

HOMELANDS → KWAZULU — GENERAL

1994

# KwaZulu defends decision to buy 'essential' R33m jet

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE KwaZulu government yesterday defended its decision to buy a brand-new R33m jet just four months before the homeland will cease to exist on April 27, claiming the expenditure had been allocated in its annual budget and that the aircraft was essential to the proper administration of the region.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie backed this up. He said KwaZulu had an "immaculate track record" and had consistently operated strictly within its budgetary allocation.

As the KwaZulu government was an autonomous legislative assembly, central government had little control over how it chose to spend this allocation. As long as the region adhered to its budget, central government had no say in its distribution.

KwaZulu was the best administered region of all the homelands, he said, adding that the R645m debt referred to in week-end reports was not to central government.

KwaZulu Finance Minister Dennis Madide said the R645m debt referred to funds borrowed from the Development Bank for capital projects.

He said the aircraft was vital to the proper administration of the region, and would continue to be essential to any dispensation which took over the running of the region after April 27. Both Madide and Fourie argued that the jet was an asset which could be sold.

The ANC has strongly criticised the purchase and called on the TEC to impound the jet.

Fourie said the TEC had the authority to request further information about the purchase if it wished. He said that the ANC's outraged response to purchase of the jet contrasted strongly with its mute response to the R400m debt in Lebowa. This signified that the ANC was using the issue as an excuse to target Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while it attempted to protect its supporter, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

Madide said negotiations on buying the jet had lasted nearly two years. The KwaZulu government's contract with a private aircraft company had expired in August and its cabinet had to decide whether to continue leasing an aircraft from the company or to buy its own plane. He said the cabinet had approved the purchase of the jet as its cost was equivalent to the expense of the lease. It also represented an additional asset to the administration.

Madide said the fact that the homeland would cease to exist on April 27 did not mean that the KwaZulu government should stall its plans. "We will continue to operate until the last day we are in government," he said.

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**KwaZulu:**

**R33m jet**

**#107**  
**'essential'**

**2/1/94**  
**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government yesterday defended its decision to buy a new R33-million jet four months before the homeland ceases to exist, claiming the cost had been allocated in its annual budget and the aircraft was essential to the proper administration of the region.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr André Fourie said that KwaZulu had an "immaculate track record" and had consistently operated within its annual budgetary allocation.

He added that as the KwaZulu government was an autonomous legislative assembly, the central government had little control over how it spent its allocation.

KwaZulu was the best administered region of all the homelands, he said.

KwaZulu Finance Minister Mr Dennis Madide said the R645m debt referred to in weekend reports was borrowed from the Development Bank for capital projects, and was not a debt to the central government.



## Bloodshed continues

POLICE have reported a bloody start to the new year in Natal, with 65 killings since Friday. **BIDON**

Most of the murders were crime-related. At least 180 people had died in faction fighting, crime and political violence during the past fortnight. **4/1/94**

Included in the toll were two deaths at Nqutu, northern Natal, where gunmen opened fire on security forces involved in an arms raid yesterday. **(107)**

A seven-year-old child and a 50-year-old man were killed in the crossfire, and three security force members were injured.

A police spokesman said the raid, involving members of the SAP, SADF and SAAF, followed a tip-off about the flow of AK-47s into the area.

Police recovered six AK-47s and a large quantity of ammunition.

ADELE BAILEY reports that a resurgence of violence has been seen in East Rand townships after a relatively peaceful period and the launch of several peace initiatives.

At least 17 bodies were found in the townships during the weekend, police said yesterday. In the week before Christmas, the daily body count had dropped to about one a day. — Sapa.

# Kriel studying TEC demand on KwaZulu

GOVERNMENT has not yet decided whether to bow to the Transitional Executive Council's demands for police to be sent to KwaZulu. **BIDON**

Sources close to government said yesterday Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was considering the issue and no decision had been taken, Sapa-Reuter reports.

This was confirmed by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze. **4/1/94**

Kotze said it was unfortunate the perception existed that the SAP could simply invade KwaZulu. It had to be borne in mind that an established basis for co-operation already existed between the two police forces, our Political Staff reports from Cape Town. **(107)**

However, Kotze emphatically denied saying the SAP would probably ignore a demand to deploy police in KwaZulu.

The TEC said last month that national police should protect lives and property in four areas in northern Natal, two of them in the KwaZulu homeland.

The demand appeared to be a direct challenge to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who refuses to recognise the council's authority.

The issue is likely to be the first real test of strength between the NP government, which is reluctant to interfere in KwaZulu, and the TEC.

The government says the TEC is an advisory body, but the council says it has executive powers over crucial areas in the run-up to the April 27 election.

The ANC yesterday rejected government's stated position that it and the TEC

did not have the power to send security forces into black homelands.

"The TEC has got powers over self-governing territories... security forces can be ordered into any area of this country, including the self-governing territories," said ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

Another area of potential friction between the TEC and KwaZulu involves the KwaZulu government's purchase of a R33m luxury jet.

INGRID SALGADO reports an ANC spokesman said yesterday the KwaZulu government's purchase of the eight-seater jet would contravene the Independent Electoral Commissions Act as Inkatha Freedom Party would use it during the elections to the disadvantage of other parties.

The spokesman said the TEC's independent elections commission should investigate the matter urgently.

It was questionable whether the KwaZulu government should be allowed to make the purchase during its final days, the ANC said.

The ANC, which had previously called on the TEC to impound the Hawker 800 jet, said the purchase was a "total abuse of taxpayers' money".

It said the TEC would look into the matter at its first sitting.

Meanwhile, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie has said the central government had no problems with the jet as the KwaZulu government had not asked for additional funds for its purchase.

The homeland government had stayed within its allocated budget, he said.



# Minister defends aircraft purchase

CT 4/1/94 (107)

THOUGH the homelands policy was obsolete self-governing territories like KwaZulu were properly constituted and were responsible for their own budgets, including the purchase of aircraft, Minister of Regional and Local Affairs Mr André Fourie said yesterday.

He issued a statement after reports that the KwaZulu government — despite being debt-ridden — had bought a R33-million twin-engined Hawker 800 aircraft.

He denied that KwaZulu was debt-ridden and objected "to allegations

that the acquisition of the Hawker 800 was money that was "thrown into the water". He said this was an asset, not only for the government of KwaZulu, but also for any future South African government.

● The government has not yet decided whether to bow to demands of the TEC for police to be sent to KwaZulu.

The issue is likely to be the first real test of strength between the TEC and the government. — Political Staff, Sapa-Reuter

# ANC, Govt headed for showdown

Sowetan 4/1/94

## ■ STRENGTH TEST Council's

demand for policing a challenge:

**By Donwald Pressly**  
Political Staff

**A** STANDOFF has developed between the Government and the ANC over the TEC demand that SA Police units be deployed in KwaZulu; with the Government insisting that it would ignore the order.

The ANC is to bring the matter up before the TEC's law and order sub-council when it meets for its first working session next week.

This is the first real test of strength between the Government and the TEC, with divisions appearing within NP ranks. The decision to deploy troops was taken with the support of NP representatives Mr Roelf Meyer and Dr Dawie De Villiers.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus last night slammed statements made yesterday by Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze inferring that the TEC did not have the power to send the units into the territory.

Kotze said Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel was considering the TEC demand but any action taken would probably not reflect the form of the TEC demand.

"How can we go into a self-governing territory and take over policing? ... It's tantamount to an invasion."

He said any action would have to be the result of discussions between the

SAP and the KwaZulu police.

Niehaus said while Kotze obviously had no understanding of the legal standing of the TEC, it was a matter of concern that he was speaking on behalf of the ministry which should be carrying out the TEC instruction.

The Government has consistently contended that the TEC was an advisory body but the ANC insists that it has executive powers over crucial areas, particularly law and order.

The TEC, dominated by the Patriotic Front parties allied to the ANC, said last month that national police should protect lives and property in four areas in Northern Natal, two of them in the KwaZulu homeland (107) (Sowetan)

### Direct challenge

The decision was seen as a direct challenge to KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also minister of police. Buthelezi has refused to accept the legitimacy of the TEC or its sub-councils.

The TEC demanded action after SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe reported that the main cause of unrest in Northern Natal was the power struggle between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The police report said the IFP had launched a campaign to drive ANC members from some areas. It added that more violence was likely in the run-up to the elections.

# First full meeting of TEC to probe alleged hit squads

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

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

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

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

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

The TEC responded by reminding

## ADRIAN HADLAND

During of his legal obligations under the TEC Act and arguing that the views of the KwaZulu government were not relevant to his appearance before the TEC. (305A) (107)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

● See Page 6

## Randfontein nine named

MARIANNE MERTEN

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

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

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

## Inkatha divided on the elections

BILLY PADDOCK

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

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

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

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

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

to the constitution by the January 24 deadline less likely. B1 Day 10/11/94

ANC negotiations commission secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa said at the weekend that the alliance had not agreed to the ANC's demand that it commit itself to taking part in the elections. The ANC would study the alliance's response at its national executive committee meeting on Wednesday. (107)

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

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



## 'Don't threaten Zulu might' (107)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More than 10 000 Zulu warriors gathered at the eNyokeni palace of their king in KwaZulu at the weekend for the harvest festival — and the bare-handed capture and slaughter of a half-ton bull.

Much of the chanting and rhetoric focused on the threat to Zulus posed by political changes and there were warnings from the 'isibongo' (praise singer) to the outside world not to challenge Zulu might.

# Kwazulu high on TEC agenda

## Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The belligerence of the Kwazulu government towards the Transitional Executive Council is expected to dominate today's proceedings of the TEC.

However, the TEC session may heed a request by the African National Congress to devote the proceedings to the East Rand question, especially in the wake of the Katlehong shooting at the weekend.

According to council sources, Zulu homeland police chief Roy During is not expected to be

present at the session to face questioning over alleged hit squads in the Kwazulu police.

The question of ensuring free political activity in the self-governing states and Bophuthatswana during the election period is also expected to be high on the agenda.

With the Ciskei's announcement yesterday of its intention to join the TEC, the state no longer presents a political problem for the council.

Violence at East Rand townships — including the shooting on Sunday of Associated Press

cameraman Abdul Sharif — will be discussed.

ARG 11/1/94  
The Heidelberg Tavern killings will continue to simmer, with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel making demands on Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa to allow his police force to co-operate with the South African Police (107)

The minister has accused the general of housing Apla elements within his territory. Altogether seven PAC members have been arrested in connection with the incident.

SAP 'invasion'  
warning  
by Buthelezi

107  
APC 11/1/94  
ULUNDI. — Entry by the South African Police into Kwazulu without the formal co-operation of, and consultation with, the Kwazulu Police will be regarded as an invasion. Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned.

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

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

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



# Zulu king to meet FW

## Political Staff

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

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

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

rican National Congress.

At this stage the IFP is out of the April 27 general election, although the KwaZulu government legally ceases to exist on April 28. (107) (108)

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

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

*'Deployment tantamount to invasion'*

# Buthelezi warns over SAP action

Star 12/11/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Buthelezi instructed the South African-seconded general to ig-

nore the order because KwaZulu had not been party to deliberations leading up to the multiparty structure. (107) (113)

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

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

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

# SAP dispatched to KwaZulu

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Additional members of the SAP's internal stability unit were dispatched to several trouble spots in KwaZulu last month, the Transitional Executive Council was told yesterday. **BIDOM**

The deployments took place after the TEC's December 9 resolution that the SAP "act immediately" to provide security and protect the lives and property of people in northern Natal. **12/1/94**

"It is a fait accompli, the internal stability unit has been in areas of KwaZulu since the end of last year," TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan said.

TEC delegates were baffled about recent remarks from the KwaZulu government concerning the deployments.

Sapa reports that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday

deploying the SAP in KwaZulu, without consulting the KwaZulu Police, would be regarded as an invasion. **(107)**

"The KwaZulu government will therefore not hold itself responsible for the consequences which may ensue should such an invasion take place in areas under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Police.

"And nor will the KwaZulu government be held accountable for anything that takes place outside formal arrangements and co-operation with the KwaZulu government," Buthelezi said.

ANC leaders said the statement was a threat to peace in KwaZulu.

In a report to the TEC, the SAP said the

To Page 2

## KwaZulu

**BIDOM 12/1/94**

From Page 1

additional deployments had been undertaken in conjunction with senior KwaZulu Police officials. Relations between the SAP and the KwaZulu Police were described as "good". **(107)**

The report said internal stability unit members and extra KwaZulu Police members had been sent in December to the KwaZulu areas of Esikhaweni, Nqutu,

Dumbe, Madadeni and Osizweni. As a result, there had been a marked decrease in violent crimes.

TEC co-chairman Dawie de Villiers said while the improvement in stability in the region was not perfect, real progress had been made. The SAP had acted promptly on TEC instructions and the TEC's law and order subcouncil would continue to monitor the situation.



# SA police quietly in Kwazulu

Political Staff  
TEC (27)  
17/11/94

PRETORIA. — Members of the South African police have been quietly deployed in several areas of Kwazulu in keeping with a resolution of the Transitional Executive Council in spite of opposition from the Kwazulu government.

This emerged yesterday at the TEC's meeting. The SAP even got a pat on the back from the TEC for their peace-keeping work in Northern Natal in recent days.

Briefly, the police said on December 21 the police had to be deployed in Northern Natal, including parts of Kwazulu, to safeguard lives and property. Kwazulu objected to the SAP going into areas controlled by the Kwazulu police (KZP).

Even yesterday the SAP Cabinet said it would regard as an invasion any SAP deployment in Kwazulu without formal co-operation and consultation.

Craig Kotze, spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel, said last week the deployment of the SAP in Kwazulu was still "under consideration", suggesting that the SAP had not been deployed there.

However, in a report to the TEC yesterday, police officer Steve van Rooyen said that since December 21 the SAP had deployed 16 police officers a shift in Nqutu and Ezikhaweni, both in Kwazulu, 20 officers a shift in Dumbeni, Kwazulu, and Hlabise, 20 officers a shift in Madadeni, and 20 officers a shift in Sundumbi.

This was in addition to the deployment of KZP members in these parts of Kwazulu. There had been a marked decrease in violence since the TEC had shown an interest in the security situation in Northern Natal, said Brigadier van Rooyen.

He told the TEC there were 1 724 uniformed members of the Visible Police in Northern Natal, 653 Crime Combatants, Investigation Division members and 291 members of the Internal Stability Division (ISD).

TEC management committee member Praveen Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress said the TEC's subcommittee and order felt that an honest and constructive attempt was made by the police to expedite and implement the TEC's resolution.

The police's report said the ISD and criminal investigators had good co-operation with the KZP.

# SAP 'is already in KwaZulu'

PRETORIA — Additional members of the internal stability unit were dispatched to several trouble spots in KwaZulu in December last year, the Transitional Executive Council heard yesterday. The deployments took place after a TEC resolution on December 9 that the South African Police "act immediately" to provide security and protect the lives and property of people in northern Natal.

"It is a fait accompli. The stability unit has been in areas of KwaZulu since the end of last year," TEC co-chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

Consequently, some bafflement was expressed about recent remarks from the KwaZulu government about the extra deployments.

The TEC statement follows a warning by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that entry by the SAP into KwaZulu without the formal co-operation of, and consultation with, the KwaZulu Police will be regarded as an invasion.

But in a report presented to the TEC yesterday, the SAP indicated the additional deployments had been undertaken in conjunction with senior officers of the KwaZulu Police.

Relations between the SAP and the KwaZulu Police were described as being "good".

The result of the extra deployments had been a marked decrease in violent crimes in the region, the report said. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

# Buthelezi rejects more negotiations

Star 13/11/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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

This was because the ANC and its allies would ultimately allow no amendment to the Interim Constitution. (107) (113)

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

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

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

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

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

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



# IFP calls for a Zulu

## stayaway

*Sowetan* 13/11/94

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called on Zulus to stay away from work on Monday when King Goodwill Zwelithini meets State President FW de Klerk in Pretoria.

IFP Johannesburg chairman Mr Humphrey Ndlovu made the call in a statement last night.

He declined to elaborate.

IFP Transvaal leader and central committee member Mr Themba Khoza, confirmed to *Sapa* that the party would call on Zulus to stay away from work on Monday.

He said the official call would be made in a statement today.

Khoza said IFP supporters in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging region were expected to gather outside the Union Buildings where the Zulu king would be meeting the State President.—  
*Sapa.*

## Ignore stayaway call - IFP

*Star 14/1/94*  
Durban — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday dissociated itself from a call by its Johannesburg chairman Humphrey Ndlovu for Zulus to stay away from work on Monday when King Goodwill Zwelithini meets President de Klerk in Pretoria.

In a statement, IFP political director Dr Ziba Jiyane said: "The IFP dissociates itself from the statements by certain IFP members implying that the IFP has called for a worker stayaway on Monday, January 17 (107)

"Since the January 17 event is being organised by the Zulu king and not the IFP, the IFP could not have made any such decision.

"We wish to emphasise the meeting on Monday between His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini and State President F.W. de Klerk has absolutely nothing to do with the IFP," Jiyane said.

Ndlovu made the initial stayaway call on Wednesday.

Transvaal leader and central committee member Themba Khoza confirmed on Wednesday that the IFP would call on Zulus to stay away from work. — Sapa.

## THE TRANSITION

### *FM 14/1/94* The buck moves on

The wisdom of Solomon was what members of the Transitional Executive Council were hoping for when they met for the first time in Pretoria this week, but it wasn't to be. They battled instead simply to keep the council on course to achieve its main aim — levelling the playing field for the election.

As the *FM* went to press the TEC's management committee was tabling "comprehensive proposals" to end the violence on the East Rand. The issue was given added urgency by a meeting earlier in the day between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, at which they too discussed the violence. ~~(204)~~ (107)

The chances of the TEC achieving lasting peace on the East Rand and in other areas seem remote without the full co-operation of the Inkatha Freedom Party. But rather than draw the IFP closer towards the transitional process, this week's TEC session was expected further to alienate the party by focusing again on the unresolved dispute over the role of the KwaZulu police force (KZP); allegations by the SAP commissioner in Natal, General Colin Steyn, that the IFP is the main aggressor in some parts of KwaZulu; and the continued refusal by KZP commissioner General Roy Doring to heed a TEC summons, because he has not been given permission by the KwaZulu government.

At its meetings in Cape Town late last year, the TEC effectively instructed government to go ahead with SAP deployment in KwaZulu, in the light of allegations of KZP bias towards the IFP and its apparent inability to end the violence in the homeland. Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel was expected to be questioned at this week's session on what steps he had taken to implement the resolution. His response could have important implications.

Last month, Kriel said he was considering what he regarded as the TEC's request to deploy the SAP in KwaZulu, but would have the final say. However, some members of the TEC believe Kriel is obliged by law to implement the resolution. A major crisis could develop if he refuses to do so: the performance of TEC kingpins Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer will be closely watched.

On the other hand, if Kriel acknowledges the TEC's over-riding authority, government's earlier assurance that it would re-

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

*FM 14/1/94*  
main in charge during the transition and simply consider TEC recommendations will be called into question. ~~(107)~~ (204)

Buthelezi warned this week that any SAP action in KwaZulu would be regarded as an "invasion" and that his government would not hold itself responsible for the consequences of such action.

However, SAP legal opinion is that it has full jurisdiction in the homeland — and it's quite possible that any retaliatory action by the KZP against SAP operations in KwaZulu could be regarded as mutiny or treason.

Buthelezi's defiance is a major challenge to the TEC. Failure to resolve the issue one way or the other could severely undermine the council's credibility and ability to achieve its aims. Obviously a negotiated settlement with the IFP is first prize, but this seems increasingly remote. A showdown of some sort is looming. Buthelezi simply cannot be allowed to flaunt the law and the KZP cannot be allowed to operate beyond the control of the TEC.

The manner in which the problem is dealt with could influence future action by defiant rightwingers, who have also vowed not to acknowledge the TEC's authority.

Kriel was also expected to feature this week in the TEC's other major agenda item: the row between government and Transkei following the Heidelberg Tavern terror attack in Cape Town last month.

That row also raises the wider issue of how the SAP should operate to solve such serious crimes during the transition. It is ludicrous to have no co-operation from Transkei, which will soon be part of SA again.

□ On a more positive note, this week Ciskei announced that it would take up its seat on the TEC, participate in the election and provide men to serve as peacekeepers.

However, Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo denied that his decision signalled a split in the Freedom Alliance. ■



Ramaphosa



# Confusion over Zulu 'imbizo'

Sowetan 14/11/94

## Political Staff

**C**ONFUSION IS REIGNING over a stayaway of Zulu-speaking people supposedly called for Monday in the Transvaal. According to verifiable information, the action is to coincide with the meeting between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and State President FW de Klerk.

This information is that all Zulus in the Transvaal should converge on the Union Buildings in Pretoria "to pay their respects" to the monarch.

However, conflicting statements abound over who has called for and is co-ordinating the stayaway as reportedly initiated by the Inkatha Freedom Party earlier.

It is believed Zulu indunas initially made the call while the Inkatha Freedom Party has distanced itself on the grounds that it was not a "Zulu organisation".

Senior leaders of the IFP's Transvaal region refuted claims that the organisation had called for a stayaway on Monday.

In fact, said IFP Transvaal chairman Mr

Humphrey Ndloyu, it was the indunas in the region who called for the action.

Ndloyu said the indunas' decision was taken at a meeting held on Wednesday evening and he was merely asked to convey this message to the media.

"We, as IFP, did not make the call ourselves. This information was distorted by the media," he told newsmen during a Press briefing in Braamfontein yesterday afternoon. (107)

IFP youth leader and central committee member Mr Themba Khoza said IFP supporters in the PWV region were expected to mass outside the Union Buildings on Monday.

"We will be going there as Zulus and not as members of any political parties. We appeal to all ... not to put on any (political) T-shirts," he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the IFP's national leadership dissociated itself from the initial call, reportedly made by the Transvaal leadership.

In a statement, IFP political director Dr Ziba Jiyane said: "The IFP dissociates itself from the statements by certain IFP members implying that the IFP has called for a worker stayaway on Monday."





Zamalek's Nigerian star, Immanuel Iminiki, arriving with teammates at Jan Smuts Airport for their Super Cup game against compatriots Al Ahly. The game will be played at FNB Stadium on Sunday. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

## SNAPPERS

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# Confusion over Zulu *Sowetan 14/1/94* 'imbizo'

## Political Staff

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# Zulu king to meet FW

CT 15/1/94 (107)

DURBAN. — Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelethini will insist on future recognition of KwaZulu when he meets President F W de Klerk in Pretoria on Monday.

The king's secretary Mr Bafana Buthelezi said the leaders would discuss "matters regarding the Zulu nation and KwaZulu".

Zulus in traditional regalia are expected to march through Pretoria when the two leaders meet.

Violence is anticipated and police will escort the marchers to and from the Pretoria railway station, a police spokesman said.

Cosatu said yesterday "vigilante elements" were planning to hijack taxis and buses to Pretoria and to violently force people to participate in the march. The IFP's Mr Themba Khoza accused Cosatu of trying to "distort" the issues surrounding the march. — Sapa



## CORDON of razor wire and a heavy police presence are both in place at the Union Buildings

### STAFF REPORTERS

Police reported widespread destruction, violence and intimidation in townships across the Reef today as thousands of Zulus stayed away from work and headed for Pretoria to pay homage to their king at the Union Buildings.

The Zulus, brandishing traditional weapons, were to greet King Goodwill Zwelithini as he arrived for a meeting with President de Klerk (107)

They started gathering at hostels across the Reef at dawn. In Pretoria, busloads of people from Natal began arriving early today.

The Inkatha Freedom Party head office has distanced itself from the stayaway, which was called by the Transvaal-based indunas. Transvaal IFP leader Themba Khoza called on Zulus last week to support the stayaway, but later said he had merely announced it and not supported it.

In Diepkloof, Soweto, hundreds of marchers, many of them wearing IFP T-shirts, moved through the streets and were closely followed by police.

### Long queues

Hundreds of angry commuters who were unable to get to work said they objected to the intimidation which has accompanied today's stayaway call.

Long queues stretched at the Baragwanath Taxi Rank as commuters sought taxis to take them to Johannesburg.

Police surrounded the Union Buildings and the station with razor wire and warned commuters to keep away from the route between the buildings and the station.

Razor wire trucks were in position at every intersection along the route.

By 9 am, thousands of armed Zulus had gathered in the Union Buildings gardens under the watchful eye of heavily armed police. Special trains and buses had not even left Johannesburg by that time.

In townships around Johannesburg and the East Rand, police said workers were being turned back on their way to work and their buses, minibuses and private vehicles were being hijacked and burnt.

On the East Rand, a man on his way to work was beaten to death in Actonville.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant Deon Peens said taxis were being stopped outside hostels, mainly in Katlehong, Tokoza and Daveyton. He said passengers were assaulted and shoved out of the taxis, which were then taken into the hostel compounds to be used as transport to Pretoria.

Peens could not confirm a report from the Vosloorus Civic Association that five people had been killed on their way to work in the township. But he did confirm residents' reports that roads through the township were blocked and that Zulus had formed human barricades.

A Star reporter had to walk from Vosloorus to Leondale to catch a lift to work after being prevented by men armed with sticks from taking a taxi.

Hospitals on the East Rand reported their casualty wards were packed.

Soweto police spokesman Major Herman Oosthuysen said a man was shot in the face when a gunman in the Dube hostel opened fire on commuters at the Dube Station below.

He said police had surrounded the Nancefield hostel, where a bus had been burnt at about 4.30 am.

Commuters at the Nancefield station dived for cover early today as gunmen fired

► To Page 3

## Mayhem in townships

◀ From Page 1

from a packed train as it left the station. Star

Another bus was hijacked at a shopping centre in Zondi. 17/11/94

On the Old Potch Road near Diepkloof hostel, groups of men laid stone barricades across the street. Diepkloof residents said early morning commuters ran a stone-throwing gauntlet until police arrived. (107)

In Orlando, hundreds of commuters lined the streets waiting for taxis to ferry them to work. Transport was also disrupted in Meadowlands, which was extremely tense.

"It has been pretty chaotic this morning," Oosthuysen said adding that "it should improve as the day goes on as we have a lot of police out there maintaining a very high visibility".

Star 17/11/94

Violence and destruction as Zulus head for Pretoria

Mayhem

## Zulus to march in Pretoria today

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PRETORIA — About 50 000 Zulus, many in traditional regalia and carrying traditional weapons, are expected to march through the city streets to the Union Buildings from 10am today to pay homage to their king.

King Goodwill Zwelithini is to meet President F W de Klerk to discuss the constitutional position of the Zulu monarchy in a future SA and several other issues.

Police have advised motorists to avoid parking along the route — from the station, north along Bosman Street and east along Vermeulen Street to the Union Buildings.

At a news conference in Pretoria on Friday, the Northern Transvaal police and the Transvaal Zulu headman stressed the event was cultural and was being organised by the KwaZulu government and not by Inkatha. All marchers would take part as Zulus and would be permitted to carry traditional weapons because of the event's cultural nature.

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports that Cosatu said it had "disturbing information" suggesting that vigilante elements within Inkatha were planning to force people to take part in the march.

"IFP supporters have every right to march, or to stay away from work, even though it is not clear to us what the purpose of the stayaway is," Cosatu said.

The federation felt it was its duty to report that hostel sources had warned there were plans to hijack taxis and buses and divert them to Pretoria.



# 50 000 to march on Pretoria

By Mzimasi Ngudle  
Political Staff

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini's status under the new dispensation is one of the burning issues expected to be discussed when the king meets President FW de Klerk at the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

Political observers say the recognition of the king in a post-apartheid dispensation, which has until now been one of the major demands of the Inkatha Freedom Party, is likely to be a sideshow when thousands of Zulus converge on Pretoria this morning.

IFP spokesman Mr Themba Khoza said the talks would revolve around the recognition of the king and his nation and had nothing to do with IFP.

However, Professor Willem

*Sowetan*  
Kleynhans, a political analyst, said the meeting played clearly into IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's hands. (107)

The talks also come in the wake of polls showing massive ANC support in the greater part of the country, including Natal — the region hitherto assumed to be safely in the Inkatha Freedom Party's grip. Zwelithini, whose apolitical stance cannot be easily indicated in view of his close association with the IFP, is expected to point out the dangers of sidelining him and the Zulus — who comprise the bulk of IFP membership — in the transitional process. "This would certainly strengthen Buthelezi's demand for constitutional recognition of the king and therefore boost his image in the face of damaging opinion polls.

17/1/94  
"The king's support is also his support, notwithstanding the weasel words of wily politicians," Kleynhans said. Meanwhile, Josias Charle reports that the South African Police and their KwaZulu counterparts have joined forces to ensure the Zulu king's visit goes off smoothly.

A crowd of about 50 000 is expected to converge on the Union Buildings where De Klerk will meet Zwelithini at about 3pm.

Police said people attending the gathering will assemble at the Pretoria Station from where they will march to the Union Buildings, arriving at about midday. Certain routes will be closed to traffic during the procession. The SAP and the local Internal Stability Division will also monitor the situation.



# Chaos as Zulus trek to Pretoria

□ 20 000 converge on Union Buildings to pay homage to their king

ARLT 17/1/94

107 #18 213

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Police reported widespread destruction, violence and intimidation in townships across the Reef today as thousands of Zulu traditionalists stayed away from work and converged on Pretoria to pay homage to their king at the Union Buildings.

By midday at least 20 000 had arrived at the Union Buildings — many of them from Natal while others came from Reef townships.

The thousands of Zulus, brandishing traditional weapons, marched on the buildings past heavily-armed police and army troops to greet King Goodwill Zwelithini as he arrived for a meeting with President de Klerk.

Several people were reported killed on the East Rand and in Alexandra as violence spread right across the Reef.

And more violence is feared this evening as reports filtered through of young township residents preparing to gather at stations and taxi ranks to unleash their revenge on the returning marchers for this morning's mayhem.

Zulus started gathering at hostels across the Reef at dawn. In Pretoria, busloads of people from Natal and Transvaal country districts began arriving early today.

Some of the armed marchers in Pretoria shouted "Kuzafa uMuntu" (Someone will die) at nervous passersby.

Hundreds of women were seen carrying large yellow buckets filled with home-brewed beer on their heads. They laid them down on the grass at the Union Buildings and fed the brew to their menfolk, some of whom were seen already stumbling.

The Inkatha Freedom Party head office has distanced itself from the stayaway, which was called by the Transvaal-based indunas.

Thousands of the marchers and those manning barricades and seen hijacking vehicles were wearing IFP T-shirts.

As reports of destruction spread, so did those of killing and intimidation.

In Vosloorus on the East Rand, two men and a 10-year-old girl were murdered in a car outside the Tudor factory. Another two men were shot dead nearby — apparently on their way to work.

Another man was shot dead in Katlehong and another was beaten and hacked to death in Actonville.

Commuters at the Daveyton Station were fired at by gunmen with AK 47 rifles.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, at least two people were reported murdered. Police said seven houses and several shacks were burnt down as a throng of marchers moved through the township from the Madala Hostel. Gunfire rattled through the township throughout the morning.

Hundreds of angry commuters who were unable to get to work said they objected to the intimidation which has accompanied today's stayaway call.

Long queues stretched at the Baragwanath taxi rank as commuters sought taxis to take them to Johannesburg.

Police surrounded the Union Buildings and the station with razor wire and warned commuters to keep away from the route between the buildings and the station.



ON THE MARCH: Thousands of Zulus — most of them in traditional dress and carrying cultural weapons — march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria where the Zulu king and President De Klerk were due meet today.

More pictures page 2.

Picture: The Argus Group Picture Service



GATHERING: Zulus gather outside the Pretoria station in readiness to march to the Union Buildings today.

## Violence on Reef as Zulus go to greet king

From page 1

Razor wire trucks were in position at every intersection along the route.

Chanting supporters brandishing spears, knobkerries, assegais and shields, lolled on the grounds in front of the Union Buildings while others continued to arrive.

In townships around Johannesburg and the East Rand, police said workers were being turned back on their way to work and their buses, minibuses and private vehicles were being hijacked and burnt.

Police spokesman Deon Peens said taxis were being stopped outside hostels, mainly in Katlehong, Thokoza and Daveyton. He said passengers were assaulted and shoved out of the taxis, which were then taken into the hostel compounds to be used as transport to Pretoria.

Hospitals on the East Rand reported their casualty wards were packed.

On the Old Potch Road near Diepkloof hostel, groups of men laid stone barricades across the street. Diepkloof residents said early morning commuters ran a stone-throwing gauntlet until police arrived.





# Talks soon on Zulu monarchy

Star 18/11/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini agreed yesterday to urgently establish a working group to find ways in which the Zulu monarchy and "the kingdom of KwaZulu" could be recognised within a new dispensation.

The agreement, reached in a three-hour meeting in which tempers sometimes flared, will now be thrashed out in bilateral talks which President F W de Klerk said would have to be concluded before the April election.

De Klerk said last night that he had assured Zwelithini of the

high regard in which he holds him and the Zulu monarchy and had told him that adequate provision could be made for the entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy in the envisaged KwaZulu/Natal provincial constitution.

Zwelithini and De Klerk expressed "deep regret" for the violence which accompanied the gathering outside the Union Buildings. (107)

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said both he and the king were generally against stayaways and had not called for yesterday's attempt to stage one. He said both were surprised when they saw on television on Sunday that a Zulu stayaway had been called.

The joint working group, to comprise Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) chief executive Joe Matthews, will look at various ways of addressing Zwelithini's concerns.

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

General constitutional issues — including the question of one ballot versus two ballots in the forthcoming election — were also discussed, but these were left for the ongoing trilateral negotiations including the Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, which could resume as early as tomorrow.



Violence as 50 000 Zulus march

# King warns

## of war over

### constitution

PRETORIA — Amid widespread violence in Reef townships and a march on the Union Buildings by between 40 000 and 50 000 Zulus, President F W de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday agreed to set up a working group aimed at amending the interim constitution.

The incorporation into the constitution of the Zulu nation's right to self-determination would be discussed urgently, De Klerk and Zwelithini said after a three-hour meeting at the Union Buildings. They said the working group would address ways in which the Zulu monarchy and KwaZulu could be assured.

"De Klerk assured the king of his high consideration for the king, the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu, and pointed out that adequate provision could be made for the entrenchment of these institutions in the envisaged provincial constitution," a joint communiqué said.

De Klerk committed himself to support these institutions as strongly as he could. "If bilateral discussions regarding the kingdom are successful, it would be extended to multiparty level," he said.

The issue of a double ballot, also raised by Zwelithini, would be discussed at this week's multiparty negotiations.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that Zwelithini threatened to declare war if his demands, echoing those of the Freedom Alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party, were not accommodated in the constitution.

"The ballot box is a very real instrument for testing the will of people, but it is not the final test. The final test of the will of

18/1/94

107

STEPHANE BOTHTMA

the people will always be found in their ability or inability to resist that which they reject as fundamentally wrong," he said.

Speaking on the eve of a meeting between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, he told De Klerk that he hoped the issues could be resolved through negotiations.

His strongly worded 10-page address to De Klerk said he was not speaking in party political terms nor carrying a party political brief. Rejecting the interim constitution, he said: "I speak for every Zulu, regardless of party affiliation, who has any allegiance to his or her nation. I lay claim to the right of my people to determine their own destiny on the land and the kingdom of their forefathers."

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also attended the talks, said he and Zwelithini regretted yesterday's violence in Reef townships. He stressed that Inkatha and the king did not support or call for a stayaway. "The gathering today was completely voluntary."

De Klerk said he had received a report from Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel about the large-scale violence on the Reef. "It is regrettable that violence erupted in areas which had not been prone to violence during the past months."

Sapa reports that a man in traditional Zulu costume was stabbed to death with a spear in central Pretoria, and a woman was wounded when the crowd waiting for

□ To Page 2

### King

Zwelithini outside the Union Buildings fired volleys of shots. Some members of the crowd had concealed AK-47 rifles beneath their traditional regalia.

Police had their hands full intervening in minor skirmishes between Zulu warriors, as groups were chased through chaotic traffic. An off-duty policeman's jaw was broken by a knobkerrie blow and a bystander was hospitalised after being hit with an axe by a marcher.

Police said three people had been wounded on trains on the way to Pretoria from Kempton Park. One shot was fired at a white residential area from a train but no one was injured. At Kempton Park station three men were wounded, and at Kaalfontein station 12 shots were fired at police, but there were no injuries. A man was shot at Dube station and police used teargas to break-up an incident at Jeppe station.

Police patrols were stepped up last night to prevent a repetition of the violence when marchers returned from Pretoria. ANC officials said groups of Zulus had intimidated commuters at Soweto stations to keep them from going to work. Taxi drivers had also been threatened and taxi services were suspended across the Reef. Police said buses and private vehicles had been set alight.

□ From Page 1

Police said at least five people were killed in Vosloorus, but could not confirm the killings were related to the stayaway. Inkatha denied its members had tried to intimidate commuters. It said its members had been intimidated into not attending the rally.

Our Durban correspondent reports that the Union Buildings meeting also sparked violence in Natal with at least two people being killed and about 10 buses stoned in Umlazi when armed hostel dwellers prevented commuters from going to work by erecting barricades. Joint action by KwaZulu Police, the SAP and the SADF brought stayaway-related violence under control, although a KwaZulu policeman was wounded. The stayaway had a limited effect in the greater Durban area.

At Umtata, KwaZulu government departments were operating on "skeleton staff" after civil servants were told to stay away from work and support the Pretoria summit. Several thousand Zulus were bussed to Pretoria. The public servants were asked to pay R15 each to cover transport costs.

The ANC said commuters were searched when buses were stopped by Inkatha supporters near Emapangeni. It said several people were wounded in an attack on a bus.

● Picture: Page 3





# Usuthu, Usuthu, Usuthu

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other KwaZulu officials address about 40 000 Zulus who yesterday converged on the Union Buildings in Pretoria where the king met President FW de Klerk. The Zulus came from all over the PWV and Natal. See also page 6. PIC JOE MOLEFE.

# 11 killed as Zulus march

Soweto 18/11/94

## march

(107)

By Isaac Moledi and Sapa

**A**T LEAST ELEVEN PEOPLE were killed in Soweto and on the East Rand yesterday as thousands of workers were allegedly intimidated and assaulted by Zulus who were on their way to Pretoria for King Goodwill Zwelithini's meeting with President FW de Klerk.

Police reported widespread destruction of property, violence, intimidation and assault in townships across the Reef as thousands of Zulus allegedly forced people to stay away from work.

The bodies of five people, including a 10-year-old girl, were found in Vosloorus. A man was also found dead in Katlehong and another in Daveyton, police said.

East Rand police spokeswoman Lieutenant Janine Smith said all seven bodies had bullet and stab wounds. The bodies of two men were also found in Soweto between 6am and 9am yesterday.

Soweto police spokesman Major Herman Oosthuysen said there were also incidents of violence, intimidation and assault on workers who wanted to go to work.

### Returned to normal

He said, however, that the situation returned to normal after 6 000 policemen and about 1 000 SA Defence Force members were deployed in the area after 6am.

A Vosloorus Civic Association spokesman claimed the five people were killed as supporters of Zwelithini were mobilising to attend a rally to be addressed by the king in Pretoria.

Police could not confirm that the East Rand killings were linked to the Zulu march. Police were investigating the possibility.

Spokeswoman Smith said the situation, especially in Daveyton, was tense as roads were still barricaded and there was widespread intimidation of and attacks on civilians.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has distanced itself from the stayaway, which it said was called by Transvaal-based indunas.

Transvaal IFP leader Mr Themba Khoza last week called on Zulus to support the stayaway, but later said he had merely announced it and not supported it.

Hundreds of angry commuters who were unable to get to work said they objected to the intimidation which had accompanied today's stayaway call.

There were long queues at the Baragwanath taxi rank as commuters battled to find taxis to take them to Johannesburg.

### Workers turned back

By 9am, special trains and buses were still leaving main centres on the Reef to Pretoria.

Police said workers were being turned back on their way to work and their buses, minibuses and private vehicles were being hijacked and burnt.

Lieutenant Deon Peens said taxis were being stopped outside hostels, mainly in Katlehong, Tokoza and Daveyton. He said passengers were assaulted and shoved out of the taxis, which were then taken into the hostel compounds to be used as transport to Pretoria.

In Orlando, Soweto, hundreds of commuters lined the streets waiting for taxis to take them to work.

Taxis were running, but there were fewer on the roads than usual. Transport was also disrupted in Meadowlands.

Traffic in Soweto was seriously disrupted, particularly around Nancefield where police closed off the entire area and rerouted vehicles along the Old Potchefstroom Road towards Baragwanath Hospital.

Crowds gathered outside Jeppe and Denver hostels in Johannesburg.

Police used teargas to disperse a crowd of armed and chanting Zulus at Jeppe Station.

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# Bartlett backs Zulu king's stand on new constitution

Political Staff

(107) ARC 18/1/94  
PRETORIA. — South Africa's new constitution could not be introduced without the agreement of the Zulu nation, Natal National Party leader George Bartlett said today.

Mr Bartlett attended yesterday's meeting in Pretoria between President De Klerk and Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu.

The king had told Mr De Klerk that he, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Zulu Prime Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not accept the interim constitution as it now stood because it was deeply offensive to Zulus.

Mr Bartlett said today: "You cannot ignore the reality of the Zulu nation.

"The Zulu monarchy has to be accommodated in the constitution."

Mr Bartlett said the NP in Natal had said that after the election the Natal parliament would draft a constitution for Natal that would provide for the

Zulu monarchy and for KwaZulu to be included in the name on the province.

The NP had discussed this with the Inkatha Freedom Party, he said.

"They were not satisfied. They said they were not prepared at this stage to just pretend that the monarchy did not exist. They want it recognised before the election."

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

A working committee of the South African government and the KwaZulu government will meet today to look at ways of accommodating the Zulu monarchy in the constitution.

Meanwhile IFP leader Chief Buthelezi told French foreign minister Alain Juppe yesterday that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was bent on ruling from the seat of a central dictatorship.



# KwaZulu police: Plea to FW

## The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — A Goldstone Commission sub-committee which has investigated alleged KwaZulu Police involvement in public violence and intimidation is to formulate a set of recommendations to President De Klerk.

The sub-committee, which sat at Westville and concluded its hearings — which began in July — yesterday heard urgent suggestions that the South African Police should take control of all KwaZulu Police stations in the run-up to the general election on April 27.

In a wrap-up submission to the committee, Gilbert Marcus, representing the African National

Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions and the family of slain ANC leader Reggie Hadebe, suggested all 28 homeland police stations be put under the command of the SAP.

Committee hearings had to be seen in the context of disclosures about South African Defence Force training of Inkatha supporters in Caprivi, disclosures about the existence of KZP hit squads and the auditor-general's report about inefficient control over arms and ammunition in the KZP, he said.

Mr Marcus pointed to "rank inefficiency and ineptitude" of the KZP, saying that where effective law enforcement was absent the

community would inevitably lose faith in the police force and resort to self-help.

He said that because the elections were barely three months away, the KZP should immediately be put under the command of the SAP to ensure direct control over the day-to-day activities of KZP stations.

Supporting the ANC suggestion, Howard Varney of the Legal Resources Centre in Durban said an alternative might be to place KZP activities under scrutiny in the run-up to elections.

This would mean placing experienced international and local monitors at KZP stations and on patrols.

ARG 18/7/94 (107)

# King: 'Constitution offensive to Zulus'

ET 18/1/94 (377) (107)

PRETORIA. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini has warned of Zulu resistance to the April 27 election and said neither he nor his Amakhosi (chiefs) can advise their subjects to participate in the poll under the present constitution.

The Zulu monarch said the interim constitution was deeply offensive to Zulus.

In a memorandum handed to President F W de Klerk yesterday, King Zwelethini said Zulu self-determination was being threatened.

He said the scrapping of the name KwaZulu from the 1993 constitution "renders it so alien that we must reject it".

"It amounts to the expunging of the very name of my kingdom from the constitution of South Africa. This has sent shockwaves throughout the psyche of every one of our Zulu subjects."

In his memorandum King Goodwill told Mr de Klerk the "unthinkable" had happened — "that of an Afrikaner government, led by yourself, agreeing to the wiping of KwaZulu off the face of the earth".

"It is not too late, Mr President, for you to say no to this denial of the Zulu reality in South Africa."

The Zulu monarch said he could not back the single ballot system.

"The single ballot system does not allow my people to have a regional voice about the land of our ancestors and the people of KwaZulu, and another voice about what we want at the national level."

King Goodwill expressed hope that these issues could be dealt with in discussions and negotiations.

The Zulu king criticised Mr De Klerk directly for "the hurt that you, as head of state, have inflicted on us as Zulus ... in allowing us to be humiliated in this way by people who never once conquered us in any war".

"What is now being done to us is something far worse than what our British conquerors did to us.

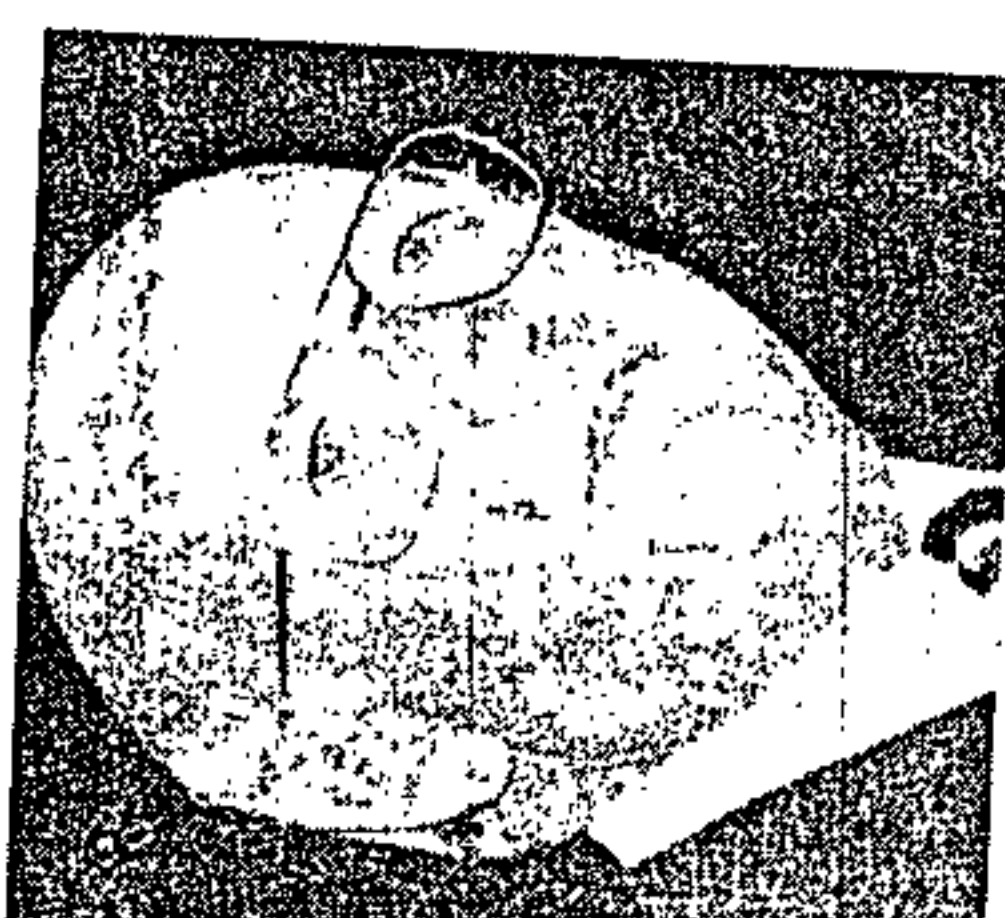
"Even though there was a history of conflict between my people and your people, Mr President, not one Afrikaner leader has in all history ever attempted to do to us what has now been done to us, to completely obliterate us as a people from the face of South Africa."

He cautioned Mr De Klerk not to be misled by political parties who claimed to have Zulu support.





WARNING OF RESISTANCE ... King Goodwill Zwelethini



PROMISE OF SUPPORT ... President F W de Klerk

# ZULU DEAL

## FW to back monarchy

PRETORIA. — Amid widespread violence on the Reef and a march on the Union Buildings by between 40 000 and 50 000 Zulus, President F W de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini agreed yesterday on urgent talks about incorporating Zulu self-determination in the interim constitution.

During the march through the capital one man was stabbed to death and eight were injured, three seriously. An off-duty policeman's jaw was broken by a knobkerrie blow and a bystander was admitted to hospital after being hit with an axe.

After a three-hour meeting, the two leaders said a working group would be set up immediately to seek ways in which the Zulu monarchy and KwaZulu could be recognised and assured.

"De Klerk assured the king of his high consideration for the king, the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu, and pointed out that adequate provision could be made for the entrenchment of these institutions in the envisaged provincial constitution," a joint communiqué said.

Mr De Klerk committed himself to supporting these institutions. If bilateral discussions about the kingdom were successful, they would be extended to multi-party level, he said.

The issue of a double ballot system, also raised by King Goodwill, would be discussed at this week's scheduled multiparty negotiations.

Earlier, in a stern manifesto, King Goodwill warned of Zulu resistance to the April 27 election. He said he could not ask his subjects to participate in the poll under the present interim constitution as it was "deeply offensive to Zulus".

He said the scrapping of the name KwaZulu from the 1993 constitution had sent "shockwaves through the psyche of every one of our Zulu subjects and rendered it so alien that we must reject it".

"It amounts to the expunging of the very name of my kingdom from the constitution of South Africa,"

the Zulu king criticised Mr De Klerk directly for "the hurt that you, as head of state, have inflicted on us as Zulus... in allowing us to be humiliated in this way by people who never once conquered us in any war". (See Page 2).

"The ballot box is a very real instrument for testing the will of people, but it is not the final test. The final test of the will of the people will always be found in their ability or inability to resist that which they reject as fundamentally wrong," he said.

He said he hoped the issues could be resolved through negotiation. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also attended the talks, said he and the king regretted the violence in Reef townships yesterday. He said

he had heard about alleged intimidation and violence, and stressed that Inkatha and the king did not support or call for a stayaway. "The gathering today was completely voluntary," he said. Mr De Klerk said he had received a report from Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel about the large-scale violence on the Reef. "It is regrettable that violence erupted in areas which had not been prone to violence during the past months."

About half-an-hour after talks between the king and the State President ended, the thousands of Zulus gathered on the lawns and the Union Buildings finally dispersed. Police had their hands full intervening in minor skirmishes between Zulu warriors as groups were chased through chaotic traffic. Police said three people had been wounded on trains on the way

to Pretoria from Kemp-ton Park.

From page 1

## KwaZulu

to Pretoria from Kemp-ton Park. (107)

Patrols had been stepped up last night to prevent a repetition of the violence when the Zulu marchers returned from Pretoria.

Police reported at least five people were killed in Vosloorus, but could not confirm that the killings were related to the stayaway.

CT 18/1/94 Stoned

Our Durban correspondent reports that the Union Buildings meeting also sparked violence in Natal, with at least two people being killed and about 10 buses stoned in Umlazi when armed hostel dwellers prevented commuters from going to work by erecting barricades.

Joint action by the KwaZulu Police, the SAP and the SADF succeeded in bringing the stayaway-related violence under control, although a KwaZulu policeman was wounded.

## Searched

The ANC reported that commuters were searched when buses were stopped by Inkatha supporters near Empanjeni. It said several people were wounded in one attack on a bus.

The Afrikaner Volkfront yesterday expressed solidarity with the thousands of Zulus who gathered outside the Union Buildings and their demand for an all-inclusive settlement. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

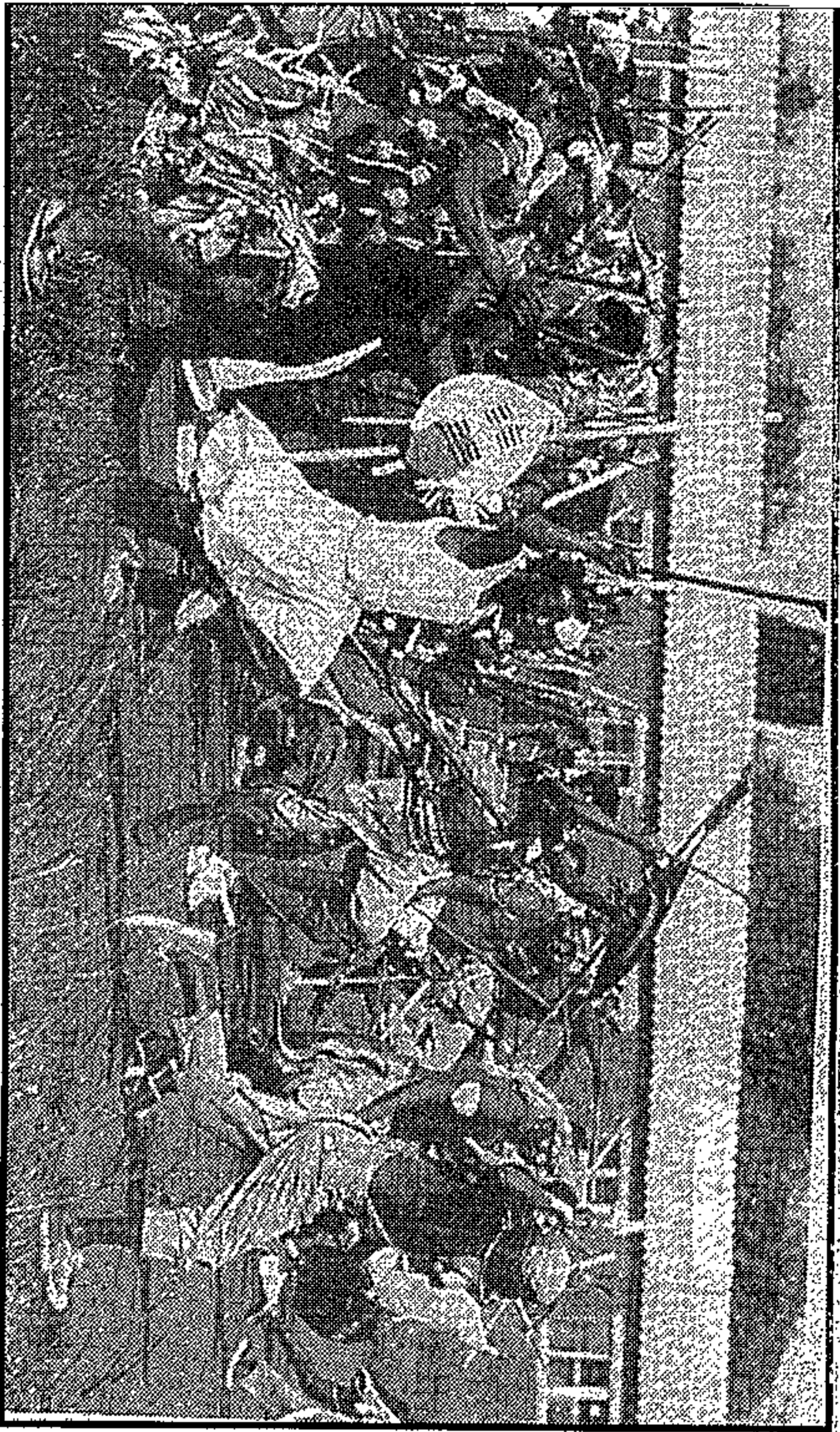




# 'Entrenchment of the monarchy assured'

107

APR 27 1994



ON THE MARCH: Zulus march outside Nancefield hostel west of Johannesburg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

According to government sources, a meeting involving the three groups could take place as early as tomorrow. President De Klerk said last night that the meeting was con-

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

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

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

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

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

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



# Train costs taxpayers R101 000

ARC 18/11/94  
107

**The Argus Correspondent**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It was due back in Durban early today.

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

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

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

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

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



# Zulu march: 80 spent cartridges found

APR 18/11/94

(107) shooting frenzy

## Union Buildings and surrounding areas sprayed with bullets in shooting frenzy

The Argus Correspondent

**PRETORIA.** — Police combing the lawns of the Union Buildings here today picked up more than 80 spent cartridges — including at least 38 AK-47 cartridges — which littered the lawns after a Zulu firing frenzy.

As clean-up operations began at first light today police were hard at work marking every cartridge left behind after 40 000 Zulus descended on the city — leaving at least two people dead and 11 wounded.

In the shooting incident hundreds of Zulus fired wildly into the air for nearly five minutes with pistols and AK-47s spraying the Union Buildings and surrounding areas with bullets.

Three people were reported injured, including a woman who was hit in the head. The woman, about 40, is in a hospital north of the Union Buildings.

Stunned policemen, soldiers and spectators dived for cover when several of the Zulu warriors fired into the air in response to a fiery oration by one of the speakers.

Stray rounds ricocheted off the Union Buildings as more and more people fired into the air.

Police spokesman Dave Harrington said a 45-year-old woman was hit in the forearm by a stray bullet in Rietondale.

At least one city building was also hit by a stray bullet. But the worst violence flared up around town as the crowds made their way to and from the Union Buildings.

A bystander was slightly injured when he was attacked, apparently by marchers, in the

city centre about 12.45pm.

Police said a man was stabbed to death in an assegai attack, allegedly by a member of a Zulu impi, near Church Square.

