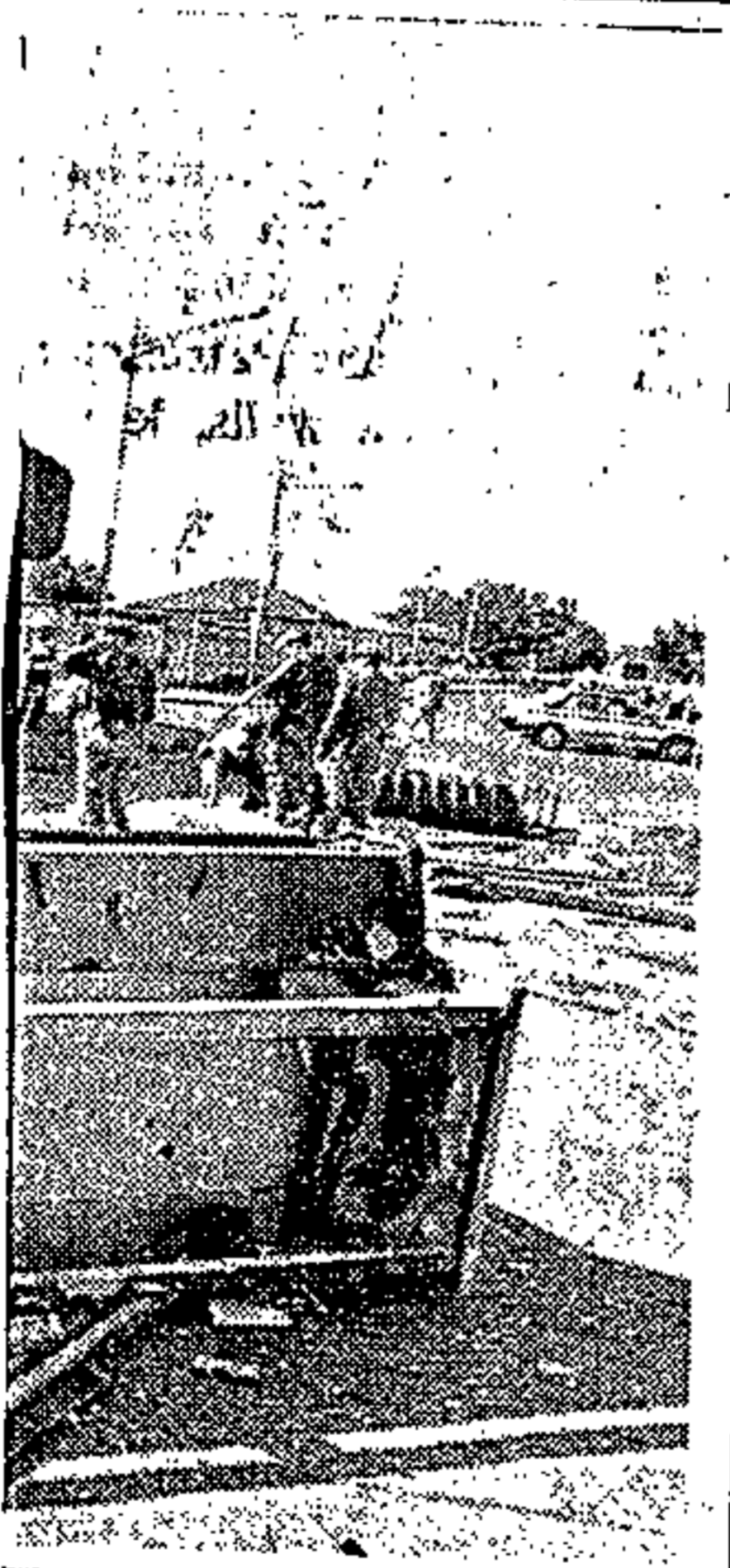
"Besides its heavy propaganda slant, reflected in the anti-communist slander, vitriolic attacks on selected ANC leaders and blatant fabrications, the report does not add anything new to what the ANC's own commission... established," the ANC said in a statement.

IFF executive director and NP member Russel Crystal said his organisation stood by Douglas's claim to impartiality.

He said Douglas had chaired an inquiry into the Natal violence at the request of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders.

Commenting on his personal political views, Douglas said he was anti-communist and opposed "non-liberal sources of ideology", but this had not made him biased against the SACP.

"I'm not a missionary. I simply did a job which was something different from (my normal work of) litigation," he added.



Chiefs and security forces come under fire

107

EMPANGENI — The ANC's northern Natal region alleged yesterday that tribal chiefs in the area had received instructions from Ulundi not to tolerate ANC activity within their areas.

In a preliminary submission to a Goldstone commission subcommittee inquiring into violence other than ANC-IFP political rivalry around Empangeni, the ANC's Northern Natal deputy secretary Khulekane Mhlongo said ANC supporters in rural areas were frequently the target of attacks, often led by tribal chiefs.

Mhlongo said the order to drive ANC supporters from tribal areas had come from the KwaZulu government and Inkatha.

He asked the committee to investigate the role of the KwaZulu and SA police in violence.

The abuse of power by KwaZulu and SA government officials in the region also required investigation.

In his preliminary submission Cosatu regional executive member Michael Mabuyakhulu asked the committee, led by Durban

advocate Malcolm Wallis, to inquire into the lack of police protection for Cosatu members in the region.

He alleged security forces were involved in violence, including victimisation of Cosatu members.

Unrest monitor and anthropologist Mary de Haas asked the committee to look urgently into the behaviour of the security forces, particularly the KwaZulu police and SAP, in contributing to violence.

Representatives of the SAP and SADF told the committee they would present submissions when it reconvened in Empangeni on January 27.

The IFP apologised for missing yesterday's hearing of the committee.

Michael Friedman, for the KwaZulu government, said he would respond to the allegations made against traditional leaders at the next sitting.

The Goldstone commission into violence and intimidation will inquire into the importation of illegal weapons into SA and has asked for submissions from interested parties.

Trying to peace pact

WILSON ZWANE

organisations, which had been series of meetings in an attempt and, said they would hold a joint on Sunday.

Inkatha had agreed to a condition by Azapo — that "traditional" could not be permitted at the rally.

STAR 15/11/93, (107) (7216)

Police said to add to violence

DURBAN — Security forces — particularly the SA Police and KwaZulu Police (KZP) — contributed to violence in northern Natal and Zululand, a Goldstone Commission committee heard in Empanjeni on Wednesday.

Unrest monitor and prominent anthropologist Mary de Haas made this claim in her initial submission at a preliminary meeting of the commission's committee investigating incidents of violence not directly related to the ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party power struggle.

She appealed to the committee, chaired by Durban advocate Malcolm Wallis and attorney Ray Zondo, to investigate the behaviour of the security forces, particularly the

KZP and SAP, in contributing to violence in the region.

Describing the situation as desperate, De Haas said: "I'm pleading for a thorough investigation of the role of the security forces."

Policemen, she alleged, frequently failed to take preventive action in the ongoing conflict in northern Natal.

"Perpetrators of violence are frequently not brought to justice ... Those who are arrested, are often granted bail. Township residents frequently complain of verbal and physical abuse as well as life-threatening activities by the police in the area."

There was a general perception among township residents that the KZP were involved in violence and were

supplying arms to attackers, she added.

The ANC's northern Natal region, in its initial submission, alleged that tribal chiefs in the area had received instructions from Ulundi not to tolerate ANC activity within their areas of jurisdiction.

ANC northern Natal deputy secretary Khulekane Mhlongo said ANC supporters in rural areas were frequently the target of attacks, often led by tribal chiefs.

In his preliminary submission, Congress of South African Trade Unions regional executive member Michael Mabuyakhulu asked the committee to inquire into the "lack of police protection to Cosatu members in the region". — Own Correspondent.

South African leaders ● Boost for tal

rief

Sowetan 18/1/93
Freedom Party, the National Party and
MPs took place in Durban on Saturday
to discuss the KwaZulu-Natal state
constitution: (107) ~~304/15~~

The constitution with KwaZulu fed-
eralism as its main aim was recently
adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative
Assembly. A joint statement by the NP
in Natal and IFP said the meeting found
points of agreement which would have

**IFP, NP pow-wow on
Natal federalism** (107)

Sowetan 18/1/93
A MEETING between the Inkatha

Sowetan 18/1/93
to be taken into the wider constitutional
debate. ~~304/15~~

KwaZulu plan on agenda

BIDAM 19/1/93. (107)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Natal/KwaZulu "federal" constitution will form a substantial part of the two-day government/Inkatha bilateral meeting in Pretoria which ends today.

This follows agreement between the Natal NP and Inkatha at the weekend to take the constitution to the "wider constitutional debate". In government circles this was seen as a significant step towards getting Inkatha to soften the go-it-alone tone apparent when the constitution was first published.

There had been concern within government at the time when the NP's Natal branch came out strongly in favour of the move, while party leader President F W de Klerk voiced his displeasure.

Government was insisting that the debate on the constitution be pulled into the

multiparty constitutional talks to prevent a possible secession by Inkatha. Its instruction to the Natal NP was to continue discussions on the constitution to persuade Inkatha to take it into bilateral and multi-lateral discussions before going ahead with its plans, a government source said.

This appeared to have been achieved at the weekend talks, which Deputy Constitutional Minister Fanus Schoeman attended. In a joint statement, Natal NP leader George Bartlett and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said there were "points of agreement and points of difference" but these should be discussed within the wider constitutional debate.

□ To Page 2

KwaZulu

BIDAM 19/1/93. (107)

□ From Page 1

It is understood that Inkatha would insist at the bilateral talks that the constitution be tested among the region's population and that regions be allowed substantial input at multiparty negotiations.

However, a government source close to the negotiations described this simply as a negotiating strategy. He said Inkatha was trying to press home its "perceived advantage in getting government to agree to a

planning meeting by trying to get a commitment from us on the structure of the planning meeting".

While this was possible, it would have to come within the broad framework of Codesa agreements which government was going to demand that Inkatha honour. Government also wanted to establish clearly where Inkatha stood in relation to the Concerned South Africans Group.

REPUBLIC
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Vol. 331

PRETORIA, 22 JANUARY
JANUARIE 1993

No. 14533

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

No. 82 ~~2810~~ (107) 22 January 1993

KWAZULU AND NATAL JOINT SERVICES ACT, 1990
(ACT No. 84 OF 1990)

AMENDMENT OF THE MANNER OF PAYMENT OF
REGIONAL SERVICES AND REGIONAL ESTA-
BLISHMENT LEVIES TO JOINT SERVICES BOARDS

I, Derek Lyle Keys, Minister of Finance and of Trade and Industry, under the powers vested in me in section 16 (2) (g) of the KwaZulu and Natal Joint Services Act, 1990 (Act No. 84 of 1990), as amended by the Taxation Laws Amendment Bill, 1992 (Act No. 136 of 1992), approve that the joint services boards in Natal may upon written application by an employer or person and subject to such conditions as the board may determine, allow the employer or person to pay the total amount of levies for which he is liable, within 20 days after the end of every period of a year or such shorter period as the board may determine.

D. L. KEYS,
Minister of Finance and of Trade and Industry.

No. 89 22 January 1993

The Department of Finance announces hereby that transfer documents for registration in respect of the undermentioned Republic of South Africa Internal Registered Stocks must be lodged with the Office of this Department at 301 Abattoir House, 50 Hamilton Street, Arcadia, Pretoria, **not later than 29 January 1993** to qualify for the interest payment on 28 February 1993.

84436—1

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN FINANSIES

No. 82 22 Januarie 1993

WET OP GESAMENTLIKE DIENSTE VIR KWAZULU
EN NATAL, 1990 (Wet No. 84 VAN 1990)

WYSIGING VAN WYSE VAN BETALING VAN
STREEKSDIENSTE- EN STREEKVESTIGINGS-
HEFFINGS AAN GESAMENTLIKE DIENSTERADE

Ek, Derek Lyle Keys, Minister van Finansies en van Handel en Nywerheid, kragtens die bevoegdheid aan my verleen in artikel 16 (2) (g) van die Wet op Gesamentlike Dienste vir KwaZulu en Natal, 1990 (Wet No. 84 van 1990), soos gewysig deur die Wysigingswetsontwerp op Belastingwette, 1992 (Wet No. 136 van 1992), keur goed dat die gesamentlike diensterade in Natal by skriftelike aansoek deur 'n werkgewer of persoon en onderworpe aan sodanige voorwaardes wat die raad bepaal, die werkgewer of persoon mag toelaat om die totale bedrag van die heffings waarvoor hy aanspreeklik is, binne 20 dae na die einde van elke tydperk van 'n jaar of sodanige korter tydperk wat die raad bepaal, mag betaal.

D. L. KEYS,
Minister van Finansies en van Handel en Nywerheid.

No. 89 22 Januarie 1993

Die Departement van Finansies maak hiermee bekend dat oordragdokumente vir registrasie ten opsigte van die ondergemelde Republiek van Suid-Afrika Binnelandse Geregistreerde Effekte **nie later nie as 29 Januarie 1993** by die Departement se kantoor te Abattoirhuis 301, Hamiltonstraat 50, Arcadia, Pretoria, ingelewer moet word ten einde vir die rentebetaling op 28 Februarie 1993 te kwalifiseer.

14533—1

Natal/KwaZulu 'R1bn underfunded'

DURBAN — Natal/KwaZulu's lack of participation in central administration activities was partly to blame for the fact that the territory was underfunded by more than R1bn annually.

This was said yesterday by Sacob deputy president Cedric Savage after a presentation of the findings of an investigation into government funding of health, roads and education, commissioned by the Natal/KwaZulu joint executive authority.

The Durban Regional Chamber of Business would arrange meetings with govern-

ment in an attempt to ensure the inequities were corrected in the 1993/94 budget.

The survey conducted by Deloitte and Touche Management Consultants showed the region had been receiving less than a proportional share of public funding relative to its population.

Consultants' spokesman Guy Harris said the problem had its roots in apartheid, as funding seemed to be correlated with the number of whites living in each region.

SIDAM 22/1/93

Own Correspondent (107)

INKATHA THA'S GHOST WRITERS



Ex-ANC man, US lawyers named

C/Pres 24/1/93

By S'BU MNGADI

FINGERS are pointing at two US lawyers and a former senior ANC activist as authors of a contentious document which rocked this week's two-day talks between high-powered delegations of Inkatha and the SA government.

Senior Inkatha officials yesterday said the document could have been drafted only by conservative US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambosini, and recently returned former ANC exile Joe Matthews.

Sources said the three drafted the document in consultation with Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior colleague Dr Bernard Ngubane, but that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the final say.

The memorandum, which the government delegation later described as "the last straw", has driven a further wedge between the two parties.

The talks were the first since Inkatha suspended contact with the government last year in protest against the record of understanding signed by State President FW de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

According to a Johannesburg daily, when talks started in Cape Town on Monday, Mdlalose tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about the government/ANC compromise in negotiations.

In an equally blistering counter-memorandum, the government replied: "The document leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the Inkatha delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

'I was the Webster fall guy,' alleges Barnard

By DESMOND BLOW
CONVICTED murderer Ferdi Barnard said this week he was the "perfect fall guy" to take the rap for the murder of Dr David Webster for the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

He also lashed out at State President FW de Klerk for shunting the Indemnity Act through the President's Council.

"He has done that to save people in high places, including Foreign Affairs. I have seen documents," he told City Press after Judge Michael Stegmann found that the seven-week inquest into the death of Webster failed to establish who was responsible for his murder.

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KE MZILENI

By S'BU MNGADI

(107)

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"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the Inkatha delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

Blaustein, Ariano-Ambrosini and Matthews were instrumental in drawing up the UDI-style constitution for the state of KwaZulu/Natal.

That the three drew up this week's memorandum was partly confirmed by Mdlalose's and Ngubane's secretaries, who said the two Inkatha chief negotiators had referred all media enquiries about the document to Matthews.

Matthews, the son of the late ANC general-secretary, ZK Matthews, and Inkatha's legal advisor, denied helping draw up the document.

Buthelezi said the memorandum "absolutely" represented the views of Inkatha, and that he had never before encountered questions over who had written a memorandum.

The government's attacks on Inkatha will be discussed by the organisation's central committee in Ulundi today.

Some political observers think the contentious document was a ploy by Inkatha's pro-autonomy faction to scuttle national negotiations and speed up KwaZulu/Natal's unilateral declaration of independence just before an interim government takes over the country.

Rape rap shocks locals

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE arrest last week of Mamelodi businessman and socialite Chad "Mabeshane" Shabangu on charges of allegedly raping three women employees has shocked the Pretoria township.

He was released on warning and is to appear in court on March 3.

Shabangu said this week that scores of people from all areas had phoned to offer him their support.

Police said they were investigating several other charges against Shabangu, including indecent assault, assault and pointing a firearm at his victims.

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Ulundi ship sails on ... without the crew

By S'BU MNGADI

KWAZULU capital Ulundi has been without a town council for weeks — and local residents don't even know.

A comedy of errors which began with the dismissal of councillor Ntando Khumalo resulted in the shock resignation of all councillors except a Zulu prince.

Ironically, the sole remaining councillor, Prince Petros Zulu, has until recently been a victim of an anti-ANC witchhunt in the town which lives in anticipation

of the proposed-but-failed ANC march.

Trouble for the 11-strong council started last month when councillors voted unanimously to dismiss Khumalo for allegedly compromising them.

A letter, signed by township manager Mduzuzi Mlaba, stated that Khumalo had been in arrears for months in payments for rent, services and electricity. This, the councillors said, had disqualified him from representing his ward.

However, Khumalo did not take his dismissal lying down.

He consulted Empaneni lawyer Siphiso Mda-

kane with a view to seeking a Supreme Court order for his immediate reinstatement, City Press was told. He cited the fact that nine other councillors were in arrears.

The lawyer advised Khumalo to come later back so they could work on paperwork and brief counsel in preparation for the civil action. But the dismissed councillor did not turn up for the appointment, the lawyer said.

The town council, who got wind of the proposed civil action, decided to re-

sign rather than fight — all except Zulu.

Just when they thought they had taken the right decision, they learnt later that Khumalo had decided not to take civil action against the council after all.

But it was too late.

The nine councillors had already submitted their resignation letters to the township manager, confessing their crimes.

This comedy of errors had been shrouded in secrecy, with the councillors' constituencies kept in the dark about the goings-on in the council

chamber.

The former councillors this week confirmed they had not yet informed the community of their resignation, and doubted if the KwaZulu cabinet was aware that it was without civic leaders.

Trouble for the former councillors is not yet over.

If all else fails, they may face criminal charges for failing to declare to Mahlabathini magistrate Paul Shabangu during the local municipal election in October that they were already in arrears in pay-

ments for rent, services and electricity.

All nine councillors had been elected, unopposed, except Khumalo and Zulu.

Zulu was recently accused of being an Inkatha enemy. Unfortunately, he cannot convene council meetings because of a lack of quorum.

Zulu ran into trouble with Inkatha last year when he tried to alert residents that the interior minister Stephen Sithebe was allegedly selling houses and land to private property developers.

NEWS KwaZulu police implicated in violence • Policemen in witch-hunt drama

Hit squads blamed for 45 murders

Sowetan 28/1/93
MONITOR'S SUBMISSION Commission

sion told that residents know the culprits:

KWAZULU POLICE AND HIT squads were allegedly responsible for at least 45 deaths in Empangeni's Esikhawini township in the past five months, Ms Mary de Haas said yesterday.

De Haas, anthropologist and Natal unrest monitor, was making submissions to a committee of the Goldstone Commission which was holding a preliminary inquiry in Empangeni on causes of violence — excluding ANC-Inkatha rivalry — in the area.

De Haas alleged no action had been taken to prevent the alleged KZP and hit squad activities, despite repeated calls for a Goldstone inquiry there.

The unrest monitor submitted that killings at Esikhawini were widely perceived to have been carried out by either the KZP or people acting in collusion with it.

With this force. Residents assure me that everyone knows who is responsible for this violence, but they do not trust either the South African Police or the KZP sufficiently to make statements or to pass on evidence." Witnesses were only prepared to lay evidence before the Goldstone Commission in camera.

She said there had been incidents of political violence in the area over the past two years. The situation deteriorated in August when at least 31 people were killed. Since then another 14 had died.

These attacks had taken place despite warnings to senior members of the security forces by herself and Democratic Party unrest monitor Mr Roy Ainslie. She provided dates and documents to back up her claims. - Sapa



AUSTRALIAN OF THE YEAR ... Aborigine Mandawuy Yunupingu (37), with the Australian of the Year trophy, smiles at his wife Yalmay at Admiralty House, Sydney, on Tuesday after he received the accolade from Prime Minister Paul Keating. Yunupingu is the lead singer of Australia's most successful rock band, Yothu Yindi.

Cops 'beat up alleged wizard'

Sowetan 28/1/93
Missing policeman's baby found dead:

A GROUP of Lebowa policemen near Groblersdal allegedly assaulted a family with pick-axe handles after accusing them of stealing a colleague's three-month-old baby.

While denying the assaults, police yesterday confirmed that the family was subjected to "intensive interrogation" and eventually pointed out the place where the baby's body was found.

The drama started on Monday when an officer living near the police station woke up to find the baby missing.

Police spokesman Lieutenant MJ Maepa said the policeman suspected Mr William Makgopa's family of being behind the infant's disappearance.

Witnesses said policemen went to the Makgopa family, dragged them out of the house and started assaulting them. The family house and car were burnt.

"The assaults were so brutal that I thought the wife and children were going to die," an eye-witness said.

"I could not stand the sight and I left as the beatings continued."

Maepa said Makgopa had confessed and took them to a spot where they found the baby's body.

"They were not assaulted. They were just scared to see so many policemen," Maepa said. Makgopa has been arrested. He is expected to be charged with murder and child stealing.

Hit squads blamed for 45 murders

Rowefan 28/1/93

■ **MONITOR'S SUBMISSION** Commis-

sion told that residents know the culprits:

KWAZULU POLICE AND HIT squads were allegedly responsible for at least 45 deaths in Empangeni's Esikhawini township in the past five months, Ms Mary de Haas said yesterday.

De Haas, anthropologist and Natal unrest monitor, was making submissions to a committee of the Goldstone Commission which was holding a preliminary inquiry in Empangeni on causes of violence — excluding ANC-Inkatha rivalry — in the area.

De Haas alleged no action had been taken to prevent the alleged KZP and hit squad activities, despite repeated calls for a Goldstone inquiry there.

The unrest monitor submitted that killings at Esikhawini were widely perceived to have been carried out by either the KZP or people acting in collusion

with this force. (107)

"Residents assure me that everyone knows who is responsible for this violence, but they do not trust either the South African Police or the KZP sufficiently to make statements or to pass on evidence."

Witnesses were only prepared to lay evidence before the Goldstone Commission in camera.

She said there had been incidents of political violence in the area over the past two years. The situation deteriorated in August when at least 31 people were killed. Since then another 14 had died.

These attacks had taken place despite warnings to senior members of the security forces by herself and Democratic Party unrest monitor Mr Roy Ainslie.

She provided dates and documents to back up her claims. - Sapa

NEWS Teacher assaulted by armed pupil

Classes are disrupted in KwaZulu

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Sowetan
29/1/93

TEACHERS THREATENED Failed

high school pupils demand promotion:

ONE WEEK AFTER KWAZULU schools reopened for the new year, classes have been disrupted at some high schools at KwaMashu, Durban.

This week violent children were taking over admissions of pupils from the teachers.

Parents have expressed concern that violence might escalate in township schools leading to a wasted year.

While only three principals from the three schools have reported the situation at their schools to the circuit inspector, it was learned from pupils that actually more schools were affected.

These are Zeph Dhlomo High, John Dube, Isibonelo, NqabakaZulu and Vuyiswa-Mtolo.

A pupil from Zeph Dhlomo High

said the teachers had been reporting at the inspector's office since Monday after one teacher was assaulted by a pupil armed with a firearm. The armed pupil demanded to be promoted to a higher class.

Other teachers, who felt their lives were in danger, then suspended their duties and went to the inspector's office.

He said they were hoping to have their teachers back before the end of the week because someone from a civic organisation had gone to talk to them.

Vuyiswa Mtolo said trouble at their school was caused by outsiders. The outsiders, who have not been admitted, were demanding admission and those that failed last year were demanding promotion.

Leaf schools stand tall

Sowetan 29/1/93:
■ Proof of pudding in the eating:

By Sonti Maseko

ST Luke Senior College in Kyalami, north of Johannesburg, shot to the top as one of the best schools in the country, when it obtained an outstanding 100 percent matric pass rate for 1992.

St Luke is part of the Leadership Education and Advancement Foundation or Leaf schools, across the country, and admits students on a nonracial basis but its enrolment is mainly black.

Its sister college, All Saints in Bisho, Ciskei, obtained 78 percent exemptions.

The Joint Matriculation Board examinations (JMB) are generally accepted as South Africa's toughest matriculation examinations.

However, said St Luke's administrator, Dr Z Varkey, results by the colleges have been consistently excellent, which shows what can be achieved by disadvantaged pupils when they enjoy first-class teaching in a favourable environment.

The results are extraordinary when compared with the abysmal pass rates in state-controlled black schools where only 43 percent of candidates were successful in last year's examinations, Varkey points out.

Ulundi's council chamber of horrors

29/1-4/2/93

ASINGLE Ulundi councillor is bravely holding the fort after the resignation or dismissal of 10 colleagues, allegedly over rent and service arrears.

But the kwaZulu capital's mayor and his deputy are puzzlingly at odds over whether the august body is still functioning.

Mayor Boyi Masango confirmed this week the council "no longer exists" and that he would tell his constituency after informing kwaZulu's Department of the Interior. But his deputy, Tembisa Danessa, disagrees: threatening to sue anyone spreading the "lie" of mass resignations, he said the council would hold its next meeting "on the second Monday in February".

The resignations of nine councillors took place behind chamber doors a fortnight ago, it is understood. This body blow to good government passed unnoticed until this week, when tongues

Ulundi's council has collapsed in a morass of accusations about rent and service arrears.

By **THABO THULO and FAROUK CHOTHIA**

started to wag. Some councillors were allegedly in arrears with their rent while others were in arrears with their electricity bills and service charges.

The one councillor who is up to date with his payments is Prince Petros Zulu — and he has not resigned. He says township manager Mduzuzi Mhlaba wrote to him informing him to stop carrying out his official duties until the Department of Interior nominated new councillors or called a fresh election.

But Zulu has other ideas, saying it

was not his fault that "people who do not qualify are allowed to hold office. I will continue my work".

Although he comes from royal stock, he is not popular in political circles in Ulundi, where he is seen as Inkatha's enemy. He tried to tip off residents last year that Interior Minister Stephen Sithabe was allegedly selling houses and land to private property developers.

Interviewed this week, Danessa fumed: "It's that Zulu. He's spreading false information again."

But Zulu has an ally: Ntando Khumalo, a councillor sacked last December after being accused of rent arrears. Claiming he had been "unfairly disqualified", Khumalo consulted a lawyer with a view to instituting legal action. He also started digging up dirt on other councillors — which he rattled off gladly to *The Weekly Mail*.

One councillor, KB Nhleko, was "clever" because he paid off his arrears

— R950 for electricity — just before the council elections last year.

But nine council members did not, Khumalo claimed. The mayor, he said, owed R698,29 for electricity; the deputy mayor owed R238,38 for electricity and R275,40 for service charges. Among the other council defaulters were J Manana, who owed R1 278,26 for electricity; J Khumalo, who owed R652,72 for electricity and had never paid a cent for rent; FM Mbambo, who owed R1 156,35 for electricity; and OGB Mpama, who owed R443,11 for electricity and was also on a rent boycott.

Khumalo was elected to the council late last year by six votes to three and Zulu by 15 votes to nine. The rest of the councillors were elected unopposed.

Commented one Ulundi resident: "They don't have any powers, so we don't bother to vote and we don't miss any of them."

NATIONAL Party propaganda in black education may be on it's way out, but, as critics put it— "Inkatha" is still being drummed into KwaZulu pupils.

The controversial subject, called Ubuntu-Botho, was set up to promote Inkatha's political views in the '70s.

It is estimated about 90 percent of African schooling in Natal — involving about 1,6-million pupils — falls under KwaZulu's Department of Education and Culture (DEC).

Inkatha is abusing syllabus, says ANC

Ubuntu-Botho was cited last month as a "contributor to the violence and an obstacle to peace in Natal".

This submission was made to the Goldstone Commission's preliminary hearings in Durban this week by Dr Blade Nzimande, director of the

Natal University-based Education Projects Unit (EPU) and also Natal Midlands ANC deputy chairman.

The subject dates back to 1978 when Inkatha's annual general conference resolved to introduce a subject known as Ubuntu-Botho.

The syllabus was drawn up by a committee consisting of senior Inkatha leaders, Inkatha-supporting academics at the University of Zululand and individual members of both the School Inspectors' Association of KwaZulu and the Natal African Teachers Union.

An introductory memorandum subsequently sent by the DEC to all school inspectors and principals captured the primary aim of the subject.

It said: "The syllabus is based on the aims and objectives of the National Cultural Liberation Movement Movement (Inkatha) ... In drawing up this syllabus the committee was influenced by the need to develop in our youth the whole person within the ambit of the Inkatha constitution ..."

"Many adults seem to hold divergent views and beliefs about Inkatha ... These are passed on to the young and cloud the youths' minds. It is thus hoped that this syllabus, together with its guide, will clear many doubts and thus create unified ideas to match with the goals of Inkatha."

A Durban academic who helped draft the syllabus this week said the initial syllabus was nothing else but an Inkatha policy document.

However, after more discussions, a new syllabus "mentioning" other political organisations, leaders and issues, was introduced.

"As Ubuntu-Botho stands now, it's a subject which any future government other than Inkatha would retain, although it might remove or change the section dealing with Inkatha," the academic said.

But Nzimande told the Goldstone Committee that his and other educationists' analysis of both the syllabus and its books, published by Shuter and Shooter in Maritzburg, showed that what was being taught in KwaZulu schools remained an Inkatha programme.

"The syllabus aims at bolstering the image of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha and denigrates other organisations, mainly the ANC, Cosatu and the defunct UDF," Nzimande said.

FAIL THIS

SUBJECT!

By S'BU MNGADI

CP 11/93

(107)

Zulu king issue delays talks

A DISPUTE over the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is delaying the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

To keep the process on track Inkatha, government, the ANC and most other parties are anxious to get a multiparty planning conference under way before the month end. *B10M 8/2/93*

A government source said his team and the ANC were "fairly much in agreement on the short duration of the planning conference and who would participate, but Inkatha was 'still some way off'".

He said the main problem was Zwelithini's participation — the same issue that bedevilled Codesa from its launch in 1991.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

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BILLY PADDOCK

boycotted Codesa because the king was not allowed to take part. He is making Inkatha's participation in the new forum conditional on the king's attendance.

The ANC and, to some extent government, feel Zwelithini's presence as a participant is not necessary. The ANC believes he should have observer status.

Another issue is Inkatha's refusal to be bound by Codesa agreements.

Meanwhile, the ANC and government made "a great deal of progress" in their committee meetings on Friday and Saturday in preparation for a two-day bilateral

□ To Page 2

Zulu king

B10M 8/2/93
meeting from Wednesday, which will try to pave the way for multiparty negotiations in March.

A government source said yesterday the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe had moved to the top of the agenda at government/ANC meetings after last week's disclosure of an arms smuggling operation in Natal.

Inkatha had insisted that MK be disbanded before it entered multiparty negotiations, but the source said the ANC also had major problems with the continued existence of the KwaZulu Police as a separate force.

However, the government source and an ANC negotiator emphasised that the two sides had moved closer on core issues, but no decisions had been taken.

From Page 1

While the planning conference is a priority for all parties, the ANC/government bilateral meeting will continue dealing with constitutional issues such as power sharing and regionalism.

All parties had wanted the multiparty planning conference to take place in mid-February, but this was no longer possible, and hopes that it could happen before month-end were fading fast.

Inkatha also wants the conference to finalise matters such as federalism/regionalism at the conference, but government and the ANC say the meeting is to set up a multiparty negotiating forum.

A government negotiator said today's meeting with Inkatha would probably be confined to the planning conference.

Star 10/2/93

Govt man's home attacked

The home of KwaZulu's Deputy Minister of Works, VB Ndlovu, was slightly damaged in a grenade attack yesterday evening. Police said the grenade exploded outside the house, shattering windows. No one was hurt. Ndlovu's home has been attacked several times. (10/1) (20/2)

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- (3) It is our intention to wait for the outcome of the court case in the USA which will dictate our future actions. The GSM (Group Special Mobile) Organisation will also keep us informed of any new developments.
- (4) Any further information in this regard will be made available to interested parties.

Olympic Games In Barcelona

*21. Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether the State appropriated and/or made available an amount of money in order to make South Africa's participation in the Olympic Games in Barcelona possible; if so, what amount;
- (2) whether this amount was made available subject to (a) the condition that the official South African flag be displayed and (b) other conditions; if so, what conditions were set;
- (3) whether a request was addressed to Nosesa to apologise for the fact that the majority of athletes in the South African team were Whites;
- (4) whether any representatives of the South African Government were invited by the International Olympic Committee to attend the official opening of the 25th Olympiad together with Mr Nelson Mandela; if so, who was so invited? B94E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) Yes; R1,5 million was allocated of which an amount of R500 000 has already been paid out.

(2) (a) No.

(b) Yes; the following conditions applied:

The funds could only be used to the advantage of the official team members and administrators in respect of the following items:

- Air fares
- Official uniform

Education departments: equal funding

*23. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether his Department will guarantee equal funding for specific non-salary areas in all education departments for the 1993-94 budget year; if not, why not;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B99E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) No. Although the financing formula has already been drafted, no general policy has yet been tabled under section 2(1)(a) of the National Policy for Education Act, 1984 (Act No. 76 of 1984). The formula is, however, used as a distribution guideline to divide the education budget between the various education departments but each education department decides according to its own needs and priorities how its budget should be divided between the different expenditure categories (including those categories other than salaries).
- (2) No.

Population figures of RSA/Natal

*25. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (a) What are the official population figures for the (i) Republic of South Africa and (ii) Natal/KwaZulu region and (b) in respect of what date are these figures furnished? B102E

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (a) (i) 30 986 920
(ii) 7 955 527
- (b) 7 March 1991.

General Export Incentive Scheme: fraud

*26. Mr L FUCHS to ask the Minister of Trade and Industry:

- (1) Whether there have been any cases of fraud in regard to the General Export Incentive Scheme (GEIS); if so, what total amount is involved;
- (2) whether these cases are being investigated; if not, why not;
- (3) what action does he intend taking in regard to cases of fraud that have been proven? B103E

THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY:

- (1) Thirty-six alleged cases of fraud, involving a potential amount of R136 million in regard to the General Export Incentive Scheme (GEIS), have so far

Funding levels for education departments

*22. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether he will make public the guideline funding formulae used to establish budget fund levels for the various education departments; if not, why not;
- (2) whether such formulae make provision for funding levels for each department which are different for each race group; if so, how does he intend to eliminate such race-based funding;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B98E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) No, because in terms of the announcement by the State President on 29 January 1993, a process of re-arranging is to be initiated on 1 April 1993, which will include, amongst other aspects, the financing of education.

(2) No, this formula is scientifically based and has no racial dimension or connotations. It can be used for the funding of institutions as well as geographic regions. As a result of the phasing out of the own affairs departments, the funding of education will in all probability be regionally or institutionally based.

(3) No.

Stripping departments may lead to 'problems'

PRETORIA — Government must be wary of excessive staff stripping in state departments in case it ended up with too few public servants to ensure efficient administration, Public Servants' Association (PSA) GM Hans Olivier said yesterday.

He was reacting to an announcement earlier in the week that more than 14 000 public servants would be dismissed this financial year.

Olivier said that demands on the public service could only increase in the years ahead and skeletonising departmental staffs would lead to serious administrative problems.

The PSA believed the rate of dismissals and the policy of encouraging early retirements would slow significantly this year. There were certain departments where any further thinning out of staff could affect vital services.

Most departments were looking closely at personnel functions to identify areas of overlapping and duplication.

They had also been involved in the past few years in efforts to make more efficient use of staff and to sharpen productivity.

Governments had years ago promised a leaner and more productive public service "and we believe a significant move is now being made in this direction".

GERALD REILLY

Olivier warned against the "indiscriminate swamping" of the service with new personnel in terms of any affirmative action programme.

The vast majority of government workers had accepted as inevitable the reality that the service would have to become more representative of the whole population. If there was such a programme it should be applied in a balanced manner and with properly qualified people.

□ The organised teaching profession was expected to make a last-minute bid at a meeting last night with National Education Minister Piet Marais to have the "unsatisfactory" 5% pay hike raised.

Negotiations have been going on between the recognised teacher bodies and government on the division of the 5% but no agreement has so far been reached.

A Teachers' Federal Council source said yesterday the 5% "leaves little room to play with" and it was likely the 5%, with small adjustments, would be applied across the board.

A government source said for every 1% increase, about R160m would be added to the total salary bill for educators.

TPA, Nehawu sign accord

PRETORIA — The Transvaal Provincial Administration and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union yesterday announced they had concluded a recognition agreement, effectively ending the acrimony resulting from the major hospital strike last year.

The parties said in a joint statement the agreement provided for:

- Freedom of association;
- A peace obligation whereby the parties committed themselves to industrial justice, peace and security. This included a commitment to maintaining equitable standards of work and behaviour; and

□ A Nehawu committee to resolve problems. — Sapa.

SAP forms joint forum with KwaZulu police

DURBAN — The SAP and KwaZulu Police have established a joint top management forum to address matters of common concern and interest in Natal, according to SAP regional community relations head Gen John Manuel.

Manuel said police chiefs last month formed a structure to address common policing issues.

This comes amid calls for joint SAP-KwaZulu police action.

KwaZulu police have been criticised for alleged biased policing and in some areas for alleged involvement in attacks.

Although top-level contact had been established,

Manuel said the issue of joint policing was "not within our power". Instead, the forum would enable "the one hand to know what the other hand is doing".

Meanwhile, Natal/KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee co-chairman MC Pretorius said yesterday that problems in the policing of areas in northern Natal, particularly Empangeni's townships, were being attended to.

And an ANC official said leaders of its Esikhawini branch are scheduled to meet KwaZulu police this weekend to "complain about their failure to protect the community as well as their direct involvement in the conflict". — Sapa.

KwaZulu: 51 kids, 1 teacher

Political Staff

KWAZULU primary schools have a staggering teacher:pupil ratio of 1:51 and in secondary schools it is 1:39 — the highest in all the self-governing territories.

Figures released by Education and Training Minister Mr Sam de Beer yesterday reveal that on March 3 last year the ratio in primary schools in his department was 1:40 and at secondary schools 1:35.

CT 19/2/93
He was responding to a question tabled by Mr Roger Burrows (DP, Pinetown).

KwaZulu's figures were the highest in the six self-governing territories with KaNgwane next worst off with 1:42 (primary) and 1:37 (secondary).

The lowest ratios were found in Qwaqwa, with 1:33 and 1:32.

The figures add force to KwaZulu-Natal's argument that the region is neglected by central government when it comes to allocation of funds.

ANC Midlands plans to do away with kwaZulu

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

THE African National Congress Natal Midlands region has announced plans to launch a mass action campaign to press for the dissolution of the kwaZulu homeland and the implementation of transitional government structures in the province.

ANC Midlands deputy-chairman Blade Nzimande said the region believed that the formation of transitional structures at national level would not automatically filter through to the ground, "where it matters most". Natal was becoming "a base for reactionary forces" and a "strong federal bloc", he said.

Nzimande said this had to be countered through mass action or else the ANC would be "weak and forced to submit to everything in negotiations".

ANC regional executive committee member Mpume Sikhosana said the region would also campaign for the dissolution of the kwaZulu homeland. All kwaZulu-controlled departments, including the police force, health and education, should fall under the South African government. These would come under multiparty control in the run-up to elections, Sikhosana said.

The ANC was already having success on this front, he added. In the face of immense pressure last year, kwaZulu-controlled schools in Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, had been transferred to the Department of Education and Training.

The ANC was also putting pressure on local councils under kwaZulu government control. "For example, we are pushing for Wembezi to fall under the

Estcourt town council."

Nzimande commented that Codesa agreements did not clearly state that the "self-governing states" would be dissolved before an election — and mass action was therefore needed to ensure that it happened.

The dissolution of the homeland would also break Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "leverage" over King Goodwill Zwelithini, and with it the Inkatha president's claim to be the custodian of Zulu culture.

"We believe very strongly that the king is being held hostage by the kwaZulu government. If the homeland goes, the king will be free to act above party political interests, to attend both Inkatha and ANC rallies."

The ANC's southern Natal branch has not signalled its intention to join the mass action campaign, but is formulating an election strategy aimed at weakening Inkatha. Regional secretary Sibusiso Ndebele said the movement would present itself as the champion of the Zulu cause, and Inkatha as playing the contrary role.

The region has declared 1993 "the year of King Dinizulu", and plans a cultural festival to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the king's death.

The emphasis on Dinizulu is significant — and a subtle attempt to discredit Buthelezi. Some historians claim that Dinizulu was defeated by the British at the Battle of kwaCeza in 1888 after Buthelezi's grandfather, Chief Mnyama, deserted the king and sided with his enemy. Dinizulu was made honorary president of the ANC shortly after its launch.

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19/2-25/2/93

Callaghan: 'Consider Kwazulu Plan'

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — Former British socialist premier Lord James Callaghan yesterday publicly supported the inclusion of "elements" of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Kwazulu Constitution in a new South Africa.

Lord Callaghan, just back from an extended visit to South Africa during which he met most leaders, said that the federal or regional concept underlying the Kwazulu Constitution deserved consideration.

Chief Buthelezi was true to his word that the Kwazulu Constitution was still negotiable, "it should still be possible to narrow the present wide differences".

Lord Callaghan's article was accompanied by a large picture of Chief Buthelezi alongside the headline: "Is this the man who can save a divided nation?"

The former premier said that while the Kwazulu Constitution declared the sovereignty of the Kwazulu/Natal region as "indivisible, inalienable and untransferrable" the Chief Minister had privately told him it was still negotiable.

Lord Callaghan warned that economy was being neglected in the current preoccupation with politics.

For South Africa to fulfil its future task as regional benefactor, a "substantial" International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan was essential.

Writing in yesterday's Evening Standard, he said that if

alongside the headline: "Is

privately told him it was still

negotiable.

Umgeni's bonds 'hurt by KwaZulu links'

VOLUMES in the Umgeni Water Board's capital market bonds have dropped sharply in the past few months with some institutions shying away from the bond because of its links with KwaZulu, sources said at the weekend.

They said the institutions were concerned that the Natal-based water authority's links with KwaZulu could be frowned on by a future government.

A major Johannesburg-based institution was the biggest to spurn the bonds, sources said.

Umgeni finance director Avison Carlisle denied the KwaZulu link was the reason for the drop. He said there were more than 200 stockholders compared with fewer than 50 two years ago. Their number had grown since the utility was given a triple A rating by Republic Ratings.

Carlisle said last year's bull run had forced Umgeni to

TIM MARSLAND

sell more stock than it wanted to. The size of Umgeni's issue had become too big at about R2bn and current trade was more in proportion to the size of the issue. (107)

Volumes had also dropped off after Rand Merchant Bank's key market maker in Umgeni bonds left for FirstCorp. Both banks would now act as market makers, which could revive the trading volumes, a dealer said.

Another said Umgeni had started out as a glamour stock favoured by speculators and this had discouraged institutional buying. BIDAY 242193

Umgeni's long-dated UG55 yields about 14,92%, compared with Eskom's 168 yield of 14,52%. For every 0,01% rise in Umgeni's yield on R1m invested, the bond loses about R568, while the E168 loses about R510.

A dealer said it did not make sense for Umgeni to have its stock so actively traded as it had a low funding requirement. However, Umgeni could not leave the market as this would hurt its ability to raise funds later.

23/2/93

Way may open for Zulu king in talks

Political Staff

THE way could soon be open to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's participation in multi-party negotiations, clearing one of the final hurdles to a resumption of full-blown talks.

Negotiators are considering a compromise in terms of which traditional leaders could attend talks and bring a delegation with them. In the Zulu king's case his delegation could be a KwaZulu government team.

Talks between the government and the ANC which began yesterday and end today will be critical in deciding whether this thorny problem is resolved.

The government is also due to meet with IFP negotiators again on Friday, where the matter will be taken further.

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini is reported to be backing 14 indunas in their bid to stop kwazulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi from removing their area from royal jurisdiction — and imposing "foreign" chiefs there.

This is the first time Zwelithini and Buthelezi have locked horns in public in over a decade, although some observers say it does not signal a major rift between the two.

In papers before the Durban Supreme Court, 14 indunas from Bananango in the Nquthu district in Zululand claimed that Buthelezi wanted to demarcate the areas and impose three "foreign" chiefs on them.

Induna Simon Mnguni said in an affidavit that his people were opposed to the constitution of new tribal author-

Royal battle as Buthelezi locks horns with the king

WJW 19/2 - 25/2/93

ities and boundaries in the Babanango area. Buthelezi's "illegal actions" were designed to reduce Zwelithini's authority. This would be "contrary to the custom where the area was directly under the control of the Zulu king".

In a replying affidavit, the deputy secretary in Buthelezi's office, Carel Vos, denied this. He claimed Zwelithini had given his approval to the constitution of new tribal authorities. Minutes of a community meeting

A clash over new tribal

authorities has created a rift between Inkatha's leader and the Zulu king.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

held in 1990, however, paint a different picture. Presented to the court, these quote the king as saying: "The scripture is correct that Jesus Christ's clothes

(107)

were divided amongst the people, but with me my area is subdivided and given to foreigners while I am still alive. "Those who subdivide the area must stop," Zwelithini added.

Mnguni said Zwelithini had told them at a subsequent meeting that he had resolved the problems with the kwazulu government and chiefs would not be imposed.

The case was adjourned to next month.



King Goodwill ... 'Those who subdivide must stop'

KwaZulu

set on talks seat

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The KwaZulu government will attend next week's multiparty planning conference regardless of whether it is formally invited, according to Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate.

And in another development, Minister of Local Government and Housing Dr Tertius Delpoort and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will address a meeting of the IFP's central committee in Ulundi on Sunday. The Ministers are expected to give the IFP the Government's views on the transition.

Another IFP-Government meeting is scheduled to take place in Pretoria tomorrow.

The talks are expected to focus on preparations for the planning conference to be held next Friday and Saturday.

The ANC and the Government indicated on Tuesday after their latest bilateral meeting that there were no obstacles in the way of the planning conference.

The IFP has insisted since Codesa 1 that the KwaZulu government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini take part in negotiations as separate delegations.

KWANATAL

Seeking redress

FM
26/2/93.

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"We wuz robbed, now give us the money you owe us." That's the essence of the cry from Natal and KwaZulu businessmen and politicians, following claims of gross underfunding of the region by the central Treasury.

Management consultant Deloitte & Touche, whose recent findings first raised the issue, is now, with Treasury consent, probing the region's tax burden in relation to the amount of money it receives from central government.

The Deloitte & Touche report was commissioned by the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority. The consultant was asked to show why KwaNatal had received less than a "proportional" share of public funding. It was also instructed to indicate any negative impact on the regional economy.

The results appear to back the thesis that the region is hard done by. Deloitte & Touche's Guy Harris concludes that in roads, health and education alone, Natal/KwaZulu is underfunded by R1,2bn a year, given the number of people it serves.

In another sense, it appears that KwaNatal can be accused of not working hard enough. Though the region accommodates 23% of SA's population, it generates only 14,7% of GDP. Per capita GDP is the second-lowest of the nine development regions — and it has the second-highest unemployment rate. KwaNatal can, says Harris, at best provide employment for only 35% of its potential labour force, compared with a national average of 49%. It also has a higher dependency ratio — that is, more economically inactive people depend on each worker in Natal than in most other places in SA.

The question is whether it is artificial to judge a region's funding in terms of a national average. The existence of an average at all indicates that there is disparity: is it possible or desirable to attempt to equalise spending as exactly as possible?

Another issue is the level of economic decentralisation that might be urged on a future government for purely political reasons. If Natal were to have more political autonomy, could it afford to look after its population with reduced funding from central government? ■

Star 2/3/93

PAC for planning talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The PAC, the KwaZulu government, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are set to formally join constitutional talks on Friday.

PAC sources said yesterday that the organisation's national working committee had decided on February 20 to attend the two-day multiparty planning conference which starts at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Although no consensus has been reached on the attendance of the KwaZulu government, it is understood that it will send a delegation.

A panel of seven chairmen for the conference, including Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, is meeting in Cape Town today.

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KwaZulu plans to join in talks

Political Staff

THE KwaZulu government intends sending a delegation to this week's multi-party planning conference, designed to revive full negotiations.

The ANC resisted, saying KwaZulu's attendance would contravene a committee decision.

But it appeared yesterday other parties may prefer to turn a blind eye and get on with preparing for constitutional negotiations. (107)

It is anticipated the PAC, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie may also join the talks. CT 3/3/93

Tribal Star 4/3/93 leaders

set for indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Delegations representing the Zulu king and other tribal leaders from all four provinces are likely to swell the ranks of those attending tomorrow's multiparty planning conference to get negotiations back on track.

The two-day conference will be the broadest-yet gathering of parties and other groupings for negotiation, from the PAC on the Left to the Conservative Party on the Right.

The PAC confirmed yesterday that it would be there and the Government said it would not object, although the PAC refuses to abandon its armed struggle.

The PAC, which walked out of Codesa, said it would also continue to take part in negotiations and would attend the full multiparty conference which negotiators hope to convene before the end of the month.

Indications are that no one will walk out when a delegation representing the Zulu king and other Natal traditional leaders arrive at the World Trade Centre for the meeting, even though the ANC has in the past opposed this.

Negotiations sources said yesterday they expected a delegation representing the king and other KwaZulu-Natal tribal leaders to attend, although the king himself would not.

Invitations had also been sent to traditional leaders of the other three provinces.

Allowing the Zulu king to be represented through a delegation of traditional leaders seems to be a compromise to get round the ANC's objection to his attending as the head of a KwaZulu government delegation.

Buthelezi lashes out at De Klerk, Delport

~~BY~~ BILLY PADDOCK (107)

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at government for rejecting the federal constitution his assembly accepted in December and missing the opportunity of developing a "bottom-up negotiation process".

Speaking in the Legislative Assembly, where Local Government Minister Tertius Delport opened the fifth session, Buthelezi said President F W de Klerk and Delport had ignored the rights of the people of the KwaZulu/Natal region. *13/09/93*

He said when the constitution was published, De Klerk slammed it, "and you, Minister, sat with the ANC to draw up a regional proposal for KwaZulu/Natal which slammed everything we did".

This was based on the assumption all regions were equal in having done nothing, whereas Kwa/Natal had done a great deal. "Your proposal to establish a national commission to tell this region what its boundaries, powers and structures should be created deep resentment among us."

Buthelezi said he was astounded that Delport had said the KwaZulu/Natal constitution was unsaleable and not negotiable. He asked Delport to convey KwaZulu's demand that it be assured its assembly would be left intact, with the people of Natal determining KwaZulu's destiny.

He said he was happy to call a referendum in the territory to see what the people wanted. Should they want their destiny

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

□ From Page 1

thrashed out in the region, this would be dovetailed and slotted into whatever was negotiated at national level.

He said the assembly was looking at the people of the region forming a central negotiating authority. Regional negotiations should begin so regions could negotiate their own boundaries.

"The powers which would then be prepared to devolve upwards to a central federal authority could be considered at a national negotiation level," he said. This would ensure residual power being retained at the regional level.

In his address to the assembly, Delport said strong regional government in a new SA did not imply weak central government. It would be to the detriment of the country if the central government was weak in any respect, he said.

Should a successful federal system be established it would hopefully emphasise cohesion on essentials such as economic development. "We need to be larger than our regions... It is a fallacy to think we only have to endure until each and everyone can escape to our own domain where we can ignore the existence of others."

Chief: retain

Legislative Star 12/3/93 Assembly

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter



Inkatha Freedom Party leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to remain in place.

He has also requested an opportunity to address President F W de Klerk and the National Party caucus "as a matter of urgency which is in the national interest".

Buthelezi made the remarks in his vote of thanks to Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpont, who yesterday officially opened the 1993 session of the Legislative Assembly.

He said: "We need a KwaZulu/Natal regional dispensation during the negotiation process. We have such a dispensation. Do not destroy it. Let there be bottom-up negotiations which, in this region, would be amply serviced by what already exists."

Buthelezi said he was prepared to call a referendum to ask the region whether it wanted its future to be decided at the national negotiation process or "whether they would like the destiny of this region to be thrashed out here and then dove-tailed and slotted into whatever is negotiated at the national level through consultation and negotiation".

However, his statements did not detract from his commitment to negotiations at a national level.

A new phase in the negotiation process had commenced with last weekend's multiparty planning conference.

Malaza bust 'unlawful', - defence

By BERENG MTIMKULU

BANK robber Lucky Malaza and his co-accused were "unlawfully" arrested by the SA Police in connection with a R700 000 bank robbery.

This was submitted this week by defence counsel Advocate AJ Bam representing Malaza, 33, of Zola North, and Nhlanhla Mmoledi, 38, of Diepkloof Extension, at the Mogwase Regional Court in Bophuthatswana, before Magistrate WR Mosito.

Bam told the court the Soweto police "had no warrant of arrest or any other documentation empowering them to effect arrest" on Malaza and Mmoledi.

However, the State, represented by OWR Moduto, said the Bop court had "territorial jurisdiction" to prosecute as both Malaza and Mmoledi are charged "with an offence committed in Bophuthatswana".

The State alleges that on January 4 this year Malaza and Mmoledi held up and robbed the Sun City branch of Standard Bank of R798 000.

Bam further argued that no extradition documents were signed for Malaza and Mmoledi to stand trial in Bop.

"Both the accused were unlawfully apprehended in the Republic of South Africa by members of the police in South Africa acting on instructions of the Bophuthatswana police . . . they were arrested and brought in this area against their will," said Bam in a statement submitted to the court.

In response State Counsel Moduto said: "At this stage it is immaterial that the accused were unlawfully apprehended."

The matter will be referred to the Bophuthatswana Attorney-General to decide whether the Bop court should continue with the case.

Malaza and Mmoledi were remanded in custody until April 16 this year.

Before this latest arrest Malaza had been erroneously released when political prisoners were released on September last year.

Goldstone to probe KwaZulu Police role in violence

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The role of the KwaZulu Police in incidents of public violence and intimidation would be investigated by a committee of the Goldstone commission, it was announced yesterday.

Information uncovered by the commission's multinational Natal team, headed by Maj Frank Dutton, had persuaded the commission to undertake a fuller inquiry.

Judge Richard Goldstone said.

Among the incidents to be investigated was the murder of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman and NEC member Reg- gile Hadebe. He was shot dead last October

when a car carrying ANC officials from a peace meeting in Ixopo was ambushed.

Goldstone said the committee would look into "the conduct of the KwaZulu Police with regard to the investigation into the murder of Reggie Hadebe".

Headed by advocate Malcolm Wallis, the committee was already looking into possible causes of public violence and intimidation in the Natal/KwaZulu region, excluding ANC-Inkatha rivalry.

The six incidents to be investigated by

the committee at this stage include: the failure of the KwaZulu Police to rearrest two murder suspects who had absconded but whose whereabouts were known; the lack of progress in a case in which uniformed policemen were alleged to have shot and killed a Kwamashu resident; and the recommendation of an inquest magistrate in 1990 that a senior KwaZulu officer and several of his men be charged with murder and defeating the ends of justice.

Goldstone said KwaZulu Police Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had assured the commission of the police force's assistance

in the inquiry.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone commission's investigation into attacks on SAP members continued in Pretoria yesterday.

ANC legal representative Azhar Cachalia said the SAP and ANC had conducted propaganda campaigns against each other which had spilled over beyond February 1992. Even with the change in attitudes of ANC leaders after this date, many members had clung to ideas that were a legacy of the "low-intensity war". The SAP had also found it difficult to accept they were no longer dealing with the enemy.

Cachalia was cross-examining Brig Ste-fanus Abrie, who said that between July 1991 and December last year, 98 private homes of SAP members and 61 police stations had been attacked. Statistics indicated violence against the security forces was still occurring on a widespread, and in some instances escalating, basis, Abrie said.

He added that ANC leaders in the Natal Midlands area had been particularly prone to inciting their members to attack the police. Cachalia replied that the Natal Midlands leadership had always been the ANC's strongest critics.

Intimidation

Star 17/3/93

Goldstone probes KwaZulu Police

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

A committee of the Goldstone Commission is to probe the conduct of the KwaZulu Police (KZP) in violence, including the assassination of two Natal ANC leaders, commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced yesterday.

This follows investigations by the commission's Natal team into allegations and complaints about the KZP.

Six of these complaints, including the assassinations of ANC Newcastle chairman Professor Hlalanathi Sibankulu and ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe, would now be handed over to a committee of the commission for inquiry, Goldstone said.

Goldstone said KwaZulu Chief Minister and Minister of

Police Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General R Daring had said they would cooperate with the inquiry.

The committee will investigate, among other things:

Ambush

● The KZP's conduct with regard to its investigation into the murder of Hadebe on October 28 last year. Hadebe was shot dead in an ambush on a car carrying ANC officials from a peace meeting in Ixopo, near Maritzburg.

● The conduct of the KZP relating to the murder of Sibankulu, whose charred body was found in his burnt-out car in Madadeni, near Newcastle, on November 12. Sibankulu disappeared from his home the previ-

ous day.

● The possession of an AK-47 rifle by a Constable Ngubane in August last year and the KZP's investigation into this.

● The failure of the KZP to rearrest two murder suspects whose whereabouts were known to the KZP after they absconded from custody. The suspects had been arrested in connection with fatal rifle and grenade attacks on two houses in Kwa-Makhuta in March 1990.

● The lack of progress in the KZP investigation into a case in which uniformed KZP members allegedly shot dead a Kwa-Mashu resident in 1990.

Goldstone said a committee of the commission was already investigating causes of violence in Natal and KwaZulu other than the rivalry between supporters of the ANC and IFP.

G'stone to focus on KZP probes

107
CT 17/3/93

DURBAN. — A committee of the Goldstone Commission is examining several KwaZulu Police investigations into allegations of violence, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced yesterday.

Mr Goldstone said the commission had asked its Natal investigating team to probe certain complaints concerning investigations into violence by the KZP.

The commission had then decided to refer some of these complaints to a committee of the commission for further investigation.

Under investigation are:

- The possession of an AK-47 rifle by a KZP constable, and the KZP's investigation of this.

- Murders in March 1990 in KwaMakhutha and the KZP's failure to re-arrest two suspects who absconded but whose whereabouts were known to them.

- The lack of progress in a case in which uniformed KwaZulu policemen allegedly shot and killed a KwaMashu resident.

- The KZP's alleged failure to investigate thoroughly the death of Mr T C Cele in Umlazi in 1990. The inquest magistrate found that policemen had falsified their versions and recommended that they, and a senior officer, be charged with murder and defeating the ends of justice.

- The KZP's conduct concerning the murder of an ANC official in November in Natal.

- The police force's conduct during the investigation into the murder of Mr Reggie Hadebe, ANC Midlands deputy chairman, on October 28 last year.

A committee of the commission is already investigating possible causes of public violence and intimidation in Natal/KwaZulu other than rivalry between the IFP and the ANC, Mr Justice Goldstone said.

He said the investigations had been discussed with KwaZulu Chief Minister and Minister of Police Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as with KZP Commissioner Roy Doring. Both had pledged their co-operation. — Sapa

NEWS IN BRIEF

'Punish SA' call

MOZAMBICAN National Assembly Speaker Marcelino dos Santos, in Maputo, called on the UN Security Council to punish SA and other African countries for what he termed their continued support for Mozambique's Renamo movement, Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reported on yesterday.

Dos Santos said Mozambique had "proof" that some countries supported Renamo even after they had signed a peace accord with the Frelimo government.

BIDAM 18/3/93

'Twin' law societies

SA's Association of Law Societies and Namibia's law society are to work to foster closer co-operation between the two organisations.

Both societies have agreed to join the International Bar Association's "twinning" programme.

BIDAM 18/3/93

Zero-rated foods

BOPHUTHATSWANA has added to its list of zero-rated VAT foods, with the new list coming into effect at midnight on April 6, the homeland's information service announced yesterday.

Additional foods which no longer attract VAT include raw vegetables, fruit, vegetable oil, cultured milk, brown wheaten meal, eggs and edible legumes.

BIDAM 18/3/93

ANC works for peace

The ANC was trying to resolve the situation in Angola, spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki had met Angolan government and Unita representatives recently to propose a peace plan.

Mbeki travelled to Portugal this week to enlist the support of Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Barroso.

Workers and TPA sign

A RECOGNITION agreement had been signed between the SA Municipal Workers' Union (Samwu) and the TPA, the TPA said in Pretoria yesterday.

Procedures for the regulation of labour relations are included in the agreement.

REPORTS: Sapa, Business Day Reporters.

BIDAM 18/3/93

Failure to enforce fiscal discipline, complains ANC

BIDAM 18/3/93

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Derek Keys was criticised by ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel yesterday for failing to introduce measures into the Budget to enforce fiscal discipline.

"There is no indication in the Budget that discipline goes beyond aggregate expenditure cuts. Poorly targeted and inefficient delivery of social services will, by and large, continue through wasteful apartheid structures," Manuel told a media briefing on the Budget.

He criticised the absence of clear objectives which would allow the measurement of performance. He said the nature of the internal budgetary process encouraged departments to build fat into their estimates.

"The budgetary process undermines the good intentions the Minister may have on exerting fiscal discipline," he said.

Manuel challenged Keys to provide the ANC with all the relevant data that went into the calculation of the Budget so that it could produce a costed development plan for social expenditure within three months.

He said the theme of the Budget — discipline and growth — was inappropriate at this stage.

Furthermore, there was nothing on the revenue side of the Budget which would promote economic growth. The effective personal tax rate had been increased and the higher VAT rate and excise duties would contribute to the contraction of consumer spending. These measures would contribute to a 2% rise in inflation.

At the same time, government expenditure would be kept constant or decline slightly in real terms and as a proportionately higher amount would be used for interest payments, expenditure on goods and services would be reduced in real terms. Neither would the change in company tax have the



desired supply-side impact on economic growth, Manuel said.

Our political staff reports that opposition parties slammed Keys's Budget for further milking taxpayers while failing to curtail government expenditure.

Government efforts to relieve unemployment were also criticised.

But there was praise for the equalisation of pensions for all races and efforts to stimulate the growth of emerging and small businesses.

The DP said the Budget came as "a great disappointment" because the government had placed the burden "almost entirely on the public's shoulders".

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said the "glaring omission" in the Budget was the "totally inadequate way in which the massive and dangerous problem of unemployment" was addressed.

The CP said the 16c/l fuel price hike and the increase of VAT to 14% meant that the "ordinary man-in-the-street" would have to dig much deeper into his pocket.

CP finance spokesman Casper Uys said no allowance had been made for fiscal drag or bracket creep.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo lashed out at government for unilateral decision making and criticised Keys for missing an opportunity to address corruption.

Sapa reports he said the 40% VAT increase was the most significant feature of the Budget and would have a major effect on society. But he said Cosatu supported progressive taxation.

BIDAM 18/3/93

Star 18/3/93
**Peace talks
in Ulundi**

A "peace mission" comprising ANC and PAC leaders, businessmen, union officials and clergy, met with the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly Caucus in Ulundi yesterday, seeking the intervention of the Zulu King in ending the violence plaguing the region. (107)

Goldstone to probe Hadebe slaying

w/m ail 19/3 - 25/3/93

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

JUDGE RICHARD GOLDSTONE'S announcement that his commission is to probe the kwaZulu Police has raised specific questions about the KZP's conduct with regard to the assassination of key African National Congress Natal Midlands leader Reggie Hadebe.

Judge Goldstone this week announced that his commission's Natal investigation team had looked into complaints against the KZP and it felt that six of the cases needed further probing.

He said a sub-committee of the commission would investigate the "conduct" of the KZP in relation to the murder of Hadebe, the right-hand-man of Natal Midlands boss Harry Gwala. Hadebe was killed in

an ambush in the Ixopo area while returning from a peace meeting with Inkatha.

Curiously, the case is being investigated by the South African Police, which has so far made little visible progress.

University of Natal academic John Aitchison said the statement had stoked speculation that the commission suspected the KZP either of hampering the SAP probe, or that KZP officers were implicated in the murder.

Pietermaritzburg South MP Rob Haswell said in parliament last month there was "considerable circumstantial evidence, if not significant leads" for the SAP to follow.

He said Hadebe had been killed by a bullet fired from a G3 rifle, and

that G3s, according to evidence submitted to Goldstone, were issued to chiefs. Two chiefs — one of whom was charged with murder in another case but acquitted, while the other is a kwaZulu cabinet minister — attended the meeting with Hadebe on the day he was killed. (B2)

Other suggestive circumstances were that the car in which Hadebe was travelling had never previously been used in the Ixopo area; the assassination took place on a hairpin bend, the slowest part of the road between Ixopo and Pietermaritzburg; and that Hadebe was killed by the first bullet fired — strongly suggesting the assassins knew where he was sitting. (107) (357)

Buthelezi warms up after six days of talking

8/0A4 22/3/93

LLOYD COUTTS

A POLICY speech by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly enters its second week today after a six-day, 145-page "introductory overview".

Buthelezi has been holding forth since Friday March 12, dealing with issues ranging from federalism to negotiations and the Lancaster House talks before Zimbabwe's independence.

Judging by the length of his previous policy speeches, he could go on talking for a few more days.

Winding up his monologue on Friday,

Buthelezi told assembled MPs: "Now that I have completed my introductory overview, it becomes necessary to deal in depth with some of the harsh political aspects and specific technical connotations of the issues which I have mentioned earlier."

A source said the Chief Minister would work on the rest of the speech at the weekend, though he was also to speak at an Inkatha rally in Vosloorus yesterday.

It is understood Buthelezi's speech, which includes a 60-page dissertation on

Inkatha's constitutional proposals for KwaZulu/Natal, is protracted by sections in English being translated into Zulu, and those in Zulu into English. (10M)

It will be debated by the assembly before Buthelezi introduces his budget.

It has taxed the supply of paper at newspapers fax machines around the country as the Chief Minister's office daily transmits a mighty screed of freshly delivered words. His staff said the speech demonstrated Buthelezi's commitment to his task. They pointed out he usually worked from 9am and left after midnight.

Bid for Zulu king to help reduce carnage

CT 22 | 3 | 93
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — An apolitical initiative to get King Goodwill Zwelithini to play an active central role in efforts to quell the on-going carnage in Natal is expected to open tomorrow when a group of concerned Zulus from different walks of life meet the king's representatives in Ulundi.

The main objective of the meeting will be to plan and set up an acceptable mechanism for the initiative.

The concerned group of Zulus first

met the king last Wednesday, where the idea was formally presented.

A spokesman for the concerned Zulus emphasised that although the group involved high-profile members of various Natal communities, they were keen to keep the initiative completely independent of party politics.

Among those involved are ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma, PAC veteran national executive committee member Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, Sabta president Mr James Ngcoya and Professor Herbert Vilakazi.

IFP constitution proposals would have pleased Verwoerd, writes Etienne Mureinik

Star 23/3/93

Rocks in the KwaNatal clock

(107)

"A CONSTITUTION", Minister Mdlalose when he presented Inkatha's proposed constitution for a new State of KwaZulu/Natal to the KwaZulu legislature, "is like one of the ancient clocks made of a complicated and intricate system of gears and mechanisms".

The mechanisms of Inkatha's constitution are indeed complicated and intricate; but its gears are designed only to disengage. They are engineered to disconnect Natal from South Africa.

Inkatha's constitution offers to create a state in Natal into which South African armed forces might enter only with permission. Within the State of KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa would be able to tax only with the consent of KwaZulu/Natal. KwaNatal, as it is convenient to abbreviate it, would boast its own "autonomous" Central Bank, empowered "to use tools of monetary intervention".

The cornerstone of the constitution, says Dr Mdlalose, is the KwaNatal Constitutional Court. That court would enjoy exclusive jurisdiction to decide whether the laws of the South African parlia-

ment fell within the narrow legislative competence imposed upon it within KwaNatal by the KwaNatal constitution.

The effect would be to exclude the jurisdiction of the South African courts to decide whether South African laws are valid.

All this the KwaNatal Constitution proposes in the name of federalism. And only a federal system, says the resolution of the KwaZulu legislature approving this constitution, "can ensure long-lasting freedom and democracy". Is federalism essential to democracy?

What is true of a federal system is that it generates political energy. In a true federation, like the United States, a legitimate cause need never die. If a cause is lost in Congress, it can be raised again in the legislature of New York. If it is lost there, it can be raised in California, and Illinois and Texas.

And by the time you have worked your way through all the possibilities, the party controlling the legislature you started in has gone out of office, so you can try there again. Power is dispersed so widely that it is very difficult altogether to suppress a cogent case.

A unitary system can much more easily degenerate into a monolith. South Africa is a fine illustration. For much of our recent history, if an issue was settled in the Cabinet, that settled it in Parliament. And if it was settled in Parliament, it was settled in the provinces; and practically everywhere else, right down to the Tweespruit town council.

When an issue is settled so finally, debate dies. With it dies citizens' capacity to influence policy, to take part in government decision-making.

There are, of course, other causes of the monolithic character of South African politics. An authoritarian culture, minority rule, strict party discipline, parliamentary sovereignty and a weak separation of powers have all played their part.

But tight centralisation has deprived us of the alternative forums from which at least some of those features of our constitution might sooner have been challenged.

So a successful federation diffuses power in a way which cultivates political energy, and with it

public participation in politics. But far from striving for that, the authors of the KwaNatal constitution seem to be aspiring to a new monolith in Natal.

Their constitution declares the sovereignty of KwaNatal to be "indivisible, inalienable and untransferable". It is in service of that goal that South Africa would be denied title to tax in KwaNatal, to station its forces there, to refer to legislation there, even to resort to its own courts to decide the validity of its own laws there.

The effect would be to cut Natal off from the South African political process, creating a newly independent state. Far from energising South African politics, far from diversifying our democracy, KwaNatal would require a separate and insular statehood, just as Verwoerd might have hoped.

If that be doubted, we need only turn to the "economic constitution", to use Mdlalose's candid expression, within this constitution. The KwaNatal constitution imposes duties on the State to assist small businesses, and to privatise.

In what may prove to be a contradiction of the latter duty, the State is also required, as a matter

of priority, to promote the full employment of all citizens. The constitution also protects comparative advertising, and establishes an economic development commission, whose members must be qualified experts in "futurism", whatever that may be.

However wise, unwise or incoherent these provisions may be, they are a clear effort to entrench their authors' economic policies. Here the document ceases to be a framework for government — ceases to be a constitution — and becomes an effort to foreclose economic controversies which are pre-eminently the province of democratic decision-making.

Here the project is very remote from the pluralism that the constitution professes. Far from enriching the democratic process, the idea is to cast the new Natal in the idiosyncratic image of its makers.

Nor are the makers content to impose their will through the constitution alone. That document proposes also that the members of the existing Joint Executive Authority of KwaZulu/Natal comprising representatives of the KwaZulu Government and the Natal provincial government,

should become life members of a body to be called the "Fathers of the State Advisory Board".

The Fathers of the State would be entitled, for life, to the remuneration of a member of the KwaNatal legislature, and they would be empowered to make recommendations "to any of the powers of the State in any matter related to the implementation" of the constitution.

So the constitution would guarantee both their pay and their say. The effect of entrenching this sinister life aristocracy would plainly be to stultify democracy, not invigorate it.

Developing the idea of constitution as a clock, Minister Mdlalose offered the assurance that this constitution "provides for those hard stones, like rubies, which will be able to absorb the unavoidable stresses and frictions which result from the function of the institutional machine".

Here the Minister is correct. There are indeed rocks in this clock. They have been put there to jam the machinery of South African nationhood.

● Etienne Mureinik is Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand. □

Policeman in court over bus killings

Own Correspondent

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2/13

MARITZBURG. — A KwaZulu policeman is expected to appear in court today in connection with an attack on a bus at Swayimani earlier this month which left four people dead.

The 22-year-old policeman was arrested on Tuesday morning. He is the second person to be arrested following the March 8 ambush.

A police spokesman said a 30.06 Musgrave rifle with telescopic sights, an AK-47 rifle, an F1 hand-grenade, a brown overall and a quantity of ammunition had been recovered.

Four people died and 16 others were injured when gunmen opened fire on the bus.

Investigations are continuing and further arrests are expected.

CT 25/3/93

LAW & ORDER

(107)



Probe welcomed

Fm 26/3/93.

A committee of the Goldstone Commission is to investigate the KwaZulu Police in connection with several incidents of violence in KwaZulu. This week Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced that the committee would investigate six complaints, including the assassinations of ANC Newcastle chairman Hlalanathi Sibankulu and ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe.

The committee that will look into the homeland police force is already probing possible causes of violence in Natal and KwaZulu, other than the rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC. The latest probe follows investigations by the commission's Natal team into complaints against the KwaZulu Police.

The KZP was established in early 1980 with a few hundred members, some of them transferred from the SA Police. When the force started it was under the control of KwaZulu Minister of Justice C J Mthetwa, but Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi soon took it over. The force grew steadily and now has nearly 4 000 members in five large police districts.

Goldstone says both Buthelezi and the KZP police commissioner, Lieutenant General Roy Durning, have given assurances that they will co-operate with the inquiry. In December the KZP's commanding officer of

~~the force~~

CURRENT AFFAIRS

legal services, Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Reed, told the commission the force would welcome any investigation.

KZP spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile goes even further and says the force has no problem with an investigation and has always encouraged people who felt they were wronged to come forward and speak to the Goldstone Commission or the National Peace Accord.

But on the ground there are indications that the KZP is at odds with a large part of the community it is expected to serve. In November Legal Resources Centre's Richard Lyster said at an Idasa conference on policing that the force gave a new meaning to the term "a law unto itself." He added that he had acted for victims of KZP police violence for several years.

Recently a magistrate recommended a

murder probe into the KZP and another slammed the conduct of the force at the end of an inquest. In November unrest monitors in Natal submitted a memorandum to the Goldstone Commission, UN and OAU calling for a judicial inquiry into the KZP.

Khanyile says political strife has made policing difficult in certain areas and some policemen have been killed in the past few years. ■

Zulu police 'not biased'

ULUNDI — The Kwa-Zulu Police have embarked on a training and information programme to dispel the perception that they are biased towards Inkatha, and plan to involve communities in policing themselves.

They have also begun high-level discussions with the ANC on these allegations.

The KwaZulu Police are under investigation by the Goldstone Commission for incidents in which their members have allegedly failed to investigate certain cases and have not arrested suspects known to them.

The commissioner of the force, Lieutenant-General Roy During, said at a press conference here: "Hostility and distrust have been built up artificially by some organisations between us and the community, but it is entirely incorrect that the Kwa-Zulu Police act on behalf of the IFP."

CT 27/3/93

'Shooting C/Press 28/8/93 was a street (107) execution'

By FRED KHUMALO

"HE was bleeding from the beatings. One of the policemen told him to run for his life. He tried to run but he was gunned down. His brains were scattered all over the road."

Eden Mngadi of Kwa-Makhutha was recounting his younger brother Mfundu's last moments, allegedly at the hands of the KwaZulu Police.

On Tuesday he, Mfundu and a friend were driving around the township when they were stopped by men travelling in an Nissan E20 minibus.

He said: "The men from the E20 had firearms. They forced us out of the car and started searching it. They also searched us. They took my brother with them, saying they wanted to interrogate him."

He said the police brought his brother back later in the day and parked their vehicle opposite his home.

He saw his brother was badly wounded and was limping. The police with their guns were behind him.

One of the policemen shouted at Mfundu to run for his life.

Mfundu tried to run and was gunned down, in full view of members of the family.

Mfundu had just returned to the township after spending some months in hiding in the Transkei.

"All males in our family are targets of harassment by the KwaZulu Police and Inkatha and that's why we're no longer living in that house," he said.

However, KwaZulu Police spokesman Lt Solomon Zakwe said the youth died trying to escape.

He said Mngadi was taken into custody on suspicion of being involved in the murder of a policeman.

"While the police were transporting the suspect to a place where he was to point out an AK-47 which had been used during the killing of a policeman, they came under fire. The policemen returned fire.

"During the shooting, police constable Khuzwayo was shot in the head. The suspect then grabbed Const. Khuzwayo's firearm and ran away. Police had no alternative but to shoot."

C/Press 28/3/93

Mother takes rap for son

By PEARL RANTSEKENG

HAUNTED by memories of cop killer S'bu Mkhize, members of the KwaZulu Police are venting their frustrations on his mother.

That's according to the contents of an application recently filed by Florah Mkhize, who is also demanding that police return her car which was apparently impounded.

This follows other forms of harassment by members of both the KwaZulu Police and the SAP after the death of her husband and son.

Florah Mkhize's husband Siphon Mkhize, a prominent ANC activist and businessman from Umbumbulu, died in po-

lice custody.

The application, to be heard on April 5, alleges that Mkhize's minibus was being driven by Philani Mngadi in Lamontville on February 25 when he was stopped at gunpoint by members of the KwaZulu Police.

When Mkhize later telephoned the station at Umlazi's BB section to ask about the minibus, she was told the driver of the vehicle had been arrested in connection with a robbery.

Her husband Siphon, 45, was shot dead by Det Const Siphwe Mvuyane when he allegedly tried to grab a pistol from a detective Sibiya on June 12 1990.

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Mkhize told City Press that prior to her husband's death her daughter Nozipho was arrested but released three days later.

Since the death of her husband her family and employees have been harassed.

Some of the incidents include the death of Boy Chonco, an Mkhize family employee, after he signed an affidavit supporting an interdict application on August 5 1991.

On August 11, Mkhize's house was burnt down by unknown people. A child, who was an eyewitness to the attack, was found beheaded a few days later.

Said Mkhize: "The po-

lice would come into my house without knocking, they would just kick down the doors and enter my home wearing face masks. At times they would come and, without any explanation, dig at my husband's grave which was in the yard.

She finally decided to move from Umbumbulu to Verulam.

Immediately after the move, her 20-year-old son was shot dead by police in Isipingo Hills, Durban.

Her son was the country's most wanted man, a self-confessed cop-killer linked to the known deaths of eight policemen. His war with policemen was sparked off by the death of his father in police custody.

Sebe inquest at city hotel

By YVETTE VAN BREDAC ¹⁰⁵ CT 31/3/93

THE inquest into the death of alleged coup plotter Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana heard evidence on commission behind closed doors at the St George's Hotel in Cape Town yesterday.

The commission, headed by Mr Justice M Claassens, heard evidence in camera in Cape Town instead of at its normal venue at the Bisho Supreme Court at the request of Mr Clive Brink, a former member of a covert unit of the Ciskeian intelligence service.

Mr Brink gave evidence yesterday.

None of the local relevant legal authorities — including attorney-general Mr Frank Kahn and the state attorney in charge of inquests, Mrs T Slabbert — were aware yesterday that the commission was sitting in Cape Town.

Col Guzana was killed in January 1991 at a road block and Mr Sebe at Gubevu village the next day.

The commission is expected to continue until Thursday.

Less spent on KwaZulu kids

Political Correspondent

SPENDING on individual schoolchildren and college students in KwaZulu last year had been one-fourth of that on whites, National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais said yesterday.

Mr Marais said the spending on CS Education — "college/school related education" — in KwaZulu was R1 080 for each child. (107)

The amount is the second-lowest in departments under the National Education Department. In KaNgwane the figure is only R1 046.

Spending on the white House of Assembly Department of Education and Culture's CS Education was R4 372 per capita and on the predominantly Indian pupils under the House of Delegates, R3 702 each.

Decision slated (107)

THE ANC at the weekend condemned the decision of the KwaZulu Education Department not to close its schools today. ^{so we} 191493

The department had taken this decision despite the countrywide closure of many educational institutions in respect to assassinated SACP leader Chris Hani, the ANC Natal Midlands branch said.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Feared Kwazulu cop is shot dead

A FEARED Kwazulu policeman and alleged hitman, Sergeant Siphwe Mvuyane, was shot dead at a rock concert in Durban early yesterday.

A police spokesman said Sergeant Mvuyane, 30, was certified dead on arrival at Addington hospital after being shot in the head at the campus of the University of Durban-Westville.

(107)
A gunman apparently shot him when he climbed into the driver's seat of his mini-bus after buying concert tickets for himself and two other off-duty Kwazulu policemen.

Some witnesses at the concert said the shooting could have been a well-planned assassination because the gunman shot Sergeant Mvuyane through his car window before jumping into another vehicle and disappearing.

Sergeant Mvuyane, who had survived a number of attempts on his life in the past few years, was facing about 50 criminal charges — ranging from theft to murder — and was out on bail when he died.

Township residents, especially ANC supporters, regarded him as a murderous hitman. Scores of people danced in the streets of Umlazi and Lamontville yesterday when they heard the news of his death on the radio.

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 "deadlock-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

To Page 2

Inkatha

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

KwaZulu
Star 6/5/93
**govt 'paid for
march buses'**

Political Staff

(107)

CAPE TOWN — ANC-aligned MP Pierre Cronje is to present a document in Parliament which 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.

Cronje was expected to speak about this in the Constitutional Development budget vote either late yesterday or today.

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

Reports at the time said 2,000 buses were expected to ferry the marchers to Durban.

The march was led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the IFP. At the time, the march was billed as a march of Zulus, in regiment formation, to protest against the Record of Understanding signed by the Government and ANC.

IN BRIEF

**Kwazulu 'paid
for march buses'**

ARC 6593
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. (107)

IFP marches 'funded'

Sowetan 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.

Cronje produced a copy of an order form in the office of IFP leader Chief 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.

"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.

THE henchmen of slain kwaZulu Police sergeant Siphwe Mvuyane, who publicly boasted he had killed between 20 and 50 people, fear their leaderless gang will now also die — and have launched a rearguard action to swell their numbers and to obtain more guns.

Informed sources said four of the gang members had met at Mvuyane's home in Umlazi, near Durban, on Sunday evening, two days after their 27 year-old leader was shot dead at point-blank range by an unidentified gunman at a music concert at the University of Durban-Westville.

Present were Thami Mdluli — described as Mvuyane's "right-hand man" — Mandla Nduli and Thulani Guti. The sources claimed that a KZP officer, Bonkosi Dube, was also present. KZP sources said he had been transferred at the beginning of this month from war-torn Esikhawini in northern Natal to Umlazi near Durban.

This week sources painted a picture of gang members fearful that they would now be killed, and that their high-rolling lifestyle would come to an end.

Motivated by fear and revenge, the men this week started contacting former gang members with the aim of forming a "strong family unit". One former gang member approached by Mdluli said: "He told me: 'You must come back. We need to protect ourselves.'" Ominously, Mdluli added: "We can get guns from kwaZulu."

In another development, a United States-based anti-apartheid pressure group, Africa

Gang jitters after 'honest cop' is shot

W/Mon 7/5-13/5/93. (107)

The death of notorious kwaZulu policeman Siphwe Mvuyane has left his gang nervous about their future. By FAROUK CHOTHIA and ENOCH MTHEMBU

Watch, this week claimed that shotguns found in Mvuyane's possession had been supplied by a US company in violation of the United Nations arms embargo. The company, Mossberg and Sons in Connecticut, has been accused of supplying weapons to an Armscor-linked firm in Cape Town called Suburban Guns.

When Mvuyane was arrested last May on 50 charges of murder, robbery, rape, extortion and theft, police found shotguns in his armoury. These, Africa Watch claimed, were manufactured by Mossberg. Africa Watch launched a court action in the US this week in a bid to force the Commerce Department to release more than 1 000 documents containing details about the illicit trade in arms to South Africa.

Mvuyane was no ordinary policeman. When he was accused of a spate of murders, kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi heaped praise on him, describing him as an ace marksman. Sources said this week Mvuyane sharp-

trumped-up charges after Buthelezi refused to recuse himself from a case involving Mvuyane.

Mvuyane's career started with the South African Police in 1986. However, two years later, he was suspended for firearm offences and then joined the KZP Murder and Robbery Unit in Umlazi.

At the time of his death, he had 50 charges pending against him in the Durban Supreme Court, brought by the SAP. Most of his victims were African National Congress supporters.

Sources said Mvuyane turned his henchmen into "brave men". On joining the gang, he used to order them to strip naked before whipping them with sjamboks. He gave them shooting lessons and sometimes ordered them to kill, sources alleged. Yet, gang members stuck with him, lured by the lifestyle he offered them — including beauty queens and expensive cars.

His latest acquisition was a R700 000 home in the holiday town of Umhlanga Rocks. Several sources claimed that the house belonged to a prominent businessman and that Mvuyane took it from him by force.

Before his assassination, there were at least three attempts on Mvuyane's life, two of them by a 21-year-old Umkhonto weSizwe fighter, S'bu Mkhize, who said he was avenging Mvuyane's cold-blooded murder of his father, ANC Umbumbulu chairman Siphso Mkhize.

The Umlazi local dispute resolution committee is to hear complaints that Mvuyane's henchmen threatened reporters from *The Weekly Mail* and *City Press* at Mvuyane's memorial service at the Umlazi police station this week.

KwaZulu millions for Inyalas

JUST when constitutional talks were expected to finally close a chapter on the homeland system and its controversial police forces, the KwaZulu homeland has instead decided to add 30 spanking new Inyalas to the armoury of its police force - purchased at a whopping price of R16-million.

These sophisticated RG12 Inyala armoured buses will be deployed into Natal strife-torn townships to combat violence.

KwaZulu Police Commissioner General Roy During said the vehicles were needed to offer protection to his force members in strife-torn townships.

The Inyalas were bought from a private company in Transvaal, called TFM, at a price of R450 000 each.

During said the money to purchase the armoured vehicles came from the treasury. The first consignment, which consists of six buses, was delivered this week.

With the Casspir off production line, police are increasingly relying on the Inyala for township duty.

CIPress 9/5/93

(107)

Reporters te-

C/Press 9/5/93 terrorised

By FRED KHUMALO

"YOU'RE lucky to have escaped alive. The policemen were so upset they wanted to tear you to pieces."

These were the chilling words said to me this week by a senior police officer at the Umlazi police station. I was visiting the station to collect my notebook which had been confiscated the previous day by friends of slain KwaZulu Police Sgt Sipiwe Mvuyane

Mvuyane was murdered on Saturday morning at the University of Durban-Westville.

Why had they confiscated my notebook in the first place, I asked the officer. Why had they threatened me with violence?

"You're from the press that's why. Pressmen across the spectrum have written lies about Mvuyane, that's why his family, friends and colleagues are angry and upset. The press was biased against Mvuyane while he was still alive, what more do they want to write about him?" said the officer.

I tried to argue that the allegations reported in the press were well known to the public as they had already been heard by some courts and that some were due to be heard in June.

The officer would hear none of this. He was livid. I left his office without the notebook I had come to collect.

The notebook saga started on Tuesday when two *Weekly Mail* reporters and I went to Mvuyane's memorial service with the aim of talking to members of the family and colleagues about the deceased.

In the name of balanced reporting we felt we had to get the other side of the story.

Some people knew him as a polite, well-dressed gentleman with a flashy bright smile.

That's the side of the story we tried in vain to get.

From the outset we were made to feel unwelcome, and in the end decided to leave.

As we filed out of the hall, six or seven young men in plain clothes accosted us.

Press reports on Mvuyane anger KwaZulu cops

First they hurled their verbal venom on *Weekly Mail* colleague Enoch "Spider" Mthembu, while one of them tried to lay a hand on him. Mthembu retreated to the charge office seeking protection.

However, policemen in full uniform just looked on without intervening.

As the other *Weekly Mail* reporter and myself hastened our way towards our car, we were intercepted by one of the young men who let out unprintable vitriol upon members of the journalistic fraternity.

He grabbed our bags, rummaged through them and confiscated our notebooks. By now many policemen had left the hall to watch the spectacle of three poor reporters scuttling to their car with their tormentors in their wake, still hurling abuse and threats.

We escaped - luckily, as the officer said - alive and uninjured.

Daily News chief photographer John Woodroof was not so lucky. Covering the Mvuyane funeral service on Wednesday, Woodroof was heavily beaten by mourners.

They punched and kicked him to the ground.