Ten minutes later a group of Zulus attacked another bystander nearby, seriously wounding him with an assegai en route back to Pretoria station.

A woman was pronounced dead on arrival at H F Verwoerd Hospital after being stabbed with assegais.

A city hospital spokesman said at least three people had been admitted to the casualty ward with injuries relating to the march.

An off-duty policeman was attacked and beaten with knobkerries about 5pm. He was treated for a broken jaw.

Police said another man was shot in the right leg about 5.45pm in the city centre.

About 7.40pm a man was stabbed with an assegai at Verwoerdburg station, near Pretoria.

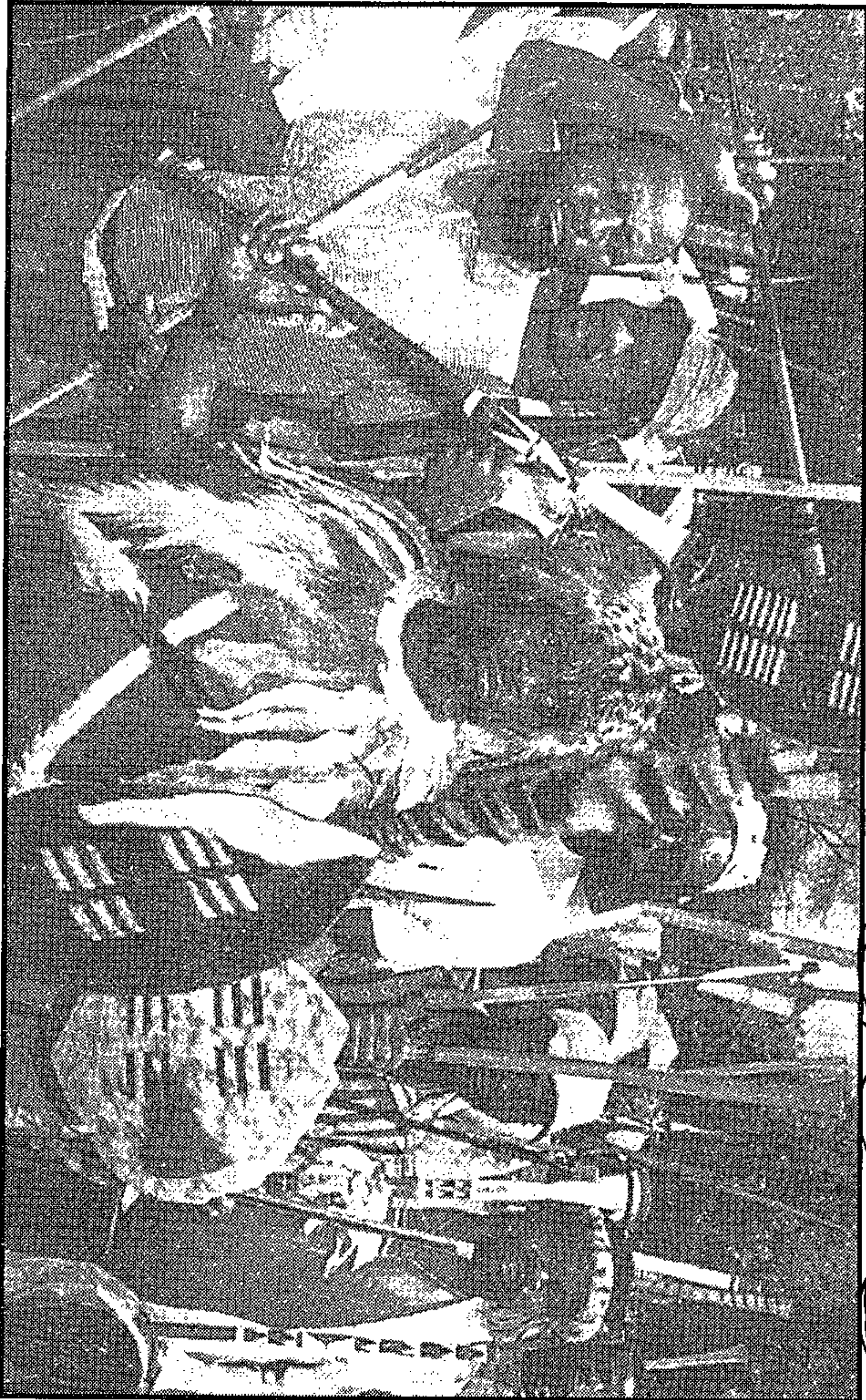
As thousands of Zulus converged on Pretoria station to catch trains back to the East Rand more violence erupted as police held back marchers from stampeding the platform.

The marchers were allowed on to the platform in groups, with the last group leaving about 8.30pm.

Police said a man was stabbed with a spear and was rushed to hospital.

A woman on the station platform was injured in the chest when she fell in a rush for the train.

The scene — with members



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

of the Internal Stability Unit

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

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

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

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

Piet Badenhorst said he was

impressed by the behaviour of the Zulus.

"They were peaceful and disciplined, but that is because they are not members of the ANC," she said.

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



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

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

But he said the influx of Zulus had been detrimental to the traditional type of businesses near the Union Buildings — because people had kept clear of those areas. People knew what was going to happen and stayed away from the central business district, said Mr De Beer.



# Zulu march: 80 spent cartridges found

ARL Gillig  
(107)

## Union Buildings and surrounding areas sprayed with bullets in shooting frenzy

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*R101 000 spent to transport marchers*

# SA tax money for Zulu train?

*Star 19/1/94*

**BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Controversy over the Zulu march on Pretoria continued yesterday amid revelations that the KwaZulu government had paid R101 000 to transport people from Durban to the Union Buildings on Monday.

And confusion persisted over who had orchestrated the simultaneous stayaway, and whether the Inkatha Freedom Party had played any part.

The IFP said the United Independent Trade Unions Ad-Hoc Committee of South Africa had called for the stayaway.

But several IFP-aligned officials said they knew nothing about the organisation.

Ulundi's Bureau of Communication was also in the dark

**ROW rages over who paid for king's supporters to get to Pretoria and over who orchestrated stayaway on the Reef** (107)

about the Durban-Pretoria train allegedly laid on by the KwaZulu government for Zulus wanting to join the Union Buildings vigil.

The Star's correspondent in Durban reports that SS Sibisi, an official in the Ulundi office of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, hired the train from Spoornet at a cost of R101 000.

This money presumably came from the KwaZulu government's R6,1 billion budget — financed

by taxpayers.

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

An IFP source said that if the KwaZulu government had paid for the train, it would simply be backing the monarchy — "an accepted practice of governments around the world".

Meanwhile, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe has said that planning for Monday's gathering of about 40 000 Zulus at the Union Buildings had been "highly successful" and it would be pure speculation to link unrest on the Reef to the event.

die in volley of bullets

# Ulundi hired imbizo train — claim

*Sowetan 19/1/94*  
■ **R101 000 BILL** Anger at alleged

KwaZulu misuse of taxpayers' money:

## Sowetan Correspondent

**T**HE KwaZulu government is believed to have spent R101 000 to hire a train to ferry Zulus from Durban to Pretoria. (107)

They massed in the gardens of the Union Building while King Goodwill Zwelithini met President FW de Klerk.

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

An estimated 14 people died around the country on Monday after Zulu people were called upon to stay away from work in support of their king and an estimated 35 000 people gathered at the Union Buildings.

Mr SS Sibisi, an official in the Ulundi office of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is thought to have hired the train from Spoornet at a cost of R101 000.

As the Inkatha Freedom Party distanced itself from the stayaway and the gathering at the Union Buildings, this money apparently

came from the KwaZulu government's R6,1 billion budget, which is financed by taxpayers.

Attempts yesterday to get the KwaZulu government to give its side of the train hiring has not been successful.

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

It returned to Durban early yesterday.

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

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



# During faces hit squad probe

Political Staff

(107) ARG 19/1/94

JOHANNESBURG. — KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During will be requested to attend next week's meeting of the Transitional Executive Council where he will be asked about a hit squad in the KZP.

Speaking at yesterday's TEC meeting, SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said that General During would be asked for an explanation of the existence and operations of the hit squad.

The council also appointed the five-member Special Electoral Court which will adjudicate in disputes arising out of the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission.

The three members named by the Chief Justice are Mr Justice JW Smalberger of

the Appellate Division, Mr Justice JM Didcott of the Natal Supreme Court and Mr Justice PJ van der Walt of the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The TEC also appointed Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed and Dr Jan Heunis, an advocate at the Cape Bar.

The TEC further appointed the Independent Media Commission which will ensure that all political parties receive equitable treatment by State-run media.

The IMC will be chaired by Mr Justice John Trengove, a retired judge. The other members are Dr Namane Magua, former newspaper editor Raymond Louw and Wimpie de Klerk, Jenny Malan, Zubeida Jaffer and Libby Lloyd.



# focus on Zulus

Sowetan 20/1/94

**K**ING GOODWILL ZWELITHINI is without doubt the legitimate monarch of the "Zulu nation".

He comes from a very proud and rich royal tree — a descendent of legends Shaka and Cyprian kaDinizulu, who are known as two of Africa's great leaders.

And, indisputably, what a show of strength it was when 35 000 followers went to pay homage to His Majesty the King on Monday when he had an appointment with State President FW de Klerk, who is referred to as the Boer who decreed the demise of apartheid.

It was as late as 10pm when Zulu warriors, escorted by the South African Police, were returning "home" to the Diepkloof Hostel in Soweto, for example. They chanted and sang war songs and were armed.

Lights went off in the houses flanking the main street, Marthinus Smuts Drive, as residents gave way for the marchers to go past.

It had happened before, when the king had an imbizo at nearby FNB Stadium last year and drunken supporters menacingly filed past on route to and from the venue.

Johannesburg reported a 30 percent worker absenteeism on Monday. A taxi driver was shot dead at 4am in Soweto as he tried to ferry workers to the city.

A family of three, including a 10-year-old girl, was shot dead in a car in Katlehong.

It is in fact the third display of tribal power the Zulu monarch has been drawn to lead since last year.

## Armed followers

Also, when he attended a multiparty peace conference in the city hundreds of traditionally clad and armed followers massed outside the five-star hotel venue.

Late last year there was the FNB imbizo which caused much controversy, too.

The king does not travel alone, according to a Zulu adage.

"The monarch of the Zulu people was not invented by apartheid or some silly youths and he is not being used," said Dr Ziba Jiyane, chief spokesman of the Inkatha Freedom Party on Monday night.

The IFP had initially distanced itself from the makings of South Africa's latest political calamity.

Suggestions abound that Goodwill is a puppet of his prime minister, Umtwana kaPhindangene Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Pretoria's official chief minister of the KwaZulu bantustan.

There was a tinge of annoyance in Jiyane's voice when he said something akin to: "The king is no fool, he is apolitical and rightly speaks for the restoration of land ownership to his people."

The fact that at least 17 people were killed during the tribal stayaway is sobering — it was not unexpected.

Television viewers saw and heard chilling remarks from an induna on the 7 o'clock bulletin

State President FW de Klerk will decide how to accommodate the Zulu "kingdom" in a future dispensation.

Political Correspondent **Themba Molefe** says Buthelezi's hand in this latest manoeuvre cannot be ignored:



**Monarch of the Zulu people was not invented by apartheid**  
— Ziba Jiyane

He is better positioned to address his leader(s) and political confreres in particular. This suggests that he can confront Buthelezi as a peer rather than as a lesser tribal consort.

The IFP controls the politics of Zululand — the land of amaZulu — and is Zulu-based. Goodwill, thus accompanied by Buthelezi, went to meet a political rival at the Union Buildings on Monday.

And indeed De Klerk took a political decision at the end of the three-hour meeting, a decision to consider how to constitutionally accommodate the monarch and the Zulu "kingdom" in a future dispensation.

## Transitional structures

Although this will have far-reaching consequences on the multiparty transitional structures already in place, De Klerk's concession means capitulation to ethnic and separatist demands.

The fact that the IFP's ally in the Freedom Alliance, the Afrikaner Volksfront, congratulated the king on his move, also spells some danger. Will De Klerk influence decision in favour of an Afrikaner homeland eventually?

Buthelezi's hand in this latest manoeuvre cannot be ignored. The outcome is in line with the IFP's demands for exclusive powers for regions. This is the major reason the IFP is not part of the transitional structures and is threatening not to participate in the April 27 election.

On the one hand, accommodating the king of the Zulus politically could go a long way in stopping the route to Bosnia and future public displays of tribal and ethnic strength — by Zulus or Afrikaners.

It is noteworthy on the other hand to record both De Klerk and Buthelezi's reaction to the deaths that accompanied Goodwill's visit to Pretoria.

"It is a pity," Buthelezi said. "It is regrettable," said De Klerk.

No shock.



King Goodwill Zwelithini

on Monday night. He said it was pretty normal for the Zulu people to carry guns during the march on Pretoria and fire them in the air.

All those armed with firearms were licensed, anyway, and were, according to age-old custom, carrying the weapons to defend themselves, the smiling induna said.

A stray bullet hit a woman during that march, the TV bulletin went on.

The above is a report of what happened on yet another day in the lives of South Africans, and now follows the politics.

Jiyane, to begin with, is an asset to the IFP, ostensibly because he is a Zulu. As IFP political director with a background of being a former active member of the PAC, Jiyane understands what is going on.



# At least nine die in KwaZulu area

CT 20/1/94

127

DURBAN. — At least nine people have been killed since Saturday in areas administered by the KwaZulu Police and the SA Police have reported another nine murders in Natal since Monday.

Two people were shot dead and another wounded at Umlazi township.

In Ntambanana, near Empangeni — the scene of political conflict at the weekend — an unidentified 26-year-old man was stabbed and beaten to death on Sunday.

The KZP attributed the killing to clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.

An unidentified 37-year-old woman was stabbed to death in the Ndodwane area of Ntambanana on Sunday.

In Mandini, near strife-torn Sundumbili on the Natal north coast, an

unidentified 35-year-old man was shot dead on Sunday.

Another man was stabbed to death in Sundumbili on Saturday and the KZP arrested two suspects.

In Osizweni, near Newcastle, Sgt Reuben Dlamini, 39, attached to the Correctional Services, was killed by attackers who robbed his policeman brother of his pistol a few minutes earlier.

● The bodies of four people were found in violence-torn East Rand townships overnight on Tuesday, police said.

Two men were found shot dead before dawn yesterday morning in Vosloorus and Thokoza. Police earlier recovered the bullet riddled bodies of two others in Katlehong's Mavimbela and Maboya Streets. — Sapa

# We funded train ride — KwaZulu

THE KwaZulu government has finally admitted it funded the train ride by thousands of Zulus who travelled to Pretoria on Monday.

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Mr Robert Mzimela said the ride was funded from a budget for national functions. A total of R101 000 was used to hire a train to transport Zulus to Pretoria where Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini met President FW de Klerk.

Mzimela said the KwaZulu government had "always had budgetary provision for events of a national nature — the king's visit (to the Union Buildings in Pretoria) had everything to do with the existence of KwaZulu and the Zulu nation".

Meanwhile, the African National Congress has called for an investigation into the matter, saying the homeland government had misused taxpayers' money. Mzimela justified the expense, saying "according to Zulu tradition, the king is always accompanied by his people when dealing with matters affecting them".

"All budgetary and financial procedures were followed and any Zulu national was free to board the train. People were not asked what political party they belonged to," Mzimela said. — *Sapa*.



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

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

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

# TEC turns heat on kwaZulu cop

WM 21-27/1/94 (107)

THE Transitional Executive Council has quietly set the stage for a show-down over kwaZulu Police hit squads with their commander, Lieutenant General Roy During.

During has resisted the TEC order to report on the killer commando discovered in the KZP by the Goldstone Commission and on the possible existence of other hit squads, saying he had instructions

from the kwaZulu cabinet which prevented him from appearing.

But the TEC, in two formal resolutions, has told During that he "is obliged to co-operate."

The request for information on the hit squads, the first resolution notes, "was directed to Lieutenant General During and not to the kwaZulu government", thereby placing the onus on the KZP's top

cop personally.

In a second resolution adopted this week, reference is made to a section of the TEC Act which says that any minister or head of department can be required to appear before the interim body.

Should During fail to appear, the TEC could turn the heat up on him by involving the special Electoral Court.



# KwaZulu will defy SA forces

CT21/1/94 (107)

DURBAN. — The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) would only be able to implement rulings in KwaZulu territory by force, Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

He said the KwaZulu government would not safeguard the lives of South African security forces deployed in the territory without permission from the KwaZulu Police commissioner.

He also said he had little faith in last-ditch negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, the African National Congress and the government.

Speaking in Ulundi at a passing-out parade of KZP recruits, Chief Buthelezi repeated that KwaZulu did not recognise the TEC's authority.

The TEC could make "as many

## 'TEC will have to invade us'

rulings on KwaZulu as it likes but it will not be able to implement those rulings, except by force".

He also reiterated that any attempt to deploy South African security forces in KwaZulu without local permission would be viewed as an invasion.

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

Referring to trilateral talks in Johannesburg on Wednesday

night, which delegates said were fruitful, Chief Buthelezi said: "I am not at all optimistic that anything concrete is going to come out of these negotiations."

He alleged chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer "virtually told" television audiences after the talks that the interim constitution would not be amended, "or if at all, not substantially to accommodate the concerns of his majesty the king (Goodwill Zwelethini), and also members of the Alliance."

"While I was pleased with the way these talks went, I am very pessimistic about the outcome of these negotiations.

"We have suffered a lot of blood and tears all these years of oppression, and it may well be that we will not be out of that dark dungeon of suffering even after the elections," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa

# Mandela and FW have plans for Zulu kings

From LINDA ENSOR

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela have apparently agreed to give Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini assurances that his post-election status and salary will be secure under a new government — regardless of what happens constitutionally to Kwazulu.

The move apparently has wide international support.

The latest issue of Africa Confidential claims the agreement was a key element in the accord reached at the meeting of the two leaders.

"It will break IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's last major lever of power and free the Zulu king, long held captive by his paymaster

Buthelezi, to become a unifying symbol for all Zulus and even all Natal residents," the report said.

"This extraordinary move against Chief Buthelezi has the full backing of the British, United States and German governments and was made possible by the election of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma as ANC candidate for provincial premier.

"The ANC's most senior Zulu, Zuma has maintained good relations with the Zulu royal family and with those senior IFP leaders who are disillusioned with Buthelezi's kamikaze politics . . .

"The ANC's idea of protecting the broader Zulu identity through a future constitutional monarchy, while allowing Kwazulu structures to be incorporated into the provin-

cial administration could find favour with most IFP leaders and leave Buthelezi totally isolated in his own organisation," Africa Confidential said.

"The purpose of the composite Mandela/De Klerk plan is to isolate political leaders and military elements intent on thwarting elections and there are signs it could work."

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# KZP chief will be compelled to face TEC

Star 26/11/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During failed to appear before a full sitting of the Transitional Executive Council yesterday. (2047)

The council then decided to take legal steps to compel his attendance. TEC chairman Zam Titus said a court order could be served on any official instructing him to appear before the TEC. (107)

The TEC earlier asked During for information on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a hit squad operated within KZP ranks. During was, however, prohibited by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi from co-operating with the TEC.

The TEC also appointed a three-member task group consisting of lawyers Fink Haysom and Howard Varney, and the SAP's Colonel Ivor Human — to investigate the existence of hit squads in Natal/KwaZulu.

A peace plan for the East Rand is to be announced within the next two days. The TEC agreed that its executive secretaries — Government constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and the ANC's Mac Maharaj — should continue to co-ordinate a strategy to end violence.

It was also decided last night that the TEC management committee would discuss South Africa's role regarding the Lesotho conflict. Titus said the Government had turned down a request by Lesotho to send a peacekeeping force to the country.

# Court order on During

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — An urgent Supreme Court application will be lodged to force KwaZulu police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to appear before the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), it was announced yesterday.

(107) CT 26/1/94  
The court application, which is expected to take place before the end of the week, will be a test case for the TEC as it is the first time a dispute

concerning the council's powers has been referred to the judicial system.

The council heard last night that Gen During had refused to attend a meeting of the TEC to provide information and documents on the operation of hit squads within his force.

The TEC was told Gen During had been tracked down to a town in the Western Cape where he was on vacation and presented with a letter from the TEC.



# Buthelezi serious about poll boycott

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

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

He said he was "prepared to suffer the consequences of

my convictions".

Opening a crucial and tension-filled IFP central committee meeting in Ulundi, Buthelezi said he was not optimistic

the last round of talks involving the Government, the ANC

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

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

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

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

► To Page 3

Star 27/11/94

# Buthelezi serious about poll boycott

◀ From Page 1

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

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

Separate talks are also continuing between the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), ANC and Government. Meyer said yesterday good progress was being made with the AVF, and negotiators were considering a mechanism which would address the right wing's demands even after the election.

In Ulundi, Buthelezi referred to Sunday Times editor Ken Owen's vicious criticism of him at the weekend, describing it as vilification.

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

a rotten politician" who had alienated his friends

Buthelezi told IFP central committee members: "The vilification campaigns that are waged in the Sunday Times and other newspapers, and plots to drive wedges between myself and His Majesty the King (Goodwill Zwelithini), have hardened my convictions that my stand is correct and that I must, for myself, be prepared to suffer the consequences of my convictions.

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

He said if he accepted the 1993 Interim Constitution and agreed to work within it, he would be "betraying the sacred charge history has bestowed on me as a democrat and traditional prime minister of the Zulu kingdom".

# KwaZulu trains chiefs

Joseph Ntshingila

(107)

WIM 28/1-3/2/94

A FORMER Inkatha-aligned chief claimed this week that he was forced to undergo military training to kill Inkatha's opponents and for self-protection.

Chief Nkosiyezwe Gcumisa said he was part of a group of chiefs who received a one-week training course on how to use a gun at the kwaZulu government-owned Matikulu camp in 1992.

He claimed that Psychology Ndlovu, a prominent Inkatha figure in the Natal Midlands, also received training. Ndlovu could not be reached for comment.

Gcumisa said the chiefs were issued with a G3 rifle, but that his was later confiscated.

He said he had fled his area of kwaSwayimane in the Natal Midlands after violence erupted there.

**Farouk Chothia** reports Gcumisa was introduced at an ANC cultural festival in the Midlands last September as a member of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

The IFP said there was "nothing secretive" in the training which had been initiated by the kwaZulu government last year — and not in 1992 — on the "instructions of *amakhozi* (chiefs)".

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the training was aimed at providing protection to chiefs and their communities. He denied that chiefs had been ordered to kill Inkatha's opponents.



NEWS FEATURE *Three different groupings within the IFP have different election ideas*

# IFP at the crossroads

Sowetan 28/11/94

## ENORMOUS IMPLICATIONS

Conference will point the way forward:

By Themba Molefe  
Political correspondent

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

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

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

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

### Severe restrictions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

● Our correspondent reports that there are several last-minute events that will influence the IFP members' decision. A meeting was scheduled for 2 pm yesterday between Joe Matthews and Dr Ben Ngubane, representing King Zwelithini and the South African Government to try to find a place in the sun for the Zulu monarch. IFP sources said yesterday that if the 200-year Zulu monarchy was officially recognised, this would go a long way to enticing the IFP into the election.

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



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

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

The three-way talks between the Freedom Alliance, of which the IFP is part, the Government and the ANC resumed yes-

terday under a cloud of pessimism on all sides.

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



# Inkatha education rumpus

CIPress 30/1/94

By SIPHO KHUMALO

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

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

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

## Problems

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

This year, says Mdlalose, the programme

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

should be started at the beginning of February.

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

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

It also contains the

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

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

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

the Inkatha Youth Brigade national organiser and the Nongoma circuit inspector. (107)

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

The secretary could not be contacted.

## Contrary

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

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



A miracle is needed, Buthelezi tells Ulundi conference

# IFP set for resistance

Star 31/1/94

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

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Ulundi — The Inkatha Freedom Party appears set for a boycott of the country's first all-race election and a campaign of resistance against the new order (107)

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

It was clear yesterday that the IFP leadership regards any

**More reports  
— Page 8**

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

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

The IFP's special general conference at the Emandleni Matleng youth camp on a hill-top outside Ulundi stopped short of taking the boycott decision in spite of overwhelming support for such a move from delegates.

Instead it adopted a watered-down resolution which leaves the final decision in the

► To Page 3

◀ From Page 1

hands of the IFP central committee after the FA, ANC and Government talks, which resume today.

Felgate said that today amounted to the last chance for a breakthrough, but Buthelezi told delegates that once the election was promulgated by President de Klerk, another 10 days of negotiating could follow. It has been speculated that the promulgation would take place today.

Buthelezi also revealed that he had received a telephone call from a "worried" De Klerk at 3 am yesterday morning.

He told delegates that De Klerk had first "expressed his satisfaction" that talks with the FA were continuing (107)

Buthelezi had explained to De Klerk that "because we are democrats" the IFP would not close any doors until all talks avenues had been explored.

The IFP leader claimed De Klerk had then committed himself to doing "everything he could" to reach an all-inclusive settlement.

The resolution adopted by the conference reiterated the IFP's rejection of the Interim Constitution and mandated the central committee to make a final deci-

sion.

It is understood that Buthelezi proposed the compromise — backing off from an immediate boycott — during a marathon closed session of the conference on Saturday evening and running into the early hours of yesterday.

A party source said 34 speakers in the debate had come out in favour of a boycott and 11 against. Those who argued for participation in the election were mainly "newcomers", including chief spokesman Ziba Jiyane, MEC Peter Miller and MPs Mike Tarr, Jurie Mentz, Hennie Bekker, Farouk Cassim and Narend Singh.

Leading IFP negotiator and heir apparent to Buthelezi, Ben Ngubane did not commit himself either way although he is generally regarded as favouring competing in the election.

Although the final resolution did not refer directly to an election boycott, Buthelezi made it clear in yesterday's closing speech to delegates — enthusiastic in spite of oppressive heat

in the massive tent which served as a conference centre — that this was how he interpreted his mandate from them.

In his opening address to the

conference Buthelezi had come out strongly in favour of an election boycott and added: "What I am calling for is the courage to enter the politics of resistance knowing that in the final analysis no government and no constitution can stand that which is really rejected by the people."

"No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC-SACP government will have to wage against us if we resist the present Interim Constitution."

Buthelezi, when pressed during a media conference on what he meant by this, would only say that it would amount to "the same non-violent resistance politics" adopted by the IFP in its fight against apartheid.

It is also evident that the IFP has chosen the controversial decision to use only one ballot for both national and regional elections — which the ANC has bluntly described as non-negotiable — as the thrust of its resistance to the new constitution.

Buthelezi suggested that even if the ANC and Government did agree to two ballots, there were other issues that had to be resolved to the IFP's satisfaction, including the powers, functions and boundaries of regions.

**Inkatha set for boycott  
of first all-race election**

Star 31/1/94

NEWS Pastors urge political delegates at Ulundi gathering to 'fight on'

# Spirit of festivity as IFP meet to decide

*Sowetan*

*31/1/94*

*107*

## ■ GENERAL CONFERENCE

Beautiful Zulu maidens dance as

warriors sing on banks of river:

By **Lulama Luti**  
Political Staff

**W**ITH ALMOST a month before the end of summer, the mountainous areas of KwaZulu are at their most beautiful. Ulundi

is no exception. While negotiating one's way along the route leading to the heart of Zululand - for that is how Ulundi is aptly referred to - one cannot help but marvel at the the wonder of nature.

The lush green veld, flora and fauna in abundance, livestock grazing and wandering about, a clear blue sky, all formed part of the spirit of festivity in the air on this Saturday morning. About five kilometres from Ulundi, when travelling along the Melmoth/Nongoma road, is the Matleng/Emandleni Training Camp.

It is built almost on top of a hill. The view from the camp itself is no less admirable and there is no doubting that this must form part of the tourist attraction in this part of Zululand.

The camp is also situated along the banks of the Umfolozi River running in an easterly direction from Ulundi's Unit A township. The area is beautiful. As are the Zulu maidens clad in their traditional

colourful regalia present today. They dance and ululate in unison while Zulu warriors leap up and down in song.

On the grounds of the camp site, stand two huge tents abuzz with hundreds of delegates and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. They are gathered here for the organisation's "Special General Conference".

The walls of the tents are bedecked with pictures of Umtwana Ka Phindangene, the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The heat inside is unbearable, outside there is a scorching sun. Occasionally the crowds burst out in full cry and declare "Shenge! Ndbezitha!" - in respect to their leader. The tone of the conference had been set.

It was set a long time ago - when two pastors scheduled to deliver the sermon and prayer respectively, instead gave political speeches while urging del-

egates to "fight on".

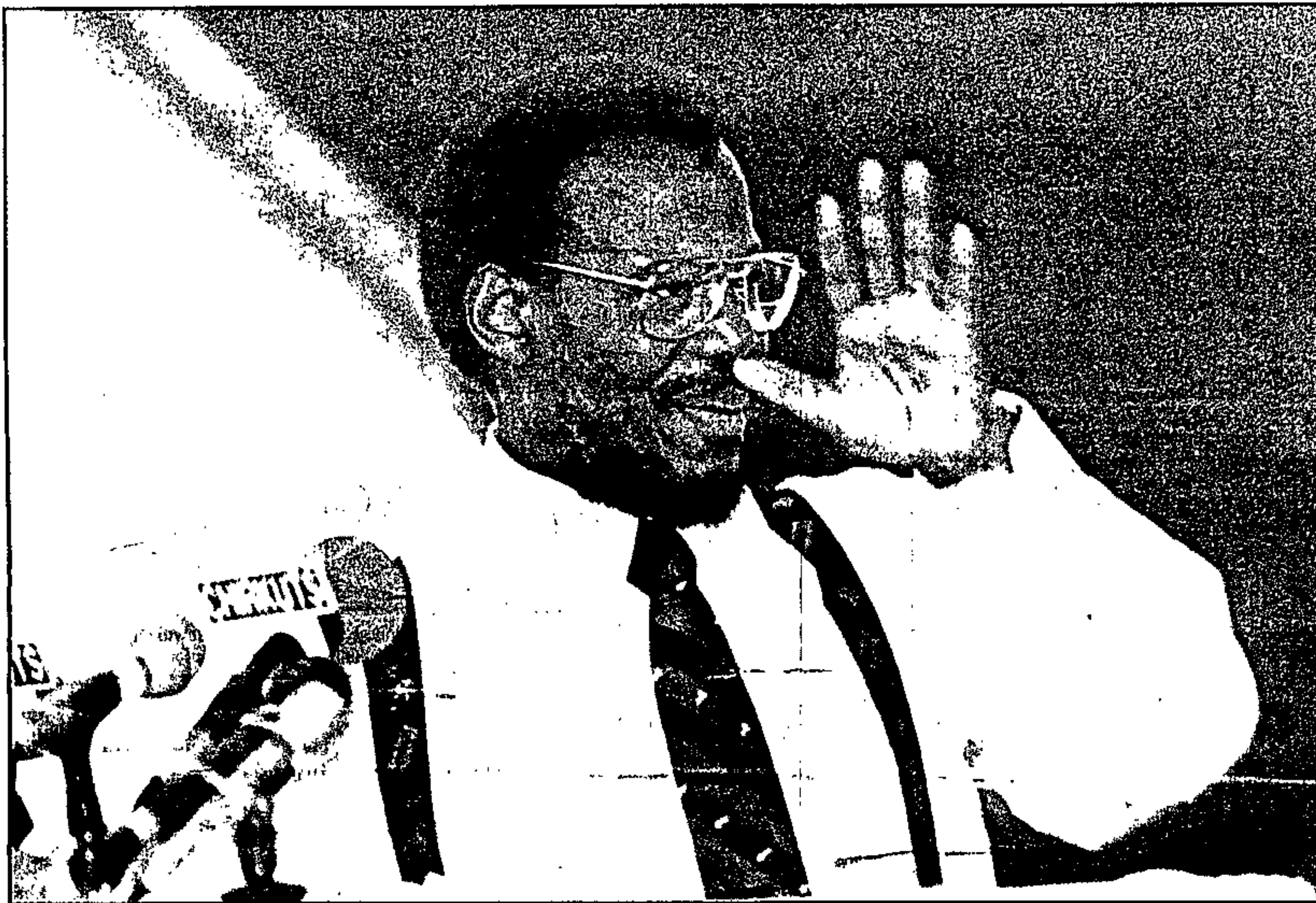
Buthelezi declared to delegates that he would not lead conference in its deliberations and that his was only to present conference with facts - facts that would help them arrive at an informed decision.

However, the hundreds of people attending the conference burst out in laughter when, during his address, Buthelezi left the podium to demonstrate his understanding of the "compromise" proposal offered by the African National Congress at the tripartite talks last week.

He took one step forward and two backwards, much to the delight of delegates - who by now, had gotten the message. He had left very little room in which his supporters could manoeuvre.

Finally, when conference ended and the decision not to take part in the elections announced, it was not as if this was not anticipated.





**NO WAY ...** IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi makes his feelings known at the organisation's special general conference in Ulundi. The conference resolved not to take part in the April elections under the present Interim constitution.  
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# IFP no to elections

*Sowetan 31/1/94*

By Mathatha Tsedu and Lulama Luti

**T**HE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY yesterday rejected participation in the elections under the present interim constitution. The decision, taken at a special conference at Ulundi in KwaZulu, however, leaves room for a rethink should today's negotiations with the Government, the African National Congress and Freedom Alliance produce acceptable results.

The IFP, as part of the Freedom Alliance, has tabled six demands which include powers and boundaries of regions, the double ballot, the recognition of the Zulu monarch, the powers of regions to raise own taxes and the entrenchment of these powers in the constitution.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other senior party officials said yesterday all these conditions would have to be met for the IFP to take part in the April 27 elections.

This stance is seen as a virtual no vote decision by the IFP as it is inconceivable that the ANC and Government would capitulate to that extent.

The conference gave a full mandate to the central committee to implement decisions based on the outcome of the trilateral talks.

Speaking during a Press briefing after the conference, Buthelezi said it was inconceivable that a

**IFP would not be thrown into the political wilderness**

solution to South Africa's problems could be reached without the involvement of the IFP.

Responding to a question, Buthelezi said he did not believe the IFP would be thrown into a "political wilderness" following its decision. "In fact Mr FW de Klerk telephoned me at 3am this morning sounding very worried. However, he expressed his satisfaction that the talks were continuing and that he was relieved the IFP had not withdrawn from the talks," he said.

More than 5 000 delegates attended the conference where heated debate raged in a closed session about participation and non-participation in the elections.

IFP senior official Mr Walter Felgate said 60 people had taken part in the deliberations, with about 89 percent speaking against participation.

It is understood the white members of parliament and a few blacks were for participation.

The conference also supported Buthelezi's endeavours "to seek common cause" with the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, on the question of the unacceptability of the single ballot system".

● See Page 6



# focus on Inkatha

Sowetan 11/2/94

Clouds of doom gather over Natal as Buthelezi presents demands to the ANC and the Government which he knows they cannot meet, says Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu:**



**T**HE special conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend has placed the organisation on a war footing.

As chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told delegates in Ulundi, the IFP has gone full circle. Started as an organisation based on participation in the system to advance the cause by peaceful means, it now finds itself preparing to go into resistance politics.

The arguments Buthelezi has advanced over the years for his involvement in bantustan politics have now been rejected by his organisation, with his prodding and support, against those who argued for involvement.

And today, as Government, ANC and the Freedom Alliance negotiators sit down to try to reach compromises to eliminate possible bloodshed if the IFP in particular is excluded, to many of the delegates that were at the conference the matter is closed.

There will be no elections in Natal, or KwaZulu as they now call it.

## Compromise

Only a miracle, Buthelezi said, could save the situation, as the reasons for the decision to stay out of the elections are founded on fundamental principles on which the IFP cannot compromise.

These are:

- The recognition of the Zulu monarchy and its sovereignty over the whole of Natal;
- The renaming of the province to KwaZulu;
- The scrapping of the one ballot system to be used in the April elections in favour of a double ballot, to give voters a choice to vote differently in regional elections;
- The powers and boundaries of regions to be exclusive and not concurrent with central government power;
- The power of regions to raise and control own taxes and other financial matters; and
- The entrenchment of these clauses in the interim constitution, thus ensuring that the constituent assembly that will draft the final constitution will not be able to tamper with these clauses.

These demands are a package, Buthelezi said, and they have to be accepted as a whole. It is possible that the province will be renamed KwaZulu, after all the process of decolonisation that the reform programme is part of, necessitates such a move.

The king's authority could also be recognised, thus leaving him with no legitimate "monarchy issue", save for those political points that the IFP has added to the king's demands. It is improbable the ANC will budge on the single ballot issue, Buthelezi conceded. All the ANC plans around the elections centre on one ballot.

For the IFP to reverse its position, the Government as well as the ANC would have to agree to the six points.

If they do not, which is most likely, the IFP will not take part in the elections. In that case,



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

according to senior IFP officials *Sowetan* spoke to, the following scenario may unfold:

The Zulu monarchy, in the person of King Zwelithini, would declare the whole of Natal a sovereign monarchy under him and known as KwaZulu.

He would then decree that no elections will take place in his territory, which would put him on a war footing with the rest of South Africa or, specifically, the Transitional Executive Council.

## Resistance

IFP officials we spoke to said any attempt to invade KwaZulu would unleash resistance by all Zulus, for it would be the king's decision that would be trampled on, not just the IFP's.

Members of the SA Defence Force, on whom such an operation against the kingdom would rely, are mostly supportive of the Afrikaner Volksfront which has joined the IFP in the FA, and would resist taking part in such a move.

But, even if the TEC was able to muster such a force, Buthelezi said they would face those

tanks.

"I hear arguments that if we do not enter the elections, the ANC-SACP will take charge of the KwaZulu legislature and that will be the end of KwaZulu and the IFP. I do not share that view.

"In fact I reject it outright. I say there can be no governance of KwaZulu-Natal without the active acceptance and participation of the IFP.

"This is a region where we dominate. No foreign forces will come into it to rule over us. I am not declaring war ... what I am calling for is the courage to enter the politics of resistance, knowing that in the final analysis, no government and no constitution can stand that which really is rejected by the people.

"No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC-SACP government will have to wage against us if we resist the present constitution.

"But Mr Joe Slovo has said that if we refuse, the tanks must roll into KwaZulu. And I say, let them roll," Buthelezi said.

He has called for resistance that should give birth to "plans of action, and out of opposition to that action will be born winning strategies".

The call to defy the TEC is no joke. Buthelezi has so far rejected the authority of the TEC and humiliated them. And he was boasting about that: "The Transitional Executive Council has already moved against KwaZulu. The very first thing they did was to demand information, which incidentally does not exist, from our commissioner of police about so-called hit squads in the KwaZulu police.

"We defied that demand and said no to it. When the TEC passed a resolution calling for the SAP and SADF to enter areas in which the KwaZulu police have jurisdiction, I issued a statement saying that if they do so we would regard it as an invasion.

"I will have nothing to do with the TEC. I do not recognise it. I will not obey it," he said.

It was in this type of war talk atmosphere that the decision to reject the 1993 interim constitution was taken. As the talks and report-backs go on today, it is inconceivable that an agreement can be reached which would be able to accommodate Buthelezi and his people, without the ANC and Government being seen as capitulating to the IFP.

And so, the clouds of doom gather over Natal or KwaZulu, and, effectively, also the Witwatersrand.

107



# KwaZulu to train 1 000

Star 11/21/94

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban — Another 1 000 people are to be trained at the KwaZulu government's Mlaba camp at Umfolozi to serve in community self-protection units. (07)

This is the third intake of trainees: 612 trainees graduated in the first intake, and 701 in the second.

KwaZulu government sources said 200 of the latest recruits came from hostels on the Witwatersrand, and the rest from around Ulundi.

They will be trained to use weapons and to foil ambushes, with a view to protecting their communities.

KwaZulu spokesmen have finally admitted that the camp is funded by the KwaZulu government. It is on the western boundary of the Umfolozi Game Reserve.

There is concern in Natal and KwaZulu about the programme. In response, the Inkatha Freedom Party has pointed to Umkhonto we Sizwe openly training in Durban townships.

# A picture of Zulu state

Sowetan 21/2/94

By Mathatha Tsedu, Political Editor

KING Zwelithini on Saturday spelt out the scope and functions of the monarchy he wanted, and left no doubt that it was now a question of when and not if. (107)

Speaking to thousands of his subjects at Pietermaritzburg, the king said his claim for the "independence of KwaZulu" was based on the need for the "Zulu nation (to) be given the right to create for itself the territorial and governmental space in which to express its self-determination".

Explaining further, the king said: "The Zulu monarchy will be set up to ensure that our independent state is democratic and pluralistic. The constitution must be entrenched in such a way that it secures the blessings of democracy, freedom and pluralism for future generations, offering protection to all its people."

The new state would be able to "secure co-operation and development pacts with South Africa" to ensure economic growth.

He said such a state would not depend on the outcome of the elections but would be declared prior to the elections.



# During: TEC 'test case'

(107)

CT 2/2/94

Own Correspondent

**PRETORIA.** — KwaZulu's refusal to co-operate with the Transitional Executive Council will be tested in the Supreme Court this week following the TEC's announcement yesterday that legal papers would be served on the territory's police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During.

TEC chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said KwaZulu Police Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government are the second and third respondents in the urgent civil case.

This is the first time a dispute over the TEC's jurisdiction has been referred to the judicial system for arbitration.

The TEC first requested Gen During's presence in December last year following a report from Mr Justice Richard Goldstone in which it was stated that Gen During had information about the possible operation of hit squads.

Gen During has refused to heed the TEC's request, saying in faxed messages that the KwaZulu government rejects the TEC's authority.

## TEC acts against During

PRETORIA. — The Transitional Executive Council has authorised its lawyers to serve notice to KwaZulu Police Commissioner Roy During to appear before the council. (107) ARG 2/2/94

TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan said papers were being served on Lieutenant-General During yesterday.

The TEC last month summoned the general to answer questions about hit squads attached to his force. He failed to appear and the KwaZulu government said he was under instructions from his minister to disregard the request. — Sapa.



# Ulundi climb-down in TEC wrangle

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE Transitional Executive Council has won its first test of strength with Ulundi. *SITING*

In an out-of-court settlement on Friday, it was agreed that the Kwazulu commissioner of police would appear before the TEC on Tuesday. *6/2/94*

The TEC had made several requests to Lieutenant-General Roy Peter During to supply it with information about possible hit squads within the Kwazulu Police, as reported in December by the Goldstone commission.

However, Gen During refused to supply the information or to attend a meeting with the council.

Among several reasons he gave for refusing to attend was that Ulundi did not recognise the power of the TEC to make such a request. He had also been instructed not to go by Kwazulu's Police Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Faced with his intransigence, the TEC launched a Supreme Court application asking that the court order Gen During to appear and declare invalid Ulundi's instruction to him. *(107)*

The case was regarded as a critical test of the legal rights and powers of the TEC. A ruling against the council could well have undermined the TEC's efforts at preparing the conditions for a free and fair election by making it almost impossible for it to enforce a request that any other person appear before the council.

The first signs that a settlement could be in the offing were remarks by Chief Buthelezi that if the court ruled in favour of the TEC, Gen During would have to attend the meeting with the council.

Then, on Friday afternoon and after lengthy talks, the two sides agreed that the commissioner would go to the TEC meeting on Tuesday.

According to the settlement, he has also undertaken to appear at any subsequent meeting at which he is required.

The agreement represents a major climb-down for Ulundi, whose officials have repeatedly called the validity of the TEC and its orders into question.

## It's still wait and see for Inkatha and elections

CIP News 6/2/94  
INKATHA will decide on whether it will contest the April elections only after negotiations with the government and the ANC have failed, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday. (107)  
Inkatha had set four amendments to the interim constitution which had to be accepted before the party would contest the elections, he said at the Lebowa funeral of murdered Inkatha member Mabulenyawe Madiba - Sapa



NKATHA could find itself out on a limb and facing an uncertain political future if it persists in boycotting the April elections.

There is a widespread belief among political observers that last week-end's decision by Inkatha to boycott the election if certain conditions are not met by the government and the ANC could be political harakiri.

Even among the party's leading lights - particularly its parliamentary representatives and central committee members - the special general conference's decision was received with alarm.

The conference, held at the Mandleni-Matleng camp in Ulundi deep in the heart of KwaZulu, was called specifically to address the issue of participation in the elections and the future of the party.

Before the start of the conference there was optimism among some leading delegates that their colleagues would see the dangers of an anti-elections stance.

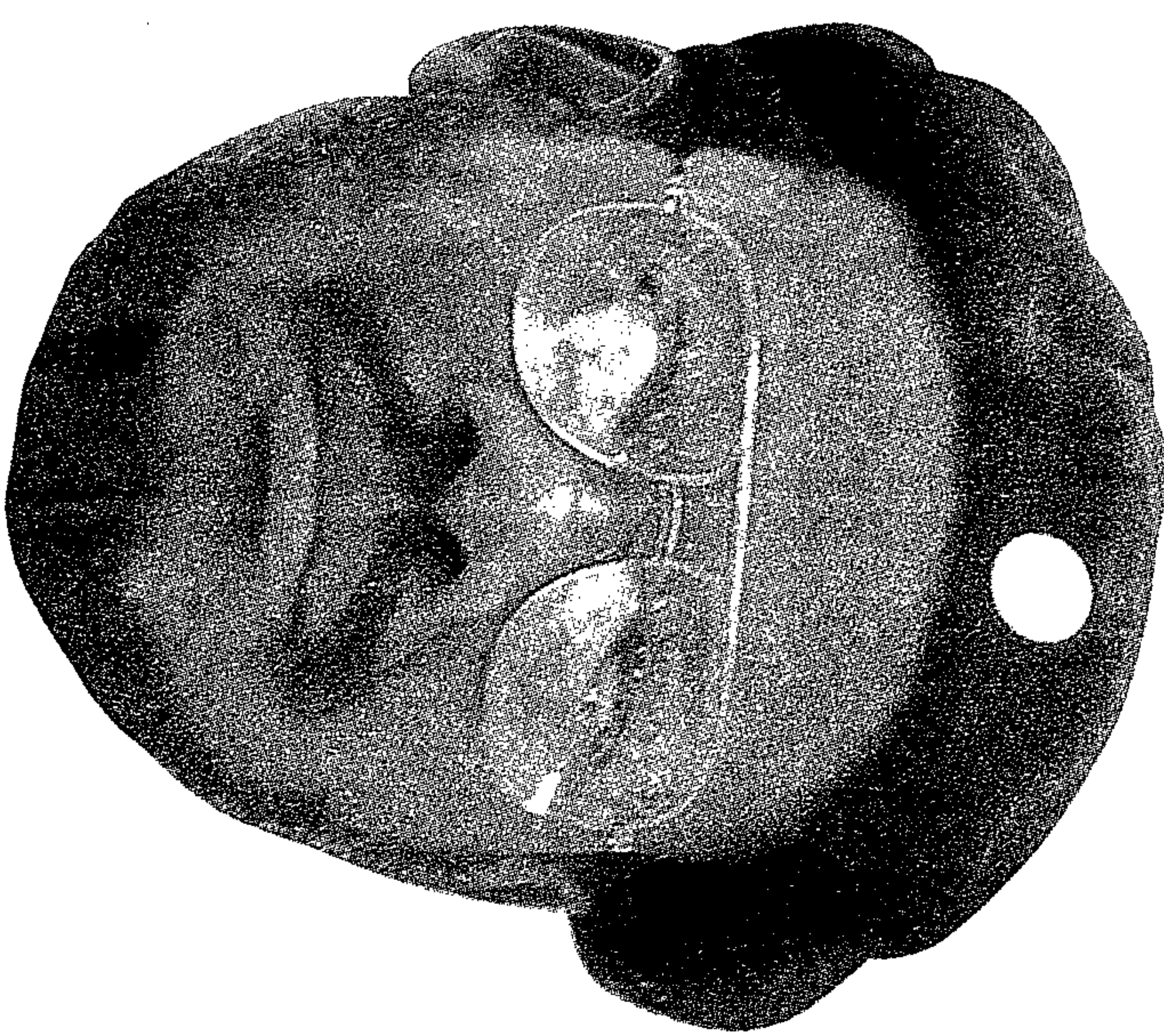
Their hopes were dashed soon after Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened the conference. In his presidential address, Buthelezi left little doubt that he was opposed to the April elections. He also shot down any suggestion that boycotting elections was suicidal.

"I hear arguments and pleas that if we do not enter elections the ANC/SACP will take charge of the KwaZulu Legislature and that that will be the end of KwaZulu and Inkatha.

"I do not share that view. In fact I reject it outright," Buthelezi told his audience.

He did not tell them how KwaZulu and Inkatha could survive if they opposed the government of national unity

**IN spite of the ANC and the government's backdown on the issue of double ballots, KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is still threatening to boycott the elections in April - vowing to keep control of KwaZulu even if a new government decides to 'send in the tanks'. But for all his strong talk he has offered his followers no inkling of how he hopes to make KwaZulu - at present totally dependent on Pretoria for funding - survive if it has to defy the government of national unity which will be installed after the elections. It seems as if Buthelezi is determined to commit political suicide - to the dismay of many of his own followers, writes assistant editor SEKOLA SELLO.**



# BYE BUTHELEZI?

which will be installed after the elections. He also did not say how they were going to oppose such a government.

Perhaps Buthelezi, shrewd politician that he is, was once more playing brinkmanship with his opponents and is using the threat of boycotting elections to extract more concessions from the government and the ANC.

It would have been tactically unwise to have expected the conference to endorse participation in the elections while multi-

lateral discussions involving Inkatha, the government, the ANC, the Freedom Alliance and the KwaZulu monarch are still going on.

It is possible that Buthelezi will await the outcome of these talks before making an unconditional declaration about the participation or otherwise of Inkatha.

Since the conference decision Inkatha has already extracted a major concession from the ANC by forcing them to agree to double ballot elections.

This was one of Inkatha's major demands and the ANC had initially said the single ballot issue was not negotiable.

In spite of the ANC backing down, Buthelezi said this was not enough to make Inkatha take part in the elections. Addressing businessmen in Durban, Buthelezi said constitutional issues surrounding regional powers were crucial to Inkatha's participation.

Last week the ANC offered the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha

*C1 Press 6/21/94*

is a member, a "compromise" document in a last ditch effort to woo them back - but Inkatha rejected this as a "one step forward and two backwards" solution.

If, on the other hand, Buthelezi is determined to boycott the elections, the implications could be serious for his party. KwaZulu and its administration lack resources of their own and are totally dependent on Pretoria.

Like most homelands, KwaZulu could not survive for long without fi-

nanacial support from the central government.

Inkatha, some analysts argue, has used the homeland's resources to strengthen itself politically. Civil servants, teachers and nurses in KwaZulu find it in their interest to take out Inkatha membership.

Students too are said to have become Inkatha Youth Brigade members out of expediency or involuntarily.

A defiant Inkatha would be faced with harsh economic realities.

But instead of offering his followers concrete alternatives and answering the crucial question of how the party would survive the financial difficulties, Buthelezi neatly sidestepped the issue.

He indulged in telling delegates and members how he had defied strongmen like former State Presidents John Vorster and PW Botha - a clear message that he is prepared to follow the same route against the new government. Inkatha survived the

Vorster-Botha years simply because no matter what differences Buthelezi had with these leaders, they could not act against him and his party while he was operating from the KwaZulu homeland platform which was created by the National Party.

In spite of the differences, the Vorster-Botha administrations continued to bankroll KwaZulu.

A recalcitrant Buthelezi, apart from being regarded as a nuisance, also served a good political purpose. It showed that Pretoria did not dictate to the homeland leaders.

Buthelezi talks about entering politics of resistance - but does not specify how this will be done, save to say he is calling for "the courage to enter the politics of resistance knowing that in the final analysis no government and no constitution can stand which really is rejected by the people. No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC/SACP government will have to wage against us if we resist the present interim constitution".

While he claimed that this was not war talk, he said "no foreign forces shall come into (KwaZulu) to rule over us". He dared the ANC and the government to send tanks into KwaZulu.

Buthelezi may have successfully defied Vorster and Botha. But, to contemplate defying the government that will be installed after the April elections and still survive politically defies logic.

To survive, Inkatha must take part in the elections - even if they are likely to fare badly, as most surveys indicate.

Boycotting the elections and trying to defy the new government can spell only one thing for Inkatha - self-destruction.



# During to testify on Star 5/2/94 hit squad

**Political  
Correspondent**

KWAZULU Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During has agreed to appear before the Transitional Executive Council on Tuesday.

An urgent Supreme Court application by the TEC to compel During to appear was postponed yesterday after he agreed to provide information about a hit squad in the KwaZulu Police ranks.

In terms of the agreement between the TEC and the three respondents — During, KwaZulu Law and Order Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government — the court action will proceed if During does not attend.

(107)



# KwaZulu Police chief to face TEC

Star 8/2/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The spotlight at today's TEC meeting will fall on the appearance of KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Doring. (107)

He had — on the instruction of KwaZulu Chief Minister and Law and Order Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — given the TEC a cold shoulder since December.

However, in an about-turn Doring agreed in an out-of-court settlement on Friday to attend today's TEC meeting.

He was first requested to attend a TEC meeting in December, after the Goldstone Commission found that a hit squad comprising KZP members had been killing people in Natal.

During consistently refused to hand over any information about the hit squad or the possible existence of other squads.

As a result of his persistent refusal to co-operate with the TEC, the country's first representative statutory body decided to take legal action against him.

■ It is expected that Ciskei's participation in the TEC will be finalised at today's meeting.

Ciskei was given an ultimatum last week, when the TEC insisted that it withdraw from the National Peacekeeping Force because it had not joined the council.

Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb said on Sunday that the homeland had signed the TEC application on January 26, but had informed the council that it first wanted to test in its Su-

preme Court whether the law allowed it to join.

Webb said his government had decided to forgo the court case, but that any Ciskeian citizens who felt their rights were impaired after the government had joined the TEC could still bring such a court application.

It was further expected that the body would deal today with repression in Bophuthatswana, which is not a TEC member, but TEC sources said it was more likely that the matter would be discussed next week.

Today's meeting is likely to address the issuing of licences to radio stations by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte as well as problems at the National Peace Keeping Force's training camp in the OFS.

During will meet council (07)  
2182174

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Police (KZP) commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During is to appear before the TEC today to divulge information about alleged KZP hit squads.

His lawyer confirmed yesterday that agreement had been reached on Friday that Gen During would appear before the TEC, averting yesterday's planned TEC application for a Supreme Court order forcing him to appear.

It is unclear whether he will appear in his private capacity or as head of the KZP. — Sapa



ok at peace force ● Accused in the Maringa case convicted

# Indiscipline tops agenda

Sowetan 8/2/94

■ **HIT SQUAD** Top KwaZulu cop expected to appear before the TEC in Pretoria today:

By Donwald Pressly  
Political Staff

**T**HE ACTIVITIES OF ARMED formations in the run-up to the April election will dominate debate in the Transitional Executive Council sitting today.

KwaZulu police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During is finally expected to appear before the council, after the KwaZulu government had agreed in an out-of-court settlement at the weekend to allow him to be cross-examined on hit squads in his force.

The settlement averted yesterday's planned TEC Supreme Court application for an order compelling During to appear before the council, said Mr Patrick Falconer, the KZP commissioner's legal representative.

The council will also receive a report from the defence sub-council on indiscipline among the ranks of the Bloemfontein-based 4 000-strong National Peacekeeping Force. (107)

The sub-council meets this morning, ahead of the general TEC session this afternoon.

Former SA Defence Force chief Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise, both sub-council members, are expected to draw up an action plan to instil discipline among the potential peacekeepers drawn from the ranks of the SADF, MK and the various homeland armies.

Racial conflict is believed to be a problem which will be tackled. TEC sources indicate that the council may have to consider imposing the existing SADF military disciplinary code on the peacekeeping trainees.

## Guard is guilty of murder

By Isaac Moledi

FORMER security guard Jacobus van Schalkwyk was yesterday found guilty in the Rand Supreme Court of murdering Turfloop student Miss Pinky Maringa last year.

Van Schalkwyk (29), of Rustenburg, was also found guilty of attempting to rape her.

Sentence will be passed today. Maringa was found dead on the premises of AECI at Modderfontein on New Year's Day last year.

Mr Justice R Marais dismissed Van Schalkwyk's evidence as lies and as inadequate. Although the judge said it was difficult to prove that Van Schalkwyk had intentionally killed Maringa, he however should have known that hitting her on the head could lead to her death.

The judge said the State could also not prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Van Schalkwyk had raped Maringa, despite the fact that semen was found on her torn panties.

A doctor's report earlier stated that there was no evidence of penetration in Maringa's vagina.

Van Schalkwyk said that the semen was found on the panties because while Maringa lay injured after "falling from the bakkie", he masturbated and tore off the panties to wipe off his penis.

## Cosatu challenges defiant farmers

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions will seek an urgent meeting with the Independent Election Commission to discuss a ban imposed by farmers on free political activity.

Cosatu said it had received reports that farmers were "using dirty tricks to coerce workers into voting for the National Party" 8/2/94

A Cosatu spokesman said farmers in the Free

State, Eastern Cape and Eastern Transvaal had confiscated identity documents from farm workers because they suspected they would vote for the African National Congress.