"I knew at that stage I would be lucky to get away without serious injury. They meant to kill me... They were no longer interested in just getting my camera and film, they wanted me."

At least one of Woodroof's tormentors was armed with a gun.

Woodroof managed to get up and run. He sought refuge at an office building in Umbilo Road.

His pursuers were not dissuaded. They tried to force their way into the building, banging the door.

They later blocked off Umbilo Road with their vehicles, shouting for his blood.

I won't be going back there for my notebook.

(107)

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.

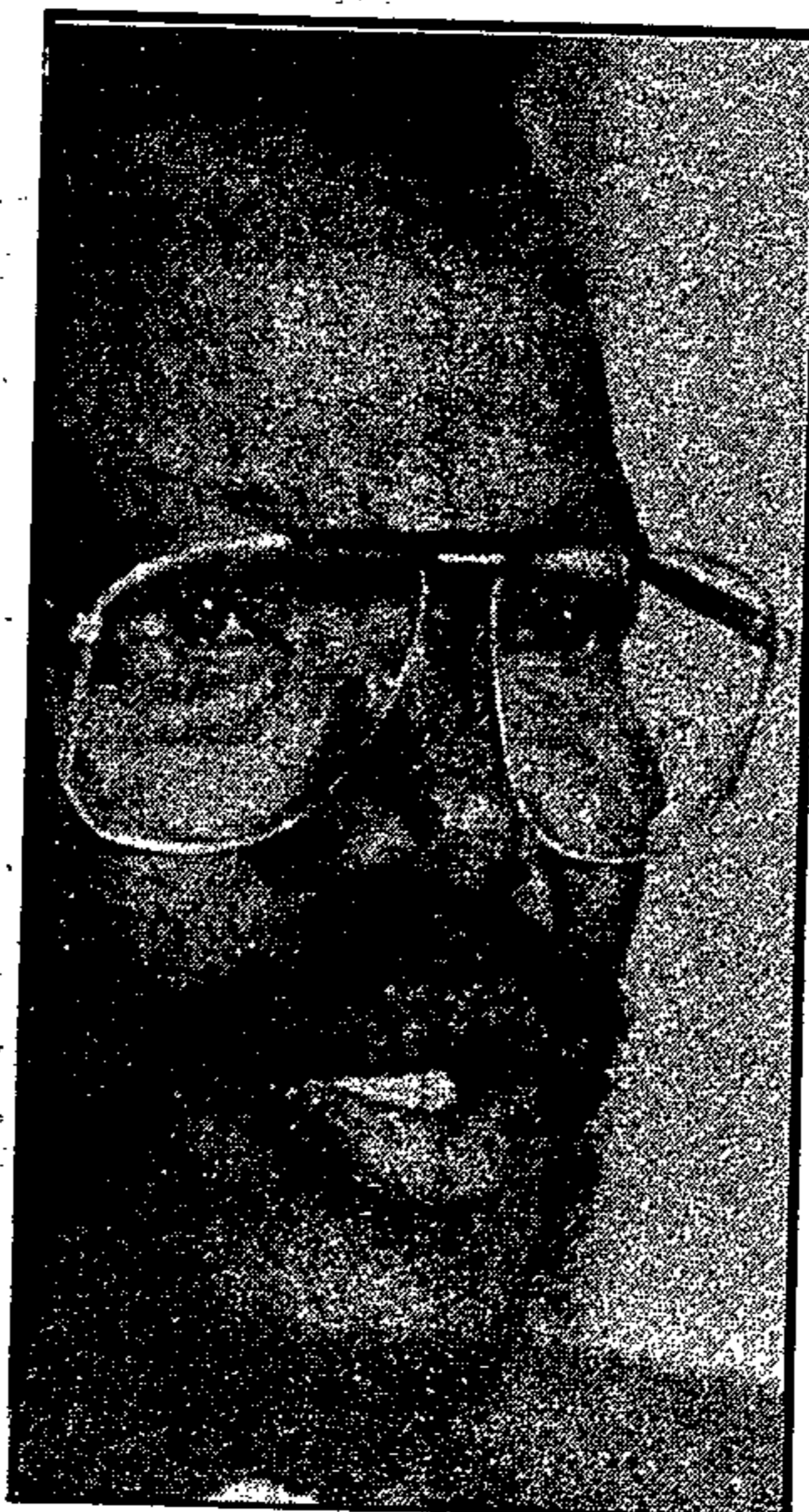
In early 1993 the IFP renewed its calls for greater inclusivity in the negotiation process and for a review of Codesa's agreements. Despite opposition to both these principles by the ANC, this was indeed the decision reached by the planning conference when it first met in early April.

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.

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 Mdalalose 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, ANC

WMA 14/51-20/5993.

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

1 world

Star 18/5/92 (107)

Five murdered in KwaZulu

Five people, including three children, were murdered in KwaMakhutha, near Amanzimtoti, when gunmen attacked two homesteads on Saturday night. This brings to 17 the number of people killed at the weekend in the province. Those killed have identified as Thithi (35), Perry (13), Bonga (13) and Sane (4) Mkhize. In the second attack Khehla Ncobo (26) died. — Staff Reporter

Shock at Jamile's *Sawetani* release *19/5/93*

■ Killer politician granted indemnity: *107*

SHOCK and a loss of faith in the system of justice have greeted the release from jail of convicted murderer and former KwaZulu Minister of the Interior Samuel Jamile *(107)*

Even KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while welcoming the release, has expressed concern in the Legislative Assembly that it might cause a "furore".

Jamile (63) was on Monday granted indemnity as a political prisoner, although the trial judge found his deeds were not politically motivated.

The herbalist politician and member of the Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1991 for the murder of his former tenant, Mr Joseph Khumalo, and the attempted murder of Khumalo's fiancée, Miss Thokozile Shabalala.

Police sources close to the investigating team said yesterday they were "shocked and disgusted".

"They felt the move was sure to deter witnesses from co-operating in similar trials in future.

Residents who co-operated with the police were branded "izimpimpi" (informers), and many were dealt with by the "people's courts".

But painstaking efforts by Clermont leaders to get the "comrades" to co-operate with the police resulted in more than 80 witnesses testifying in the marathon trial.

Sawetani Correspondent

Star 19/5/93

Shock, outrage as killer set free

By Cyril Madlala

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) yesterday criticised the release from prison of former KwaZulu Minister Samuel Jamile under the Further Indemnity Act, claiming he was freed in spite of having committed crimes without a political motive.

And KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed concern in the Legislative Assembly that Jamile's release could cause a furore.

Jamile (63) was granted amnesty as a political prisoner on

Monday, although the trial judge found his deeds were not politically motivated.

The herbalist, politician and IFP central committee member was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1991 for the murder of his former tenant, Joseph Khumalo, and the attempted murder of Khumalo's fiancée, Thokozile Shabalala.

Police sources said they were "shocked and disgusted" at his release. They felt sure it would deter witnesses from co-operating in similar trials in future.

In a statement, LHR spokesman Andries Nel expressed the

organisation's "outrage at the latest example of the Government's inept and dishonest handling of the political prisoner release process".

He accused the Government of "releasing criminals who happen to have right-wing or security force links to counter the releases of left-wing prisoners".

"We are also curious as to what the Government thinks about the impact on peace and reconciliation that the release of Barend Strydom (convicted of killing several blacks in Pretoria in 1988) has had."

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. *B/DAM 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

B/DAM 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

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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

B/DAM 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.

IFP 'rejects joint control'

Own Correspondent

CT. 21/5/93

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."

Indemnity decree slammed by ANC

EAST LONDON — The ANC has warned Ciskei soldiers and policemen indemnified this week from possible prosecution over their involvement in the September 7 Bisho massacre they could still face charges.

The ANC rejected a Ciskei decree granting unconditional indemnity, saying it reserved the right to prosecute culprits "when the right time comes".

It regarded the decree, which came shortly after an announcement that charges were likely to be brought against 70 Ciskei soldiers and policemen and former ANC chief of intelligence Ronnie Kasrils, as fraudulent.

The ANC said the Indemnity Law, passed by a special session of the Ciskei Council of State, underscored the need for

the speedy re-incorporation of the homeland states.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa called on the South African Government to distance itself from the indemnity and to bring to court, seconded South African officials allegedly involved in the incident.

Said Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo last night: "The right of anyone who wishes to institute civil action for personal suffering of any description has not been contaminated in any way.

"It is significant that some of the most vociferous in their condemnation of the decree are themselves beneficiaries of indemnity legislation enacted by the South African Parliament."

Released former Minister denies committing murder

DURBAN — Indemnified former KwaZulu deputy interior Minister Samuel Jamile maintains he did not commit the murder for which he was convicted two years ago.

Speaking from his herbalist shop in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi, Jamile (63) believed that had his application for leave to appeal been granted, the case would have taken a different course.

Jamile and five other prisoners were released this week after they qualified for political

prisoner status in terms of the Further Indemnity Act.

He said he would stay away from politics and concentrate on healing people.

On violence, Jamile said he had always advocated non-violence even before he was jailed.

"I have always preached peaceful negotiations even before I was arrested.

"The world knows who said freedom would be gained by the use of burning tyres and matches. I have never said that." — Own Correspondent.

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'Lock him up!'

By FRED KHUMALO

WE want him back in jail!

This is the cry – both from legal and political circles – that greeted the release from prison of convicted murderer and former KwaZulu deputy interior minister Samuel Bhekizizwe Jamile, 63.

Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally said when his office was notified of the former KwaZulu minister's application to the National Council for Indemnity, he sent a senior advocate to the Sandton hearing with instructions to oppose the application.

These were the grounds on which the opposition was based:

■ Jamile steadfastly maintained his innocence throughout the trial.

There was therefore no question of his having claimed to have committed a murder with a political motive;

■ The court did not find the motive to have been political;

■ It is questionable whether Jamile's release "may promote reconciliation and peaceful solutions" as is required by the Further Indemnity Act under whose terms Jamile was released.

Jamile – formerly a prominent herbalist and Inkatha central committee member – was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1991 for the murder of his former tenant, Joseph Bhekuyise Khumalo, and the attempted murder of Khumalo's fiancée Thokozile Miriam Shabalala.

Jamile subsequently paid Shabalala R15 000 in an out-of-court settlement.

In a statement ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhayi said the release of Jamile "demonstrates that the judicial system in SA is run in the same way as the Special Courts of Nazi Germany which prosecuted enemies of Nazism.

"Under no circumstances can the murder of the tenants be said to (have) been political. Indeed,

Outcry greeted release of Inkatha killer

throughout the trial the defence maintained that Jamile was innocent and therefore was not involved in political killings."

Democratic Party Law and Order spokesman Peter Gastrow said it was shocking that at a time of "rampant lawlessness" the hardest murderers could be released on apparent political grounds.

"In Jamile's case the trial judge found that the political differences between Inkatha and the then UDF were not the motive for the murders," Gastrow said.

Justice Mitchell, who convicted Jamile, rejected his appeal, saying: "The state proved a difference in political approach between Jamile and the alleged victims of the violence."

"But," said the judge, "it failed to lead any evidence connecting the crimes or the charges before us with such political motivation, either on the part of Jamile or anyone else, because it must be remembered that... not only were the members supporting the UDF killed or assaulted, but also members of Inkatha... and that includes the person of Jamile on whom attacks were also made.

"In the result, the counts against Jamile and Hlophe have to be con-

sidered individually, and not as a part of a pattern."

Jamile and five others were released in terms of the Further Indemnity Act as prisoners whose crimes were considered by the National Council for Indemnity to have been committed with a political motive.

Jamile's release is further complicated by his well-documented ties with the security police. It emerged in court that when Jamile was originally arrested for the Khumalo murder, he phoned Col James Louwrens of the security branch who ordered his immediate release.

Statements made by a Clermont State of Emergency detainee ended up in the hands of Jamile's lawyer, and it was never explained how and why the privileged documents left security police filing cabinets.

Nor was any explanation offered about the whereabouts of several members of the KwaZulu Police, including ex-Caprivi Strip trainees, who featured prominently in the trial as Jamile's alleged hit-squads. Those policemen simply "disappeared", according to KZP officials.

Jamile and co-accused Msizi Jethro Hlophe – who is still in jail – were charged with five counts of murder, seven of attempted murder and three of incitement to murder.

Jamile was convicted of one murder and one attempted murder, while Hlophe was jailed for an effective 22 years for two murders.

Others released alongside Jamile were HM Chego, JM Chego, ANC member P Tikanie, PJJ Leeb and Inkatha official and senior member of the KwaZulu cabinet Wilbert Biyase, convicted on five counts of murder.

KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said while he was happy about the releases, he was worried about the uproar that could result.



This man has been released "to promote reconciliation and peaceful solutions" in terms of the Further Indemnity Act. Samuel Jamile, 63, formerly a prominent herbalist and Inkatha Central Committee member was convicted of murdering a former tenant in 1991. At the time the judge found no political motive for the killing.

I am not scared of anyone, says muti-man Jamile

By FRED KHUMALO

"NO one walking on two feet will do anything to me ... I'm not scared of anyone."

That's what former KwaZulu deputy interior minister and prominent inyanga Samuel Jamile said in response to rumours that he feared for his life in the wake of the uproar that followed his release on Monday.

Jamile, sentenced for life in connection with a murder and an attempted murder, was released on Monday in terms of the Further Indemnity Act.

"Those who interfere with my life do not live long," said the former president of the National Inyanga Association, citing the potency of his muti as the sole reason for his speedy release from prison.

Exclusive

In an exclusive interview with City Press he added that those who had made attempts on his life were either dead or paralysed.

Madala Mnyandu, cited in court as the man who hurled a handgrenade at Jamile in 1988, is currently in prison. He lost sight in one eye and one leg is paralysed after the attempt on Jamile's life.

Jamile even mentions the name of the now late Justice Mitchell, who sentenced him to life imprisonment two years ago, as proof of the potency of his muti.

"Mind you, I'm a healer, not a killer. My muti is life-giving. It gives me life and protects me against my enemies," said Jamile.

He dismissed rumours that he had fled from his Clermont home to Ulundi.

"I'm here in Ulundi temporarily, getting my pharmacy back into gear. As soon as I'm satisfied that it is operating properly, I'm going back to my home in Clermont."

Jamile said he was still willing to stand for election to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as "politics is my life".

However, he said he had been advised by his lawyer to take a break from active politics until the furore over his release dies down.

Formerly a teacher in Marianhill, near Pinetown, Jamile had two muti shops - one at KwaDabeka near Clermont and one in Ulundi - before his arrest.

The wealthy inyanga rose through the ranks of Inkatha, becoming a Central Committee member and a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly before his appointment as deputy interior minister in 1989.

Among perks that came with the job were two chauffeur-driven Mercedes Benzes.

He has survived at least three assassination attempts.

Then came the marathon trial which ruined him financially. After paying R200 000 to lawyers and ceding his properties as security, Jamile eventually ended up needing a Pro Deo counsel.

"Those who fear me need to be cured of their unfounded fears," he said good-humouredly.

Jamile's detractors also seem to be convinced of the potency of his medicine. Legend goes that in the late '80s, when youngsters attempted to firebomb his Clermont home, they saw "huge waves from an angry ocean rushing at them".

Quoting

On the question of whether he is a political prisoner, Jamile bursts forth: "I have never killed anyone whether for political or personal reasons. But if the state deems it fit to classify me as a political prisoner, what can I say? If my muti can make the state come to its senses, should I complain?"

Jamile, who likes quoting from the Bible, said: "I will die only when God and my ancestors say the day has come. At the moment I'm busy concocting life-giving muti that will heal the nation."

KwaZulu investment

THE KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation had stimulated investment worth more than R2,5bn, it was reported yesterday.

KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the KFC had invested about R1,2bn and had mobilised private sector investment totalling R1,44bn. (107)

He said the KFC had been instrumental in creating 80 000 jobs and had established 6 000 businesses. BIDAY 26/5/93

REPORTS: Business Day Reporters, Sapa

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".

ANC/IFP rifts appear in KZP

W/Mail 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.

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

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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.

KwaZulu dept will refund fees

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture will refund matric exam fees but is unhappy with the "bilateral" decision to scrap fees reached by President F.W. de Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela. (107)

KwaZulu Education Minister Mr Lionel Mtshali told a press conference here on Wednesday that his department was not consulted on the scrapping of the exam fees. CT 28/5/93

He said "no consideration was ever given to the implications of such a revolutionary decision". — Sapa.

FM 28/5/93

(107)

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

(107)

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.

Kwazulu puts applicants on line

By CARMEL RICKARD

WANT a job with the Kwazulu government? Then prepare to reveal your political soul.

Along with questions about one's "inkosi, headman and reserve", applicants must answer a security questionnaire about their political beliefs.

This document asks whether the candidate belongs to any political organisation and, if so, which one; to any "workers' union" and, if so, which one.

It then asks: "Have you ever had sympathies with any organisation or ideology which is considered to be subversive from the point of view of the state: if so describe." Applicants are also given four lines in which to explain their "personal views on communism".

After questions about any convictions for any offence, applicants are told: "List all your relatives."

The document asks for the full names, relationship, residential addresses and phone numbers of relatives, and notes that this includes spouse, parents, parents-in-law, children, brothers, sisters and fiancés.

The public relations officer of the Kwazulu government and the chief minister's office was not available for comment, but a senior staff member of the chief minister's office confirmed that the docu-

ment was current. He said it was a security clearance which had to be completed by all applicants.

The document, however, is in clear breach of the "fundamental principles" contained in Kwazulu's proposed constitution adopted by the Kwazulu legislative assembly last year and sent to Codesa for consideration. (107)

For example, one clause guarantees the right to privacy in all aspects of private life, another promises freedom to form and join trade unions. Clause 19, however, would probably

outlaw the whole security questionnaire. It reads: "No one shall be compelled directly or indirectly to disclose or express his or her ideology, creed, religious belief or political opinion."

Mr Peter Gastrow of the Democratic Party said the questionnaire was intimidating and gave the impression of trying to "flush out" people who supported ideals, unions or political organisations not approved by the ruling party. Putting pressure on people because of their party affiliations promoted political intolerance.

Zulu chiefs demands

ULUNDI. — Traditional Zulu chiefs have called for their inclusion in the multiparty talks, the disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and an end to bilateral deals between the government and the ANC alliance (107)

In a statement, Kwazulu chiefs commended Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for fighting for their inclusion in the talks, saying the Zulu people had played a pivotal role in the unfolding of South African history. — Sapa.

Students go on rampage

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Students at the University of Zululand went on the rampage yesterday, destroying thousands of rands of university property.

A university spokesman said the violence erupted following a decision by the executive committee of the senate to turn down a request by the SRC to postpone exams.

The request follows three weeks of stayaways and protests

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TITLE: REPORT ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

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Water cuts shut down capital of Kwazulu

By GEORGE MAHABEER

THE Kwazulu capital of Ulundi ground to a halt this week as the town's water supplies dried up.

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi adjourned the Legislative Assembly on Tuesday and sent members and staff home for two days; a meeting between the Kwazulu government and the SA Democratic Teachers Union was postponed; the police college closed until tomorrow; and businesses and factories shut their doors.

The Legislative Assembly reconvened on Thursday after several chemical toilets were brought in.

Private homes had to rely on water brought by tankers from boreholes in rural areas.

Released

Kwazulu Secretary of Works Nick Nel said a "hiccup" in the water supply from the Klipfontein Dam near Vryheid had caused the crisis.

"Water released from the dam reaches our three reservoirs through the White Umfolozi River. But we've had a few really hot days and the water just didn't reach Ulundi," he said.

According to Mr Nel, additional water has now been released and is expected to reach Ulundi before the end of the weekend.

The town's only hotel, the Holiday Inn, remained open as it has its own borehole.

Mr Buthelezi was also unaffected as his home also has a borehole.

Stringent water restrictions have been in force in Ulundi for several months.

Woman's toe now a thumb



It will be payable on the following basis for proven expenses that are incurred for security measures:

- * 20% on a maximum expenditure level of R20 000,00 with a minimum of R1 000,00 per occupied property.

Grasmere Toll Plaza: squatter camp

*7. Mr P H DE LA REY asked the Minister for National Housing:†

- (1) Whether a squatter camp is being erected approximately 1 kilometre south of the Grasmere Toll Plaza; if so, (a) what is the exact situation of this camp and (b) how far is it situated from the N1 freeway;
- (2) whether he was informed in advance that a squatter camp was to be erected there; if so, what was his reaction to that;
- (3) whether there are any incidents of murder, assault and/or stone-throwing in this area; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (4) whether his Department intends taking steps to ensure the safety of motorists and residents in this area; if not, why not; if so, what steps? B908E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HOUSING:

- (1) No. Squatting has occurred for a long period of time within an existing town, known as Finetown, that has been designated for low cost housing development.
 - (a) The portion of the town designated for the development of housing for squatters is situated approximately 1 km south of the Grasmere Toll Plaza, west of the N1 freeway.
 - (b) 10 meters from the road reserve of the N1 freeway.
- (2) Falls away.
- (3) and (4) Steps are being taken to assure the safety of motorists and residents of the area by means of increased patrolling and improved liaison between the SA Police and the Traffic Department of the TPA.

Further, an investigation is being undertaken into the possibility of erecting pedestrian bridges as well as road safety education for communities in the area.

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:

Durban College of Education: closure

1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether he or his Department intends closing the Durban College of Education; if so, why; if not,
- (2) whether any steps are being contemplated to raise the lecturer/student ratio from the present 1:4,4; if not, why not; if so, what steps? B928E.INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the department has no intention of closing the Durban College of Education or any other college under the jurisdiction of the department within the boundaries of Natal.

When the internal rationalisation of colleges in Natal was planned during the latter part of the eighties, the closure of some of these colleges was given serious consideration because the teacher needs of this department could have been met by a single college of education housed on any one of the three existing campuses.

This was not done for three principal reasons. Firstly, community support could not be mobilised. Secondly, closure of the Durban College of Education would mean that there would be no facilities in Natal for the training of Afrikaans-speaking teachers. Thirdly, the vast backlog reported to exist in the KwaZulu region was said to require the maintenance of our department's colleges as institutions of excellence. To my mind most of these reasons, or all of them, are still valid.

On the question of the lecturer-student ratio, the position of the department is clear. The unsatisfactory ratio must be addressed. As a matter of fact, steps have already been taken to address the problem.

It must, however, be kept in mind that all colleges of education must offer certain basic disciplines and therefore require a basic staff

irrespective of the size of the college. The Durban College of Education is no exception to this rule.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, the reason for this interpellation was to elicit information as to what is intended with the Durban College of Education. The DP—let me make it clear—wishes it to remain open as a college of education. Hon members must have no doubt about that. That has been our position consistently with regard to other colleges as well.

However, that college and its new extensions, which are worth about R6 million or R7 million, are so tremendously underutilised that this department has to apply its mind very rapidly, otherwise there will be great pressure to close it. It has, for example, 224 students and 51 lecturers. Potchefstroom, which also falls under this department, has 552 students and 47 lecturers. If I were at Potchefstroom, I would be screaming blue murder about what was happening in Durban.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Or go to Natal.

Mr R M BURROWS: Or go to Natal, precisely!

We accept 100% the necessity of having an Afrikaans-medium college available in Natal. We also accept the linkage that has been established between Dokkies and the University of the Orange Free State. It is a very important linkage, but the same question must be asked.

There is a demand for teachers generally, and figures indicate that simply to achieve a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:35 for the whole of Natal-KwaZulu would require an additional 11 000 teachers immediately. That is not going to happen, but what we have not seen in Natal is any effort at Dokkies to create a dual-medium college—which is what we are going to have to have—with broadly a non-White English-medium population.

This is a sensitive area. We accept that, but bearing in mind the situation at the House of Representatives college Bechet, which is housed in what was an unacceptable building, or Springfield, which is under pressure, and at Edgewood, which is growing in numbers because of Zulu students coming in from the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, we would like to know from the department what they intend putting into place at Dokkies.

No, we do not want Dokkies closed, but we do want it fully utilised. It is because of that important relationship between student and lecturer that one can begin to bring in students in service this year to make full use of those lecturers. Certainly, from the beginning of next year, that college should be far better utilised than it is now.

***Mr A GERBER:** Mr Chairman, the intention of the hon member for Pinetown is quite clear. The Durban College of Education, the only tertiary educational institution for Afrikaners in Natal, must be forced to accommodate so many people from other cultures that it will eventually lose its Afrikaner character.

I want to make it clear this afternoon that the Afrikaner community in Natal, like other communities, has a right to such a college of education. It would be an injustice to take that college away from them. The fact is that most of the student teachers who obtain their qualifications in other provinces are lost to Natal. They usually enter service in the area where they were trained.

I am sorry to say that the hon member for Pinetown and his party create the impression that they begrudge the Afrikaner everything. [Interjections.] Why the constant bickering about Afrikaner colleges and schools that are struggling to survive? Why does the hon member not rather request an interpellation about the standpoints of the University of Natal if the issue is the admission policy and discrimination? He is a member of the board of that university. That university's admission policy at the medical school and hostels operates according to a quota system on a racial basis. [Interjections.]

In 1989 a pamphlet was distributed that stated that admission to hostels would not be granted primarily on the basis of academic achievement, but on the basis of need. *The Daily News* reported on 5 March 1990:

The secondary factor of academic achievement would be applied differentially with greater stress on Whites and Indians than Blacks.

I now politely ask the hon member and his party to sweep before their own door. They must leave the Afrikaner educational institutions alone. They are scratching where it is not itching. The Afrikaner community in Natal has a

rightful claim to its own tertiary educational institution.

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, what the hon member for Brits said, is true. However, it is also true that in the end an institution must also be economically viable in order to be retained. This department takes the view that everything in its power should be done to see to it that Afrikaans speaking students who wish to qualify as teachers will be able to receive their training there. That will only be possible if the college is made viable.

I refer to the steps that have actually been taken to make the college more viable. I just want to elaborate on that. First of all, as the hon member knows, the college has been opened to all races. It has been converted into a bilingual institution, and the admission requirements have fortunately also been changed. I am proud to announce that the standards have remained intact.

It is no longer necessary to take Afrikaans as a subject, and it is also no longer necessary to have passed Afrikaans in the matriculation examinations. Despite this, however, there were 1 200 applications during the past year, primarily from the Kwazulu area. Only 120 were accepted, and of those only seven turned up at the end of the day. The reason for this is that apparently there are insufficient study loans available. I want to request the Kwazulu government to make these loans available in order to make the college more viable.

*Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, earlier this evening we heard the NP and the ANC refer to their Rolls Royce here. That, of course, is the Roelf and the Ramaphosa show. When it comes to education in this country, I want to say to the hon member for Brits that as far as education in this country is concerned, we call the hon member for Pinetown the Rolls Royce of politicians.

At the same time I, as an Afrikaans-speaking person, want to say to him that if ever there was a person who was prepared to do his share in respect of Afrikaans medium set-ups, it is the hon member for Pinetown. He can go to any hon member in education circles, the Federal Teachers' Council, the Hennie Marees, and ask them with whom they consult about the future of Afrikaans medium education in this country. He

open at all times. We would like to thank them for their support. One can achieve that.

I referred to the fact that this year as many as 3 000 applications from other groups may be received for consideration. I must also point out that to a certain extent perhaps the hon member for Pinetown will differ with me on this point—one must also guard against the overtrading of teachers. I know we are going to become one department.

One should proceed cautiously. I think that with the support of all the parties in this House it will be possible to keep this college open and to enable Afrikaans-speaking students to receive their training as future teachers there by taking the steps that we announced here this afternoon. Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

for oral reply:

Own Affairs:

Henneman: illegal march/evacuation of primary school

1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether pupils of a certain primary school, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, had to vacate their school as a result of an illegal march by Blacks through Henneman on or about 7 May 1993; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, for how long were they prevented from returning to the school to receive tuition;
- (2) whether the Free State Education Department addressed a letter to this school beforehand in which it was requested *inter alia* that parents should not enter the school grounds while carrying weapons; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (3) whether parents are entitled to claim back any compulsory school fees in respect of the period during which their

children were prevented from receiving tuition as a result of the above-mentioned events; if not, why not; if so, what amount may they claim back;

whether he will make a statement on the matter? B910E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

- (1) Yes, from 9.35-13.15;
- (2) no;
- (3) no, school fees paid by parents are intended primarily for the running costs of the school. The cost of the tuition itself is borne mainly by the state in the form of the salaries of the teachers;
- (4) no.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Indemnity granted to exiles/prisoners

220. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) What, as at the latest specified date for which information is available, was the total number of (a) exiles and (b) prisoners who had been granted indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No 35 of 1990);
- (2) whether any applications for indemnity by (a) exiles and (b) prisoners have been unsuccessful to date; if so, (i) how many and (ii) for what reasons;
- (3) whether there have been any disputes between the Government and any other bodies in respect of the granting of such indemnity; if so, what are the (a) names of the bodies concerned and (b) relevant particulars in regard to these disputes;
- (4) whether any of these disputes have been resolved; if not, why not; if so, what is the total number of exiles and/or prisoners involved;
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

1959

Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 9 JUNE 1993

Hansard

1960

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Sale of property: representations/instructions

*1. Mr A RAJBANSI asked the State President:

- (1) Whether he or his Office has received any representations in regard to the sale of a certain property, particulars of which have been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was the purport of these representations;
- (2) whether any instructions have been given to the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates or any Minister of this House in regard to this matter; if so, what instructions;
- (3) whether any such Minister was required to report back to him or his Office in this regard; if so, what are the relevant details? D297E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES (for the State President):

(1) Yes.

(a) Written representations first received on 9 November 1992 were amplified on 11 January 1993;

(b) Mr C D Sardiwalla on behalf of traders in the Plaza, Ladysmith;

(c) that in view of alleged undertakings in 1981 by the then Deputy Minister of Community Development and factors such as flooding and the presence of informal traders, the selling price fixed by the Housing Development Board as the present owner, was too high.

(2) The matter was referred to the Chairman of the Ministers' Council for his

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1961

Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 9 JUNE 1993

Hansard

1962

The DEPUTY MINISTER FOR WELFARE (for the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs):

months, provided nutritional aid and initiated social development programmes for approximately 6 million people in need in South Africa, including the TBVC States and self-governing territories. More than 2 000 programmes dividing into nearly 5 500 projects were thus funded.

Mr M RAJAB: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, could he tell this House whether that programme was in fact monitored?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not in a position to answer that question at the moment, but I will answer the hon member in writing.

Mr P NAIDOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, would he be kind enough to recommend to the hon the Minister that she read the Auditor-General's report, which makes alarming reading in respect of the manner in which these funds were expended.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: I will do so, Mr Speaker.

KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority: offices of chairman/deputy chairman

*3. Mr A RAJBANSI asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

- (1) Whether the offices of chairman and deputy chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority, are held on a rotating basis by members of the Natal and KwaZulu components of this authority; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, why;
- (2) whether these offices are held by White members of the Executive Committee only; if not, by whom are they held; if so, why;
- (3) whether any Indian and/or Coloured members of the Executive Committee are eligible to hold these offices; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D310E

(1) Yes. The practice of the annual rotation of the chairman/vice-chairman of the committees set up between the Natal Provincial Administration and KwaZulu was established in 1984 at the start of the liaison between Natal and KwaZulu and was carried forward to the Joint Executive Authority when it was established in 1987.

(2) No. Nominations are called for by the Chief Executive Officer from all the members of the Joint Executive Authority when elections are held and, in terms of the rules of the Joint Executive Authority contained in Proclamation No. 119 of 1987 dated 28 July 1987, any member of the Joint Executive Authority is eligible for election as chairman or vice-chairman. It is, however, an established practice that, when it is the turn of the Natal Provincial Administration to fill the office of chairman, the nomination for this office is made by the KwaZulu members of the Joint Executive Authority.

(3) Yes. As is indicated in (2) above, any member of the Joint Executive Authority is eligible for election as chairman or vice-chairman.

(4) No.

Own Affairs:

Chairman of Ministers' Council:

Second access road to Chatsworth

*1. Mr T PALAN asked the Chairman of the Ministers' Council:

Whether, with reference to the replies to Question No 1 on 15 May 1990 and Question No 1 on 1 April 1992, he, any members of the Ministers' Council and/or the Administration: House of Delegates has made any representations to the (a) Minister of Transport, (b) Durban Municipality and (c) Durban Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board concerning a second access road to Chatsworth; if not, why not; if so, (i) when and (ii) with what results? D308E

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Kwazulu

warning

on talks

(107) ~~3/11/93~~
AR 6 15 16/93
JOHANNESBURG. — The Kwazulu government threatened today to pull out of multi-party negotiations unless the issues of violence and a future form of State were addressed satisfactorily.

The Kwazulu government leader Dr Ben Ngubane told this to the 26-party negotiating council, which is meeting at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

He said: "We feel obliged to warn all participants that the Kwazulu government has reached the end of its road in tolerating the manipulation of this process which is steamrolling through the real issues of our society, preventing full awareness and full debate on the possible alternatives."

He and Mr Joe Matthews of the Inkatha Freedom Party moved resolutions calling for an immediate re-evaluation of the negotiation process and consideration of a clear federal structure for a future South Africa.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the resolutions were "a clear attempt to blackmail the negotiating process".

The KZG's motion proposed that the technical committee on constitutional issues go back to the drawing board and, within a week, submit a new report which reflects accurately the federalist position supported broadly by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The two motions were seconded by Mr Tom Langley of the Conservative Party after which the chairman agreed to demands from the floor that the council adjourn for tea.

NEWS President's speech draws sharp criticism • Sowetan-Pick 'n Pay workshop held

News in brief

Benny takes leave

Sowetan 15/6/93

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.

White homeland

Sowetan 15/6/93

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-

Great show tonight

Sowetan 15/6/93

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

Sowetan 15/6/93

ANC DISTURBED De Klerk's



remarks on presidency evoke response:

HE 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.

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-Reuter.

Natal 'won't be ruled by Umtata'

Sowetan 15/6/93

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 gov-

ernment. We already govern and do so very successfully... Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretoria, not by Umtata," he said.

He said the IFP was on the road to becoming the "single largest political force in the country". - Sapa.

LEADY DANCING AND SUNDAYS



Hansard *Hansard* *Hansard*

the above-mentioned areas during this period? B896E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) (i) 1992

January 411
 February 415
 March 420
 April 404
 May 390
 June 383

1993
 January 472
 February 373

(ii) As KwaZulu has its own police force, statistics are not kept by the South African Police.

(b) (i) 1992

January 462
 February 505
 March 433
 April 457
 May 430
 June 580

1993
 January 78
 February 58

(ii) As KwaZulu has its own police force, statistics are not kept by the South African Police.

(a) (i) 1992

January 1
 February 0
 March 2
 April 0
 May 1
 June 1

1993
 January 0
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(b) (i) 1992

January 2
 February 3
 March 2
 April 6
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Farmers killed in Natal/KwaZulu

382. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Law and Order: (107)

How many (a) farmers were killed in attacks in (i) Natal and (ii) KwaZulu in each month during the period 1 January 1992 up to the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) armed attacks and/or robberies on farmers were reported in each of

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Murders in Natal/KwaZulu

383. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Law and Order: (107)

(a) How many persons were murdered in (i) Natal and (ii) KwaZulu in each month during the period 1 January 1992 up to the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) how many of these murders were attributable to political violence? B897E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

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.

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.

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.

A case of balderdash and Buthelezi-bashing

By 22/6/93

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

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

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.

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

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 Ngubane'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.

Sowetan 23/6/93

Visit is unwanted

THE ANC and its alliance at Ladysmith is opposed to the visit by KwaZulu's minister of interior, Mr Stephen Sithebe, to Ezakheni township this weekend.

The ANC alliance coordinator in

(107)

rief

Sowetan 23/6/93
the area, Mr Elias Tshigeng, said yesterday Sithebe was responsible for the current violence in the area because he rejected the formation of a local dispute resolution committee in Ladysmith.

(107)

Monday, June 24 1993

Caprivi training: FW kept in dark

Bl Day 24/6/93

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.

ADRIAN HADLAND

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".

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 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 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 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 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.

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.

In neither of these investigations was evidence uncovered supporting the allegations.

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.

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.

The commission pointed to a number of aspects uncovered during the investigation which it described as highly unsatisfactory.

SADF chief Kat Liebenberg 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.

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Mandela to visit Ulundi

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JOHANNESBURG. —

Following Wednesday's summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the ANC leader is expected to visit Ulundi in KwaZulu.

Methodist presiding Bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba said yesterday that the meeting had cleared the way for Mr Mandela's first visit to KwaZulu.

During the visit Mr Mandela would pay a courtesy call on King Goodwill Zwelethini and visit the IFP headquarters. — Sapa (107) (107)

NEWS Inquest on murdered Cradock activists ●

news in brief

Racial clash

TWO men were seriously injured yesterday in Joubert Park, Johannesburg, in what police said was a racial clash between two groups of Africans and Indians.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said the fight was prompted by a "racist remark" by a member of one of the groups. He said the groups knifed and stoned each other on the corner of Bok

and Quartz streets just after midnight. Five men from both groups were arrested and are expected to appear in court soon.

Teacher struck pupil

A MANGAUNG teacher was yesterday found guilty in the Bloemfontein Magistrate's Court of common assault.

Mrs Thelma Modisenyane was fined R600 or two months' impris-

onment, suspended for three years, after the court found that she had assaulted a pupil on April 23 last year with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Death toll rises

KWAZULU police yesterday reported three more killings in the territory, raising the death toll in Natal to at least 48 since last Friday.

The KZP said two people were killed in Umlazi township on Wednesday. — *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa*

Sowetan 25/6/93


KwaZulu constitution spells out 'South African duties'

Southen 26/6 - 30/6/93
107



Mangosutho Buthelezi

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."

GROSSWALK 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 national 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.

CHIEF WITH AN OPEN AGENDA

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By SIPHO KHUMALO

DIMINUTIVE 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.

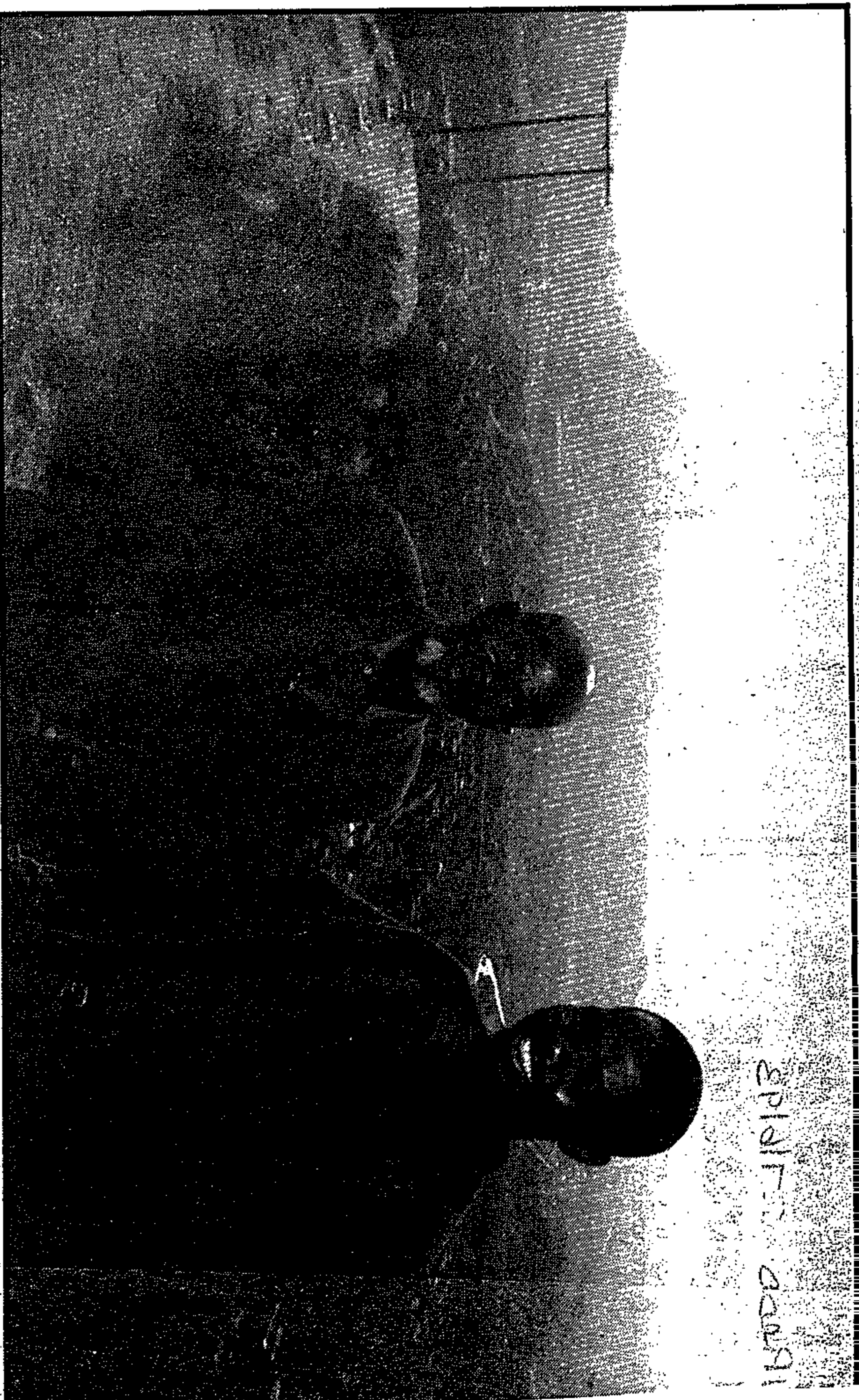
Mlaba is also Natal secretary for the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralasa). KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has recently warned chiefs about Contralasa, calling it an "ANC front".

Mlaba's neighbour, chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo of Table Mountain, who was also a prime mover behind Contralasa, was assassinated in 1991. Mlaba took over from his brother, Bhukumzinga 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 own our own."



ALLIES... KwaXimba chief Zibuse Mlaba (foreground) supports the ANC, while Bangubukhosi Mdluli is chief of the Inkatha-supporting neighbouring KwaNyevu clan.

Picture: SUNDAY TIMES

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 Contralasa 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."

NEWS Hundreds protest a

Sowetan: 2/7/93

Walkout denied

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.

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini will try to rally his subjects behind the Inkatha Freedom Party and the kwaZulu government this weekend when he demands the restoration of the Zulu kingdom through a federal constitution in South Africa.

The Zulu monarch is expected to outline his position at an *imbizo* (meeting of the Zulu nation) in Durban on Sunday, followed by another one two weeks later in Johannesburg.

The IFP hopes that Zwelithini's move to the political centre stage — coupled with a rise in Zulu nationalism and veiled threats of violence — will force the African National Congress to give in to its demand that a federal dispensation be hammered out before an election.

Political observers believe that the threat of increased violence is real. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has repeatedly warned that South Africa could become another Angola, and negotiator Walter Felgate was quoted in a Sunday newspaper as saying that violence was a possible option to force deferment of the election.

But IFP sources said they intended to give negotiations a chance and would press for bilateral talks with the ANC, the government and National Party.