"If the farmers are not stopped, they will effectively deny access by as many as four million voters to the voter education and views of political parties." (113) (11)

"These actions by some farmers, supported by the agricultural unions, are a flagrant violation of the spirit and the letter in terms of which the IEC was established," Cosatu said.

Cosatu also challenged State President FW de Klerk to urge the farmers to allow voter education agencies, political parties and trade unions unrestricted access to farm workers.

## TEC under fire over Section 29

TIM COHEN *Biday*

A GROUNDSWELL of opposition is developing against the TEC's decision to retain the notorious Section 29 of the Internal Security Act until after the election, with advocates, the DP and the PAC objecting yesterday. 8/2/94

The General Council of the Bar, which represents advocates, expressed dismay at the decision. Council chairman Wim Trengove said detention without trial was unacceptable in a free society.

"Any decision to retain detention without trial would also fly in the face of the principles enshrined in the new constitution."

The section would allow the detention of anyone planning to violently promote any constitutional, political, industrial, social or economic aim for up to 10 days. Police could seek a Supreme Court order to hold detainees for a further 10 days. ~~22/9/94~~

The TEC resolved that the Abolition of Restrictions of Free Political Activity Act, intended to scrap all repressive laws, should be implemented — except for the provisions of Section 29. But no final decision had been taken and the matter was referred to the TEC law and order subcouncil.

DP TEC representative Colin Eglin said he had asked the TEC secretariat to request the sub-council to report its decision today, giving notice that he intended to oppose the resolution.

The PAC said it strongly condemned the TEC's plan to reverse an earlier decision to repeal Section 29. It said the TEC had now decided to openly join the "oppressive institutions of the racist regime".

The decision was reversed so that the section could be used against African people "when they rise against the fraudulent ANC-NP deal", said the PAC.

The Black Sash has already objected to the TEC resolution.

● Comment: Page 12

## KwaZulu police chief faces TEC 'grilling'

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The appearance of KwaZulu police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During before the TEC today would mark a symbolic and legal victory for the TEC in its quest to wield authority over the homeland, a TEC source said yesterday. *Biday*

After two months of ignored requests, During will appear before the TEC to give evidence on the possible existence of hit squads in the KwaZulu police force. 8/2/94

A TEC media liaison officer said During would be "grilled" rather than humiliated. (107)

During agreed to appear before the TEC after an out-of-court settlement between the TEC and KwaZulu on Friday.

Sapa reports that During's lawyer Patrick Falconer said During would appear before the TEC in his private capacity and not as KwaZulu police commissioner. In this way KwaZulu would not appear to be recognising the TEC, he claimed.

The encouragement of free political activity in Bophuthatswana is also on today's TEC agenda.

Other matters on the agenda include the budget, the reportedly shambolic state of the national peacekeeping force, and an update on the East Rand peace and reconstruction plan.

TEC delegates are also expected to voice their disapproval of Home Af-

fairs Minister Danie Schutte's decision to grant temporary broadcasting licences to 15 radio stations.

TEC DP representative Colin Eglin has warned earlier that he would call on the TEC to scrap Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Amendments to the Internal Security Act, as well as several other Acts, are being considered by the TEC law and order subcouncil in relation to the Abolition of Restriction on Free Political Activities Act.

Our Political Staff reports that a Ciskei government spokesman said yesterday that Ciskei had applied for TEC membership for the second time.

A TEC source said its application would be considered by the TEC today. The application had been rejected last week as Ciskei had not carried out the conditions for TEC membership.

These were that the "Kempton Park" Bills should be passed in homeland territories. They include the Electoral Act, the Independent Media Commission Act, Independent Electoral Commission Act and Independent Broadcasting Authority Act.

These had been passed by the Ciskei council of state last week and the path was finally open to joining the TEC, the source said.

## DP demands Kotze's dismissal

LLOYD COUTTS

is that by using inflammatory language, Kotze is endangering the lives of policemen by setting them up as enemies of the ANC," he said.

Andrew said the DP would instruct its representative on the TEC's sub-council on law and order, Peter Gastrow, to raise the issue as a matter of urgency. ~~30/9/94~~

Kotze described the accusation that he was endangering the lives of policemen as laughable. 8/2/94

THE DP has called for the dismissal of Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze after what it called his "savage and unwarranted" attack on ANC president Nelson Mandela during a radio interview yesterday.

Kotze was interviewed on the ministry's response to a threat by Mandela that force could be used to counter right-wing attacks on the ANC.

DP federal council chairman Ken Andrew said it was inappropriate for a public servant to involve himself in political controversy. *Biday*

"What makes this worse, however,



# No hit squads in KZP, says general

*Sowetan 9/12/94*

*107*

By Donwald Pressly  
Political Staff

■ NO EVIDENCE Durning says

several probes failed to unearth killers:

**A** LLEGATIONS of the existence of a hit squad in the KwaZulu police were dismissed as speculation, whisperings and gossip by its commissioner yesterday.

Summoned to a grilling by the Transitional Executive Council in Pretoria, Lieutenant-General Roy Durning said he had personally requested the SA police, as a neutral party, to probe the rumours.

He said the probe arose from complaints by members of the public who were, however, afterwards unwilling to come forward with further information.

Neither the Goldstone Commission nor the SA police, subsequent to the investigations, had provided him with credible evidence implicating anyone in so-called "hit squad activities".

There were "engineered" moves to lodge complaints against the KZP "just to put us in a bad light", he said.

The general was previously prevented by KwaZulu police minister and chief minister, Dr Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, from attending a TEC hearing. Nevertheless he said he was prepared to co-operate with the TEC in further investigations.

Arising from the SAP probe, he said three KwaZulu policemen had been arrested in connection with the killing of four people at Isikhawini on June 20 last year. They had been remanded.

While these three had been trained in Caprivi by the SADF in 1986, he would not discriminate against any of these trainees in the force.

● The TEC yesterday admitted there were teething problems in the National

Peace Keeping Force. In a statement the TEC said it had to be remembered that the process of establishing the force "is a first for all concerned".

The TEC said the problems in the force, which would be deployed in townships in the last four weeks of the election campaign, would be receiving "the necessary urgent attention".

● Ciskei was accepted as a full member of the TEC yesterday.

● The TEC yesterday rapped the knuckles of Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte for issuing 15 radio licences without its permission.

**Our telephone number: (011) 474-0128**

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# KwaZulu

## general

### finally

### faces TEC

Star 9/2/94  
BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The KwaZulu Police includes members trained by the SADF in 1986 in the Caprivi Strip, says KZP Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During. (107)

However, there was no evidence to link these KZP members to alleged hit squad activities, he said yesterday while appearing in his "personal capacity" before the TEC to supply information on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a hit squad comprising KZP members had killed several people.

His appearance followed an out-of-court settlement reached on Friday after the TEC took legal steps against him for repeatedly refusing to accede to the council's request to give evidence on the matter.

During said it could be a coincidence that the three KZP members arrested in connection with hit squad activities had received SADF training in the Caprivi. Two civilians were also arrested, he said.

During said he would not discriminate against other KZP members trained in the Caprivi.

In his presentation to the TEC, During said a hit squad, "taken in the present context, would appear to be a slang term for an organised group within the KZP, whose aim is the murdering of political opponents of the KwaZulu government, and who do so on the instructions or with the tacit connivance of the KZP higher command and/or KwaZulu politicians".

There were no further indications of any other such groupings, he said.

During added that he would make available KZP members' personnel files if he received the necessary permission from KwaZulu Law and Order Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



# Hit squads <sup>(107)</sup> link probed

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — KwaZulu police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During was questioned closely by TEC delegates last night on the possible connection between hit squads and the secret SADF training of 200 Inkatha supporters in Caprivi in 1986.

Three alleged hit squad members recently arrested by police were all members of the Caprivi 200.

General During, who appeared before the TEC for the first time yesterday, said rumours and gossip about hit squads were "rife" when he was appointed in 1992, but few facts had since emerged from investigations.

He said while Caprivi trainees were still holding posts within the KwaZulu police, no record of numbers had been kept. Neither were applicants questioned on whether they had received training in Caprivi.

"Discriminatory steps against the Caprivi trainees will not be taken by me," he said.

# During says SADF trained some police

(107) AKG 9/2/94

□ But evidence of role in hit squads not found

**Political Staff**

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu Police has within its ranks members trained by the South African Defence Force in 1986 in the Caprivi Strip, according to KZP Commissioner Roy During.

But there was no evidence to link these KZP members with alleged hit-squad activities, he said.

Lieutenant-General During yesterday appeared in his "personal capacity" before the Transitional Executive Council to testify on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a KZP hit squad had killed several people.

He appeared in terms of an out-of-court settlement reached on Friday after the TEC took legal steps against him for repeatedly refusing its request.

General During said it could be a coincidence that the three KZP members arrested in connection with the hit-squad activities had

been trained by the SADF in the Caprivi. Two civilians were also arrested, he said.

He would not "discriminate" against other KZP members who had also been trained in the Caprivi.

General During said a hit squad "taken in the present context, would appear to be slang for an organised group within the KZP, whose aim is murdering political opponents of the KwaZulu government, and who do so acting on the instructions of or with the tacit connivance of the KZP higher command, and/or KwaZulu politicians".

Replying to a question from lawyer Fink Haysom, General During said he would make available KZP members' personnel files if given permission to from KwaZulu Law and Order Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Professor Haysom forms part of a special TEC task group established in December to investi-

gate the existence of hit squads in Natal.

And in reply to a question from Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, General During said he had raised questions about the training in the Caprivi, but "nothing sinister" had been reported to him.

He said it was often difficult to investigate "rumours" about KZP members' involvement in violence because witnesses feared for their own safety.

The first concrete evidence of KZP involvement came from Constable B M Ngubane of Esikhawini, who told the Goldstone Commission last year of his and other KZP members' involvement in hit-squad activities.

In June last year a former KZP policeman and two KZP members were arrested.

General During undertook to co-operate with the TEC and is expected to appear again.

(News by E Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).



## During grilled on hit squads

*B/Day*  
ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — KwaZulu police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During was grilled by TEC delegates last night on possible links between hit squads and the secret SADF training of 200 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in Caprivi in 1986.

Three alleged hit squad members recently arrested by police had been among the Caprivi 200.

During said rumours about hit squads were "rife" when he was appointed in 1992, but few facts had emerged from investigations.

While Caprivi trainees still held KwaZulu police posts, no record of numbers had been kept.

During said all allegations, rumours and gossip had been thoroughly checked.

Dockets which implied hit squad activities had been passed on to the SAP.

He agreed to make the Caprivi trainees' files available to the TEC, subject to the agreement of the KwaZulu government and attorney-general.

A Goldstone commission report last year concluded that "although certain Caprivi trainees may be involved in ... violence, there is no evidence to suggest that such involvement was a direct result of the training".

# I erred in granting licences — Schutte

*B/Day 9/2/94*  
ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte admitted to the TEC this week that he had erred in granting temporary broadcast licences to 15 radio stations.

ANC TEC representative Mac Maharaj said Schutte had told the TEC's management committee on Monday that he had been under "extreme pressure" to make a decision on the issue and had acted "too fast".

TEC delegates had criticised Schutte for not approaching them before deciding to issue the temporary licences.

Maharaj said the ANC was concerned that Schutte had reinforced public perceptions that government was weak-kneed in its approach to right-wing defiance.

Radio Pretoria, which had refused to obey a Supreme Court order closing the station, had been allowed to break the law "and get away with it", he said.

The TEC agreed at its full session last night that Schutte should refer any new licence applications to the council.

After "rapping Schutte's knuckles", the TEC also decided to press

ahead with the creation of the independent broadcasting authority. It was hoped the authority would be in place by early March, Maharaj said.

A shortlist of nominations to the authority would be submitted to the TEC by the management committee on Tuesday next week. The public would then be given two weeks to make representations and comments concerning the people appearing on the shortlist.

According to an agreement signed by the 15 radio stations granted temporary licences last week, broadcasts would stop two days before the formal establishment of the authority.

Maharaj said many of the parties represented on the TEC had expressed great disquiet about Schutte's handling of the issue.

Certain sectors of the broadcasting industry were unhappy with the process and others had withdrawn, while some had not even been invited to the consultations hosted by Schutte last week.

Schutte had acted incorrectly and had not complied with the TEC Act, Maharaj said.



# Zulu king demands sovereign state

WM 11-17/2/94

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King Goodwill Zwelithini has strengthened the IFP's hand with a call for the restoration of the Zulu kingdom. **Ann Eveleth** and **Farouk Chothia** report

**I**N a significant hardening of his position, Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini has demanded the "complete restoration of the Zulu kingdom" in talks with President FW de Klerk.

Sources close to the hush-hush encounters say the king has called for a sovereign Zulu state according to pre-1838 boundaries. This would encompass all of Natal, including kwaZulu, and would stretch from the Drakensberg mountains to the sea and from Mozambique to the Umzimbuvu River in the south.

The demand runs directly contrary to speculation that the monarch would adopt a less political role with the imminent demise of the kwaZulu homeland, in a bid to secure his position under a new dispensation.

With the failure this week of the trilateral talks between the government, ANC and Freedom Alliance to reach agreement on outstanding constitutional issues, the king has lost interest in remaining part of the new South Africa, the sources say.

Arguing that the new dispensation would herald not only a new government, but a new state as well, one source noted: "Before conquest by Britain, the Zulus were a sovereign nation. Now that the British are no longer ruling South Africa, we are not obliged to remain part of it."

Conspicuously absent from last week's pow-wow between Zwelethini and De Klerk was kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Buthelezi has clearly begun a strategic retreat from the political frontline — in the hope that an anti-election call from his nephew will have wider appeal among Zulus.



**Sovereign state: The Zulu king has taken a hard-line stance on the status of his nation** PHOTO: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

By raising the spectre of a UDF-style campaign to boycott elections with the backing of a royal decree, Zwelethini has sharpened the battle for his allegiance.

The ANC's decision to place its deputy secretary general, Jacob Zuma, at the top of its Natal electoral list was in part a strategy to win over the king, whom ANC president Nelson Mandela last year lauded as "the king of all South Africans". But efforts by Zuma have so far failed to produce a Mandela-Zwelethini indaba.

Instead, when Zwelethini decided to enter the heart of the debate, he arranged for a private meeting with De Klerk.

Sources say De Klerk went further than Zuma's promise to seek a con-

stitutional position for the monarch by hinting that a post-election arrangement could secure him the constitutional monarchy of South Africa. Zwelithini is said to have balked at the suggestion.

Said one source: "(Zwelethini) looks over the border at Swaziland and Lesotho and says: 'They were far smaller than (the Zulus) in my grandfather's time and now they have sovereign kingdoms. Why should I settle for second best?'"

Among Zwelethini's representatives in the talks are IFP chief executive officer Joe Matthews and Prince Gideon Zulu. The government is represented by Constitutional Development minister Roelf Meyer and his Foreign Affairs colleague, Pik Botha.

In the clearest reflection that Zwelethini's demands have created a dilemma for the ANC and government alike, Meyer said this week in an SABC interview that the king's demands were tantamount to a call for secession. He declined to give details.

A few hours later, Mandela responded by calling upon the king to meet him rather than De Klerk, who would not be in power after elections.

ANC sources this week claimed the king had already agreed to meet a delegation of its Natal leaders, but that Zuma's absence on an overseas visit had delayed the encounter.

Given the probability that the IFP will, together with its allies, boycott the coming election, the king's move to centre stage is a shrewd strategy.

Inkatha leader Buthelezi and his negotiators have exhausted their options for obtaining concessions from the government and the ANC.

Now, faced with the task of organizing an effective boycott, the party is playing its trump card, observers say.

The exclusion of the word "kwaZulu" from the interim constitution has strengthened Buthelezi's argument that the ANC and the government cannot be trusted with the fate of the Zulu nation, sources say.

It is unclear how Zwelethini plans to rule such a kingdom, but it is likely that Buthelezi would retain his position as the "traditional prime minister to the Zulu monarch".



# The general in the hot seat hints at hit squads

107  
W/M 11-17/2/94

Chris Louw

**F**RESH evidence of the existence of a hit squad within the kwaZulu Police responsible for the killings of political opponents came to light during a Transitional Executive Council interview with KZP commissioner Roy During this week.

Drilled mercilessly by TEC members, Lieutenant General During admitted that policemen implicated in hit squad activities almost to a man underwent secret training by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi in 1986. The Caprivi training was first revealed in *The Weekly Mail* in 1990.

In one case a kwaZulu policeman who was a Caprivi trainee, was found — after he was killed — to have owned a Porsche, a Mercedes coupe and a house in Durban North worth half a million rand.

Despite being implicated in 21 murders, the policeman — identified as Mvuyane — was kept on the KZP payroll for over a year. Nothing has since been done by the KZP to investigate the link between the hit squad and Mvuyane's activities and the source of his revenue, the TEC hearing disclosed.

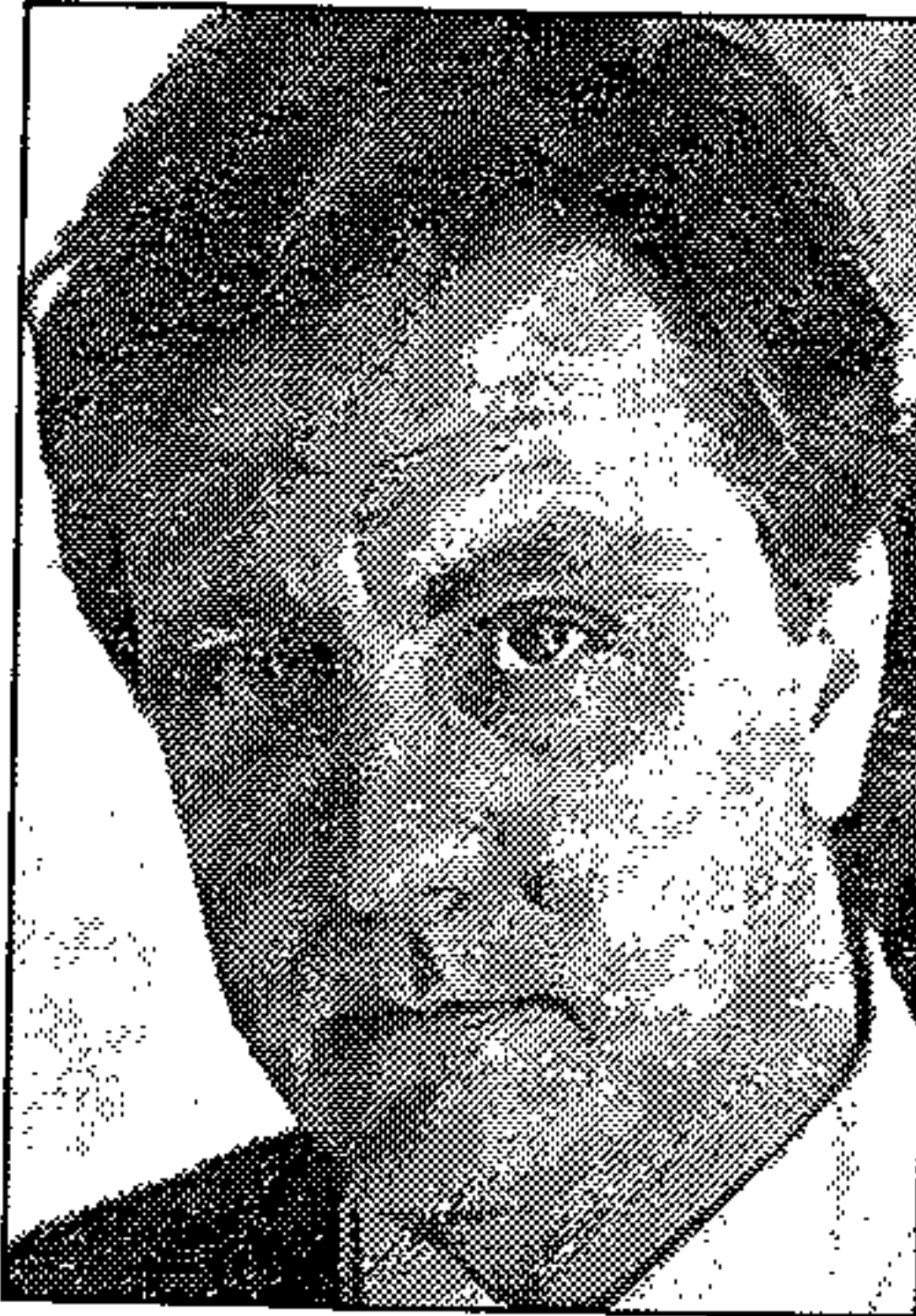
A reluctance by the kwaZulu authorities to investigate the connection between the Caprivi training and the existence of the hit squad was apparent during the questioning of the KZP chief.

During insisted that he would not "discriminate" against KZP members trained in the Caprivi. He also said he knew nothing about the nature of the training and had no plans to find out about it.

"To launch an independent investigation would have been practically useless," During said. "You just get into a can of worms and you get nowhere at all."

He also made startling admissions of the intimidation of kwaZulu policemen, to the extent that they refused to testify about colleagues' involvement in political murders.

Several detectives in the



Investigator Fink Haysom

Esikhawini area, where 26 civilians were injured and 20 killed between November 1992 and February 1993, had asked for transfers because they feared for their lives.

Explaining why nothing was done by the KZP to root out the hit squad, During — who earlier had refused to appear — admitted that "a number of crimes in which the complicity of members of the KZP was suspected" had come to light before the issue was investigated by the Goldstone Commission.

He maintained that despite widespread rumours and sporadic acts of violence involving the killing of civilians, "no concrete information was received regarding the possible involvement of policemen". KwaZulu policemen were reluctant to talk "as they feared for their own safety".

A member of a task force appointed to investigate allegations of hit squads, Fink Haysom, related various instances where the KZP refused to co-operate with the South African Police in arresting Caprivi-trained KZP members implicated in hit squad activities.

In some cases the KZP denied having records of people sought by the SAP. Haysom mentioned two recorded instances where arrested persons were found to have been KZP members despite denials.

During maintained that these incidents happened "long before my time".

The decision by the TEC to call During to answer questions about the existence of a hit squad within the KZP followed a report by the Goldstone Commission published on December 6 last year. The existence of the hit squads was first suggested by the *Weekly Mail*.

The Goldstone report states that evidence "establishes the high probability that a hit squad 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".

Much of the report was based on evidence by a former kwaZulu policeman, Constable BG Mkhize.

During refused to provide the TEC with information, arguing that the kwaZulu government was not consulted on the establishment of the TEC — despite the fact that the TEC is authorised in terms of an Act to investigate issues that may negatively influence free and fair political activity in the run-up to elections.

The TEC brought an urgent application in the Durban Supreme Court to compel During to attend. He finally capitulated on February 4 and appeared before the TEC in his "private capacity".

Haysom confronted During with allegations of how efforts by the SAP to apprehend hit squad members had been frustrated by the KZP.

"Vela Mchunu was a Caprivi trainee who was sought in connection with a serious offence relating to hit squad activities. The KZP said they had no record of him as a member, and yet he was later arrested as a member. Cyril Ngema was also sought in regard to hit squad activities ... The SAP was also informed that he was no longer in the police force. He was duly arrested within the police force."

According to Haysom, the Goldstone Commission reported two other similar incidents.

# KwaZulu minister gets two salaries

(107)  
WMM 11-17/2/94

When a district surgeon was appointed kwaZulu's minister of health he ensured that he would still be paid for his former job, reports **Farouk Chothia**

**A** SENIOR kwaZulu government minister, Dr Ben Ngubane, earns about R70 000 a year for a job he barely performs. Ngubane, the kwaZulu Minister of Health and the Inkatha Freedom Party's top negotiator in constitutional talks, receives a monthly salary for being a district surgeon in Empangeni, Northern Natal. He also receives a separate ministerial salary.

The kwaZulu Department of Health expected Ngubane to resign as a district surgeon when he was appointed minister in 1992, but he personally intervened to ensure that he continued drawing the salary.

In a frank interview, Ngubane said that when he took up his ministerial post he had kept his medical practice in Empangeni because, if he ever had to leave politics, he could return to it.

Ngubane said he had "hired out" his practice to two other doctors, one his son-in-law, who also serve as district surgeons.

Ngubane, who has been a district surgeon since 1975, helps them "when I have time".

"It's not a question of me being a district surgeon (but rather of) keeping it in my practice. I didn't think it was immoral," he said.

Ngubane headed the kwaZulu government delegation to the World Trade Centre talks and was the IFP's chief representative in subsequent bilateral talks with the ANC and government.

The *Mail & Guardian* has in its possession a document marked "kwaZulu government service — payroll listing for surgeons" which shows that for the month of June 1992 Ngubane earned a gross salary of R5 712. After deductions of R1 471,92 his net salary was R4 240,08.

In August, Ngubane's salary increased to a gross figure of R6 240, which after deductions fell to R4 546,32 net.

Ngubane said he was "dispersed to people working in my practice". But a copy of a First National Bank cheque shows his salary is deposited in his account.

Another document — an "Authority Docket" — informed the chief accountant that Ngubane would resign as district surgeon on January 1 1992. The docket bears a Department of Health stamp dated October 8 1991.

But another "Authority Docket" — apparently written after Ngubane had become minister, as it bears a stamp of January 27 — advises the chief accountant to cancel the previous docket and to "kindly reinstate" Ngubane. He admitted he had made the reinstatement request.



# ANC's 200 civil servants

Senior ANC members are being trained to take over key positions in the civil service, writes **Mduduzi ka Harvey**

**T**HE African National Congress has earmarked some of its most senior members for top civil service positions after the elections. Two hundred cadres are presently being trained world-wide to take over key positions in the country's white male-dominated public service.

Among the top candidates are leading members of the ANC's Civil Service Unit, which is chaired by constitutional affairs chief Zola Skweyiya. The prospective departmental directors have wide-ranging experience in diplomatic and administrative work. Many have headed the organisation's missions abroad.

Those expected to be catapulted to the top are the so-called pilot group, trained in the United Kingdom in 1992 after ANC president Nelson Mandela asked the British for help in redressing the current imbalances in the civil service. Among the pilot group members who could become Pretoria mandarins are:

● **Josiah Jele (63)** — A member of the ANC's national executive, he headed the organisation's international department in exile and was the chief of the ANC mission to the World Peace Council in Finland. He later worked at ANC headquarters in Lusaka in a number of senior positions. He is the

CSU's head of prisons and correctional services.

● **Sindiso Mfenyane (53)** — An NEC member until 1991, he was the administrative secretary at ANC headquarters in Lusaka. He is presently the head of the parliamentary unit of the CSU.

● **Sipho Makana (58)** — An NEC member until 1991, he was the ANC's chief of mission in Moscow. He heads the police administration commission.

● **Anthony Mungalo (57)** — After heading the ANC mission in East Berlin, he returned to Zambia where he was took charge of Oliver Tambo's office. He now heads Thabo Mbeki's office at Shell House. He was an NEC member until 1991.

● **Stanley Mabizela (61)** — Like Mungalo, he was an NEC member until 1991. In charge of ANC structures in Swaziland before heading the organisation's missions in Zimbabwe and Tanzania, he currently works in the department of international affairs, where he is responsible for resource development.

● **Eddie Funde (50s)** — Before his appointment as chief of the ANC mission in Australia, he headed the organisation's youth structures. He is now the secretary of the Civil Service Unit.

According to Funde, the ongoing long-term training programmes are aimed at creating a pool of competent and committed public servants. "We want to make our civil service representative of society as a whole. This process will continue even after the elections, with many more people

being trained."

Training has been offered or is taking place in the United States, Britain, Canada, Botswana and locally.

But some candidates for senior government positions will not be going on any courses because it is felt that they are sufficiently qualified already.

Among them are:

● **Professor Aaron Ndlovu**, an academic at the University of Zululand who lectures in public administration.

● **Professor Sibusiso Nkomo**, head of the Canadian International Development and Resource Centre in Johannesburg.

● **Job Mogoro**, a lecturer in public administration at the University of Western Cape.

● **Mamathu Netsianda**, who works for Matla Trust.

● **Manala Manzini**, who heads the policy department of Nelson Mandela's office.

● **Lucy Nyembe**, from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

● **Itumeleng Mokata**, from the Department of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Responding to fears that many incumbents will be removed from their posts to accommodate the trainees, Funde said: "Even the present legislation provides for people to be moved from one department to another if it is in the interests of the civil service."

He was optimistic the problem would balance itself naturally, as "eight percent of staff leave the civil service annually".

# Kwazulu police chief uneasy at hit-squad probe

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

DO YOU obey the law, or do you obey your immediate boss? This question by the ANC's Mac Maharaj palpably unsettled Kwazulu police commissioner Roy Doring this week as he replied to allegations of hit squads operated by the homeland's security forces.

"I'm a law-abiding citizen," he replied after a moment's hesitation. *S. Titus*

1312194  
With that answer, he explained why he had decided to appear before the Transitional Executive Council on Tuesday.

He was testifying, he said, in his personal capacity. His "immediate boss" — Kwazulu Police Minister and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — has spent almost two months resisting efforts by the TEC to force the commissioner to appear.

(107)  
He read a seven-page document prepared by him in December and which he had shelved on the instructions of the Kwazulu government.

Rumours had prompted an investigation which had led to the arrest of three Esikhawini policemen for hit-squad activity, he said.

The first question came from Transkei representative Zam Titus. He asked: Was it not cause for suspicion that the Esikhawini three had all received special government-sponsored training in the Caprivi Strip in 1986?

"It may just be coincidence that all three policemen already arrested were Caprivi trainees. I am not in a position to say a definite yes," Lieutenant-General Doring replied. Yes, there were other Caprivi trainees serving in the KZP, he admitted.



## Zulu king hints at secession

ARG 14/2/94 (107)

DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini hinted strongly at secession today, saying he was preparing to promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu and Natal to establish an autonomous monarchy.

King Zwelithini said in a memorandum to be delivered to President F.W. De Klerk here later today that with the adoption of the national interim constitution, and after failed negotiations to amend it, "a situation has emerged which brings back into existence the

Kingdom of KwaZulu and its full sovereignty".

He added: "I am preparing myself to promulgate the constitution of KwaZulu and Natal, which will establish a monarchy modelled after the best examples of democratic and pluralistic monarchies in the world."

The new constitution was "not the constitution of the Zulu nation, which will neither now — nor at any time in the future — be bound by this constitution". — Sapa.



Government has three days to respond to monarchy 'as per 1834'

# Zulu kingdom call

Star 15/12/94

**GOVERNMENT and the world are against any balkanisation of South Africa - De Klerk**

## OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban — President de Klerk has three days to come up with a way to stop King Goodwill Zwelithini from rolling back the historical clock and declaring Natal/KwaZulu an independent kingdom. (107) ~~(307)~~

King Goodwill told De Klerk in their three-hour meeting at the Durban City Hall yesterday that the kingdom and the land he was asking for were "something that belongs to me, belongs to my people, no one else".

He said: "I am preparing myself to promulgate the constitution of KwaZulu and Natal which will establish a monarchy modelled after the best examples of democratic and pluralist monarchies in the world. It is within my powers as king and sovereign to issue and promulgate such a constitution to enshrine in KwaZulu/Natal a kingdom and freedom, pluralism and prosperity for all its citizens for centuries to come."

King Goodwill would not be drawn on when he would take this step.

He is claiming "exclusive and independent sovereignty over our atavistic territory as per 1834 boundaries".

De Klerk undertook to consult his Cabinet and report back to King Goodwill on Thursday on "specific proposals" made by the king.

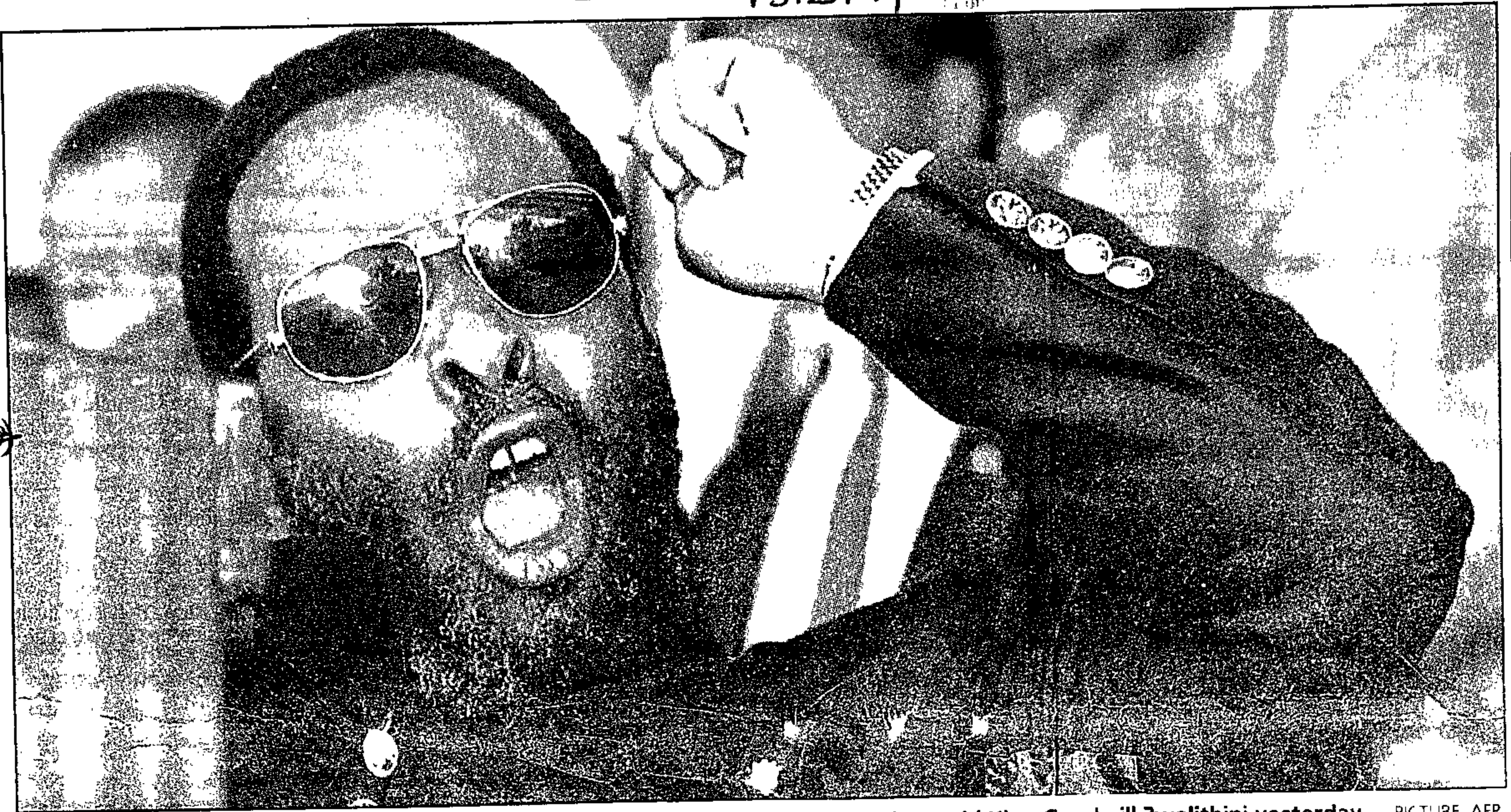
## Frightened

One man was killed and another injured when a volley of gunshots was fired outside the city hall from a huge crowd of the king's supporters, estimated by police to be 50 000-strong.

The shooting frightened the crowd confined between police cordons and razor wire. The king interrupted his meeting with De Klerk to placate the crowd.

Earlier, at a rally at King's Park Stadium, shots were fired in the air when residents from Tokoza on the East Rand arrived wearing Inkatha Freedom Party colours and were

► To Page 3



Addressing his subjects . . . I am only claiming what belonged to the Zulu nation, said King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday. PICTURE: AFP

## Demand for a Zulu kingdom

◀ From Page 1

greeted with applause.

Political violence was reported in several areas round Durban.

Several journalists were victims of intimidation and attack during yesterday's events — in effect a show of strength by the Zulu nation as they accompanied their monarch for the talks with De Klerk.

King Goodwill said the Afrikaans and British white nations, who had conquered the Zulus, were relinquishing their sovereignty over the land of South Africa. This

went beyond a change of government — it was a radical change of states.

He demanded that the Zulu nation therefore be given the opportunity "to become free once again and to choose their own destiny for themselves".

De Klerk and the royal Zulu delegation, which included Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, disagreed on many points.

De Klerk said the position of the king and the kingdom could be accommodated within the transitional constitution. The king and Buthelezi disagreed. When this was repeated to the people

outside in West Street afterwards they roared their disapproval of De Klerk's position. (107)

He abandoned plans to address the crowd with the king. ~~(307)~~

De Klerk said the answers lay in a federation. South Africa as an entity did not need to fall apart.

Secession, De Klerk said, was a unilateral act. The Government and the whole world was against the balkanisation of South Africa.

Attention had to be given to the uniqueness of specific problems and specific areas, with room and space created for

their special needs so that the risk of secession and balkanisation could be avoided.

King Goodwill said the Zulu kingdom was not formed by white people.

After the meeting King Goodwill went on to the steps of the city hall to tell his followers that De Klerk as a leader could not take immediate decisions on the issues raised, and first needed to consult his Cabinet.

The king said that he wanted to secure his kingdom through negotiations, not violence.

(Report by M Challenor, West Street, Durban)



# Kings Disin

CR 15/2/94  
(107)

**DURBAN.** — President F W de Klerk told Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini yesterday his demand for an independent sovereign Natal/Kwazulu could be accommodated within the interim constitution.

The constitution could also be amended to provide for further concerns of the king, he said.

The Zulu monarch yesterday claimed Natal/Kwazulu as a sovereign entity, but stopped short of seceding.

"I'm asking for something that belongs to me and my people — no one else," said King Goodwill during a joint media briefing after three hours of talks he held on the future status of Kwazulu with Mr De Klerk and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi added it was not necessary to secede because the Zulu nation was akin to sovereign states such as Swaziland and Lesotho and had an "identifiable territory with a monarch".

Mr De Klerk said he would respond fully to the king's "new position" on Thursday but said it could be accommodated within the framework of the transitional constitution and was negotiable.

He and Chief Buthelezi clashed yesterday over a federal constitution's ability to deliver on the Zulu monarch's demands.

A huge roar of disapproval from the massive crowd of the king's supporters outside Durban City Hall greeted the news that Mr De Klerk would only

## Refusal to shift on sovereignty

address demands for a sovereign state on Thursday.

"Manjer!" (Now) they chanted furiously as a joint statement by Mr De Klerk and King Goodwill was read.

Earlier the 15,000-strong crowd had filled King's Park stadium to hear their king talk of demanding from Mr De Klerk the recognition of Kwazulu-Natal as a "whole and united" sovereign state, with its own government, police, defence, foreign and public services.

### Pledge

King Goodwill said he was aware of many communities living within the boundaries of the Zulu kingdom as it was in 1834. He said there was "unfinished business in this equalisation of black, coloured, Indian and white in Kwazulu and Natal".

But he pledged himself never to allow Zulu domination of other race and cultural groups.

For the first time he succumbed to emotion in public, wiping tears from his eyes as he asked his people to pray for him in his quest.

One man was reportedly killed and another injured when a volley of gunshots was fired into the crowd outside the city hall.

Reports of buses being stoned were received from Umlazi, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu, but nobody was injured, a Durban Transport Management Board official said.

SAP spokesman Major Hamilton Ngidi confirmed that gunshots were heard outside the city hall at 4.35pm and that one person had been shot dead and another killed. He did not know who fired the shots.

May Ngidi said during the scuffle a member of the SAP's internal stability division was assaulted by members of the crowd and robbed of his shotgun. He said there was a strong security force presence, with members of the SAP, SADF and City Police trying to control the crowd.

While the leaders told journalists at the press briefing the talks went "smoothly", there were obvious tensions.

Mr De Klerk said there were "factual inaccuracies" in the memorandum King Goodwill presented to him earli-

er. For example, he said, it was not true that the new constitution could be changed by a simple majority of 50% plus one after the elections.

He said he supported self-determination but not secession of any part of South Africa.

"I don't think that secession is really looking for," said Mr De Klerk.

"We must give attention to the specific problems of specific areas and create room to accommodate them. The government is in favour of an inclusive agreement and the only way to achieve that is through negotiation."

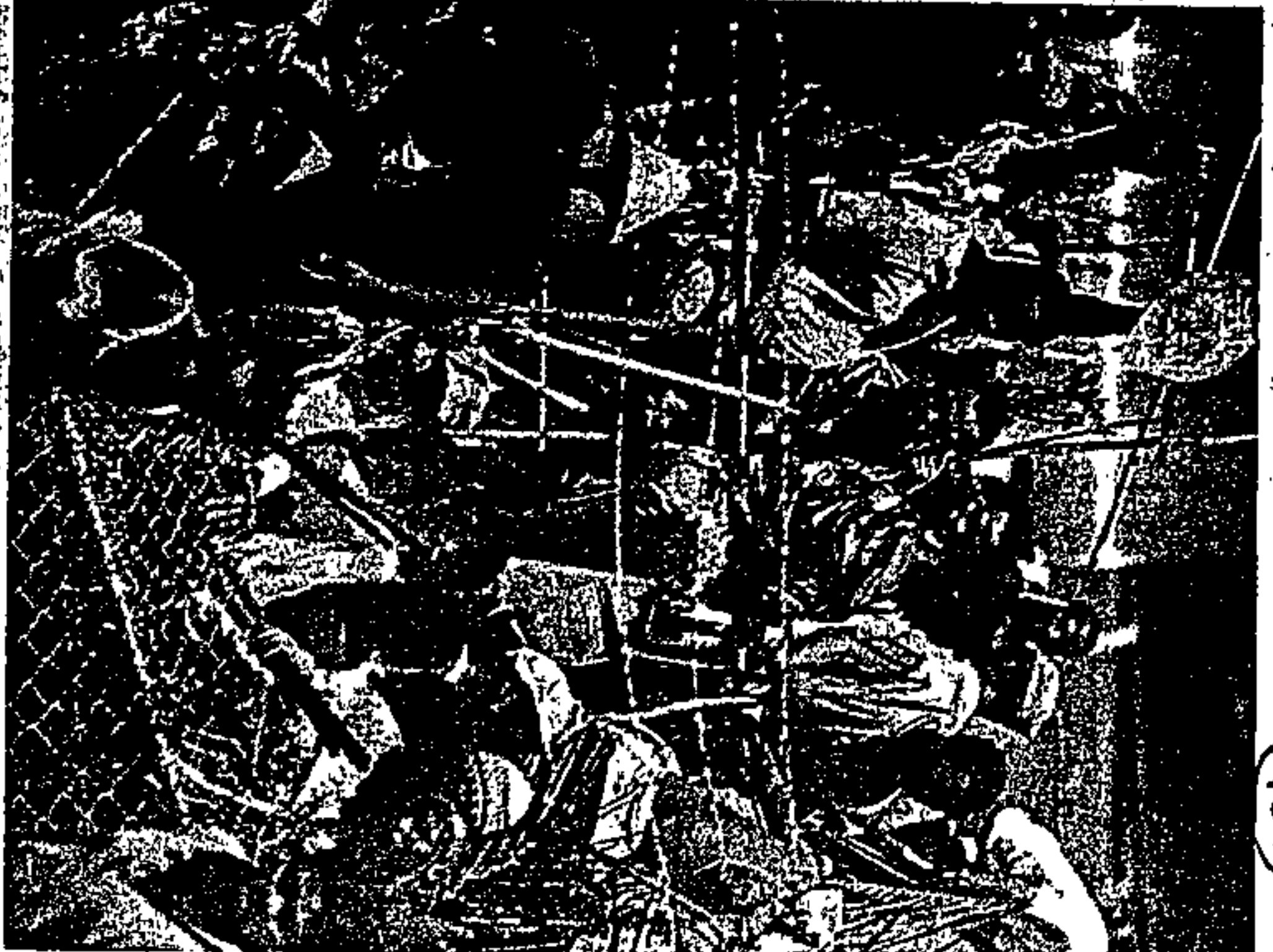
### ALLIANCE HOPES ALIVE

Mr De Klerk added that under a federal system the needs of South Africa's diverse population could be accommodated.

Chief Buthelezi, however, said he would not accept anything less than full sovereignty for his constituency.

Asked about the possibility of Kwazulu's secession, King Goodwill responded: "The kingdom of Kwazulu is not the formation of the white man. It is something the white man just finds here. So in changing the constitution we need to look at structures that were here before 1910."

Expanding on his king's demands, Chief Buthelezi said a Zulu nation was an historical reality and unlike the Afrikaner right-wing demands for a "volkstaat", "we have an identifiable territory with the monarchy".



**SCRAMBLE** Zulus clamber over a fence at King's Park Stadium in Durban where King Goodwill Zwelethini addressed thousands of supporters.

Picture: AP



# Zulu kings' boombores

Soweto 15/2/94

**Z**ULU KING GOODWILL ZWELITHINI yesterday hinted strongly at secession, saying he was preparing to promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu and Natal to establish an autonomous monarchy.

Zweliithini said in a memorandum delivered to State President FW de Klerk in Durban that with the adoption of the national interim constitution, and after failed negotiations to amend it, "a situation has emerged which brings back into existence the Kingdom of KwaZulu and its full sovereignty".

"I am preparing myself to promulgate the Constitution of KwaZulu and Natal, which will establish a monarchy modelled after the best examples of democratic and pluralistic monarchies in the world," he said.

The current national constitution "is not the

constitution of the Zulu nation, which will neither now — nor at any time in the future — be bound by this constitution".

He said the Zulu nation retained its inalienable right to self-determination and "if the society expressed by the Zulu nation cannot co-exist with other societies in a united South Africa, then it becomes necessary and ineluctable that the society expressed by the Zulu nation exists on its own, with its own territorial bases and with its own government".

Zweliithini said the Zulu nation had always been a sovereign one. Although his nation had been conquered, its sovereignty had not been eliminated.

"Those who conquered us, namely the white nations of Afrikaner and British, are now relin-

quishing their sovereignty over the land of South Africa.

"The nation which was exercising sovereignty over the land is abdicating its power to open the door for new nations to exercise their sovereignty over the land. Under this set of circumstances, I take the position that the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is revived, and I am advised that this position is also supported by the international law of decolonisation."

The Zulu monarch charged the interim constitution did not offer space for his nation's survival.

Referring to the rewriting of the interim constitution by a constituent assembly after the April elections, King Zweliithini said the Zulu monarchy and nation "cannot walk this road".

The king rejected the notion of a referendum in

Natal-KwaZulu on the future of the region, saying it would become an intensely fought party political contest between those who wanted to "subjugate KwaZulu to Pretoria, and those who want the expression of sovereignty in KwaZulu to be a healing of the divisions in KwaZulu".

Earlier, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told about 20 000 Zulus packed into King's Park Stadium that he wanted peace and for that the issues raised by the king would have to be addressed. Crowds gathering outside the Durban City Hall dived for cover and scattered when a volley of shots was fired.

The crowd was in a state of confusion as shots rang out for over three minutes. — *Sapa*.  
(Report by C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban.)



# ANC emissary to discuss Zulu demands with king

Star 16/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC yesterday described Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for the restoration of the status of the Zulu kingdom as it was before colonialism as a negation of the course of history. However, it said it was willing to send an emissary to Zwelithini to discuss the matter with him.

In its official response to Zwelithini's demand in Durban on Monday, the ANC said the king's call negated not only the course of history, but also the struggle for democracy.

"The issue of the monarchy in Natal, as in other provinces, can best be addressed within the framework of democratic provincial constitutions.

The democratically elected Natal provincial legislature will

have the responsibility of determining the role of the monarchy to the best interests of the people of Natal," the ANC said.

In Pretoria yesterday, President de Klerk warned that all State agencies would be mobilised against any threat to the April election.

Asked during a Union Buildings press conference whether the election could be postponed, De Klerk responded: "Anything is possible, theoretically, but we are determined not to allow such a situation to develop."

■ Mike Tarr, IFP central committee member and former DP MP, has come out in favour of a referendum in Natal to determine how many people in the province support Zwelithini's demands for the restitution of a pre-1834 KwaZulu kingdom.

# ANC's 'no' to

# king's

# demand

Sowetan 16/2/94

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By Mathatha Tsedu and Sapa

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS yesterday shot down the demand by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for a Zulu state.

This comes as the country holds its collective breath in anticipation of State President Mr FW de Klerk's reply to the demand tomorrow.

The demand, made by the Zulu king at a meeting with De Klerk in Durban on Monday, amounts to a secession from South Africa.

It has raised political temperatures and fears that violence may erupt in the run-up to April elections.

Political organisations reacted sharply and differently to the move, with the ANC rejecting the demand outright, and the Conservative Party supporting it.

Shooting down the demand, ANC Southern Natal regional secretary Mr S'bu Ndebele said Zwelithini had singled out IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "God's gift to the Zulu people", which was an "inconceivable position" since royalty was not supposed to be politically aligned.

"The majority of the king's subjects do not belong to the IFP. The Zulu nation is not a single, monolithic bloc united in its support for a partisan political policy," he said.

He charged that Buthelezi had used the king for party political purposes.

However, in a statement from Johannesburg, the ANC extended a hand and said it was willing to send an emissary to see Zwelithini immediately to discuss his fears.

The CP said Zwelithini's demand was a "justifiable claim giving expression to the aspirations of his people."

## Afrikaner's demand justifiable

CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg added that the Afrikaner nation's demand for freedom and self-determination in its own republic was also a justifiable claim which needed to be addressed.

De Klerk said yesterday a negotiated solution with Zwelithini and the far right was still possible before the election date, but would require them to move from their fixed positions on certain issues.

He told a Press conference in Pretoria that parties had at most a week to reach agreements which would pave the way for their participation in the April elections.

Asked whether the election could be postponed, De Klerk said: "Anything is possible but we are very determined not to allow such a situation to develop".

(Report by MTsedu, 61 Commando Rd, Industria West, Johannesburg, and G Ardé, 330 West Street, Durban.)



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# In the footsteps of Shaka ...

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ARC 16/2/94



King Goodwill Zwelethini

## Zulu claim to Natal based on 'mightiest kingdom' is suspect, say historians

ANTON FERREIRA of Sapa-Reuter reports from Johannesburg.

**K**ING Goodwill Zwelithini's claim to an independent monarchy in Natal based on the kingdom founded there by the Zulu warrior hero Shaka in the 19th century is open to dispute, according to historians.

King Goodwill and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, demanded of President De Klerk on Monday that present-day Natal including KwaZulu be hived off from the post-apartheid South Africa.

"A lot of people have family histories and they know what really happened," Mary de Haas, an anthropologist at the University of Natal in Durban, said. "They would certainly dispute the king's version."

Along with right-wing Afrikaners seeking a white homeland, the king and Chief Buthelezi have rejected the interim constitution and plan to boycott the election in April.

They in their submission to Mr De Klerk that the Zulu kingdom had existed since its creation by Shaka, who reigned for 12 years before his assassination in 1828.

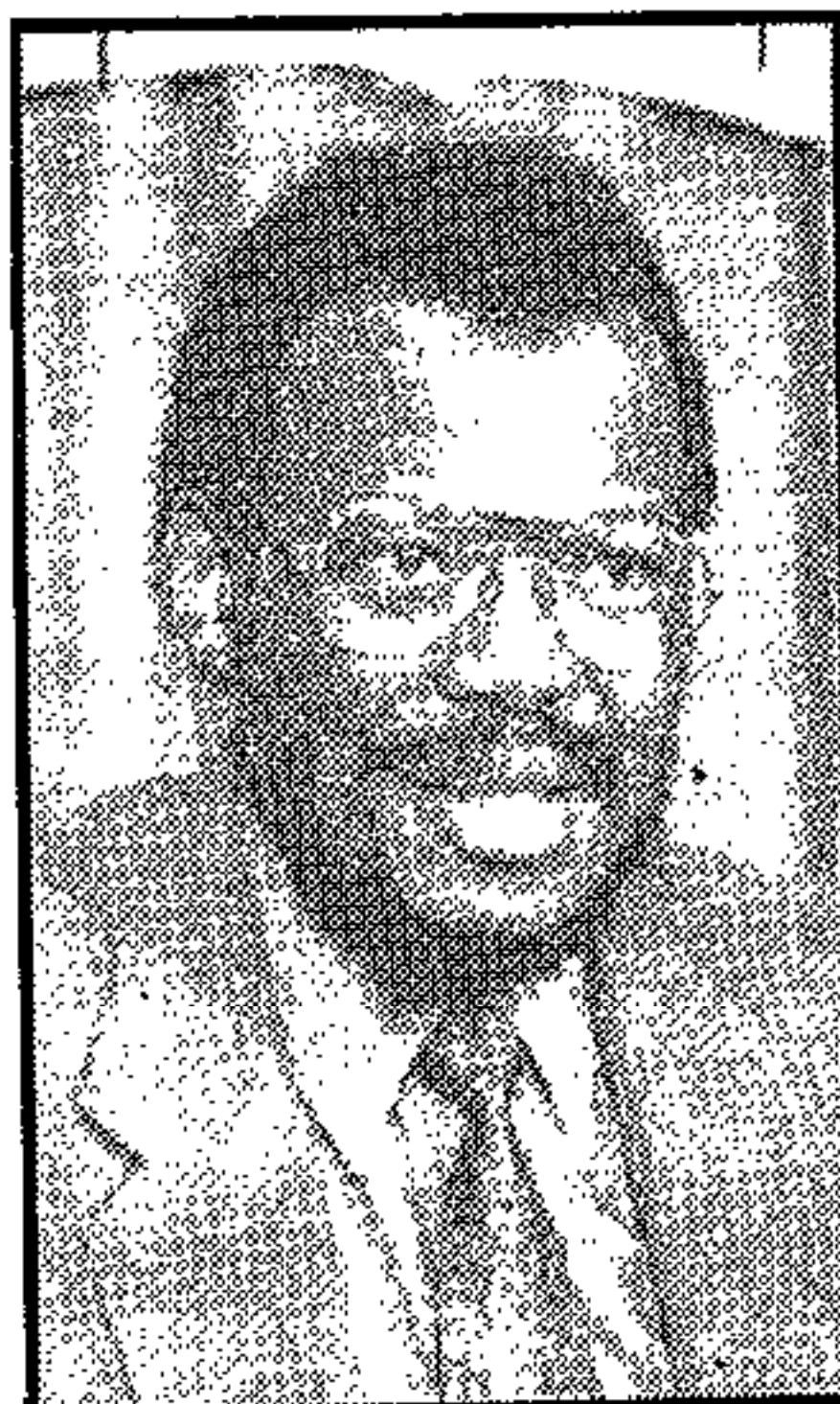
"There was a great period of history in which our great founding father King Shaka ... founded the mightiest kingdom and empire the whole of southern and central Africa had ever seen," Chief Buthelezi said.

But Ms De Haas said the Zulu kingdom fell apart after the death of Shaka. While it existed, its core was in the northern half of what is now Natal.

"To say the kingdom encompasses all of the province



Shaka ... the warrior king



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

is a weak historical claim," she said.

An authority on Shaka at the University of the Witwatersrand, Carolyn Hamilton, said the Zulu kingdom disintegrated in civil wars after a

decisive defeat by British troops in 1879.

"There is no evidence to suggest that in the kingdom's lifetime a broad identity as 'Zulu' ever developed," she said. "The kingdom was not, as is commonly thought, a cohesive and united polity."

She said it was only in the 1920s, when blacks in Natal began to feel the effects of the white-dominated political and economic order, that a broad Zulu identity took root.

"Large numbers of Africans in Natal and Zululand became receptive to the idea that they needed to draw closer together to protect their own interests," she said.

In the past decade, there has been a high level of violence between Zulus supporting Inkatha Freedom Party and those backing the African National Congress, the party tipped to win the April election.

Natal was the site of the outbreak of hostilities 10 years ago between Inkatha and the ANC. Since then about 18 000 blacks have died in political violence throughout the country.

Ms Hamilton said the memory of Shaka was invoked by those who wanted to mobilise Zulus along ethnic lines because he symbolised the creation of order out of chaos.

Ms De Haas, in a recent academic paper written with fellow-researcher Paulus Zulu, said Chief Buthelezi's plans for a highly autonomous Zulu state were unrealistic.

"While Natal is ethnically homogenous, rifts in political culture are so serious that it has become the Lebanon of South Africa," their paper said.



## Indemnity considered for witnesses

*B/Say 16/2/94*  
THE TEC will consider granting indemnity to people who are prepared to give evidence on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

TEC executive committee member Zam Titus, of Transkei, said several people had indicated that they would be prepared to give evidence on the hit squads if they were

granted indemnity.

The TEC will make a recommendation next week on the steps needed. The matter will also be discussed with the Goldstone commission. (107)

Meanwhile, a task group appointed by the TEC is preparing a report on the alleged hit squads. — Sapa.

Report by L. Roderick, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.



# 'Shaka card' not credible

Star 17/2/94

**LOOPHOLES** abound in King Zwelithini's Natal land claim, reports Anton Ferreira

**K**ing Goodwill Zwelithini's claim to an independent monarchy in Natal based on the kingdom founded there by the Zulu warrior hero Shaka in the 19th century is open to dispute, according to historians.