The IFP would also consolidate its position by holding bilateral talks with its allies, including homeland governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

IFP sources said the ANC has thus far refused to hold full-scale bilateral talks with them — despite agreement on the issue at the recent summit between Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Kings wants a kingdom

W. M. 9/7-1973

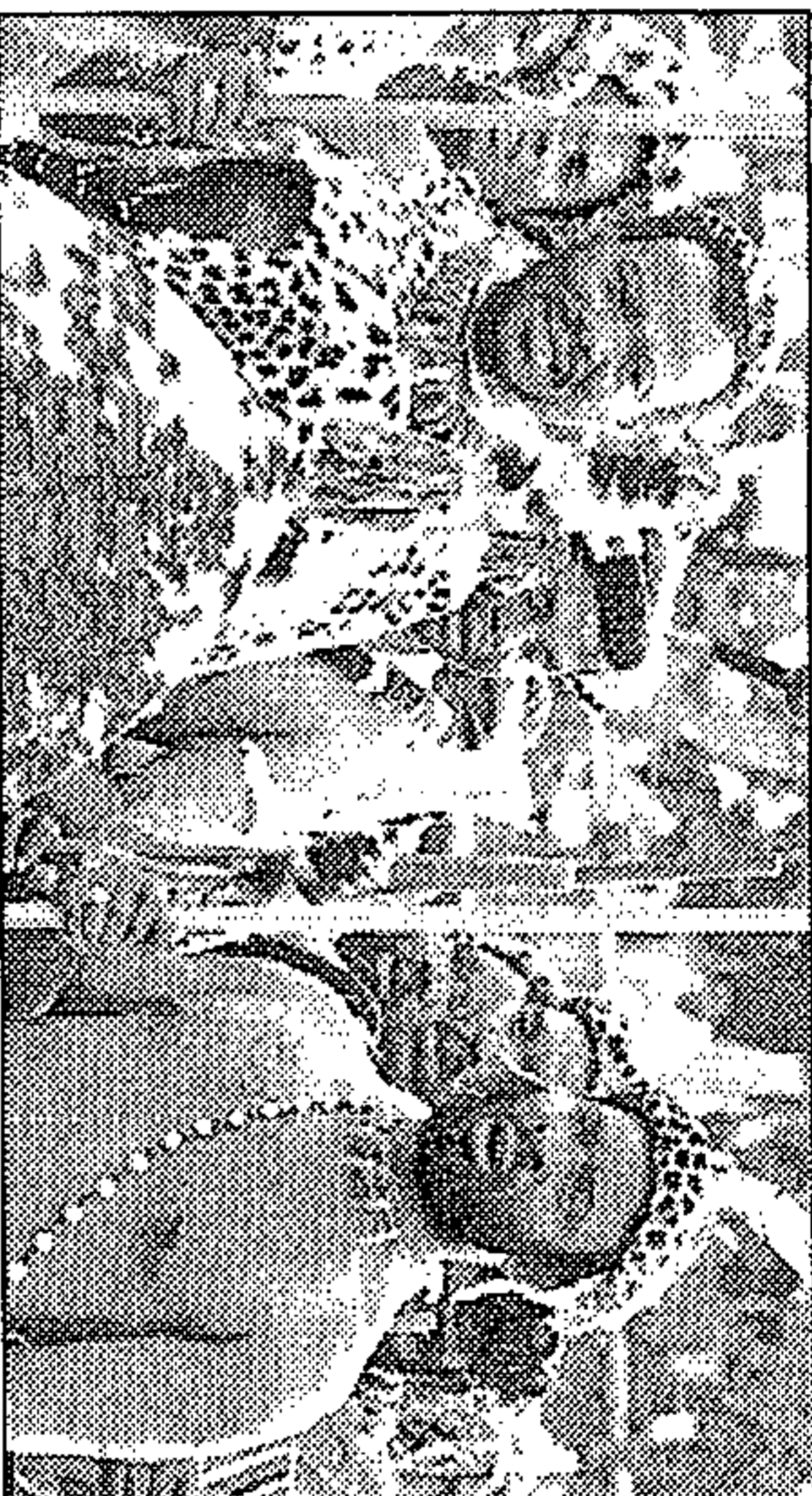
The bid for federalism is to receive added impetus this weekend when Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini takes political centre stage in support of the IFP's demands.

FAROUK CHOTHIA reports

Whipping up emotions... Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Goodwill Zwelithini
Photo: KEVIN CARTER

to exist. This could only be guaranteed through a federal dispensation — a view held by the kwaZulu government and the IFP.

"The king wants certain powers —



and he is prepared to cede other powers to the centre," a source added.

The sources warned that the ANC and government should listen to the monarch, or risk facing the wrath of the Zulu nation.

"Nationalism is the most powerful force in the world. If Zulu nationalism is awoken, then the ANC will be eaten for breakfast. The ANC should not play

with fire," warned the source.

At the *imbizo*, Zwelithini would be flanked by Buthelezi, in his capacity as kwaZulu chief minister and "prime minister" to the monarch, the sources said.

IFP leaders who do not hold posts in the kwaZulu government would not take seats on the platform, in order to circumvent charges that the *imbizos* were in fact IFP rallies, the sources said.

In this context, Buthelezi said on SABC radio on Tuesday that Zulus attending Sunday's rally should not display their political colours. IFP sources said this would send the message to the ANC and the government that the entire Zulu nation — and not only the IFP — supported federalism.

In a joint statement, the ANC's three Natal regions condemned the IFP for attempting to drag Zwelithini into the "partisan political mud". "The IFP knows that without the name of His Majesty it cannot have any support among Zulu-speaking South Africans," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus denied that the ANC was opposed to bilateral talks with the IFP, saying these had not been held because negotiators on both sides were caught up in proceedings at the World Trade Centre.

Commented the IFP source: "The ANC and the government have tied themselves into a knot. They bulldozed through an election date at the World Trade Centre — and now they will have to give in to our demands. They have no alternative — or else there will be no election."

Sounding an ominous warning, the source added: "If they want to be dictatorial and if they want to push us, there'll be a fight."

The sources said the IFP had thrashed out its latest strategy at a central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend. This was preceded by a meeting between Zwelithini and Buthelezi last Thursday, resulting in the monarch calling the mass rallies to discuss "important constitutional issues".

"There is a crisis in the country. The king has had to intervene," the source said.

Zwelithini, the sources said, would whip up Zulu emotions by saying that the Zulu kingdom had a historical right

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 Esikhawjni 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

KwaZulu will be 'forever'

(107)

CT12/7/93

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — KwaZulu was "forever" and any attempt to annihilate it would meet the might of the Zulu nation, was the blunt message yesterday from King Goodwill Zwelithini and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing about 60 000 of his subjects at an historic imbizo (meeting of the people) at Durban's King's Park rugby stadium, the king also demanded guarantees of the region's sovereignty from President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The government and the ANC were wrong if they thought they could hold a general election on April 27 next year without first finalising the constitutional status of KwaZulu.

"I say to Mr Mandela that the ANC and its allies were wrong to

King warns De Klerk, Mandela

set their sights at the target of the dismantling of KwaZulu when that will never ever be achieved," he said.

"We need a categorical assurance from the State President that he will not put his hand to anything which attempts to dismantle the Kingdom of KwaZulu either before or after elections.

"We need a categorical assurance from Mr Nelson Mandela that he will likewise accept the reality of the Kingdom of KwaZulu."

The king warned he would

"raise up the mightiest Zulu voice that has ever been heard to protest against the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu".

He also warned that any Zulu man or woman who believed KwaZulu should become part of a unitary state "commits treachery for the nation".

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP would drum up powerful support "across the length and breadth of the land (so) that the government and the ANC will not be able to go it alone".

He said the IFP and KwaZulu reserved the right to withdraw from negotiations to "break the collusion that now exists between the SA government and the ANC".

"Between the government and the ANC there is so much manipulation at the World Trade Centre that the whole negotiation process is contaminated by it," Chief Buthelezi said.

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. The commission's central brief is to in-

ADRIAN HADLAND

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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Buthelezi: Don't push us

Sowetan 12/7/93

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."

■ TOUGH STAND No way forward for talks

without the agreement of Inkatha Freedom Party:

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. ~~(115)~~

"The only way forward is to stake our claim at the national level and to persist in our attempts to secure national support." (107)

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 finalised.

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, 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. (18)

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. (101)

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 won't get a better deal'

107 ~~3011~~ ~~113~~
CT 13/7/93

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 Zwelithini 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

Govt, ANC respond to Zulu leadership

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.

Star 13/7/93

Buthelezi flays Govt, ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
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

~~IFP~~ ~~ANC~~ ~~SAF~~ 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" ~~(107)~~ ~~(113)~~

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" ~~(107)~~

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.

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" (107)

Democratic Party Natal executive chairman Kobus Jordaan said it was unfortunate that the king was "being drawn into an unnecessary political point-scoring debate". (107)

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

Probe of KZP
investigations

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission inquiry into KwaZulu Police investigations of violence and intimidation will begin on July 28 at Westville near Durban.

A statement yesterday said a commission of three would look into cases including murders committed in March 1990 in KwaMakhuta and the alleged failure by the KZP to re-arrest two suspects who had absconded and whose whereabouts were known to them. — Sapa

107

Zulu king's regiment (107) ready for war

By ENOCH MTHEMBU

THE police should go to the beach and fish for two days and let the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress fight it out, the commander of King Goodwill Zwelithini's personal "Inala" regiment said last weekend.

"On the third day, they must come and collect the mess," said Albert Mncwango, who is also an IFP central committee member. He was speaking to *The Weekly Mail* at Kings Park Stadium in Durban, where the Zulu king addressed a 60 000-strong crowd on Sunday.

Mncwango argued that this was the only way to ensure peace between Inkatha and the ANC. "The violence we are having is a part of African culture; the signing of a paper doesn't mean anything to Africans. President Bush brought peace in the Middle East through war; hence IFP and ANC must do the same."

He said the two political groups should fight once and one defeat the other. "Then the one who wins will take control." And he had no doubt that Inkatha would win, citing previous conflicts in the region as a sign of their strength.

"The Inala regiment is ready for war. I'm waiting for signals from the king and Buthelezi. ANC and the government should know that if they refute our demands (at the negotiating table), we will cross that bridge."

He said his regiment had half a million soldiers ranging in age from 25 to 45. Initially their duty was to participate in the traditional ceremonies of the Zulu nation, performing for the king. However, they were expected to perform military duties in case of war. "Inala is like a citizen force. The soldiers have received paramilitary training," Mncwango said.

"Some of our members are in the South African Defence Force, kwaZulu Police and South African Police." Other members were *indunas* from all over the country, especially hostels and rural areas, he said, and each *induna* reported to him. He maintained he had control over his forces.

"I contact people who are in charge of each unit on a daily basis. I meet them and they come to me," he said.

The members of Inala regiment had been trained by experts and ongoing training was taking place throughout the country, he said. A base was planned for Phatheni near Richmond.

"A serious war is coming where no-one will sleep. The war will not be concentrated in Natal. What you see in the East Rand is part of a low-intensity war. The war will be spread all over the country. The exciting moment is around the corner."

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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. ~~107~~

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. ~~107~~ 107

"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.

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 democracay. 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 Zwelethini 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/mail 16/7-22/7/93
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.

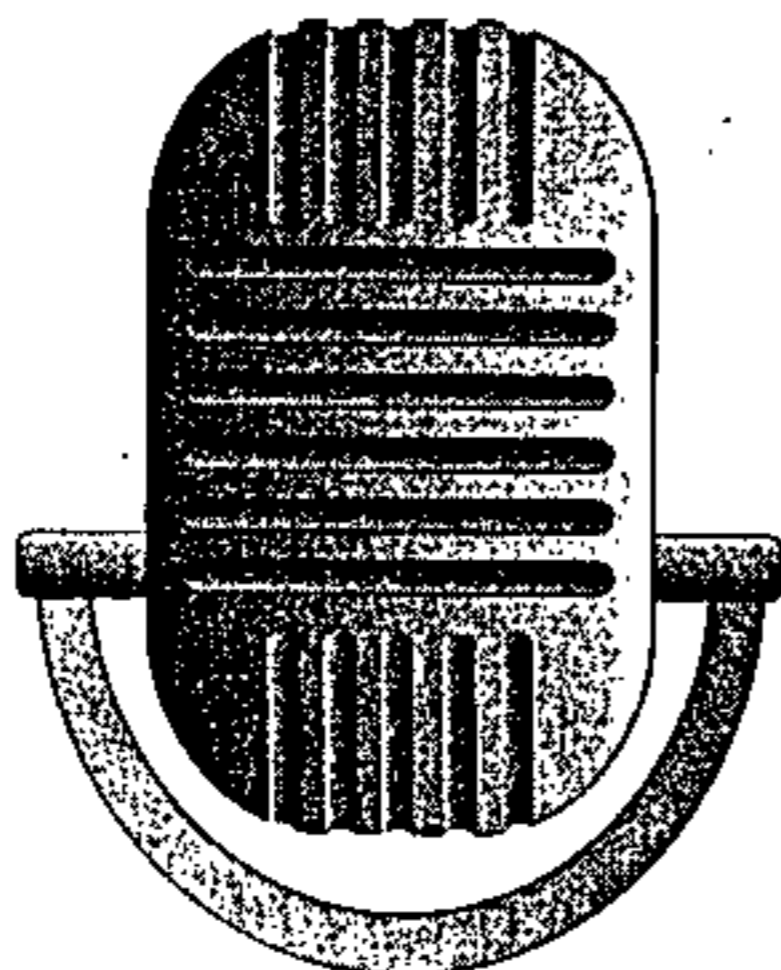
In addition to his alliance with the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) in the Cosag group, Buthelezi is forging links with the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF). Days after rightwingers assaulted IFP negotiator Faith Gciza at an AVF protest march at the World Trade Centre, Buthelezi met generals Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald in Ulundi. He described their "man-to-man" discussions as "highly therapeutic".

Rightwing political analyst Wim Booysse 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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A tankful of taxpayers' cash?

W/Ment 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 Makwane, who could not be reached despite numerous attempts. — Pen

Plea to Zwelithini: Peace, not politics

(107) w/maul
By FAROUK CHOTHIA 16/7-28/7/93.
AS Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini swings behind the Inkatha Freedom Party in constitutional negotiations, initiatives were revived this week to persuade the monarch to move above party politics — and to allay his fears about the future of kwaZulu.

The Concerned Group of Zulus, which includes businessman Roger Sishi, the African National Congress' Jacob Zuma and Pan Africanist Congress Natal leader Joe Mkhwanazi, plan to meet kwaZulu Minister of Justice Reverend CJ Mthethwa next week.

Sishi conceded that attempts to persuade Zwelithini to make a call for peace at an *imbizo* (meeting of the Zulu nation) attended by both ANC and IFP supporters had run into difficulties. He said that Mandela's attack on IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the United States would also make it difficult to mount non-partisan peace rallies.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mandela was also prepared to go to Ulundi to first meet Buthelezi and then Zwelithini as a result of an agreement reached at the ANC-IFP peace summit late last month. The agreement at the summit was that Buthelezi would pay a reciprocal visit to Mandela at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

Mandela was also prepared to hold another meeting with Zwelithini to discuss the future of kwaZulu.

Mandela's apparent willingness to travel to Ulundi indicates the extent to which he is prepared to compromise to achieve a constitutional settlement and to break Buthelezi's stranglehold over Zwelithini in the run-up to elections.

●See Page 16

"As clean as a scalpel's cut and
... hit as lightning" Sunday

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.

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.

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."

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 (107)

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 (107)

nents backing off either.

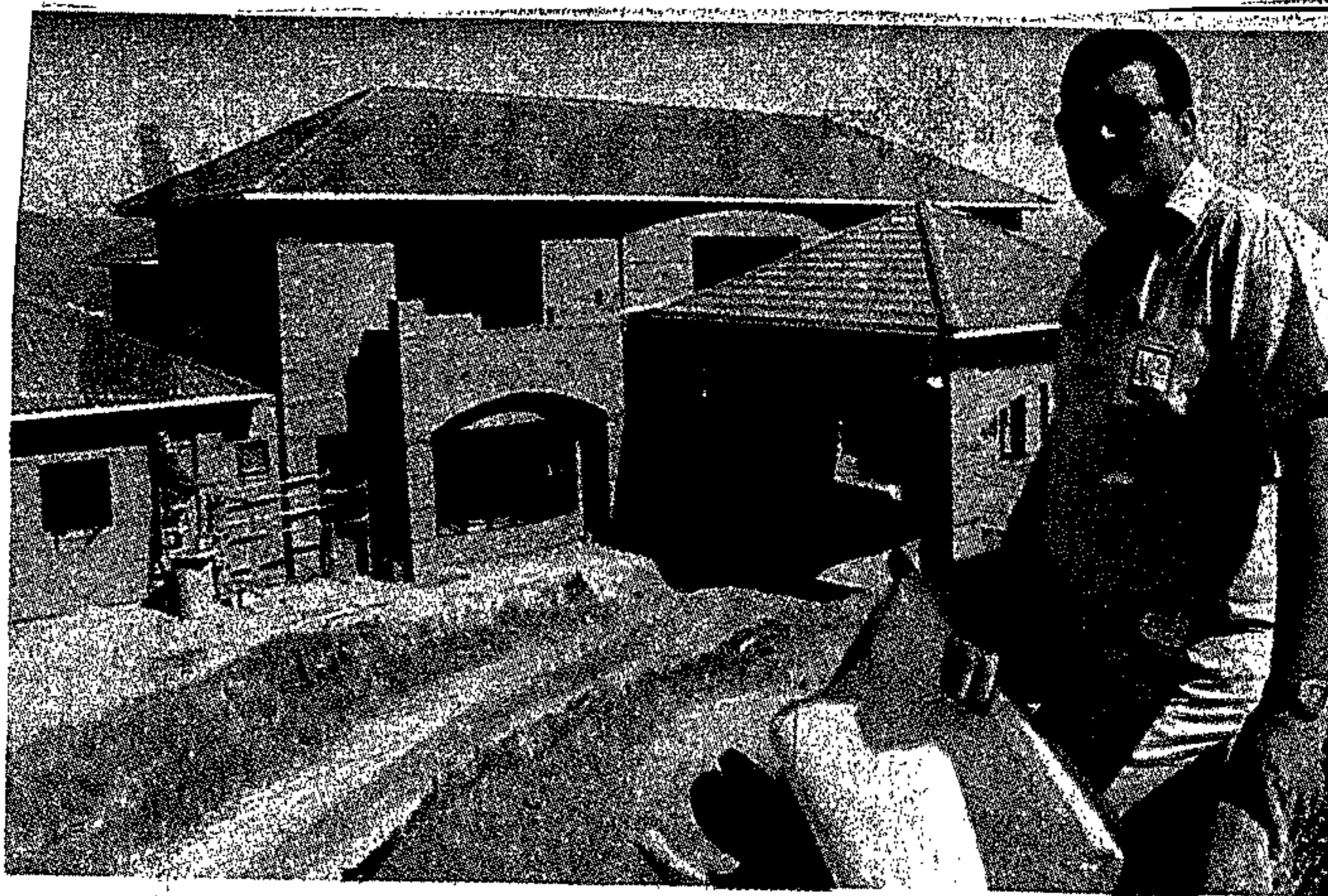
The challenge was issued in front of 60 000 Zulus last Sunday at the historic *imbizo* (meeting of the people) held at King's Park Stadium, Durban. While King Goodwill Zwelithini's message was unequivocal, the fuzzy line between being a cultural figurehead and a political player has become even less 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." ■



FIT FOR A KING . . . Building foreman Mr Vis Chetty inspects progress to King Goodwill Zwelithini's new home outside Ulundi, which is expected to cost at least R2 million.

New house for Zulu king

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is building another house — just a stone's throw away from where the British burned down the kraal of his great-great-grandfather Cetshwayo.

The double-storey mansion outside Ulundi has been on the drawing-boards for at least two years and was originally going to cost around R17 million. However, Kwa-Zulu government budget restraints are believed to have whittled away at the scale and

grandeur of the new home and it is presently expected to cost R2 million.

Nevertheless, it is still very much a home fit for a king — featuring five bedrooms, a quadruple garage, swimming pool and custom-built "slaughter house".

And despite the cash cuts, A R10 000 chandelier will take pride of place in the entrance hall.

The home is being built on a dusty hillside outside Ulundi dominated by aloes, and landscaping the 26ha

property is likely to add many thousands of rands to the final bill. (107)

Verbaan Construction started building last August and expect to finish at the end of September.

A spokesman for his office could not be reached for comment yesterday but sources suggest the monarch already has at least four residences, including at Nongoma and St Lucia.

King Cetshwayo's original kraal was burned to the ground on July 4, 1879.

Zulu king gets ANC 'ultimatum'

~~#107~~ (107)
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.

Star 17/7/93

Inkatha

● FROM PAGE 1.

tion, possibly in September next year.

He indicated that the IFP would remain part of the negotiation process: "If the IFP delegation now gives in to the pressure and withdraws, it will be a case of the South African Government/ANC alliance becoming a negotiating steamroller," he said.

Capitulation now would mean becoming party to the historic annihilation of KwaZulu and other territories whose leaders were not members of the Patriotic Front.

● Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports that Buthelezi's comments come at a time when a big question mark hangs over whether the IFP and the KwaZulu government will rejoin multiparty negotiations on Monday.

Buthelezi, who this week travelled to many parts of the country opposing agreements already reached in negotiations, walked out of the forum on July 2 when it formally adopted April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first all-in election. It was followed by KwaZulu government and Conservative Party delegates.

Now the return of the IFP and KwaZulu to ne-

gotiations depends on the outcome of at least two important meetings this weekend: one between the Government and the IFP and KwaZulu in Pretoria today, and this weekend's annual congress of the IFP in Ulundi.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate yesterday 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.

Buthelezi, who has been accusing the Government and the ANC of striking secret deals, has suggested the IFP and KwaZulu government delegations may not return to negotiations unless he obtains guarantees of a federal system of government in South Africa.

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 after his recent statements.

Sources close to Government have told Saturday Star Pretoria is growing increasingly irritated by Buthelezi, who appeared to lack a full understanding of the give-and-take of negotiations.

Court revokes ban on Sundumbill rally

18/1/93

By CARMEL RICKARD

A COSATU rally in the northern Natal township of Sundumbill today could mark a turning-point in the struggle for free political expression, particularly in Natal/Kwazulu.

Closely watched by police and international monitors, it takes place only after Supreme Court intervention to set aside an illegal ban on the meeting by the township manager.

The difficulty in obtaining permission for a non-Inkatha organisation to hold a rally in the Sundumbill stadium illustrates the problem complained of by all parties — certain regions are made "no-go areas" by one group for the members of another group, and free political association is impossible.

Both the IFP and the ANC have complained about this problem, and their presidents have committed themselves to allowing meetings to take place unhindered.

Conditions

Despite this commitment the Sundumbill township manager turned down Cosatu's application to use the stadium.

The manager and IFP council said the meeting would result in violence and that permission would only be considered once a joint rally of all political parties had been held. They decided no rally could take place "until the parties had settled their differences".

When Cosatu took the matter to court this week, lawyers acting for the township manager conceded he had acted illegally in refusing to give permission, and the rally will now go ahead.

Cosatu suggested a number of conditions that will operate during today's rally: it must take no longer than six hours; enough marshals must be present to ensure the meeting is orderly; both the SAP and the Kwazulu police must attend; local and international monitors must be present; and no weapons may be carried.

Sadtu meets Kwazulu authorities

HOPES for immediate recognition of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union by KwaZulu education authorities were dashed when the teachers' delegation was told in Ulundi that this could only happen after the homeland's education act had been amended. *CP Press 18/7/93*

This means Sadtu will have to wait for a longer period because this amendment could only be effected by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Despite these apparent hurdles Sadtu national general secretary Randall van der Heever said his organisation was satisfied that progress had been made. *(22) (107)*

■ CP Reporters

Star 19/7/93

IFP, CP, 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.

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

Star 19/7/93

Talks hit trouble as 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 Andries 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.

Consensus

a spanner

Star 20/7/93

in works

107

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.

Negotiations remain stalled as gov't and Inkatha talks deadlock

BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

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

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,"

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 residual 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

Negotiations

21/1/93

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 Ngunane said: "We will continue bilateral talks 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."

Zulu call for arms alarms the ANC

Star 22/1/93

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.

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. (107)

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.

News br

Sowetan 23/1/92

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.

The king's entourage will include the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. (107)

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. ■



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 negotiation.

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

Inkatha dig in their heels - again

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

C/PRESS 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. (107)

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.

By FRED KHUMALO

THOUSANDS of Zulus are expected to converge on the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg today where King Goodwill Zwelithini will address them on the second leg of his *imbizo* – a conference called by the monarch.

During the first leg of the *imbizo* held in Durban two weeks ago, the king warned that he would “raise the mightiest Zulu voice . . . to protest the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu” – a warning he is likely to sound at today’s *imbizo*.

At least 60 000 people

Many expected at king's *imbizo*

turned up for the last *imbizo*, and today's is expected to attract as many people.

The king is calling for the restoration of the Zulu kingdom, but this has been read by political analysts and the ANC as the king's support for Inkatha's demand for a federal dispensation.

The *imbizos* have been described by Inkatha's adversaries as the party's

attempt to use the king to stir up Zulu nationalism which will be used in the party's election campaign.

Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan sees the *imbizo* as a sinister move by Inkatha to draw the king into “an unnecessary political point-scoring debate”.

(107)
Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and his hardline confidante Walter Felgate have in the past hinted that should Inkatha's call for a federal constitution fail, KwaZulu could secede.

In a further development the ANC has demanded an explanation from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on the intended deployment of 200 KwaZulu policemen at the FNB *imbizo* at the taxpayer's expense.

The ANC has also called for a meeting with the Zulu monarchy to outline the status of the Zulu kingdom in a new political dispensation.

shake page

Kwazulu is Forever

Kwazulu — a vision for a new South Africa

Kwazulu has been shaped by history to play its role in bringing democracy to South Africa

- Kwazulu will finish its unfinished business with whites to make reason and reconciliation triumph over racism
- Kwazulu will help unite black society and bring peace to our land

Kwazulu Demands:

- 1 A final democratic constitution
- 2 That the new South Africa be shaped by all South Africans
- 3 Federalism and Justice and Prosperity in a plural state
- 4 An election by the end of 1994

The SA Gvt/ANC/SAP offer:

- 1 An incomplete constituent assembly constitution
- 2 The Gvt/ANC/SACP want party politics to determine the constitutional shape of the new South Africa
- 3 A constituent assembly in which the ruling party is free to opt for centralism and conformity, leading in the end, to civil war
- 4 Delaying the final election for two to five years after 1994

SELF-DETERMINATION for REGIONS

KwaZulu demands:

- 1 Entrenched regional boundaries, powers and structures to be secured in justiciable clauses in the constitution secured by a constitutional court
- 2 Guarantees

The SA Gvt/ANC/SACP offer:

- 1 Unitary state constituent assembly which will determine regional structures and powers after an election
- 2 Promises made by revolutionaries

Dogs Do Not Muzzle Themselves

Ruling parties do not write constitutions which limit the powers of the state and which maximise the liberties of the people

Support FAIR DECISION-MAKING in the multi-party negotiating process

Support the KwaZulu call to ensure that SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS - which drives the multi-party negotiating process - at least includes the agreement of KwaZulu, the SA Gvt/ANC/SACP and whoever else is needed to implement decisions.

KwaZulu for Democracy

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

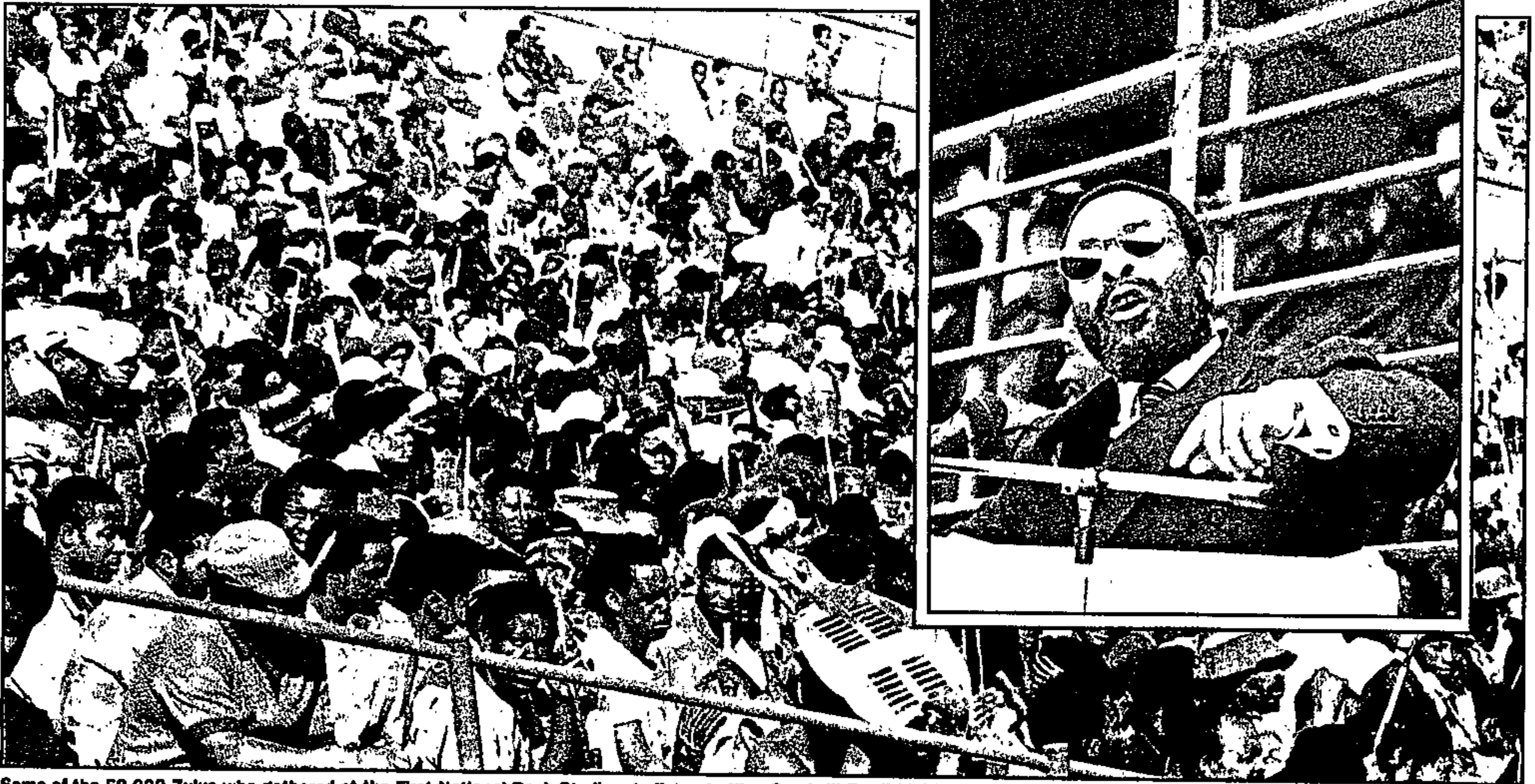
Sowetan 26/7/93
an equitable constitution with the utmost urgency, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Bloemfontein on Friday.

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

South African 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 fate 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 impis arrived, wielding spears and an assortment of weapons, they chanted Zulu war songs while others danced.

There were loud chants of "Bayethe" 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 assurances" 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.

26/7/93

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NEWS

Star 26/7/93

Hands off KwaZulu, says king

By Patrick Laurence

Zulu King Goodwill Zweithini 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, Zweithini 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.

Zweithini, 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 Dinizulu.

He warned: "We demand that nobody ever again tries to drag us into a new political dispensation with which we disagree."

Even as Zweithini spoke, bare-chested Zulu men, carrying shields, sticks and spears, filed into the stadium. They 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 north — were parked outside.

The occupants ranged in age from teenagers to elderly men and women. Many wore T-shirts on which were printed Zweithini's portrait.

Policemen, peace monitors and observers from the European Community and the United Nations kept a watchful eye on proceedings.

Zweithini 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 Zweithini's speech, that of "ethnic cleansing" and the attempt to "obliterate the Zulu nation, politically and physically".

Alluding 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 Zweithini.

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 Kwasini Hostel in Katielohng.

"It becomes clear why there was agreement to fence in hos-

tels," he said.

After the meeting, a large security force contingent escorted IFP supporters from the rally, reports Montshiswa 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

107
26/7/92

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-

Most Zulus 'want one united SA' — ANC

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-

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



BAYETEI ... 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

Kings' display left much to be desired

Sowetan 28/1/93

Comment by **Musa Zondi**

RALLYING CRY His Majesty calls on

Zulus to unite against threats:

KING ZWELITHINI Good-will kaBhekuzulu made a rallying cry to the Zulu-speaking people to stand united against the threats to their very existence.

He also expressed anger by saying "that I will never allow myself and the institution of the monarchy of kwaZulu to be drawn into party politics".

Your Majesty, I am a Zulu who is very proud of my history.

Zulu and proud

My father tells me about the great history of the Zulu people and also calls me by the name of our hero, Bhambatha kaMancinza, when I have done something good. That fills me with immense pride and joy.

But, Your Majesty, with due respect, listen to you saying you are above party politics and I find that commendable. But, on Sunday, the next thing you did was to attack the African National Congress, saying "there is yet no agreement from the ANC that the Zulu people have the right to self-determination".

To me that does not sound like being above party politics. That is party politics. Your Majesty, I hold no brief for anyone but myself as a human being and a proud Zulu.

Last week, when six people were killed near Wadeville, Germiston, my heart grieved that human beings were being killed. But my mind started racing

when the details of their gory death came to light.

Was it not suspicious that the killers wanted to know to what party these people belonged? I started to think that the people involved were aware of talk that "if Zulus do not get this or that there would be a civil war."

Thousands of Zulus have died in Natal and, Your Majesty, shouldn't your concern be that your people are dying like flies at the altar of political expediency?

Call a Zulu rally

Your Majesty, when are you going to call a rally of Zulu people in Natal and say to them: "I charge you with the responsibility of making sure no Zulu kills another."

Your Majesty, the first time I stared death in the face was when I was surrounded by *amabutho* from the Jabulani Amphitheatre. I was driving in the road when suddenly I was surrounded by Zulus. One of them told me the only reason he did not hit or stab me (my window was wide open) was that I had *isiphanda* (a piece of goat skin) around my wrist.

If I were not a Zulu, did I deserve to be stabbed? Did I deserve to have a panga cut my head into two and expose the paint that we normally call brains?

I have respect for the monarchy. I have respect for the Zulu traditions I inherited from my father. I am proud of the history of *inkosi uShaka kaSenzangakhona*.

Wedge among Zulus

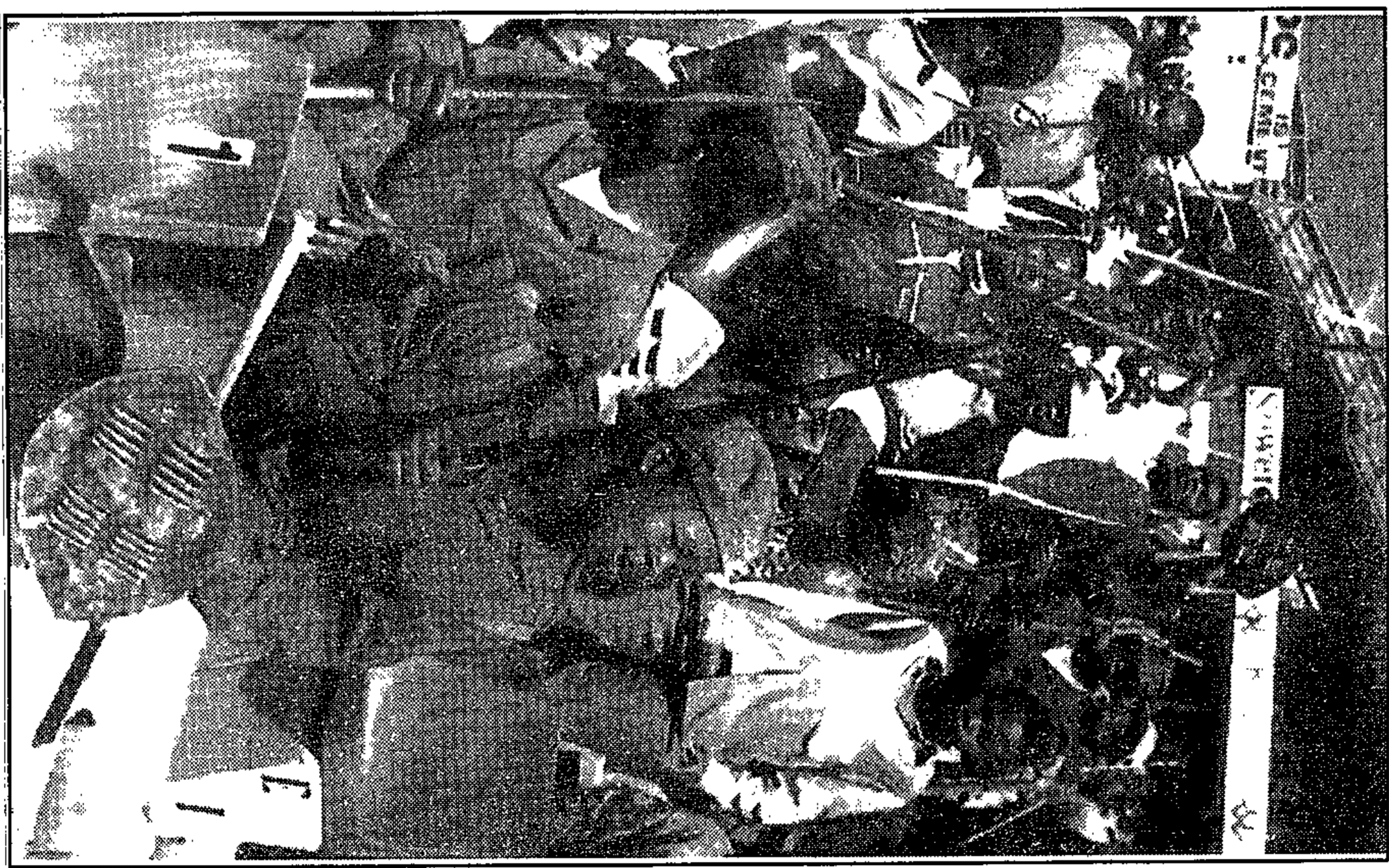
Nobody can take our Zuluness away — but to mix party politics and the pride of Zulus is to drive a wedge among Zulus themselves.

Most of the things said at the FNB Stadium were very political. It was more than just *imbizo*.

I get angry when people who are supposed to lead the Zulus get into bed with the rightwing. I feel we are exposing ourselves to being used by these white people. I get angry when there is war talk from whatever quarter and our Zuluness suddenly creeps in. I get angry when human beings are being butchered — whether they are Zulu or not.

I was asked by Andries Beyers at the height of the Boksburg fiasco if I were a Zulu or not. I told him I was and then he started going on about how Zulus were like Afrikaners.

I suppose I was being softened up to forget what they were doing to Boksburg because I was Zulu and therefore like him. Now, that's what makes me angry, very angry.



FACES OF ANGER ... Youths at the *imbizo* on Sunday at the FNB Stadium.

NEWS Fresh lead in Cape Town church attack ● Caprivi Strip trainee testifies

Cop says he was told to kill

Sowetan 29/7/93

A KWAZULU policeman told a Goldstone Commission hearing yesterday that he was given an AK-47 rifle and ammunition by Inkatha Freedom Party members and Kwazulu officials.

He was 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 South African Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip. He returned in 1987 after training with 200 other recruits.

He was giving evidence to a Goldstone hearing in Durban investigating the KZP's alleged involvement in violence in Natal.

The purpose of his training, the policeman said, was to protect members of the South African and Kwazulu governments, he was told. On his return to South Africa he spent nearly a year

recruiting IFP members before joining the Kwazulu police in Esikhawini.

Later members of the KZP confiscated the weapon from the policeman, apparently following intervention from the South African Police.

Although he was not arrested by his colleagues, despite the severity of the offence (possessing an illegal firearm), the policeman testified that he was afraid of action by the SAP.

He said later disclosures about the confiscation, another incident in which he was shot while patrolling with the KZP, and threatening phone calls to him, led him to fear for his life.

He said he suspected recourse from his mentors and contacted Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Dutton, a Goldstone Commission investigator, because he wanted protection under the witness protection programme.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

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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 Intudo 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.

Bophuthatwana 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. **APR 30 11 1993** Democratic Party delegation leader Colin Eglin said his party was "shocked at the political implications" of the legal action.

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 Inkatha 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."

Cop guilty on all counts

Sowetan 30/7/93

By Mzimasi Ngudle

NORWOOD serial rapist Jacobus Geldenhuis was convicted of all murder and rape charges by the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Geldenhuis (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.

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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 today.

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 CT 30/1/93



For king or chief? Sections of the crowd left when Buthelezi spoke PHOTO: LUANNE CADD

Making a mouse of the mighty lion

WWM 30/7 - 5/8/93

(107)

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.

Azapo stands firm on the Constituent Assembly

SOUTH 31/7 - 4/8/93

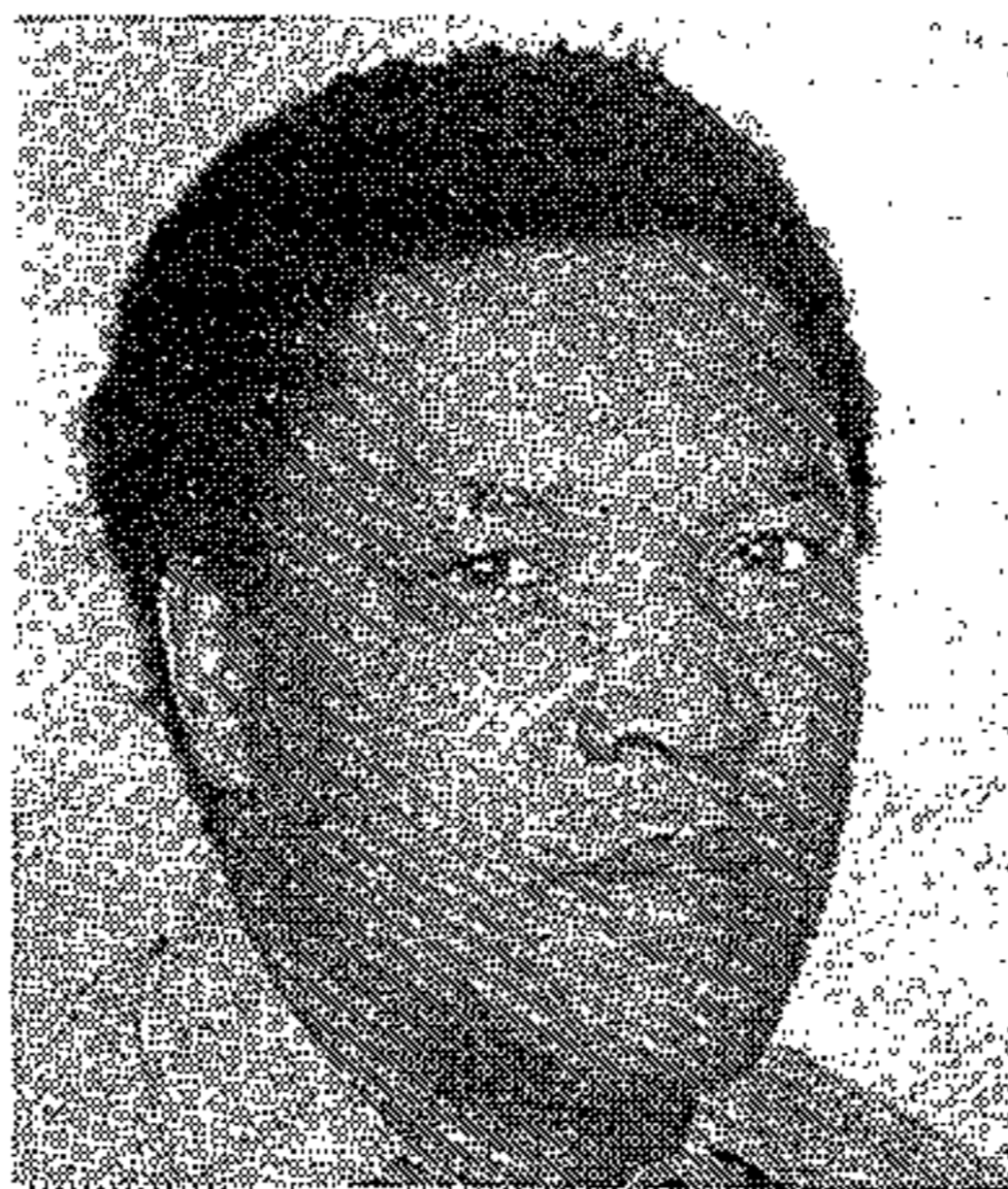
By Christelle Terreblanche

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. (107)

"We do not want to take part, because the talks are undemocratic in that the parties there were not



JIMMY YEKISO

(SOUTH) (SOUTH) 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.

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

Court to consider Kwazulu objection

By RAY HARTLEY

THE first shots in a court battle between the Kwazulu government and the negotiation process over its decision-making methods were fired in the Rand Supreme Court this week.

In papers lodged with the court, Kwazulu asked that sufficient consensus decisions setting April 27 as an election date and instructing a technical committee to draft a constitution be declared invalid.