King Goodwill and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, demanded of President de Klerk on Monday that present-day Natal, including KwaZulu, be hived off from the post-apartheid South Africa. (107) (118)

"A lot of people have family histories and they know what really happened," Mary de Haas, an anthropologist at the University of Natal, in Durban, said on Tuesday. "They would certainly dispute the king's version."

The king and Buthelezi argued in their submission to De Klerk that the Zulu kingdom had existed since its creation by Shaka, who reigned for 12 years before his assassination in 1828.

But De Haas said the Zulu kingdom fell apart after the death of Shaka. While it existed, its core remained in the northern half of what is now Natal. "To say the kingdom encompasses all of the province is a weak historical claim," she said.

An authority on Shaka at Wits University, Carolyn Hamilton, said the kingdom disintegrated in civil wars following a decisive defeat by British troops in 1879.

## Broad identity

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"Large numbers of Africans in Natal and Zululand became receptive to the idea that they needed to draw closer together."

In the past decade, there has been a high level of violence between Zulus supporting the IFP and those backing the ANC.

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De Haas, in a paper written with fellow-researcher Paulus Zulu, said plans for a highly autonomous Zulu state were unrealistic. "Rifts in political culture are so serious it has become the Lebanon of South Africa," the paper said. — Sapa-Reuter.



# focus on Zulu king

**T**ODAY President FW de Klerk is to give a response to the Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for an independent sovereign Zulu kingdom.

At a meeting with De Klerk on Monday in Durban Zwelithini adopted a hardline this-is-a-new-start approach and called for an "exclusive independent sovereignty over territory as per 1834 boundaries".

This essentially means the whole of Natal stretching from Port Shepstone in the south to Ingwavuma on the northern border.

The king went further to reject De Klerk's assertion that his demand could be accommodated in the interim constitution with some amendments.

For political observers the king's demand has actually demystified the question of whether the IFP will in fact participate in the forthcoming election.

## Clear message

For, couched in the king's demand is a clear message that the IFP is in fact not interested in going to the polls.

Through the king, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is demanding that Natal be delivered to him on a platter without going through the process of an election.

Buthelezi has used Zulu "nationalism" and thousands of belligerent Zulus to back up his demand.

The message that the forthcoming election was no more an issue also came through various speakers, including Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza and a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Blessed Gwala.

The two addressed the 60 000-strong crowd waiting outside the Durban city hall for the king to give them a report-back on his talks with De Klerk.

The speakers essentially said the Zulus had no reason to vote on April 27 because they already have their king and the land.

"Only people who have nothing will go and vote on April 27," they said.

In having the king demand an independent Zulu monarchy, the IFP (Chief Buthelezi) has in fact shifted their goal posts (hopefully) without facing the wrath of being called spoilers.

IFP chief negotiator Ben Ngubane confirmed this yesterday at a conference in Cape Town, saying his party's demand no longer centred on federalism but on Zulu nationalism.

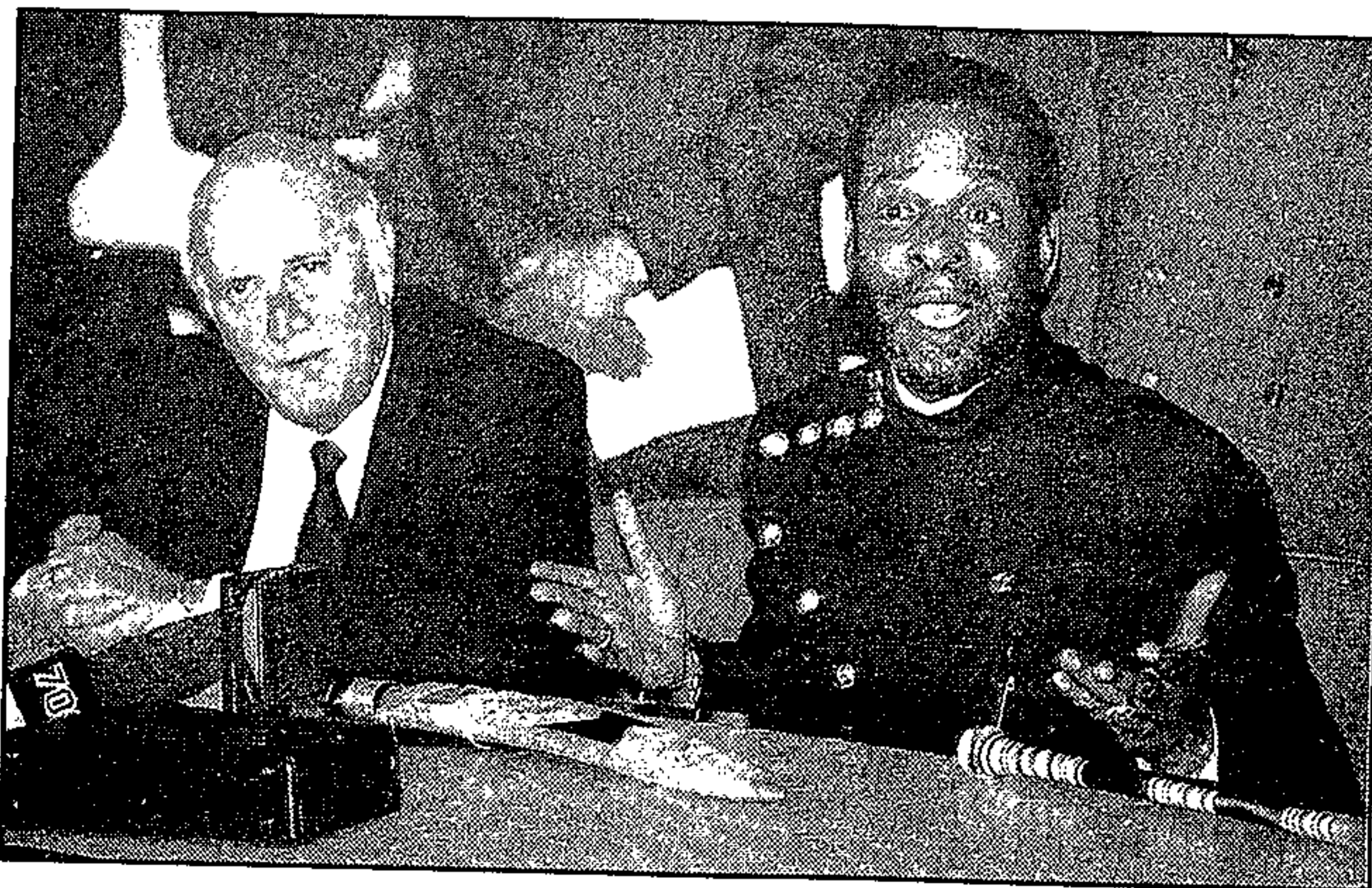
This in fact is an indication that the IFP has withdrawn from the race of national politics and is fighting to retain Natal, its only stronghold — without an election.

The king, on the other hand, has threatened to use his position and proclaim an independent Zulu monarchy, a move which even President De Klerk perceives as secessionist.

Responding to the king's demand on Monday, De Klerk said while attention should be given to the uniqueness of different people's

Sowetan 17/2/94

Couched in King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for a sovereign kingdom is a clear message that the Inkatha Freedom Party is not interested in going to the polls; in fact, through the king Chief Buthelezi is demanding Natal be delivered to him on a platter, writes *Sowetan* Durban correspondent **Ido Lekota**:



FW de Klerk and King Goodwill

needs for self-determination, secession was not a viable option.

Currently, of most concern is what would happen if the king's demand is not met and he goes ahead with his proclamation.

Firstly, especially in Natal, the level of violence will rise as such a proclamation would eventually be a test of political strength between those who ascribe to the notion of an independent Zulu monarchy and those who call for a nonracial united South Africa.

Already the ANC has expressed its rejection of the king's intended proclamation.

## No effect

The ANC Southern Natal regional secretary said such a proclamation was unconstitutional even in terms of the KwaZulu constitution as well as in terms of the constitution of South Africa.

"Such a declaration will have no effect whatsoever," he said.

What this means in real terms is that the ANC, for example, will continue campaigning in all areas in Natal for the forthcoming election.

As matters stand, the question of free political activity in areas under KwaZulu is a sore point for the ANC, with claims that its supporters are being intimidated.

Signs of the level of political intolerance already existing were seen when some of the marchers in Durban ripped off ANC posters in the city.

An unbelievable sight was when a group of armed men violently attacked a poster with a picture of ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela, stabbing the picture, trampling on it and spitting while calling the ANC leader *Mgodoyi* — a dog.

Nationally the implication can be read from Tuesday's announcement by the IFP youth brigade to launch a nationwide anti-TEC campaign "until our demand for a Zulu kingdom is met".

The level of support for the IFP in Johannesburg and Vaal hostels also threaten the heart of the country's industrial concerns.

Already, the East Rand is stuck in a rut as the vicious circle of violence goes on and on. The decision by the king would exacerbate the situation in such areas and undermine all ongoing efforts to stabilise the situation.

All these point to an escalation of tension, hardly the recipe for free and fair elections.

However, also of interest is the fact that Chief Buthelezi might be banking on the Natal English business to back him in case of a secession.

"For ages the English-speaking Natalians have regarded their province as the last outpost of the British empire and resented control by the Afrikaner National Party," said one observer.

(Report by Ido Lekota, 16 Osborne Street, Greyville, Durban)



# Buthelezi opposed to KwaZulu break

Sowetan 17/2/94

Sowetan Correspondents

■ END OF ROAD IFP not willing

to make further concessions:

**C**HIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday declared his opposition to the secession of KwaZulu but warned that the break-away proposed by the Zulu king appeared irreversible unless Inkatha's federal demands were accommodated.

Speaking at the International Press Institute conference in Cape Town, Buthelezi said: "I do not support secession," but added: "It is quite true that if there is no accommodation, the thing (secession) would not be reversible, to my regret."

Buthelezi was speaking on the eve of today's much awaited response by State President FW de Klerk to King Zwelithini's demands.

Buthelezi indicated that he was not prepared to make any further concessions, saying the IFP had already reduced its demands.

He would not accept anything less than regional autonomy.

"There is no way I am going to subject my people to being underfunded on a punitive basis by a central government."

**Deliver**

He had always believed there could only be one South Africa but he had failed to deliver through demands for federalism and he doubted that the new demands, as put forward recently by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, were reversible.

"Now we've come to the end of the road, there's nothing I can say to the

king."

Asked how far the IFP had moved from its original position, Buthelezi described the question as ANC propaganda which had met with "great success".

Buthelezi lambasted the media for ignoring IFP statements and arguments and giving "excessive attention to propaganda from the Government and the ANC".

"Why had the public not been informed that all proposals for federalism had been barred from discussion at the multiparty negotiations forum?"

(Michael Morris and John Yeld, Press Gallery, CT.)

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Star 17/12/94

# 'I don't want to secede'

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON  
and MICHAEL MORRIS

Cape Town — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he does not want secession and that he accepts that ballot boxes can legally be set up in KwaZulu for the April election, even if his Inkatha Freedom Party and the homeland government

continue to stick to their proclaimed boycott of the historic election. (107)

But the KwaZulu chief minister and IFP president left no doubt that unless his party's bottom lines were met by the Government and the ANC, there would be fierce resistance to the election.

He was addressing an inter-

national media conference shortly after a major address to the general assembly of the International Press Institute yesterday.

Asked whether his declared intention to boycott would not lead to intensified violence, he said: "I think my stand might

► To Page 3

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## Defiant Buthelezi states objection to secession

◀ From Page 1

avoid worse violence, if it means we sort out the problem now rather than leave it until after the election, as happened in Angola. We do not want an election, then a bloodbath."

While this stance suggested that the IFP had not yet given up all hope of a last-minute accommodation which could draw it into the transitional process, Buthelezi made clear the seriousness of the deadlock and his determination not to soften his hardline position.

Pressed to reveal Inkatha's precise plans to convince voters to stay away in the event of a boycott of the April election, he said bluntly: "I am not prepared to discuss that here."

However, he stressed that he would not consider it his responsibility to control supporters "given the position that they are in now". But he added: "I have no intention of getting into any civil war."

He disclosed that KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly would meet on March 17 to discuss the implications of the post-election repeal of legislation which underpins its very existence.

The removal of this legislation could strip KwaZulu of its physical and financial powers.

Buthelezi said he was not in favour of secession, but indicated that, as prime minister to King Goodwill Zwelithini, his



Zwelithini . . . insisting on the restoration of sovereignty.

failure to achieve a satisfactory federal solution meant he found it difficult to dissuade the king from his latest insistence on the restoration of sovereignty.

"I do not think it is reversible, judging by the mood of the Zulu people on the ground, and I hope a solution will be found. Nothing can reverse what he has started, at the drop of a hat."

Buthelezi repeated the four basic demands that would have to be met:

- Recognition of regional powers.
- Greater fiscal powers for regions.
- A guarantee that the constituent assembly cannot later undercut regional powers.
- A double ballot.

(122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

► More reports  
- Pages 9 and 14



THE BIAFRAN OPTION

Fri 18/2/94

# Is this where the Zulus are headed?

If so, they must be made to realise how disastrous the consequences would be

**Reasonable** as the constitutional demands of Mangosuthu Buthelezi may be, Inkatha's withdrawal from the election process and King Goodwill Zwelethini's threat to promulgate an independent constitution for Natal/KwaZulu — however "independent" may be defined — remind one of an ominous precedent in the only sub-Saharan state whose size and prosperity in any way match SA's — Nigeria and Biafra's UDI in 1967.

History, it has been said, is the science consisting entirely of special cases. Amen. But the comparison between Biafra in 1967 and KwaZulu in 1994 is so close that only a political idiot can misread the warning. Inkatha stands uncannily in the same position as the powerful Ibo minority in the Nigeria of the Sixties.

Nigeria's democratic federal constitution, negotiated with much care before independence in 1960, was derailed by a military coup led mostly by Ibo officers. The coup generated much hostility among non-Ibo peoples, especially Muslim northerners. Coup leader General Ironsi was in turn overthrown and murdered by Muslim-led military men.

The Ibos by this time felt themselves victimised and persecuted within Nigeria, despite being one of its two most sophisticated ethnic groups. The discovery of oil in their south-eastern coastal homeland may well have further promoted their national aspirations.

The Ibos' eventual response to the failure of their political ambitions within Nigeria was to announce independence, calling their state Biafra. But hopes of international recognition and protection were idle. The army of the rest of Nigeria promptly invaded Biafra. After a war involving the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians by hunger and massacre, Ibo independence was crushed and Nigeria's unity restored.

It is vital to understand how the Biafran conflict was seen by sub-Saharan Africa. At independence, the leaders of black Africa arrived at an important understanding: to preserve the often perverse and irrational borders bequeathed by the colonial powers.

Perverse and irrational, because those borders were merely a consequence of the late 19th and early 20th Century partition of

Africa. More often than not, they cut across linguistic boundaries. Most African states were, and are, a miscellany of tribal groupings rather than homogeneous ethnic states like most in western Europe.

African politicians feared that any concession to demands from individual linguistic groupings for separate statehood would cause such fragmentation of the post-independence political structures that all hope of bringing sub-Saharan Africa into modern industrial life would be lost. This fear was anything but irrational.

Its influence is powerfully visible in the approach of the ANC to any move that might remotely signal the fragmentation of SA. Correctly, it perceived and still perceives the Nationalist policy of establishing independent homelands in this context, as well as in the further context of racial exclusion. That the ANC also wants a centralised constitution to give it the power to impose radical economic policies is also plausible, but not so relevant.

Let us examine the dark resentments and feelings of Buthelezi and Inkatha which have brought them to their present pass as political near-outcasts and even outright separatists. They have — as forcibly as possible — to be referred to the tragic Biafran precedent and the fate of the Ibos — like the Zulus, a proud people who resented what they saw as domination by outsiders.

Can anyone doubt that the Ibos would have avoided enormous suffering and loss of life if they had not rebelled? What's

more, they would have achieved a more powerful position within Nigeria than they did as defeated rebels dragged back into the fold — like the defeated southern states after the US Civil War.

Inkatha, Buthelezi and the King must be told that they cannot hope for mercy from an ANC-dominated government — or support from the international community — if they embark on this reckless course.

This is for the historical reasons set out above as well as for others — such as the ANC's feeling that Buthelezi became a puppet of the Nationalists by assuming leadership of KwaZulu. That this judgment may be unfair is not relevant.

To extend the argument — even if a future government did not make war on an independent KwaZulu, its exclusion from the rand monetary area and the imposition of tariffs (not to mention the end to central government subventions) would break its economy sooner rather than later.

If this analysis is faulty and the ultimate threat is not a Zulu UDI, then Inkatha's spoiling tactics have to be regarded as petulant sulking in its tent and worse than useless into the bargain. Opinion polls — to the extent that they can be relied upon — indicate that Inkatha is already paying a heavy if not lethal electoral price for these tactics.

Loss of support has been heightened by shrewd ANC electoral tactics. Inkatha's indicated overall support has dropped from around 10% to 5% among all voters. There is no reason to suppose that this trend has run its course, though one must assume that it will remain far less damaging to Inkatha among conservative Zulus within KwaZulu itself than in the cities.

Inkatha should consider more closely how its irrational political course is handing overwhelming electoral power to its perceived arch-enemy, the ANC. If Inkatha yet decides to contest the election as a democratic party, it might be able even at this 11th hour to deliver an extra 5% or more of votes to an anti-ANC alliance.

This bloc could well deprive the ANC of the right to dictate the terms of the final constitution. In these circumstances, any action more self-defeating than to boycott the election is hard to imagine.

It is not difficult to imagine Buthelezi's bitterness at being effectively sidelined at national level. But he ought to be capable of enough political detachment to understand that in politics the race is not always to the swift and the battle to the strong, but that time and chance happen to all men.

There can be more greatness and personal heroism in renunciation than in stubborn egotism. This is the choice that confronts him. If he could bring himself to the right choice, the people of SA would be ever grateful. He would become an important member of the future anti-ANC political alliance, while his party's votes in the constituent assembly will play a vital role in restraining the ANC's hunger for centralised power.

If he pursues the Biafran option to the bitter end, he will face loss of all political respect, as well as condemnation for recklessness and folly in his stewardship of his conservative Zulu following, whose suffering could match the Ibos'. Moreover, he and the King stand the risk of ending up as political refugees — the price of total miscalculation.





INKATHA/KWAZULU

Fm 18/2/94

# Rallying around the king

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's trump card was always going to be his king and he played him this week with dramatic effect. However, it is debatable whether this will be the trick he needs to achieve his ambitions of KwaZulu sovereignty.

Buthelezi seems to have moved his political campaign beyond the realms of mere federalism into the sometimes murky world of sheer ethnic mobilisation.

Together with the boycott of April's general election by Inkatha and its Freedom Alliance partners, this suggests the process of arriving at a post-election constitution could be as much a parliamentary as an extraparliamentary affair. On the other hand, should alliance leaders press ahead with plans to disrupt the election, some, like UCT's Robert Schrire, suggest that strong action — possibly the incarceration of the ring leaders — should be seriously considered (see page 53). Then again others, like Finance Minister Derek Keys, are confident President F W de Klerk's "political genius" will find a way to break the impasse.

Political observers are at odds over the implications and repercussions of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's "memorandum," which demands that De Klerk must "give the Zulu nation, as defined in 1834 (embracing the whole of Natal), the opportunity to become free again and choose its own destiny."

Asked if he should not be discussing his demands with the ANC, Zwelithini replied simply that he was talking to the Head of State.

One thing it does establish is that the Zulu monarch is no longer above politics. He is down from the fence right in the heart of the Inkatha camp and placing his destiny in the hands of his uncle and adviser, Buthelezi.

There has been some speculation that Buthelezi's main hold over the king is financial. Monday's events tend to dispel that. It was also thought that the ANC's selection of its deputy secretary-general, Jacob Zuma (who has stressed the importance of the monarchy in the region's politics) as its Natal prime minister-designate, might divide the king and Buthelezi. If that was the strategy, the plan never worked.

Natal University's Sandy Johnston believes Zwelithini's demands and his siding with Inkatha are a sad and backward step

plunging the negotiating process back to a hardline position when Inkatha and the KwaZulu government launched their draft confederal constitution. "The difference this time is that it tries to put the authority and prestige of the monarchy behind it," says Johnston.

De Klerk, however, after his four-hour meeting with Zwelithini in Durban (his third this year to discuss the future of the monarchy) was adamant that the king's demands do not amount to secession and are negotiable.

Stellenbosch Africa studies specialist Willie Breytenbach concurs: "Linking greater autonomy for the whole of Natal and the monarchy puts it outside the realms of possible secession." The political significance of Monday's meeting, he adds, is that it signifies a shift by Buthelezi from his original, focused federal design for a new SA, to embracing ethnic mobilisation.

"Zwelithini's and Buthelezi's appearance on platforms with similar agendas means Inkatha in future will be even more ethnically orientated. Ethnic mobilisation, as seen in Afrikaner nationalism, is a growing international phenomenon, so what is happening in Natal is not that inconsistent with political trends," says Breytenbach.

He doubts, though, that the issue of Zulu sovereignty will be resolved before the election; it will join the growing list of post-election problems that will make the ANC government's task an unenviable one. The list includes: the Afrikaner *volkstaat* issue, militant black youth, possible opposition from the labour front where there is growing debate about the formation of a workers' party, and meeting the high expectations of ANC supporters.

"It would be foolish of the ANC to think that because the alliance partners excluded themselves from the election, this meant they should be excluded from the final design of the constitution," says Breytenbach.

Johnston reckons Zwelithini's endorsement of the Inkatha cause illustrates the party's ambivalence and ambiguity. One aspect

of its appeal is its deep attachment to Zulu tradition — often resorted to in times of stress. Others relate to issues such as free enterprise and federalism which appeal to a broader audience. "Their strategy seems to

oscillate between the traditional core of Zulu followers and the broader spectrum of anti-ANC opinion. Just how compatible they are is difficult to gauge," says Johnston.

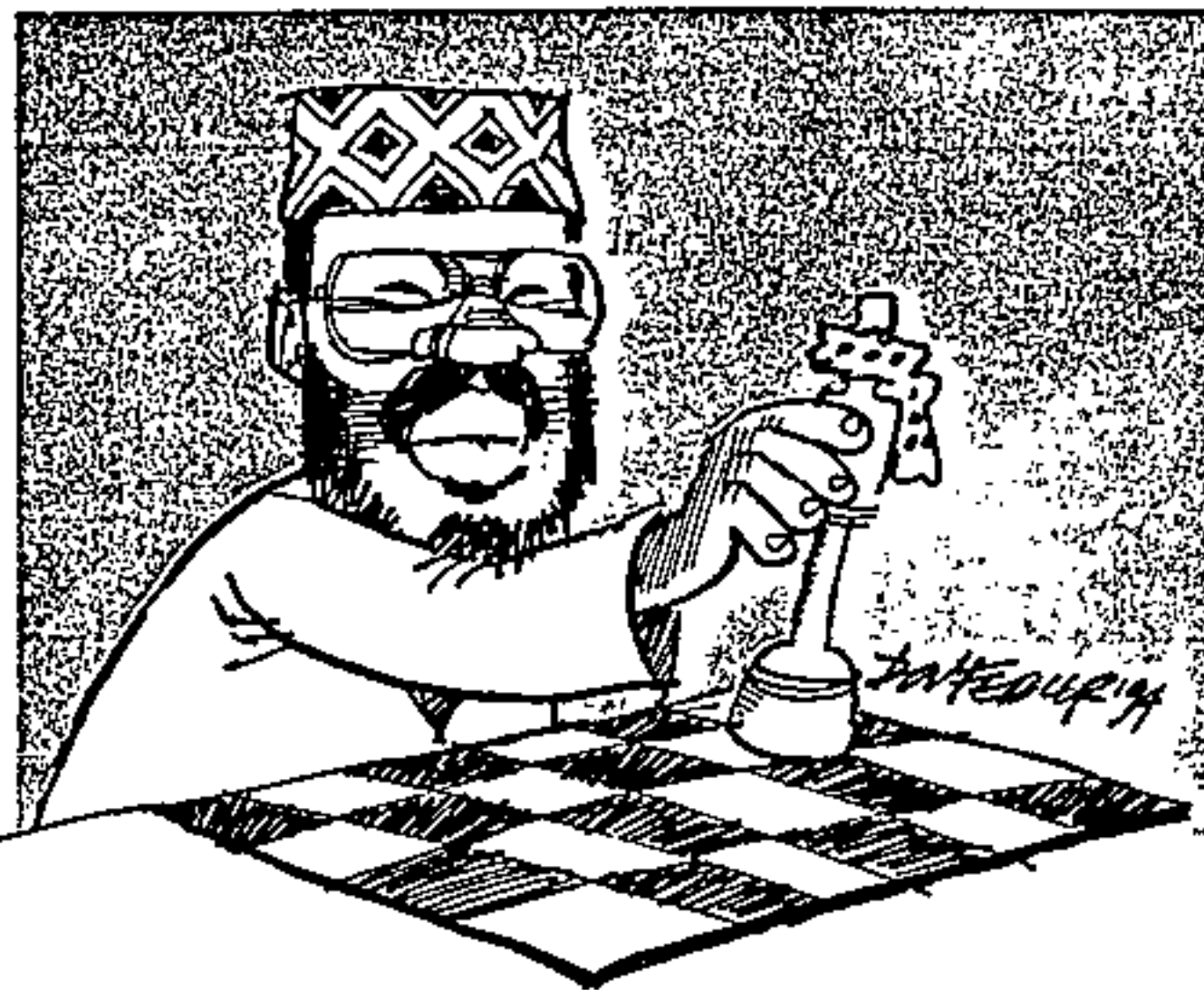
The king's stand combined with other rightwing defiance sends a message to the new dispensation that it faces a hard task.

Johnston says both sides want their own way at minimal cost.

"The trouble is they don't greatly respect their opponents' capabilities, but are, at the same time, unsure of their own ability to press home advantage. The Freedom Alliance thinks the new dispensation may collapse under its own contradictions if enough menace is applied, but is unsure of its own ability to fight a war."

Government and the ANC believe the alliance is bluffing and doesn't really want to fight, but they are also conscious of the fragility of their own power," he says.

The result is a strange stalemate with negotiations stumbling on and almost crowding out the election campaign. ■





Star 18/2/94

## KwaZulu Minister quits party politics

Ulundi — Senior KwaZulu Cabinet Minister and top Inkatha Freedom Party official Chief Simon Gumede has resigned from active party politics and has left the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi.

College registrar Thabiso Ngubane, whose name also appeared on the list, was shot dead at the weekend.

Gumede said his decision had not been influenced by the pamphlet. He had instead decided to serve his Gumede clan in the Ubombo area in northern Zululand and would remain a member of the IFP.

He was Minister of Works and deputy secretary-general of the IFP. He was also a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the IFP central committee as well as president of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa.

Gumede's name appeared on a pamphlet listing 21 alleged ANC activists in the KwaZulu administration. Nongoma

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was sheer coincidence that Gumede's resignation had come at the time of the pamphlet's distribution. He had not suspected Gumede of being disloyal. — Sapa.



**INCREASINGLY ISOLATED:** *The fact that talks continued without the IFP angered Buthelezi, who appears unlikely to win an election in Natal*

# Election spoiler gets testy

Star 19/2/94

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**COULD KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi have up his sleeve a way to entrench his power without facing an election? Could the IFP win KwaZulu/Natal? Or the Afrikaner Volksfront win majority support, even among Afrikaners? Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD ponders these questions.**



**CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI: "I and the IFP . . . will oppose . . . the proposed election and we will do so with every available democratic means at our disposal."**

## In Ulundi a siege mentality has set in

**Even Buthelezi's most vociferous critics acknowledge that he is a clever strategist. Inside his own organisation, the admiration borders on blind faith.**

contemplated in previous years.

Now observers believe the IFP would not win an election in Natal.

The sense of isolation would have been heightened by an in-

creasingly impatient — and sometimes hostile — media.

One foreign newspaper dubbed KwaZulu's Chief Minister South Africa's most dangerous man.

In these circumstances the alliance with rightwingers was not surprising, as difficult as it must have been for many in the IFP leadership to join a group with members who are overtly racist.

Even Buthelezi's most vociferous critics in the ANC acknowledge that he is a clever strategist.

Inside his own organisation the admiration borders on blind faith. It is extraordinary how many IFP supporters who see no way out of the impasse are simply content to believe that Buthelezi has something up his sleeve.

There is a growing belief that what Buthelezi might have up that sleeve is a way of entrenching his power and the jobs of much of his administration without facing an election.

Supporters of this theory believe he showed his hand, so to speak, when Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini made his demand for an independent kingdom of Natal/KwaZulu. In terms of this theory the king would have a constitutionally entrenched prime minister — a position Buthelezi would fill without having to be elected.

Although this has again raised the old secessionist bogey in Natal — this time with black people leading the clamour — it seems unlikely that Buthelezi or the king would contemplate doing this unilaterally.

**There is little doubt that the military expertise of the white Right, coupled with the militance of the Zulu traditionalists, has the potential to wreak havoc.**

However, Freedom Alliance discussion document compiled earlier this year contemplated secession.

It warned that this could be an option only if South Africa became ungovernable. "A situ-

ation similar to that in Angola and Mozambique will then be present in South Africa."

However, it adds: "Should the alliance become a force feared by the ANC and the Government and should they believe that the alliance could not be (subdued) by means of military force, peaceful secession is possible. This occurred in some European countries."

Inherent in this comment is an acknowledgement that the grouping's power lies in the fact that, as an alliance, it amounts to a threat.

In spite of the dismissive attitude of some in the ANC and the Government, there is little doubt that the military experience of the white Right, coupled with the militance of Zulu traditionalists, has the potential to wreak havoc.

Individual members of the alliance could well be rendered impotent if the grouping breaks.

Could the IFP win KwaZulu/Natal? Or the Afrikaner Volksfront win majority support, even among Afrikaners, for its highly impractical volkstaat plan?

**I**T WAS no doubt with all this in mind that Mandela, emerging from an ANC national working committee meeting, made the dramatic announcement and offer at Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday evening.

It is evident that some in the alliance might take the bait. The Bophuthatswana government, for one, is expected to come on board the Transitional Executive Council.

Moderates in the AVF and CP will surely be tempted (as they reportedly were by the offer made by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on February 2 and in effect regurgitated by the ANC this week).

Besides this, the ANC move has the potential of gaining support for the Interim Constitution from those on the ground who might have opposed it and drifted into the alliance's camp.

The Negotiating Council, after two months of inactivity, is scheduled to meet again on Monday to give the go-ahead for a parliamentary session which will adopt the amendments put forward in Mandela's document this week.

For once it is probably accurate to say South Africa is entering a critical few weeks.

It is highly unlikely that the ANC and the Government — although they might say otherwise — will be prepared to make further concessions after amending the Interim Constitution.

The die will almost certainly be cast following the parliamentary session early next month.

The future might then become a little clearer. If the ANC-Government move fails, and elements of the alliance opt for "resistance politics" — which inevitably will involve violence — the portents are gloomy.

But if it succeeds, the new South Africa will be born amid limited disruption, with intransigent alliance members isolated and rendered largely ineffectual. And — should he stay out, as is now widely expected — Buthelezi's long career could well be headed for its toughest crisis.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



# IFP chief threatens to quit over death list

*8 Times*  
*20/2/94*

By RYAN CRESSWELL

**FORMER** top Inkatha official and senior Kwazulu Minister Chief Simon Gumede has threatened to resign from the party if he discovers a death list containing his name was an inside job.

The 50-year-old former Minister of Works, Inkatha central committee member and deputy secretary-general has already resigned from active party politics and left Ulundi.

Mr Gumede was a staunch supporter of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for 25 years and was considered one of his most trusted colleagues. He often accompanied the IFP leader on overseas trips.

Speaking from his fortified home in Ubombo, Zululand, Mr Gumede said he would resign from the party if it was proved a death list naming more than 20 IFP leaders as ANC supporters was an "inside job", as he suspected.

Last weekend, one of the men on the list, Nongoma College registrar Thabiso Ngubane, was shot dead.

Said Mr Gumede: "If it is ever proved that the pamphlet was an inside job it would confirm that all I have done for the IFP over the years was not appreciated by members who have worked with me and know I have never had any connection with any party, except Inkatha."

It has been claimed the ANC had written the pamphlet but the organisation has vociferously distanced itself from the document.

"I have already told the central committee it would be very surprising if the ANC was so naive as to publicise the names of people who



**SUSPICIOUS ... Simon Gumede believes list was an inside job**

have infiltrated another organisation," said Mr Gumede.

The former president of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa said he told Chief Buthelezi early in the month that he intended to resign from active politics so he could take better care of his "tribe".

"I do not know whether my detractors found out about the resignation then placed me on the list to hamper my leaving," he said.

Mr Gumede is known to be staunchly pro-elections, but he said he decided to resign well before he was certain the IFP would boycott the poll.

"People here have never had a chief who left the land. Everybody knew I would resign one day to look after the affairs of my people."

Mr Gumede has a reputation for caring about the people who live in his chieftdom. He has watched over the construction of new tribal offices, a large community centre and a new school in his area.

He would not say whether his retirement from active politics was permanent and he was wary about discussing claims that some IFP leaders could be preparing to form a breakaway party.

Mr Gumede first drew attention in Ulundi as a young man in his 20s. In the early 70s, he became a member of the Ulundi territorial authority. He quickly proved his worth and, in 1983, was given the difficult post of Kwazulu Minister of Works.

He was also one of the first blacks appointed to the controlling body of the Natal Parks Board. Much of the land in northern Zululand that has become part of reserves belonging to the Parks Board and private concerns was once ruled by his late father, Chief Masageni Gumede.



# Where X

# means fear

SITING 2012194

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ISD in  
Kwazulu  
keeping  
the peace

By RYAN CRESSWELL

AT one time the Safari Lodge near Mthabatha was one of the favourite watering holes of people living in Zululand. Now the large white building is a luxury base for 134 Internal Stability Division members.

The young policemen, from all over South Africa, and have been there since August. They operate in some of the most violent areas in Kwazulu and have been involved in at least four shootouts in the past few months.

Base commander Major Eric Pelser lists Sobhuza, Masingazi, Sandumbili, Mabyeni, Istibebe and Kwakhoza as the worst trouble spots.

Late last year two ISD members and an SAP detective were shot dead in Sokhulu, and two weeks ago a warrant officer from the base was shot in the shoulder at Masingazi.

Some of the ISD members operating in the grasslands and bushveld that make up much of this part of Natal look like extras on the set of an Oliver Stone movie about the Vietnam war.

Some of them wear hand-guns in shoulder holsters while others have long torches attached to the bottom of their Riss so they can see and shoot at night.

On patrol they spread out across the veld, and when they stop they often crouch in the long grass to keep out of sight.

Major Pelser says the ANC and the IFP are continuing their struggle for supremacy in these areas. "There are political clashes in this whole area. Dozens of people have died since we have been here," he says.

"But we now have a good relationship with the people. The ANC in Sandumbili phones us about once a week to make sure we are present in that area. We change teams in the field there, so we are always there, night and day."

By PETER DE IONNO

**BOUND by traditional obedience, ignorant of their rights and subdued by violence, millions of Zulus are going to find it difficult to vote in April.**

North of the Tugela River, in the Zulu heartland, it may well be impossible.

In the rest of Natal, particularly in the rural enclaves of Kwazulu, only the brave and the well-protected will test the Inkatha Freedom Party's promise to disrupt South Africa's first free elections by all legal means.

But in Inkatha's strongholds of Nongoma, Nongoma, Mthabathini and Masinga, voting would be suicidal.

And, where the party does not reach, there is King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for sovereignty over Natal. He commands unquestioning loyalty among the majority of his seven million subjects.

"This is the moment Zulus have been waiting for," said Dr Mnsa Zulu, vice-rector of the Kwa-Gqikazi Teachers' Training College at Nongoma, near the royal kraal.

"Now that the king has spoken, everything has changed. We will have our total independence under the banner of the king, ... everybody wants this."

Dr Zulu is both a loyal subject and a sophisticated IFP member. Even though he understands the runaway nationalism that has taken hold in Zululand might precipitate civil war, he makes no apology.

There are plans for radio and television stations "to unite us more."

"Here politics is developing quite differently from the rest of South Africa... When people talk and draw on symbols it is all-embracing," he said, pointing to a picture of the Zulu warrior king Shaka on the front page of the newspaper *Ilanga*.

"You do not talk about majorities and democracy here. The more De Klerk and Mandela talk about voting, the more aggressive the people will become."

It is believed that the rising anger claimed the life of college registrar



**DEATH THREATS . . . but Captain Thalente Mhlongo will do his duty** Pictures: COBUS BODENSTEIN

Thabiso Nqunane. He was killed recently outside his house in the college compound by an unknown gunman. Despite signs of a robbery there is a suspicion that the killing was politically motivated.

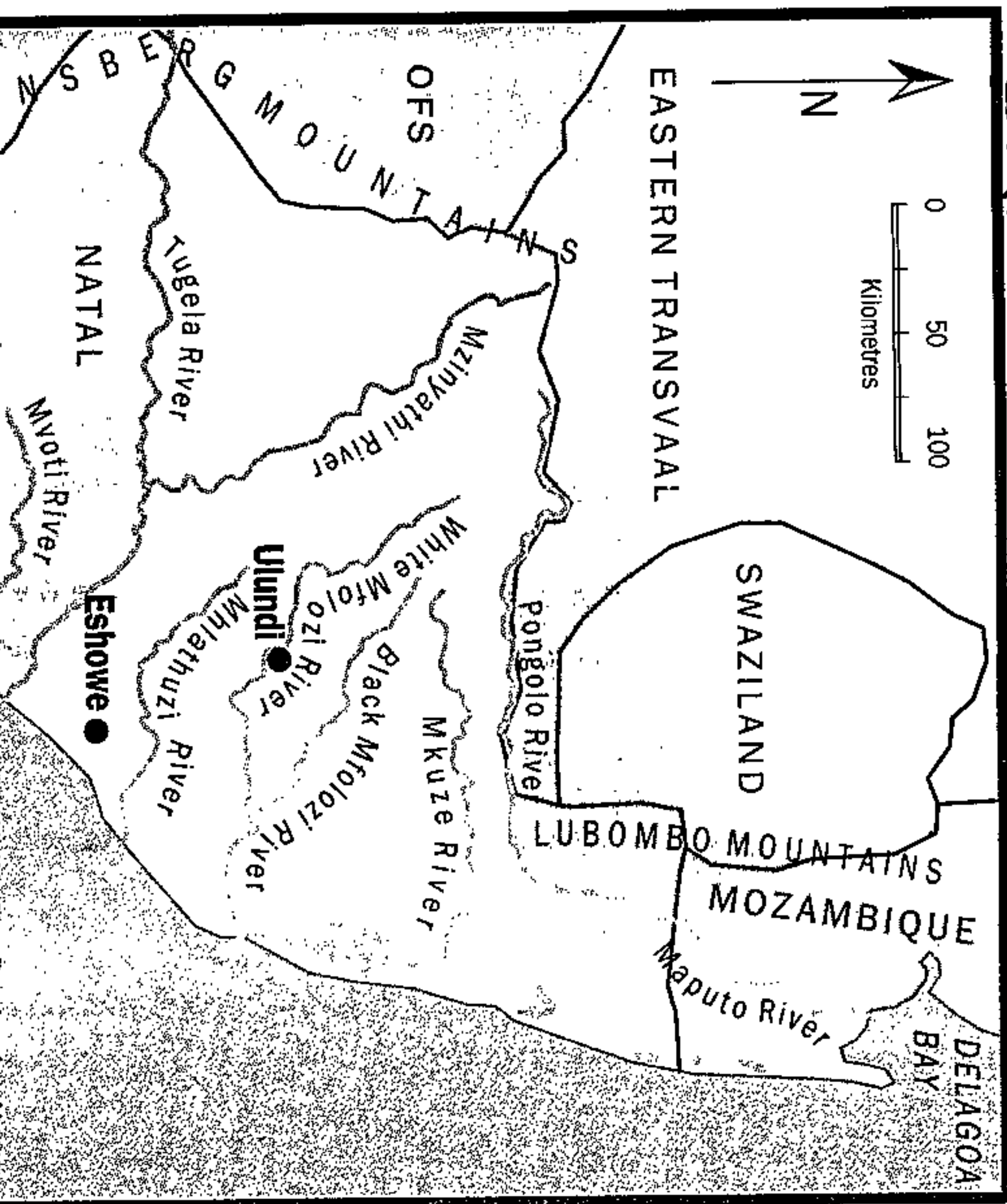
Mr Nqunane was at the centre of a local dispute over the admission to the college of pupils from outside the immediate area. Residents have staged protest marches and the school, which has 900 students, has been in turmoil.

The day after his murder, Mr Nqunane's name appeared on a list of 21 people allegedly disloyal to Inkatha.

The pamphlet carries ANC symbols but few people, including IFP officials, accept that it is an ANC document.

Although IFP leader and Kwazulu Prime Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi has made statements to reassure the people on the list that they are not suspected of disloyalty or ANC affiliation, many have fled their homes.

Chief Simon Gumele, the 10th name on the list, announced his resignation as Kwazulu Minister of Works and deputy secretary-general of the IFP on Friday. He said his decision to return to his clan



**ARMED AND READY . . . Induna Mzobanzi Ndlovu is one of many Zulus who'll undergo military training**

forces to protect our people and make the election safe," he said. "I fear it will get much worse."

Umtata mayor Joseph Masango laughed aloud at the mention of elections. "Some people may vote, but they will not vote in Natal. Perhaps they will go to Johannesburg," he said.

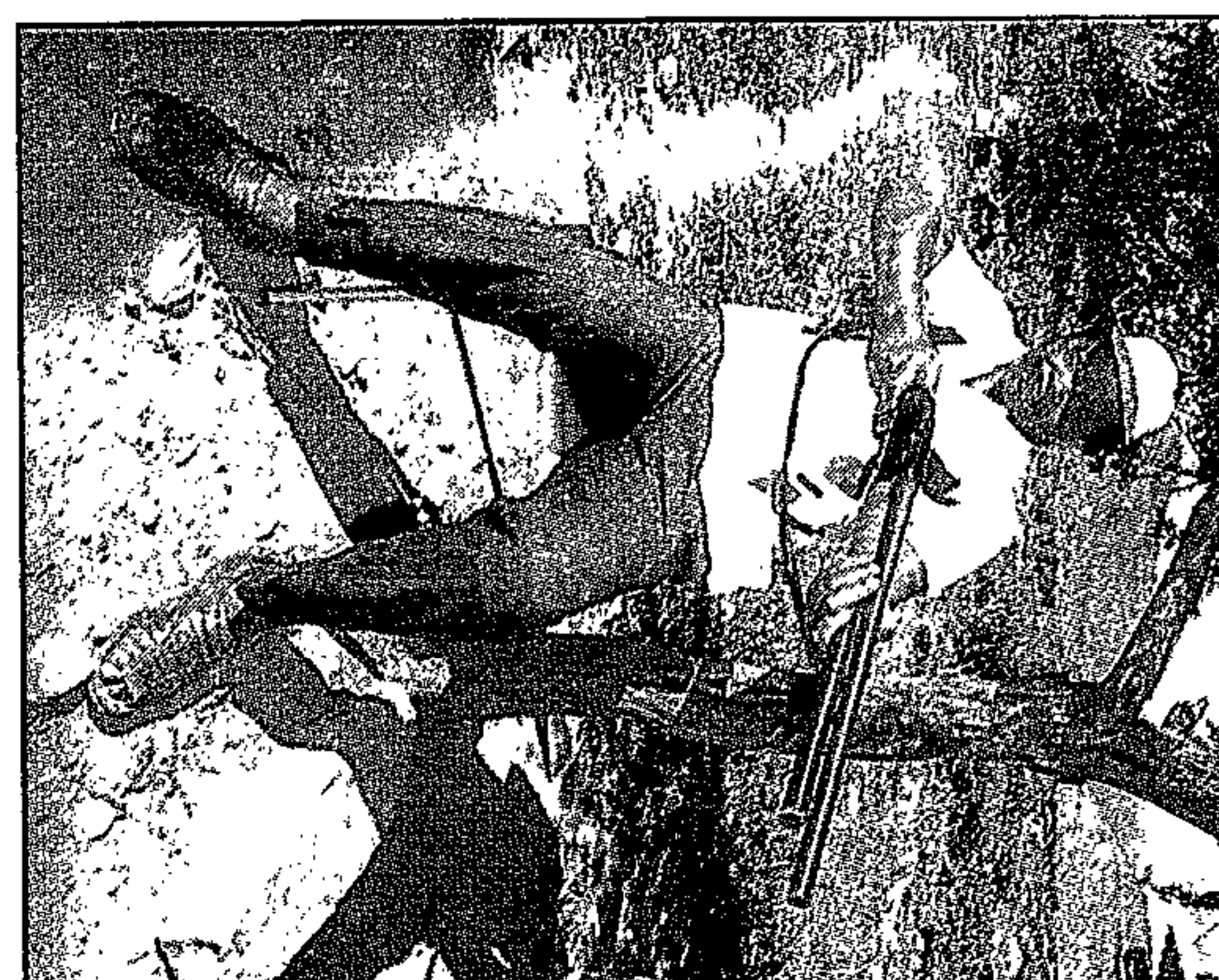
A suggestion that the National Peacekeeping Force may be deployed to prevent violence brought more laughter. "It would be fatal for them to come here."

At Tugela Ferry, Vikela Dlamini, headmaster of the ironically named Cabango-khulu ("Think Positively") High School, is packing his bags. He, too, has been receiving death threats.

Again it is about the school admitting outsiders. In this case, many of the 350 pupils from outside the area are refugees, sent from violence-torn townships near Maritzburg, Ladysmith and the Reef to the relative safety of Masinga.

That day a meeting of 60 pen," he said. Willies Mchuna, a National Union of Metalworkers education officer and deputy ANC chairman for northern Natal, who claims the ANC has 16 000 members in 46 branches, said it was impossible to organise and campaign in Kwazulu. Only three branches, Manti, Ezikhawini and Ngwelezane were able to hold meetings.

"We need the TEC to start deploying security



They are armed, many with automatic weapons issued by the Kwazulu government, which has called on every chief to send five men for military training.

Mzobanzi Ndlovu, with a .38 revolver on his belt, proudly showed his pump-action shotgun. Soon, he said, he would go for training at Mthabatha and then he would be given a G3 assault rifle.

"In Masinga, there is no way the voting will happen in Kwazulu, his followers are unlikely to tolerate opposition parties. Indunas, local leaders and warlords representing chiefs who pay allegiance to the king and court the patronage of the IFP, control the rural communities.



By SIPHO KHUMALO

# 'Targeted' KwaZulu minister bows out

CIPR 2012/94

SENIOR KwaZulu government minister Chief Simon Gumede has resigned his position after a forged pamphlet distributed in Ulundi and Nongoma labelled him an ANC operative.

Gumede, who was Works Minister and Inkatha deputy general secretary, resigned from active politics on Thursday — and has already left Ulundi for his Ubombo home.

The controversial pamphlet listed a number

of top KwaZulu officials as "ANC operatives" based in Ulundi.

Gumede is the second senior KwaZulu government official to resign after Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who resigned as Inkatha secretary-general and KwaZulu Education Minister in 1990 to set up his first of the for Multiparty Democracy.

Gumede's name and 20 others appeared in the pamphlet which alleged

they were ANC activists working in the KwaZulu government.

One of the people named, KwaNgqikazi College of Education registrar Thabiso Ngubane, was gunned down with an AK-47 at the weekend.

Gumede, who was also president of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa, said the pamphlet scam had nothing to do with his decision.

He said he wanted to go and serve his clan in Ubombo and would remain an Inkatha member.

However, our Ulundi sources said more resignations from the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly were expected.

Those named on the list include a station commander in Ulundi and a member of KwaZulu's Bureau for Special Investigation.

Ngubane's assassination in the wake of the pamphlet has prompted the ANC in Northern Natal to call on KwaZulu police commissioner General Roy Durrant to intervene.

(107) ANC northern Natal secretary Senzo Mchunu requested a meeting with Durrant to discuss violence and policing in the area.

In a letter to Durrant, Mchunu refers to a similar list distributed in

Ulundi in 1992 with names of people perceived to have ANC links.

"Their houses were targeted for attacks and burnt down. It is not clear to us what the KZP were to do in relation to those incidents," said Mchunu.

Mchunu also mentioned a number of attempts on the life of prince Petrus Zulu, who was also perceived to be an ANC member in Ulundi.

Zulu was gunned down at his home early this year. Mchunu added: "Another list is now out and it purports to come from the ANC in the township. A mere look at that paper indicates clearly that this is forgery."

The addresses of most of the 21 people on the list are provided. At least two of those named are said to be working in the chief minister's department in Ulundi.

The office of the commissioner of police confirmed that the ANC letter was being considered.

Mchunu told City Press the objective of such forged documents was to spread fear among Ulundi residents.

Police said unknown assailants forced Ngubane to hand over money and firearms.

When Ngubane said there were no firearms, he was dragged outside and shot dead.

A murder docket has been opened.



# Secession — the chances are negligible

*Sawetan 21/2/94*

By Patrick Laurence

A NEW AND potentially explosive word has entered South Africa's political vocabulary: secession — a word often associated with civil war.

The Afrikaner Volksfront has helped to popularise the word by threatening to unilaterally establish a separate Afrikaner state if it fails to win approval for one through dialogue with the African National Congress and the De Klerk administration.

The first step towards the unilateral establishment of an Afrikaner *volkstaat* has already been taken with the formation in Pretoria of a Volks Verteenwoordigende Raad or People's Representative Council.

Headed by Ferdi Hartzenberg, the leader of the Conservative Party, the VVR has been proclaimed as the Afrikaner nationalist answer to the multiparty Transitional Executive Authority and as the embryonic parliament of the *volkstaat*.

### Political leadership

The bearded Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, is poised to take the Zulus — or, more accurately, those who accept his political leadership — down the same path. He has given notice to President FW de Klerk of his intention to proclaim the restoration of the pre-colonial Zulu kingdom.

"I, as the king of the Zulu nation, claim exclusive and independent sovereignty over our atavic territory as per 1834 boundaries," he has told De Klerk.

"The white nations of Afrikaners and British are now relinquishing their sovereignty over the land of South Africa. Under (these) circumstances, I take the position that the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is revived."

The Bophuthatswana Government, the third member of the dissenting Freedom Alliance, takes a similar though not, of course, identical position. It sees Bophuthatswana's independence — granted under the discarded apartheid system — as the restoration to Tswana people of the sovereignty which they lost when Bechuanaland was annexed to the Cape in 1895.

### Preferred option

Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana is loathe to surrender its independence by agreeing to reincorporation into South Africa. Its preferred option is to retain the status quo by winning acquiescence to its quasi-independence from the popular claimants to political power, the African National Congress and its allies.

Bophuthatswana seeks, to put it differently, to secure recognition of its secession from South Africa in 1977 from the prospective ANC-led government of national unity.

But the chances of secession by consent, whether by Afrikaners, Zulus or Tswanas, are negligible. The ANC is too firmly committed to a united South Africa, to reuniting what apartheid put asunder in the 1970s and 1980s, for it to sanction secession in any form.

Its willingness to recognise the right to self-determination as one the guiding constitutional principles in the interim constitution should not be re-

## Talking points

*"I as the king of the Zulu nation claim exclusive and independent sovereignty over our territory as per 1834 boundaries"*

*"Demography is pertinent to the quest for an Afrikaner volkstaat. There is no region of any size in South Africa where Afrikaners are in a majority"*

garded as more than a nod in the direction of regional autonomy within a united South Africa.

The first and major obstacle to secession is thus the ANC, buttressed by its deep commitment to the unification of South Africa and its people after decades of enforced ethnic and racial segregation.

Nelson Mandela's words when he announced the ANC's acceptance of a package of proposals aimed at persuading the Freedom Alliance to participate in the April election for a government of national unity are worth recalling.

He condemns political leaders who are "stepped in the politics of racism, ethnic chauvinism and violence", urges South Africans to unite to resist them and says: "We cannot allow the birth of our society as a united, non-racial and democratic nation, to be held to ransom by the captives of the apartheid past."

But there are additional — and equally insuperable impediments — to secession. One is demography. Another is political diversity even



King Goodwill Zwelithini ... going down the secession path.

within the heartland of territories flirting with the idea of seceding before the birth of the new South Africa.

There is no region of any size in South Africa where Afrikaners — as distinct from Afrikaans-speaking people — are in a majority. Wherever the lines demarcating the *volkstaat* are drawn, Afrikaners will be a minority.

Anyone who doubts that *volkstaat* will encounter resistance from within should look at Standerton: There the decision by the conservative white town councillors to declare Standerton to be part of the *volkstaat* provoked black resistance, in the form of a consumer boycott and a protest march, and led to bloodshed.

It requires no great perspicacity to predict that the scenes at Standerton will be replicated in all towns which opt for the *volkstaat*. The rolls of razor wire and the piles of sandbags erected outside the Akasia Town Council offer a glimpse into that future.

In KwaZulu-Natal there is no doubt that Zulus are in the overwhelming majority. Opposition to the restoration of the Zulu kingdom is likely to be fierce, however, if it even hints of secession. Opinion polls show that ANC supporters outnumber their Inkatha Freedom Party counterparts by more than two-to-one in the province.

### Popular jubilation

The Bophuthatswana Government believes or purports to believe that it represents the majority of the people within Bophuthatswana's borders. The belief, however, looks flimsy when one recalls the popular jubilation which greeted Mangope's temporary overthrow five years ago and his dependence on South African troops, rather than his own, to put down the coup and rescue him.

South Africa's secessionists are sustained by their belief that secession is justified in international law as an expression of the right to self-determination.

But as the SA Law Commission notes: "So long as there is a representative democratic government which represents the whole nation without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or descent, the right of self-determination in the form of impairment of the territorial integrity of the state is not recognised."

Where oppressed blacks may have been justified in seceding from the old apartheid state, the pending election of a democratic and representative government by all adult citizens deprives secessionists of all hues of legal justification for their intended actions.

Patrick Laurence, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg



Star 2/12/94

# Boycott likely by strained Alliance

## ■ POLITICAL STAFF

The Freedom Alliance is expected to boycott today's meeting of the Negotiating Council, called to give the nod to compromises designed to draw dissenting parties into a political settlement. (107) (SATA)

However, there is continuing speculation that the FA is under increasing strain in the face of a determined initiative by the Government and the ANC to forge an inclusive political settlement.

There are indications that Bophuthatswana and some segments of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) may eventually become part of a settlement which would see them contest the April election.

There was also speculation this morning that Bophuthatswana might send a delegation to observe proceedings at the World Trade Centre today. Bophuthatswana and the AVF met ANC representatives for talks at the weekend.

There are, meanwhile, persistent rumours of dissension within the Inkatha Freedom Party following the surprise resignation of KwaZulu net minister Nkosi Simon Gumede on Friday. A leading London newspaper has claimed that King Goodwill Zwelethini is poised to switch his allegiance to the ANC.

The Sunday Independent said that in spite of his demand last week for "exclusive and independent sovereignty" over KwaZulu, the king was still negotiating for a role in the new dispensation.

All the FA members indicated last night that they would not attend the Negotiating Council meeting today, although it is believed some may send observers. Police say.

The FA is to hold an executive meeting today.

► To Page 3

Star 2/12/94

# Boycott likely by strained Alliance

## ◀ From Page 1

election. (107)

tive meeting this morning to discuss its formal response to last week's ANC initiative, in terms of which various concessions will be written into the Interim Constitution.

Parliament will convene in a week to pass the amendments. The Negotiating Council will meet to give the go-ahead for the amendments.

The FA executive gathering will be crucial, as FA leaders will thrash out the alliance's position on participation in South Africa's first nonracial election.

The IFP appears almost certain to boycott the poll.

Yesterday, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told more than 10 000 people in the Natal Midlands that all the IFP wanted was federalism such as the United States, Canada and Australia had, and not the flawed "abortion" of the National Party and the ANC.

"If we consent, then a future ANC government will be able to rob and blackmail us like the National Party did in the past," he said.

Well-placed negotiations sources are predicting that Bophuthatswana and certain elements of the AVF will contest the

election. (107)

At another crucial meeting today, Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje will meet Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. It is then that many observers believe a deal leading to Bophuthatswana's involvement in the transition could be brokered.

The ANC, the AVF and Bophuthatswana met for behind-the-scenes talks at the weekend. Discussions centred on the initiative announced by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday that the possibility of a negotiated settlement still existed.

Last night IFP negotiator Walter Felgate was pessimistic about a settlement, saying the ANC initiative did not meet key FA demands.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday left the door open for further negotiations and concessions by the ANC. Speaking at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park after a meeting of the ANC-aligned Patriotic Front, he said that even once the new proposals had been adopted by the Negotiating Council, "further negotiations will still happen".

(Report by C Whitfield, E Waugh, M Sparks and J Rantao, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

*'Mood on ground very ugly and could get worse'*

Star 22/2/94  
**Struggle goes on — Buthelezi**

**■ POLITICAL STAFF**

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu says he is not dismayed by the prospect of losing office by staying out of the April election.