(OT)
In a sworn statement,

Kwazulu chief negotiator Ben Ngubane said the April election date had been pushed through the negotiating council to pave the way for the drafting of a constitution. *SI Times*

The possibility existed that a government elected in terms of an interim constitution could ignore decisions made at talks unless it was bound "to an accepted, approved and legally promulgated constitution." *118/93*

The hearing has been set for August 24.

SITIMES(BUSS)

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. (107) (43)

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".

Inkatha man given AK to 'plough' with

Capri News 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". (107)

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." (108)

After finishing his training he worked as part of Inkatha's recruitment team in the office of the national organiser in Ulundi. (109)

Pressed by Wallis 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



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.

KwaZulu Police come under fire

CIPRES 8/8/92
THE public no longer have confidence in the KwaZulu Police (KZP) as they failed to arrest a member of the force found in possession of an AK-47 in August 1991; and did not investigate other cases to the satisfaction of complainants. *(S)*

This emerged after a three-day Goldstone Commission of Inquiry investigation into the involvement of the KZP in violence and intimidation. *(107)*

Inkatha ST. Times 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. TD Ntom-bela — the main speaker — said the Zulu nation would "oppose the destruction of Kwazulu to the last breath". (107) (45)

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.

THE Kwazulu government was forced to leave the negotiating table after it had exhausted all other available options and remedies to ensure the cause of federalism and constitutional guarantees triumph over authoritarian and centralistic hidden agendas.

With all the means available within the process, we tried to change the course taken by negotiations. However, on every occasion we were overruled, ignored and even cut short. Our entire vision for the establishment of a federation prior to elections was not even put on the table.

In fact, on June 15 1993 we walked out for the first time precisely because the ANC/SACP alliance and the South African government/National Party delegation refused to instruct the technical committee to give full consideration to our proposal for a final federal constitution by the end of 1994 as an alternative to their proposal for a two-stage transition process centred on the empowerment of a constituent assembly and a substantially unitary state.

On that occasion propaganda attempted to describe our walkout as a reaction to the setting of a date for a democratic election, while our opposition to the election date was based on the fact that the ANC/SACP alliance and the government/NP were steamrolling the process into elections for a constituent assembly and avoiding the issue of federalism.

Our second walkout was at the meeting of the negotiation forum on July 2, and was caused by the decision to instruct the technical committee to draft a constitution to empower a constituent assembly and to establish a unitary state with some provincial or regional characteristics, rather than a true federation of states, such as the United States, Germany or Australia.

The decisions to instruct the technical committee and ratify the election date were taken over our most fundamental objections, which proved the point that our presence at the World Trade Centre is required only to rubberstamp what the ANC/-



BEN NGUBANE, leader of the Kwazulu government delegation at the multi-party talks, tells why he walked out a month ago

Overruled, *SI Times 8/8/93* ignored and often snubbed

SACP alliance and the government/NP have already decided.

If the process allows these two organisations to make decisions over our most fundamental objections, our continuing presence in the process is not required.

The hard fact of the matter is that we were right, for the draft constitution submitted by the technical committee conclusively proved our contentions and confirmed our and South Africa's worst fears.

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. However, no power whatever will vest in the regions until and unless a decision in this sense is made by the new government and by two-thirds of the constituent assembly.

This process will decide how much power will be exercised by the regions and whether such power will be exercised as exclusive or concurrent power under the control of the national government's overriding powers.

Therefore, a one-third minority lobby in the con-

stituent assembly would have effective power to prevent the vesting of any functions in the regions.

Similarly, the regions have no power to truly organise themselves in autonomy to participate effectively in the decision-making of the national legislature due to the limitations set forth on the adoption and contents of regional constitutions, and by the fact that the senate will have no say on any matter which has financial implications.

However, and most importantly, whatever is written in this draft constitution is totally volatile because the draft empowers a constituent assembly and charges it with a specific constitutional duty to tear apart the interim constitution and replace it with a "total revision".

Because of treacherous deadlock-breaking mechanisms, a 51-percent majority will have the effective power to adopt the final constitution and the full discretion to decide on its contents.

Even if the draft provides for a 60-percent majority to ratify the final constitution at a referendum, this requirement is defeated by another provision in the draft which

makes it political suicide for any party to oppose the ratification at the referendum of the constitution adopted by a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly.

In fact, if a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly is defeated at a referendum it will be entitled to an absolute blank cheque to do whatever it pleases the next time round.

Ostensibly, the draft attempts to circumscribe the discretion of a future constituent assembly, but we strongly believe that the techniques used for such a purpose are totally ineffective and tantamount to a token of faith and good intentions.

We are fighting for the establishment of a federation with residual powers to the member states and with devolution to the federal government of only those powers which cannot be adequately or properly exercised at state level. 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.

The draft constitution presented by the technical committee excludes the very notion of federalism and gives a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly a final say over what our destiny is going to be. To us, this is a formula for sure disaster, irrespective of whoever controls the constituent assembly.

The Kwazulu government believes its constitutional goals should be achieved through negotiations. However, it sees no point in returning to negotiations until the rules of decision-making have been either clarified or amended to ensure that its participation in negotiations is not circumscribed to the role of a mere rubber stamp.

To have true negotiations, the rules of the game need to force the participants into real give and take. It appears clear that, irrespective of the many promises and high-sounding declarations, there have been no real concessions coming from the ANC/SACP alliance for the cause of federalism and pluralism in our country.

HOME AGAIN... BACK IN THE OFFICE... 200... help... the...

Death of conspirators pleased me, says Gqozo

ST Times 2/18/93

CISKEI'S Brigadier Oupa Gqozo this week finally gave evidence before a Bisho inquest court probing the killings of two alleged coup conspirators. (105)

General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana were killed during a Ciskei military operation in January 1991.

Brigadier Gqozo issued two decrees to prevent him from having to testify. These were overturned by the homeland's courts before he was compelled to appear before Mr Justice Mike Claasens, who had earlier labelled his failure to come to court as "reprehensible".

The small public gallery was packed with supporters, including cabinet members, as he took the stand on Monday.

The brigadier spent three days giving evidence. Questions focused on an interview he had with Durban journalist Yoghin Devan after the killings.

Choosing to speak in Xhosa through

By ANDREW TRENCH

breaking frequently into English, Brigadier Gqozo told the court his references to a "seek and destroy" order and to "taking out" the two had been taken out of context.

Pressed by Ciskei's deputy attorney-general, Mr Leon Langeveld, to explain the "seek and destroy" order, the brigadier said: "(That) is when we talk about a tracking down or follow-up operation of an enemy. Well, search and destroy, in this case, means if you find such a person or that enemy in a situation dangerous to you, you are supposed to take him down, throw a stone at him, apprehend him, intimidate him and, if the need arises, you can shoot that person."

Sitting in a corner of the court was Colonel Guzana's widow, Vive, who succeeded in getting the Appeal Court to overturn the brigadier's two decrees.

, then reinstates it ● Trade unions join NSB board

IFP dashes hopes of return to talks

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

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

■ **REMAINED UNCLEAR** Felgate says

party may go back to talks soon:

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.

Buthelezi in dark over Inkatha talks

B/Dey 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. (115)

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

B/Dey 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. (107)

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". (115)

Buthelezi, in his affidavit, said a fair debate on federal constitutional proposals had, for all practical purposes, failed. — Sapa.

Subsidy for farm radios

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. (115)

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

B/Dey 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." (125)

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.

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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:



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.

KwaZulu again issues court action

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The KwaZulu government has withdrawn and subsequently re-issued its court action against several rulings on sufficient consensus in negotiations.

The court documents, dated August 6, were served yesterday on Lebowa's MJ Mahlangu and Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan.

The documents include affidavits by KwaZulu government negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In his affidavit Ngubane said sufficient consensus "is quantitatively and qualitatively vague and ambiguous to the extent that it cannot serve as a proper guideline".

The original court application cited Mahlangu and Gordhan as

the first and the second respondent.

However, the new court application cites Gordhan as the second and third respondent.

Mahlangu chaired a meeting of the Negotiating Council on June 15, when he ruled that there was not sufficient consensus on an IFP resolution requesting the technical committee on constitutional matters to draft a report on federalism.

At the same meeting Mahlangu ruled sufficient consensus on the April 27 election date.

Gordhan, as the chairman of the June 30 meeting of the Negotiating Council, ruled sufficient consensus on a resolution instructing the technical committee to draft an Interim Constitution. Gordhan also ruled sufficient consensus on the election date at the July 2 meeting of the Negotiating Forum.

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.

IFP boss calls for peace

Sowetan 12/8/93

107

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, Kallehong, setting a number of shacks alight.

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 boycott to continue

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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-

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

ment's objections to sufficient consensus rulings at the negotiating table are scheduled to be heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court next Monday.

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.

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 15/8/93 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. (107)

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. (4)

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. (5)

Chief Buthelezi has rejected the current draft constitutional propos-

CIP 1518/93
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."

Teachers kicked out after strike

TWENTY-THREE KwaZulu teachers who were driven out of their schools in the Inkatha stronghold of Lindelani for participating in the Sadtu-organised strike in June are without work.

Teachers told City Press that when they returned to their four respective schools in Lindelani near Durban, Inkatha strongman and KwaZulu MP Mandla Shabalala confronted them with a group of armed men. *CIPRESS*

"Shabalala told us to leave the school forever because we participated in the strike," said one teacher from Mandlakazulu Higher Primary School in an affidavit handed to the Legal Resources Centre in Durban. *1518193*

However, Shabalala, who is also the mayor of Lindelani, has dismissed teachers' claims as "nonsense". *(107)*

The Inkatha leader added that they wanted "education in his area and not politics".

A Sadtu spokesman said the issue of 23 teachers was raised with KwaZulu education secretary Bill Staude, but the issue was not resolved and a separate meeting was being considered to discuss this "violent expulsion" of teachers.

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. (107)

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.

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. *(107)*

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. *(107)*

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. *(107)*

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.

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

were looking for the route back and to this end would continue their bilateral discussions with Government and the ANC.

However, they acknowledge 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.



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 23/8/93

Buthelezi on talks, FW, the way ahead

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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 never pontificate outside the decision-making body of the central committee.

On how "self-determination" for Zulus should be achieved.

You are aware of the Buthelezi 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 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 brew 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 force with MK. A few weeks ago, (Justice Minister Koble) 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. Apia 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 dribs and drabs. 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 positions he has held. I have not shifted from my positions. He is still a head of state and I accord him all the respect for that.

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 65 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 opinion of my people will be my option, too.

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.

Inkatha 'not bound by law'

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B/Day
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BILLY PADDOCK

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Inkatha

B/Day 23/8/93

From Page 1

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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."

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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".

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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."

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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

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?"

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"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.

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KwaZulu land deal

angers ANC
21/Nov 24/8/93
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The ANC has lashed out at government for agreeing to consolidate almost 500 000ha of land in Natal into KwaZulu, and warns that it may take strong action if the transfer goes ahead.

In terms of the agreement between Ulundi and Pretoria, ownership of some of the land will be transferred to the KwaZulu Finance and Development Corporation and other bodies, while other portions will be given to tribes and tribal authorities.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation was unhappy about the unilateral transfer of land when SA was talking about integrating all these areas into a united SA.

The agreement follows a decades-old tussle over the land which government had initially agreed to give to KwaZulu in terms of its consolidation programme.

The deal appears to be a compromise on KwaZulu's original demands for full control of more than 90 pieces of land. Most of the land consists of tribal villages and townships, conservation, forestry and agricultural areas.

SA retains responsibility for education and policing in the affected areas, and some parts, including townships, will continue to be administered by the Natal Provincial Administration.

A Land Affairs spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the deal, but said several "role players" still had to be consulted before the transfer could go ahead.

A technical committee consisting of KwaZulu, the NPA, and certain SA government departments, has been established to execute the transfer of the land.

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ANC slams govt, IFP for land deal

CT 24/8/93 Own Correspondent (107) ~~115~~

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.

**Delay in
court action**

PRETORIA — The KwaZulu government's court challenge to the "sufficient consensus" decision-making mechanism at the multiparty talks will not be heard for at least two weeks (107) (SAPA)

This was said yesterday by KwaZulu's attorney Gerhard Painter. KwaZulu is also challenging the April 27 1994 election date agreed to by sufficient consensus.

Painter said the case could be heard in two weeks' time, at the earliest, if the respondents filed answering affidavits before September 7, and if a special date was set down for the hearing.

Tefo Raditapole, attorney for respondents M J Mahlangu and Pravin Gordhan — the talks' rotating chairmen — said they would try to file their affidavits by Friday.

The KwaZulu government would then have 10 court days to file replying papers, he added. The matter will then be set down on the opposed motion roll and a date for the hearing will be allocated. — 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.

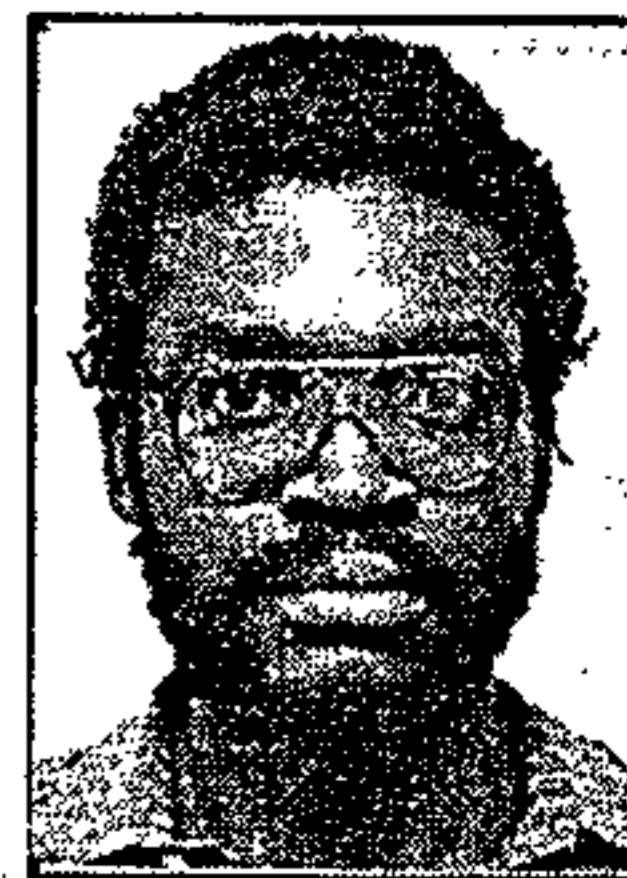
The only glue keeping them together right now was their mutual dislike of the marriage between the ANC and President FW de Klerk's Government.

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.

Outrage over Natal land deal

Farouk Chothia (107) ~~21~~

WJM 27/8-2/9/93

THE government's decision to hand over large chunks of state land in Natal to kwaZulu has sparked fears that the land claims of communities could be affected, and that it may lead to an upsurge in violence.

The government's agreement with the homeland was seen in opposition circles this week as a ploy to regain Inkatha's support for the multi-party negotiation process and to help the organisation consolidate its territorial control in Natal/kwaZulu.

It also reflects National Party thinking in Natal that the boundaries of the kwaZulu homeland be respected under a new regional constitution, and that a "tribal government" should rule at third-tier level. In effect, the deal strengthens the muscle of any future "tribal government" in Natal/kwaZulu.

What angers critics most is the fact that the deal comes at a time when constitutional negotiations are in progress and when communities have applied to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (Acla) for ownership rights to state-owned land.

African National Congress Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala warned: "People will resist this move. We have a powerful weapon called mass action."

Richard Clacey of the Association for Rural Advancement said such deals had been "the source of bitter conflict" in the past and had the potential to trigger off further violence.

Clacey pointed out that Judge Richard Goldstone had recommended last year that there be a moratorium on land transfers.

Two communities in northern Natal had already made submissions to Acla asking for ownership of state-owned land, Clacey said. "The current land deal pre-emptes the findings of Acla and undermines the communities which have attempted to get their land problems resolved through due process."

A statement issued by the office of Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Tobie Meyer said the agreement would be "subject to the investigations and recommendations" of Acla and that it was reached after "proper consultation" with affected communities.

Clacey pointed out that the 500 000ha affected by the deal constitutes the only state-owned land available for Natal's 1.4-million landless people and black farmers.

Apparently aware that the issue is a political hot potato, Meyer said none of the 93 pieces of land concerned would be incorporated into kwaZulu. The land would be jointly administered by kwaZulu and South Africa, subject to South African laws, the statement said.

In terms of the agreement, politically sensitive areas — like Clermont and Edendale townships, where the ANC has a strong presence — would remain under the administration of the Natal Provincial Administration. Other sensitive issues — like policing and education — would also remain under South Africa's control.

Land donated 'temporarily'

GAVIN DU VENAGE

GOVERNMENT was not handing land to KwaZulu or any other homeland or tribal authority, Land Affairs Deputy Minister Tobie Meyer said at the weekend. *8/Nov 20/8/93*

He said land was merely being partially and temporarily entrusted to the KwaZulu administration. A decision on final "ownership" would be made only after a new government dispensation had been finalised.

Meyer was reacting to accusations that government was still transferring land previously promised to homeland governments. The accusations came after 500 000ha was recently put under the joint control of government and KwaZulu. *(107)*

Certain extra-parliamentary organisations objected that government was trying to use the land deal as a bribe to get Inkatha back to the negotiating table.

Meyer rejected this, saying there was nothing cynical about the way state land was being looked after. "Claims that government is trying to buy KwaZulu with land are absolute nonsense," he said.

Meyer said the state used various forms of administratorship. Land was often administered by private companies on an agency basis, where possible. In other cases, it was run jointly by organisations such as the KwaZulu Finance Corp, the Agriculture Department and government.

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 remarks 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 Buthezi 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 Luthuli, Prof Tongo Jabavu and Mahlathi 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 Buthezi. 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 Buthezi took over he put an end to widows being kicked out of their homes."

She is neither Inkatha nor ANC. She admires Buthezi 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.

When people speak of Natal violence they ascribe it to a lack of tolerance on the part of the Zulus. I often wonder where that idea came from. Zulu people do not have a history of discriminating against those who are not one of them. In fact, many non-Zulu people were educated in Natal schools. They will tell you of the hospitality of the Zulu people. For every five blacks walking along Durban streets, two will be Xhosa or Sotho.

A middle-aged business consultant from KwaMashu argues that Inkatha followers seem to be under the misconception that somebody wants to take their country away from them: "I was speaking to an MP from Newcastle and he said: 'Can you see how the Xhosa (meaning the ANC) want to take the country?' And I told him that the voters will give the country to the ANC."

It continues to be difficult to know what people are fighting over in Natal. The lines are not as clearly drawn as the media tends to suggest, and yet they are also very clear lines of division. For instance, if you are not an ANC supporter then you had

Battered Natalians Await election with trepidation

Bl Day August 1993

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE in Durban

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.

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

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. (107) (18)

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." (107) (18)

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

Goldstone team upstages cops and finds witnesses

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE Goldstone commission achieved in a matter of days what the Kwazulu Police could not manage in two years, it emerged this week.

For at least two years, the Kwazulu Police made no headway in their investigation of Mr Sphiwe Mtolo's death, a killing that allegedly involved other members of the Kwazulu Police. The difficulty, they claimed, was that they were unable to locate key witnesses.

The Goldstone commission's investigation force was asked to follow up the case, and quickly located the witnesses. The first was found within a few hours, the rest a few days later.

It involved no special feat — the Goldstone investigators simply went to the addresses given by the witnesses in their statements and asked where the witnesses were, a Goldstone

commission hearing in Westville was told.

The committee, chaired by Mr Malcolm Wallis, SC, is inquiring into several Kwazulu Police cases which were allegedly not properly investigated — or not investigated at all. The committee will be asked to decide whether the cases illustrate inefficiency, incompetence — or something more sinister.

Several of the cases were brought to the attention of the commission by Durban's Legal Resources Centre.

Advocate Carl Koenig said the Goldstone investigation team had discovered that the investigating officer in Mr Mtolo's case

was also the investigating officer in another murder that took place on the same day.

He said the cases shared other features. In both, allegations had been made that the Kwazulu Police were implicated; and in both, the person who had been killed had been accused by the police of murdering some of their members. (107)

Mr L.J.L. Visser, SC, for the Kwazulu Police objected strongly to any connection being made between the cases, saying they were being made on hearsay.

The hearing has been adjourned to a date still to be decided.

Tough talks expected at Trade Centre

Negotiators face week of hurdles

Star 6/9/93

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■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

South Africa faces an important week inside and outside the World Trade Centre negotiations.

A crucial issue will be the KwaZulu government's court application to have certain negotiations decisions — taken in terms of "sufficient consensus" — overturned. The hearing is set down in the Pretoria Supreme Court for Thursday.

The decisions include the April 27 election date, agreed to at the July 2 Negotiating Forum meeting, which sparked a walkout by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party.

Grappling

If the court rules for the KwaZulu government, it will immediately cast the election date into doubt.

We shall also see:

■ Negotiators trying to reach agreement on the draft Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill — and more grappling

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

TODAY: Negotiators get to grips with draft legislation designed to make provision for the transitional executive council

(TEC), the multiparty forum designed to monitor the Government during the election campaign. It had been hoped that one day's work would be enough to finalise agreement, but the issue is a complex one and might take more than a day to complete. It is becoming increasingly doubtful whether the TEC legislation can be processed in time to be passed by the short session of Parliament starting on September 13.

THIS WEEK: Once agreement has been reached, the negotiators will grapple with the Interim Constitution. It is hoped that this document — in terms of which South Africa will be governed after the elections and until a final constitution takes effect — will be ready in time to go through a session of Parliament in November. Negotiators will also have an eye on the Supreme Court, where the KwaZulu government's challenge on the use of "sufficient consensus" to take decisions is scheduled to be heard.

CHRIS WHITFIELD

with the Interim Constitution.

■ Preparations for the meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Presi-

dent de Klerk.

It is understood that Government-proposed dates for this week had been rejected by KwaZulu. A KwaZulu govern-

ment source said the likely date now appeared to be Thursday next week.

In Kempton Park, negotiators will press ahead today to finalise agreement on the draft TEC Bill.

The concept of a TEC has sparked resistance from some groups, with Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg warning on Friday that its installation would amount to a "declaration of war".

Radical

Buthelezi has said that KwaZulu would not co-operate with the TEC if it was not party to agreements.

■ One of the Cabinet Ministers said to be behind a campaign to form an anti-ANC election pact said yesterday there was no way it could materialise with organisations "who do not accept reforms or nonracialism".

The NP's Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday that the NP would not co-operate with radical rightist groups simply because they were opposed to the ANC.

Cloud hangs over Kempston talks

Sowetan

7/9/93

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By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

■ **SOUR NOTE** Doubts about pending court case do nag at negotiators:

THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT'S RAND Supreme Court application against the multiparty negotiations process hung like a cloud above the World Trade Centre yesterday.

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 it might have serious consequences for the progress already made.

The KwaZulu government, Inkatha

Freedom Party and the Conservative Party walked out of the talks protesting against decisions (including next April 27 as an election date) taken on July 2.

Yesterday, the bulk of constitutional issues affecting the future of homelands, especially the TBVC states and their powers, were postponed and referred to the negotiations planning committee for recommendation.

However, most of these issues will be dealt with bilaterally between parties in discord. Such bilateral agreements, which take place outside the negotiating council chamber, would keep all un-

happy parties in the process.

Discussions on the draft Transitional Executive Council Bill, agreement on which is vital this week, was held over until today to allow 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 on Monday.

Their enactment would seal the transitional process in the build-up to the elections.

Star 9/9/93

KwaZulu action today

(107)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The scheduled April 27 election date goes on the line today when the Pretoria Supreme Court hears an application by the KwaZulu government to have various decisions taken in negotiations declared null and void.

Should KwaZulu succeed in its action, a range of decisions taken on the so-called "sufficient consensus" basis could be cast into doubt, pending an appeal.

KwaZulu is objecting to four decisions in particular:

■ By Negotiating Council acting chairman M J

Mahlangu on June 15 that a 15-8 vote in favour of a KwaZulu motion that the technical committee on constitutional matters should draw up a federal constitution did not amount to sufficient consensus. This sparked a walkout by KwaZulu and its Coşag partners.

■ By Mahlangu on the same day that the council had approved by general consensus that April 27 should be set as a provisional election date, to be ratified by the Negotiating Forum.

■ By acting chairman Pravin Gordhan on June 30 that a resolution asking the technical committee to prepare an interim

constitution had been passed by sufficient consensus.

■ By the chairman of the June 2 Negotiating Forum meeting that the April 27 election date had been approved by sufficient consensus.

Should KwaZulu succeed, all these issues would have to be addressed again. This would set negotiations back severely and almost certainly place the April 27 election under grave threat.

But ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Cape Town yesterday that if the action failed, the applicants should be honour-bound to return to the talks table.

'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 C F Eloff, Mr Justice P J 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."

KwaZulu case dismissed with costs

PRETORIA — The KwaZulu government's application to the Transvaal Supreme Court to set aside decisions made by sufficient consensus at negotiations was dismissed with costs yesterday. *BIDAY*

"We are back to square one," said KwaZulu negotiator Ben Ngubane following the decision by a full Bench of the court that it had no jurisdiction to review the decision-making process at Kempton Park. He said the ruling made a summit meeting of political leaders "an absolute necessity", particularly in the light of continuing violence.

Sapa reports Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the ruling did not affect KwaZulu's position. The case had been "just one option" and the KwaZulu cabinet

DIRK VAN EEDEN

would consider its next move. He saw no point in returning to talks. *10/9/93*

Multiparty negotiations co-chairman Pravin Gordhan said the judgment placed a moral obligation on Kwazulu, and other parties outside negotiations, to rejoin talks. The ANC said the Inkatha Freedom Party was "morally bound to return to negotiations immediately." *(107)*

Delivering judgment, Transvaal Judge President CF Eloff said the court could review only decisions made by statutory bodies or contractual agreements creating rights and obligations. The rules of proce-

To Page 2

KwaZulu

BIDAY *10/9/93* From Page 1
dure agreed on by multiparty negotiators did not constitute a contract or an enforceable agreement. *(107)*

Agreements reached at the talks were legally inconsequential as government could not legally be forced to table them in Parliament. Neither could Parliament be forced to adopt such decisions.

Even if the court could use its discretion

and reviewed the matter, he believed it best for the KwaZulu government to resolve its political differences at the negotiations forum, not in court.

Earlier KwaZulu advocate Louis Visser said the impression that the application had been brought to derail the negotiations process was entirely wrong. "This is a desperate final attempt to bring negotiations back on track."

KwaZulu

loses case

Sowetan 10/9/93

Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa

THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT has lost its Pretoria Supreme Court application challenging "sufficient consensus", the decision-making mechanism at the multiparty talks.

The application was dismissed with costs by a full Bench yesterday.

Delivering his judgment, Transvaal Judge-President Mr Justice Frikkie Eloff said he did not think the court was the appropriate forum for the KwaZulu government to resolve its differences. This should rather be done at the multiparty negotiating forum.

The failure of the court action "paved the way for the immediate return of the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party to talks", co-chairman of the negotiating council Mr Pravin Gordhan said afterwards.

But KwaZulu Health Minister Mr Ben

Ngubane poured cold water on hopes of an IFP return to the World Trade Centre talks, saying the party was now "back to square one" in its dispute with the multiparty negotiating process.

Mr Justice Eloff said in his judgment it would be "inappropriate for the court to interfere in the course of a political process which is still far from being completed".

(107)
He said no legal basis existed for the application, which asked the court to make a declaratory order on the "sufficient consensus" principle and set aside decisions taken by the negotiating council on the basis of "sufficient consensus".

The KwaZulu government should resolve its political disputes with other parties involved in the negotiating process.

Ngubane said he was disappointed at the outcome of the case. "We are now back to square

one. Our first prize remains a return to the multiparty negotiating process but on fair terms."

He said this week's agreement on the Transitional Executive Council Bill had created more problems than it solved. "We should not pretend we are making progress if we are not."



Mr Pravin Gordhan

KwaZulu loses case

Sowetan 10/9/93

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Mr Pravin Gordhan

IFP brawl erupts over poll boycott

S/Timeo 12/9/93

(107)

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.

By RAY HARTLEY

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 Hermus Kriel, Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpoort, 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 Ngubane 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.

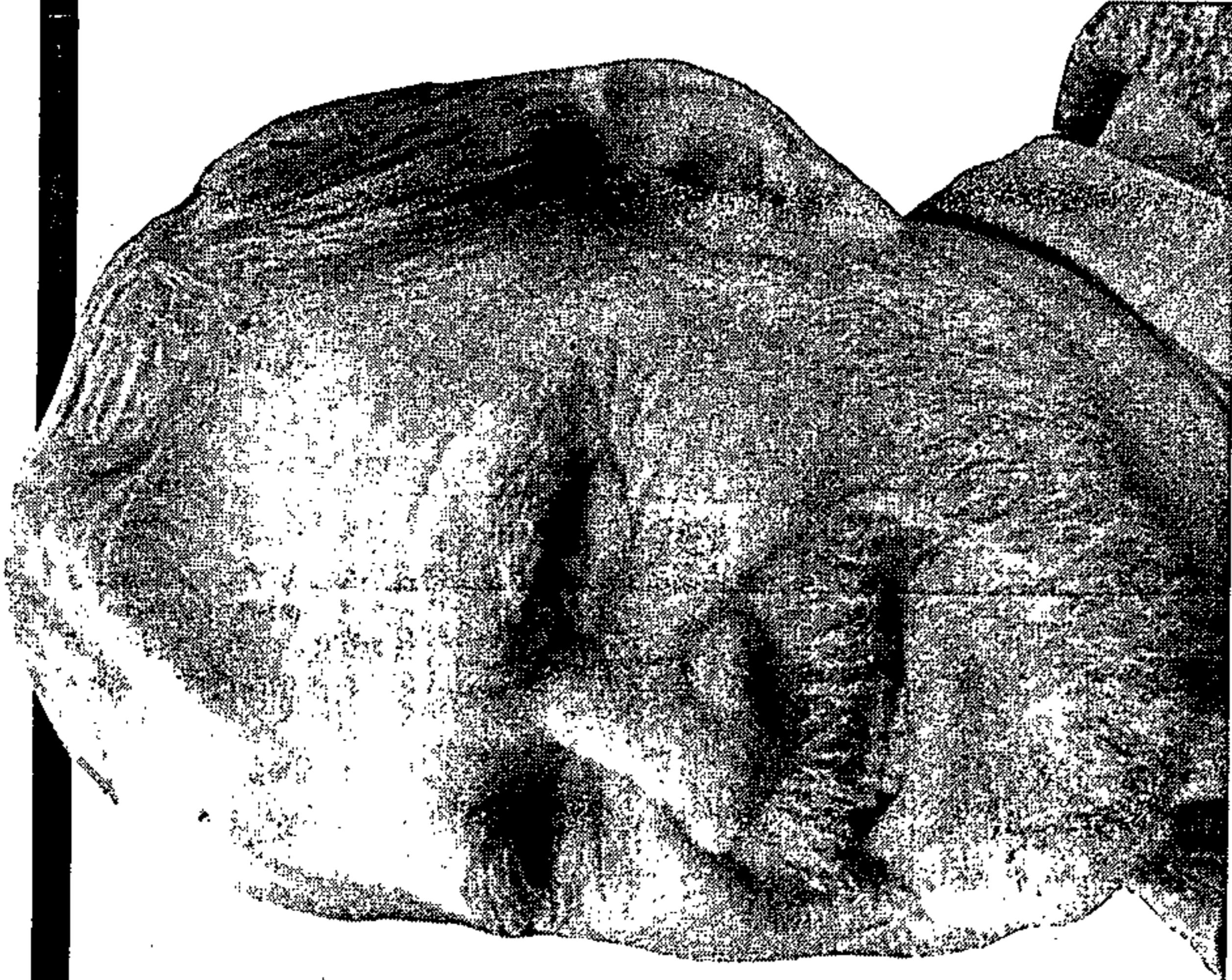
ANC president Nelson Mandela entered the fray on Friday saying those who raised "the spectre of

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

KwaZulu acts

Sowetan 14/9/92

THE KwaZulu government plans to seek further legal opinion before deciding whether to appeal against last week's Pretoria Supreme Court dismissal of its court action against the chairmen of the multiparty negotiating council at Kempton Park.

In a statement after a Cabinet meeting yesterday, the KwaZulu government said it would not "acquiesce or submit to any decisions and actions taken in its absence."

(107)

KZP starts purge of Caprivi trainees

107
W/M 7-23/9/92

Farouk Chothia

THE KwaZulu Police (KZP) has sacked one Caprivi trainee and has suspended another in what seems to be a response to growing pressure on the force to purge itself of the military intelligence-trained policemen.

In an interview, the head of KZP legal section, Colonel Tommy Reed, said as far as he knew Caprivi trainee Constable Gcina Mkhize has been fired and Constable Bhekabantu Ngunane has been suspended.

Mkhize's dismissal came in the wake of persistent allegations that he was involved in violence in Esikhawini township in northern Natal.

After appeals from the South African Police reporting officer, Advocate Neville Melville, the KZP transferred Mkhize from Esikhawini to Ngutu.

Melville told the *Mail & Guardian*: "As soon as he was moved out (of Esikhawini), there was an apparent decrease in crime. There could be a correlation."

On Mkhize's dismissal, Reed said: "There was an indication to me that a Board of Inquiry was convened and it was found that he was unfit (to be a

policeman)."

Reed said the KZP had handed over investigations related to Mkhize to the SAP in terms of an agreement reached between KZP commissioner Lieutenant General Roy Durling and the SAP regional commissioner for Natal, General Colin Steyn.

"We did so because of numerous complaints received from the African National Congress which was not satisfied with the investigation being conducted by the KZP," Reed said.

Mkhize's dismissal seems to be an attempt by the KZP to distance itself from him before he is found guilty of any crimes.

However, the move could backfire: if Mkhize feels he has been ditched, he could make damaging revelations against the KZP and Inkatha — particularly on his training at the hands of the South African Defence Force in Caprivi in 1986.

In police custody for the past four weeks, Mkhize is scheduled to appear in the Mthunzini magistrates court today on charges of murder and abduction.

Melville said the SAP was also investigating Mkhize's alleged involvement in the killing of five peo-

ple in Esikhawini in June — including the death of a local KZP officer, Sergeant Dumisane Solomon Dlamini, who had been co-operating with the Goldstone Commission.

The KZP's decision to suspend the other Caprivi trainee, Ngunane, seems to stem from the fact that he has turned against the force — and is now co-operating with the commission.

At a commission hearing in July, Mkhize embarrassed the KZP when he revealed that he had been trained to kill non-Inkatha members — a statement which flew in the face of an earlier finding by the commission.

Reed said Ngunane was suspended from the force on August 2 for illegally possessing an AK47 — an offence which he had committed in 1987. Reid said the case has been referred to the attorney general's office for prosecution.

He blamed the delay on the fact that each time the KZP tried to obtain statements from three witnesses they were unavailable.

The three witnesses were Caprivi trainees Joyful Nyambose, Peter Msane and Daluxolo Mandlanduna

Luthuli — identified earlier as the "commissioner" of the Caprivi group and a former Umkhonto weSizwe cadre who fought in the Wantke campaign in 1967 against South African and Rhodesian troops.

Ngunane had claimed the trio had given him the AK47 to "plough through" sections of Esikhawini township.

He said the SAP received information that he was in possession of the AK47, resulting in his station commander, Captain MZ Dlamini, confiscating the weapon before he could use it.

Two former KwaZulu policemen, one a Caprivi trainee, were acquitted in the Maritzburg Supreme Court of murder this week.

Passing judgment, Mr Justice McCall found Alfred Masango (27), a Caprivi graduate also known as Vela Mchunu, and Sibongisi Zama (29) not guilty of the murder of Richard Duma and Sipho Mkhize in February 1992.

The judge said he found Masango an unsatisfactory witness whose evidence he was disinclined to believe. However, the state had not proved its case beyond reasonable doubt.

Stinging report blames Kwazulu for Natal bloodshed

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE continued existence of the Kwazulu homeland" has been identified by influential human rights agency Africa Watch as an obstacle to ending political violence in Natal. *SITimes*

In a 44-page report to be released this week, the organisation claims the Kwazulu police operate with an

"almost complete lack of accountability for their actions" and are routinely guilty of incompetence, bias and even criminal activities.

The report says only urgent action to ensure reasonably free political activity in Kwazulu will prevent multi-party elections from being significantly compromised.

It says the South African government should establish interim

authorities to administer Kwazulu and other homelands pending elections for a constituent assembly.

This interim authority should begin reincorporation by bringing Kwazulu schools, hospitals and other government services back under central government control.

It should issue clear instructions to all KZP members that, in terms

of the National Peace Accord, bias against any group would not be tolerated. 19/9/93

Breaches of the accord should be pursued and offenders suspended.

The report recommends that the US maintain sanctions at least until a constituent assembly has been elected through a poll regarded by independent observers as free and fair. (107)

Africa Watch criticises oppression in KwaZulu

US-based human rights agency Africa Watch says a lack of free political activity in KwaZulu will significantly compromise next year's election. **BIDA**

The report was released today and is the third to target a homeland. Previous reports have dealt with Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. **22/9/93**

It says its study of KwaZulu "does not support Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi's claim that he is the most democratic of SA's black leaders".

The report charges that KwaZulu is a one-party state and that only the Inkatha Freedom Party has the freedom to organise within the homeland. It says freedom of expression, assembly and association for other groups like the ANC are routinely denied. It says the chieftainship system is abused to ensure that chiefs opposed to Inkatha or Buthelezi are removed and support for Inkatha is enforced. **(107)**

The report says KwaZulu government services are used to promote support for Inkatha among employees and claimants of benefits. The KwaZulu police "are allowed to operate with an almost complete lack of accountability".

"They fail to offer equal protection to individuals and groups believed to support the ANC, engage in acts of random or

PATRICK BULGER

politically directed violence and are widely perceived to be the armed wing of Inkatha," it said.

The report recommends to the SA government that it establishes interim authorities for the administration of KwaZulu and other homelands pending elections for a constituent assembly; authorises an SAP investigation of the KwaZulu police where there is evidence that it is not conducting a proper investigation; that all proposed transfers of land from SA to KwaZulu be frozen; and SA sets up a commission of inquiry into the role of traditional leaders.

It recommends the KwaZulu government should allow other groups to use government facilities for the holding of political meetings; that it investigates victimisation of opponents of Inkatha and metes out appropriate punishment; and that it issues clear instructions to the KwaZulu police not to abuse human rights.

To the US it recommends the retention of all remaining sanctions until the election of a constituent assembly and that it pressures the SA government to ensure that interim authorities are established in the homelands.

(107) CT 23

Govt to meet KwaZulu team over negotiations

JOHANNESBURG. — The government will meet a KwaZulu delegation for bilateral talks on Sunday and Monday in an expected effort to narrow the gap between them, and woo KwaZulu back to multi-party negotiations, according to an Inkatha spokesman who didn't want to be named.

It is understood that neither President F W de Klerk nor Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend the talks, but senior KwaZulu negotiator and IFP central committee member Dr. Ben Ngubane will return from Washington to lead the homeland delegation. — Sapa

Wooing KwaZulu

THE Government will meet a KwaZulu delegation on Sunday and Monday. *Sowetan*

It is thought to be an effort to narrow the gap between them and woo KwaZulu back to multiparty negotiations. *23/9/93*

Senior KwaZulu negotiator and IFP central committee member Dr Ben Ngubane will lead the homeland delegation. *(107)*

The talks would take place outside Pretoria.

The meeting is the result of a top-level meeting between the two parties at the State President's office in Cape Town last week which ended without agreement by the KwaZulu government to return to multiparty talks but determined to continue with bilaterals.

Government spokesman Mr Marius Kleynhans said the proposed bilateral with KwaZulu had not been finalised but depended on whether Ngubane and Felgate, who are in the United States, were able to attend.

He said the Government's submission on regions, an area which forms the crux of its disagreement with KwaZulu/IFP, would probably not be submitted as expected at the World Trade Centre this week. — *Sapa*.

'Get ready to fight' — king

107

110

CT 25/9/93

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

Zulu St. Times king

calls for 26/9/93 peace

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday appealed to his subjects to halt the violence plaguing South Africa and called for racial harmony in the country.

Speaking at a Shaka Day ceremony in Stanger, King Zwelithini said "enemies of the Zulu nation" had ridiculed him by suggesting he was siding with one political party over another.

He also made a strong appeal for peace and racial harmony. (107)

"If we do not stop the killings, black people will stand to inherit a wasteland of poverty and death.

"If we are to build a new SA free from hate and hostility of the past, we must strive for peace and understanding between the races," he said.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked his supporters to contribute R5 each towards the establishment of "legal" armed units to protect Zulus in strife-torn areas.

"It is not my intention to be aggressive or to start a war," he said. "But they are all against Zulus."

The proposed units would operate within the law and were required to counteract widespread killing of Zulus, he said. He suggested the units might be deployed on the Reef.

Mr Buthelezi again rejected the imposition of the recently billed Transitional Executive Council. — Sapa

Zulu king calls for peace

26/9/93

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Mr. Buthelezi again rejected the imposition of the recently billed Transitional Executive Council. —

Sapa

SPW 27/9/93
Monarch tells of plot
ZULU monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday accused the multi-party negotiating forum of plotting to obliterate KwaZulu and urged his subjects to fight against the Transitional Executive Council (107)

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.

Buthelezi asked his supporters to help establish armed protection units to defend Zulus, and urged Zulus 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.

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.

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. **BIDAY 27/9/93**

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 Gatscha Buthelezi, Chief with a Double Agenda, which had been removed from SA bookshelves after Inkatha had threatened legal action. **(107)**

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. **(SOUTH)**

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

NEWS Warning of 'takeover' of KwaZulu • Cosag urges

Buthlezi: resist TEC

Sowetan 27/9/93

I NKATHA CHIEF MANGOSUTHU Buthlezi 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.

"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

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More talks between SA, KwaZulu

(107)

CT 28/9/93

PRETORIA. — Representatives of the South African and KwaZulu governments continued their discussions on a draft constitution here yesterday.

A statement by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and KwaZulu's Dr Ben Ngubane said the discussions were "constructive, fruitful and wide-ranging".

A technical committee was appointed to facilitate further meetings.

The delegations will meet again tomorrow.

Meanwhile, Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte said yesterday he was convinced Natal/KwaZulu should have its own constitution.

The NP's latest draft regional model provides for "tremendous" regional powers, he adds.

"I'm a federalist and it (the model) goes further than I expected," Mr Schutte said in Durban in an interview before addressing the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa.

Mr Schutte said he believed the model to be presented to the multi-party negotiating forum soon, would go far enough to draw Inkatha back to democracy talks.

Regarding the IFP's weekend rejection of the TEC, Mr Schutte said it was essential that their fear be overcome. — Sapa

news in brief

Sowetan 30/9/93

KwaZulu talks 'progress'

PROGRESS had been made in the bilateral talks between the Government and a KwaZulu delegation in Pretoria, according to Constitutional Development Ministry spokesman Mr Izak Relief.

The series of talks, intended to woo the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party back to multiparty negotiations, would continue in Durban tomorrow, said Relief.

Constitutional discussions were constructive and progress had indeed been made. The Government delegation was headed by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, and KwaZulu chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane led the homeland's delegation.

Govt, KwaZulu talks continue

Sowetan
A HIGH-LEVEL team of Government negotiators met KwaZulu leaders in Durban yesterday as part of a series of bilateral talks between the two parties aimed at facilitating the homeland's return to negotiations. (107)

The South African Government was represented by its chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and included Ministers Leon Wessels, Dawie de Villiers and Reiner

11/10/93
Schoeman. The KwaZulu delegation was led by Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane. (SAPA)

A spokesman for Meyer, Mr Izak Retief, said it was unlikely either party would make any public statement.

"They're very tight-lipped because this is a series of meetings and they don't want to make statements that might jeopardise future negotiation," said Retief. — Sapa.

NKATHA will never realise its dream of a federal state in Natal and KwaZulu no matter how hard they try, ANC leader Nelson Mandela allegedly told Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their meeting at Kempton Park in July.

Addressing guests in Johannesburg during a debate on the role of the TEC, Inkatha spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said during their second man-to-man meeting to try and find a solution to the inter-party political violence among their supporters. Mandela told Buthelezi in no uncertain terms that Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government should forget about pursuing the idea of establishing an autonomous federal state.

Jiyane expressed little hope of Inkatha achieving its goals at multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre as "deals were pre-cooked at bilateral and backchannel (secret bush talks) between the government and the ANC".