Interviewed at Ulundi, he said he would continue the political struggle using his traditional power base as chief adviser to King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"My leadership was not built up by the homelands policy. I'll be part of the struggle — my king, myself and my people."

He was not prepared to speculate as to tactics. But he said the outlook was bleak.

The mood of people on the ground was ugly — "I've never known it like this before" — and it could get worse and become difficult to control.

He said he was not responsible for keeping the IFP out of the election — it had been forced on him by the Government and the ANC, which refused to con-



**Buthelezi ... not worried if he loses office.**

sider federation as an option.

The logical next phase was the king's demand for the restoration of the Zulu sovereignty of 1834.

"When they rejected the federal option and could not accept our amendments, I was disarmed in my relationship with

the king.

"There was nothing I could say to him. I had not delivered on self-rule."

He said it was pointless to participate in elections for a non-federal dispensation, something he had worked for for 20 years.

The Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba had been rejected.

And the IFP's contribution to constitutional negotiations had been rejected.

"In 1910 the whites were fooled. They were bluffed by Smuts that they were going to get a federation, but in the end there was no federation.

"We're not prepared to walk that road.

"I can understand that whites are concerned at us staying out of elections but they have to appreciate that for my people it is nothing new.

"We never had the vote before. Nothing much has changed.

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 "I don't know why the Government and the ANC reject federalism. It is a democratic way to protect the interests of regions and minorities.

"What's wrong with the system in countries like the United States, Germany, Canada and Australia?"

He denied being a secessionist. "I refused to take independence because although we went into Union kicking and screaming, history has made us South Africans. We don't want to be deprived of that."

The king's stand had been forced by events, he said. It was now out of his own hands as chief minister.

Asked whether it was feasible for elections to be held in Natal/KwaZulu without IFP participation, and whether a subsequent government could be effective, Buthelezi declined to speculate. "That is their problem, not mine."

(Report by G R Linscott, 18 Osborne St, Durban)





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NEWS: Government ANC 'to blame for IFP position' • SADF sells equipment

Sowetan 22/2/94

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News in Brief

Mokaleng's case put off

THE case against former policeman Johnny Mokaleng (30) was postponed to July 4 when he appeared in the Rustenburg Regional Court yesterday. Bail of R1 000 was extended. Mokaleng is charged with perjury, fraud and

Buthelezi: struggle goes on

Sowetan Correspondent

NOT DISMAYED 20 years' work for federal state 'will not be in vain'

CHIEF Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu says he is not dismayed by the prospect of losing office by staying out of the April elections. Speaking at Ulundi, he said he would continue the political struggle using his traditional power base as chief adviser to King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"My leadership was not built up by the homelands policy. I'll be part of the struggle — my king, myself and my people." He was not prepared to speculate as to tactics. But he said the outlook was bleak. The mood of people on the ground was ugly

"I've never known it like this before" — and it could get worse and become difficult to control. He maintained he was not responsible for keeping the IFP out of the elections — it had been forced on him by the Govern-

ment and the ANC who refused to consider federation as an option. The logical next phase was the king's demand for a restoration of the Zulu sovereignty of 1834. He said it was pointless to participate in elections for a non-federal dispensation. He had worked for federalism for 20 years. The Buthelezi Commission had been rejected, the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba had been rejected. And the IFP's contribution to constitutional negotiations had been rejected. GR Linscott, 18 Osborne Street, Durban



DAVID GREYBE  
and TIM COHEN

TALKS remained deadlocked yesterday with an inconclusive end to President F W de Klerk's meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and the Freedom Alliance expressing doubts about additional constitutional concessions. **BIDAY**

In a short statement after the Zwelethini-De Klerk meeting, the parties agreed to set up a joint working committee to hold further talks. They again discussed the need to ensure proper recognition and constitutional accommodation for the Zulu king and the KwaZulu kingdom.

The two sides agreed to extend the joint working group's mandate to consider all aspects of this question urgently and report back as soon as possible. **23/2/94**

## De Klerk and king make no progress

The terseness of the statement suggests that no progress has been made in talks.

It now appears doubtful whether a compromise can be found on Zwelethini's demand for an sovereign Zulu kingdom, with the Zulu delegation expressing little or no confidence in the constitutional process.

The three-hour talks were attended by government Ministers and senior officials, while the king's delegation included Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelez. **(307) (107)**

Meanwhile, Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said this week's amendment

**To Page 2**

## Talks fail

**BIDAY 23/2/94**  
to the constitution appeared not to change anything fundamentally. "It appears to have been a symbolic gesture on the part of government and the ANC to accommodate the alliance." He said the alliance had received the proposal yesterday. **(107)**

Sapa reports that Buthelezi said the latest concession amounted to nothing more than municipal authority for provinces. The scrapping of the word "concurrent" from legislation on regional powers was not the alliance's bottom-line demand.

Cronje said alliance members would study the proposal in the next few days, before a possible meeting to respond formally. He did not rule out a resumption of talks with government and the ANC. ANC negotiator Penuell Maduna said

**From Page 1**  
"We've given them virtually everything they've wanted, except for a volkstaat and an independent Zulu state. Those they must win in the forthcoming elections."

He said the ANC would never shut the door on further negotiations. "We are ready to engage them if they want to."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the constitutional amendment package adopted at the World Trade Centre on Monday addressed all the concerns raised by the alliance.

"There is now nothing to keep them from participating in the elections. For the sake of our country's future we can only hope that reason will now prevail."

Report by D Greybe and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and A Lefoka, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

**See Page 16**



# Zulu king plans own constitution

(107)

CT 24/2/94

KING Goodwill Zwelethini looks set to promulgate a constitution for a sovereign Zulu kingdom next month following the total collapse of negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC.

But last night senior government and Inkatha negotiators began a desperate two-day round of negotiations aimed at drawing the IFP into the elections and warding off a civil war.

Top of the agenda at the meeting being held at a secret venue outside Cape Town is King Goodwill's call for a sovereign KwaZulu/Natal.

It is understood that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently told the government that the IFP would participate in the elections if the interim constitution could be amended to accommodate King Goodwill's request, something which President F W de Klerk said last week was realisable.

The leader of the government delegation, Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte, said last night: "Both sides are approaching this meeting with great ear-

## Government bids to avert breakaway

ness because we realise that this may be one of the last opportunities to change the interim constitution before Parliament meets on Monday."

However, other sources close to the tri-lateral negotiations involving the ANC, the government and the Freedom Alliance said there was now virtually no chance of an all-inclusive agreement on the interim constitution.

"The Alliance is coming apart and its now virtually a case of each party going it alone in negotiations," one senior source said last night.

The IFP has pulled out of negotiations after the ANC's proposed amendments were accepted by the Negotiating Council earlier this week.

However, the IFP's 16 MPs will attend the special tricameral joint sitting in Cape Town on Monday in a last bid to reach a settlement.

The ANC still appears to be desperately trying to arrange a meeting between its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the king to discuss the protection of tradition in the new constitution.

And Mr Mandela's long-awaited royal audience is still on the cards, according to ANC spokesman Mr Jacob Zuma.

However, IFP sources say that the king was "insulted" at the idea of "asking Mandela for his own land back".

● The IFP has hastily rejected a right-wing Afrikaner offer to fight alongside "the Zulus".

It has also denied claims by the Orde Boerevolk that right-wingers are training Zulus at camps in northern Natal. — Own Correspondent, Political Correspondent

# Election fears for KwaZulu

THE breakdown in talks between President F W de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini over an independent Zulu kingdom has sparked concerns that conducting elections will be extremely difficult in KwaZulu/Natal. *BIDay 24/2/94*

Government, the ANC, the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) are urgently trying to find ways of ensuring that election meetings and elections will be able to be held in the region.

Violence is expected to increase prior to the elections and government and the ANC have accepted that the Inkatha Freedom Party will boycott the polls.

The TEC's management committee could not find a solution on Tuesday, but a committee source said: "We were all

**BILLY PADDOCK**

acutely aware of the need to do something urgently to stabilise the situation."

An IEC source said it was "struggling to establish our elections infrastructure in the region and be confident that elections will be able to be conducted freely".

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that IEC head Judge Johann Kriegler said yesterday his commission was planning to organise debates between political parties in "no-go" areas. *(107) (307)*

The ANC and Inkatha said they would welcome such a move and would give it their full support.

Meanwhile, Home Affairs Minister

□ To Page 2

## KwaZulu

*BIDay 24/2/94*

□ From Page 1

Danie Schutte headed a government delegation meeting Zwelithini's emissaries in Cape Town last night. The discussions will continue today.

Zwelithini told De Klerk on Tuesday that he was not dependent on multiparty approval for the recognition of a sovereign Zulu kingdom. He was "simply claiming it".

But the ANC said the king's aspirations would never be met.

Sapa reports that ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said: "There is no way we are going to restore the boundaries of the 19th century or return to political structures of the 19th century. It's not going to happen. That is a non-starter." *(307) (107)*

He said an end to violence, in which more than 14 000 people have died since February 1990, was essential for free and fair elections.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance said

that, as a result of the changes to the interim constitution, SA now had a better and improved product.

Chairman Rowan Cronje said no decision had been made to boycott the elections. The alliance would assess the whole package before making a decision.

"However, in the end the individual members of the alliance will make their own decisions whether to boycott or contest the coming elections in view of the latest proposals," he said.

An ANC source said a further round of talks with Bophuthatswana was planned for this week "but unfortunately we have nothing arranged with the Afrikaner Volksfront or Inkatha".

Report by W Paddock and J Ngoobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and P Bulger, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● See Page 14



**I**N 1879, impis of Zulu king Cetshwayo inflicted on imperial Britain its most catastrophic defeat, wiping out 1 600 of Lord Chelmsford's invading army at Isandlwana. A century later he was portrayed in a movie by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the uncle of his successor, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

For most modern South Africans, the demands for an autonomous KwaZulu put forward by Zwelithini in negotiations with government seem as other-worldly as that movie — all too graphic but at the same time unreal, almost fictional.

Opinion polls show not much more than a quarter of SA's 9-million Zulus claim unequivocal allegiance to the Zulu monarchy. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny the huge historical legacy that Zwelethini bears.

Cetshwayo was the last king of independent Zululand. He was a nephew of Shaka, who a century before revolutionised the Zulu state, developing an army so powerful that it became pre-eminent among the kingdoms of southern Africa.

This proud history laid the foundations for the profound identity crisis faced by what nationalists are fond of calling "the Zulu nation".

**T**he identity crisis is at the root of current negotiations between Zwelithini and government; its tentacles bedevil a settlement and the consequences of its failure could threaten every aspect of SA life for decades.

These negotiations have for some time been overshadowed by the more engrossing and immediate negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the parties "inside the process", but there are good grounds for arguing that the "Zwelithini track" could be more consequential in the long term.

All over Africa, and the world for that matter, there is precedent for the proposition that discounting a legitimate monarch is a most dangerous course of action. But most South Africans, including many in the ANC, ridicule this suggestion, seemingly sneering under their breath: "Send him a tank."

# Creativity needed to stave off another Isandlwana

B/Dow 24/12/94



TIM COHEN

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Although every Zulu heart does not pound "bayete" at the king's approach, there is undoubtedly more sympathy for Zwelithini's contribution to negotiations than there is for Inkatha's politics of malice and doom, even, or especially, among Zulus. Ironically, some argue Inkatha's contribution has been significant despite its contrariness, and now that many of its suggestions will be incorporated in the new constitution, SA will be a better country for Inkatha's uncompromising stance. However irreconcilable Inkatha's and the ANC's positions might have been, this pales into insignificance compared with the differences between the ANC and the Zulu king.

Zwelithini's demand for an autonomous Zulu nation seems quite unreal, more like a negotiating position than a bottom-line demand, but he is apparently in deadly earnest. Neither the puppet of Buthelezi nor his uncle's adversary, he has put forward his case with unerring zeal, developing in his four meetings with President F W de Klerk an ever greater determination.

Many observers consider Zwelithini's all too recent arrival in the negotiations as a Buthelezi ploy to add a string to Inkatha's bow. The truth is slightly different. In the king's eyes the unlikelihood of Inkatha's taking part in the election has raised the spectre that the Zulu nation, undefeated by any Afri-



□ ZWELITHINI

can tribe, could be ruled by default from Pretoria by its inferiors, the amaXhosa, by whom it was never defeated in battle. This would be unconscionable.

Zwelithini and Buthelezi's history has been a fraught one, with the king warned to stay out of politics and forced to scamp out of the Kwa-Zulu legislative assembly for fear of his life some time ago. But now, in the face of this new threat, that is all water under the bridge. Zwelithini describes Buthelezi as "my most trusted lieutenant" and Buthelezi has

should it gain power, and use all means at its disposal to subjugate the Zulu nation, in the same way all dominant tribal groups have dealt with opponents in Africa. This is why the king argues for an autonomous region, believing Xhosa domination of a new government will in effect mean the end of his rule.

The World Trade Centre negotiations took place between people, although political opponents, who had comparable frames of reference. The discussions between the king and government are taking place between people on completely different wavelengths. Government speaks the language of a constitutional state while the king's delegation is seemingly caught up in a bizarre time warp, speaking as if it were negotiating peace after the British empire's revenge for Isandlwana at the battle of Ulundi. No wrangle at the World Trade Centre is even remotely comparable.

Furthermore, there is no confidence between the king's delegation and the ANC. When Zwelithini speaks of the negotiations, he talks of the discussions between government and "that Venda" (ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa).

**W**hether anything can be achieved in the discussions between government and the king is a moot point. The prospects are bleak. Although they have agreed to continue their discussions, the sides are so far apart talks seem almost senseless other than to postpone the possibility of war until after or as close as possible to the election.

The widespread belief that all Zulus will follow the instructions of their king might be overstated, but the consequences of his opposition to the election are serious enough for the ANC to give more attention to them that has been the case. The stage may be set for intervention by the ANC's most senior Zulu representative, Jacob Zuma, despite the king's apparent distaste for the organisation. Zuma will be called on to use all the wizardry at his disposal to make a constructive and creative contribution. The alternative will be something akin to a re-enactment of Isandlwana in which the blood will not be a stage prop.

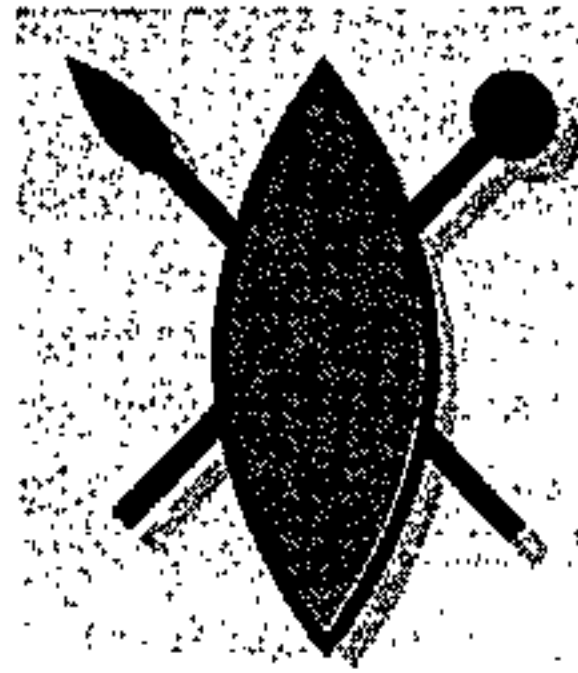


FM 25/2/94

# Coming up for the crunch

Zulus will decide for civil war or ersatz federalism

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**KwaZulu's Chief** Mangosuthu Buthelezi is at the crossroads. His choice of direction in the next 10 days could determine SA's destiny for years to come. He must decide whether to continue his intransigence in the

hope that it will win further federal constitutional concessions — but risk what could amount to civil war. Or he could return to negotiations in the hope of getting more mileage and enhancing what is left of his popular political image.

If he chooses the talks, his chances of gaining much more are probably limited. He will not have achieved the federal constitution he wants but he will be able to rest assured that the constitution envisaged will have federal intimations that could be annealed over the next five years into material regional autonomy. Not everything, but something.

Moreover, by re-entering negotiations and taking part in the election, he would be in a position to regain some of the moral high ground he occupied in the past, whence he may again find himself able to play a pivotal role in SA's future.

The concessions don't meet all the demands made by Buthelezi and his Freedom Alliance partners in the so-called yellow paper presented to government and the ANC in December. But they concede some of the key principles underlying the demands and as such provide at least the basis for further negotiation.

If Buthelezi and a significant element of the alliance can now re-engage government and the ANC, fight the election on a federal platform and use whatever muscle they may have in a new parliament to strengthen the federal elements in the final constitution, history may yet judge them as heroes of the struggle for democracy in SA.

Any other course will inevitably lead to a confrontation. And that could be a gamble. It is true that intransigence has paid off. But the trick is to judge when the ANC-Nat league will become so exhausted of patience that it cries enough and digs in its heels. Buthelezi is the only man on the Freedom Alliance side capable of that judgment.

Notwithstanding the initial rejection of the concessions by Buthelezi and the alliance's Rowan Cronje, they represent a significant departure from previous government-ANC positions. In addition, efforts to draw the alliance into discussion of the proposals by the multiparty negotiating council in Kempton Park this week indicate a genu-

ine desire to settle with the alliance before the election.

The concessions (see *Current Affairs*) were approved by the negotiating council and will be endorsed by a special session of parliament next week. They provide for: a double ballot; additional powers for provinces; a 20-member council to be chosen after the election to investigate the possible establishment of a *volkstaat*; an additional constitutional principle guaranteeing the right to self-determination; and guarantees that provincial powers granted in the interim constitution will not be changed substantially in the final one.

The Electoral Act will also be changed to allow parties that did not register for the election by the February 13 cut-off date to do so by March 7.

Some of the concessions are similar in essence to proposed amendments to the interim constitution tabled in parliament in December by Inkatha MP Jurie Mentz but rejected by government. Mentz, a member of Inkatha's head committee, says that if the latest package covers the issues of sufficient powers for provinces, the authority to raise taxes, a double ballot and the permanence of provincial powers, it could be a basis for further negotiation.

"In my view, the outstanding problems

fanatics, will undoubtedly follow his lead. And though recalcitrant and imperious, too often irascible, careless of friendship and contemptuous of support, he has done more for federalism in this country than any other politician. He has certainly withstood the siren voices of the appeasers.

Even DP negotiator Colin Eglin, who believes the new package is well worth Buthelezi's serious consideration, says that while the latest concessions will not make the constitution federal "in the true sense of the word," it is a further step towards federalism. "I am surprised the ANC has gone this far."

Eglin says he is now less apprehensive about the transition. "The package adds credibility to the negotiation process. The alliance had created a perception that the process was rushed and one-sided. The concessions show that the allegation is not correct. They are a pragmatic and generous compromise that will lower the political temperature and lessen the threat of confrontation."

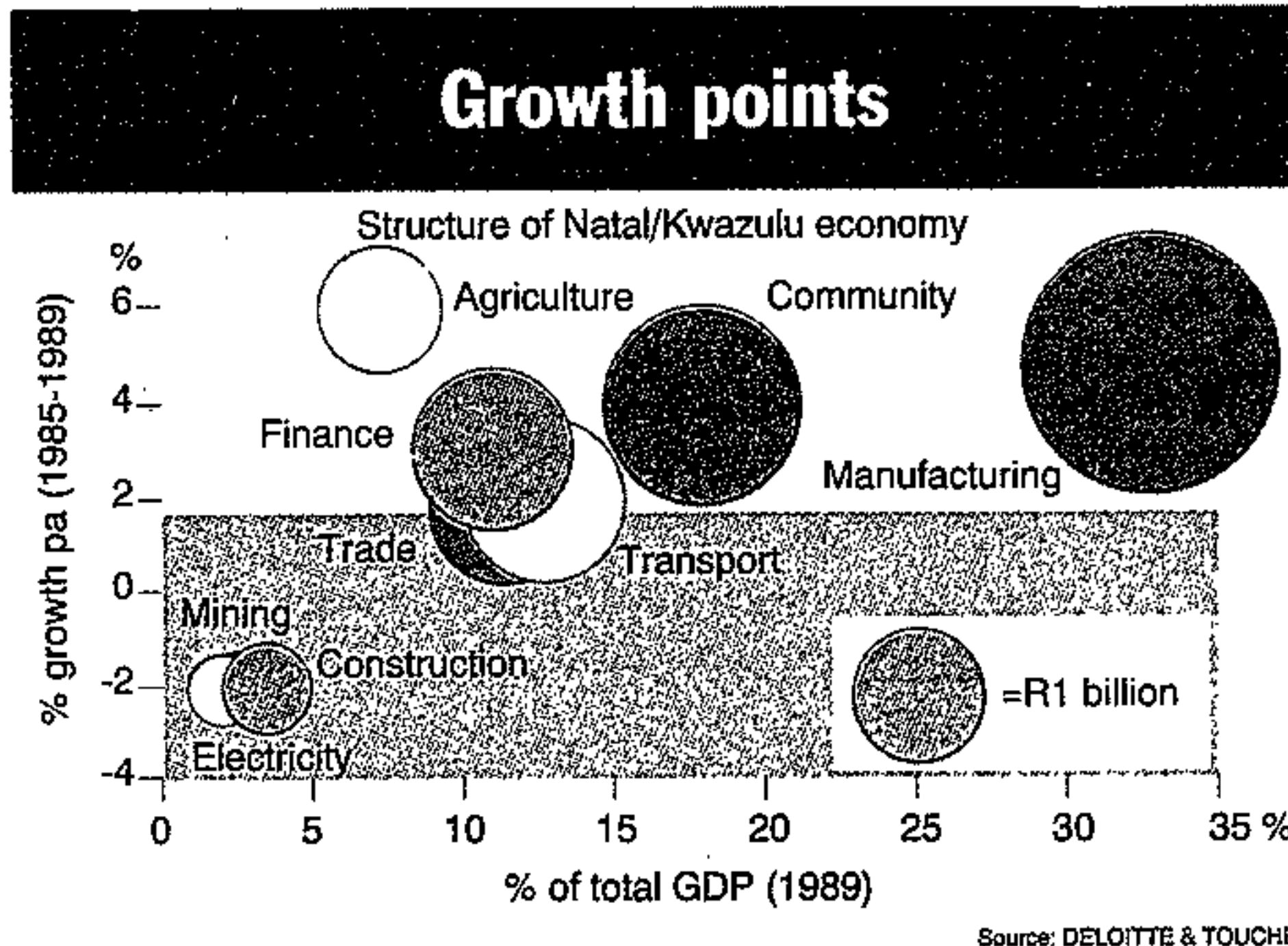
Cape Town University's David Welsh agrees that the concessions give the constitution "federal potential." But will they attract the alliance back to the process? Maybe some elements will do so, says Welsh. "Neither the alliance nor its components are in any sense monolithic blocks. There seems to

be enough in the concessions to draw in people like General Constand Viljoen, (Inkatha's) Joe Mathews and Frank Mdlalose, but they may not be able to persuade others to come in."

But Welsh has reservations about Buthelezi, especially his willingness to re-join the process. "I believe he has decided that under no circumstances will he participate in the election. Twiddling constitutional knobs will therefore have little

effect on his attitude. The same goes for the Afrikaner Volksfront hardliners."

SA Chamber of Business parliamentary lobbyist Peter Duminy says Sacob welcomes any additional move towards a federal structure. The organisation believes a federal system will create certainty about the foundations of future economic activity and bring government closer to the people. "We like to think that these proposals improve the situation."



can be resolved within the next 10 days," he suggests.

Buthelezi is the key player in this game. Alliance leaders' claims of massive support are untested and probably unfounded. Most Batswana do not support Lucas Mangope and most Afrikaners do not insist on an apartheid-based *volkstaat*. Only Buthelezi, with 2,5m paid-up Inkatha members, has a proven following of any real significance.

The rest of the alliance, except for racist

cont → p26



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(104)

But the disposition that has won these concessions does not necessarily endear Buthelezi to liberal democrats, especially those who have little understanding of or sympathy for free enterprise, Christian values and political consistency.

Buthelezi will not opt out. He is determined that KwaZulu should remain part of SA despite King Goodwill Zwelithini's threats of secession.

Nevertheless, he is apparently determined not to be sucked into a new political structure that relegates his region to the same Cinderella status it suffered under successive Nat administrations.

Indeed, his fears are not unfounded. The KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration commissioned consultancy Deloitte & Touche to probe the extent to which the region received a less-than-proportional share of public funding relative to its population and tax contribution — as well as the negative impact of such underfunding.

The conclusion, published at the end of 1992, was that prolonged gross underfunding had severely impaired the region's ability to provide for its population, especially the poor.

The consultants pointed out, for example, that though Natal/KwaZulu is relatively underdeveloped with a virtually equal population, it receives government consumption spending of less than 33% of the PWV. And it pays 17,4% of total SA taxes, which is consistently more than the region's share of gross domestic product.

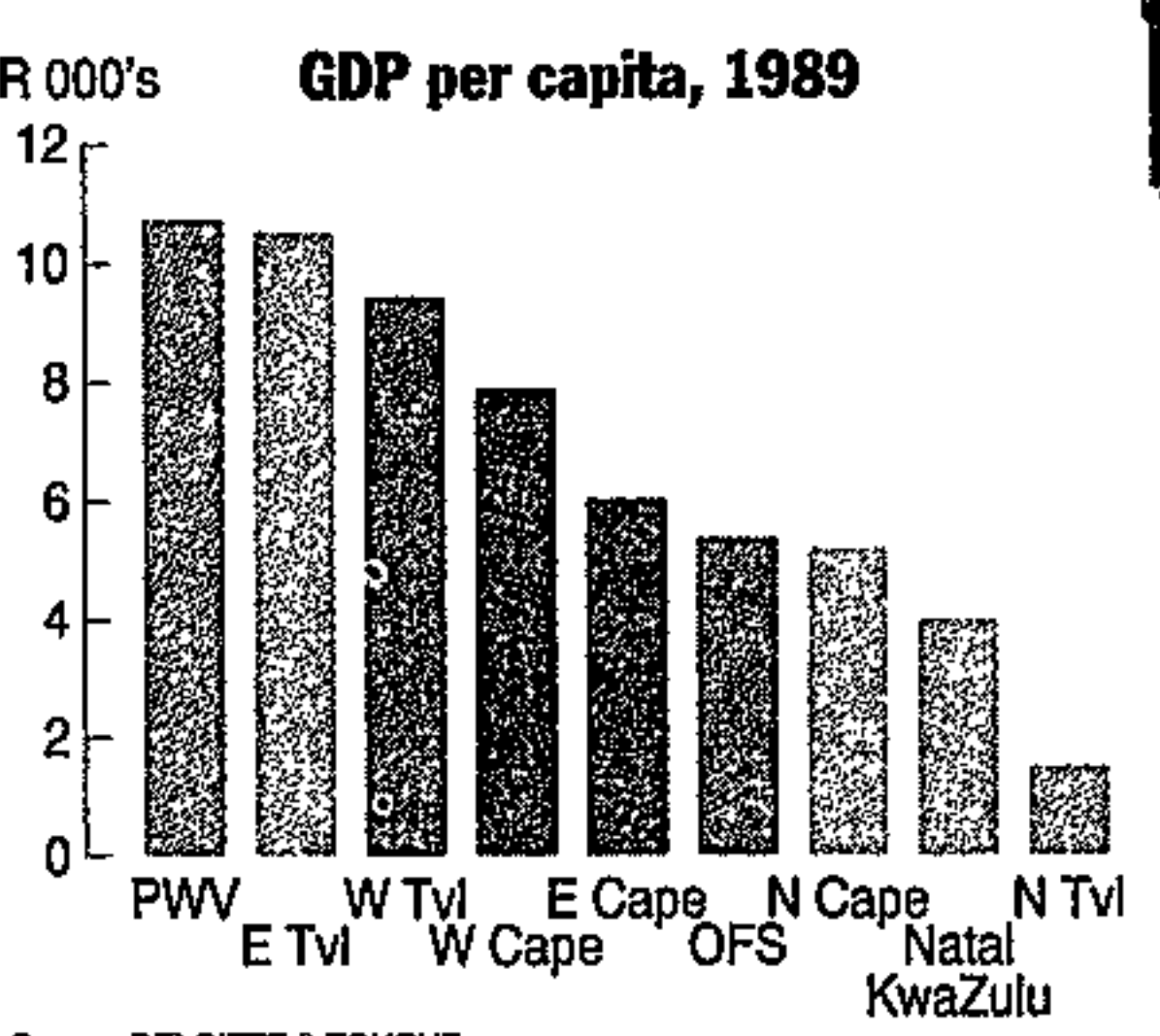
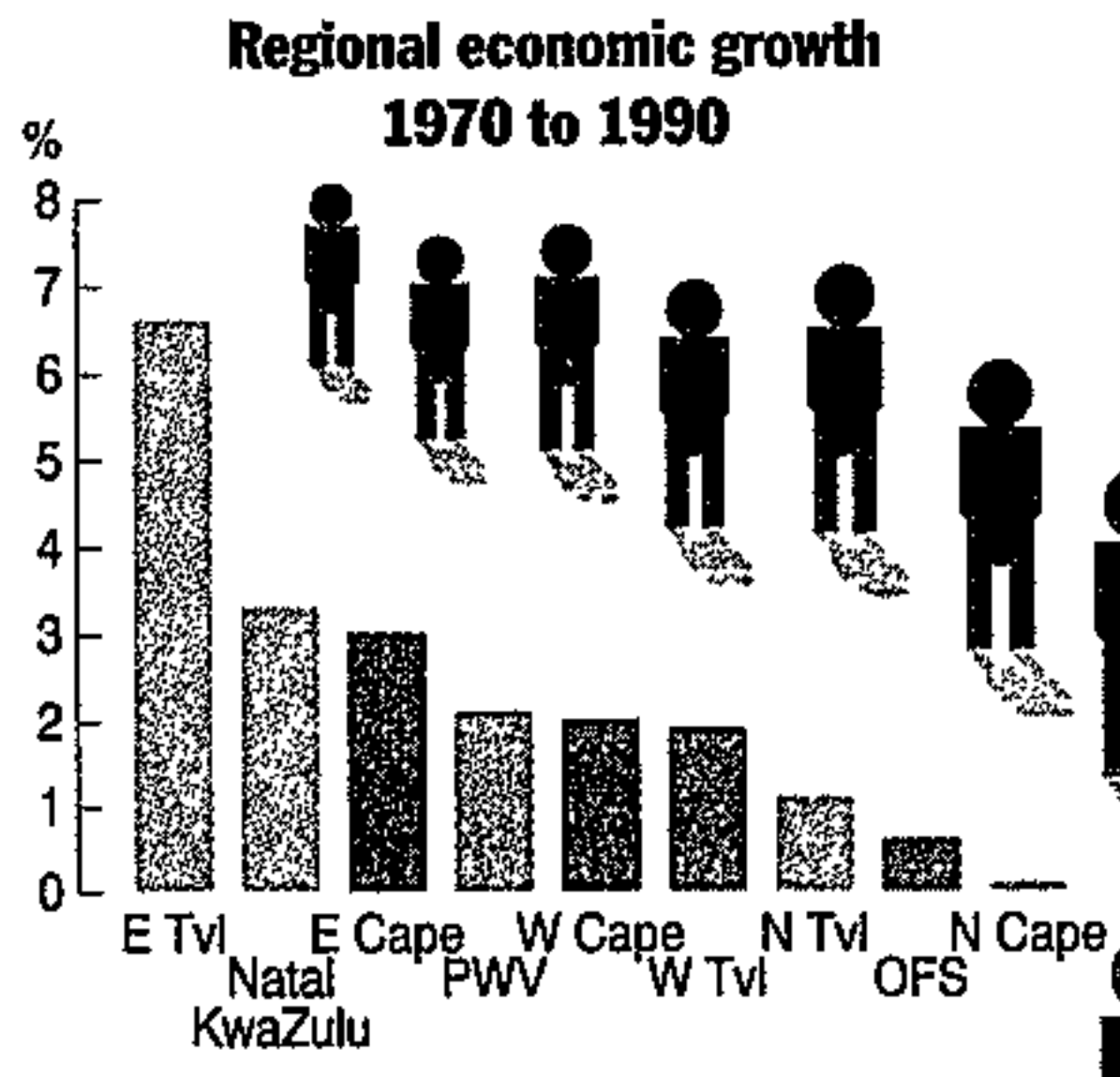
Natal University economist Guisepe Lenta points out that though government is a net contributor to economic growth, per capita expenditure in 1989, for example, was nearly 50% lower than that for the national average — R381 for the region, against R569 nationally.

"This suggests," says Lenta, "that taxation flows out of the region relative to central government expenditure (excluding government grants to KwaZulu)."

That is not to say Natal doesn't have a sound economy which Buthelezi, or whoever takes over after April 27, will want to build on. Durban regional Chamber of Business economist Barry Poulson points out the gross national product of Natal, with 7,5m people, is R45m a year, compared with R85m for 90m in SADC countries (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland and Tanzania).

He says inherent strengths of the region include infrastructure, transport (road, rail, oil pipeline), electricity, water (net exporters), education and communication. The industries have sophisticated professional and technical support systems. A sound agricultural sector includes sugar, livestock (cattle and poultry), forestry, and tropical fruit (providing 16% of the nation's commercially sold agricultural production from 8% of the land mass). The two main ports serve the Transvaal and PWV. Industries account for

## Growth with poverty



Source: DELOITTE & TOUCHE

24% of SA's manufacturing output and the potential for tourism is said to be tremendous.

So the argument follows that, given reasonable autonomy and an economy more committed to the market than that of Pretoria, the region could attract investors, especially foreign ones.

Durban regional Chamber of Business chairman John Dickson says that, though apolitical, the chamber strongly supports constitutionally entrenched federalism in which people have a say in developing objectives in their regions.

He says devolved power under a federal system promotes economic efficiency. "There is no doubt that, with people directly involved in a region, resulting shorter lines of communication to decision-makers, benefits of good planning and increased administrative efficiency promote far better use of available resources. And local knowledge improves the likelihood of identifying the correct economic development priorities," says Dickson.

However, he points out that regional autonomy is meaningless unless it has a reasonable degree of financial independence. This requires two-tier taxation, on federal and regional levels, to avoid central government dominance.

Another complication is Zwelithini's deci-

sion to enter the political fray as a free agent. He bluntly demanded of President F W de Klerk at their meeting in Durban last week an independent Zulu kingdom.

Though his nation was conquered by the whites, the king argues, its sovereignty was never eliminated. Now that whites are relinquishing their sovereignty, it is only logical that it reverts to the Zulu nation as defined in 1834 (embracing all of Natal) — a position he claims is supported by the international law of decolonisation. In short, Zwelithini says there's no way he will accept the current constitution or be ruled by a unitary state.

But ANC southern Natal secretary Sbu Ndebele points out that reverting to 19th Century status would eliminate private property ownership since all land would be owned by the crown. Allocations would depend on the benevolence of the monarch.

Wits international affairs expert Sara Pienaar says countries fear nothing more than secession. "Civil war would be inevitable and they are the hardest wars, once started, to end. One need look no further than Bosnia, Angola and Mozambique for proof of their capacity to endure, inflict human suffering and result in economic devastation."

Natal University Economic Research Unit director Gavin Maasdorp says that though there's little

doubt as to Pretoria's ability to quell a Natal/KwaZulu rebellion, significant and prolonged force might be needed to maintain law and order in the region. He says that even if an independent kingdom resulted from a long conflict

with Pretoria, "relations would be soured to the point where Natal was virtually on its own — probably outside the customs union and common monetary area."

This would imply considerable dislocation of the area's economy, infrastructure and social fabric. It would take a long time to rebuild Natal/KwaZulu and regain the confidence of investors.

"Nevertheless, the region could survive at least at the level of countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe."

That's not what Buthelezi really wants. But the relatively robust economy, as homelands go, and strategic deep water ports could provide him with some bargaining chips that might pay off.

The next 10 days will be exceptionally tense, not least so for Buthelezi. Our guess is that there is too much at stake for him to go for all or nothing. For we believe the shrewdness of his political judgment will outweigh the volatility of his often unfortunate public persona.



P. T. O →



# Urgent talks between Zulu king, government to continue

ARC 25/2/94

(107)

WHILE "urgent" talks were scheduled to continue today between the government and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, and tomorrow between the members of the Freedom Alliance, preparations rolled ahead for the holding of next week's session of parliament and for the holding of the election.

A Bill setting out the concessions to the Freedom Alliance which the government and the African National Congress have made was published last night, and a parliamentary standing committee is due to review them shortly. Parliament will meet on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday to vote on the concessions.

Yesterday the Independent Electoral Commission announced that it was having 80-million ballot papers printed in England to cater for roughly 22,7-million potential voters.

The papers, which would fill ten Jumbo jets, will be flown into South Africa under stringent security and be transported to warehouses under surveillance.

IEC commissioner Advocate Zac Jacob, addressing a Press briefing yesterday where voting procedure was announced, said the ballot paper order was about double the number necessary for voters (each voter gets two ballot papers) to accommodate distribution problems which may arise and ensure there are enough if the voting population exceeds 22-million.

Voting procedure entails the following:

- Voters will have their identification checked at the doors of polling stations where party voting agents will also conduct ID checks.

- The voter will have both hands studied under ultra-violet lights.

- The voter's knuckles will then be dipped in an invisible but UV-sensitive marking fluid which will wear off in about a week.

- The voter will hand his identity document or temporary voter card to an official who will mark it and then a ballot paper will be given to the voter with the ID document. The voter will then go to one of the voting com-



partments and vote in secret before placing the ballot paper into a ballot box for the national assembly election.

The voter then moves to another table where his ID is checked again before a second ballot paper, this time for the provincial legislature, is folded and handed to the voter.

The voter then votes again in secret and casts the ballot in a box marked for the provincial legislature election.

## IEC looks at Bop

THE IEC was addressing the issue of free political activity in Bophuthatswana and aimed to ensure that all citizens of that area would be allowed to vote in April, it said yesterday.

The IEC was responding to a Lawyers for Human Rights statement this week that the organisation was not satisfied with the IEC response to the Bophuthatswana situation.

## 15 electoral officers

A LIST of 15 provincial electoral officers for the April poll was released at the World Trade Centre by the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday.

Officers appointed so far are: Mary Burton and P J Schoeman for Cape Town (Western Cape); Mr I L Lindi and Mr D C I van Schalkwyk in Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape); Steve Kahanovitz and Mr S J Jonker in Kimberley (Northern Cape); Tembani Jali and Mr J V Grobler in Durban (Natal); Mr F J Fourie in Bloemfontien (OFS); in Pietersburg (Northern Transvaal) a Mr Ma-

ponya and Mr D J M Adendorff; Mr G G Zama and Mr F W J van Rensburg in Nelspruit (Eastern Transvaal); and Mr J Hoosain and Mr G W Orr in Johannesburg (PWV).

## Mandela's peace call

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his call for an end to political violence and has emphasised the importance of free and fair elections.

Speaking in Kimberley, Mr Mandela was greeted by an exuberant crowd of about 400 ANC supporters at the Kimberley Provincial Hospital today.

Mr Mandela was welcomed to the hospital by the medical superintendent, Chris Engelbrecht.

Referring to the violence which erupted after the National Party roadshow in Kimberley on Wednesday night, Mr Mandela said he wanted free and fair elections and asked ANC supporters not to disrupt meetings, but to act with a sense of responsibility as future leaders of the country.

'We will beat the National Party hands down,' he said.

## IFP 'breakthrough'

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the latest proposal on the position of the Zulu king in a future constitutional dispensation — as put forward by the government yesterday — could be accepted as "a basis" for further discussions and negotiations on the issue.

The proposals arose out of two days of discussions between a South African government delegation and emissaries from King Goodwill Zwelithini and a delegation from the IFP.

## Phama funeral

TRANSKEI is to witness one of its biggest funerals tomorrow when Sabelo Phama (Gqwetha), the commander of the Pan Africanist Congress's armed wing Apla, is laid to rest in the village of Baziya, outside Umtata.

(Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).



# TEC approves R33m plane for Kwazulu

JOHANNESBURG. — The finance sub-council of the Transitional Executive Council yesterday approved Kwazulu's purchase of a R33-million jet, ANC delegate to the sub-council Mr Tito Mboweni said.

The purchase of the jet has been the subject of controversy and has been discussed by the finance sub-council over the past two months. Mr Mboweni said a decision was reached at a meeting yesterday.

The sub-council had decided that the new jet should be properly registered so that when a new administration takes over there will be a proper transfer of the asset.

However, the transitional council had not yet agreed to release a R217m loan from the Development Bank of Southern Africa to the government of Bophuthatswana.

Mr Mboweni indicated that Bophuthatswana was refusing to agree to a set of conditions, among them that it allow free political activity. He said the loan would remain suspended until Bophuthatswana gave that assurance.

He said the sub-council was investigating instances of corruption, public funds apparently having been used to the benefit of a political party.

The sub-council had also come across cases of new posts being created and pension settlements being adjusted in anticipation of a new government.

Mr Mboweni said the sub-council was trying to sort out the budgets of the self-governing and TBVC states. — Sapa

CF 26/2/94 (107)

# KwaZulu public service plans for new SA

THE KwaZulu public service was "going full-steam ahead" making arrangements for incorporation into the regional and national bureaucracy despite politicians' threat to boycott the elections.

Theminkosi Memela, assistant secretary in the Chief Minister's department, said yesterday KwaZulu's public service was holding meetings with the Commission for Administration in Pretoria.

Asked how this fitted in with the Inkatha Freedom Party's threatened boycott of the elections, he said: "Things are a bit fluid right now, but the fact that there is a special relationship between Inkatha and the KwaZulu government does not matter.

BIBAY  
BILLY PADDOCK

"Whether it is the PAC, the ANC or the NP that will rule KwaZulu/Natal, it must not affect the public servants. Their job is just to provide good welfare and services to the people in the region. 25/2/94

"We have been planning and preparing for a rationalised public service as part of the greater SA and we are moving full-steam ahead with these plans."

After a meeting with the commission, KwaZulu's public servants were notified last week that "their jobs are safe". It was explained that "some members may be taken into a rationalised KwaZulu/Natal

administration, while others may be moved to the national administration".

Memela was aware that some public servants might be moved because of their relationship with Inkatha. "But this always happens when politicians are changed at the top and is part of being a democracy."

He hoped there would be a peaceful resolution to the impasse "fairly soon, within the next few days" (10/7/94)

Inkatha was opposed to secession. "All along, in the Buthelezi commission and the joint KwaZulu/Natal Indaba we have advocated a coherent region."

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

See Pages 6 and 10



By SIPHO KHUMALO

A FORMER KwaZulu Minister of Works told City Press this week that a pamphlet accusing him of being an ANC operative was "inside work" by his Inkatha colleagues and he would resign from Inkatha if his suspicions turned out to be true.

Chief Simon Hulumeni Gumede, who recently resigned all positions he had held in KwaZulu, but retained his Inkatha membership, said in an interview with City Press that he had "greeted with shock" the news that he had been "linked to the ANC by forged ANC pamphlets" distributed in KwaZulu.

### Commitment

"If it were to be proved beyond reasonable doubt that the people who put my name on the alleged ANC list were Inkatha members... who know of my commitment to Inkatha all these years... I would resign from Inkatha," said Gumede.

City Press visited Gumede at his Ubombo home to find him busy tending his herd of the cattle.

"I greeted my being falsely linked to the ANC with shock because members of the Inkatha central committee know that I have never had any contacts with the ANC.

"I also told the central committee it would be ut-



**I ACCUSE! . . . Chief Gumede says a pamphlet linking him to the ANC is a forgery.**

ter stupidity and naive for any party to divulge names of its secret operatives.

"The ANC has never even made overtures to me," he said.

Gumede added that since the distribution of a controversial pamphlet some of his colleagues have

been claiming that they had seen him with MK members at his home.

"This makes it clear to me that this is an inside job. But it also surprises me how the MK members could possibly visit me because both at my Ulundi home and here there are police who provide secur-

ity," said Gumede. It is also understood that some central committee members did not like Gumede's attitude towards the coming elections.

"My position is well known to the central committee. I have always said that if we do not participate in elections we must have an alternative plan to fall back on. At the end of the day people will elect a new government that will rule without us," said Gumede.

The former government minister, however, stressed that the decision to resign was taken long before Inkatha decided not to take part in elections.

He told City Press he was happy to be out of party politics but since his resignation he hadn't had time to rest because many parties had been trying to woo him into their fold.

# ANC links

# Chief denies

CIPRESS 27/2/94

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When City Press was at Gumede's home African Christian Democratic Party officials were present, trying to convince him to join their party.

"There have been many coming here with the exception of PAC and ANC. But now I am out of party politics and back to local politics.

"A chief will always return back to his people," he said.

He said he now saw his primary role was to give guidance to his people during the crucial transitional period.

# 'Leave us out' says KwaZulu

CT 28/2/94

(107)

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have called for a moratorium on elections in KwaZulu/Natal as a possible way through the impasse over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's demand for an independent Zulu kingdom.

The proposal that has been put to the government and which was tabled at the joint parliamentary standing committee on Friday by Inkatha called for the region to be left-out of this election.

The proposal is that the whole of KwaZulu/Natal should not take part in April's election but rather that it be governed by an administrator while negotiations take place with all parties to draft a regional constitution.

In this constitution, provision

## Attempt to avert deadlock

would then be made for the position of the Zulu king and a Zulu kingdom. Once this regional constitution had been finalised elections would be held in KwaZulu/Natal.

However, both Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman and ANC negotiator Mr Joe Slovo yesterday reacted unfavourably to this proposal.

Mr Schoeman said other parties were wanting to contest the election. Mr Slovo described the

idea as "a very doubtful starter".

President F W de Klerk said yesterday he continued to hold out some hope that ongoing talks between the government and Inkatha on the status of King Goodwill, as well as Mr Nelson Mandela's planned meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow, would "even at this late hour deliver some constructive developments."

Mr De Klerk also held out an olive branch to AVF leader General Constand Viljoen after an angry exchange of letters towards the end of last week, saying his door remained open and that Gen Viljoen was welcome to meet with him today.

Mr De Klerk said he still had "some hope" that the flurry of "last gasp" efforts to draw Freedom Alliance parties into the election would bear fruit. — Own Correspondent, Political Correspondent



# No more concessions — Gwala

Own Correspondent

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team slaughtered near Creighton in southern Natal last week.

DURBAN. — The ANC had made enough concessions to Inkatha and the Freedom Alliance and there would never be a sovereign Zulu kingdom or a volkstaat in Natal, ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala warned yesterday.

He was speaking at a mass funeral for 14 of the young members of an ANC voter education

The coffins, covered in ANC flags, were arranged on a hillside close to the house where the victims, aged 13 to 26, were shot as they slept.

Three IFP members have been arrested in connection with the dawn attack.

"We have made enough conces-

sions," Mr Gwala said.

"Some say they want a (Zulu) kingdom with a monarch who can appoint ministers. Such a thing will never happen."

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu urged restraint and said such acts would never stop the ANC delivering the final blow for freedom in the elections.

**BILLY PADDOCK**

**KWAZULU** government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have called for a moratorium on elections in KwaZulu/Natal as a possible way through the impasse over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for an independent Zulu kingdom.

The proposal, put to government and tabled at the joint parliamentary standing committee on Friday called for the region to be left out of the April election. It should be governed by an administrator while negotiations take place on a regional constitution. In this constitution, provision would be made for the position of the Zulu king and a Zulu-kingdom. Once this regional constitution had been finalised, elections would be held in KwaZulu/Natal.

However, Deputy Constitutional Devel-

## Call to delay poll in

### KwaZulu/Natal

*Biday 28/2/94*  
Development Minister Fanus Schoeman and ANC negotiator Joe Slovo yesterday reacted unfavourably to this proposal. Schoeman said other parties wanted to contest the election. Slovo described the idea as "a very doubtful starter." (107)

Meanwhile, a KwaZulu/Inkatha source said yesterday Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte had misrepresented Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's position on Friday by saying Buthelezi saw government proposals as a basis for further talks and that this represented a breakthrough.

Report by B. Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.



# 'Free' Zulu Sowetan 3/3/94 kingdom call

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called for a Zulu kingdom separate from the rest of South Africa. (107)

He said the KwaZulu government could not be held responsible for the Zulu nation's anger if elections proceeded without this demand being met.

Addressing a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus meeting in Ulundi, Buthelezi said: "We need to separate the kingdom of KwaZulu from the rest of South Africa."

"If this can be done through a constitutional principle in the 1993 constitution, then we will entertain constitutional amendments to this effect."

If the African National Congress and the SA Government went ahead with the April poll, without the Zulu king's demands being met, "the KwaZulu government cannot be held responsible for the anger of the Zulu nation".

Buthelezi made no mention of his talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Tuesday at which he agreed to consider registering the IFP for South Africa's first all-race elections in April. — Sapa.

## Self-defence units parade

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More than 1 400 KwaZulu self-protection unit members have completed a four-week training course in Zululand and another 1 500 recruits will start training soon.

A passing-out parade at Ulundi's sports grounds yesterday was the culmination of a month's training at Mlaba camp, near Umfolozi, for 1 440 recruits — the third intake so far.

They were inspected by KwaZulu Justice Minister CJ Mtetwa.

Camp commander Philip Powell said the latest intake had seen a record number of 1 500 men from throughout KwaZulu/Natal registering for training, which had included physical training, drill, and lectures on firearms-laws and the peace accord.

They had been taught marshalling and organisational skills as well as musketry and tactics.

"The philosophy behind the self-protection units is to continue the idea of community policing.

"There is a move away from the statutory police force to involve members of the community to help fight crime and stop the violence," Powell said.

# Inkatha will not quit peace bodies, says Vos

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has backed down on plans to pull out of all Transvaal peace structures.

"There is no question of Inkatha pulling out of the national peace accord structures in the Transvaal or anywhere else in SA," Inkatha representative on the national peace secretariat Suzanne Vos said yesterday, Sapa reports.

Her statement contradicted the one made by Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu on Wednesday.

Ndlovu said Inkatha was pulling out of the peace structures because they had been hijacked by the ANC.

He also said the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat was doing nothing because hundreds of Inkatha members and supporters had been killed in political violence in Thokoza and Phola Park on the East Rand.

Vos said Ndlovu was expressing real problems experienced by Inkatha in relation to various peace committees.

Many Inkatha members who had been working in the peace structures in the past year had been killed or injured in attacks, she said. "While the leadership of Inkatha understands and appreciates the problems experienced by Mr Ndlovu, we are nevertheless fully committed to serving national peace accord structures to the best of our ability."

Asked why she was contradicting Ndlovu, Vos said: "He was clearly expressing the frustration he has. He has the democratic right to express his frustration."

A meeting would be held between the Inkatha leadership and the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat in a bid to resolve the problems and

achieve more constructive Inkatha participation in the peace structures, Vos added.

The secretariat has called on Inkatha to support its claims with evidence.

WILSON ZWANE reports Vos also suggested that the peace accord structure could be revitalised if participating political organisations seconded senior officials to it full-time.

The national peace committee's task group would meet today to discuss, among other issues, Inkatha's threat to withdraw from the peace structures, media spokesman Val Pauquet said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said he was trying to contact Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to seek direction on how to allay members' misgivings about taking part in peace structures in Natal. He said it was becoming increasingly clear that members in the province did not want to take part in the structures, a stance that was against party policy.

Buthelezi said on Tuesday, after his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela, that efforts would be stepped up to encourage members to support and take part in peace accord structures and other peace initiatives.

Our Durban correspondent reports the strife-torn Mgendwa area in Umbumbulu received a welcome boost for peace on Wednesday when ANC and Inkatha local leaders agreed at a meeting to form a joint peace committee to end violence in the community.

The parties also agreed that ANC supporters who fled Mgendwa at the height of violence about four years ago should return.



Sowetan 8/3/94 (8/3) (107)

# Policeman under witness protection

## Sowetan Correspondent

A KWAZULU policeman and his family have been put in a witness protection programme by the Goldstone Commission following his chilling claims regarding a Natal massacre last year.

Lieutenant Westleigh Mbata told London's *Observer* newspaper that a cover-up by senior KwaZulu officials had followed his investigations into the Nqutu massacre of 11 ANC followers in November last year.

The newspaper conveyed his information to the Goldstone Commission on Friday and he and his family were immediately put into its witness protection programme.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said that an "intensive" investigation was being conducted by the commission's Natal investigation team, who were interviewing Mbata.

Mbata told the *Observer* that he had arrested two men shortly after the massacre of 11 friends and relatives of Chief Elphus Molefe, an ANC supporter.

The men confessed to the killings and named another five men who had been involved in the massacre.

But Mbata was put on "sick leave" shortly after he approached his commanding officer for permission to track down the other suspects in Johannesburg.

He has not returned to work since, the *Observer* said.

# 'AWB is training Inkatha'

*City Press 13/3/94*  
By SIPHO KHUMALO

(107)

AN AWB member who pitched up to pledge solidarity with Inkatha-aligned Zulus at a march this week revealed that the AWB was training Zulus in guerilla warfare tactics throughout Natal.

AWB Southern Natal commander Morthon Christie joined about 5 000 Inkatha-aligned Zulus who marched through Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast to press home demands for the recognition of a Zulu kingdom.

"We are offering Zulus an even better training than the ANC. The tables are going to turn against them (the ANC) now. We will give them the hiding of their lives," said Christie.



# Threat to KwaZulu govt during Umlazi stayaway

DURBAN — The KwaZulu government was warned that "its days were numbered" during the ANC's rally in Umlazi yesterday.

Three people were believed killed as almost 15 000 supporters heeded the stayaway call in a show of strength to protest against the Inkatha Freedom Party's blockade of an ANC rally on Sunday.

Yesterday's rally was called after an ANC election meeting planned for the King Zwelithini Stadium on Sunday had to be called off when Inkatha-aligned hostel residents took over the stadium.

ANC members marched to the magistrate's court building yesterday where a memorandum criticising the security forces for failing to remove the Inkatha supporters from the stadium was handed to Umlazi chief

*Biday 16/3/94*  
Own Correspondent

magistrate Louis Radyn.

ANC leaders took turns to issue ultimatums that the days of the KwaZulu government were numbered as the election date drew nearer.

Leaders warned that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would suffer the same fate as the ousted Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope.

Earlier, police prevented about 300 armed Inkatha supporters from approaching the ANC marchers.

After the marchers handed a memorandum to Radyn they were fired upon by another group.

Police used teargas and fired shots to separate the two groups.

KwaZulu Police district commissioner Brig Alwyn Burger confirmed one woman was shot dead in the

township early yesterday.

Violence monitor Stephanie Miller told reporters two people were killed in a squatter settlement on Umlazi's outskirts. (107)

Businesses south of Durban were hard hit by the march with as much as 85% of the workforce not reporting for work in some firms.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said the ANC was using the occupation of the stadium as a scapegoat to justify disruption and sabotage.

Sapa reports that in Enseleni near Empangeni on Natal's north coast, at least six people were killed and seven injured yesterday when gunmen sprayed commuters with gunfire, police said.

Tillet said as many as 20 people had been killed. — Sapa-Reuter.

Report by S Sangweni and C Madlala, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne St, Dbn; N Patterson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb; and O Ozbourne, Reuter, 1 Park Rd, Richmond, Jhb.

INKATHA *Fm 18/3/94*

## No bopping at Ulundi

It's all eyes on Ulundi after the swift, subtle dumping of Bophuthatswana's nominal independence. While Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party's anti-election stance might seem more exposed and isolated than ever, it is improbable that their stronghold, KwaZulu, will be anything like as easy a pushover. ~~(113)~~ (107)

True, last week's events left a depleted Inkatha-led Freedom Alliance. Since its establishment, those who have departed include Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and General Constand Viljoen.

Of those remaining, Lucas Mangope is a stateless president and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg's position is being undermined by pockets of his party (particularly in Natal) openly committing themselves to election participation.

There are even suggestions that senior pro-election members of Inkatha might defect to other parties.

Inkatha names like Ben Ngubane or Ziba Jiyane would be a tremendous coup for the DP or Nats.

Inkatha central committee hardliner Walter Felgate says the alliance must now reassess its position, hence Monday's Kimberley meeting of alliance leaders. "We must obviously examine the position of the alliance

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### CURRENT AFFAIRS

and whether it disbands or carries on and under what circumstances," says Felgate.

Though Viljoen attended the Kimberley meeting, it was apparently specifically to seek Inkatha's support for his new Freedom Front's participation in the election.

Felgate, however, scoffs at any suggestion that Inkatha might use Viljoen's front as a backdoor to participation next month. "We are opposed to the election and are telling our supporters not to vote. We won't encourage any other party."

#### Election date

He is equally derisive about ANC insistence that the election date is carved in stone. "If timetables are more important than the country's future, democracy and the question of an all-inclusive settlement (still hanging in the balance), then the election cannot be postponed. But it is nonsense to suggest a postponement will trigger a wave of violence and bloodshed. Precisely the opposite. The current strife is being fed by an election being forced on people who refuse to accept the constitution."

Brave though his words may be, a big concern of the alliance must be whether there is any chance of a repetition of the Bophuthatswana overthrow in KwaZulu.