In a surprise disclosure, Jiyane said during their recent visit to Namibia, President Sam Nujoma told the Inkatha delegation that Pretoria and the ANC were making a serious mistake by sidelining them from the multiparty talks.

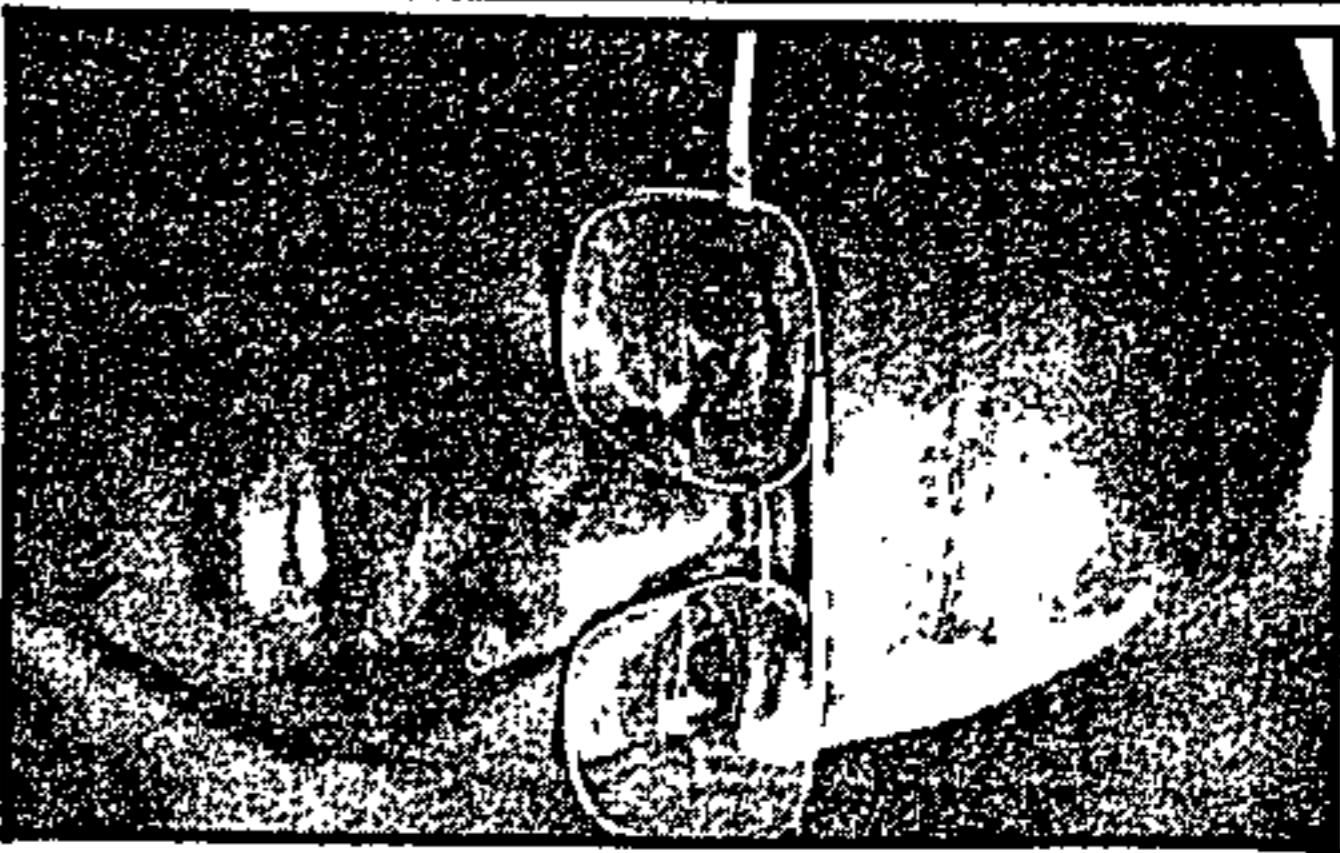
Said Jiyane: "Nujoma vindicated our stance with regard to the talks and said although his government consisted of a Constituent Assembly, it was ruled by consensus rather than through decisions being taken unilaterally by the ruling party."

Jiyane shared the platform with speakers from the PAC, NP and Azapo on the theme: "TEC - Sellout or Compromise", which was organised by the Dr Oscar Dlamini's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

However, despite their absence from the World Trade Centre, Inkatha continued to hold bilateral talks with both the ANC and Pretoria to put across its point on the type of federalism Inkatha and KwaZulu envisaged.

"We stand less chance of making our point inside the multiparty talks than outside. The government has spent more time striking deals with the ANC in secret talks and they expect us to hop along with those decisions."

Jiyane said in their current bilateral talks with the Pretoria, the government was trying to force Inkatha



BUTHELEZI ... Sticks to his demand for a federal state.



MANDELA ... Allegedly told Buthelezi to drop demand.



NUJOMA ... Serious mis-take to sideline Inkatha.



NEMADZIVHANANI ... Rain in disbanded battalions.



NKADIMENG ... Azapo will push for blacks not to vote.

TEC: SELL-OUT OR COMPROMISE?

C/Prod 3/10/93

and KwaZulu delegates to agree to "pre-arranged" decisions in a week, yet the government spent a longer period with the ANC in similar talks.

During their meeting last week, government chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer could not explain why Pretoria spent so much time with the ANC in their secret talks. All he was interested in was to sell the government's views on the draft constitution, Jiyane said.

Jiyane accused SACP national chairman Joe Slovo of "grandstanding" after he moved that April 27 be accepted as an election date. Subsequently, the agreement was en-

dorsed by a sufficient consensus, which caused Inkatha, KwaZulu and CP delegates to walk out.

Jiyane said Inkatha and KwaZulu stuck to by their demand for an autonomous federal system for their region, because it was the only form of regional majority government which was close to the people and thus able to exercise their will.

He added that a simple majority rule was not a guarantee to democratic rule here, because the ruling party in a Constituent Assembly might decide to do away with the transitional constitution "on the spur of the moment".

Zyl said any party that was interested in bringing about democracy in this country should be prepared to compromise. Contrary to popular belief, compromising was not a sign of weakness, but of strength, he said.

Most whites polled by the NP recently believed that the party had compromised a lot to the ANC, whereas the same number of blacks also contended that the ANC had gone overboard with its compromises to the government, Van Zyl said.

He disputed Jiyane's allegations that the government struck secret deals with the ANC and said Pretoria had held secret meetings with every party that wanted them. These included Inkatha, the PAC and General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The NP has dropped its past racial principles and more blacks, Coloureds and Indians were joining it since the party opened its membership to all races two years ago. In the western Cape there were more Coloured NP members than whites, he said.

He said the NP's revamped constitution was based on three principles: The free market economy, a federal system and a Bill of Rights with an independent judiciary.

On the walkout by Inkatha and KwaZulu from the multiparty talks, Van Zyl said the government tried unsuccessfully to convince them not to leave, but the delegates of the two parties said they had been instructed by their principals to quit.

"The doors of negotiations remain open to them and we believe they can make more contributions to the peace process inside the talks than outside," said Van Zyl.

End of the line for

KwaZulu growy train?

Claude 3/10/93

THE ANC's Natal Midlands region this week called on the government to take over KwaZulu's financial administration.

This follows disclosures in parliament of unauthorised spending of more than R25-million in the homeland.

In a statement the ANC also urged President FW de Klerk not to renew KwaZulu's tenure in 1994 because of disclosures about the theft of 101 weapons from the KwaZulu Police.

Attempts to reach KwaZulu government spokesmen for comment on the ANC's call were unsuccessful.

FRED KHUMALO reports from Durban that political observers charged this week that the KwaZulu leader's recent appeal to Zulus to pay R5 each to set up armed units was a last ditch attempt to swell coffers depleted by corruption, thefts running into about R78 000, and the suspension of covert funding of Inkatha by Pretoria.

This comes in the wake of Auditor-General Henri Kluever's revelations this week about wide-ranging corruption and theft in the homeland's administration.

Kluever revealed that: ■ In the period 1991/92 there were 101 cases of theft involving firearms and ammunition worth R78 000 and there were also serious shortcomings in systems of internal checking.

■ The government had spent R92-million on a secret project codenamed Project Kampong which

Take over their finances, ANC urges the SA govt (107)

included the secret funding of Inkatha, which was stopped after the 1991 Inkathagate scandal;

However, Kluever gave no further details, saying: "I wish I could say more, but legally I am muzzled."

In what seems to tie in with allegations of gun thefts within KwaZulu, Natal University social anthropology lecturer Mary de Haas has written a letter to SAP regional commissioner General Steyn outlining details of gun thefts.

"It is alleged that 13 boxes, each containing 12 firearms (Z88s) were 'lost' at Ulundi in recent weeks, either before or after they reached the quartermaster's stores," charged De Haas, a prominent violence monitor.

KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced last week-end that Zulus would be expected to pay R5 each towards the purchase of arms and the setting up of "Armed Protective Units".

ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Dr Blade Nzimande responded: "The call for Zulus to arm themselves is nothing else but an attempt to replenish the

slush funds from the covert security operations in order to strengthen Inkatha's war of terror."

DP MP Peter Soal said the reports about unaccounted funds in KwaZulu and in other homelands confirmed SA's worst fears about the "decline into an abyss of corruption which could cost the SA taxpayer millions if not billions".

Meanwhile SA Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said he was not opposed to the setting up of "a defence unit" under the National Peace Accord, but said that if contributions towards such units were levied in the form of a tax "we would have to look at the legal implications".

However, Sapa reports that KwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary MR Mzimela announced yesterday that the KLA would set up self-defence units that would be "privately funded".

Mzimela said young men would be recruited from all communities in rural KwaZulu and would undergo "rigorous training for six weeks". This training would continue "until violence abated". — Sapa

Star 4/10/93

IFP will contest April elections

Ulundi — The IFP will prepare for the April 27 election, but only in the hope that the poll will follow a final federal constitution.

This resolution was adopted by the IFP's central committee in Ulundi,

KwaZulu, on Saturday.

The committee also resolved "to continue to persuade fellow South Africans that elections for a democratic government should take place next year rather than be postponed for five years".

The IFP reiterated its call for the disbandment of private armies, but said it was unacceptable for parties such as the ANC to criticise IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for self-protection units. — Sapa.

ANC hits at KwaZulu finances

DURBAN. — The African National Congress Natal Midlands region at the weekend called on the government to take over KwaZulu's financial administration.

This follows disclosures in Parliament of unauthorised spending of more than R25 million in the homeland.

In a statement the ANC also urged President F W de Klerk not to renew KwaZulu's tenure in 1994 because of disclosures about the theft of 101 weapons from the KwaZulu Police.

Attempts to reach KwaZulu government spokesmen for comment on the ANC's call were unsuccessful at the weekend.

In another development, a Natal violence monitor, Mrs Mary de Haas, said in a letter to the SAP regional commissioner: "It is alleged that 13 boxes, each containing 12 firearms, were 'lost' in Ulundi in recent weeks, either before or after they reached the quartermaster's stores."

Mrs De Haas called on the SAP to investigate this and make its findings public. — Sapa

**KwaZulu plans
'defence units'**

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly will set up self-defence units, after six weeks training, to protect rural dwellers. (107)

A weekend statement by assembly secretary Mr M R Mzimela said it was transparent that the government was failing to protect ordinary people from the ongoing violence. — Sapa

ETB/10/93

Zulu call for cash — 'tax'

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu government yesterday said the request for contributions to "Zulu protection units" was a revival of a special tax proclaimed by the homeland's Legislative Assembly in 1978.

"As far as this law is concerned, all KwaZulu citizens are expected to pay, but it's not compulsory," said KwaZulu government spokesman Mr T C Memela. He explained that those refusing to pay the tax would not be charged with an offence.

Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently asked Zulus to

donate at least R5 each to protection units to counter "attacks against the Zulu nation" (07) (S)

Mr Memela explained this was in fact a request to renew the 1978 "KwaZulu special tax" which fell away after it was not paid regularly. It had been used for government resources.

The ANC's northern Natal secretary, Mr Senzo Mchunu, said the imposition of a "special tax" could lead to more violence in Natal/KwaZulu.

"I am a Zulu and I won't feel comfortable contributing towards a protection unit that is bound to become another force for Inkatha." — Sapa

KwaZulu to probe missing firearms

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During has undertaken to investigate allegations that his force lost 13 boxes of firearms recently.

And the outcome of the investigation will be made public.

He was responding to information supplied to the SAP and the Goldstone commission by Natal violence monitor Mary de Haas, who said she had been told 13 boxes, each containing 12 firearms (Z88s), had gone missing in Ulundi recently. *BINAY*

De Haas called on the SAP to investigate the matter and make its findings public because taxpayers' money was involved. *6/11/93*

In a letter to the Goldstone commission, she said it was also alleged that, in July last year, the KwaZulu Police confiscated eight AK-47 rifles from Inkatha Freedom Party supporters and were then told to return them to their owners. *(107)*

During said the matter would be investigated to "get to the bottom of the constant allegations levelled against the KwaZulu Police".

His statement also follows earlier disclosures in Parliament about the disappearance of more than 100 firearms from the KwaZulu Police.

During said earlier that many of these had been taken from policemen who had been attacked. — Sapa.

Funds request 'revives special KwaZulu tax'

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"As far as this law is concerned, all KwaZulu citizens are expected to pay, but it's not compulsory," said KwaZulu government spokesman T C Memela. *BIDAY 6/10/93*

He said those refusing to pay the tax would not be charged with an offence. But he repeated the request to all KwaZulu citizens to contribute any amount from R5 upwards towards "this revenue source".

Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently asked Zulus to donate money to protection units to counter "attacks against the Zulu nation". *(107)*

Memela said this was a request to renew the 1978 "KwaZulu special tax" which fell away after it was not paid regularly.

The tax had been used for government resources, but would now be used to finance protection units.

It was paid only by men, but women were now also requested to contribute, he said.

ANC northern Natal secretary Senzo Mchunu said imposition of a "special tax" could lead to more violence in the Natal/KwaZulu region.

"I am a Zulu and I won't feel comfortable contributing towards a protection unit that is bound to become another force for Inkatha.

Natal unrest monitor Mary de Haas said she could not see anyone paying "unless they're avid Inkatha supporters or unless they're forced to pay".

Meanwhile, a Kwazulu legislative assembly spokesman said on Monday that KwaZulu hoped to train 400 men for an intensive six-week period.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Tillet said there had been a "phenomenal response" to the call for contributions to the units. — Sapa.

KwaZulu 'on brink of setting up army'

Business Day Reporter

THE KwaZulu government was on the brink of establishing a fully-fledged army, which could be mobilised at short notice to "counter attacks against the Zulus", a high-ranking Inkatha official said last week.

The "self-protection units", which would be funded from the R5 levy the KwaZulu government had imposed on Zulus, would make up its nucleus. *B/Say*

The official said members of the army — unlike cadres of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe — would be trained locally, but he would not give details. *11/10/93*

Plans to form the army had been "enthusiastically welcomed" by Zulus. *(107)*

KwaZulu government spokesman Christa Claasen would not confirm or deny that an army was being established, saying logistics of the proposed self-defence units were not yet known. These details were expected to be known this week, she said.

The Inkatha official emphasised the army would not launch offensives and would be used only to counter attacks.

The KwaZulu government has said the levy would be payable at its offices in Stanger, Durban, Newcastle, Edendale, Germiston, Witbank and Vereeniging and at all the homeland's magistrates' offices.

The ANC has lashed out at the levy, saying it was an attempt to pay for a vigilante force. ANC president Nelson Mandela said in the UK recently that the call on Zulus to pay the levy was tantamount to declaring war.

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KwaZulu 'about to get army'

107
CT 11/10/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government was on the brink of establishing a fully fledged army, which could be mobilised at short notice to "counter attacks against the Zulus", a high-ranking Inkatha official said last week.

The "self-protection units", which would be funded from the R5 levy that the KwaZulu government had imposed on the Zulus, would make up the nucleus of this army.

The official said the members of the army — unlike cadres of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe — would be trained locally. He would not, however, give details of the nature of the training.

But the army, he claimed, would be as "powerful" as the armies which fought the British and the Boers in the last century.

He added that plans to form the army had been "enthusiastically welcomed" by Zulus, some of whom had been demanding its establishment for some time.

KwaZulu government spokeswoman

Ms Christa Claasen would not confirm or deny that the homeland was setting up an army, saying the logistics of the proposed self-defence units were not yet known.

These details were expected to be known this week, Ms Claasen said.

The Inkatha official was at pains to stress that the KwaZulu army would not launch offensives.

"It will be mobilised only to counter attacks against the Zulu nation," he said.

Slammed

The KwaZulu government has said the levy would be payable at its offices in Stanger, Durban, Newcastle, Edendale, Germiston, Witbank and Vereeniging as well as at all the homeland's magistrates' offices.

The ANC has lashed out at the levy, saying it was an attempt to pay for a vigilante force.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said on London's ITV recently that the call by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the Zulus to pay the levy was tantamount to declaring war.

Fm 15/10/93

met with widespread criticism. The ANC describes it as tantamount to a declaration of war. The DP is equally scathing.

DP defence spokesman Bob Rogers says his party opposes the proliferation of private armies, whether they are formed by KwaZulu or the ANC. "Starting new armies now exacerbates rather than solves problems. We should be working towards uniting existing private armies into one defence force, rather than talking about creating new ones." The transition process, he adds, is reaching a climax. "The last thing we need is the introduction of any element which risks putting this process in jeopardy. Furthermore, this expenditure could be far better directed towards meeting some of the country's dire socio-economic and job-creation needs."

Rogers believes Buthelezi's real objective is more political than military. "Armies are in the news. The suggestion is that the new defence force will include MK and Apla representation but not KwaZulu because it hasn't an army. Buthelezi feels at a disadvantage because he has no established service to bring to the table. And the imminent establishment of the TEC will include a defence subcommittee and those organisations with armies — the ANC, PAC, SADF and the TBVC states — will demand representation because their people will be involved in the new united army."

Those like Inkatha, KwaZulu, and the DP will have great difficulty getting representation on that and other influential defence-related committees because they don't have military forces. "Establishing an army now could therefore well provide Buthelezi with the entrée he needs to this arena."

The KwaZulu government spokesman says it is not the intention to integrate the new force into the national defence force after elections. "It will remain as a regional protection unit."

Even if Ulundi presses ahead, will it collect sufficient funds to create an effective defence unit?

A senior KwaZulu government spokesman says the establishment and running of the new army will be financed by a noncompulsory levy of R5 on all adult KwaZulu citizens. It will be collected under legislation passed by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in 1978 which instituted a tax that subsequently fell away.

Rogers says that, though a considerable amount of money will be collected if every Zulu contributes R5, it will not go far in terms of establishing and maintaining such an army. "It's one thing to put people in uniforms, but on top of that they have to be looked after, fed and equipped. If Buthelezi is serious it will send more and more money down the drain. Considering the size and terrain of KwaZulu, one would need a substantial force, probably at least of

brigade strength (5 000 men)." (107)
Another problem is that, though protection against political violence is a current issue, it takes a minimum of six months after recruitment to train people to handle weapons and perform the required tasks responsibly.

KWAZULU ARMY Political motive

Fm 15/10/93

Military strategists know that one of the principles of war is to confuse the enemy and keep him off balance. That may be exactly what the KwaZulu government is trying to do with its plans to establish an army. The stated objective is to provide the homeland's citizens — who make up a large proportion of SA's estimated 8,3m Zulus, irrespective of political affiliation — with protection against political violence. (107)

It could well be a tactical diversion in what is essentially a political manoeuvre aimed at gaining ground and influence, both in the short term through the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and, longer term, participation in the design and structuring of a new SA Defence Force.

Needless to say, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's September 25 announcement, that a minimum R5 a head will be levied on all the homeland's citizens, to fund the establishment of the force has



Rogers

Kwazulu rights (107)

ULUNDI. — The Kwazulu government has rejected the view that Kwazulu/Natal's call for self-determination is an attempt to preserve ethnicity.

It cited Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter, stating that people living in a particular territory have a right to self-determination and providing people with the right to determine their political and legal status.

ARG 16/10/93
Reports: Weekend Argus
Correspondent.

4 BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, October 19 1993

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected the proposed referendum as a deadlock-breaking mechanism in the democracy negotiations.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Buthelezi accused President F W de Klerk of attempting to substitute consensus with a referendum, which would empower the majority to silence the aspirations of the minority.

"We say that if we are serious about reaching an all-inclusive solution, the

fundamental needs of both the majority and the minority must be accommodated... elections and the empowerment of a new government ought not to take place until such solutions are fully negotiated."

An interim constitution would not allow KwaZulu to choose and regulate itself, Buthelezi said.

KwaZulu had to have the power to adopt its own rules governing subjects

such as family law, labour law, commerce and industry and criminal law, he added.

"If the rest of SA rejects our offer to be included in the new SA as a federal state, then we will consider our options."

He said KwaZulu negotiators had scratched the bottom of the negotiations barrel in bilateral talks with both the government and the ANC.

Buthelezi vowed to stick to a non-violent solution.

"In spite of the growing climate of civil war, which is affecting our people, killing our friends and comrades, destroying our communities and destabilising our political structures, we shall never abandon our fundamental policy of non-violent form of negotiations."

Now was the time for action which could no longer

Buthelezi rejects proposed referendum

B. Sney

wait, he said.

"Our action is going to be within the parameters of our tradition and will be characterised by non-violence, reasonableness and defence of our rights."

"We will not destroy, intimidate or resort to disruptive mass action, for the protection of law and order is of too great a value to us."

"Today we say to Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela that they cannot

go it alone without us, and that consensus with us must be achieved through the recognition of our right of self-determination."

Buthelezi urged the immediate suspension of negotiations to seek consensus-based agreement on the form of state and the process from which an expeditious finalisation of a final constitution would proceed to the holding of the elections.

He said the Zulu nation did not recognise the legitimacy of the interim constitution and would not be bound by it. — Sapa.

RANDCOAL

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(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)

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BUTHELEZI 19/10/93

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Star 19/10/93

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Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Buthelezi accused President de Klerk of attempting to substitute consensus with a referendum which would empower a majority to silence the aspirations of the minority.

"We say that, if we are serious about reaching an all-inclusive solution, the fundamental needs of both the majority and the minority must be accommodated," he said. — Sapa.

Millions reject TEC, says Buthelezi

Star 20/10/93

■ POLITICAL STAFF and
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday told United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the Transitional Executive Council would have to be implemented by "force of arms" against millions of whites and blacks who rejected it.

In a memorandum delivered to the UN chief during their meeting in Maputo and given to The Star's correspondent, Buthelezi said: "We do not feel bound by the TEC decisions. We do not feel any obligation to implement the TEC.

"That, in a final analysis, will have to be done by a force of arms against a very widespread rejection of the TEC."

Boutros-Ghali also met yesterday with PAC president Clarence Makwetu and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Difficult

According to a statement from the UN, Boutros-Ghali stressed "the importance accorded to... the TEC... (and) stressed that by participating in the negotiations, no matter how difficult, all parties could ensure that their views were heard, discussed and reflected in the Interim Constitution".

Legislation making provision for the TEC has been adopted by Parliament but will not be promulgated until a multi-party talks plenary session has approved the Interim Constitution. This is scheduled for early next month.

In his memorandum Buthelezi said a TEC which could take on whatever powers it deems necessary to seize control of all regional governments in the name of levelling political playing fields before

► To Page 3

Millions reject TEC'

Star 20/10/93
◀ From Page 1

elections is nothing less than monstrous".

He added that although the Government and ANC knew that KwaZulu would not accept these things, they were proceeding "as though our rejection of them is of no significance". (107)

Buthelezi said KwaZulu and "something like half the voters in the country" rejected proceedings at the World Trade Centre.

He also rejected President de Klerk's proposed referendum.

Buthelezi said after his meeting that he would not be returning to the Kempton Park talks table, but would concen-

trate on negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the ANC and Government.

Boutros-Ghali emphasised in his meeting with Makwetu that there was a need for all to take part in the TEC.

However, Makwetu said after the meeting that he could not comply with the request.

Botha met Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama yesterday and will meet Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano today.

The UN chief also met the Mozambican leaders as well as National Peace Committee leaders John Hall and Dr. Antonie Gildenhuys.

► 'We won't delay talks' - Page 10

workers die in raging waters

Warning of secession

■ NEW CONSTITUTION Threat 'if

Inkatha Freedom Party is not happy':

A DEFIANT CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened that KwaZulu will secede from the "new South Africa" if the Inkatha Freedom Party is not happy with the constitution being worked out at negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

Opening a special sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Monday, Buthelezi took a strongly federal and Zulu nationalist stand that underlined the differences, rather than the common ground, between him and the multiparty talks. He was particularly scathing of President de Klerk. (107) (108)

He made it clear the KwaZulu government and the IFP would only be part of a new federal constitution, and only on their terms.

His address came against the background of preparations in the Freedom Alliance for talks with the South Africa Government and African National Congress.

Also, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last night passed a Bill that extends its

life for a year, as its term of office expires on March 10 next year.

Buthelezi said: "There shall not be a new South Africa which we as Zulus did not help shape and establish. I tell the world that no decision will ever again be imposed on the Zulu nation."

Bottom line

Buthelezi also said: "Federalism is our bottom line, for it represents the furthest degree of accommodation to which we can concede without jeopardising the survival of the Zulus as a nation."

"I will not lead this House and KwaZulu into a unitary state. If the rest of South Africa rejects the offer we make to be included in the new South Africa as a federal state in a federal republic of South Africa, then we will consider our options, and one of our options will be to refuse to be included at all."

"If they want to force us into it by using soldiers of the SADF and the Umkhonto army of the ANC, so be it," he said. --
Sowetan Correspondent.

Controversy over spy claims

Business Day Reporter

KWAZULU policemen are under instructions to shoot and kill alleged ANC spy Bruce Buthelezi on sight, a source has said.

However, a KwaZulu Police spokesman has described the claim as unfounded, saying it is aimed at discrediting the police force.

It is understood Buthelezi joined the homeland's police force in 1987. After his training, he was stationed, as warrant officer, at KwaZulu Police headquarters in Ulundi. He was dismissed in February 1988. *B/D*

KwaZulu police spokesman Sgt L M Mnguni denied Buthelezi had been dismissed from the force because of his political affiliations.

Mnguni said Buthelezi was dismissed in terms of legislation which allowed a member of the force to be sacked if, after an inquiry, the KwaZulu police commissioner deemed him incapable of carrying out his duties. *21/10/93*

According to the source, KwaZulu policemen had instructions to shoot and kill Buthelezi on sight, allegedly because he had entered the homeland's police force to spy for the ANC.

It is understood that Buthelezi told his girlfriend about his political affiliations. She passed this on to senior KwaZulu police officers.

However, Mnguni denied that KwaZulu policemen had been ordered to kill Buthelezi. *(107)*

It could not be established whether Buthelezi was an ANC member.

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INKATHA Fm 2210193

To the brink?

In his toughest speech yet, Inkatha and KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week came within a whisker of telling government and the ANC to go to blazes unless they are willing to make real concessions on a federal constitution.

Opening a special session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Buthelezi rekindled the threat of a KwaZulu declaration of UDI unless a broad accommodation is reached. "(President F W) de Klerk has often indicated that the final solution has to be all-inclusive. Our most essential needs have been disregarded and what is emerging from the World Trade Centre does not have the required legitimacy" (107)

"I will not lead this house and KwaZulu into a unitary state. If the rest of the country rejects the offer we make, to be included in the new SA as a federal state in a federal republic, then we will consider our options and one of those is not to be included at all.

"If they want to force us into it by using the SADF and the Umkhonto army of the ANC, then so be it. No decision will ever again be imposed on the Zulu nation. We claim our right to participate and consent to

Fm 2210193

any decision which affects our future. It will take the full might of the SA State to impose the Transitional Executive Council on the Zulu nation." (107)

Buthelezi's fiery delivery reiterated that Inkatha's bottom line is a federal state which guarantees sovereignty — the right to exist with constitutional autonomy and defined decision-making powers which exceed those already enjoyed by KwaZulu as a self-governing territory; and the right of member states to participate in the legislative decision-making process at a federal level.

"This notion of federalism represents our bottom line, the furthest degree of accommodation we can concede without jeopardising the Zulus as a nation. We in KwaZulu must have the power to adopt our own rules governing matters such as family law, commerce & trade, criminal law and so on."

De Klerk's idea of a pre-election referendum on the constitution is flatly rejected by Buthelezi. The big question is: just how far can this brinkmanship go?

Unless there is a breakthrough in this week's meeting between the ANC and Inkatha, the outlook seems bleak indeed. ■

Mandela: ANC won't let Buthelezi secede

SITimes 24/10/93

(107)

NELSON MANDELA says the ANC would not allow Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to secede the Natal/Kwazulu region as this was a decision to be taken by the majority of South Africans.

Addressing a news conference at the ANC Midlands' annual general conference in Edendale, Maritzburg, yesterday, Mr Mandela said: "It's not an individual who decides on secession. It's the people of South Africa."

Mr Mandela was responding to questions following recent statements by Mr Buthelezi hinting at the possible secession of the Natal/Kwazulu region should current negotiations and elections lead to a unitary state.

On the sensitive issue of meeting Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr Mandela said he wanted to "see my king ... to pay my respects as this is one way of normalising the political situation".

Numerous attempts to do so had failed and "I can't force him".

The ANC president said he'd met "practically every king in the world" but would have preferred to meet King Zwelithini.

The king would also not attend today's *Sonke* (all of us) festival in Durban, Mr Mandela confirmed.

Mr Mandela said the festival was aimed at fostering unity and peace and had drawn traditional leaders from throughout

southern Africa.

Earlier, while addressing the Midlands conference, Mr Mandela was critical of the region for electing Harry Gwala as its chairman last year. Mr Gwala is an elected ANC National Executive Committee member and, in terms of the ANC's constitution, may not hold a regional executive position.

Speaking to delegates during a closed session, Mr Mandela said the Midlands region was not in pace with the rest of the organisation and had to reconsider electing Mr Gwala to the same position this year.

But, a few hours later, Mr Gwala was re-elected chairman — a move which may mean he will have to resign as an NEC member.

Mr Gwala said he would rather resign as an NEC member than give up his regional chairmanship.

He said his priorities lay with the "grassroots" sector of the movement, particularly in Natal, where a war was raging and he could best serve his constituency.

It was not clear last night whether Mr Gwala would resign from the top 50-member ANC leadership structure.

ANC officials explained that, as a regional chairman, Mr Gwala would be appointed to the NEC as an ex-officio member anyway.

Mr Gwala's newly elected deputy is Midlands traditional leader Chief Zibuse Mlaba, while Sifiso Nkabinde retained his position as secretary. — Sapa

Thousands pack Durban stadium to hear unity call

Star 25/10/93

ANC's huge Zulu rally

(107)

Durban — Tens of thousands of Zulus packed Durban's King's Park Stadium yesterday as the ANC sought to lay to rest claims that the entire Zulu nation supported Inkatha.

The huge crowd — estimates varied from 60 000 to the 80 000 claimed by organisers — heard Nelson Mandela call for unity in South Africa.

"Your presence here shows that the first black government in this country will be an African National Congress government," the ANC president told the crowd in Zulu at the "Sonke" (all of us) festival. "It's the ANC that calls the shots in this province."

Isolated incidents of intimidation marred the event, with some attacks on festival-goers on their way to the stadium. Trains ferrying ANC supporters to the stadium were fired upon by unknown gunmen. No serious injuries were reported.

A tense confrontation with ANC supporters developed

MK, Zulu warriors in grand display - Page 6

when a group of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members arrived at the scene of a road-block on the N2 south of Durban near Winklespruit.

Police defused the situation. The rally's theme was "Different cultures, one people" and attracted several kings and traditional leaders from throughout southern Africa.

The most noticeable exception was Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini, who declined an invitation, according to the ANC.

Election fervour was evident at the festival, which the ANC has openly admitted was

TURNOUT proves that ANC 'calls the shots in Natal', Mandela tells crowd

aimed at disproving the claim of KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the majority of people in the region wanted the homeland to draw up its own constitution in an entrenched federal arrangement.

Mandela told the crowd: "The process of unifying our people can't be undone by anyone who seeks to withdraw any sector of our community out of this common mode. None of us should be prepared to elevate our love for our community above our loyalty or love for our South African nation."

Addressing a press conference at the ANC Midlands annual general conference in Maritzburg on Saturday, Mandela said the ANC would not allow Buthelezi to secede the Natal/KwaZulu region.

Buthelezi, addressing a gathering at Madadeni in northern Natal on Saturday, said his message to Mandela was "You cannot one day recruit impressionable young children to learn to kill other black people and generate anarchy in the region, and the next day turn to them with facile gestures of peace."

The IFP leader said there was only one way to stop the ANC and the Government in their tracks, and that was to actively demonstrate to South Africa and the world that there was a force powerful enough to oppose them.

"We will act under the banner

► To Page 3

Star 25/10/93

ANC's Zulu rally

From Page 1
The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) today, a regional spokesman said.

Gwala was re-elected as regional chairman at the weekend.

He is also an elected NEC member and, in terms of the ANC's constitution, cannot hold dual office.

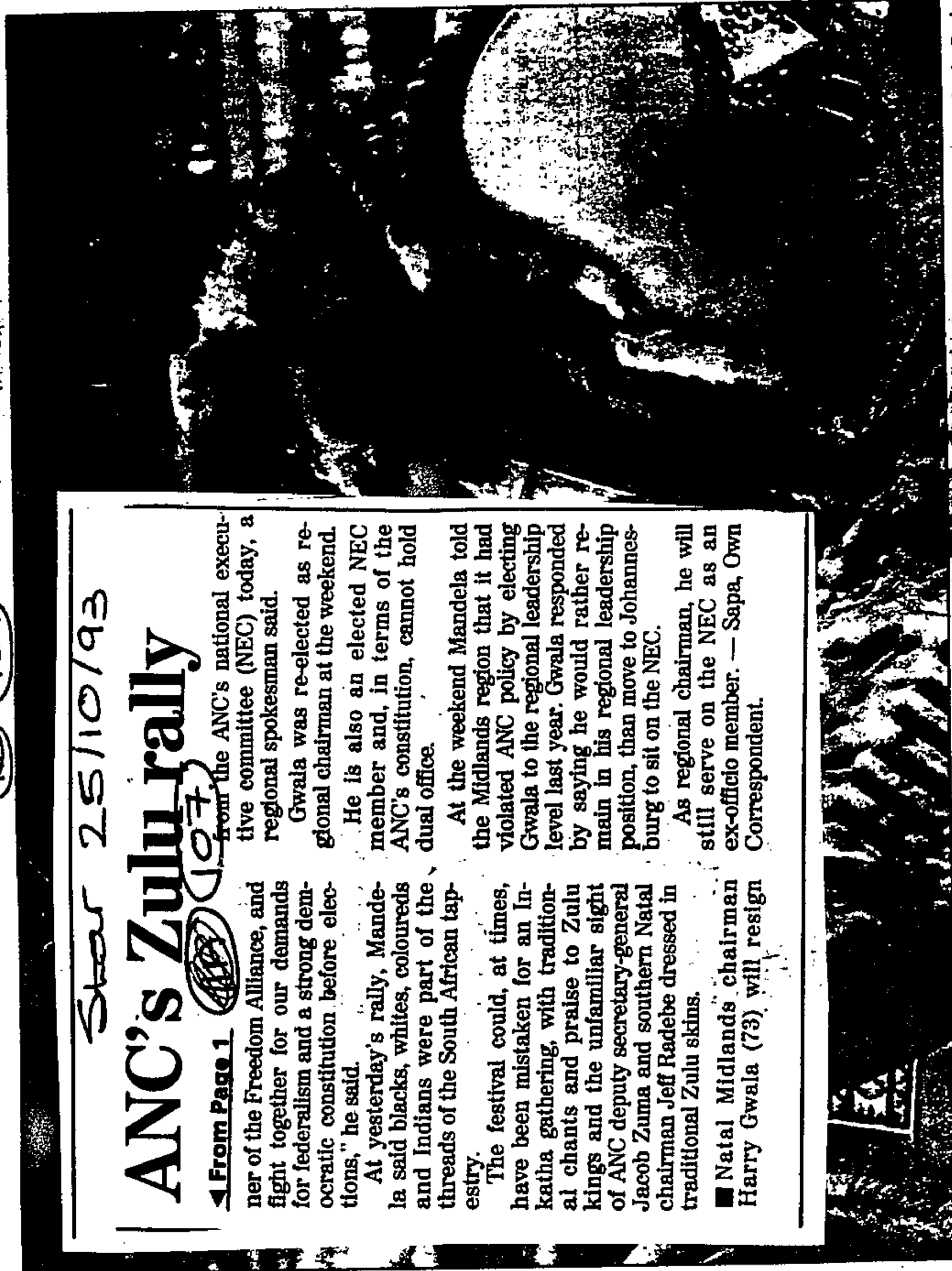
At the weekend Mandela told the Midlands region that it had violated ANC policy by electing Gwala to the regional leadership level last year. Gwala responded by saying he would rather remain in his regional leadership position, than move to Johannesburg to sit on the NEC.

As regional chairman, he will still serve on the NEC as an ex-officio member. — Sapa, Own Correspondent.

At yesterday's rally, Mandela said blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians were part of the threads of the South African tapestry.

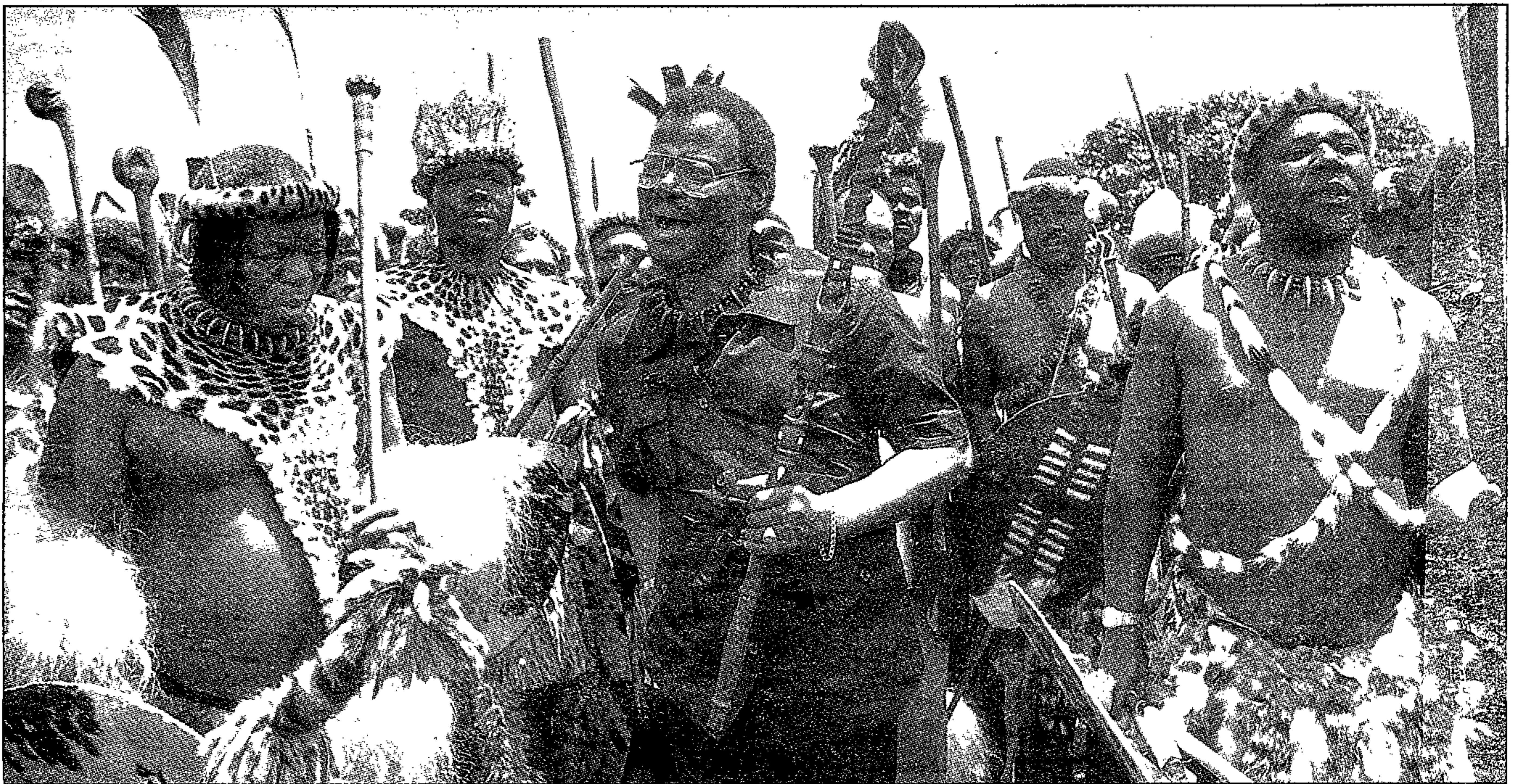
The festival could, at times, have been mistaken for an Inkatha gathering, with traditional chants and praise to Zulu kings and the unfamiliar sight of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe dressed in traditional Zulu skins.

Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala (73) will resign



Rallying call . . . Nelson Mandela with senior officials Jeff Radebe (left) and Harry Gwala (right) in traditional Zulu dress, at King's Park Stadium in Durban where the ANC president addressed a rally attended by thousands of Zulus yesterday. PICTURE: AP

A NATION DIVIDED: The anniversary of Shaka's death was marked by war talk from kwaZulu and unity talk from



On the march ... Traditional weapons may not be enough for Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his followers to carry out the threat of war

PHOTOGRAPH: GUY ADAMS

MILITANT Shaka day speeches by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini have raised the question: has kwaZulu the capacity to wage civil war in South Africa?

Addressing rallies in Natal, Buthelezi and the king rejected the Transitional Executive Council and unveiled plans to train and deploy armed Zulu self-defence units in Natal and on the Reef.

The National Party's Marthinus van Schalkwyk called the plans a recipe for civil war, and the African National Congress asked Zulus to ignore Buthelezi's call to finance the units by contributing R5 per person, claiming they were aimed at strengthening Inkatha's "reign of terror".

Yet far from the party-political polemic, analysts agree that Buthelezi's military options are limited. KwaZulu's fragmented geography and a lack of heavy weaponry such as armoured cars, artillery and aircraft would make prolonged open conflict of the Angolan, Vietnamese or Afghan variety — where secure bases and the increasing use of conventional warfare were used to capture ever-greater territorial control — unlikely.

"Secession would make for a terribly messy military situation," said Helmut Heitman, Cape Town correspondent of the authoritative *Jane's Defence Weekly*. "The central government would face the choice of a festering Ulster-type situation or the massive use of heavy weaponry, which would mean killing many innocent civilians."

An Inkatha/kwaZulu force, on the other hand, would rapidly find itself outgunned. Armscor refuses to divulge details of the weapons supplied to Ulundi over the years, and it is unclear what has been coming over the Mozambique border. But analysts agree that Buthelezi's forces have neither access to nor training in the use of the sophisticated hardware needed to bring down helicopter gunships or Impala ground attack jets.

Aside from police Casspirs and similar vehicles, Ulundi appears to have no armour, and certainly nothing which could withstand a round fired from the big gun of an army Ratel, an Elephant tank, or a G-5.

"It would take more than luck to hit an aircraft with a rifle," said one weapons expert, "and even then it would probably not bring it down." Modern airborne warfare, developed in many guerrilla conflicts, is designed to defeat ground forces armed with little more than rifles and sub-machine guns without sustaining too many casualties.

The best Ulundi could hope for in this unequally matched situation would be access to surface-to-air missiles or rocket launchers.

KwaZulu war talk: just a lot of hot air

WMI - 7/10/93 (107)

After militant Shaka day speeches by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini, **Stephen Laufer** assesses kwaZulu's military capability



The most readily available weapon in this category, according to Heitman, is the RPG-7, a relatively slow, unguided rocket. Directed at aircraft, their "kill rate" is not high, but one did bring down a US Blackhawk helicopter in Somalia last week.

KwaZulu policemen trained by the SADF in the Caprivi strip were taught how to use RPG-7s, and SAP reports in recent months have confirmed several attempts to smuggle the weapons into South Africa from Mozambique. Analysts assume that at least as many smugglers have evaded detection as have been caught, and that several RPG-7s have found their way to potential end-users in South Africa.