Mangope's contention that SA "looted" Bophuthatswana's independence may carry some weight with sympathisers but it is irrelevant. It was, after all, SA that propped up his rule in the first place. Secondly, the de facto situation is that government and the Transitional Executive Council now control the homeland. Besides, in President FW de

*Fm 18/3/94*  
Klerk's words, SA politics isn't for sissies — his government has never balked at the morality of using force openly or covertly for its own ends, and the TEC's acquiescence in the Bop saga suggests little change for future administrations. ~~(113)~~ (107)

Nevertheless, De Klerk is quick to dispel accusations by Buthelezi that the NP and ANC are now jointly preparing a strategy to remove his administration and depose King Goodwill Zwelithini as the biggest remaining obstacles to the April 27 election.

Cosatu's Neil Coleman says, however, that there are similar organic conditions between the situation of public servants in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, and that if Inkatha makes it difficult for parties to operate freely in the region in the election run-up, it will be courting a revolt — adding fuel to speculation that the civil servant's revolt which precipitated Bop's end was not triggered spontaneously by pension payout concerns, but was skilfully orchestrated by the ANC.

Felgate dismisses any spontaneity in the Bop uprising or that there is potential for a copycat revolution in KwaZulu. "The ANC campaigned to destabilise Bop for a long time. It seized on pensions as an issue even though they are guaranteed and everyone knows it. There is no danger of the same happening in KwaZulu because it is not Bophuthatswana."

Coleman's threat could soon be put to the test if Sunday's events are anything to go by. Inkatha-aligned hostel dwellers occupied Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium, south of Durban, preventing an ANC election rally

and precipitated a confrontation in which five people were killed. By Tuesday the ANC had retaliated by barricading Umlazi.

Felgate, however, stresses that the Umlazi incident was not planned by the Inkatha leadership. "It is the kind of thing that will happen, people on the ground are saying no to the election and that must be taken into account. Furthermore, the IEC is announcing steps to assist election participants to hold free and open meetings. By the same token there must be the same respect for our democratic right to campaign against going to the polls."

It seems probable that if Inkatha stays out of the elections, it is unlikely to be a revolution in the homeland that undermines its power base, but the poaching of its supporters and office bearers by other predatory parties keen to cash in on the organisation's substantial power base in Natal. ■



# Mandela's meetings with king called off

18/12/1994  
BIBBY

BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN

THE landmark summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini scheduled for today is off because of fears for Mandela's safety if he went to Ulundi. Meanwhile, a further attempt by government to gain a "form of participation" for the Inkatha Freedom Party in the election was dismissed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday.

The ANC announced the postponement of the first meeting between the two — called to discuss the king's demand for a Zulu kingdom and his fears of the new constitution — after Buthelezi invited "all the king's subjects" to attend.

ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said in a letter to Buthelezi the ANC had received "firm reports that an attempt will be made on our president's life should he visit Ulundi" and regrettably requested a postponement.

The postponement of the meeting — crucial to the constitutional process — and which would take a long time to set up again, could harden the attitudes of Buthelezi and the king in the proposed mediation.

Zwelithini yesterday said he would not encourage his people to vote in the April elections under the current constitution, but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott. He would do that only if and when mediation had failed.

Speaking in Ulundi at a lunch in honour of Land and Regional Affairs Minister André Fourie, who had opened a session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he referred to meetings with President F.W. de Klerk at the Union Buildings and at the

Durban City Hall. "When the crowds became excited, all I had to do was to go out to a place where I could be seen, and hold up my hand, and command the dignity of quietness, and a great quietness indeed settled upon the crowd." ~~He said~~

"What I am now saying when I speak as king of the Zulus is that I urge you to convey to the president the rank foolishness of believing that you can have a free and fair election in KwaZulu, when the election is being foisted on people without their approval," he said.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma had sought to shift the meeting to Durban after the ANC heard that it would take place amid a mass meeting. Buthelezi had refused.

Mbeki said the ANC appreciated assurances given by Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose that additional security measures would be instituted, as well as the invitation to the ANC to send an advance team of its own security staff to Ulundi. "We are, however, of the view that, given the nature of the threat as it has been communicated to us, the time is insufficient to make satisfactory security arrangements."

ANC and police spokesmen said last night they had no knowledge of the threat having been reported to the authorities.

Mbeki added that "it is only fair to indicate that our own expectation was that the president would be afforded an opportunity to discuss, in depth, with the king in a closed meeting, legal and constitutional

□ To Page 2

## Meeting

18/13/1994  
BIBBY

From Page 1

matters of concern to the king".

De Klerk told a news conference during an electioneering visit to Soweto that he had spoken to Buthelezi on Wednesday night to make specific proposals that would lead to "a form of participation" for Inkatha. ~~He said~~

He would not specify what the proposal was, but said it would not upset any of the time frames. Buthelezi had undertaken to discuss the proposal with his ministers.

It was speculated that the proposal would entail a kind of election alliance between Inkatha and the NP.

De Klerk said he found a suggested negative response from Buthelezi at the assembly "upsetting".

In the assembly yesterday, Buthelezi warned of unparalleled resistance should action be taken against opposition to the April election. "If the current election does actually run its course, and is finally declared a free and fair election, it will be because democratic opposition has been stifled by the might of the state."

There would no peace or democratic settlement until there was a settlement of KwaZulu issues.

He warned of an "uncontrolled and unorchestrated internal political spontaneous combustion" in KwaZulu.

He claimed government was party to the violence which ousted Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, and questioned whether it was government's intention to do the same in KwaZulu.

He repeated that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would participate in the April poll if mediation could take place swiftly; certain amendments could be made to the constitution; and the party registration deadline and election date reconsidered.

De Klerk also responded to speculation that the Goldstone commission was about to release a report about a senior SADF member supplying arms to a political party.

He said he had been informed about an investigation which, if the allegations were found to be true, would result in a situation "that will be fairly serious".

De Klerk said he had spoken to Judge Richard Goldstone yesterday and had requested that the investigation be carried out in the shortest possible time.

# ANC-IFP tensions reach a new high

Star 18/3/92

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Ulundi — Tensions between the ANC and IFP appear to be at an all-time high following the calling off of today's meeting between Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini amid fears for the ANC leader's life.

The meeting was to have been held partly in front of the king's subjects in Ulundi, apparently giving rise to fears that Mandela might have become the victim of an assassination plot.

In a letter to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said his organisation had received "reports that an attempt will be made on our president's life if he visits Ulundi".

Mbeki said although IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose had given ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma assurances that additional security measures would be taken to protect Mandela, the organisation felt it would be unwise for the ANC leader to travel to Ulundi.

The security problem was exacerbated by the format of

the meeting", about which the ANC had not been informed.

"It is only fair to indicate that our own expectation was that the president would be afforded an opportunity to discuss with the king in a closed meeting, to enable them to discuss — in depth — legal and constitutional matters of concern to the king.

"The president remains very concerned that he should pay his respects to His Majesty the king. He is also very interested to hear and understand the concerns of His Majesty, so that he and the ANC can do what is possible to address these concerns," Mbeki said.

He requested Buthelezi to use his "good offices" to communicate the ANC's regret to Zwelithini and assure him of Mandela's continuing wish to meet him.

The postponement of the long-awaited meeting — Mandela's first with Zwelithini since his release from prison four years ago — coincided with new moves by President de Klerk to woo Buthelezi into a constitutional settlement.

Speaking during his election roadshow in the PWV yesterday, De Klerk revealed he had

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# Buthlezi beats the drum ever harder

16  
12 11  
Star 18/3/94  
BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Ulundi — About 100 km from the KwaZulu capital, a solitary National Party election poster, bearing President de Klerk's face, hangs crookedly on a telephone pole alongside the main road.

It appears to be the only physical evidence anywhere near Ulundi that the country's first ever nonracial election is only weeks away. At first glance it seems to be business as usual when you arrive in the tiny, dusty capital deep in rural KwaZulu.

At the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, however, it became evident yesterday that emotions are extremely high and the election is foremost in many minds. Young men in skins and bearing shields spat out the names "Mandela" and "De Klerk" as they stamped their feet and chanted their songs outside the building, encouraged by ululating women.

Incongruously they were led by a man in a suit and tie, carrying a spear and shield.

Inside the circular Assembly building, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened this year's sitting —

surely the last ever of this administration — with probably his toughest speech yet. He indicated that the election date would have to be switched if the IFP was to take part.

President de Klerk was accused of "double-crossing and deceit" in his handling of negotiations. The Government had betrayed KwaZulu, he added.

Buthelezi warned that the conflict between the ANC and IFP had for some time been in danger of "being turned into a conflict which can only be ended in a fight right to the finish". The Government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was pushing the conflict "to a point of no return" (107)

Most chilling of all was his prediction that "draconian or Bophuthatswana-type action" against those opposing the elections would "spawn a struggle for liberation from ANC-National Party oppression which will have no parallel in Africa".

Leaving the building, it was difficult to escape the conclusion that a line had been crossed: that KwaZulu was heading almost certainly for a brutal explosion. Only the faintest glimmer of hope remains.

(47, Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# ANC-IFP tensions at all-time high

18/3/94  
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presented Buthelezi with yet another proposal which could lead to "a form of participation" by the IFP in the election.

However, Government sources — including Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers — warned it was now almost impossible to accommodate this.

Buthelezi warned yesterday that the Government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was "rapidly pushing the conflict to a point of no return".

Addressing the opening of this year's sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly — probably its last ever — he said that if this point was passed, democracy and peace would be reached only after "a fight to the finish".

Buthelezi warned that the deployment of troops in KwaZulu could lead to a cauldron in the region.

Accusing "agitators" of attempting a Bophuthatswana-style destabilisation of the KwaZulu government, Buthelezi moved swiftly to reassure the territory's civil servants that their jobs and pensions were safe.

He appeared to suggest the ANC was behind the plan. There have been reports recently of concern among KwaZulu civil servants over job security and their pensions.

In another development, Zwelithini yesterday said he would not encourage his people to vote in next month's election under the current constitution, but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# Bop overthrow won't happen in kwazulu

Despite calls for the ANC to topple the kwazulu government the way Lucas Mangope's regime was ousted, Inkatha Freedom Party national spokesman **Ziba Jiyane** argues why this will not happen in kwazulu/Natal

WMM 18-24/3/94

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**M**ANUFACTURING the Bophuthatswana crisis was manna from heaven for those believing the best means of dealing with political opposition is to crush it. And target number 1 is, of course, the Inkatha Freedom Party and kwazulu government. That this deluded thinking is on the agenda is evident from the statement by Congress of South African Trade Unions vice-president George Nkademeng over the weekend. Speaking in Durban, he said that if Bophuthatswana could overthrow Mangope, "why can't we do it here?" His rhetorical question should not be misunderstood — ANC hardliners have always displayed a callous disregard for the Queensbury rules of politics, and we have no doubt there are plenty of likeminded militants in kwazulu/Natal who would welcome the opportunity to "concretise their revolutionary fervour" through a repeat of Bophuthatswana.

The simple answer to Nkademeng's question, however, is "because it won't work" — and this is not for want of trying. Despite approximately 350 IFP office bearers having been assassinated by the ANC, SACP and



Ziba Jiyane ... Sticking to principles

MK since they brought violence to the kwazulu/Natal region; despite the ready availability of arms and ammunition stockpiled in caches around the region; despite safe havens in and logistical support from the Transkei; despite roving MK hit squads intimidating communities; despite the training of thousands and thousands of cadres — despite all these, kwazulu and the IFP are still here. One should recall the attempt by the tripartite alliance in 1990 to have kwazulu "disbanded". This tragic decision, condemned by the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo and others, inevitably resulted in a terrible bloodbath from which South Africa has never recovered. Since "disbanding kwazulu" was somehow equated with destroying the IFP countrywide, the campaign was initiated by calls to "the people" to wipe the IFP off the face of the Reef.

That the East Rand is what it is today is directly attributable to this savage display of intolerance and hunger for power through the barrel of the gun. But kwazulu and the IFP are still here. One should recall the alliance again reverting to its old tricks, when,

having failed to get its way at Codessa, it embarked upon "mass action" from June 1993 to force the government's compliance with the ANC's negotiating demands. The euphemism "mass action" included calls to overthrow a number of administrations perceived as hostile — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and kwazulu in particular. We all know what happened at Bisho, but strangely enough, despite repeated statements by the kwazulu/Natal ANC leadership that the campaign was still on in this region, in fact it never occurred. The reason is that it was never possible, and the ANC was very aware of the likely results of attempting it.

Fearing the results of our possible non-participation however, they are therefore seeking a means of securing their interests while denying us ours by "leveling the playing field" in the region in anticipation of our non-participation. Earlier ANC suggestions — such as that kwazulu's budget be unilaterally suspended — to force our compliance are now being replaced with the notion of TFC intervention and the deployment of a massive security force presence to "minimise violence", despite the IFP having decided that non-participation would be strictly peaceful and legal. In terms of this scenario, following April 27, the kwazulu government will be replaced and the IFP will quietly get lost in the political wilderness while Jacob Zuma and his merry band take over.

The big question, of course, is whether this scenario is realistic. Notwithstanding the avalanche mentality of the deal-makers (nothing can stop the inevitable), there are good grounds for believing that things will not be quite as simple as this, and there would without doubt be a host of difficulties associated with the imposition of a constitution and of a government elected under it, neither of which reflect the region's popular will. It is this central fact that will frustrate any attempted repeat of Bophuthatswana here, just as it has frustrated the ANC in the past. That is why the overthrow of Umtali is no more than a pipe dream. Not only that, attempts to implement such a policy would merely strengthen, rather than weaken the IFP's hand, as the anti-democrats will be perceived for what they really are — political bullies of the nastiest type. Our advertisement in last week's Sunday newspapers urged people to "vote IFP when the time comes". We hope this is soon, and if those parties comprising the Transitional Executive Council were to devote more time to finding solutions to the crisis rather than trying to ignore them or trying to create a new crisis of vast proportions, then we could get on with the task at hand — holding elections for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Bophuthatswana? Let me assure you, it will not happen in kwazulu/Natal.



# Hopes fade for free elections in kwazulu

Farouk Chothia and Estelle Randall

**P**ROSPECTS for free elections in kwazulu/Natal are darker than ever, as peace structures hover on the brink of collapse and the Independent Electoral Commission struggles to assert its authority over a recalcitrant kwazulu security force.

Catastrophe was narrowly averted in the Durban township of Umlazi on Sunday, in an ominous example of how efforts to ensure free political activity are foundering.

When IFP supporters occupied the main King Zwelithini Stadium on Saturday — the day before the ANC was due to hold a rally there — IEC officials were powerless to prevent the Inkatha "protest" from continuing into the next day.

Tensions mounted as ANC supporters turned out in their thousands to hear their national chairman, Thabo Mbeki, to find heavily armed IFP supporters occupying the venue. Only police stood between thousands of political opponents, keeping the death toll to five.

Since Umlazi falls in kwazulu, IEC staffers relied more on the KZP than the South African Police to act against the IFP supporters.

But despite hours of negotiations, the KZP refused to take instructions from IEC officials. This raises the question: How will the IEC exert

its authority in kwazulu?

The deadlock could be partly broken if IEC chairman, Judge Johann Kriegler, secures a written assurance from Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as kwazulu minister of police, and his commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy Doring, that their forces will cooperate with the IEC.

ANC Natal Midlands secretary John Jeffery said the SAP had to take control of KZP areas.

Other sources said the Transitional Executive Council was planning a national inspectorate with regional components. Natal was seen as a priority for such an inspectorate, which will have powers to investigate and monitor all policing agencies.

Yesterday the IEC flexed its muscles by serving a summons on the IFP, accusing its supporters of contravening the Electoral Act by blocking free political activity in Umlazi. If the IFP ignores the summons, an electoral tribunal could impose a fine.

Jeffery said the ANC had also asked the IEC to probe the shooting of three ANC volunteers preparing for a People's Forum in Mpendle, to see if the IFP had contravened the Electoral Act.

Few of kwazulu/Natal's 11 local peace committees are operating effectively. Said the Human Rights Commission's Linda McLean:

"Most local peace committees have fallen apart." Sources said the Umlazi peace committee came under severe strain this week, and attempts to hold a meeting failed.

After an ANC march on Tuesday — which saw streets barricaded with burning tyres in scenes reminiscent of the 1980s — the IFP has threatened to organise a counter-march. Sources said that the regional IFP and ANC leadership were locked in bitter disputes.

They said the regional peace committee was badly understaffed, with only two full-time coordinators for Natal. "The RPC finds it difficult to appoint people acceptable to both sides," said one source.

He added that the secondment system — the IFP and ANC provide officials to work for the peace committee — had stopped in January because "some secondees began to protect party interests".

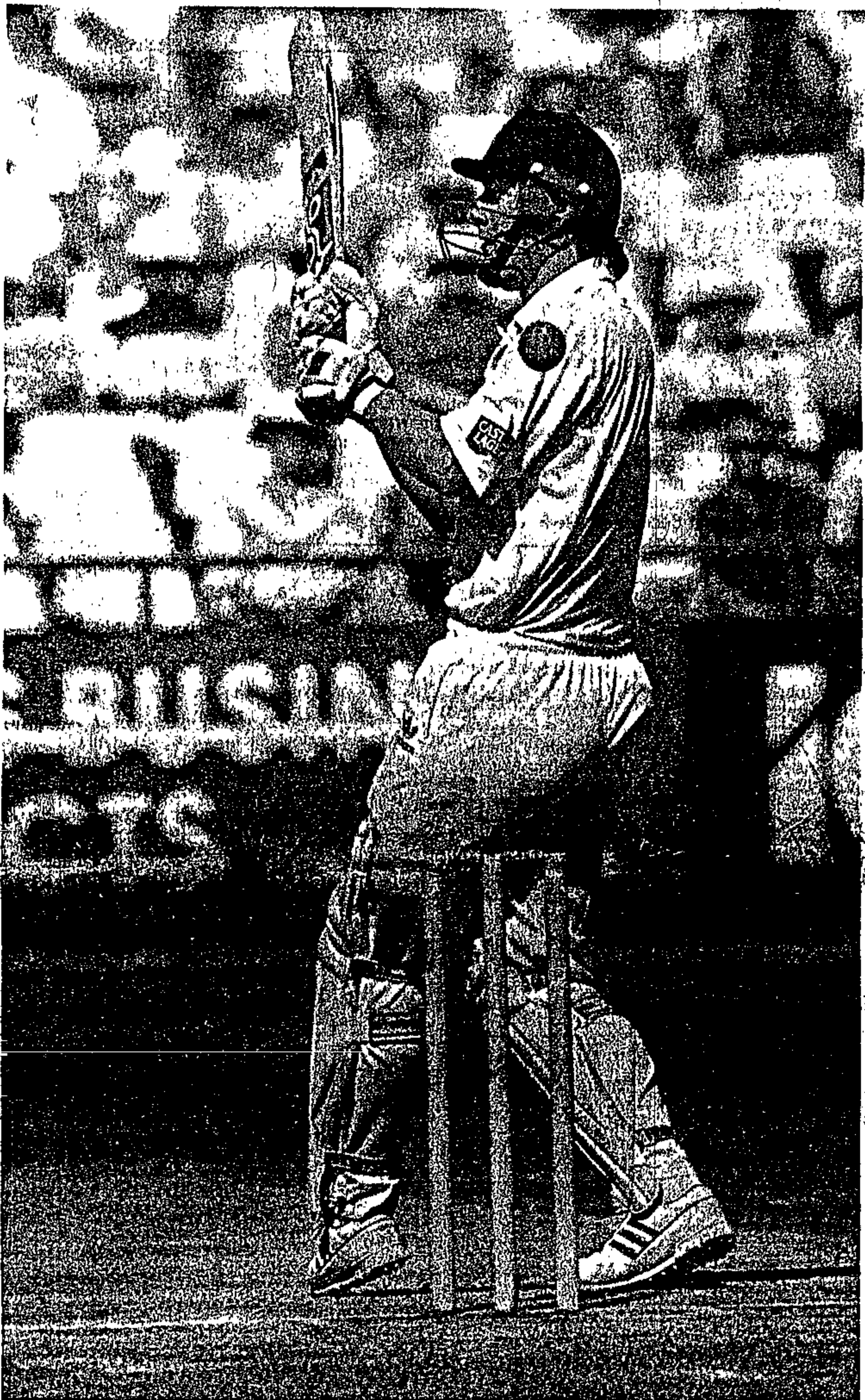
Violence has marred meetings of both the ANC and IFP, said McLean. "Neither organisation is allowing free political activity."

But the ANC seems to be bearing the brunt of violence, with supporters involved in election preparations dying in three major massacres this year. McLean said that of the 424 people killed this year, 50 were known IFP members and 161 known members of the ANC.



Defiant

# Defiant 'freedom' Call by Zulu king



**ON THE CHARGE:** An action study of all-rounder Brian McMillan, on his way to his half-century for South Africa on the second day of the second cricket test against Australia at Newlands today.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

## KwaZulu declared an independent kingdom

MARTIN CHALLENOR, Political Staff

DURBAN. — Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelethini today carried out his threat and proclaimed a sovereign kingdom in KwaZulu. (107)  
ARG 18/3/94

The king addressed several thousand people in Ulundi who had gathered to listen to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Fears about Mr Mandela's safety prompted the ANC to postpone the meeting.

King Goodwill said: "I call on you, my father's people, and the Zulu nation to bring to reality the realisation of our dream. The call for our freedom can no longer be delayed. Freedom is never granted, sovereignty is never granted."

"Either it exists and is recognised, or it does not exist. We the Zulu nation convene today on the battle ground which subjugated the freedom of our forefathers. We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it at all costs."

"I, King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu, fulfil today my historical role and responsibility to declare my commitment to the freedom and sovereignty of the Zulu nation and to assert the sovereignty of my father's people over their ancestral territory."

"I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty."

"The road ahead is not going to be an easy one, but I know that you, my father's people and the Zulu nation will meet with courage, determination and pride the challenge that history has put on all of us," King Goodwill said.

His dramatic move comes in the wake of the withdrawal of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government from the multi-party talks. They have rejected the election and the interim constitution.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned as far back as October that secession was an option for KwaZulu.

King Goodwill said he was sorry Mr Mandela did not come to Ulundi today. He scoffed at assassination scares.

He said he wanted to know from Mr Mandela: "Why it is that it comes so naturally to so many spokespersons of the ANC to insult me?"

Of discussions with President De Klerk, King Goodwill said Mr De Klerk had rejected the idea of helping him restore the Kingdom of the Zulu. Instead at their meeting on February 22, Mr De Klerk made it clear "that if my people took a stand against participation in the election because he had failed to do something about the issue of the monarchy and the Kingdom of KwaZulu, he would send security forces into KwaZulu Natal".

(News by M Challenor, 18 Osborne Road, Durban.)

● See page 4.

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# focus on Zulu king

Sawetan 18/3/94

**T**HOUSANDS of Zulu subjects are expected to mass in Ulundi today even though the long-awaited meeting between King Goodwill Zwelithini and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has been cancelled.

Meanwhile, marquees were erected outside the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly buildings in preparation for what was expected to be the final session of the homeland's parliament yesterday — which will almost certainly cease to exist after the April poll.

Observers said KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was yesterday not likely to drop any bombshell announcements about contesting elections as the Independent Electoral Commission had made it clear that it was too late to register and Inkatha Freedom Party. Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said on Wednesday that his party would not contest the April poll.

Buthelezi is known to follow his opening speech with an address stretching over days — and which last year earned an entry in the Guinness Book of Records for its length.

On the whole, a free and fair election looks like an impossible dream for thousands of black people in Natal, trapped in a never-ending nightmare of blood.

Violence monitors and other analysts say political storm clouds are building fast before polling next month.

They fear an upsurge of killing and intimidation that will make a free vote impossible over large parts of the province, where 25 percent of all South Africans live.

## Election boycott

More than 10 000 people have died in 10 years of warfare in Natal between Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and Mandela's African National Congress. An Inkatha election boycott will make things worse, regional experts say.

The aborted meeting between Mandela and the Zulu monarch would have been in the wake of the toppling of the Bophuthatswana government — precipitated by a civil servants' strike. The KwaZulu government has, however, assured its 84 000 civil servants that they will be absorbed into a new administration and their salaries and pensions are secure, whether or not the ruling IFP contests elections.

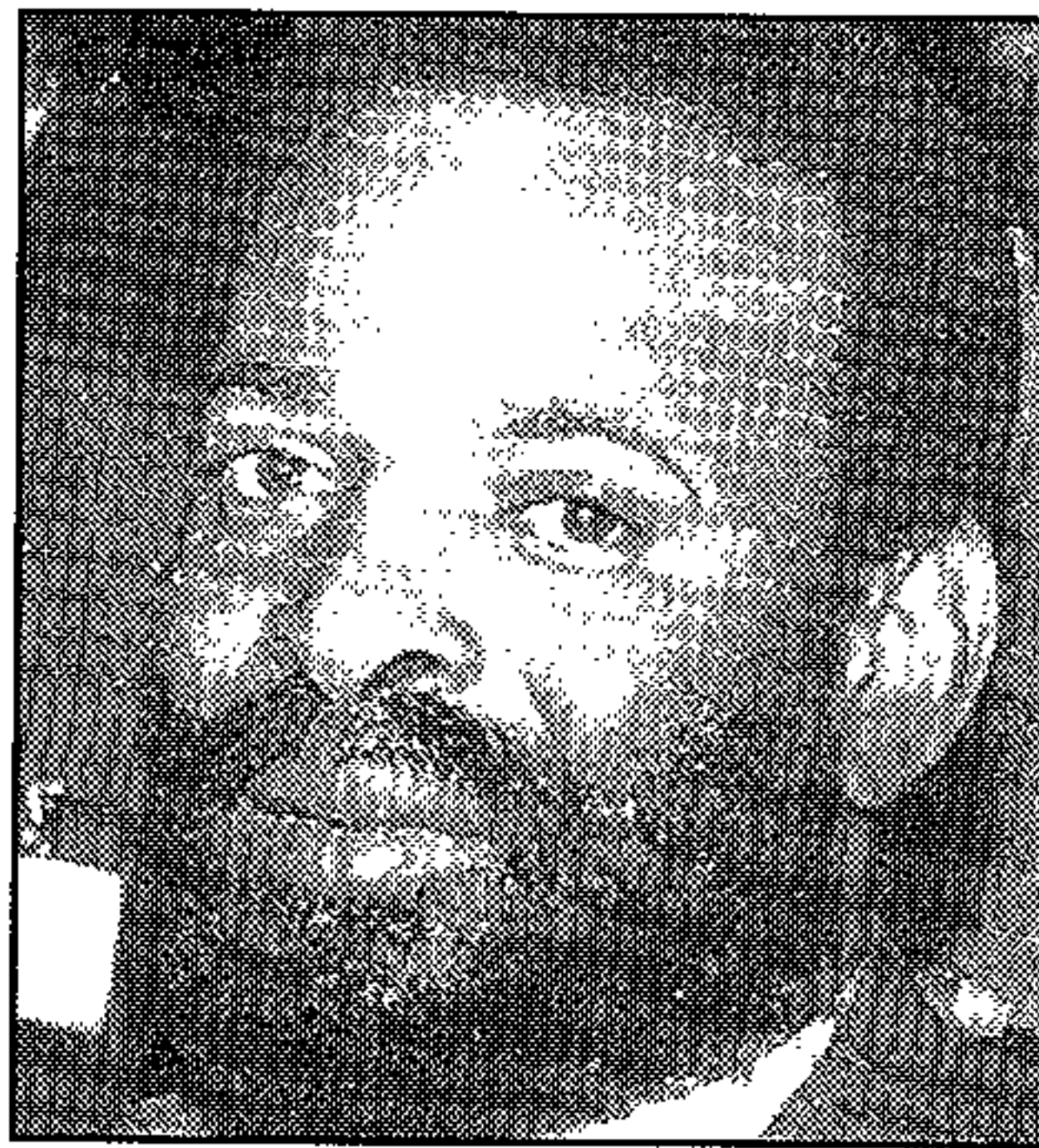
It is the major reason for avoiding a repetition of Bophuthatswana in KwaZulu that the summit would focus on reaching an acceptable solution to the log jam. But important is that the ANC leader believes it is Zwelithini who can sway a decision for the best.

Inkatha is refusing to take part in the April 26-28 poll, which is expected to produce an ANC-dominated government, unless its demands for virtual regional autonomy are met and is advocating international mediation.

Behind the smiles in Ulundi today the Zulu nation remains divided by a never-ending nightmare in blood while prospects for a free and fair election diminish,

write **Themba Molefe** and **Sapa:**

107



**King Goodwill Zwelithini**

The time for a deal appears to have run out. Buthelezi vows to fight "to the last man" against an ANC government and President FW de Klerk and says he fears a repetition in Natal of the popular uprising that last week ousted Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

"No way can there be a free and fair election in big chunks of Natal if Inkatha doesn't come in," says church peace activist Mr Paddy Kearney.

Mr Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute, a research body, predicts that "the civil war, now contained and localised, will be stepped up" as a result of the boycott. He says political turf wars and population shifts as people flee fighting in townships, villages and valleys have made 90 percent of Natal's black communities — where most of its 8,5 million people live — no-go areas for one party or another.

"Secrecy goes out of the window" with an Inkatha boycott, says Ms Karen MacGregor, editor of Natal University's *Indicator South Africa* research publication. "Anyone going to the polls will be seen as voting against Inkatha."

The situation would be acute in Inkatha's rural strongholds run by authoritarian chiefs who see their traditional power structures threatened by ANC revolutionaries.

Voting would be impossible for those tied to their homes with no escape to the anonymity of the workplace — women, the unemployed, the ailing and the old, she said.

Monitors say the long conflict in Natal, where more than half of South Africa's political vio-

lence occurs, has produced a unique tapestry of death, featuring warlords, drug lords, blood feuds, robbers, renegades and *agents provocateurs* as well as ANC-Inkatha battles and infighting even within these groups.

Hatred and suspicion are such that even a black commuter train crash that killed 64 people last week was widely perceived as being political. Many blacks are convinced it was a sort of a kamikaze express — derailed by an extremist driver. Peace monitors say actual deaths from violence are slightly down — at least 330 killed in the first two months of this year — but violence is rising.

Some Inkatha chieftains in rural areas are confiscating their subjects' identification documents to prevent them from voting and refuse to allow voter education workshops by churches and other independent groups, some human rights activists say.

## Sworn affidavit

A concerned Inkatha official, who cannot be named for fear of reprisal, told a human rights group in a sworn affidavit that one powerful chief had told a clan gathering "there will be no voting in KwaZulu" — the Zulu homeland created by apartheid and ruled by Buthelezi. He added that Inkatha loyalists would be given guns "to be used against people who vote".

The Inkatha Institute's Woods said ANC thugs mark waverers' doors with ink blots and stroll down streets rattling matchboxes in a sinister reminder of a favoured method of dispatching political enemies with burning tyres around their necks.

A sad-eyed woman at a hospital in Natal's hauntingly lovely but hellish "killing fields" says Inkatha warriors killed her 14-year-old son two nights earlier, sliced off the top of his head and scooped out his brains. A priest says similar tales are recounted by many refugees. Mythology has it that vital parts of youths and enemies impart strength to their killers.

Violence monitors say they have reports of white neo-Nazis training Inkatha fighters on farms and equipping them with weapons that are flooding into the province by sea and road.

The ANC, which polls show is followed by at least half the Zulu people, has vowed to resist any attempt to deny blacks their first vote.

(Report by T. Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg and Rodney Pinder, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)



## King will not call a boycott

CT 18/3/74  
ULUNDI. — Zulu King  
Goodwill Zwelethini  
said he would not en-  
courage his people to  
vote in the April elec-  
tion under the current  
constitution, but  
stopped short of calling  
for a poll boycott. (107)

He said it was "foolish-  
ness" to believe there  
could be a free and fair  
election in KwaZulu  
"when the election is be-  
ing foisted on people  
without their approval".

Stopping short of call-  
ing for a boycott, he said:  
"I will not encourage my  
people to enter the elec-  
tions, enter the polling  
booths and destroy the  
kingdom." — Sapa



# Zulu king: 'I'm sorry I didn't meet Mandela'

ULUNDI. — Zulu King Goodwill Zweithini expressed regret that he was unable to meet Nelson Mandela to clear the air between himself and the African National Congress leadership. (107)

The Zulu monarch said he hoped there was no substance to rumours of an attempt on Mr Mandela's life: "It would be rank foolishness for anyone to attempt to do such a thing. A thing like that would literally burn this country to ashes".

Yesterday's meeting between the two leaders was called off after the ANC said there were "firm reports" of a planned assassination attempt on Mr Mandela. (107) **ARC 19/3/94**

"I hope that is no more than a scare story," said King Zweithini.

"I would have liked to know from the president of the ANC what he knows about the Zulu monarchy, Zulu sovereignty and the kingdom of Kwazulu."

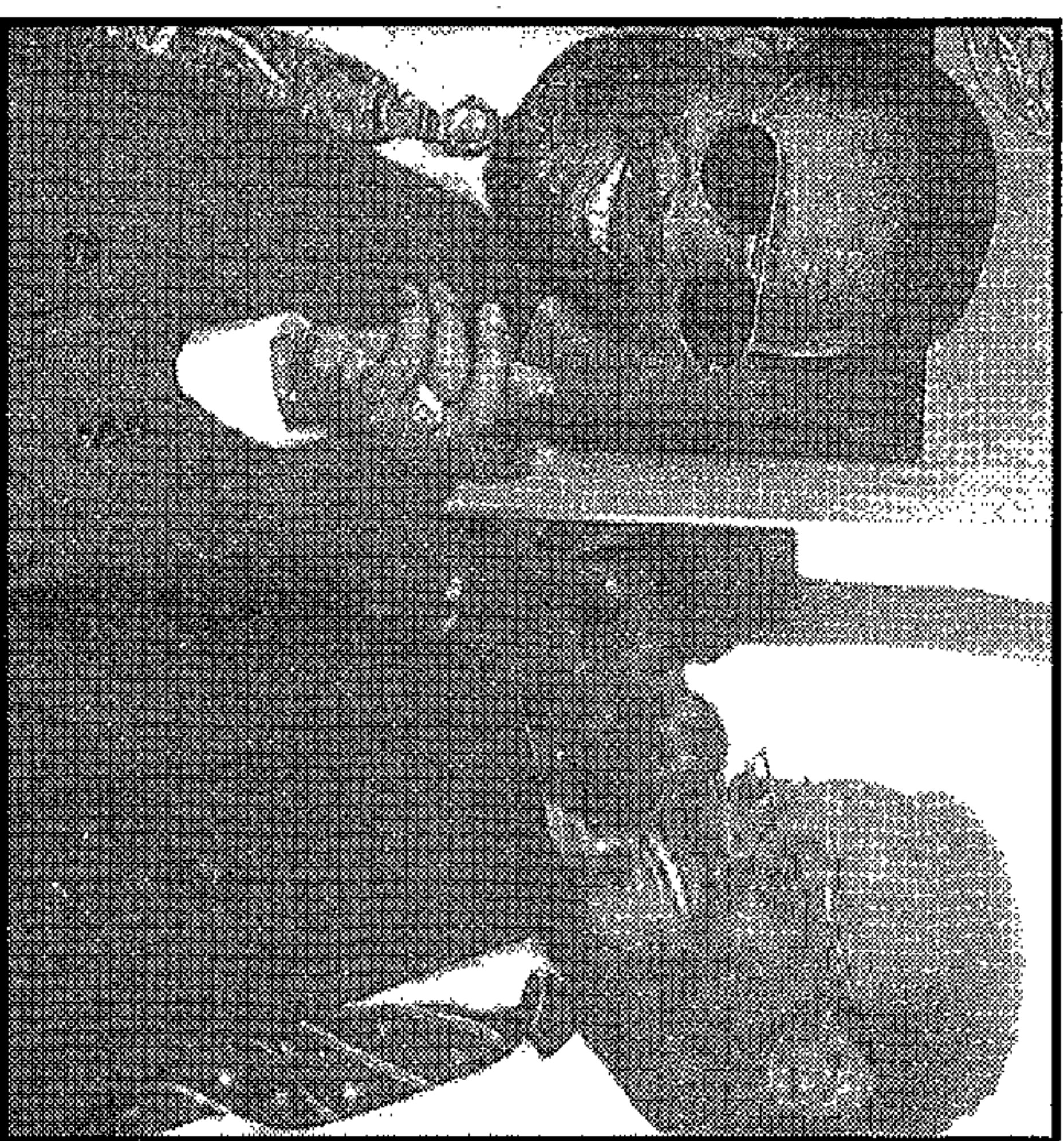
Addressing several thousand Zulu subjects in the Kwazulu capital of Ulundi, King Zweithini dismissed the ANC's contention that the proposed meeting was initially arranged as a closed one.

He said Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had indicated in correspondence with the ANC's Jacob Zuma "public discussion". The king said he saw no reason why the meeting should have been private. "I am sorry that Mr Mandela was unable to attend to day's meeting."

"I would have been grateful to know from him why members of his organisation have insulted me almost daily in radio programmes, speeches, and Press statements."

King Zweithini said he felt slighted by statements by Mr Mandela and other ANC members that he was being prevented by Chief Buthelezi from seeing Mr Mandela. He said Chief Buthelezi had gone out of his way to ensure the meeting went ahead, "even by breaking protocol in giving unlisted telephone numbers to Mr Mandela".

Claims that Chief Buthelezi was his paymaster were offensive, said the king, who referred to monarchies worldwide which were supported by state funds. "What should be so exceptional about the Zulu monarchy in this respect? Why does the ANC hurl these insults at me?", he asked. — Sapa.



**FRIENDS:** Zulu King Goodwill Zweithini shares a joke with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during a gathering of Zulu warriors at the Kwazulu legislative assembly in Ulundi. The king used the opportunity to reiterate his call for Kwazulu to break away and form its own independent state.

# Sounds of War from Ulundi

ARC 19/3/94

**CHRIS WHITFIELD**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ULUNDI. — About 100 km from the Kwazulu capital, a solitary National Party election poster bearing President De Klerk's face hangs crookedly on a telephone pole next to the main road.

It appears to be the only physical evidence anywhere near Ulundi that the country's first nonracial election is less than six weeks away.

And, at first glance, it seems to be business as usual when you arrive in the tiny, dusty capital deep in rural Kwazulu, nearly three hours' drive north from Durban.

At the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly, however, it became evident yesterday that emotions were running extremely

high and the election was foremost in many minds.

Young men in skins and bearing shields spat out the names "Mandela" and "De Klerk" as they stamped their feet and chanted their songs outside the building, encouraged by ululating women. Incongruously, they were led by a man in a suit and tie, carrying a shield and spear.

Inside the circular Assembly building, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened this year's sitting — surely the last of this administration — with probably his toughest speech yet.

He indicated that the election date would have to be switched if the Inkatha Freedom Party was to take part. President De Klerk was accused of "double-crossing and

deceit" in his handling of negotiations. The government had betrayed Kwazulu, he added.

Chief Buthelezi warned that the conflict between the African National Congress and IFP for some time had been in danger of "being turned into a conflict which can only be ended in a fight right to the finish".

The government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was pushing the conflict "to a point of no return".

Rushing on to the election was "gambling with the lives of so many South Africans, which could push the country into an abyss".

Most chilling of all was his prediction that "draconian or Bophuthatswana-type" action against those opposing the election would "spawn a struggle for liberation from ANC

and National Party oppression which will have no parallel in Africa".

But, the aggression in the speech was mixed with indications of deepening concern over the lifespan of the Kwazulu administration.

In particular, he moved strongly to allay civil servants' fears that their jobs and pensions were threatened. In doing so, he referred directly to "the same tactics" adopted against the government of Bophuthatswana before it was toppled.

Leaving the building, it was difficult to escape the conclusion that a line had been crossed, that Kwazulu was heading almost certainly for a brutal explosion.

Only the faintest glimmer of hope remains.

(News by C Whitfield, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

# Eight million Zulus will back Goodwill, Buthelezi pledges

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi has assured King Goodwill Zweithini of the support of more than eight million Zulus for his decision to declare a sovereign kingdom.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking yesterday at a mass gathering of more than 10 000 people in the Kwazulu capital of Ulundi.

Earlier King Goodwill proclaimed Natal/Kwazulu a sovereign kingdom and called on all his subjects to defend it "at all costs".

Chief Buthelezi said there had come a time for a "tryst with destiny... we have a tryst with destiny and we as sure King Goodwill of our love, support and loyalty".

The king had the muscle "of more than eight million Zulus on his side", Chief Buthelezi claimed.

"We are grateful he has decided to stand up for the sovereignty and unity of his people at this historic moment."

"We assure him of our loyalty."

(News by C Doonan, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

# Kwazulu chief moves to reassure civil servants

**Political Staff (107)**

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has moved firmly to reassure the territory's civil servants that their jobs and pensions were safe.

He accused "agitators" of attempting a Bophuthatswana-style destabilisation of the Kwazulu government.

He appeared to suggest that the ANC was behind the destabilisation plan and warned that nobody would emerge unscathed if it went ahead.

There have been reports recently of concern among Kwazulu civil servants over job security and their pensions.

Chief Buthelezi accused "mischievous-makers" of attempting to destabilise the Kwazulu government by "using the same tactics adopted against the government of Bophuthatswana", where a civil servants' strike led to the toppling of the president, Lucas Mangope.

"One of the main propaganda tools being used is that of loss of jobs and, in particular, loss of pension fund benefits because of misuse of pension fund money by the Kwazulu government," said Chief Buthelezi.

He said this was an "absolute lie" and verged on defamation of character of Kwazulu officials and politicians who were "concerned with these issues".

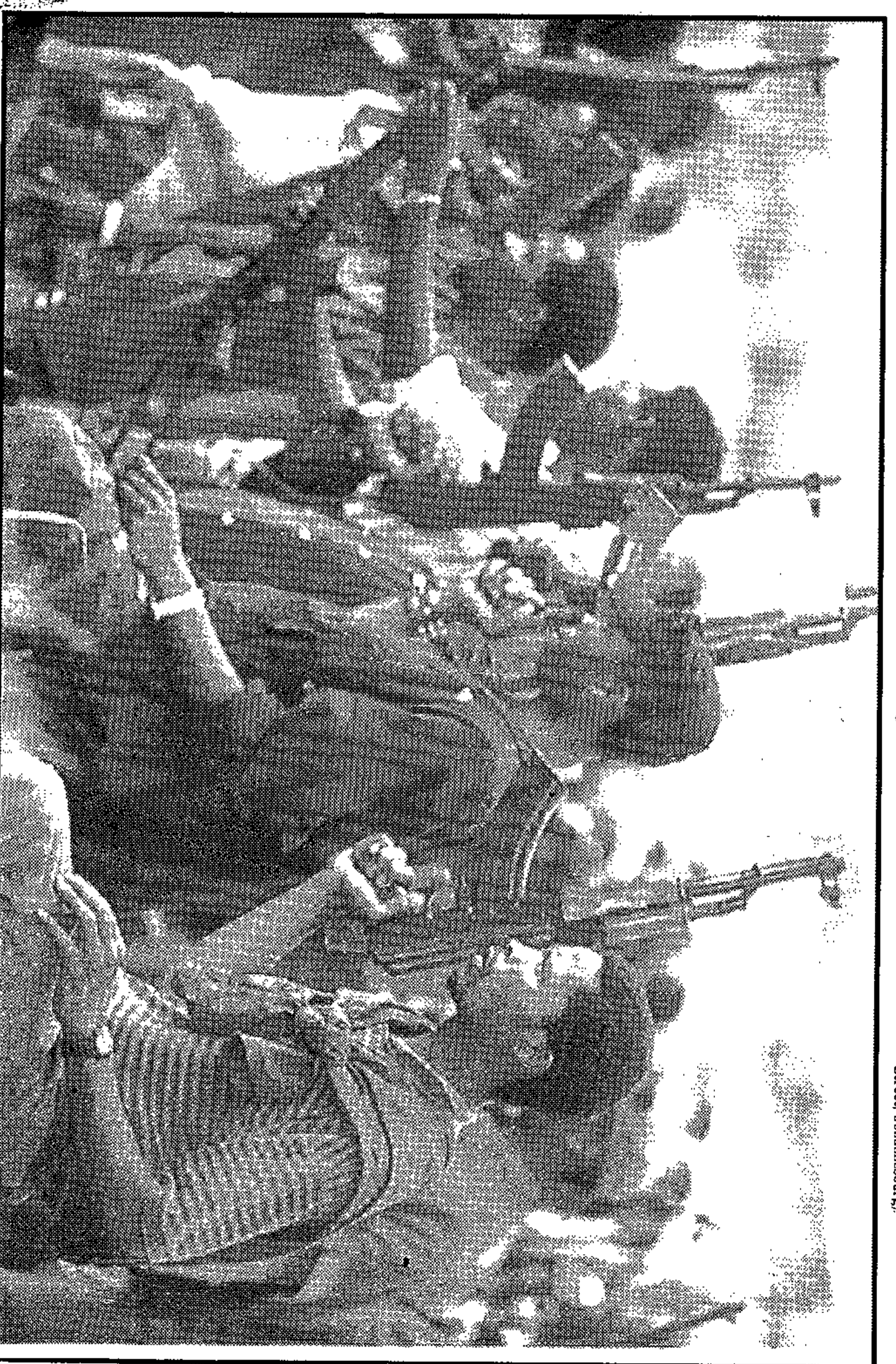
He said pension money was protected by an Act of parliament which a new government could not ignore. The jobs of civil servants were protected by the interim constitution, he added. (ARC 19/3/94)

Chief Buthelezi referred to "big plans" being implemented to destabilise the civil service and pointed at previous ANC attempts to have Kwazulu dismantled.

"That programme is being revived again in a big way. Those who have these plans can go ahead and all I can say is that at the end of it all, none of us will go unscathed, neither they nor us," he warned.

A circular issued by the Kwazulu bureau of communications recently stressed: "The Kwazulu government service will continue to function after the forthcoming elections until the provincial government departments for the whole of Kwazulu/Natal have been established."

(News by C Whitfield, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



**WAITING:** Scores of Zulu warriors holding AK-47 rifles wait to hear what their king has to say about political developments surrounding Kwazulu at a gathering of warriors or Umbizo at Ulundi.



# Overeared

## Tension high as king urges UDI

Star 19/3/94  
107 (107)

**CHRIS WHITFIELD and  
VENILLA YOGANATHAN**

**ULUNDI** — Clouds of confrontation have begun to gather over KwaZulu with King Goodwill Zwelithini suggesting yesterday that the region is on the point of a unilateral declaration of independence.

It is evident that the atmosphere in the territory is extremely tense, and addresses by leaders have taken on an increasingly belligerent tone in recent days.

Speaking here yesterday at the *imbizo* — gathering of the king's subjects — which was to have been addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the Zulu king also urged Zulus to defend their freedom and sovereignty "at all costs".

He added that such sovereignty would be denied by an election under the Interim Constitution.

Meanwhile, the ANC announced that it would embark on rolling mass action to prove to the world that it had the majority support of Zulus in Natal, ANC spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said yesterday.

Reacting to Zwelithini's proclamation, Makhaye said: "We will organise events and marches that will clearly show that Zulus want to take part in the election.

"We warn everybody that our people, especially Zulus, are sick and tired of people abusing their history and their title.

"If the king is used by any political party to retain an apartheid structure such as the KwaZulu bantustan, then it is a sad day for the Zulu kingdom, because it will precipitate the demise of the kingdom," he said.

Makhaye also warned that if the king decided to secede KwaZulu/Natal from the rest of the country, a mass uprising against such a decree would be sparked.

He said while the ANC did not believe in ethnicity, it might become important for the organisation to prove that Zulus wanted to take part in the election and were mature enough to do so.

After the rally, volleys of gunshots were heard through Ulundi as the crowd dispersed. The firing was apparently directed into the air by what an Inkatha Freedom Party official described as civilians armed with AK-47s and other arms. One youth was apparently wounded in the hand.

Mandela has cancelled his appearance at an ANC festival at the University of Zululand in Empangeni today following assassination threats.

IFP Empangeni leader Muzi Blessed Gwala, speaking at the *imbizo*, had called on the crowd to attend the festival. The king — whom KwaZulu officials claimed was offended by Mandela's absence — said he hoped there was no substance in the assassination allegation. "It would be rank foolishness for anyone to attempt to do such a thing. A thing like that would literally burn this country to

TO PAGE 2

### Travel misprint

Due to a printer's gremlin, the coupon in The Star Travel Club's Wild Holiday Competition in the Travel section is labelled Number 1. It should be Number 2 as it is the second coupon to appear. Contestants should cut it out, stick in on a postcard and it will be regarded as coupon Number 2.

# ANC threat to Zulu kingdom

CT 19/3/94

(107)

ULUNDI. — The ANC has threatened mass action in KwaZulu following King Goodwill Zwelethini's decision to declare a sovereign kingdom.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday assured King Goodwill of the support of more than eight million Zulus for his decision.

Chief Buthelezi was addressing more than 10 000 people here.

But the ANC said it would embark on "rolling mass action" to prove it has the support of most Zulus in Natal.

ANC spokesman Mr Dumisane Makhaye said: "We will organise events and marches that clearly show that Zulus want to take part in the elections."

Mr Makhaye also warned that should the king decide to secede he would spark a mass uprising.

Earlier King Goodwill proclaimed Natal/KwaZulu a sovereign kingdom and called on all his subjects to defend it "at all costs".

A KwaZulu government source

## Goodwill: Defend at all costs

said he thought the declaration was a hint that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly may promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal at its present sitting.

Chief Buthelezi said the king would not have had to declare a sovereign kingdom if multi-party negotiations had delivered a federal dispensation.

In his address outside the assembly building, King Goodwill said: "I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty

against anyone in Southern Africa who dares to challenge it."

He said elections under the present constitution would deny the Zulu nation its claim to sovereignty and self-determination.

He alleged that President F W de Klerk's "contingency plans" for the Natal/KwaZulu region entailed the deployment of security forces "to clamp down on my people should they choose not to participate in the elections".

He said recent discussions between himself and Mr De Klerk had made little progress. The SA government had denied sovereignty to the Zulu nation.

He alleged Mr De Klerk had threatened to deploy his security forces if Zulus did not vote in the April poll.

"I protest for the betrayals that the Zulu nation has suffered from President De Klerk again and again."

Natal Democratic Party leader Mr Roger Burrows said secession by KwaZulu was unattainable, unfeasible and unjustified. — Own Correspondent, Sapa



(107) CT 19/3/94

# Chief accused of poll threat

JOHANNESBURG. — A Zulu chief stands accused of threatening death to anyone who dares to vote in KwaZulu in defiance of an Inkatha election boycott, human rights monitors say.

A sworn affidavit by an Inkatha member who says he was disturbed by the chief's behaviour, has been handed to the Independent Electoral Commission for investigation.

The affidavit alleges Chief Calalakubo Khawula, deputy IFP floor manager in the KwaZulu parliament, told a meeting of Inkatha followers in Port Shepstone on February 11: "There will be no voting in KwaZulu."

He promised some Inkatha members "will be given firearms to be used against people who will vote", declared the state-

ment by the party member, who said he attended the meeting.

In addition, Chief Khawula said no taxis or buses would run in the region during the April 26 to 29 period.

Chief Khawula could not be reached for comment. Inkatha spokesman Mr Ziba Jiyani dismissed the allegations as lies. — Sapa-Reuter

◆ UDI

Star 19/3/94

ashes. I hope that is no more than a scare story," he said.

However, the king was blunt in his attacks on the ANC and the Government. He said the holding of an election under the 1993 Constitution "is an immediate denial of our claim for sovereignty and self-determination".

Although he stopped short of a call to arms, the king's comments appear to amount to a warning that the election would be resisted. In the hardline speech he also said: "We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it at all costs."

A KwaZulu government source said that although that declaration had no legal force,

he saw it as a hint that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly may promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal during its present sitting.

Turning to his demand for sovereignty for Natal/KwaZulu, Zwelithini said: "The Zulu nation is now left with the responsibility of finding the strength and the resources to bring about the restoration of our kingdom and to achieve our national self-determination in a free and independent country."

On Thursday, Buthelezi had warned that moving troops into the region could spark conflict. Yesterday Buthelezi, talking to journalists, said he was not optimistic over a new initiative to bring the IFP into elections.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



By RYAN CRESSWELL

STATEMENTS by King Goodwill Zwelithini regarding Zulu sovereignty have triggered confusion and alarm in Natal — and brought threats of war from the ANC.

On Friday, in a prepared speech, the king said: "We, the Zulu nation, convene today on the battleground which subjugated the freedom of our forefathers. We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it at all costs."

Later in his speech he said: "I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty against anyone in South Africa who dares to challenge it."

Yesterday, Kwazulu

# Confusion, fear at Zulu king's sovereignty call

5 Times 2013/94

spokesman TC Memela said the king "claimed sovereignty" over the area which used to be controlled by the Zulus last century but did not "declare independence".

"He was saying that Kwazulu has powers which cannot be denied. It was a statement of intent indicating that he is prepared to carry on with the kingdom of Kwazulu.

"The exact extent of the sovereignty he was talking about will only become clear... once the issue has

moved through formal channels," Mr Memela said. (107)

Although the statements are open to interpretation, they brought strong reaction from ANC leaders in Natal who said Kwazulu independence would be "suppressed".

Mr Dumisane Makhaye, ANC southern Natal spokesman, said any Unilateral Declaration of Independence "would have to be suppressed by the people, violently if necessary".

"If it means war, we will

go to war," said Mr Makhaye.

ANC Natal Midlands spokesman Dr Blades Nzimande said the party would hold a provincial meeting to discuss strategies if sovereignty was declared.

"We will bring Natal to a standstill if we have to," Dr Nzimande said.

● The Organisation of African Unity ad-hoc committee said attempts by the king to declare a sovereign Zulu state posed a serious threat to peace and stability.

The committee called on the South African government and all political leaders to safeguard the "unity and territorial integrity of South Africa".

● Meanwhile, the Sonke cultural festival, which was to have been addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, ended yesterday without violence at Empangeni, Natal.

"Everything is quiet and people have left the stadium. There is no trouble," said a security officer at the University of Zululand.

The festival was to have been the highlight of Mr Mandela's trip to Natal this week, but the tense security situation in northern Natal forced the ANC leader to cancel the final leg of his Natal roadshow.

(News by Ryan Cresswell 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

# Buthelezi faces more flak

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

EVIDENCE of collusion between Inkatha officials and senior SAP members in providing arms to foment war, and cover-ups in Kwazulu police atrocities, will precipitate a head-to-head confrontation between the Transitional Executive Council and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Buthelezi, who is also chief of the Kwazulu police, is advocating a boycott of next month's elections, making it difficult for free polling to be held in Natal.

TEC sources said yesterday it was unlikely the TEC would take action against the Kwazulu police until a task team of international police had given its opinion on the evidence supplied by the Goldstone commission.

The TEC did not want to allow Mr Buthelezi to whip up emotions, sparking further violence, by taking immediate action against the Kwazulu police and administration, said one source.

The TEC would rather wait until pressure had

built up against Mr Buthelezi, whose isolation from his former allies would be exacerbated by the role of Inkatha officials and his police in violence.

An intensified voter education programme is set to be introduced in Natal and further political gatherings will be held there to test political tolerance.

Pressure on Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to distance himself from Mr Buthelezi's administration is also likely to increase.

SACP chairman Joe

Slovo said this week the time had come for the youth and civil service of Kwazulu, and members of Mr Buthelezi's government, to make it clear they were unhappy with his stance on the elections.

"Buthelezi must learn the lesson of Bophuthatswana. The same forces that expressed their dissatisfaction with Mangope are present in Kwazulu," Mr Slovo said.

A planned meeting between King Zwelithini and

ANC president Nelson Mandela this week in Ulundi was postponed after Mr Buthelezi insisted it be held in public, and organised a gathering of Zulu impis to take place in front of the venue.

"One suspects he may well have done this to sabotage the meeting," Mr Slovo said.

Sources said Mr Mandela planned to inform the king his livelihood would be guaranteed by a future ANC government.



# ANC declares Zwellithini a foe after he proclaims Zulu

ELECTION prospects in KwaZulu were dealt a blow at the weekend with the ANC declaring that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was now a political opponent.

"The king will now have to deal with the ANC Zulus," the ANC Northern Natal region said after Zwellithini's proclamation of Zulu "sovereignty".

Yesterday Kwamashu, north of Durban, was tense after about 1 500 people, calling themselves "the Zulus" and saying they refused to recognise the Electoral Act, occupied the Princess Magogo Stadium booked for an ANC rally, Sapa reports.

switched venues for the rally "to avoid a bloodbath". Earlier in the day at least two people were reported injured.

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters have warned that the ANC would not be allowed to hold any more rallies in KwaZulu because of Zwellithini's declaration.

On Saturday, the ANC Sonke cultural festival was held at Zululand University without scheduled appearances by ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC Natal premier candidate Jacob Zuma after reports of threats to their lives.

Only about 5 000 ANC supporters attended the rally in a stadium "secured" nearly a day earlier by ANC marshals and SAP

DAVID GREYBE

members to prevent Inkatha supporters from occupying it. Last week, armed men prevented an ANC rally in Umlazi by occupying the stadium.