With kwaZulu's long coastline, the importation of more sophisticated smaller weapons would be child's play. "With sufficient cash you can get virtually anything on the world arms market today," said Heitman. "The weapons could be delivered over the beach at virtually any point."

Financial backing and access to more sophisticated hardware could come from the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent. The dual promise of privileged business rights and the opportunity for Islamic proselytisation in a future state of Natal/kwaZulu could in Heitman's view prove tempting, providing such weapons as Soviet-designed SAM 7 or American Stinger rockets, both of them devastatingly effective when used against aircraft.

Inkatha has forged some Middle Eastern links, with the help of its Indian MP, Farouk Cassim, and through Roly Arenstein, a Durban lawyer with connections to the Islamic Propagation Centre International. Money has come from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, say sources, but has so far apparently been earmarked for election campaigning.

Access to heavier weapons would be virtually impossible, say analysts. SADF Commando and Citizen Force armouries generally hold little more than rifles and ammunition, with armour or artillery held under heavy guard at fewer central locations.

So any serious attempt at secession, say analysts, would tilt the scales towards urban guer-

rilla activity, including terror attacks on "soft" civilian targets. Mayhem on an even larger scale than at present, so the argument goes, could influence the direction of the political process in the country significantly.

"The great fear," said one analyst who asked not to be identified, "must be an alliance between Inkatha and the ultra-right, with Buthelezi providing the troops and Constand Viljoen providing strategic planning, the generals, training and access to heavy weaponry in the SADF armouries."

The goal would be a security situation in which the SADF would appear justified in imposing martial law and suspending democratic political activity. "It would be a coup promising a return to democracy when peace has been restored," said the analyst, "with the clear message that the Volksfront and Inkatha should be accommodated."

Nelson Mandela's recent meetings with Viljoen must be seen in this context — as a desperate attempt to prevent a Volksfront-Inkatha alliance being cast in concrete. The ANC-AVF discussions followed reports of several meetings between Buthelezi and Viljoen and as yet unsubstantiated accounts of training camps for Inkatha cadres run by AVF experts.

The AVF is understood to have a significant following both within the permanent force and Citizen Force units. Among its supporters are several "dirty tricks" and counter-insurgency specialists with experience from South Africa's dirty wars against opponents both inside and outside the country.

Currently, Viljoen appears to be keeping his options open, preferring to use the threat of military conflict as a political lever. In a recent interview with the BBC World Service, he admitted that Afrikaners could never win a civil war. But pointing to his capacity for destruction, he said the end result of a war would be negotiations on a white homeland. Better to negotiate now and avoid the bloodshed, was his clear message.

Any challenge by Ulundi to central authority based on urban guerrilla warfare or terror

would involve the kwaZulu police as the backbone of operations, agree military analysts. Despite doubts regarding training levels and discipline, raised most recently before the Goldstone Commission, the KZP is still the best equipped and largest force available to Buthelezi.

Besides regular uniformed police schooled along SAP lines and equipped with German-designed G-3 automatic rifles, the KZP has up to 200 specialists trained by the South African army in the Caprivi Strip. According to findings earlier this year by Judge Goldstone, the Caprivi graduates were taught to use an array of light weapons such as pistols and AK47 and Uzi automatic rifles.

They also received training in the use of RPG-7s, and in urban guerrilla warfare, including building demolition and attacks with hand grenades and smoke devices. They were taught surveillance techniques and how to abduct people.

"With efficient command and control structures a few dozen well-trained people could turn this country upside down, particularly if they were black and able to submerge after hitting a target," explained Heitman. Going underground could prove more difficult for Inkatha cadres than it sounds, contends Umkhonto weSizwe's chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda, himself no stranger to the Maoist art of "moving among the people like a fish in water".

"They wouldn't be able to sustain a terror campaign because the support is not there from the population. Ordinary people are ultimately interested in their own livelihoods", not in going out on a limb for Buthelezi, said Nyanda.

Admitting that the ANC had made mistakes in allowing Reef hostel dwellers to become isolated by calling for the demolition of their buildings, he said. Hostels did provide Inkatha with potential military bases for future use.

"But the hostels are still not impenetrable politically," he insisted. "We must begin a campaign to woo the hostel dwellers. They are our people, however misguided they may be."

Asked what MK's attitude to secession would be once the ANC was in government, Nyanda said "we will do what we can to show ordinary Afrikaners and Zulus that their best interests lie in a united South Africa. But faced with a military campaign, we must use the means at our disposal."

Nyanda is hopeful that it will not be necessary to send the big guns to Ulundi. "Neither Inkatha nor the kwaZulu establishment can train and equip forces without the South African security establishment knowing about it. Over the years they showed us what they are capable of in terms of intelligence operations. So all that is necessary to prevent war is that those involved be arrested and stopped."

KwaZulu police shot at us, claims SACP

WMI-7/10/93

Farouk Chothia

THREE people were killed and 11 others seriously injured in an attack on a South African Communist Party rally in Mandini, Northern Natal, last weekend.

The SACP has claimed that although members of the kwaZulu Police (KZP) were present, they neither stopped the attack nor arrested anyone. Instead, the KZP opened fire on activists seeking refuge in nearby homes, the SACP alleged.

In a statement, the SACP Southern Natal region said the incident at the Sundumbuli stadium in Mandini last Sunday indicated that a new strategy of "repression" had come into effect in kwaZulu.

"Whereas in the past we were not allowed to have venues, now we get them at a high human cost," said the SACP.

It claimed about 250 spear-wielding men chanting the Zulu war-cry "usuthu" advanced to the entrance of the stadium, throwing stones at the crowd and later opening fire.

"People went helter-skelter seeking cover while some tried to jump over the concrete fence. Some started crawling on their stomachs for fear of being shot at," the SACP statement added.

The SACP claimed that three people died and many others were injured, including regional dispute resolution committee observer Bheki Mthembu, who was shot in a leg. His car windscreen was also smashed, the SACP alleged.

It claimed that at one stage the KZP opened fire on SACP supporters who "sought refuge in the surrounding

homes". Seventeen spent cartridges were found on the scene.

The SACP said it had called in the South African Police's Internal Stability Unit, which fired teargas at the attackers who were then "escorted" away by the KZP.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Tillet said the attackers were not necessarily IFP supporters.

He said "kwaZulu citizens" travelling to a Shaka Day rally in Mthunzini two days earlier had been attacked by African National Congress supporters. It appeared that some of them had retaliated by attacking the SACP rally.

The incidents underline the difficulties of implementing decisions of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and of holding free and fair elections in kwaZulu.

Calling for a judicial commission of inquiry into the incident, the SACP said it highlighted the "serious challenges" the TEC would face once it took office.

"As long as there is no impartial policing, no political tolerance (and) no levelled playing fields, the negotiation process will not be able to give the oppressed majority an opportunity to state who they really support," said the SACP, adding: "This incident is a political statement (by the IFP) that no free and fair elections will take place in kwaZulu."

KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has made it clear that the homeland government will not participate in the TEC, meaning that the KZP will neither co-operate with the sub-council on law and order nor take part in the proposed national peace-keeping force.

of hypocrisy and Holomisa accuses Buthelezi

Sowetan 25/10/93

Speech angers IFP

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AN ANGRY Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has accused African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela of generating anarchy in the KwaZulu region one day and the next day turning to the people with "facile gestures of peace".

Addressing a gathering at Madadeni in northern Natal at the weekend, he said this was hypocrisy and was recognised as such by the ANC in the region.

"The president of the ANC seems to be an expert in talking out of both sides of his mouth when he talks peace in one breath and in the next vilifies us by calling us all sorts of vile names."

Message to Mandela

Buthelezi said his message to Mandela was: "You cannot one day recruit impressionable young children to learn to kill other black people and generate

anarchy in the region, and the next day turn to them with facile gestures of peace."

The IFP leader, who is also Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, said there was only one way to stop the ANC and the Government in their tracks and that was to actively demonstrate to South Africa and the world that there was a force powerful enough to oppose them. — Sapa.

Leader of KZP investigation dismissed

WMS-11/11/93

Farouk Chothia

A TOP Natal policeman who was spearheading a major investigation into alleged kwaZulu Police involvement in political violence was unceremoniously sacked from his job a fortnight ago.

The head of a seven-member SAP investigation unit, Captain Jugdesh Koobair, was transferred last week back to his previous routine job as deputy station commander at the Chatsworth police station.

Expressing shock at his dismissal, the African National Congress northern Natal secretary, Senzo Mchunu, said Koobair was making "much headway" in investigations into the alleged involvement of the KZP in violence in Esikhawini township near Empanjeni.

"We understand that at least 10 KZP members have been arrested as a result of investigations by his unit," said Mchunu, adding: "There's no doubt in our minds that this transfer will affect the unit's work."

South African Police spokesman Colonel Coert Marais vehemently denied the charge, saying that the unit worked closely with the SAP reporting officer for Natal/kwaZulu, advocate Neville Melville. "Everything is transparent. Advocate Melville has a look into investigations," said Marais.

But Melville was not consulted on Koobair's dismissal and expressed disappointment at the decision.

"I think he (Koobair) had got to a position where he had established good relations not only with political representatives but also with people on the ground," said Melville.

SAP sources claimed that racism was a major reason behind Koobair's dismissal, saying that several white officers were dissatisfied that an Indian was in charge of investigating the police. Replied Marais: "I can definitely rule out racism (as a reason for the transfer). Ninety-nine percent of people in that unit are Indians."

The sources also complained about the manner of Koobair's dismissal. "He is out in the field most of the time. A note was slipped under his office door informing him that he was being transferred," one said.

The unit was formed last August in terms of the National Peace Accord charged with investigating public complaints against both the KZP and SAP.

The new head of the unit is a white officer, Major Piet Nortje. His background is unknown.

Melville said it had been "indicated" to him that Nortje was taking over the unit because he was more experienced than Koobair. Melville added that while he has repeatedly asked the SAP to attach more experienced officers to the unit it was "unfortunate that Koobair has been removed".

Mchunu said the ANC had made numerous appeals to both the Goldstone Commission and the SAP to investigate alleged KZP involvement in a spate of violent incidents in Esikhawini last year. "We were ignored. It was only when Koobair's unit was formed that investigations started," added Mchunu. Marais gave an assurance that the unit's work would not be hampered by the fact that Nortje is the new head. "If he is given a job then it must be done," said Marais.

Why Buthelezi's breakaway talk rings hollow

A careful look at the arithmetic reveals that secession is anything but a realistic option for kwaZulu. By **Ann Eveleth** and **Farouk Chothia**

KWAZULU chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi must be well aware that his repeated threat of secession is a hollow one. Military capacity to wage a secessionist war and the apparent absence of solid grassroots support aside, the fragile "third world" economy of the shattered fragments that comprise kwaZulu make it a far less viable candidate for independent statehood than many of the troubled Baltic republics were at their birth.

And, while the former Soviet republics were swiftly awarded the spoils of the West's Cold War victory, the international community has been far more reluctant to "recognise" the sovereignty of potential African breakaways.

In peaceful northern Somaliland, for instance, a pauper government draws circles in the sand while the United Nations dithers about its declaration of secession from the war-torn south. And western Sahara has been waiting nearly two decades for international recognition in its struggle for independence from Morocco.

Considering the effort the global arbiters of peace have already poured into South Africa's reform process, they are highly unlikely to welcome a post-apartheid splinter state. This would make foreign finance even more inaccessible to kwaZulu than sanctions made it to South Africa under apartheid.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is banking on its commitment to an open free-market economy to attract foreign investment to the region.

Certainly, this has seen a promising growth in manufacturing in recent years — primarily in the three kwaZulu Finance Corporation-operated industrial parks at Isithebe, Ezakheni and Madadeni — but even if the region were to experience a growth rate 70 percent higher than the rest of the country over the next five years, it could only improve its relative position by about one percent.

With about 14 percent of the national population (5 378 800 in 1992) producing approximately one percent of the nation's gross domestic product, the second highest debt of the self-governing territories after Lebowa (R645-million) and more than 70 percent of its population dependent upon migratory labour remittances from the metropolitan areas of Natal, the road to self-sufficiency will indeed be a long one.

According to the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA), kwaZulu had the highest number of unemployed workers of all the 10 homelands in 1990, at 271 737. While 4 813 of these were absorbed into a special job-creation programme launched by development corporations and statutory bodies in 1990/91, this only boosted kwaZulu's total employment through such projects to 25 317 by September 1991.

In the late 1980s, the kwaZulu Development Corporation lamented: "KwaZulu cannot feed itself. KwaZulu cannot provide new jobs for each year's crop of new work seekers. KwaZulu does not have the income of its own for the houses, the hospital beds, classrooms and health services the people need. KwaZulu cannot pay the pensions old-age people require to survive. KwaZulu cannot afford adequate preventative medicine, nor can it afford the economic infrastructures which would ensure that it has merit as an investment area."

At the time they were making the point — boosted by the statement that "Chief Buthelezi regards kwaZulu as an integral part of South Africa" — for acceptance of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba by Pretoria.

Yet, while this statement may have been overtaken in the current political climate, the economic realities have changed little.

In his 1993/94 budget speech, kwaZulu minister of finance Dennis Madlde noted that in kwaZulu/Natal the income of as much as 80 percent of black rural households, 18 percent of urban households and 40 percent of those living in informal settlements "falls below the minimum subsistence level".

And the homeland remains dependent upon



Economic spoiler... Sugar plantations are one of kwaZulu's assets and their owners would have to support secession

PHOTOGRAPH: PETER MCKENZIE

central government fiscal transfers and DBSA loans for a full R4.9-billion of its total 1993/94 budget allocation of R6.3-billion.

KwaZulu's greatest assets — including new manufacturing enterprises, sugar plantations and mines — are largely owned and operated by "foreigners" to the homeland or by whites living within its borders. And most of the spoils of the homeland's highest income earners' labour never reach kwaZulu. Some 80 percent of migrant worker salaries are spent in Natal.

Even if free movement of people and goods could be maintained after a hostile secession, the potential for income tax and the multiplier effects on sales and other taxes to supplement government revenues would remain limited by this disparity. Thus, to supplant the heavy losses to government income wrought by secession, an independent kwaZulu government might find itself hard-pressed to avoid the high corporate taxes so scorned by its own free-market approach.

And even though its cheap labour would continue to offer incentives to investors, such taxes, combined with the political cost of doing business behind enemy lines, might very well cost kwaZulu its newest Taiwanese and prospective Arab investors, along with other potential development partners who would prefer a close relationship with a new government in South Africa.

In addition, the potential for political stability in what — if kwaZulu's history is anything to go by — is likely to be a one-party state, or one in which the competing parties are derived primarily from the white rightwing, would do nothing to encourage a healthy investment portfolio.

The reality is that even if Buthelezi was able to convince the larger and more diverse population of Natal/kwaZulu to support a secession drive, countless studies — including one commissioned by the kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority — indicate that the region is equally dependent upon central government and still lags far behind the rest of the country.

According to the Deloitte & Touche March

1993 report, *Government Expenditure in Natal/KwaZulu — A Regional Comparison*, the region has 25.9 percent of the country's population, but generates just 14.7 percent of the national GDP, placing its per capita income substantially below the national average.

With the highest dependency ratio in the country, Natal/kwaZulu can only provide employment for 35 percent of its potential

labour force. A relatively low level of urbanisation, a literacy rate of only 70.1 percent and a 43 percent share of the region's population comprising the under-15 age group place an unusually heavy burden on the region's under-developed infrastructure to provide for a non-productive population.

That the community-services sector ranks second in the region as a share of GDP growth underlines its increasing dependence on government expenditure for continued economic development.

The report's objective of defining the region's marginalisation in terms of government expenditure is well illustrated by the fact that it contributes 17.4 percent of the country's tax base, yet receives less than its population's share of spending in the key areas of health, education and infrastructure. It also highlights the region's dependence on central government for any hope of attaining economic equality to other regions.

But the region does have economic strengths, not least of which is its strong growth rate in manufacturing, a high potential for tourism revenue along its generous coastline, and two of the country's major ports — including Durban, on which the rest of the country is heavily dependent.

The IFP's hopes for the development of export-processing zones (EPZs) and an "Indian Ocean Rim" could complement the highly successful EPZs in Mauritius. However, in its economic analysis of South Africa, the World Bank has argued against the development of such zones. Stressing that he was opposed to secession, Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the Economic Research Unit of the University of Natal, Durban commented: "If Natal negotiated a breakaway and it was not accompanied by violence, there is no reason why it could not do just as well as Zimbabwe or Namibia if it followed decent economic management."

"Yet Natal/kwaZulu's strengths — especially its control of the eastern shores — combined with low levels of support for the IFP in the province, militate heavily against such a settlement being reached amicably with the rest of the country, as does the likelihood that such a declaration — if unilateral — would herald unprecedented violence."

If such a move were to succeed, it would need the full support of the region's businesses. But the reality is that Buthelezi's secessionist rhetoric is losing him support in this sector, as its economic survival is interwoven with the rest of South Africa.



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Dr Robert Bor will be in South Africa in January to meet prospective students.



Nat call for probe into KwaZulu units

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The National Party is to call on the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry to probe the training of African men, apparently by white military instructors, at a camp set up by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in the hills west of the Umfolozi Game Reserve.

The ANC, meanwhile, has called on its

members to prepare "for any eventuality". The organisation yesterday sharply criticised the setting up of the camp as "a declaration of war" on the people of Natal.

The camp was apparently set up by KwaZulu politicians about three weeks ago to train Zulu men in self-defence.

NP federal council spokesman Mr Jaco Maree said self-defence units could be converted into "attacking regiments". The

matter had to be dealt with at the highest level by all political leaders "as we can't allow this to escalate into a full-scale civil war".

ANC media officer Mr Dumisani Makhayane said the IFP was training a force to enforce KwaZulu secession on the people of Natal which was a recipe for war.

Yesterday an Inkatha source said the units were being set up by Inkatha politicians, strictly in their private capacity.

REAARDY TO WAAAGGEWAAR

C1 Road 7/11/93

They talk peace while arming themselves to the teeth

By LEN KALANE, FRED
KHUMALO and SAPA

(107)

THERE are fears that some groups in SA are hellbent on taking the "Savinbi option" after the April elections.

CAPE TOWN
A three-ton arms cache discovered by police in the northern Transvaal this week seems to bear out such a scenario.

Further fears of military build-ups were fuelled yesterday after revelations that the KwaZulu government had set up a huge military training camp near the Umfolozi Game Reserve where men are being trained in modern warfare.

Five white men, believed to be members of the ultra-rightwing Boere Weerstandsbeweging, have been arrested in connection with the arms cache found in the northern Transvaal. The cache included 100 000 rounds of ammunition, 400 hand-grenades and 20 kg of explosives and was stolen from an army base in Pieterstroom.

Police said more arrests were expected this weekend. This is the second such theft from an army base since negotiations on a new constitution started. The first was from a Pretoria military base where a number of weapons were stolen — one of which was positively linked to the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hanu.



HEY, HEY, HEY... Guy Fawkes Day Celebrations went off with a bang outside a hair salon in Johannesburg's Carlton Centre on Friday. ■ Pic: THULANI SITHOLE

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7/11/93

KwaZulu's setting up of the training base follows Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for the establishment of "armed self-protective units" in the region to guard against the "obliteration of KwaZulu".

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, under pressure, acknowledged the existence of the training camp. They also admitted that 500 men were being trained at the base under the leadership of amakhosi (traditional chiefs) "as an effort to protect their people from attack".

Training includes firearm skills provided by the KwaZulu Police after which trainees are assisted by members of the Legislative Assembly in applying for their own weapons.

'Recipe for war'

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said Inkatha was training a force to enforce KwaZulu secession on the people of Natal, which he said was "a recipe for war".

Inkatha officials have said in the past that the National Peace Accord had a provision for the setting up of defence units and they were prepared to make use of that provision as their followers were being killed.

But KwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Robert Mzimela said it was "dishonest" to associate the camps with Inkatha. The units were being set up in the politicians' private capacity, not under the auspices of Inkatha.

KwaZulu MP for Vulindlela and Inkatha strongman David Ntombela said similar camps were on the cards for the Natal Midlands, although he would not disclose their exact location.

Northern Natal ANC spokesman Zipho Mkhize said this week that training bases had also been set up in the northern Natal settlements of Mavamhlophe, Macekane and Gezinsila.

He said that at least eight people had been killed since late October in attacks linked to the training bases.

From Page 1

The ANC and the NP have come out strongly against the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's military training camp near the Umfolozi Game Reserve. *City Press*

NP federal council spokesman Jaco Maree said he would ask the Goldstone Commission to probe activities at the base, apparently set up about three weeks ago to train KwaZulu government loyalists in self-defence. *7/11/93*

Such units were quickly converted into "attacking regiments", he warned. *(107)*

There were fears that such activities could "escalate into full-scale civil war", Maree warned.

KwaZulu government loyalists in Estcourt have enthusiastically taken up Buthelezi's call for the establishment of armed protective units with zeal - instead of paying R5 for this purpose, they are forking out R50 per household.

Residents claim Inkatha activists in the Nkwezela section of Wembesi township go from house to house, collect money for ammunition to "protect the neighbourhood and set up protective units as requested by the chief minister (Buthelezi)".

"If you live in Nkwezela (an Inkatha stronghold) you should be prepared for midnight raids by men who go from house to house asking for money to buy arms and 'babies' (slang for bullets)," said a man who spoke to City Press on condition of anonymity.

"They say it is time we Zulus stood up to the ANC and set up units that will protect the integrity of our kingdom. They say that is what the chief has ordered."

Buthelezi recently called on Zulus to contribute R5 each towards the setting up of "armed protective units" in the region to help protect "the integrity of the Zulu nation and KwaZulu from obliteration".

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."

Former cop linked to IFP training

WM 12-18/11/93 (107)

Farouk Chotia

FORMER SAP security branch policeman Philip Powell has been linked to two Inkatha military training camps. Reports say he has been seen at the Umfolozi training camp exposed by Durban journalists last week, and that he has been involved in training youth at a camp in Elandskop near Pietermaritzburg.

Seen in the company of white Inkatha members who were videoing journalists at King Goodwill Zwelithini's recent imbizo (gathering of the Zulu nation), Powell also appears to be involved in intelligence and security work for Inkatha.

According to an official SAP statement earlier this year, Powell was a

security branch policeman until May 1991. He founded the right-wing Student Action Front as a counter to Nusas at Natal University and was a key player in the formation of the National Students' Federation, exposed by the *Weekly Mail* two years ago as an SAP-funded front organisation.

After officially leaving the police, Powell became the kwaZulu government's urban representative in Pietermaritzburg. As his star rose, the broad-shouldered, bearded right-winger was elected secretary of Inkatha's Vulindlela branch and later Natal Midlands regional secretary. He is believed to be a member of Inkatha's central committee.

Powell has built his public profile

steadily, pushing for the deployment of the kwaZulu police in areas hitherto under the jurisdiction of the SAP. Inkatha sources say he is a close confidant of the party's Natal Midlands chairman David Ntombela, reputed to be a warlord.

Earlier this year, African National Congress Midlands organiser Caleb Magubane alleged Powell was teaching youngsters how to shoot at an Inkatha training camp in Elandskop. Magubane said the men were then sent to Emandleni camp in Ulundi for further training.

Unavailable for comment this week, Powell did not deny the charges at the time, saying the National Peace Accord allowed communities to form self-protection units.

... While others get ready for war

Stephen Laufer, Jan Taijaard, Farouk Chothia, Estelle Randall

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 Conteralesa and was suspended without pay by Ufundi 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 Ngeobo, 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 Ufundi borrowed from Unita'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.

■ To Page 4

Inkatha training base exposed

■ 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 Ukmdl 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's 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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107

Former cop linked to IFP training

WM 12-18/11/93 (FIB) 107

Farouk Chotia

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Unavailable for comment this week, Powell did not deny the charges at the time, saying the National Peace Accord allowed communities to form self-protection units.

Zulu 'warriors' to graduate

AT LEAST 500 "warriors", who will form the core of KwaZulu's self-protection units, will leave Mlaba Camp near Ulundi today after five weeks of intensive training, which included firearm familiarisation. *B/Day*

Philip Powell, who co-ordinates the project, said yesterday the graduates had been instructed by, among others, KwaZulu police officers, former Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders and former SAP officers.

Powell, who is also KwaZulu representative in the Natal Midlands, said no white right-wingers had been involved and he was the only white person in the project. *12/11/93*

The graduates would not be issued with firearms but, since they had received training in the proper use of

WILSON ZWANE

guns, they would be "competent to apply for licences to carry firearms".

Powell said the training of self-protection unit members would continue as long as the KwaZulu government provided funds and people to be trained. *(107)*

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi paved the way for the training recently when he announced that a R5 levy, imposed on Zulus by his government, would be used for the project.

Powell said journalists invited to today's passing out parade would not be allowed to take photographs of the camp and the graduates for "security reasons".

Sowetans 'will pay for services soon'

PARTIES involved in the deal to end the Soweto services payment boycott were confident residents would begin paying on the agreed date - February 1 - once they saw improvements in the township. *B/Day*

Improvements would begin next month with the injection of millions of rands into Soweto by government and the Johannesburg and Roodepoort city councils. In terms of the agreement, each household would pay R45 a month for services.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

Because of the historical pattern of non-payment, it was expected that it could take a while for everyone to begin paying. But parties were confident this would happen. *12/11/93*

Civic Associations of Johannesburg spokesman Cas Coovadia said the councils would lend substantial technical, administrative and financial assistance to Soweto. *(12)*

Fm 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 (107)

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 progressing 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 Fm 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 (107)

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-

KwaZulu camps end

ULUNDI. — Six hundred KwaZulu government recruits yesterday completed six weeks of military training at a remote location in Zululand.

The men will form self-protection units in KwaZulu districts from next week. (107)

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly hopes to train thousands more at the camps in the hills of Umfolosi, about 100km from the homeland capital, Ulundi.

Camp commander and Inkatha Freedom Party member Mr Philip Powell told journalists at the passing-out parade at the camp yesterday the possibility of training men to be deployed at hostels in the Transvaal was being investigated. — Sapa

Training for thousands at KwaZulu camp

Star 13/11/93

THOUSANDS of men are expected to be trained at a KwaZulu government camp in the rugged hills of northern Natal during the next few months for deployment in special protection units (SPUs) in their communities.

The KwaZulu government is also "seriously investigating" the possibility of setting up SPUs at hostels in the Transvaal because of attacks.

At a passing-out parade for the camp's first 600 recruits — aged between 18 and 68 — well-rehearsed drills were performed and mock attacks and counter-ambush techniques were displayed before visiting journalists.

However, some of the secrecy which has sur-

GREG KNOWLER

rounded this camp — about 40 km from Ulundi — remained, and photographs were not permitted for "security reasons".

Protection

Camp commander Phillip Powell, a member of both the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the IFP's Natal Midlands central committee, emphasised that the recruits were not being trained for Inkatha but to protect KwaZulu communities.

He also rejected recent reports that recruits were being trained by rightwingers, saying basics were taught by KwaZulu Po-

lice and former SADF and SAP officers.

It was suspected that the training was being funded by South African taxpayers, but Powell said the cash came from members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Powell said no money had been received from the Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for R5 from all Inkatha members.

He said the training was of a defensive type and recruits were taught to operate in both a rural and urban environment.

"Recruits train for a six-week period, then return to their communities. They fall under community leaders and usually lead protection units in their areas."

Ulundi to lose key powers

SITIMED 14/11/93

By CARMEL RICKARD

WHEN Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrived back from overseas this week it was to learn that key powers were about to be removed from Ulundi by presidential decree.

Negotiators at Kempton Park agreed to scrap notorious provisions in Pretoria's "total onslaught" armoury which have allowed indefinite detention in solitary confinement. They also approved wholesale changes to laws in the self-governing territories, including Kwazulu.

All these and other changes are intended to ensure free political activity throughout the country in the run-up to the elections.

Fourteen laws affecting all self-governing territories are to be amended or repealed completely.

The changes include modifying a law which gave township superintendents "sole and absolute" power to decide on the hir-

ing of halls — a provision repeatedly abused to prevent particular political groups from meeting.

In addition, certain laws affecting self-governing territories are to be amended or scrapped. These include five laws in Gazankulu, three in Kangwane and 17 in Qwa-Qwa. Kwazulu tops the list, with 20 laws to be altered or repealed. (107)

Among those to go is a law giving Mr Buthelezi the power to banish individuals or groups of people.

Another law which held that chiefs were entitled to the "loyalty, respect, support and obedience" of all residents in their areas, has been changed to read that a chief should be given "respect for his status as lawful civic representative of the district".

A law — previously hotly-defended by Mr Buthelezi — demanding civil servants take an oath of loyalty to Ulundi is also destined for the scrap heap.

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. (107)

Bekker said: "Mr Mandela dares to make remarks about these units in spite of the continued training of ANC MK units in foreign countries. (107)

"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.

KwaZulu starts fund to ensure 'survival'

ULUNDI. — The caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has decided to establish a solidarity fund believing that developments at multiparty talks are threatening the sur-

vival of the Zulu people.

A short statement by the caucus yesterday did not elaborate on the nature of the perceived threat.

The caucus said the fund —

“umfelandawonye” (solidarity) — would invite contributions of R20 or more from all Zulus and other groups that supported the KwaZulu stand. — Sapa.

(107) ARG 18/11/93

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 Mganga 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. (107) (113)

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. (107) (113)

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

part of the Government's... blocked off to allow crowds to join the party. Picture: ABDUL SHARIF

New Act will result in greater civil litigation

By Day 22/11/93 ERICA 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-

panies faced possible criminal prosecution for failure to ensure their safety.

This now fell under a statutory duty of care. Previously, a claimant had to show that the employer owed a duty of care.

Employees were given statutory duties in terms of the new Act, including being obliged to take reasonable care of their personal health and safety, he said.

In the event of an accident, Orrie said employers should arrange for trained, competent and properly designated employees to inspect the scene as soon as possible after it occurred.

He emphasised the need for employers to keep proper records and to have properly trained and qualified health and safety officers. "It will become more difficult for industrial relations officers and managers to act as health and safety officers".

A further cost complication was that until the amended Workmen's Compensation Act was promulgated in April 1994, high-earning employees would be able to sue employers for damages arising from negligence in regard to workplace health and safety issues.

At a ceremony on Friday, the National Occupational Safety Association honoured Consol Ltd and Telephone Manufacturers of SA for achieving three million work hours without a disabling injury.

Azapo will not take part in election

HARARE — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will not take part in SA's first non-racial election in April next year, Ziana news agency said.

The parties are holding a day-long consultative talks in Harare.

Azapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa yesterday labelled as a "sell-out settlement" the adoption of an interim constitution by negotiators last week.

He said Azapo 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.

"Azapo will explain why the elections cannot be supported and why the Kempton Park package cannot satisfy the interests of blacks in the country."

Azapo 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. — Sapa.

Inkatha launches campaign

By Day 22/11/93 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".

And according to the language Buthelezi and Inkatha spokesmen have been using lately, it would ap-

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 legitimated by participating in an election under it." He repeated earlier promises to hold a special general conference of Inkatha to decide on poll participation.

pear that Inkatha is under increasing pressure to rejoin 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

extensive local government experience.

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BDAY 221119
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

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.

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.

ART 22/11/93

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Peace quest to KwaZulu

CT 22/11/93 (107)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela ventured into the heart of KwaZulu at the weekend and called on traditional leaders, the clergy and trade unionists to stand up and oppose those leaders who wanted to spill blood.

He also urged the IFP to return to multi-party talks saying

the ANC had made concessions to accommodate them.

Addressing a huge crowd at the Esikhawini soccer grounds yesterday, Mr Mandela called on his followers to talk peace to their IFP opponents like the people of Mpumalanga near Maritzburg and Nhlalakahle in Greytown where violence had been defeated.

Mr Mandela's visit was marred by intimidation of his supporters. Local leaders at Ngwavuma told him the reason for the small turnout was the threats that people's pension grants would be withdrawn if they supported the ANC.

His unscheduled visit to the people of Dukuduku forests was reportedly disrupted when impi stormed the venue.

'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. (107) (10)

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.

'No place' for Zulu state bid

DURBAN. — There could be no state for a separate Zulu people and residents of Natal would crush any attempt to prevent the province from being part of South Africa, said ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe. **CT 27/11/93**

Opening the ANC's fourth annual regional conference here yesterday, Mr Radebe said Natal/KwaZulu was part of South Africa and would fulfill its obligations to the country. **107**

"There is no place for mobilisation of people on ethnic grounds," he said. — Sapa **107**

Zulus queue 'to die in unity'

JOHANNESBURG. — People are queuing to join the Umfelandawonye — "to die in unity" — self-protection units being trained in northern KwaZulu, Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal spokesman Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

He said the units, which were being trained by the KwaZulu Police, were the product of an initiative by local people and were open to all South Africans.

He said the units had the backing of, but were not being funded by, the IFP. — Sapa (107)

Zulu king: Alliance missed opportunities

~~107~~ (107)
CT 4/12/93
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.



CIPRODD 5/12/93

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. (107)

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.

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.

ANC praises Zulu king on his speech

SI Times 5/12/93

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

Deadline for commitment

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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. (107) (13)

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.

Buthelezi, IFP pressurised

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".

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. (107) (18)

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

Biday 7/12/93

WILSON ZWANE

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.

Goodwill, Buthelezi rift denied

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Kwazulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi remained tight-lipped 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 media 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 politi-

cal 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."

CF 11/2/93

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. (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*

Goldstone

ARG 8/12/93
uncovers

hit squad

evidence

Political Staff

The Goldstone Commission has uncovered "credible evidence" of a Kwazulu Police (KZP) hit squad responsible for the murder of nine people — including leaders and members of the African National Congress — in the past two years.

Three arrests have been made and more are anticipated, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in a report of his commission released today.

He emphasised that the facts had "come to light" after a request by KZP Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Durring to the South African Police for an investigation into certain allegations.

The ANC said today the evidence in the report confirmed the ANC's "contention that the violence is part of a systematic destabilisation policy emanating from members of the stability forces".

It said the commission's finding that the men were part of a group secretly trained by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi during 1986 "indicates that this is part of a broader plan of action".

Judge Goldstone disclosed that the investigation was still in progress and three people had been arrested: "All three persons were until recently members of the KZP. One of them has now been dismissed and the other two suspended.

"The evidence establishes the high probability that a hit squad consisting of five KZP policemen has been responsible during 1992 and 1993 for the murder of no less than nine people, including leaders and members of the ANC," said the report.

Judge Goldstone drew the attention of the Transitional Executive Council to the allegations.

● In the report, the commission also said the withdrawal of the police's internal stability unit (ISU) from the violence-torn East Rand townships — as demanded by the ANC — would lead to greater violence.

The townships' residents were "consistently at risk of death and injury and the withdrawal of adequate protection will make them even more vulnerable," Judge Goldstone said.

However, the ANC repeated the call for the withdrawal of the ISU and said its deployment should be done only "in consultation with the local SAP, peace and community structures".

KwaZulu 'hit squad' held

POLICE had arrested three SADF-trained former KwaZulu Police force members, who were allegedly part of a hit squad responsible for nine murders, the Goldstone commission disclosed yesterday.

In an interim report on the prevention of public violence and intimidation, Judge Richard Goldstone said evidence from a joint investigation with the SAP had "established the high probability" that a hit squad of five KwaZulu Police force members had been responsible for the 1992 and 1993 murders of nine people, including ANC leaders and members. Further arrests were expected. (107) (2-51)

The probe had been at KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lt-Gen R During's request and was headed by Brig E S du Preez.

"From the police investigation it emerged that the persons suspected of operating in the hit squad had received train-

BIBOY 9/12/93
LLOYD COUTTS

ing from the SADF in the Caprivi in 1986."

This training had been the subject of a previous inquiry by the commission, so the SAP had invited the commission to participate in the hit squad investigation.

Goldstone said two of those arrested had since been suspended and the third had been dismissed from the KwaZulu Police.

The commission considered the disclosure of the information to be in the public interest. "The implications in relation to the election make that imperative." But disclosing further details about the hit squad would prejudice the investigation.

During said the alleged activities of "renegade" KwaZulu Police members had never been sanctioned by the department.

"Regrettably such conduct serves to tar-

To Page 2

Hit squad

BIBOY 9/12/93
nish the image of the entire police force and public disclosure of these allegations at a time when I and the majority of my members are making earnest endeavours to establish sound community relations is regrettable in the extreme." (107)

He did not believe the release of the information was in the public interest as it was untested and would serve only to undermine public confidence in the force. It prejudiced the investigation and possible prosecutions. He was extremely hesitant to consider the information credible or reliable at this stage. "We do not dispute that there may be rotten elements in our midst, but we are making every endeavour to eradicate them." (2-51)

The KwaZulu Police had arrested one suspect on armed robbery charges. Another had been dismissed after being found unfit to remain in the force, During said.

Our political staff reports that Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Tillett said while there "may be truth" in the allegations, Goldstone's report had diminished the commission's credibility as it had con-

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sistently failed to take up Inkatha requests to investigate attacks on its supporters.

He said ANC elements had infiltrated the commission which had presented "a distorted picture" as violence against Inkatha overshadowed that against the ANC.

The ANC said Goldstone's report vindicated its claim that there were hit squads in the security forces. The disclosures showed there was an urgent need for the Transitional Executive Council to take over the KwaZulu Police and the homeland's administration.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye called on Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to disclose what he knew of the hit squads. "We need to know who is issuing orders to these hit squads and who the assassinated ANC members were."

He also blamed government for the hit squads' activities, as the men had been trained by Military Intelligence.

"The report also confirms the ANC's contention that there is a third force operating to destabilise black communities in general and the ANC in particular."

Shock findings on hit squads

Star 9/12/93

BY HELEN GRANGE and CHRIS WHITFIELD

The Goldstone Commission's disclosure yesterday that it had "credible evidence" of a KwaZulu Police (KZP) hit squad being responsible for the murder of nine people has vindicated the assertion that hit squads exist, the ANC said yesterday.

The organisation said the report had given credence to its assertion on the existence of the hit squads and blamed President de Klerk for the SADF's training of hit squad members.

Three arrests had been made and more were expected, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in a report of his commission released yesterday.

ANC leaders were among those allegedly murdered by the hit squad during 1992 and 1993.

The facts had "come to light" after KZP commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Dur-

ing had requested the South African Police to investigate allegations of murder, attempted murder, armed robbery and theft of vehicles.

During yesterday confirmed his instigation of the probe, but said he was distressed at Judge Goldstone's decision to make the information public, adding it could "prejudice the investigation and possible prosecution of those involved".

He said it was "regrettable in the extreme" that the allegations had been disclosed "at a time when I and the majority of my members are making earnest endeavours to establish sound community relations".

During said one of the men being held had already been arrested for armed robbery and another had been recently dismissed after a board of inquiry found he was unfit to remain a member of the KZP.

Allegations of their involvement in hit squad activity had emerged only in the subse-

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Shock findings on KwaZulu hit squads

Star 9/12/93

◀ From Page 1

the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Minister of KwaZulu Police — to explain to the world what he knows about the activities of the hit squads within his police force.

"We need to know who is issuing orders and who the ANC members are who have been assassinated."

The Democratic Party's Natal provincial chairman Kobus Jordaan said the disclosures made it imperative for the KwaZulu government and the IFP to take part in the TEC

The judge said the evidence pointed to a hit squad consisting of five KZP policemen.

In September, The Star revealed that a KwaZulu policeman who received SADF training in the Capri had appeared under a false name in court on two charges of murder.

Alfred Masango was acquitted in the Natal Supreme Court although the judge had found there were strong suspicions against him.

It is not known whether he has been held in the clampdown.

quent SAP-assisted investigation, During said.

Mr Justice Goldstone said in the report: "The fact that hit squads are operating in South Africa cannot seriously be doubted."

The commission had constantly refused to make findings without adequate evidence.

"However, during the past few days credible evidence has come to the knowledge of the commission of a hit squad... All three persons (now arrested) were until recently members of the KZP."

The ANC said: "These revelations make it even more urgent that the Transitional Executive Council should take immediate control of the KwaZulu Police and the finances of the KwaZulu bantustan..."

"It is incumbent upon Chief Minister Gatscha (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi

Evidence 107

"These findings convince the DP that elements within the KZP are being used as a political instrument by their present political taskmaster," he said.

In his report, the judge stressed that the fact that evidence had been found implicating the

TEC takes a tough stand on violence

BIDM 10/12/93

CAPE TOWN — The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) yesterday took a hard line on violence, calling for the removal of the internal stability unit from East Rand townships, the deployment of the SAP and SADF in northern Natal and parts of KwaZulu, and all information of alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads.

In a signal that it intended acting decisively to restore law and order, the 19-member council agreed at its second meeting that it had the statutory power to take on the Goldstone commission — which this week recommended that the internal stability unit remain in the townships — Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelesi and the Bophuthatswana government.

Chairman Pravin Gordhan said: "The TEC is beginning to cut its teeth on the realities of the SA situation." He said the self-governing states were "very much part of SA". The resolution made it clear that immediate action had to be taken to secure the "lives and property" of all SA's people.

Government and ANC representatives Roelf Meyer and Cyril Rarraphosa met Kriel to discuss the internal stability unit's withdrawal from the East Rand and Bhambayi near Durban, and its replacement with SADF troops. They also discussed the despatch of additional SAP members to strife-torn northern Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Kriel would report back to the TEC next Tuesday.

All resolutions were unanimous with no

ADRIAN HADLAND

signs of the government, ANC clashes that marked the first meeting on Tuesday.

In the discussion on the withdrawal of the internal stability unit, Meyer said government had no problem with one police unit, which acted in a supporting capacity to the uniformed branch, being replaced by the SADF at the request of the communities involved.

The TEC agreed the replacement would occur only after consultation with the Minister and senior regional police officials.

The TEC's law and order and defence subcommittees would be established as soon as possible to consider the unit's involvement in other townships.

Dismissing Judge Richard Goldstone's recommendations on the internal stability unit, Rarraphosa said "the Goldstone commission clearly misdirected itself" by omitting to mention the dozens of people killed or injured on the East Rand since the unit's deployment there.

The TEC ordered the commission and the KwaZulu Police to forward "within three days" all information on the investigations into alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads.

The TEC also agreed to ask the Bophuthatswana government to allow peaceful activities in its territory in celebration of today's International Human Rights Day.

Lawyers for Human Rights had written to the TEC saying its efforts to organise marches and activities were being harried by the Bophuthatswana government.

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TEC

BIDM

10/12/93

□ From Page 1

Meanwhile, LLOYD COURTTS reports that Buthelesi said the Goldstone commission's allegations of KwaZulu hit squads were an attempt to gain favour with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission. He said the commission had moved a long way from its brief to inquire into public violence and intimidation and was becoming a political body.

The report had come at a time when the Inkatha Freedom Party and others were at loggerheads with government and the ANC on many political issues. The ANC was also being openly hostile toward the Freedom Alliance and right-wing groups.

"Not least, the timing coincides with an emergence of the old rhetoric of absence of free political activity in some selected self-governing states, notably KwaZulu, and talk about the unilateral reincorporation of those states into SA."

Allegations of hit squad activities in the KwaZulu Police had been made before and at no stage had such evidence been able to stand the test of cross-examination.

"Now, suddenly, without any of the so-called 'reliable evidence' having been tested, such evidence is suddenly elevated to

the status of giving cause to accept a 'high probability' of such alleged hit squad activity within the KwaZulu police."

Inkatha spokesman Ziba Jiyane said his party condemned the operation of any hit squad, and supported investigations into hit squad activities "wherever evidence of these might emerge".

The impetus for the investigation which led to the Goldstone disclosures had come from the KwaZulu Police, showing that it was committed to impartial policing and would act against any member involved in illegal acts.

However, Inkatha believed Goldstone had adopted trial by allegation. "The investigation into the alleged hit squad is not complete, nor have any trial proceedings begun to decide on the guilt or innocence of three suspects. Yet the commission has chosen to make this information available, as well as to pronounce on their probable guilt," Jiyane said.

□ The TEC also approved an R18.5m budget for itself, covering the nine-month period to next June.

● See Page 5

SA Police called on to intervene in KwaZulu

Political Correspondent

IN a bold move, the Transitional Executive Council has called on the South African Police to intervene to protect life and property in violence-hit northern Natal, and even take action in areas under KwaZulu's jurisdiction.