The hardening of attitudes coincided with the cancellation of Friday's planned peace meeting between Zwellithini and Mandela in Umtata. Instead, it turned into an Inkatha show of force, with supporters brandishing assault rifles, shotguns and handguns.

ANC regional secretary Senzo Mchunu said: "The king has chosen the Inkatha Freedom Party's political position."

Inkatha Midlands leader David Ntombela warned that Inkatha would put a stop to "all forms of disloyalty and treachery" to the Zulu king, while another regional Inkatha leader vowed that Inkatha would never allow the elections to go ahead in April.

Midlands SACP general secretary Dennis Nkosi said: "It is clear these elections will be declared null and void." He claimed Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's strategy was "to wreak maximum havoc and ensure there are no elections".

ANC northern Natal chairman Bheki Ntshu said on Saturday: "Zwellithini's declaration of a sovereign Zulu kingdom is a

declaration of war on our members. While negotiations are still continuing we can't fight — we agreed we would bury our firearms. But if the negotiations break down totally we will be forced to go back to the bush."

Buthelezi said in an interview after Friday's gathering of Zulus, at which Zwellithini proclaimed Zulu sovereignty: "I'm very, very concerned about the prospects for peace in this region. I'm really very depressed because I can see no peace arising out of this."

He said he expected the Transitional:

□ To Page 2

Zwellithini

By Day

21/3/94

□ From Page 1

Executive Council and government to send in the SADF and SAP to ensure the elections went ahead. But this would only increase tensions.

"I can't see peace at the end of the day," Buthelezi said. "There is no way that the TEC and government can impose their will on us through the barrel of the gun."

The negotiations door had not been shut, he said. "One can't say the time for talks has ended" while the ANC and Inkatha were pursuing international mediation.

The ANC dismissed Buthelezi's public assurance to Zwellithini that he had the support of more than 8-million Zulus for his proclamation. The ANC announced a

campaign of "rolling mass action" which it said would clearly show the organisation had the support of the majority of Zulus.

The SACP's Nkosi said that "at most" a third of all Zulus would support secession. But he admitted: "A majority of Zulus in traditional areas still respect Zwellithini."

A government spokesman warned that any attempt by KwaZulu to secede would be illegal under the present constitution. A KwaZulu government source said although Zwellithini's proclamation had no legal force, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly might promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal during its current session.

Reports by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb., and C Doornik, Sape, 330 West St., Don.

SOVEREIGNTY



*Inkatha rejects latest bid to bring it into election*

# IFP plans poll protest

Star 21/3/94

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected an initiative by President de Klerk to bring it into the election and is instead planning a campaign of opposition to the Interim Constitution and next month's election.

Tensions in KwaZulu/Natal continued to soar at the weekend with sporadic outbreaks of violence and both the IFP and ANC announcing steps designed to gain strategic advantage in the province.

At least 15 people were killed in politically related violence in Natal/KwaZulu at the weekend, according to police.

Natal Midlands SAP spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said "about" 11 people were killed and KwaZulu Police



spokesman Sergeant Sebenzile Sibiya said four murders were reported in Mahlabatini near Ulundi and Nqutu near Dundee. ANC spokesman Roy Ainslie told Sapa two people were killed near Port Shepstone yesterday.

And on the East Rand, six people were killed and a policeman was murdered.

Police said two unidentified bodies were found in Tokoza, three bodies were discovered outside the Duduza Hostel and another body was found in Boksburg. The policeman was killed in Daveyton.

Speculation over unease in the KwaZulu civil service continued last night, but sources in the Ulundi administration said talk of imminent strikes was "probably exaggerated".

Last week, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed suggestions that pensions were in danger.

Yesterday IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose

## KWAZULU government dismisses speculation that it is planning UDI

107 ~~115~~  
dismissed speculation that the KwaZulu government was poised to announce what would amount to a unilateral declaration of independence for the entire province.

"We are not having a unilateral declaration of independence ... people are wanting us to declare independence so that they can have a field day," Mdlalose said.

The speculation was sparked by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's comment at a gathering of his subjects on Friday that "We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it."

Mdlalose said the king was simply telling people that the Zulu nation was a reality that could not be wished away.

At the weekend the IFP central committee rejected the proposal put to it last week by De Klerk, who said he hoped it would draw the party into the election. An IFP source said the proposal amounted to a suggestion that the IFP contest the Natal election only, and that the State President would do everything in his power to facilitate such participation even at this late stage.

The central committee also announced that it was to create a national action committee designed to plan "constructive ways" for people to oppose the Interim Constitution and the election.

For its part, the ANC is planning ways to cement what it describes as recent gains in the province, announcing that its plan of rolling mass action — to show that Zulus want to take part in the election — would begin this week.

The first event would probably be a march through Durban on Friday.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

► ANC, IFP rally stand-off  
— Page 3



TEC set to issue its own report

# KZP to come under intensive scrutiny

Star 21/3/94

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL  
CORRESPONDENT

The KwaZulu Police can now expect to come under intensive scrutiny following the release of the Goldstone Third Force report.

The report, made public by President de Klerk and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Friday, contains chilling testimony suggesting the existence of one or more hit squads in the KZP. The report strongly implies that investigations undertaken up until now have been wholly inadequate.

The Star understands that, independently, the Transitional Executive Council is due to release a report tomorrow on these alleged hit squads. This report is the result of an investigation by a specially appointed task group which began its work in December.

The Goldstone Commission's report said there was also evidence "indicating the involvement of members of SAP security police in hit squad activities"

**COMMISSION'S report strongly implies that investigations undertaken so far have been wholly inadequate** (107)

in Natal.

The judge said in his report that the possibility of the existence of KZP hit squads had not been properly investigated.

"The commission is satisfied that the KZP is presently dragging its feet — probably a generous description — in investigating the presence of other hit squads within its ranks."

The judge said he had met De Klerk, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in December to brief them on "at least one hit squad operating in the KZP".

At the meeting Brigadier E du Preez was appointed to investigate the possibility of other hit squads in KZP ranks.

"Little or no progress" had been made in the investigation,

as KZP Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During told the TEC last month.

The judge said he was "unhappy with the apparent lack of progress" and asked the two police officers, appointed by Du Preez, to meet him in Johannesburg. One of the police officers, a Captain Scholtz, informed the meeting that he had about 100 dockets relevant to the KZP hit squad investigation.

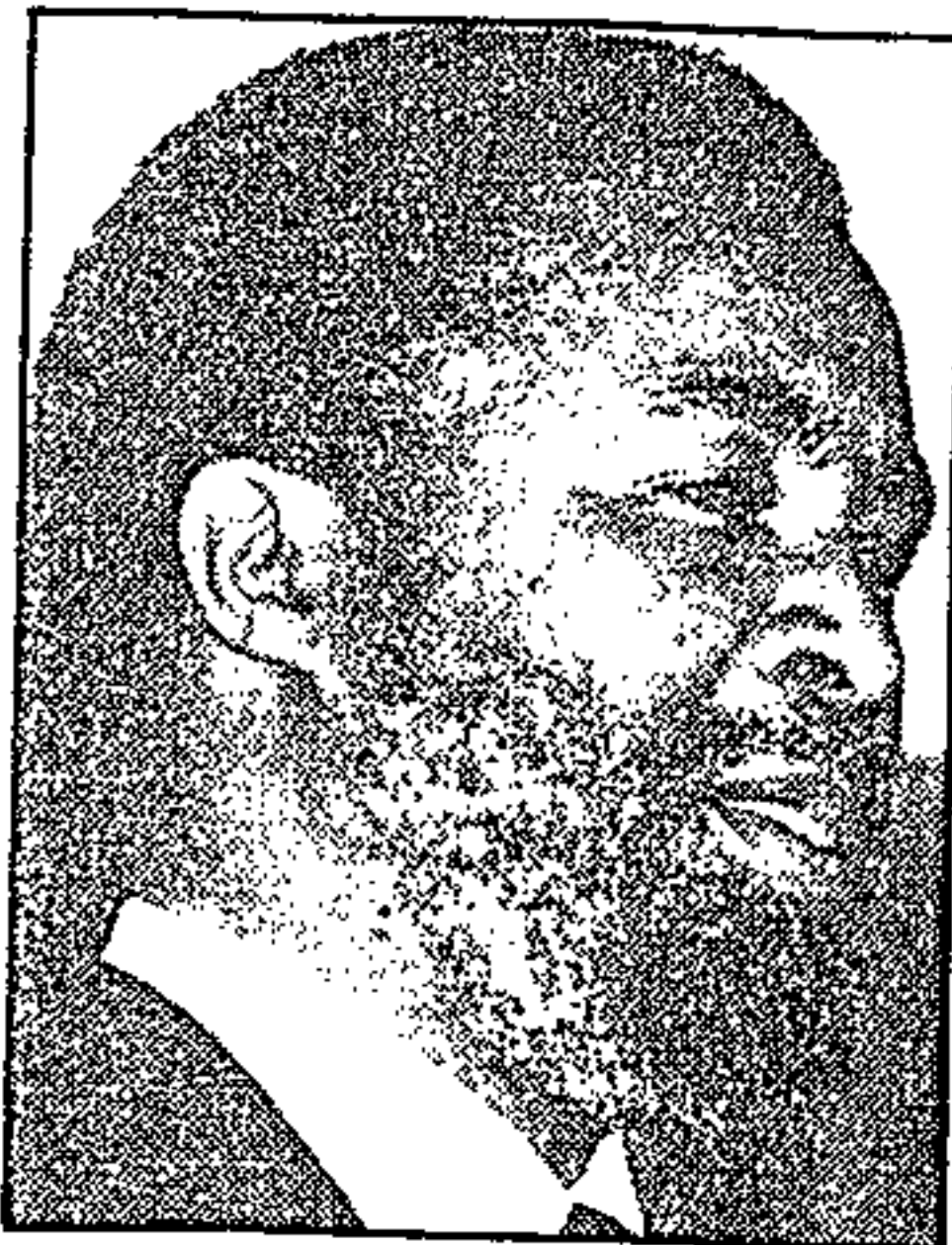
"At about the end of November or beginning of December 1993 it was made clear to both Major van Aswegen and Scholtz by Du Preez that they were not to continue with any further investigations."

Judge Goldstone said in the report that the blocking of the investigation by Du Preez was in direct contradiction with the decision reached at the meeting with De Klerk.

"According to Captain Scholtz there is convincing evidence that elements in the KZP have been and are still involved in hit squad activities in Natal and also in the Transvaal."

## 'Terrorists must be punished'

Star 21/3/94



Mbeki ... it never was black-on-black violence.

King William's Town — The ANC would ensure that those guilty of fomenting violence were brought to book no matter what political positions they held, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Speaking at an ANC rally, he said the Goldstone report had identified senior police officers as having been involved in a campaign of violence and death.

"I am certain that the ANC is going to pursue this matter no matter how high it reaches.

"It doesn't matter how high people are, it does not matter how big their titles, it doesn't matter where they are within the politics of South Africa. The ter-

rorists must be punished."

Mbeki said the commission's report gave the lie to the belief that what had been happening in South Africa was black-on-black violence.

"What is Goldstone saying? It's not black-on-black violence. It's people who are opposed to change, people who like apartheid, people who want to maintain apartheid (who were responsible).

"It was the violence of the apartheid system against our people. It was a violence carried out over many decades to ensure that our oppression continued," he said. — Sapa.



(976)

# ANC-SACP accused of plot against KwaZulu

(107)

ARC 22/3/94

## Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he has uncovered a plot by the African National Congress and South African Communist Party to bring down the KwaZulu government through mass action and destabilisation of the KwaZulu Civil Service.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has given Mr Justice Richard Goldstone a document, obtained by an informant, allegedly outlining the ANC/SACP plans. The IFP asked Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the plot.

In a statement the IFP said: "The document reveals sinister ANC/SACP plans to secretly orchestrate emerging instability in KwaZulu, leading to Transitional Executive Council and military intervention, while publicly downplaying the actual and direct involvement of the ANC/SACP."

The document confirmed IFP intelligence reports that there were about 2 000 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe deployed in self-defence units around

Natal, working with members of the Transkei Defence Force and several thousand informally trained self-defence unit members.

If implemented, the plans would plunge KwaZulu Natal into full-scale civil war, the IFP warned.

The IFP's informant said the document was produced by senior members of the SACP/ANC alliance.

Immediate proposals in the document called for people in KwaZulu to create conditions which would lead to military intervention in KwaZulu and the direct involvement of the TEC.

Dr Buthelezi has publicly disclosed the document. It said in part, that the SADE units that proved themselves in Bophutatswana should be deployed in crisis areas of Natal. The South African Police in Natal may well prove unreliable in any such TEC initiative, so the SAP leadership in Natal must be firmly subordinated to the TEC.

(News by M. Challenor, 18 Osborne Rd, Durban)



**Extra Special  
Taste**



# Mandela: Talks on KwaZulu productive

(107)

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has said he has held "productive" talks with President De Klerk and officials of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) on the volatile situation in Natal.

The IEC said it would meet separately in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, with Zulu leaders, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini, who proclaimed Natal's "sovereignty" last week.

"It was a very productive meeting," Mr Mandela said of his talks with President De Klerk and the IEC. "We see eye-to-eye on all major national issues." *ARG 22/3/94*

The ANC president was addressing a crowd of 60 000 gathered at Sharpeville, south of Johannesburg, to mark the 34th anniversary of the police shooting of '69 black demonstrators.

The talks focused on how to achieve a free and fair election on April 26 to 28 in the Zulu stronghold of Natal in the face of opposition to the vote by King Goodwill and the IFP, Mr Mandela said.

"Progress was made" in the "frank and cordial talks", the IEC said in a separate statement, and "special consideration was given to the Natal-KwaZulu area."

King Goodwill's announcement and Chief Buthelezi's repeated threats to resist the vote have raised concern over the future of the election in the region. — Sapa-AFP.



# focus on the IFP

Sowetan 22/3/94

**T**HE STRUGGLE FOR "FREEDOM" may just have begun for Inkatha Freedom Party-controlled KwaZulu.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, emphasised that the resistance of "the people" was aimed at achieving the total liberation of blacks.

"My policy has always been to exercise the right to self-determination within the context of a federal South Africa."

He said he had done so through the Buthelezi Commission and KwaZulu-Natal Indaba in which he proposed alternatives to achieving an inclusive constitutional settlement for the country. (113) (107)

"At the Multiparty Negotiating Council we failed to deliver that. The king (King Goodwill Zwelithini Bhhekuzulu) stands up to say ... our people have been driven through the barrel of the gun to accept the Union (of South Africa in 1910), now his right to protect the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is being questioned. My colleagues and I have now failed to deliver a federal state to him.

"I can understand His Majesty's the anxiety. He has made it clear to State President FW de Klerk that he wanted this issue sorted out before the election, but that has been ignored and this problem is going on and on... Clearly, if I put myself in his shoes, I can understand why he wants to shake someone into some kind of action to try and meet his concerns.

"From the very beginning I stayed out of Codesa because they wanted the king out. I remained outside as a protest because I could not ignore a section of my people left out of the process."

Buthelezi said he felt betrayed in his pursuit for the liberation of blacks by people who persistently refused to listen to him and take heed of his contribution to ending the constitutional logjam in the country.

"My downfall is that I have been too open and honest. However, my politics has always been in the context of one South Africa, but at the same time at the Kempton Park talks even our constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal was not tabled. A draft constitution we presented for a federal South Africa was never even considered for tabling.

"There was a lot of boasting from certain quarters that we had been left out and missed the train," Buthelezi said.

On whether the KwaZulu government wanted to secede, Buthelezi said: "Secession has never been one of our options. If it is forced on my people I will be very sad because we, the subjects of the king, with other black and white people, are entitled to the spoils of the sweat of their brows which produces the wonderful economy of this country.

The resolve of the Zulu people to exercise their right to self-determination has never been stronger, says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Political correspondent **Themba Molefe** reports on an interview with the IFP leader:



IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini sing traditional songs at a rally commemorating the founder of the Zulu nation, Shaka.

**WHAT THE LEADERS ARE SAYING**

**Tomorrow**

**We talk to Azapo's Jerry Mosala**

"So I wouldn't want to be a distant cousin. "The collusion at the World Trade Centre is open for anyone to see. I mean, I am not responsible for how things have gone in the past and no longer in control of what is going on now (with the rejection of the present transitional make-up and April poll)."

What about Buthelezi as one of the leaders on whose shoulders rests the hope for peace and the attainment of lasting democracy?

He said: "That's why there is now going to be international mediation which is a joint effort of the IFP and African National Congress.

Through that we might get an all-inclusive solution."

Buthelezi also bemoans what he calls parallelism in multiparty negotiations when the process moves with desperate speed even though there are those left outside.

What is the way forward, then, for the IFP-KwaZulu government — pre- and post-April 27?

"I really don't know what will happen but I suppose the writers of the present constitution will divide KwaZulu among themselves, without us.

"There is nothing traumatic about that. For 83 years we had been ruled by other people by force. The same pattern is emerging. Mr de Klerk says he has contingency plans. The ANC, on the other hand, has big plans to destabilise and smash us."

"We, however, do not have any contingency plans but to resist as black people and in a nonviolent way to achieve our freedom as those who win in April will take over our country, including the kingdom of KwaZulu."



# Buthelezi warns of conflict if IFP is sidelined in poll

Sowetan 22/3/94

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he could not imagine the April 27 election being conducted smoothly without the participation of KwaZulu's people.

Addressing the sixth session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Buthelezi said: "I cannot see that a large number of the people of KwaZulu-Natal will be willing participants in the elections."

He accused the Government and the African National Congress of using the power of the State to shake the country

and seize power at the polls.

"They have the laws which were made to assist them, and the security forces which they are reconstituting to apply the laws in their favour," he said.

He said KwaZulu took a stand against the Interim Constitution because its grassroots constituency had demanded it.

## Concern

"There is a vast Zulu concern about the future governance of KwaZulu-Natal, which they see as the kingdom of KwaZulu.

"I warn that should the ANC attempt to destabilise the KwaZulu government, as it destabilised Bophuthatswana and has threatened destabilisation against the Ciskei, a conflict of awesome proportions will be unleashed to the tragic detriment of South Africa and the democratic process."

Buthelezi said his rejection of the Interim Constitution, the Transitional Executive Council and other transitional mechanisms carried with it a powerful conviction that Zulus would not be robbed of their right to self-determination. — Sapa.



# THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY Constitution for independent state within South Africa

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

MANGOSUTHU Gatscha Buthelezi was born at Mahlabathini, Natal, on August 27 1928.

A member of the Zulu royal family, he traces his ancestry to King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. He is the great-grandson of King Cetshwayo and the grandson of King Dinizulu kaSolomon — on the side of his mother Princess Constance Magogo. On his father's side Chief Buthelezi is the great-grandson of Chief Myamama Buthelezi, who was the traditional prime minister to Cetshwayo.

He is the son of Inkosi Mathole Buthelezi, who was himself the prime minister of King Solomon kaDinizulu and the prime minister during the regency of Prince Mshiyeni kaDinizulu, who acted on behalf of Prince Cyprian Bhekuzulu kaSolomon.

Mangosuthu's traditional title is uMntwana kaPhindangene (the Prince of Phindangene) and is the present adviser and "prime minister" of reigning King Goodwill Zwelethini kaBhekuzulu.

Buthelezi was the senior adviser and prime minister to King Cyprian. He is the founder of Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe, which in 1990 became known as the Inkatha Free-

## Buthelezi the reluctant chief

dom Party, and is its president.

Buthelezi was educated at Impumalanga Primary School and Adams College in Amanzimtoti.

After matriculating in 1947 he registered at the University of Fort Hare where he joined the African National Congress Youth League — "everybody joined the ANC in those days," he said in an interview last week. He was strongly influenced by ANC stalwart Professor ZK Matthews.

After obtaining his BA degree he worked at the then Department of Bantu Administration.

### No choice

In 1953 Buthelezi became chief of the Buthelezi clan. Last year he confided: "I had no choice. When the Bantu Administration Act was passed I was told by the elders of KwaZulu to accept the role."

With the introduction of the KwaZulu Territorial Authority in 1970 he was elected chief executive officer of the area as the Government

**‘I had no choice. When the Bantu Administration Act was passed I was told by the elders to accept the role’**

imposed ethnic bantustan structures in the country.

In 1976 Buthelezi was appointed chief minister of KwaZulu, a position he still holds today.

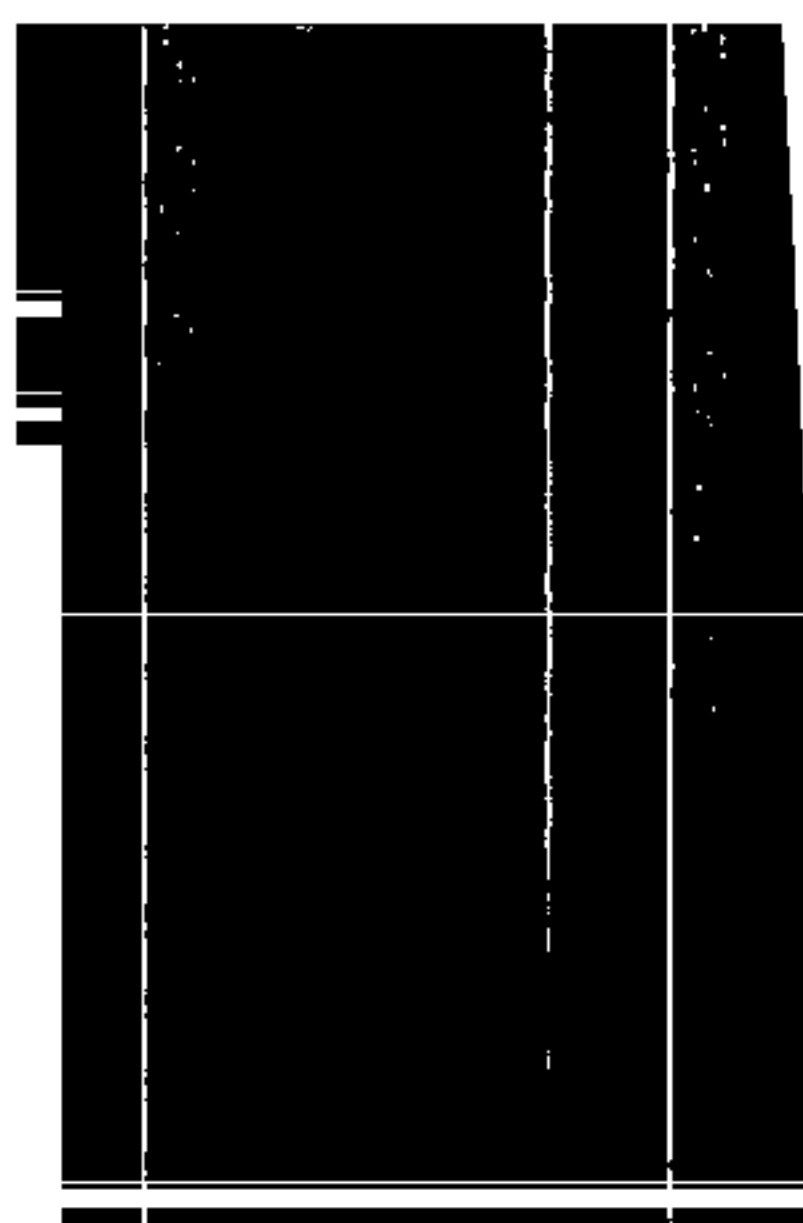
He played a leading role in the formation of the South African Black Alliance in 1978, to "foster the unity of Indians, coloured and black sections of the population", according to his biographers.

He is the initiator of the Buthelezi Commission and later the Kwa-Natal Indaba in search of a possible constitutional solution.



Chief Mangosuthu Gatscha Buthelezi





# The constitution KwaZulu adopted

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

**O**N December 1 1992 the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly adopted a constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal after concluding that negotiations for a democratic order in South Africa were being delayed.

Although this was seen as opting for secession as being more confederalist than federalist, the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party insisted the state would be within a federal Republic of South Africa.

It further resolved that the new constitution would have to be ratified and empowered by the South African Government and further proposed that it be forwarded for approval to the Joint Executive Authority and be put to a referendum.

These are the provisions of the constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal which reflect the IFP's outlook:

- **Fundamental Principles:** It states that all political power is inherent in the people and that government shall respect and encourage the right of the people to organise and regulate their interests autonomously.

- **Relationship with the (federal) Republic of South Africa:** The state will be a sovereign member of and recognise its obligations towards South Africa and other "member states" of the federation.

## **Sovereignty of the state**

"The sovereignty of the state of KwaZulu-Natal as asserted under this constitution is indivisible, inalienable and untransferable".

- **Territory:** The KwaZulu-Natal government will negotiate with the Government and other states in federal South Africa to increase its territory so as "to include areas which are historically, culturally and socio-economically strictly connected to

## **NEW STATE** *Legislative Assembly*

*decision seen as championing secession:*

KwaZulu-Natal". This will include territorial waters.

- **State's Unity:** The state and regions will promote decentralisation of their powers and delegation to local government.

- **Citizenship:** All South African citizens residing in Natal or KwaZulu will be citizens of the state.

## **Legally domiciled**

The KwaZulu-Natal general assembly will grant citizenship in special cases, including those legally domiciled in the area for longer than six months.

- **Language:** Official languages will be English, Zulu and Afrikaans.

- **Federal law:** All statutes and regulations adopted by South Africa and international law will be effective in the state as long as they are consistent with its constitution.

- **Traditional and customary law:** The state of KwaZulu-Natal will recognise and protect such laws which are consistent with the constitution.

- **Fundamental rights:** These rights will be protected both in their individual and collective exercise.

- **Freedom of communication and media:** All are promised freedom of expression and all forms of censorship will be prohibited.

"The media have the duty to rectify all erroneous information ... which damages the reputation of others." Freedom of religion is guaranteed.

- **Economy:** Free enterprise — The state will recognise and protect the right to free economic initiative and help small businesses and provide other incentives to encourage access to economic opportunities.

- **Private property:** The right to private property ownership is guaranteed. However, limitations on the use

of private property may be imposed to satisfy social, environmental and collective needs.

The right to add up to one's own property by contract or inheritance will be protected subject to taxation.

- **Public enterprise:** No enterprise will be acquired by the state or regions either as a monopoly or as a free competition enterprise.

All monopolies, practices and agreements restraining trade and free market competition will be prohibited.

- **Agriculture:** The state will encourage agriculture, the socially just and responsible use, distribution of land and access of citizens to land ownership.

- **Right to education:** The law will determine the period and minimum education requirements for compulsory education. The state will support aspirations to higher education by means of scholarships and promote the highest standards in excellence.

## **Equal access to education**

Both private and public schools will ensure open and equal access to educational opportunities. Parents will be entitled to participate in the administration of schools.

- **Right to work:** Everyone will have the right to access any job opportunity for which he or she is qualified. The state will promote the employment of its citizens and no-one's job will be terminated for political reasons or constitutionally protected rights.

All workers will be entitled to social security, pensions, invalidity and unemployment benefits as determined by law.

Freedom of assembly is guaranteed.

(T Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg.)

# TEC report links Inkatha to hit squads

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — KwaZulu Police members, Inkatha Freedom Party office bearers and government officials within Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office were implicated in hit squad activities, says a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) task group report. *Biday 22/3/94*

After receiving the report yesterday, the TEC mandated its management committee last night to "take whatever steps may be necessary" to ensure free and fair elections in Natal/KwaZulu. *(107)*

The task group, investigating hit-squad activity in Natal, recommended that the KwaZulu government's authority to run its own police force be revoked. *(107)*

In its preliminary report to the TEC the group said hit squad activity in the province, particularly in the KwaZulu Police's area of jurisdiction, was "rife".

"Several hit squads" were operational and deaths caused by them represented a "significant proportion" of those killed in political violence in the region. Immediate steps were necessary "to curb this activity which has now reached crisis proportions".

The report said documents at Buthelezi's office should be examined, all relevant dockets in the hands of the KwaZulu Police should be handed over to an independent investigation team and a senior SAP detective and international observer should be placed at each KwaZulu Police station.

Investigations indicated the KwaZulu Police was implicated in hit squad activity in several areas throughout the North Coast, in the greater Durban area and in the Midlands, the report said.

The evidence and information in some cases suggested that resources or directives appear to emanate from certain officials in Ulundi, allegedly located at the IFP head office and at the Department of the Chief Minister. These resources alleg-

□ To Page 2

## KwaZulu

*Biday 22/3/94* From Page 1

Gordhan also said a political decision had to be taken to stop senior members of the SAP from interfering in the duties of local SAP officials. An example was the weekend occupation of a KwaMashu stadium by "the Zulus", which prevented the ANC from holding a rally there. *(107)*

He said local SAP members "secured" the stadium on Friday when they locked the gates and put up razor wire, only to be instructed later by a senior policeman to withdraw the security measures. *(107)*

The full force of the TEC plan for KwaZulu was expected to be officially unveiled

only once the "political process" initiated by the IEC had been completed, Gordhan said. "A series of TEC initiated steps will, however, have to start as soon as possible," he said, referring to today's TEC meeting.

The TEC is due to release a report today on alleged hit squads in KwaZulu. The report is the result of an investigation by a TEC task group appointed in December.

Gordhan said he expected the report to "point fingers" at the KwaZulu government, which controls the KwaZulu Police.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● See Pages 6 and 14



Kriegler seeks election pledges

# TEC bid to take control in KwaZulu

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is considering a series of steps, including giving the SAP jurisdiction over KwaZulu and considering government's financial obligations to the territory, to ensure free political activity in the region in the five weeks leading up to the elections.

At the same time, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Judge Johann Kriegler is trying to secure "an inclusive commitment" to free and fair elections from President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Kriegler met De Klerk and Mandela jointly in Pretoria yesterday, and is scheduled to meet Buthelezi, Zwelithini and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi tomorrow.

"Kriegler's message to them is that the time for games is now over," an IEC source said. He said the IEC would not hesitate to use the full force of the law, "including substantial fines", to ensure a free and fair election.

"If Ulundi reacts positively, the upshot may well be a summit of the leaders."

TEC management committee member Pravin Gordhan said the TEC plan, to be implemented in stages, was expected to do away with the KwaZulu Police's sole jurisdiction over the region. The SAP currently

DAVID GREYBE

has to get permission to enter the territory.

"The TEC must take the lead in this matter," Gordhan said, adding that government would be expected to play an "assertive role."

Other steps are expected to include: giving the SADF greater jurisdiction over KwaZulu; giving the TEC and Natal Provincial Administration control over all venues in KwaZulu; putting a stop to Inkatha's training of its members at military-style camps; and acting against weapons smuggling.

The reincorporation of the KwaZulu Police force would also be considered.

Kriegler is expected to demand "cast-iron guarantees" from Ulundi to allow the IEC to set up its election machinery, the IEC source said. These would include the KwaZulu government making government buildings, including schools, available for organising and holding the elections.

"But it doesn't help getting assurances from the top, which are then ignored at lower levels," the source warned. "Unless there is a collective national effort to make the elections work, they just won't get off the ground."

He said the IEC would not be opposed to Inkatha using the IEC's Operation Access to get its anti-vote message across.

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## Hit squads

edly included vehicles, arms and ammunition and, in certain instances, firearms allegedly supplied included AK-47s.

The issue and distribution of all firearms from or through the Department of the Chief Minister.

The KwaZulu Police was "incapable of investigating cases against suspects of its own force allegedly implicated in such hit squad activity."

Last weekend, KwaZulu Police allegedly distributed arms and ammunition to the offices of certain tribal chiefs, it said.

Targets identified for execution by the hit squads included ANC political campaigners and leaders as well as KwaZulu policemen who appeared to be disloyal to Inkatha, were overenthusiastic in their investigations of other policemen who had co-operated with Goldstone.

The task group had received "disturbing information" related to a wider hit squad network involving elements within the SAP and private security firms.

"The evidence and information suggests the involvement of the highest echelons of the KwaZulu Police" — but excluded Commissioner Lt-Gen Roy Durrant.

The TEC should act quickly to prohibit political parties from conducting paramilitary training and where camps existed, such as at Port Durnford and Hlongwane in Natal, immediate search and seizure should be carried out to collect illegal weapons allegedly stored at these camps.

The report also said certain hit squads existed between hit squads, the SADF and SAP members — particularly the SAP's Central Intelligence Services — and did not rule out the possibility that "in certain instances certain SAP officers" had frustrated hit squad investigations.

All KwaZulu officers implicated in hit squad activities should be placed on immediate compulsory leave.

The task group recommended "the possible revocation of the authority of the KwaZulu government to establish its own police force."

The task group, which agreed with the conclusions of the Goldstone commission's fourth interim report at the weekend, began its investigations last December. It consists of Prof Pink Haysom, SAP Col Ivor Human and attorney Howard Varney. Reuter reports Inkatha slanted the claims as "a despicable travesty of justice."

"Many members of the KwaZulu Police appear to have a highly politicised concept of their function and we question whether they can be relied upon to perform their policing duties in an impartial manner, at least under its existing command."

"I would take a bet that none of these allegations will stand up in a court of law. It is a deliberate attempt by the ANC to bad-mouth the IFP and to destabilise KwaZulu."

Report by A. Hendrick, The 216 Verwarden St. Pa.

Comment Page 10



# ANC vows mass action campaign in KwaZulu will go ahead today

THE ANC vowed yesterday that its rolling mass action campaign in the KwaZulu public service would go ahead today despite the Inkatha Freedom Party's release of a "fake" ANC document outlining a plan to overthrow Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Public sector unions said their campaign to demand free political activity and the security of their pensions would start today with a march by Umlazi teachers.

Inkatha called on the Goldstone commission to urgently subpoena senior SACPC official and Transitional Executive Council co-chairman Pravin Gordhan, "to ask him to reveal the author of the ANC/SACP document". It also demanded that the TEC

explain its plans.

It said Gordhan had seen the document titled "Prepare the Anvil for the Coming Hammer", which sets out steps to make KwaZulu ungovernable and secure the intervention of the TEC and the military to assume control of the region.

ANC Natal officials dismissed as cheap propaganda Inkatha's claim that it was responsible for the document. But they said mass action was necessary to ensure free political activity.

"Inkatha's revelation of the fake document is a clear attempt to prevent the ANC's rolling mass action campaign," ANC southern Natal regional secretary

DAVID GREYBE  
and LLOYD COULTS

Shu Ndebele said.

ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala said he would provide proof within the next few days that the document was a fake drafted by Inkatha.

Inkatha officials are due to meet the Goldstone commission on Friday to discuss the document, which Inkatha said was provided by an informant.

Judge Richard Goldstone said he wanted "sufficient detail" from Inkatha to enable the commission to launch a "meaningful inquiry into the allegations".

Ndebele said the ANC's campaign would involve government and non-government sectors including public servants, traditional leaders, civic organisations, academics and sports bodies.

"Our rolling mass action campaign will involve all those people whose lives have been thrown in disarray because of Inkatha's opposition to the elections... the TEC and the new government," Ndebele said.

Meanwhile, Natal Cosatu officials confirmed that four public sector unions had formed a forum to investigate "forms of action" around issues such as job security for KwaZulu public servants and free political activity in the province.

## Mass action

law into their own hands. Cosatu and its allies cannot be held responsible for that, Cosatu national assistant secretary-general Zwelinzima Vavi said.

He appealed to the Independent Electoral Commission, the TEC and the Internal Natal situation spiralled out of control.

Rapid security force deployment was necessary, or people would be forced to take the law into their hands to protect themselves. "We are concerned that unless the TEC's programme of measures to stabilise the situation is taken in the next week, it will become impossible to hold

elections in the region.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that more than 60 people have died in the political violence that has swept through Natal since Friday, with reports of hundreds of people fleeing their homes.

The toll rose steadily yesterday as reports of killings streamed in from rural areas and townships throughout Natal and KwaZulu. Worst affected were areas north of Durban, with the KwaZulu Police reporting at least 11 killings in the Sonkomo area of Ndwedwe since Sunday. At least three people died in KwaMashu.

Report by David Greybe and Lloyd Coult, 11 Disposal St, Jhb.

tical activity in the province. Cosatu said that what was perceived as an attempt to topple the KwaZulu government was in fact its members' concern about their jobs and pensions and the fate of those who want to vote in the election.

The KwaZulu government had issued a circular explaining that the interim constitution made provision for KwaZulu public servants. However, the constitution had been rejected by KwaZulu.

"It is important that we warn as we did with Mangope that the KwaZulu government's intransigence provides the possibility that people and workers could take the

To Page 2



# 'ANC plan to subdue KwaZulu'

Biday 23/3/94

THE recent period has seen further dramatic shifts in the balance of power towards the people's camp. The collapse of the Mangope regime in the Bophuthatswana bantustan is a signal achievement in this regard.

The most significant outstanding obstacle which confronts the people's movement is the problem of Buthelezi and the IFP. Events in Bop, combined with the deteriorating situation in Natal now urge the accelerated implementation of a strategy for the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan and its reincorporation within SA.

Though conditions in KwaZulu and Bop differ materially, and strategy towards the Mangope regime cannot be mechanically applied, our strategy towards KwaZulu includes important common elements.

Sufficient consensus now exists within the TEC for using maximum firmness for dealing with threats to a democratic transition. But we must first create conditions, primarily through mass action, heightened public awareness and work among KwaZulu civil servants, for decisive state intervention. We must prepare the anvil for the coming hammer.

Efforts to isolate Buthelezi and separate Inkatha from its constituency and potential constituencies have unfortunately been offset by serious and unexpected reverses in the Natal region. Principally this is evident in the growth of dangerous ethnic chauvinism under the banner of King Goodwill Zwelethini. This expanding chauvinist mobilisation is combined with increasing militarisation, assisted by former members of the apartheid security forces.

These dangers counsel for accelerated implementation of a strategy which has as its objective the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan. Apart from the need to create conditions in which free and fair elections can be held, it is only through the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan and its reincorporation that tribal chauvinism can be finally cut down.

First, the Natal situation should be more closely monitored by a task force of the TEC, and decisive practical steps recommended.

Second, parts of Natal should be declared disaster areas and similar steps taken here as on the East Rand. Security force functions car-

## Inkatha yesterday published a discussion document, allegedly prepared by elements in the ANC, dealing with the future of KwaZulu. These are edited extracts.

ried out by the ISD should be assumed by the SADF and NPKF. Those units which proved themselves most reliable in Bophuthatswana, should be considered for priority deployment in crisis areas of Natal. The SAP in Natal may well prove unreliable in any such TEC initiative. With a view to future military intervention in KwaZulu, the SAP leadership in Natal must be firmly subordinated to the TEC.

Third, the military training and deployment of IFP members in Natal also requires re-strengthening of an effective MK's presence, and more active implementation of self-defence measures. In any event, any security action considered by the TEC should be supplemented by informal MK deployments.

About 5 000 IFP members have been trained in a relatively short space of time. Counterpoised to this private army are about 2 000 MK members deployed in a self-defence capacity throughout Natal, several thousand informally trained SDU members, and some members of the Transkei Defence Force.

The development of what is by all accounts a disciplined IFP military capability — an important factor in political violence in the Natal region and beyond — is deeply disturbing and requires urgent TEC attention. This training and the murderous activities of its products need to be suppressed as a matter of urgency.

Fourth, the TEC also needs to assume the payment of salaries of Amakhosi (chiefs). Subordinating reactionary institutions to the control of the TEC and a new democratic order is necessary not only (as) a prelude to their transformation, but it (also) removes an important instrument of social control from the hands of Buthelezi and the IFP.

Fifth, the TEC needs to assume a far more

active role in Natal.

Sixth, this must be combined with the organisation of a broad front of forces against any disruption of elections or attempts to Balkanise the country.

Finally, and most critical, is work among the KwaZulu civil service, and efforts to win over the Zulu king. In this regard (ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob) Zuma's diplomacy should be understood as a means to an end — the destruction of Buthelezi's political and social base. Apart from Zuma's sympathy for the incarnations and institutions of tribal consciousness, he may confuse the means as an end in itself. Approaches to the king therefore must be carefully considered and assessed and continuously oriented within the purposeful strategic framework of the liberation movement.

Organisation among civil servants must be stepped up. Though advances have been made in this regard, and important sectors of the KwaZulu civil service are organised by the ANC and allied formations, efforts must be made to persuade civil servants that job security and their pensions can only be secured by a people's government and not by tribal despots.

Though the KwaZulu administration differs from its Bophuthatswana counterpart in that it has a social base, a number of civil servants do not identify with this base.

Combined with mass action, and stepped up organisation within the KwaZulu government, a situation of ungovernability could reproduce itself fairly rapidly in the areas it administers. Though the consequences will be more extensive than in Bop, this should not deter us from the political correctness of such a strategy. It is important, however, for this crunch moment to have an appearance of spontaneity and popular support. Direct ANC involvement must be played down.

Emerging instability within KwaZulu should provide a persuasive argument for TEC intervention in KwaZulu.

Comrades within the TEC have made it clear that, in conditions of growing instability or ungovernability, and partial or general uprising, or organised resistance to the imperatives of a new democratic order, that as in Bop, decisive military steps will be taken.



The ANC and the National Party, together with other groups at the multiparty talks, have spent months in talks aimed at building a constitutional house in which everyone can live. But, argues Richard Dowden, they may have to add a door by which groups wishing to leave can do so.

# Zulus call strikes Africa chord

Star 23/3/94



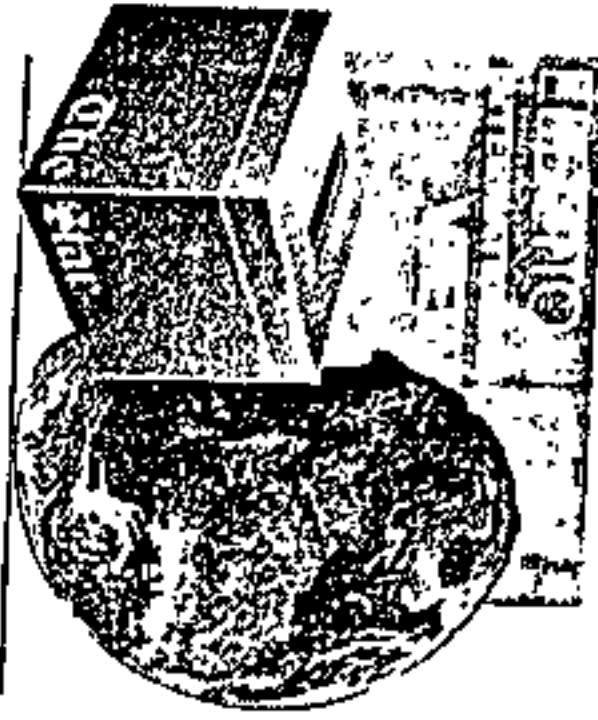
Recent calls by King Goodwill Zwelithini for the full sovereignty of the Zulu people in South Africa will be seen by good democrats everywhere as another wrecking move by the Zulus to undermine the brave and patient work by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela towards a democratic South Africa.

The position of the king, and more especially his minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, is widely interpreted as atavistic and sectarian, putting the interests of the tribe before those of the nation.

However, it will strike a different chord among those in Africa who are increasingly worried that a first-past-the-post system of multiparty democracy means the domination of one tribe by another.

At the moment the basic political unit throughout the continent is not the nation state left by departing colonial powers, but people of the same tongue and culture. Political labels such as democratic, liberal or national are being stuck on parties that are in essence regional, ethnic or tribal (though "tribe" does not adequately describe most of these affiliations — it is equivalent to talking about tribalism in former Yugoslavia or, perhaps, English, Welsh and Irish tribalism in the British Isles).

If the political map of Africa is not 52 nation states but a jigsaw



of hundreds of cultural, linguistic, ethnic or even religious groups, then the constitutional relationship between these is what provides the cornerstone of stability on the continent. The will of the majority, the essential tenet of Western democracy, cannot be the ultimate arbiter of political power for Africa: constitutions have to be based on groups as well as individuals.

In Ethiopia the government has set as its prime task the forging of a new relationship between the country's different "nations". Like South Africa, it is holding elections shortly, in June. At first glance it seems that while South Africa is abolishing a state based on race, Ethiopia, at the other end of the continent, is setting one up. The Ethiopian government believes that until the relationship between the country's 80 different

language groups has been settled, there can be no peace.

While the South African Government was abolishing racial classification on identity cards, introducing it. You can no longer be just Ethiopian: your identity card must show whether you are Amharic, Tigrayan or Oromo. South Africans will vote in their first democratic non-racial election, for parties that shun ethnic or regional labels, at the same time as Ethiopians will choose what provides the cornerstone of stability on the continent. The tenet of Western democracy, cannot be the ultimate arbiter of political power for Africa: constitutions have to be based on groups as well as individuals.

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King Goodwill... may be more in touch than not.

will lose badly. They say the African National Congress represents, in the main, one group, the Xhosa, and that it will try to dominate the Zulus. They can point to other states in Africa, such as Angola and Burundi, where civil war has followed elections in which one group refused to accept the result.

Zulu nationhood may be backward- and inward-looking, but it is a common theme in Africa these days, and it would be a rash politician who tried to take it on by force and ploughed ahead with an election which marginalised people with that view. It may even be necessary to offer regions the option of seceding altogether.

The ANC and the National Party have spent many hours in patient negotiation, trying to build a house in which everyone can live, but they may have to add a door by which groups can leave, rather than obliging them to remain part of a state to which they feel no allegiance.

In the first 20 years of statehood in Africa, from the early Sixties, it was fashionable to argue that the one-party state best suited the continent's political and developmental needs. By 1990, however, that political system was seen, in nations such as

elections. It also allowed Africans to say what they felt and criticise their governments. Political prisoners were freed and a flood of independent newspapers appeared in Malawi, Ghana, Zaire and Mozambique, among others. The elections were almost all peaceful and produced turnouts that often reached more than 90 percent.

My abiding image of an election in Africa is a queue of people standing for hours under a hot sun, having walked for three or four hours to a polling booth. In many cases they would run out of time and have to return the next day. When they finally did cast their votes with great seriousness and meticulous care, people would emerge and greet their friends, saying: "I have voted."

But the new political system has failed to answer the basic questions of African politics: What happens to the losers, and what happens to the army, the guarantor of power? In Angola, the loser, Jonas Savimbi, went back to war. In Nigeria, when the "wrong" man won, President Ibrahim Babangida cancelled the election. Only those from the winner's own group took to the streets to defend the election. In Burundi, where the parties

were split along ethnic lines, the winner was murdered by army officers from the opposing group and the country was plunged into one of Africa's worst massacres. In Kenya, the opposition split and allowed President Daniel arap Moi, an opponent of multiparty democracy, to return to power. Since then his government has exploited tribal and regional differences and striven to eradicate the hard-won democratic culture built up before the election.

One African leader has stood out against Western pressure for a multiparty system and forged a case against it that should be heard in the rest of Africa. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda argues that in post-industrial societies parties divide a country horizontally, according to class. Class conflict, he argues, is dynamic and people's class position may also change.

But in pre-industrial societies, political parties express vertical divisions that are static and unchangeable. It is, he points out, impossible to change one's tribe, therefore political parties simply allow politicians to exploit and widen these divisions, creating the sort of problems for which Uganda was once notorious.

Uganda's election next week

is to be held on a "no-party" basis. Individuals may stand on their personal records, but are not allowed to stand in the name of a religious party, ethnic group or political party. President Museveni has allowed four former nations to reestablish their monarchies as cultural symbols in the hope of channeling ancient tribal and ethnic sentiment into non-political areas.

If the Ugandan experiment works, it may be a path to democracy for other African countries. President Museveni may have a human rights problem at the moment by banning free association, but he has not rejected the idea of political parties in the longer term. Or perhaps by suppressing group political activity he is simply storing up trouble for the future.

Is Ethiopia's president, Meles Zenawi, perhaps right in choosing to confront the ethnic question?

In their elections this year Ethiopia, Uganda and South Africa have each chosen different routes to try to build coherent nation states from peoples of disparate ethnic and cultural backgrounds. That they have done so underlines a growing recognition that what looks most successful and desirable in Western liberal democratic terms may not work in Africa.

And what King Goodwill demands for Zulus in South Africa may be nearer the aspirations of many other groups on the continent. — The Independent News Service.

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## Ulundi crisis deepens

Star 23/3/94

◀ From Page 1

De Klerk said contingency plans were in place if violence erupted in KwaZulu, but dismissed suggestions that there was a plan to destabilise the region.

KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has warned that if the contingency plans amount to armed action against those opposing the election it would spawn a "struggle for liberation" with no parallel in Africa.

Last night it was reported from Durban that hundreds of residents from townships in the area were fleeing their homes. Fighting in the tense Kwamashu township was reported to be spreading to neighbouring areas.

Yesterday Cosatu claimed in a statement that the "low-intensity civil war in Natal has flared up into an open war of terror against the democratic forces".

### 'Plans'

Earlier yesterday the IFP asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate alleged ANC plans to make KwaZulu ungovernable and to prepare the territory for South African military intervention.

On Monday Buthelezi said: "What was planned for Bophuthatswana is now being planned for KwaZulu."

He was referring to "plans" to disrupt the KwaZulu civil service. The Ulundi administration has reassured people of job and pension security.

However, teachers in Durban's Umlazi township are expected to march today to demand that their pensions be paid out. Another protest is being planned for tomorrow.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

## Ulundi crisis deepens

Star 23/3/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

The tension in Ulundi increased yesterday as KwaZulu/Natal appeared set for a sharp rise in the vicious strife sweeping the region.

Developments suggesting that the simmering crisis in the province could be coming to a head include:

■ A decision by the Transitional Executive Council to get tough on KwaZulu and take steps — in tandem with the Independent Electoral Commission — to ensure that a free and fair election takes place in the region. (107)

■ More political violence in townships across the province. An estimated 60 people have died since Friday.

■ A blunt comment by President de Klerk that the "point of no return" had been reached with the IFP, apparently ruling out any chance of its participation in the election.

■ Cosatu's announcement of KwaZulu civil service protests to demand that their pensions be paid out.

■ The IFP's release to the Goldstone Commission of a document it claims reveals an ANC/SACP plot to destabilise the province.

▶ To Page 3

# 'Revoke KwaZulu Police authority'

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The KwaZulu government's authority to run its own police force should be revoked, a TEC task force investigating hit-squad activity in Natal and KwaZulu has recommended.

The task group said certain KwaZulu Police members, Inkatha Freedom Party office-bearers and government officials in Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office were implicated in hit-squad activities.

In a preliminary report given to the TEC yesterday, the task force said hit-squad activity in Natal, and particularly in the KwaZulu Police's area of jurisdiction, was "rife".

Immediate steps were necessary "to curb this activity, which has now reached crisis proportions", the task force said.

The report said documents at the chief minister's office should be examined, all relevant dockets now in the hands of the KwaZulu Police should be handed over to an independent investigation team and a senior SAP detective and international observer be placed at each KwaZulu

## 'ANC's mass action to go ahead'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC vowed yesterday that a "fake" ANC document, released by the IFP and outlining a plan to overthrow Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would not stop Friday's launch of a rolling mass action campaign in KwaZulu, involving the public ser-

vice.

ANC Natal officials yesterday dismissed as cheap propaganda an Inkatha claim that it was responsible for the document.

Inkatha officials are scheduled to meet the Goldstone Commission on Friday to discuss the document, which Inkatha said was provided by an informant, who

Police station. The task force said "several hit-squads were operating and deaths caused by them represented a "significant proportion" of those killed in political violence in the region.

The KwaZulu Police was "incapable of investigating cases against suspects of its own force allegedly implicated in such hit-squad activity". Not one person had been convicted of these activities as a result of an investigation carried out exclusively by the KwaZulu Police.

Targets identified for execution by the hit-squads included not only ANC political activists and leaders but also KwaZulu

insisted it was "genuine and was produced by a senior member" of the ANC/SACP alliance.

Meanwhile, Natal Cosatu officials yesterday confirmed that its four public sector unions had formed a forum to investigate "forms of action around" issues such as job security for KwaZulu civil servants and free political activity in the province.

police who appeared to be disloyal to the IFP, were over-enthusiastic in their investigations of other policemen or had co-operated with the Goldstone Commission.

"The evidence and information suggests the involvement of the highest echelons of the KwaZulu Police" — but excluded Commissioner Lt-Gen Roy Daring.

The report also said there were certain linkages between hit-squads and members of the SAP and SADF.

The task group noted it had received "disturbing information" about a wider hit-squad network comprising elements within the SAP and private security firms.

De Klerk gives up on the IFP

PORT ELIZABETH. — The point of no return had been reached and the election must now take place without the Inkatha Freedom Party. President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Outlining his latest approach to IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said he had mooted the possibility of the IFP contesting the election in the KwaZulu/Natal region.

By not fighting the national election, the IFP could still register its opposition to the interim constitution.

The IFP had rejected his suggestion, Mr De Klerk said.

Delegations of the African National Congress and the IFP met in Johannesburg yesterday to finalise arrangements on the issue of international mediation.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi agreed on mediation at a meeting in Durban three weeks ago. — Sapa

CT 23/3/94 (107)

CT 23/3/94



# Top Police 'hit squads' in Natal 'widespread destabilisation' in Kwazulu alleged

## Gun-running, 'widespread destabilisation' in Kwazulu alleged

ESTHER WAUGH  
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Several hit squads, allegedly involving Kwazulu Police and Inkatha Freedom Party members, are operative in Natal.

This is contained in a preliminary report submitted to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) yesterday.

It follows the release of the Goldstone Commission's report, which alleged that top police officers were involved in a gun-running network.

The TEC was further informed of allegations of "a wider hit-squad network comprising elements within the police and private security firms". The network is allegedly involved in the "large-scale" training and deployment of individuals for hit-squad activities, and are allegedly preparing for "widespread destabilisation".

The report was compiled by

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a three-member task force appointed by the TEC in December, consisting of Wits law professor Fink Haysom, Durban attorney Howard Varney and the SAP's Colonel Ivor Human.

The report stated that hit-squad activity in Natal, "in particular in the area of jurisdiction of the Kwazulu Police", was rife.

The number of deaths caused by the hit squads was unknown, but would represent "a significant proportion" of those killed in political violence in the province.

The task force said: "The KZP have been implicated in hit-squad activity in a number of areas throughout the North Coast, in the greater Durban area and in the Midlands."

It found that a group, trained by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, was "specifically associated" with the hit squad. "We are satisfied that the secret training received by the Caprivi trainees had little to do with the stated purpose of VIP

protection, but in fact equipped the trainees with a repertoire of deadly skills in offensive military techniques and guerrilla warfare," the task group said.

The report added: "Additionally, some officials and/or office-bearers of the IFP and employees of a certain Kwazulu government department are implicated in this hit-squad activity."

"Informants have alleged that certain Kwazulu government senior officials have been involved in directing and supporting hit-squad activity."

"The evidence and information in some cases suggests that resources or directives appear to emanate from certain officials in Ulundi, allegedly located at the IFP head office and at the Department of the Chief Minister."

These resources allegedly included vehicles, arms and ammunition.

Ballistic tests suggested that firearms used were from the

KZP armoury.

The report said targets for assassination were UDF and ANC activists, and KZP members "who are perceived to have been disloyal to the IFP and those who have appeared to be enthusiastic in their investigations against other Kwazulu policemen and IFP members."

The task force told the TEC that "this weekend arms and ammunition were allegedly being distributed by KZP members to tribal chiefs."

According to the task force "the highest echelons" of the KZP have been involved in frustrating investigations into hit squads by the SAP and "certain diligent investigators" in the KZP.

These KZP members have actively supported suspected KZP assassins by "supplying them with their salaries while officially denying any knowledge of their whereabouts".

Dr Haysom said this excluded KZP Commissioner Roy During.

The task force could not rule out the possibility that in "certain instances certain SAP officers" have frustrated investigations into hit squads.

It recommended that:

- A single, unified investigation team be established.
- "Certain KZP officers" be placed on immediate compulsory leave.
- KZP members and individuals implicated be questioned.
- Caprivi trainees be relieved from active policing duties during the election period and begiven administrative duties.
- Firearms of all Caprivi trainees and the entire arsenal of specific KZP stations be sent for ballistic testing.
- An immediate audit of KZP weapons.
- An immediate halt to the issue of firearms.

(News by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)



NEWS Hundreds flee Natal homes • Kriegler mission described as 'make or break move'

# TEC acts on Natal

*Sowetan* 23/3/94  
■ CONTROL SUPPORTERS TEC

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

**T**he days of power may be numbered for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The management committee of the Transitional Executive Council was mandated yesterday to take whatever steps necessary to ensure free and fair elections in Natal.

The TEC passed the resolution after being presented with a report alleging KwaZulu government and KwaZulu Police complicity in hit squad activity.

The report, compiled by attorneys Fink Haysom and Howard Varney and the SAP's Col Ivor Human, recommended the KZP be brought under South African Police jurisdiction ahead of the April 27 election.

Although the TEC decided on no specific or immediate steps, the report's conclusions will help inform management committee members of the steps believed to be necessary to ensure a free and fair election in Natal.

Meanwhile, President FW de Klerk, speaking during his election campaign in Port Elizabeth, said the government

mandated to ensure free and fair elections:

has an effective contingency plan in place to counter any further violence in Natal.