This was a key point in one of several resolutions adopted by the TEC yesterday.

Its approval came after African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's appeal to the council to "show compassion" for suffering people.

He said that in KwaZulu areas, there were reports that KwaZulu police "are standing by and not doing anything while people's houses are being torched and they are being attacked and killed".

They SAP should be deployed there too because "they have national jurisdiction".

He hoped police would be sensitive to the controversy over the Internal Stability Units and not deploy them there. If reinforcements were required, the Defence Force should be deployed.

In terms of another resolution, the TEC has ordered a "full report within three days" from KwaZulu police chief Roy During and Brigadier E S du Preez on the Goldstone Commission findings on "credible evidence" of

107
a hit squad made up of members of the KwaZulu Police "and on the possible existence of any other similar groups within the KwaZulu Police".

ORG 10/12/93
The TEC has also asked the commission to provide any further information it may have on the investigation.

Proposing the resolution, Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said: "I believe this a horrific exposure which, if not nipped in the bud immediately by this council, will do a disservice to all the objects of the (TEC) Act to create an atmosphere for free and fair elections."

A third resolution on policing ordered a TEC delegation including Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa to discuss problems with senior police officials and, in particular, a proposal on the removal of Internal Stability Units from townships.

Mr Ramaphosa told the council that people in a "number of areas are saying they would prefer the SADF to the ISU" and added: "They would have no problems with the uniformed police supported by the SADF."

Mr Meyer, supporting the resolution, said it was in line "with what has been envisaged in the (TEC) Act in terms of the sub-councils' functions".

He added: "What we are dealing with here is the need for effective and good policing."

Now TEC challenges Chief Buthelezi

Sowetan 10/12/93

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. (107) (11)

One of the resolutions called on the South African Police to act immediately in violence-wracked 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".

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." (107)

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.

KwaZulu Police told to submit report on alleged hit squads

TEC flexes muscles

Star 10/12/92

TWO resolutions will test the enforceability of decisions taken by the Transitional Executive Council

■ **BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH**
Cape Town — The Transitional Executive Council flexed its muscles for the first time yesterday, effectively challenging KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezzi with two resolutions that could brush aside his authority.

One of the resolutions called on the SA Police to act immediately in violence-racked areas of northern Natal and KwaZulu to provide security and protect property and lives. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking in debate, said some of the areas involved were part of KwaZulu and "the KwaZulu Police (KZP) have just been standing by when people's houses are being torched and people are being killed".

He said the SAP had nationwide jurisdiction and ought to be instructed immediately to protect residents of the area.

Another resolution demanded that KZP Commissioner Roy Doring report directly to the TEC within three days regarding the Goldstone Commission's report that "hard evidence" indicated a hit squad of KZP members had killed nine people, including ANC members.

Given that Buthelezzi is also KwaZulu's Minister of Police, the resolution amounts to a call to circumvent his authority. The resolution promised "urgent further steps" once the KZP commissioner's report was received.

The resolution on northern Natal could prove a critical test for the TEC in view of Buthelezzi's rejection of the body, and will test the enforceability of its decisions in KwaZulu.

Responding to the Goldstone Commission report on the

SAP's controversial Internal Stability Unit, the TEC agreed by consensus to probe the ISU's continued deployment on the East Rand and in the Bhambayi settlement, north of Durban.

The TEC ordered a delegation — comprising Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Ramaphosa — to meet the SAP on the removal of the ISU from the two areas.

They met Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel in Cape Town after the TEC sitting.

A report on the talks will be given at its next sitting on Tuesday.

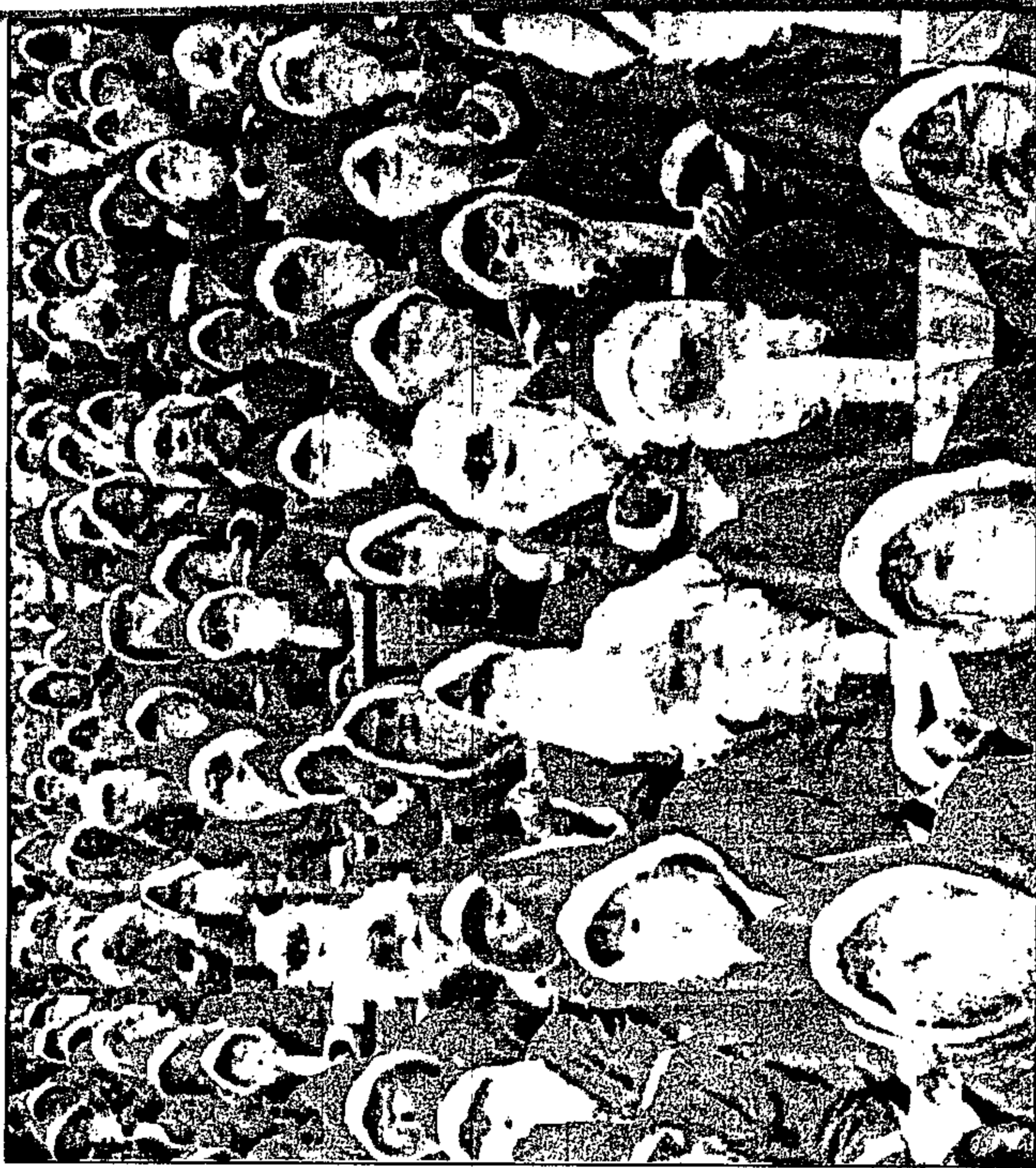
Another resolution that will test the powers of the TEC is its call on Bophuthatswana to allow Lawyers for Human Rights to celebrate Human Rights Day in the self-governing territory today.

After the TEC meeting, Ramaphosa, responding to questions, said: "We're not running the country. We are just attending to problems people are experiencing. If the TEC is to enjoy confidence it has to attend to problems."

Meyer said the resolutions were "perfectly in line" with the TEC's objectives.

■ In terms of a resolution taken yesterday, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission will be formally established when the TEC meets again next week.

A fine crop of Santas



Ho, ho, ho, ho ... students of Berlin's Santa Claus "university" assemble in a lecture hall for their first "duating" on Tuesday. The 400 students are now ready to go out to visit Berlin homes at a price of DM38 (be rewarding all children who have been good during the year with sweets and Christmas goodies.

KwaZulu acts to defy TEC

JOHANNESBURG. — KwaZulu yesterday defied the Transitional Executive Council with a refusal by the territory's police chief to provide any information to investigators probing charges that KwaZulu police killed ANC leaders.

The TEC demanded the investigation earlier this week.

"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," said Lieutenant-General Roy During in a brief statement yesterday.

Police chief refuses to aid probe

"The TEC Act is now the law of the country, and we expect it to be applied across the country, including in the homelands," ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

But it was not clear what the fledgling council could do to put down the first challenge to its authority.

Earlier this week, Mr Justice

Richard Goldstone reported his commission had found credible evidence that a KwaZulu police "hit squad" killed nine people, including ANC members and leaders, in 1992 and 1993.

The TEC on Thursday asked for a report on the allegations within three days.

It also asked the government to send more police to strife-torn areas in northern Natal and KwaZulu, including areas patrolled by KwaZulu police.

The TEC sat for the first time on Tuesday.

It will have a watchdog role until the national elections are held on April 27. The body has some veto power over government decisions. — Sapa-AP

#3 (107) CT 11/12/93

Kwazulu defies TEC order to supply details

(107)

ARG 11/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Kwazulu yesterday defied the Transitional Executive Council by refusing to provide information relating to charges in a Goldstone Commission report that Kwazulu police killed African National Congress leaders.

In a terse statement yesterday afternoon Kwazulu police chief Roy During, who initiated investigations into his own force, told the TEC: "I am directed to respond to your council's resolution 1 paragraph 1 (a) as follows:

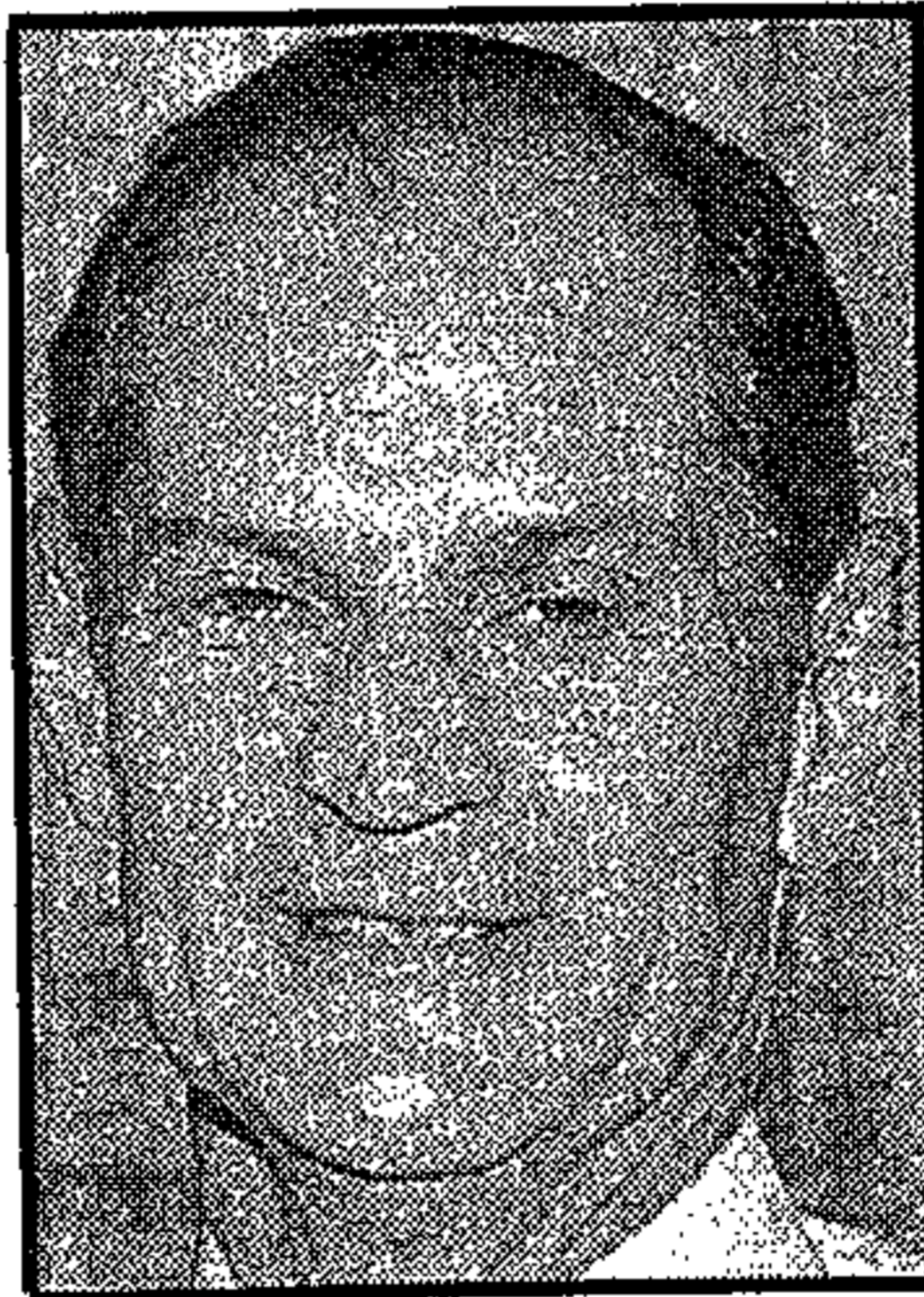
"The Kwazulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information.

"The fourth interim report of the Goldstone Commission was based on information submitted to it by the South African 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," Lieutenant-General During said.

Earlier he was at pains to

■ Kwazulu has defied the Transitional Executive Council by refusing to provide information about charges that Kwazulu police killed ANC members. Police chief Roy During said in a statement he had been "directed" not to provide the information.



Roy During

defend his decision to blow the whistle on suspected criminal activities in his own force, saying he was committed to a clean administration.

But yesterday afternoon Gen During said he was "not able to comment" on the directive.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the TEC Act was now the law of the country.

"We expect it to be applied across the country, including in the homelands."

But it was not clear what the council could do to put down the first challenge to its authority.

Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been sharply critical of the transition process led by the ANC and the National Party. He says it will lead to an autocratic, socialist ANC government.

Chief Buthelezi is himself accused of governing with an iron fist in Kwazulu.

Earlier this week, the Goldstone Commission reported it had found credible evidence that a Kwazulu police "hit squad" killed nine people, including ANC members and leaders, in 1992 and 1993.

The TEC on Thursday asked for a report on the allegations within three days. It also asked the government to send more police to strife-torn areas in Natal, including areas patrolled by Zulu police. — Sapa-AP.

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 Doring, 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.

Doring and SAP Brigadier E S du Preez, who conducted the investigation into the KZP at Doring's request, had been requested to make available to

the TEC any information at their disposal by today.

However, Doring 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. (107)

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.

~~107~~ (30/12)

allies for support ● Chief Buthelezi stands up to new bc

KwaZulu and TEC draw battle lines

Sowetan 13/12/93

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, which held its inaugural meeting in Cape Town last Tuesday, has called on KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to give it a report by today on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a five-member hit squad — allegedly responsible for the murder of at least nine people, including ANC members —

■ **CLASH LOOMS** Top cop given

until today to report before the council:

existed within the KZP.

During was given until today to make available to the TEC any information at their disposal. (107) (SAP)

However, During told the TEC on Friday 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 request.

This reportedly left some within the 16-member TEC fuming. Sources said tough action was contemplated against KwaZulu.

Such action might include a massive deployment of SAP and South African Defence Force personnel to Ulundi to search KZP headquarters and seize relevant documents.

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. (107)

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.

Govt tries to avert TEC-KwaZulu clash

CAPE TOWN — With the Transitional Executive Council gearing up for battle this week over KwaZulu's non-compliance with its orders, government spokesmen said it was important to avoid confrontation on the issue. **BIDAY**

A senior spokesman in President F W de Klerk's office said yesterday: "We would not like things to develop on a confrontational route. We will first try to obtain cooperation. If that does not work, then it is up to the TEC and government to see what can be done so that the process can continue." (107) ~~(357)~~
Government representative on the TEC

ADRIAN HADLAND

Dawie de Villiers said yesterday the TEC would have to take legal advice to see what options were open to it. 13/12/93

At its third meeting tomorrow, the TEC's credibility will be on the line as it contemplates the rejection of its statutory office by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It will also hear Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's views on the TEC's call for the withdrawal of the internal stability unit from the townships, as well as the

council's proposal that more SAP officers be sent to troubled parts of northern Natal.

Following the Goldstone commission's findings last week that a KwaZulu Police hit squad was probably responsible for the deaths of at least nine ANC members, the TEC called on KwaZulu Police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy Doring to provide it within three days with all information related to the allegations.

During, a seconded SA officer, responded by saying: "The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of

To Page 2

TEC

BIDAY 13/12/93

From Page 1

the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information."

Inkatha's central committee, which met in Ulundi at the weekend, expressed "indignation" at TEC decisions regarding KwaZulu. A central committee resolution said: "The peremptory demand directed at the commissioner of police 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." (357) (107)

"The central committee notes that power tends to corrupt and the biased actions of the TEC bear this out."

On the issue of the internal stability unit, it is possible government will find the

unit's replacement with the SADF an acceptable solution.

Kriel's office was quick last week to quash rumours that the Minister's long-standing opposition to the withdrawal of the internal stability unit had led to a row with Meyer and ANC TEC representative Cyril Ramaphosa.

Kriel's official response tomorrow could either give the TEC credibility or embroil the council in lengthy hearings before the Special Electoral Court.

The court, not yet established, would be the sole means for the TEC to resolve conflicts concerning its legitimacy with parties that fall outside council membership. Its establishment will be considered tomorrow as an urgent priority. In terms of the TEC Act, the findings of the electoral court shall be binding, enforceable by law and not subject to further appeal.

Response over KwaZulu awaited

TEC braced for test of credibility

Star 14/12/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Transitional Executive Council today faces its first test of credibility when it decides how to deal with the KwaZulu Police's refusal to send it a report.

The country's first representative statutory body last week requested KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Doring to give the TEC a report on the Goldstone Commission finding of a hit squad operating within its ranks. The commission found that the hit squad had killed nine people, including ANC members.

When the TEC meets for the third time in Cape Town today, it is expected to announce its response. ~~(107) (2507)~~

TEC member Dr Dawie de Villiers has indicated that the body might obtain legal advice on KwaZulu's refusal to meet the request.

Constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said yesterday that TEC decisions were legally binding on self-governing states, including KwaZulu. But these decisions would be binding only on those homelands — Transkei and

TOUGH challenge awaits new council as it decides what to do about an intransigent homeland following Goldstone report

Venda — that had accepted the TEC Act.

Sources close to the TEC also noted yesterday that Doring could be transgressing the law for not complying with the TEC request which was specifically made to him.

The meeting will also hear what the outcome was of talks between Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and a TEC delegation comprising Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa about proposals for the withdrawal of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit from the East Rand and the Durban squatter camp of Bhambayi.

It is further likely that loan agreements totalling R216 million between the Development Bank and Bophuthatswana could come up for discussion at the TEC.

TEC to press During for hit squads information

Political Staff ARG 14/12/93 (27) (107)
THE Transitional Executive Council has authorised its management committee to take "all steps, including legal steps" to ensure that the Commissioner of Police in Kwazulu, Lieutenant-General Roy During, provides all information he has on police hit squads in the homeland.

The council also noted the "extreme urgency" of the matter, and set up a special task force to monitor compliance with the resolution and to investigate the question of hit squads.

Last week General During precipitated a confrontation with the TEC by refusing its request for further information on a hit squad which the Goldstone Commission found existed in the Kwazulu police. He said he had been instructed by the Kwazulu government that it did not recognise the jurisdiction of the TEC and had been ordered not to provide the information.

Legal action threat to KwaZulu police

Political Staff

THE Transitional Executive Council yesterday showed its muscle by ordering a legal task force to investigate hit-squads in KwaZulu-Natal and threatening to take legal action against the KwaZulu police commissioner.

In a strongly-worded resolution members of the 19 member council noted the lack of response by Lieutenant-General Roy During following a request by the council last week demanding a report on hit-squads within the force.

The tackling and prevention of hit-squad activities in SA had become a national priority in the run-up to the election, the Transitional Council agreed yesterday. It agreed to "immediately correct" uncertainty arising

from the general's obligation to the TEC "and the irrelevance of his instructions from the KwaZulu government".

The TEC mandated its management committee to take all steps, including legal steps, to ensure that its demand made last week (that the general make a report) be complied with.

The general sent a letter to the TEC indicating that the KwaZulu government did not participate in the TEC decision "and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information".

SACP representative to the council Mr Joe Slovo said: "I want to emphasise that Lt-Gen During does not say he has no information, but says he has been instructed not to provide us with information."

(107)

CT15/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

Cape Town — The Transitional Executive Council bared its teeth yesterday, threatening legal action against the KwaZulu police commissioner and ordering the freezing of a large loan to Bophuthatswana.

There were also dramatic hints that the KwaZulu police (KZP) hit squad scandal could deepen, with a TEC management council report suggesting that two witnesses known to the SAP could give evidence about the "involvement of political and other senior office-bearers".

Yesterday the TEC considered KZP commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During's refusal to hand over documentation on an alleged five-man hit squad which had operated within the KZP's ranks.

The information had been requested urgently by the TEC after the Goldstone Commission last week reported that "hard evidence" suggested the existence of the hit squad.

During informed the TEC that he had been "directed" to refuse on the grounds that the KwaZulu government had not taken part in the establishment of the TEC.

The TEC unanimously adopted a resolution noting that the request for information was directed at During — who was "obliged to co-operate with the TEC in terms of the (TEC) Act" — and not the KwaZulu government.

It resolved to immediately correct any uncertainty arising from During's obligation to the TEC and the irrelevance of his instructions from the KwaZulu government in this regard.

The TEC management council was mandated to take all steps, including legal steps, to

TEC has moved swiftly to clearly demonstrate it will be far more than a rubber stamp in the run-up to April 27

ensure the resolution of the TEC is complied with.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, introducing the motion, said the issue should be pursued urgently.

There was "nothing more relevant" to a free and fair election — the TEC's objective — than the possibility that people had been murdered and that there "might be other hit squads operating there".

The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa supported the motion.

In another resolution which could become a test of the TEC's political will, the council ordered that a R216 million Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) loan agreement with Bophuthatswana be suspended.

The TEC resolved that the fact that this loan could be in contravention of the TEC Act should be brought to the attention of the DBSA. It would also inform the DBSA that "this loan agreement should not be proceeded with without prior discussion in the council".

Therefore "this loan should be fully suspended until fully discussed with the council in terms of the TEC Act".

Ramaphosa said during debate on the motion that he believed "matters of this nature where astronomical amounts are involved should be processed through the TEC".

It is understood that the DBSA has agreed to hold back on the loan until clarity is achieved by the TEC.

Doubt follows from Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu face threats of tough action

Star 15/12/93

TEC

TEC bares its teeth on Kwazulu hit squad request

107

ARC 15/12/93

□ Threat of legal action against police commissioner

**CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH**
Political Staff

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC) has bared its teeth, threatening legal action against the Kwazulu police commissioner and ordering the freezing of a loan to Bophuthatswana.

There are also hints that the Kwazulu Police (KZP) hit squad scandal could deepen, with a TEC report yesterday suggesting that two witnesses known to the police could give evidence about the "involvement of political and other senior officebearers".

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within the KZP's ranks.

The information had been requested urgently by the TEC after the Goldstone Commission last week reported that "hard evidence" suggested the existence of the hit squad.

Lieutenant-General During informed the TEC that he had been "directed" to refuse on the grounds that the Kwazulu government did not take part in the establishment of the TEC.

The TEC unanimously adopted a resolution that the request for information was directed at Lieutenant-General During — who was "obliged to co-operate with the TEC in terms of the Act" — and not the Kwazulu government.

The TEC management council was mandated to "take all steps, including legal steps, to ensure the resolution of the TEC is complied with".

Yesterday the TEC management council also tabled a brief summary of a report on the alleged KZP hit squad by a Brigadier Du Preez of the police in Maritzburg.

It said the investigation had led to the arrest of two KZP members on "a number of murder charges".

It added that "at least two witnesses became available who could give evidence about hit squad activities within the KZP since 1991, about specific murders and attacks carried out and about the involvement of political and other senior officebearers in this regard".

In another resolution, the TEC ordered that a R216 million Development Bank of Southern Africa loan agreement with Bophuthatswana should be suspended.

TEC warns of 'ugly' clash over Kwazulu

By NORMAN WEST
and RYAN CRESSWELL

KWAZULU'S failure to hand over files relating to alleged police hit squads to the Transitional Executive Council could escalate into "an ugly confrontation with ghastly consequences", a TEC member warned this week.

On Friday the Kwazulu government ordered police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to ignore a request by the TEC for files concerning allegations that Kwazulu police were responsible for killing ANC members.

The TEC member said Kwazulu's refusal to hand over the files would be discussed at the next meeting of the council on Tuesday.

Unless the matter had been amicably resolved by then, "law enforcement agencies may have to be deployed to force it to comply", he said.

Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers said Kwazulu's stance had caused "a special problem for the TEC".

He said yesterday it was "unfortunate" that, having been afforded an opportunity to explain its position, the Kwazulu government had refused to do so, and that this "has now caused a far more complex and unfortunate situation".

"Here we have a situation of a government that is not part of an indepen-

IFP TRAINER USED TO BE MEMBER OF MK

ONE of the men who allegedly trained Inkatha members in the Caprivi Strip to operate in hit squads is a former MK member and Robben Island inmate.

This week the Goldstone Commission reported it had "credible evidence" that five Kwazulu policemen formed a hit squad that killed about nine people, including ANC members and leaders in 1992 and 1993.

The commission said the Commissioner of the Kwazulu Police, Lieutenant-General Roy During, requested the South African Police to look into the possibility of policemen operating in hit squads. Three former members of the Kwazulu police have already been arrested in connection with the investigation.

dent territory but is still subject to the sovereignty of the SA government.

"Action can, however, be instituted against the Kwazulu authority."

An ANC spokesman said: "The TEC is now the law of the country, and we expect it to be applied across the country, including the homelands".

Earlier this week, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone reported his commission had found credible evidence a Kwazulu police "hit squad" killed nine people, including ANC members and leaders in 1992 and 1993. On Thursday the TEC asked for a report on the allegations within three days.

It also asked the government to send more police to the strife-torn areas in northern Natal and Kwazulu, including areas pa-

trolled by Kwazulu police.

But Lt-Gen During said yesterday it was "pure speculation" the SAP was ready to move into the homeland. (107)

"I have heard no talk of any such thing (an invasion) at all and I am sure I would know about it.

"What most people don't

Inkatha's commissar and liaison officer in the Caprivi at the time was Mr Dalixolo Luthuli, trained by the ANC during the 60s in Tanzania, then at the Lenin Military Academy in Odessa.

After fighting the Rhodesian army, he was arrested in 1968 and deported to South Africa where he served 10 years on Robben Island.

He and about 200 Inkatha supporters who were later absorbed into the Kwazulu Police were trained in the Caprivi in 1986.

"I helped with training in the Caprivi, at Mkuzi and at the new Umfolozi camp.

"The training was for defence against some ANC members who attack our leaders and property," he said.

realise is that we work in the closest co-operation with the SAP and we are in contact all the time," said Lt-Gen During.

"The SAP's Internal Stability Unit already operates in areas of Kwazulu. But they are just following instructions and it is nothing to write home about."

TEC flexes its muscles on Bop

Sowetan 15/12/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council yesterday blocked a R216 million loan to Bophuthatswana and decided to take tough action against KwaZulu on hit squad activities in the homeland.

At its meeting in Cape Town, the TEC said the transference of R216 million from the Development Bank of Southern Africa to Bophuthatswana should be suspended until further discussions as it could be in contravention of the TEC Act. (107)

The TEC said it would take all steps, including legal action, to ensure the KwaZulu government provided it with information of hit squad activities revealed in the latest report of the Goldstone Commission.

The TEC specifically responded to the refusal by Commissioner of KwaZulu Police Lieutenant Roy During to supply it with information.

During had earlier told the TEC that the KwaZulu government had no obligation to provide it with any information as the homeland did not participate in the decision. He said the KwaZulu government had also not been consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC.

During also said the TEC should direct further queries to the Goldstone Commission itself or the South African Police.

The TEC noted that its request for information was made to During himself, and not the KwaZulu government. It said that During was, therefore, legally obliged to co-operate with the TEC in terms of the TEC Act itself. It noted that During's instructions from the KwaZulu government were "irrelevant in this regard".

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.

(107)

Zulu Kings defiant

'Resist, I command you. Resist, I implore you!'

AVF 17/12/93

17/12/93

107

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 soothing chant that the Zulu king's future was at stake. King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi warned of a second invasion as they cited hundreds of attacks on Zulus and the removal of the word KwaZulu from the new constitution by the government and the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi said: "We demand Zulu self-determination. There is no other way forward for democracy."

In Soweto, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, dressed in MK combat uniform, called on the TEC and constructed South Africans to obstruct discredited political factions.

Addressing about 15 000 supporters at the 32nd anniversary celebrations of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto 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.

icularly the far right-wing which was combining into a 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 fair implementation of a granted this, the (Afrikaner) nation should secure our freedom and our rightful share in South Africa.

And addressing over 1 000 supporters at the site where Voortrekkers defeated the Zulus in 1838, Afrikaner

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 volkstaat.

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.

Turnouts at both venues were higher than expected. Nearly 80 000 people flocked to the Voortrekker monument on horses and in ox wagons waving the Vierkleur flag.

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.



SALUTE ... ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela (left) salutes ranks of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), 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

Picture: AP

TEC not keen on going to court ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

HUGH ROBERTON
Political Editor

ARG 18/12/93 ~~(107)~~

EVERY effort will be made by the Transitional Executive Committee (TEC) to avoid confrontation in its efforts to persuade Kwazulu's police chief, Lieutenant-General Roy DURING, to hand over details of his investigation into a hit squad in the homeland's police force.

Only if these efforts fail and the Kwazulu government continues to frustrate the TEC's investigation will the TEC resort to court action against General DURING, and any other officers in the Kwazulu police who might have been involved in the hit squad.

Sources close to the TEC say the court option is regarded as a last resort and is likely to remain so while more informal communication with General DURING takes place.

It is understood that such communications took place this week by fax and telephone and that it is still too early to conclude that they have failed.

In a report handed to President De Klerk in June, the Goldstone Commission found there was evidence that a hit squad in the Kwazulu police had been responsible for the death of at least nine African National Congress members. Its finding was based on the results of an investigation initiated by General DURING.

But when the TEC earlier this month formally requested General DURING to provide fuller details, he said he had been ordered not to by the Kwazulu government on the grounds that the homeland government did not recognise the TEC.

There appears to be some reluctance in the TEC to resort to confrontational tactics while there is still a prospect — no matter how remote — of persuading the Inkatha Freedom Party, which controls the Kwazulu government, to join the transitional process and take part in the April 27

election.
The IFP is to hold a crucial meeting early in January to decide finally on whether to take part, and some members of the TEC are said to believe that to precipitate a showdown over hit squads before then would destroy the strategy being used by TEC parties in their relations with the Freedom Alliance.

It is essentially a strategy of giving the Alliance members every opportunity to join the transition and take part in the election and, conversely, to deny them any reasonable excuse for staying out.

But there are also TEC members who are said to be insisting that General DURING be made aware of the determination of the TEC to get to the bottom of the hit-squad investigation, and that a clear message be sent to him of his legal standing in the dispute.

They have made the point that the TEC's original request was made to General DURING personally in his capacity as the officer who headed the hit-squad investigation, and not to the Kwazulu government. This, they say, was done deliberately to avoid a clash with the homeland government and the IFP.

They have also made the point that the Kwazulu government has no legal power to order General DURING not to co-operate.

If General DURING continues to refuse to hand over details of the investigation, there is a consensus that the TEC or the state president, or possibly both, should seek a court interdict compelling him to do so and ordering the Kwazulu authorities not to interfere.

Meanwhile, TEC sources say, the impression is gaining ground of an attempted cover-up of the hit-squad scandal by the authorities in Ulundi, which is causing the IFP and the Kwazulu government growing political embarrassment.

This factor, they suggest, might help encourage compliance with the TEC request.

Buthlezi 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 Durning to provide information demanded by the TEC on an alleged KZP hit squad, first revealed by the Goldstone Commission (107) (113)

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".

Call for SAP to patrol in KwaZulu

THE South African Police will be asked to act immediately in violence-wracked northern Natal, including areas of KwaZulu, in terms of a Transitional Executive Council decision yesterday.

KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During is to be summoned to meet the TEC after refusing to supply information about an alleged KwaZulu Police hit squad.

The SAP has been directed to act in the Empangeni, Nqutu, Dumbe and Newcastle districts of Natal, following an Internal Stability Division report to the TEC which said the security situation in the four areas was unsatisfactory.

African National Congress TEC member Mr Cyril Ramaphosa urged the council to act urgently to this threat which could destabilise areas in northern Natal if left unchecked.

According to the SAP report, an apparent lack of confidence in the KZP had led to a request for the SAP to patrol the area. (107) (S)

Most migrant workers returning home during the festive season were Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, and ANC supporters in these areas feared attacks, the report said.

"It is respectfully submitted that the apparent lack of confidence that the

ANC has in the KZP to effectively police and protect the lives of their supporters has given rise to requests for the SAP to be deployed on a permanent basis throughout areas currently under the jurisdiction of KwaZulu Police.

"In areas where the ANC have no support such a step is not necessary," the report added.

The decision that During has to face the TEC followed a recent Goldstone Commission report which uncovered "credible evidence" of a KZP hit squad responsible for the murder of at least nine people, including leaders and members of the ANC, in the past two years.

During, who has been involved in the investigation of the hit squad, has refused two calls from the TEC to report to it — the last on Saturday.

He said he could only co-operate if the proper steps were followed and his ministerial head authorised him to provide the information.

SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo said the TEC could summon During.

A date for the meeting was not announced. The TEC next meets at its new headquarters in Pretoria for the first time on January 11. — Sapa.

Kriel 'considers' SAP in KwaZulu order

Star 23/12/93

■ POLITICAL STAFF

The Law and Order Ministry has taken a stubborn stance over the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) order on Monday to deploy the SAP in areas of KwaZulu, saying it is still "considering" the request.

And strong objections to the request were voiced yesterday by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said the decision was "provocative and grossly

irresponsible".

He said he intended taking the matter up urgently with Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel. (107)

"I do not know whether it (the TEC) has really thought this through," he said yesterday.

The TEC requested that the SAP move into areas of KwaZulu and northern Natal to protect lives and property over the festive season.

The move followed the refusal of KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner

Lieutenant-General Roy During to provide information demanded by the TEC on an alleged KZP hit squad, first revealed by the Goldstone Commission.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday: "Our stance is clear. We take note of the TEC statement and it will be given due consideration."

He indicated that the Government, and not the TEC, had the final say over deployment of SAP forces.

KZP acting commissioner Major-General S M Mathe said yesterday that he had received no communication from the SAP about the proposed deployment.

The decision to request police deployment in four areas in the northern Natal region — including Newcastle, Dumbe, Nqutu and Empangeni — was taken after a police report on the area had been submitted to the TEC by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

SAP intentions in KwaZulu criticised

CF 23/12/93

(107)

THERE were strong indications of discontent within the KwaZulu government yesterday over the TEC's proposed deployment of SAP members in the homeland.

A source close to the KwaZulu Police Commissioner's office said it would be a diplomatic blunder for the SAP to simply march into the homeland.

In the past, the KwaZulu Police had approached the SAP whenever it required assistance, he said.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also KwaZulu Police Minister, could not be reached for comment yesterday, but is reported to have said he intended taking the matter up with SA Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

The TEC decided to order additional SAP members into northern Natal and some parts of KwaZulu on Tues-

day to protect the lives and property of residents following a report from SAP top brass.

In its official response to the TEC move, the office of KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Doring said it could not comment, as no official communique concerning the matter had been received.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday stuck to an earlier statement that Mr Kriel was "considering" deploying SA policemen in KwaZulu.

"The minister has taken note of the TEC decision and the matter is under consideration," he said.

When pressed on whether or not this meant police had, in fact, already been sent to KwaZulu, Captain Kotze said the statement "implied" that no decision had yet been made. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter

TEC decision on KwaZulu stands

CT 23/12/93 (107)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said yesterday there was no need to "dramatise" the TEC resolution requesting the South African Police to take steps to secure the lives and property of inhabitants in strife-torn areas of KwaZulu.

The TEC decision followed a report by the SA Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, that the security situation in certain areas in KwaZulu was cause for concern.

The report stated that the KwaZulu Police did not have the confidence of ANC supporters, especially when returning Inkatha-aligned migrant workers posed a new danger.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Minister of Police, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday he was deeply worried by the order. It could prove a recipe for tragedy in the prevailing political climate.

He said he planned to discuss the issue as a matter of urgency with Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel.

'Natural
for SAP to
play a role'
says FW



DECISION STANDS ...
Cyril Ramaphosa

However, Mr De Klerk said yesterday that "we should not dramatise this", adding: "There is close co-operation between the two police forces and it is the natural thing to do where there is a greater risk of violence that the SA Police also play their role."

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa dismissed yesterday reports that government and ANC negotiators had, after discussions with the Freedom Alliance, reversed the TEC's earlier decision to send SAP units into KwaZulu.

He pointed out that the TEC was the "law of the land" and its instructions could not be overturned or flouted by

individuals, parties or the government. The decision to send the police stood, he said.

Although the South African government also rejected any suggestions of an about-turn on the TEC decision, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotzé would only repeat yesterday that Mr Kriel had "taken note of the (TEC) decision" and that the matter was "under consideration".

Inkatha MP and negotiator Mr Farouk Cassiem said yesterday the joint ANC/government proposal that will be considered by Freedom Alliance leaders could offer the Alliance some relief from TEC resolutions in the next few weeks.

This is because, legal niceties aside, the proposal stipulates that the Alliance and its leaders would only need to commit themselves to adhering to the "laws, rules and regulations governing the transition as well as the elections and related process and to recognise all transitional structures" once a "final and comprehensive" agreement on amendments to the constitution is reached.

13 slain in Natal/KwaZulu

DURBAN — At least 13 people have been killed in separate attacks in Natal/KwaZulu since Tuesday. **B/DAY** Five people, including an infant, were killed at a kraal in Ngoyameni near Isipingo, south of Durban, on Tuesday night. **23/12/93** Police spokesman Maj Bala Nalodo said about 20 people in brown uniforms attacked at about 7pm. Spent AK47, R5, 9mm, and shotgun cartridges were found at the scene. A R100 000 reward was offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

KwaZulu Police said a man was shot dead in Mpumalanga, between Maritzburg and Durban yesterday; another was shot dead at Ntuzuma, north of Durban, on Tuesday; a third was shot dead at Mtubatuba on Natal's north coast and a fourth in KwaNdengezi, near Pinetown. Two people were stabbed to death, one in KwaMsane, near Mtubatuba,

and the other in Esikhawini. Police said up to 300 people took part in an attack near Dannhauser, northern Natal, on Tuesday, in which two people were stabbed to death. Meanwhile, in the northern Natal district of Nongoma two men and two women were injured when attackers fired on a party on Tuesday night.

KwaZulu police said the SAP's internal stability unit had uncovered an arms cache at KwaMsane, including 26 firearms. **B/DAY** It listed the arms as four AK47 rifles, five .38 pistols, two Makarov pistols, seven 9mm pistols, two Star pistols, two 7.65mm pistols, one CBC \$25 WC firearm, homemade pistols and more than 200 rounds of ammunition for the various weapons.

However, neither the SAP's media liaison department, nor the internal stability unit in the region had any record of the find yesterday. — Sapa.

Whites top list of drunk driver crashes

THEO RAWANA

OF INTOXICATED people involved in fatal accidents, most were either white drivers or Asian pedestrians, statistics compiled by the AA show. And drivers and pedestrians aged between 35 and 45 were most likely to be involved in an accident, according to the AA's authoritative annual traffic safety audit released yesterday. Statistics from 1991 on the incidence of drinking in fatal crashes showed that 7.36% involved white drivers and 20.51% Asian pedestrians.

During 1991, an average of 30.3 people were killed on the roads every day. The AA said the cost of this was about R7bn — an average of R19.2m a day. A total of 749 226 vehicles were involved in 444 541 road collisions during the year, resulting

in 11 069 deaths. The greatest number of collisions and fatalities, 36.8% and 42.9% respectively, occurred on undivided roads. The most common type of collision was the rear-end collision of vehicles travelling in the same direction (30.7%). Most deaths (44.6%) occurred when vehicles hit pedestrians. A total of 4 897 pedestrians were killed in 1991.

□ Sapa reports 13 more people died on SA roads yesterday, pushing the toll to 459 since December 1, the National Traffic Information Centre said. Of these fatalities, 172 occurred in the Transvaal, 147 in the Cape, 98 in Natal and 42 in the Free State.

Sasco demands open hearings

ERICA JANKOWITZ

THE Wits University disciplinary hearings arising out of disruptions on campus in August were taking on the form of a "kangaroo court", the SA Students Congress (Sasco) said yesterday. **B/DAY** Although it did not condone "unbecoming behaviour", Sasco believed public hearings should be conducted. The hearing should conform to democratic principles, including transparency, it said. Sasco protested against "the unilateral-ly-appointed presiding tribunal" which "lacked legitimacy" and said legal technicalities had clouded the main issue, which Sasco described as "campus power relations". **23/12/93**

Wits University vice-chancellor Prof Bob Charlton said disciplinary proceedings are normally held in camera. "Initially the students asked for the hearings to be public, but the request was later withdrawn," he added. He said nowhere in the world did accused persons have a say in appointing adjudicators and he felt Sasco's description of the proceedings as a "kangaroo court" was insulting to the "two very senior and respected members of the legal profession" appointed to preside. Charlton said that the 21 students accused of misconduct had been afforded the opportunity of representation by a firm of attorneys and that the hearings had been postponed until after examinations at the students' request. Students had pleaded guilty to offences ranging from littering to the occupation and barricading of offices. Punishments would not be disclosed before January 10, in line with university regulations, Charlton said. Sasco called on the university to disclose the accused students' examination results, but Charlton said this was not normal practice. "However, those students whose cases have been completed, including those in which the adjudicator has not yet announced the punishments, have been told their marks, provided they have paid their fees," Charlton said.

Disquiet over SAP deployment

WILSON ZWANE

THERE were strong indications of discontent within the KwaZulu government yesterday over the TEC's proposed deployment of SAP members in the homeland. A source close to the KwaZulu Police Commissioner's office said it would be a diplomatic blunder for the SAP to simply march into the homeland. In the past, the KwaZulu Police had approached the SAP whenever it required assistance, he said. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also KwaZulu Police Minister, could not be reached for comment yesterday, but is reported to have said he intended taking the matter up with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. The TEC on Tuesday ordered additional SAP members into northern

Natal and some parts of KwaZulu to protect residents' lives and property following a report from SAP top brass. Empangeni, Newcastle, Nqutu and Dumbé were singled out. The office of KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lt-Gen Roy Doring said it could not comment as no official communiqué concerning the matter had been received. **23/12/93** The source said homeland authorities would assume that SAP deployment in KwaZulu would be preceded by communication between Kriel and Buthelezi. Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze would say only that the ministry had noted the TEC decision and would give it the necessary consideration.



TEC summons KZP commander

Sowetan 23/12/93

KWAZULU police commissioner Lieutenant General Roy During has been ordered to appear in person before the Transitional Executive Council to answer its questions about the alleged hit squad within his force. (107)

The TEC took this decision at its meeting on Tuesday night. During will probably have to attend the TEC's next meeting in Pretoria on January 11.

Following the Goldstone Commission's report on the KZP hit squad, the TEC asked During to supply it with all the information he had on the allegations. During declined to do so, saying he had been directed not to co-operate by the KwaZulu Government.

The TEC insisted, however, that he abide by its request. In a letter to the TEC released yesterday, During said a request for hit squad information had to be directed to the political head of his department: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Minister of Police.

Mr Joe Slovo of the Communist Party told the TEC on Tuesday night that the TEC management committee had decided that in terms of Section 24 of the TEC Act, During would be ordered to attend a meeting of the TEC or a sub-council to "furnish such information or document or explanation...as may be required by the Council or sub-council". — *Sowetan Correspondent*.