Without wanting to pre-empt a meeting tomorrow between IEC chairperson Mr Justice Johan Kriegler, the IFP and King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr De Klerk said it was up to responsible leaders to control their supporters so that free political process in the region can be guaranteed.

### Send troops to Natal

This confirms information from Government sources who told *Sowetan* yesterday that a decision had been taken to send troops to Natal to quell the rising tide of unrest there. Buthelezi's fate now hangs on the report that Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler brings back from his visit to the territory today.

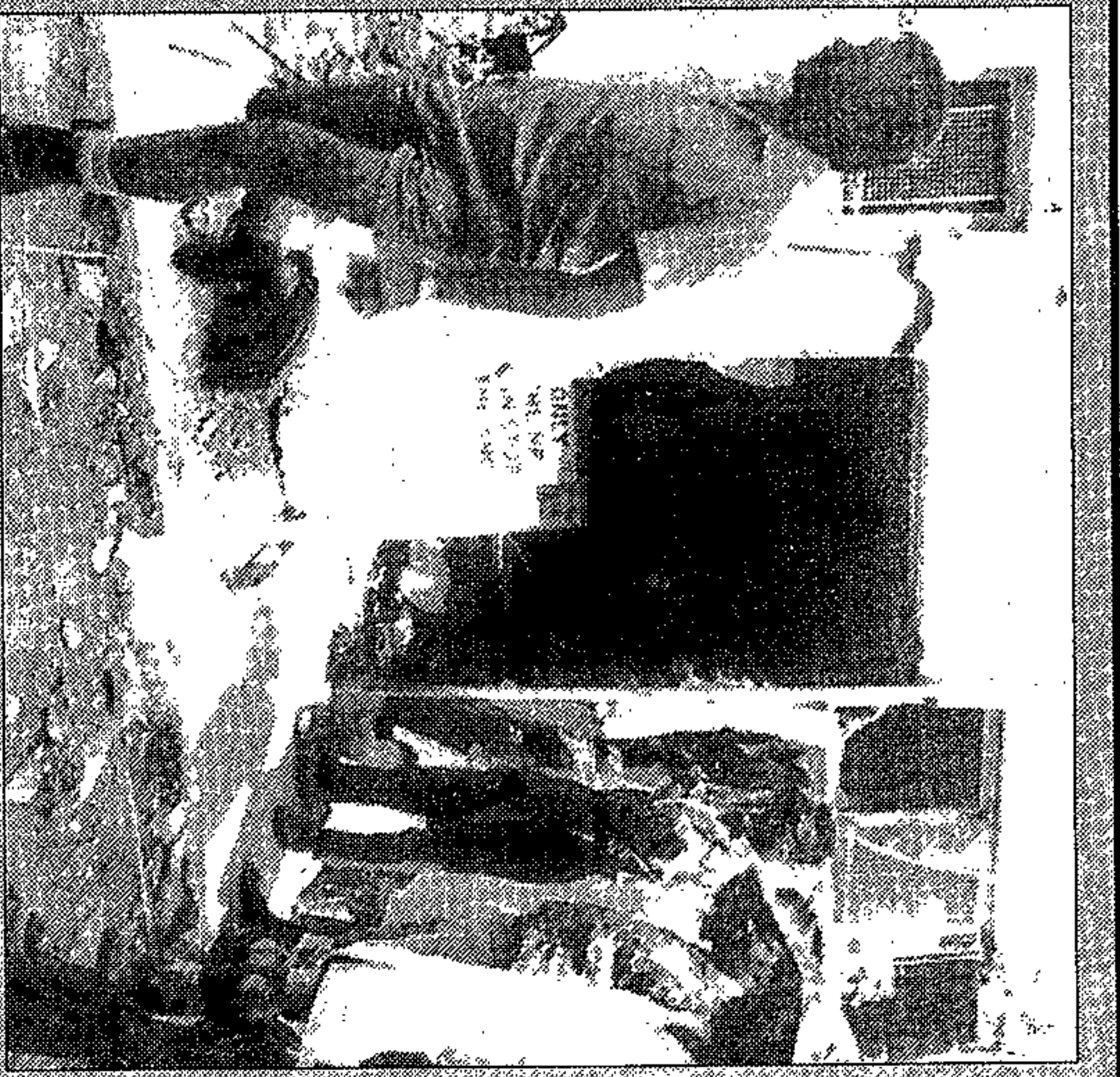
A Government source described the Kriegler mission as a make-or-break

move: "The situation in Natal is very grave and unless defused immediately, it may scuttle everything that so many people have worked so hard for."

Buthelezi, the source said, could only save himself by allowing free and fair election campaigns in KwaZulu through calling off the campaign that is blocking election rallies of the African National Congress. This is thought unlikely, as Buthelezi has said he has no control over the people concerned.

Kriegler will today meet Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini and later address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in what is seen as a last-ditch attempt to stop all-out war in Natal.

The sources said Kriegler was mandated by State President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela on Monday to give Buthelezi a last option before the Transitional Executive Council and the Government take "drastic action", possibly an army takeover.



Onlookers watch the remains of what used to be the National Party's offices in Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal. A powerful explosion ripped through the building on Monday night, causing damage estimated at R250 000. NP spokesman Mr Deon Oosthuizen said they did not know who was responsible for the explosion. PIC: PAT SEBOKO



Public servants want Buthelezi out

# ANC urges

# TEC to take

# over KwaZulu

B/Dewy 24/3/94

THE ANC said yesterday the time had come for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to take charge in KwaZulu to ensure free political activity in the run-up to the elections.

The call was accompanied by a warning from KwaZulu public servants that they would strike if Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had not been replaced by an administrator by Monday.

ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said TEC control was the only option to prevent a bloodbath. He was backed by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, who said government had given KwaZulu and Buthelezi "too much leeway already".

"The longer government takes to act, the more chance there is for Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party to consolidate and prepare resistance. KwaZulu does not even have the excuse that it is so-called independent and government is treating it as if it is. Government and the TEC can just go in and tell Buthelezi he is no longer chief minister and remove him from that post with far more legal and moral credibility than they had in Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei," Zuma said.

He said he could not prescribe to the TEC what action should be taken but his view was that the KwaZulu administration should be put in the hands of the TEC.

Central government resources were being used by the KwaZulu government and Inkatha to destabilise the transformation process, and it had to be stopped, he said. The TEC and other transitional bodies had to ensure free and fair elections took

DAVID GREYBE and BILLY PADDOCK

place. If this required the SADF to move in then that just has to happen. One thing is certain, the people are going to vote."

IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi and members of his cabinet in Ulundi yesterday, and requested an earlier agreement with Buthelezi be implemented to allow free and fair elections in KwaZulu.

However, Kriegler said the IEC "has regrettably encountered serious difficulties in executing this mandate in some areas of KwaZulu".

Buthelezi agreed to some of Kriegler's requests but set stringent conditions for others. He said he did not have the power to grant every request, because they needed to be discussed "with tribal and other communities and individuals".

However, he was fully aware that Kriegler could bring the "full might of the law to bear upon us" if KwaZulu failed to comply with the IEC requests.

He agreed that non-essential government buildings could be made available to the IEC, but both the KwaZulu police and SAP would have to man polling stations. Buthelezi said the IEC planned to launch its "Operation Access" in Natal/KwaZulu, and had invited Inkatha to take part. He suggested that a working committee be set up to co-ordinate the IEC's requests.

Radebe demanded that the National Peacekeeping Force be deployed in KwaZulu, plus a large contingent of interna-

To Page 2

## KwaZulu

B/Dewy

24/3/94 From Page 1

tional observers. He said the ANC's rolling mass action campaign would go ahead.

The ANC postponed a stayaway and march today by Kwamashu residents. But tomorrow's march and rally at Currie's Fountain stadium would take place.

Zuma denied Inkatha's claim that there was an ANC document outlining a plot to overthrow Buthelezi. "It is part of the plan to undermine the process," he said. The style and language was not the ANC's.

TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan yesterday denied Inkatha claims that he had seen the document. He said he had seen it only after the media had obtained copies. He was prepared to testify before the Goldstone commission.

Sapa reports Buthelezi said he was not aware of KwaZulu Police hit squads in Natal/KwaZulu, and described such

claims as "vicious propaganda". "If there have been hit squads, they have not been run by myself or set up at my suggestion."

JOHANNESBURG reports KwaZulu public servants warned yesterday that if Buthelezi had not been replaced by an administrator by Monday, the region's public service would go on strike.

Themba Shezi, co-ordinator for a new forum of public sector unions in Natal, said the forum had asked the TEC to intervene. TEC information director Dries van Heerden confirmed that he had received a fax from KwaZulu public servants.

More than 1 000 disgruntled public servants from Kwamashu, Umhlati and Umbumbulu marched yesterday to the KwaZulu government offices demanding immediate pension payouts.

Report by B Paddock, D Greybe and J Ngcobo, TEL 11 Dispersed

St. Job; and C Doornan, Secs, 330 West St, Dur.

# Jeers in KwaZulu as fair poll urged

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Ulundi — Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, the chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), was repeatedly jeered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday when he appealed for co-operation in the task of making a free and fair election possible.

Star 24/3/94  
He had barely begun his reply to speeches by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini when Legislative Assembly members broke out in derisive laughter and jeers.

Buthelezi had to intervene and appeal to the members to give Kriegler a fair hearing.

His intervention helped for a while only. (107)

Earlier Buthelezi had offered the IEC conditional co-operation or, from a different perspective, partial resistance.

Government school buildings would be made available but not community school buildings. Similarly, government

buildings would be made available provided they were not needed for "essential services". (113)

In a statement which drew thunderous applause, Buthelezi set the conditions for co-operation from civil servants.

Those who wished to volun-

► To Page 3

# Kriegler jeered in KwaZulu Assembly

From Page 1

teer to man polling stations would be allowed to do so, provided that they were not involved in "essential services", the danger to them was spelt out and they were made aware that the KwaZulu government would not accept any liability for anything that happened to them.

In his speech Zwelithini said, after restating his determination to establish a sovereign Zulu kingdom: "I cannot advise my people that the correct thing for them to do is to vote in the forth-

coming election."

His statement was loudly applauded.

Star 24/3/94  
The ANC accused Buthelezi yesterday of trying to plunge KwaZulu/Natal into a bloodbath, and said he had "to be stopped in his tracks", Kaiser Nyatsumba reports.

Addressing a press briefing in Johannesburg, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Hadebe and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said it was now time the TEC took decisive action to ensure free political activity in the

province.

This, said Hadebe, would have to include a TEC/SA Government takeover of the administration of the KwaZulu government.

The public display of dangerous arms at Zwelithini's meeting in Ulundi last week indicated clearly that there was a breakdown of law and order in the homeland. (107) (113)

Zuma said that although the ANC did not want to prescribe to the TEC, action which could be taken could include the cutting

off of funds to Buthelezi's government.

The two leaders confirmed they would lead a protest march to the CR Swart Police Station in Durban tomorrow to demand a climate of free political activity in KwaZulu/Natal.

Hadebe said that would mark the beginning of the ANC's rolling mass action to show that the overwhelming majority of Zulus wanted to vote in next month's election.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# Ciskei turmoil stops FW visit; violence flares in KwaZulu

AS violence flared in KwaZulu and Natal, the turmoil in Ciskei kept President De Klerk from visiting the homeland during an election sweep through the Border area.

His tour was partially successful, drawing 4 500 supporters in East London, King William's Town and Queenstown.

But at Queenstown about 6 000 ANC supporters overwhelmed the NP crowd which numbered only a few hundred.

President De Klerk said it would have been irresponsible of him to have toured Ciskei, even though he was barely 3km from Bisho.

The ANC and the Natal Indian Congress's Pravin Gordhan have vehemently denied any knowledge of a plan to destabilise KwaZulu and make it ungovernable so that South Africa would intervene militarily.

Reacting to the IFP's request this week that the Goldstone Commission investigate an alleged ANC-SACP plan to render KwaZulu ungovernable, Mr Gordhan and the ANC said this was an attempt by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party to deflect attention from reports of alleged hit-squad activities in KwaZulu.

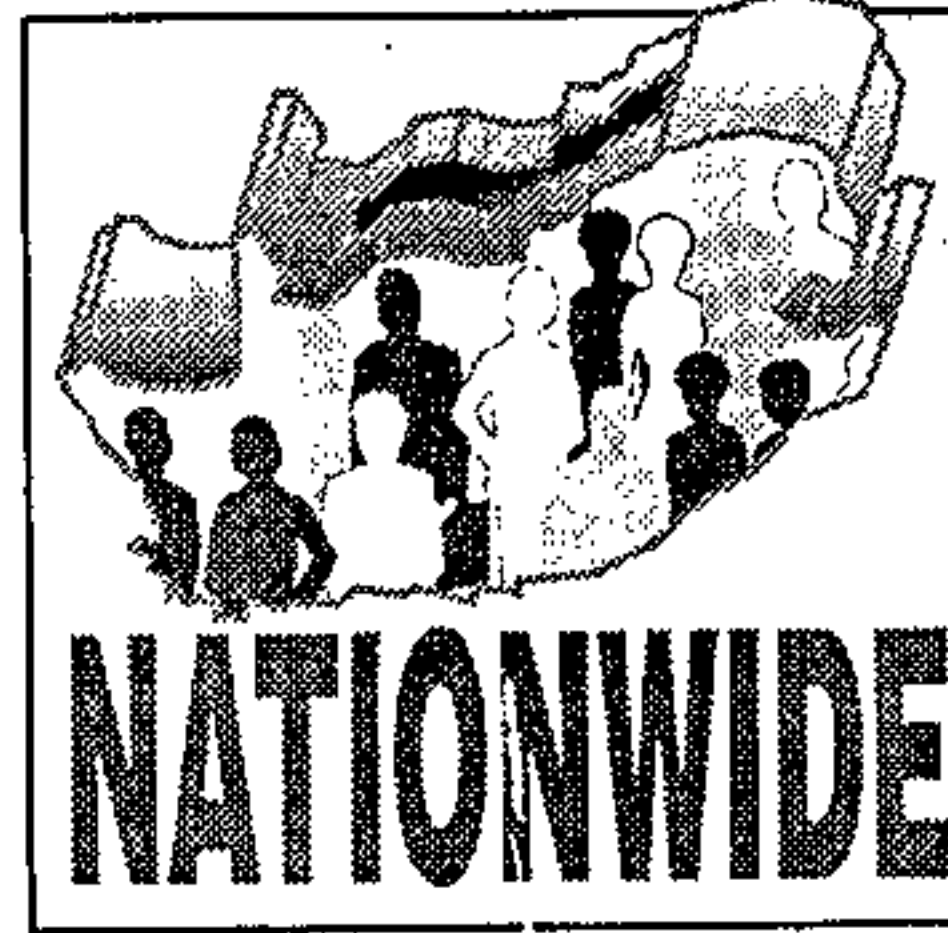
Mr Gordhan said he had not "had sight of the document" as alleged by IFP central committee member Suzanne Vos, and said the attempt to connect him with the "concocted document with suspect origins (was) a regrettable but transparent" effort to smear him personally.

Thirty-one prisoners remained on hunger strike at Fort Glamorgan prison in East London despite a decision by the Transitional Executive Council to grant all prisoners the vote in the election.

A spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services, Colonel Barry Eksteen, said 40 prisoners who had embarked on a hunger strike in Cradock had also not suspended their strike.

More than 900 prisoners at Fort Glamorgan went on hunger strike on Tuesday, after responding to a call by the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights for mass action supporting their demand to vote.

Colonel Eksteen was unable to say why the remaining prisoners were still refusing food.



An IFP organiser in Natal's Ixopo region, Dumisani Khuzwayo, has appeared briefly in the Ixopo Magistrate's Court.

Mr Khuzwayo's appearance was in connection with the massacre of 14 people at Mahehle in the Creighton area in southern Natal last month.

The victims were said to be election canvassers, mainly young people preparing for an ANC voter education programme.

A Krugersdorp man described in the Rand Supreme Court how he was assaulted by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members at a bogus roadblock near Randfontein last year.

Abel Sebohodi was testifying at the trial of seven men who face four charges of murder, six counts of attempted murder, two charges of malicious damage to property, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Four people, including an 11-year-old boy, died in the shooting incident on the Krugersdorp-Ventersdorp road on December 12.

Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa has criticised the call-up of part-time South African Defence Force members for the election and called for the mobilisation of all forces, including those of the TBVC homelands, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The NP would be even smaller proportionately in the new parliament than the Democratic Party was after the 1989 general election, DP national chairman Ken Andrew said last night.

(Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

# Kriegler grilled by angry KwaZulu officials

ARG 24/3/94 (107)

## □ IEC chairman calls for co-operation in poll

ULUNDI. — Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler was grilled for four hours by angry KwaZulu government officials opposed to the election, but a number of concessions were made to the IEC.

Judge Kriegler was repeatedly booed while trying to explain to cabinet ministers and civil servants what the IEC's mission was and the problems it was facing in KwaZulu.

He was met with roars of disapproval when he invited the KwaZulu government and its people to "join us in making the election work".

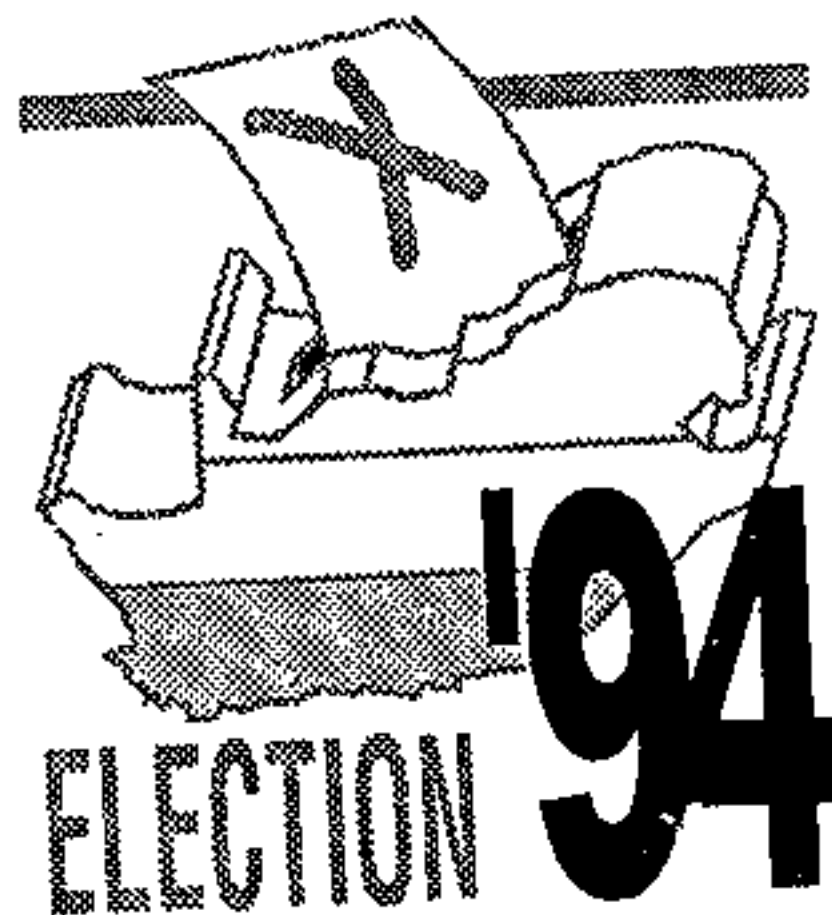
His invitation for KwaZulu to nominate representatives to a liaison committee focusing on elections was also met with rowdy rejection.

He tried to encourage the cabinet to "get on with building the future", but was drowned out by disapproving cries.

"I thank some of you for your courtesy," he concluded.

Earlier King Goodwill Zwelithini repeated that he could not recommend that his subjects vote.

Derisive laughter followed when Judge Kriegler noted that the King had not said "it would be incorrect for his people to vote. He said he could not advise them to vote. Mark those words."



KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was forced to intervene more than once to call for order.

King Goodwill walked out of the chamber while cabinet ministers and senior government officials were putting grievances and questions.

Judge Kriegler was told that the IEC was sent to KwaZulu by the "ANC-dominated" Transitional Executive Council, and was perceived as illegitimate by the Zulu people.

More than one speaker warned against deploying Defence Force troops against the KwaZulu government, saying Zulus were prepared to lay down their lives for their freedom.

Deputy Education Minister Prince Vincent Zulu expressed concern about events in Bophuthatswana, noting that the toppling of Lucas Mangope's government had followed a visit to the homeland by the IEC.

"Is this another prelude to the destruction of KwaZulu?" he asked.

IFP negotiator Ben Ngubane told the IEC delegation it had "become bedmates with a horrible force" (the TEC).

Although appearing irate at times during the session, Judge Kriegler told reporters as he left that he was satisfied with some issues while it was necessary for further meetings on others.

On a question whether he was hopeful for elections in KwaZulu, he replied: "I would like to think about that overnight."

Chief Buthelezi said he conditionally agreed to allow the IEC to prepare for the elections.

In terms of the IEC operating in the territory, the KwaZulu cabinet had resolved, among other things that:

- Government buildings would be made available for election purposes on a selective basis. This excluded buildings used for essential services.

- Community based institutions and tribal authority buildings could be used only if those communities or tribal authorities gave their blessing.

- Damage to KwaZulu government property during the election would be the responsibility of the IEC.

- The KwaZulu Police and the SA Police would man polling stations jointly. — Sapa.

(News by C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban).



ies not co-operating with IEC ● No voting, bishop tells priests

# Kriegler jeered by KLA

Sowetan 24/3/14

Sowetan Correspondent

## ■ PARTIAL RESISTANCE Buthelezi's

response falls far short of full co-operation:

**T**HE chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, was repeatedly jeered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly when he appealed for co-operation to make a free and fair election possible.

He had barely begun his reply to speeches by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini when KLA members broke out in derisive laughter and jeers.

Buthelezi had to intervene and appeal to the members to give Kriegler a fair hearing. His intervention helped for a while only.

In his speech Zwelithini said after restating his determination to establish a sovereign Zulu

kingdom: "I cannot advise my people that the correct thing for them to do is to vote in the forthcoming election." He was loudly applauded ~~(300)~~ (107)

Kriegler said the IEC had not received the necessary co-operation in KwaZulu to organise a free and fair election, one in which those who wanted to vote would have the same rights as those who wished to abstain.

Earlier Buthelezi had offered the IEC partial co-operation or, from a different perspective, partial resistance.

Government school buildings would be made available but not community school buildings.

Buthelezi was loudly applauded when he set conditions for co-operation from civil servants.

Those who wished to volunteer to man polling stations would be allowed to do so, provided they were not involved in "essential services", the danger to them was spelt out and they were made aware that the KwaZulu government would not accept any liability for anything that happened to them.

(47 Sauer St, Jhb)

## NEWS Tension grows

# All eyes on KwaZulu document

Sowetan 24/3/94

By **Mathatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

POLITICAL tension continues to build up in Natal this week, on the eve of tomorrow's launch by the African National Congress of its mass action in the province.

And at the root of the action now is the document that the Inkatha Freedom Party released on Tuesday, alleging that the ANC had devised a plan to destabilise the KwaZulu area in preparation for a seizure of power there *à la* Bophuthatswana. (107)

The IFP has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the matter, and has also fingered Transitional Executive Council co-chairman and ANC leader Mr Pravin Gordhan as a man who can throw more light on the origins of the document.

The ANC, usually swift to respond to issues, has refused to comment on the authenticity of the document, entitled "Prepare the Anvil for the Coming Hammer: Towards a Programme of Action in Natal".

The IFP's argument is that a campaign is being orchestrated by the ANC to destabilise KwaZulu and to make this look like a spontaneous reaction of people fed up with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rule.



**Pravin Gordhan**

The document, whether genuine or forged, makes interesting reading. Some of the points are:

- "Sufficient consensus now exists within the TEC for using maximum firmness for dealing with threats to a democratic transition. But we must first create conditions, primarily through mass action, heightened public awareness and work amongst KwaZulu civil servants for decisive state intervention in the bantustan."

- There exists a need "for accelerated implementation of a strategy which has as its objective the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan".

Proposals made include:

- Parts of Natal should be declared disaster areas.
- Firm subordination of SAP leadership in Natal as they "may well prove unreliable" in TEC actions.
- "Effective presence" of Umkhonto we Sizwe members to counter the training and deployment of over 5000 IFP trainees. MK has 2000 members in Natal deployed in "self-defence capacity" while "several thousands informally trained SDU members (are available) as well as disposition of the TDF (Transkei Defence Force)".

- The TEC needs to assume payment of salaries of chiefs to remove "an important instrument of special control" from Buthelezi and the IFP.

- "Most critical of all is work amongst the KwaZulu civil service and efforts to win over the Zulu king. In this regard (Jacob) Zuma's diplomacy should be understood as a means to an end — the destruction of Buthelezi's political and social base.

### Tribal consciousness

"Apart from Zuma's sympathy for the incarnations and institutions of tribal consciousness, he may confuse the means as an end in itself. Approaches to the king therefore must be carefully considered and assessed and continuously orientated within the purposeful strategic framework of the liberation movement".

- Civil servants should be persuaded that "job security and their pensions can only be secured by a people's government and not by tribal despots of Buthelezi's mould".

- Even though the KwaZulu police have functioned as Buthelezi's private army, members were siding with the liberation movement. In a crisis Buthelezi "cannot take the loyalty of the KZP for granted".

- Combined mass action would produce "a situation of ungovernability".

"It is important however for this crunch moment to have an appearance of spontaneity and popular support. Direct ANC involvement must be played down."

- "Comrades within the TEC have made it clear that in conditions of growing instability or ungovernability, and partial or general uprising, or organised resistance to the imperatives of a new democratic order, that, as in Bop, decisive military steps will be taken."

So far, the TEC has already asked for action to be taken, a motion that was tabled by Gordhan. What now for KwaZulu?

(Report by Mathatha Tsedu, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)



NATAL

# The toughest nut

FM 25/3/94

107

The past 14 days must have ranked among the loneliest in the political career of KwaZulu's resilient chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Not only did his anti-April 27 general election alliance crumble before him, he has also come to believe, with probable justification, that his KwaZulu stronghold is now the primary target for destabilisation, and possibly overthrow in a South African version of the domino effect.

First Ciskei bowed to the pressure and joined the election process, then Bophuthatswana was unceremoniously reabsorbed into SA when president Lucas Mangope refused to join the party. Now it's make or break for the toughest nut — KwaZulu.

In fact the assault has already begun with Umlazi teachers, members of the African Democratic Teachers' Union and Cosatu members of the civil service threatening chaos unless their demands for pension security and the right to free political activity in KwaZulu are met.

It seems, therefore, less than coincidental that quite apart from letters of reassurance to civil servants from the KwaZulu government, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini declared what was initially interpreted as KwaZulu UDI — though later denied — last Friday.

## Trump card

While the good king may have been gazing with ill-disguised envy at the powers enjoyed by his neighbour, Swaziland's King Mswati, his statement was more likely to have been one of several measures taken by Buthelezi (who undoubtedly calls the shots with the king) and the KwaZulu government to bolster the homeland to parry the expected destabilisation onslaught.

Buthelezi justifiably sees Zwelithini as a trump card in retaining influence among the Zulus ... a card he's clearly willing to play as often as needs be.

Zwelithini's speech was delivered to Zulus outside the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building at Ulundi, gathered to witness the aborted meeting between the king and ANC

president Nelson Mandela. It was undoubtedly a bid to go on the offensive and spread the message that democracy and April elections have no place in KwaZulu ... a message underlined by two consecutive weekends in which armed crowds prevented ANC political meetings at townships near Durban.

The initial shock at Zwelithini's statement was rapidly replaced by confusion, as it became clear that the monarch was not talking about secession or unilateral independence. Zwelithini claimed there had been little progress in discussions with President F W de Klerk on the role of the Zulu monarchy in SA, adding that government had denied sovereignty to the Zulu nation and would not restore a sovereign KwaZulu kingdom.

And he claimed that De Klerk's "contingency plans" for the Natal/KwaZulu region entailed the deployment of security forces "to clamp down on my people should they choose not to participate in the elections."

He exhorted all Zulus to unite and defend their freedom, saying elections under the present constitution would deny the Zulu nation its claim to sovereignty and self-determination. "I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty to anyone who dares challenge it."

Elections under the interim constitution were a denial of the claim to sovereignty and self-determination, he said. "Under the terms of a final proposal of the South African Government, the Zulu nation and the Kingdom of KwaZulu are left at the mercy of the unitary state established by the 1993 constitution. We have reached the end of a road and are faced with the harsh reality that government cannot and will not facilitate the restoration of the



King Goodwill ... defend their freedom

sovereign kingdom of KwaZulu."

Zulus, he claimed, faced an historical dilemma of either succumbing and forever relinquishing their sovereignty or taking it upon themselves to reclaim their birthright.

But a declaration of independence or secession are unlikely. KwaZulu, with the exception of the consolidated region north of the Tugela River, is extensively fragmented. It is highly dependent on central government for funding — one estimate is that KwaZulu receives more than 75% of its revenue from central treasury (considerably more than Bophuthatswana).

The suggestion, therefore, is that Buthelezi and the king cannot go it alone. Government could simply "switch off the lights and water."

What then is the objective?

It is becoming increasingly clear that Buthelezi would settle for a delayed election in KwaZulu/Natal. Not only would it be a victory for the Inkatha cause, but it will also allow for the completion of international mediation — agreed to at the Buthelezi/Mandela Durban summit. The feeling in Inkatha circles is even if the mediation goes against them, Inkatha will have lost nothing — but if mediators find any fault with the transitional constitution, Inkatha's intransigence in sup-



Buthelezi ... the lonely man



Welsh



**DE KLERK ANXIOUS TO meet Buthelezi in last-ditch bid to prevent 'painful action' being taken in his territory**

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and JOVIAL RANTAO

The Government is poised for a security crackdown in KwaZulu/Natal as the death toll in the violence sweeping the province continues to spiral amid massive tension over next month's election.

The first step being considered after a series of meetings yesterday includes mass deployment of troops in the province. This could take place after the weekend.

President de Klerk said after a meeting on the issue with ANC president Nelson Mandela last night that he would be seeking urgent talks with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. De Klerk added that his main task would be to prevent "painful action being taken in his (Buthelezi's) territory".

After their meeting, both Mandela and De Klerk declined to disclose details of the plans they had discussed, but De Klerk stressed that they did not include the toppling of the KwaZulu government.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler — who had attended part of the Mandela-De Klerk talks — said last night that free electioneering would not be possible in Natal unless "appropriate political and governmental action" was taken to obtain the co-operation of the KwaZulu government.

"In order for the IEC to conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to be established in that province as a matter of urgency."

The developments came amid tension over a march planned by Cosatu through central Durban later today to demand free and fair political activity in the province. The organisers told The Star yesterday that they expected a crowd of 50 000.

**1 000 policemen**

There have been claims that "Zulu loyalists" plan to disrupt the march, which marks the launch of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign in Natal.

By early today, more than 1 000 policemen lined the route of the planned march from Currie's Fountain to central Durban. There was no evidence this morning of any Zulus in the march area.

The streets of Durban were quieter this morning with businesses open as usual. But the CBD is set to close up early.

Sources said last night that speculation of a fallout between De Klerk and Mandela during last night's two-hour meeting were exaggerated. A Government source said: "They just wanted a bit more than we wanted."

According to the sources, the Government favours a series of steps over time. The first — to take place almost immediately — would be designed to address the current violence and then others would be implemented if free and fair political activity continues to be hampered.

Earlier yesterday in Durban, De Klerk had hinted at the security crackdown, saying: "We will definitely talk about making wider use of the SADF."

It is understood some in Government have proposed a state of emergency being declared in the region, but De Klerk said last night this was not being considered.

It is understood that efforts to arrange a meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi were under way last night. Patrick Laurence reports from Ulundi that a huge

► To Page 3

**Natal/KwaZulu Star 25/3/94**  
**Natal/KwaZulu crackdown looms**

From Page 1

march in support of Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi ended outside the police station yesterday with the burning of the South African flag. The burning flag symbolised the anger which Buthelezi loyalists feel towards President de Klerk

for his perceived betrayal of their leader King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and his "collusion" with the ANC.

The marchers — who numbered about 8 000 — were led by formally dressed civil servants and augmented by ordi-

nary residents. They carried an assortment of banners proclaiming their loyalty to KwaZulu and expressing their disgust at De Klerk and the ANC.

In Vryheid, people queued to join the IFP. Jurie Mentz, a former NP MP who defected to the IFP, said his office had recruited more members than it had in the previous three months. De Klerk yesterday criticised ANC leader Cyril Ramaphosa, reportedly saying for re-

fractors to run KwaZulu. should appoint adminis-

**Natal Crackdown**

Star 25/3/94

**Looms**

Violence escalates as security forces deployment



# Danger in Kwazulu while Ciskei, Lebowa are calm

TENSION has reached danger levels in Kwazulu but the South African Defence Force appears to be in firm control in Ciskei and Lebowa, where the situation was said to be calm this morning.

About 2,000 public servants, pupils and traditional leaders marched through Ulundi yesterday to reject the Transitional Executive Council and to display support for the Kwazulu administration.

Inkatha Youth Brigade national publicity secretary Zenzele Phakathi told the crowd "bloodshed" would follow if the African National Congress and the government attempted to dismantle Kwazulu.

"If they want to see bloodshed in South Africa, then so be it," he said.

The orange, white and blue South African flag was set ablaze "without any apologies".

In a further development yesterday, the Inkatha Freedom Party alerted all its stronghold areas in Natal, warning supporters of conflict linked to the ANC march through Durban today.

IFP spokesman Ed Thllett said his party's sources in the ANC had indicated that the ANC planned a major offensive.

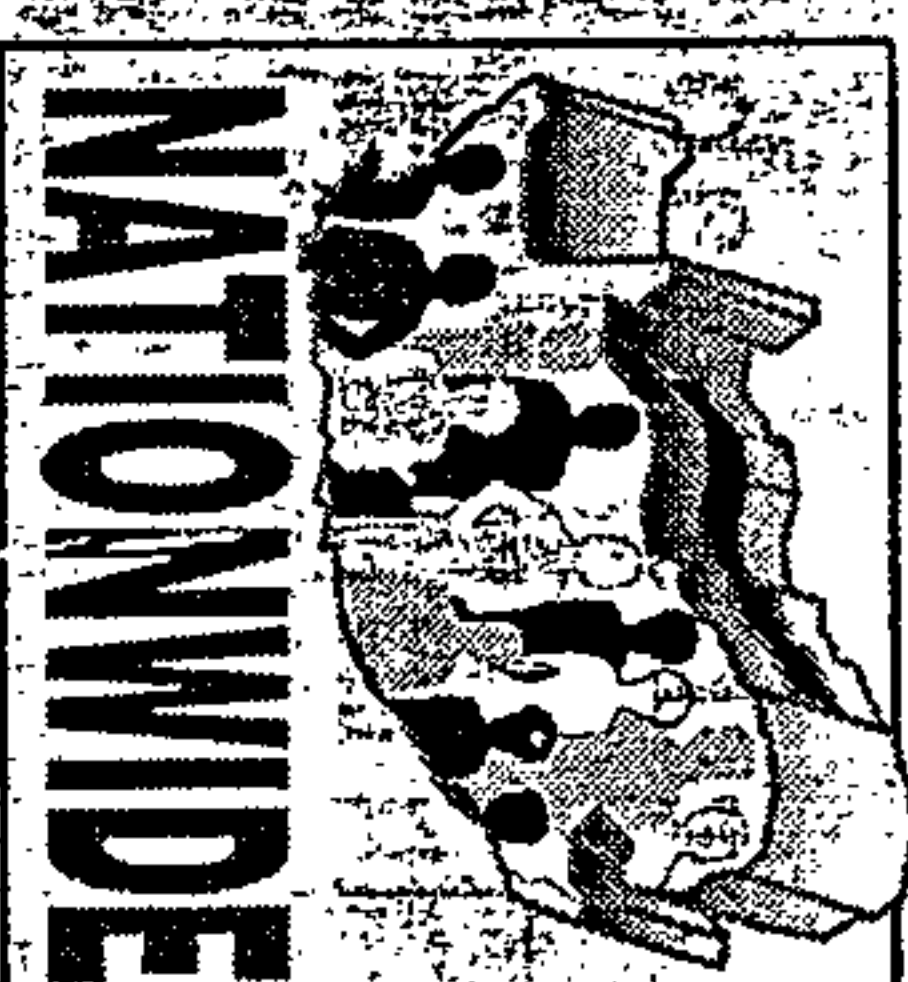
He claimed ANC supporters were preparing to attack IFP members after the march and that thousands of heavily-armed ANC supporters were being bussed into Durban from throughout Kwazulu/Natal and Transkei last night.

The atmosphere in Lebowa was tense after the SADF took control of key points in the homeland yesterday to prevent looting and damage to property while thousands of civil servants continued their strike action.

Among the key points being guarded were government buildings and fuel depots, as well as the police armory.

As a result of information unearthed in its internal investigation, Absa Bank has suspended four employees, three of whom were alleged by the Goldstone Commission to have been involved in illegal gun-running activities.

Security official and former



news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Mfengo people are about to regain their land 16 years after they were removed from it by the government.

A settlement between the Mfengo, the government and farmers in the Tsitsikamma over the ownership rights of certain land in the Tsitsikamma is to be signed today.

The Mfengo, who were removed from the land in 1978, were given no compensation and resettled in the Keiskammahoek Valley in Ciskei.

If the election adverts have not yet pushed you over the edge, 150 hours of Party Election Broadcasts (PEBs) ought to do it.

That is the total time allocated by the Independent Media Commission for political parties to campaign on radio stations, starting on Monday and ending on April 24.

Four PEBs will run for three minutes during peak time each day on each of the SABC stations, all

homeland stations and commercial station Radio Ciskei.

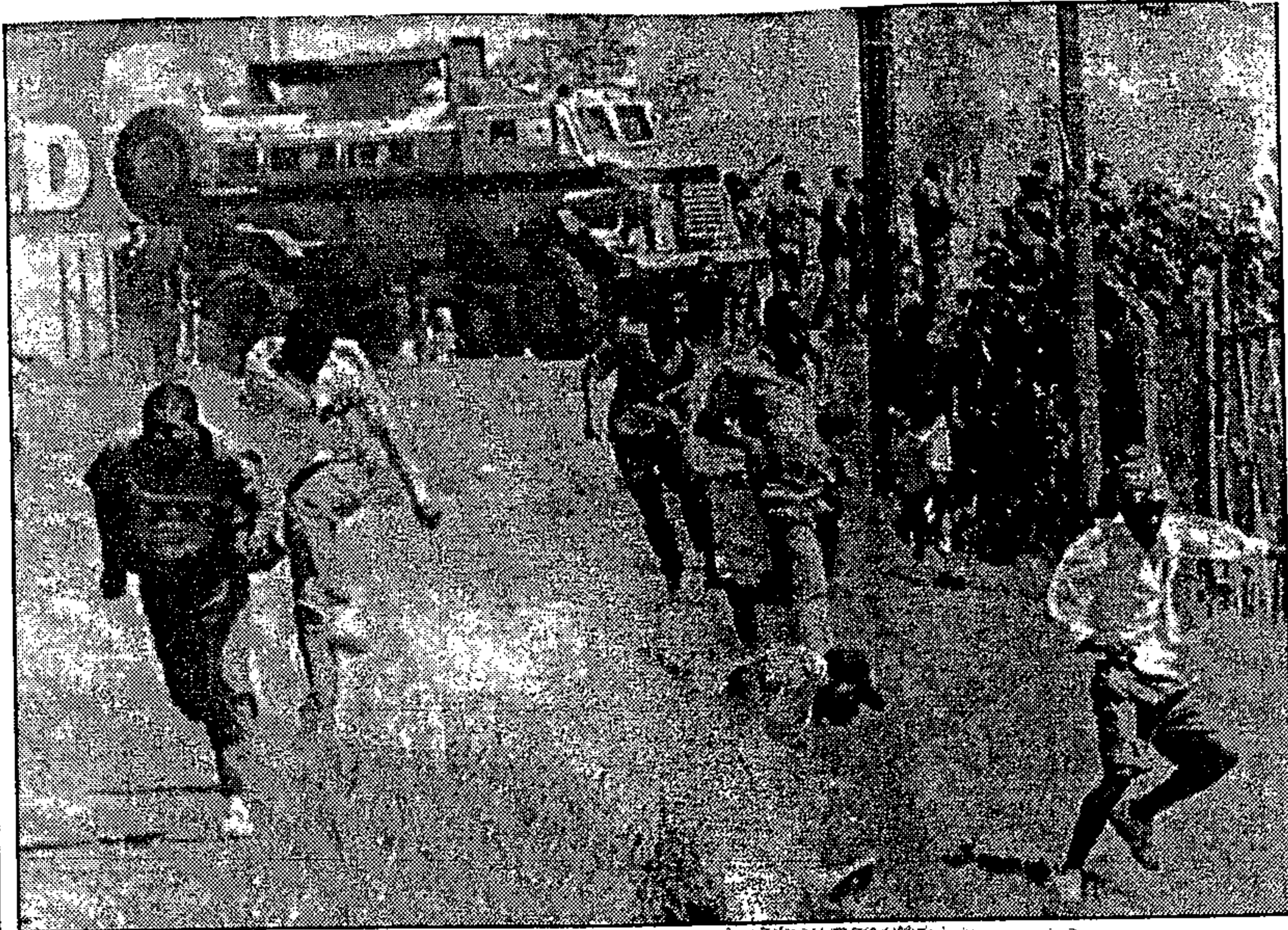
The police yesterday averted another round of confrontation between residents of Parys and Tumahole in the northern Orange Free State when they prevented a group of about 300 youths from leaving the black township.

This followed incidents on Wednesday when about 1,500 Tumahole residents marched on the town and tried to occupy the police station to protest against the refusal of bail for six people arrested in connection with the beating to death of a National Party member, Sello Sealalanyane.

The TEC's sub-council on finance said yesterday the payout of pensions to public servants would have a negative effect on the economy. This was in apparent reaction to the recent swell in demands by mainly civil servants for their pension contributions to be returned to them before the election.

Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.





Natal conflict ... ANC supporters run for cover as police open fire during clashes last Sunday after Inkatha members took over a kwaMashu stadium booked by the ANC

PHOTO: AP

## IFP's soft underbelly targeted

Chris Louw

**R**ELENTLESS pressure is building on the kwaZulu administration to distance itself from the Inkatha Freedom Party in the run-up to the elections.

The Transitional Executive Council's strategy of isolating the kwaZulu administration from the IFP first became clear at Tuesday's TEC meeting and was confirmed by the report of a TEC task force which probed allegations of hit squads in the kwaZulu Police.

The TEC called on "government departments and civil service components to ... co-operate as a means of ensuring their own futures in the implementation of the constitution for the transitional period".

It also called on the kwaZulu government, the Natal Provincial Administration "and all other administrations" to co-operate with the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African government in realising the right of all citizens to vote.

Civil servants' uncertainty about their financial future is the soft underbelly of the IFP, which for years has used patronage to maintain its hegemony. The kwaZulu government

will cease to exist the day after the April elections, depriving Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of financial control of his domain.

Fear among civil servants about their financial future has toppled the governments of both Bophuthatswana and Ciskei and sparked an insurrection in Lebowa.

At least 5 000 kwaZulu civil servants marched on Ulundi on Thursday to demand pension payouts before the elections — afraid they would lose these under an ANC-dominated government.

Comprising Professor Fink Haysom, Natal attorney Howard Varney and Colonel Ivor Human, the TEC task force found evidence that kwaZulu government employees were implicated in hit squad activities against political opponents.

"The evidence and information in some cases suggests that resources or directives appear to emanate from certain officials in Ulundi, allegedly located at the IFP head office and at the department of the Chief Minister (Buthelezi)."

The task force found the kwaZulu Police "incapable of investigating cases against suspects in its own force".

Information suggested the involvement "of the highest echelons of the KZP in frustrating investigations into such activity by the South African Police and even by certain diligent investigators in the KZP".

The apprehension of suspects sought by police was deliberately obstructed. In some cases KZP assassins received salaries while any knowledge of their whereabouts was officially denied.

Haysom, Varney and Human recommend that all KZP dockets should be immediately transferred to a hand-picked team of investigators and lawyers, assisted by recognised international policemen. The team, headed "by a respected individual" should have full access to dockets and exhibits held by the police and the attorney-general.

It recommends that all "Caprivi trainees" — KZP members trained by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi in 1986 and suspected of hit squad activity — be relieved of active duty before the election and transferred to a single venue, "as far as possible free from political violence". Firearms of all Caprivi trainees should be sent for ballistic testing and all KZP weapons should be audited.



The KwaZulu/Natal region has turned into a tinderbox over the last two weeks as the watershed election date draws near. Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield, who has just returned from the war-torn area, reports on a region under siege



# Dark line crossed in KwaZulu

Star 25/3/94

107

In a popular Durban bar a woman shouts over the noise: "Everybody's just living for today. That's why there are so many people getting divorced here..."

She counts out on her fingers the names of friends or colleagues who have recently left their husbands.

The bar is frequented almost exclusively by whites, and around her well-dressed and apparently affluent young people are drinking steadily.

Many of Natal's whites — impotent before the new forces unleashed in the violent province — appear to have slipped into a state of resignation. They get on with their lives as best they can.

In Ulundi, just under three hours' drive from Durban, there is a totally different mood, a sense that a fundamental juncture in the region's history is about to be reached. Torpor is replaced by a crackling tension.

Taking a run in the small KwaZulu capital, I follow a dirt road along the railway line out of the town. A man in his mid-20s approaches down a hill on a bicycle. As he gets closer he stands up on his pedals and, with one hand, lifts up a stick with an enormous knob on the end, as if to strike me. I jump out of his reach and, amid a stream of words shouted by the man, recognise only one: "Buhala!" (Kill!)

His aggression is reflected elsewhere. At an Ulundi hotel later that day a large white man ducks behind a pillar in the courtyard as rifle shots crackle in the background.

The king's *imbizo* — or gathering of his subjects — has just finished and volleys are being fired, presumably into the air, as the crowd disperses. Earlier a squad of people had arrived at the venue of the gathering — which was to have been addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela before he cancelled amid fears for his life — carrying AK-47s and an array of weapons.

The big man behind the hotel pillar says he has been coming to Ulundi for years. "Just two years ago there wasn't even a suggestion of violence here. Now it's explosive... it's tragic." He points to people walking nearby who are carrying guns.

The firing of the guns last Friday proved to be something of a full stop to a week in which the heat was sharply turned up in Ulundi. Subsequent developments suggest it was the end of a chapter, the past weekend marking the beginning of a new and disturbing one.

On Thursday KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had opened the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly with a speech laced with aggression and acrimony. He turned on the National Party, accusing President de Klerk of "double-crossing and deceit" in his handling of negotiations, and the Government of "betrayal".



Show of strength... IFP supporters armed with AK-47s and other automatic weapons at the *imbizo* called by King Goodwill Zwelithini last week. PICTURE: AP

Most seriously, the war-talk flowed. In a chilling warning not to send troops into KwaZulu/Natal, Buthelezi said "draconian or Bophuthatswana-type action" against those opposing the election would "spawn a struggle for liberation from ANC-NP oppression which will have no parallel in Africa."

On Friday it was the turn of King Goodwill Zwelithini to nail his colours to the mast. Without directly referring to a boycott of the poll, the king made it clear he would not call on his supporters to vote. He linked the denial of Zulu sovereignty — an election under the interim constitution — to action to defend that sovereignty.

At the weekend blood started to flow in Durban's townships. By mid-week it was evident that the propagandists on both sides of the conflict were busy painting the other side as the aggressor. The IFP claimed to have uncovered an ANC plot to destabilise KwaZulu. Cosatu responded with an allegation...

that the war against "democratic forces" had been intensified at the weekend.

Simultaneously, and perhaps most significantly, it became evident that the last door for IFP entrance into the election was slamming shut. De Klerk bluntly suggested that "the point of no return" had been reached, seemingly ruling out any chance of IFP participation in the historic poll. He had been responding to questions on his snubbed last-minute efforts to get the IFP into the process.

On Wednesday Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Krieger was jeered in the Legislative Assembly when he appealed for co-operation to ensure a free and fair election.

It can be relatively safely assumed that the election will now go ahead without the IFP and without the sanction of the Zulu king. The prospects of it being "free and fair" in KwaZulu/Natal — whatever the Independent

Electoral Commission may decide — must be wader thin. The outstanding issue is the question of what plans the Ulundi leadership — having failed to stall the transition and secure the amendments to the Interim Constitution it requires — now has for the region.

A senior KwaZulu cabinet minister recently dismissed repeated threats of secession, suggesting these were part of the political brinkmanship of recent months. Asked what would happen to the Legislative Assembly on April 29, he threw up his hands and said: "I really don't know."

Buthelezi's trusted adviser, Walter Feilgate, talks darkly about resistance politics but gets impatient when you ask him what that means.

Perhaps the people gathered before the king at the *imbizo* provided a hint at what lies ahead. Stretched around the crowd of several thousand on the lawns of the Legisla-

tive Assembly, was a cordon of men in khaki overalls. They were recruits from the Mlaba camp, near Ulundi, where an estimated 5 000 members have been given military training — albeit brief — to form "self-defence units".

Within the cordon were various groups which arrived on buses. On arrival at the assembly grounds they had made a show of forming squads and, bristling with aggression, running into the area.

Driving out of Ulundi's tense atmosphere, it was difficult not to draw the conclusion that a line had been crossed. That the hard-faced men from Mlaba and the imps in the crowd who later fired their guns into the air were about to become, literally, frontline soldiers.

The grisly death toll in KwaZulu/Natal since the weekend suggests it may already be happening.



# KwaZulu gears up for guerrilla war

(107) WM 25-30/3/94

A kwaZulu commander is training the 'five rand brigade' in Vietnam-style tactics to defeat an ANC government, reports  
**Chris McGreal**

**T**HE commander of the kwaZulu Self Protection Unit, former intelligence officer Philip Powell, openly admits the 5 000-strong brigade is being prepared for the day the Inkatha-controlled kwaZulu authority is stripped of its power — and resistance to an ANC-led government goes underground.

Although supposedly training for self-defence, the kwaZulu Police (KZP) is teaching the self-protection outfits to handle automatic weapons and ambush vehicles. The regional commander of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Morton Christie, has also been helping to train the unit at the kwaMlaba camp.

This week, Powell warned that for the South African Defence Force to launch a military operation against Ulundi would be "a very great strategic error" and provide Inkatha supporters with a valuable rallying point.

Detractors call the unit the "five rand brigade", deriding it either as a cheap outfit, a rabble army — or a lethal force preparing to make Natal ungovernable. Its backers say the R5 which each kwaZulu resident was encouraged to donate to the brigade — whose 5 000 men and women are being trained to defend their villages from the politically motivated slaughter engulfing Natal — is confirmation of popular opposition in the homeland to next month's elections.

The overthrow of the Bophuthatswana government has made some Inkatha leaders fear the SADF will be turned on Ulundi, even though Lucas Mangope was deposed in a popular revolt to which the military came too late. Powell argues that seizing Ulundi would achieve very little.

"For the SADF and government to launch a military operation against Ulundi would be a very great strategic error. There's nothing here, but they would give us a very great rallying point," he says. ANC sources agree.

The next government does not need the military to bring the kwaZulu administration to a grinding halt. By severing Pretoria's enormous subsidy it would cut funds to what amounts to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's private army, the KZP. That, Powell argues, is when resistance will be necessary.

Powell plans to use tactics he learned from studying ANC military and political strategies while a policeman.



Armed, ready and waiting ... KwaZulu supporters armed with AK-47s wait in Ulundi to hear King Goodwill Zwelethini speak

PHOTOGRAPH: AP

"I don't think we entertain the possibility of frightening the SADF, but if we had to, they would find it very difficult here. They do not have the helicopters necessary for this area. Their armour may have been fine for Angola but in these hills it will be useless. The result would be a low-intensity guerrilla war," he says.

"Vietnam is a case in point. You don't need sophisticated armaments. Vietnam was won by people on bicycles who made their own grenades. I'm not saying we could do the same thing here, but we hope the government understands that in these kinds of circumstances it can't win."

Those Inkatha leaders willing to press ahead with a violent campaign recognise it is not one that can be won outright. But they say that, after refusing to participate in the elections, violent resistance is the only way to influence the shape of the new constitution and the next vote, five years away.

"We aren't concerned about this election, we're concerned about the second election. That's what we're fighting for," says Powell.



# The Razor's Edge

(107) APR 25/3/94

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# IFP warns as ANC marchers gather

Aug 25/3/94

The Argus Correspondent  
DURBAN — The Inkatha  
Freedom Party today warned  
its supporters to be on the  
alert for potential conflict  
throughout Natal in townships  
when African National Con-  
gress supporters returned  
home from their march  
through the city centre in sup-  
port of "free and fair elections"  
in Natal/KwaZulu.

At Curries Fountain, crowds  
were streaming in for the  
march.

Danford Cloete, a spokesman  
for Durban transport, said 120  
buses had been hired by the  
ANC to transport demonstra-  
tors to Curries Fountain.

Buses were picking up peo-  
ple at Phoenix, KwaMashu,  
Ntuzuma, Umlazi and Inanda.  
Traffic police manning a road-  
block at Umbumbulu Road,  
near Amanzimtoti, urged mo-  
torists to take alternative  
routes.

At Winklespruit, the road  
leading to the beach was also  
closed for a short while as a  
large crowd of Umgababa resi-  
dents got ready to come to  
Durban.

Amid a heavy police pres-  
ence, shopowners and manag-  
ers along West Street began  
erecting steel barriers on doors  
and windows and several  
moved merchandise away from  
the shop fronts.

Groups of police patrolled  
West Street as shop assistants  
began streaming home early to  
avoid the much-feared ANC  
march.

Hundreds of month-end shop-  
pers streamed along Field  
Street to catch the last few  
taxi home.

A member of the Defence  
Force was at the Clifton Pre-  
paratory School in Morningside  
and a spokesman for the school  
said troops had been "keeping  
an eye on schools" today.

With tension mounting,  
heavily armed police in ar-  
moured personnel carriers pa-  
trolled Ntuzuma, near KwaMa-  
shu.

A pall of black smoke visi-  
ble for kilometres hung over a  
burning barricade at a major  
intersection in Ntuzuma. A  
large group of people, many  
wearing ANC badges, and  
clothes, manned the roadblock,  
turning back most cars and  
taxis.

Police repeatedly cleared  
the barricade, but as soon as  
they left, the crowd erected it  
again.

"We're sending more police  
in," a policeman shouted to the  
crowd.

"Then we'll kill them," came  
the answer.

News by A. Smith, A. Cooper, L. Ngakane, S.  
Miller, V. Anamuthazhe, P. Ross and F. Khan, 18  
Osborne Street, Durban

See page 23



# KWAZULU CRISIS

## De Klerk and Mandela hold urgent talks

Political Staff

**DURBAN.** — Inkatha last night placed all its strongholds in Natal on alert as the African National Congress prepared for the start of its "rolling" mass action here today.

With violence still escalating, events in the homeland were building to a crisis.

Yesterday President F W de Klerk met ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in Pretoria in urgent discussions about the volatile situation in the region.

The ANC confidently expects more than 50 000 supporters to march through central Durban from noon today.

In Ulundi about 2 000 public servants, pupils and traditional leaders marched yesterday to reject the Transitional Executive Council and in support of the KwaZulu administration.

IFP Youth Brigade spokesman Mr Zenzele Phakaphi said if Mr Mandela and the SA government wanted bloodshed in the country, they would get it.

Mr De Klerk said the government had drawn up contingency plans, including increasing the deployment of SA security forces in the area.

"But I stress, I am not contemplating toppling the KwaZulu government," Mr De Klerk said, adding that several possible solutions existed.

These included the govern-

ment's authority to take over some powers, as had happened in Lebowa when SA took charge of that homeland's financial administration.

Only threats to the maintenance of administration and the holding of a free and fair election in self-governing territories would make government consider taking steps to interfere.

"I want to prevent painful action being taken in KwaZulu," he said.

Mr De Klerk said discussions with Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Krieger had shown that the situation in KwaZulu was "more negative than initially believed".

Mr De Klerk said KwaZulu could not be compared to Botswana and Ciskei because the two countries were independent sovereign states. KwaZulu was only a self-governing state and part of SA.

Mr De Klerk is to have "fundamental" discussions with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe to ensure free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal against a backdrop of ANC pressure to have administrators appointed to the region.

About his meeting with Mr Mandela and an ANC delegation which included secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr De Klerk said the intention of the discussion was not to reach an agreement about KwaZulu, only to discuss the political and security situation.

Addressing a function at which he was presented with the New Naton/Engen Man of the Year Award in Johannesburg last night, Mr Mandela said he and Mr De Klerk had "made tremendous progress in addressing political initiatives and security measures to deal with that situation" when the two leaders met earlier in the day.

Earlier, Mr Mandela said he had asked for a "closed and private" meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini as soon as possible. The ANC was committed to doing everything in its power to ensure King Goodwill took his legitimate place in the new SA as the monarch of the Zulu people.

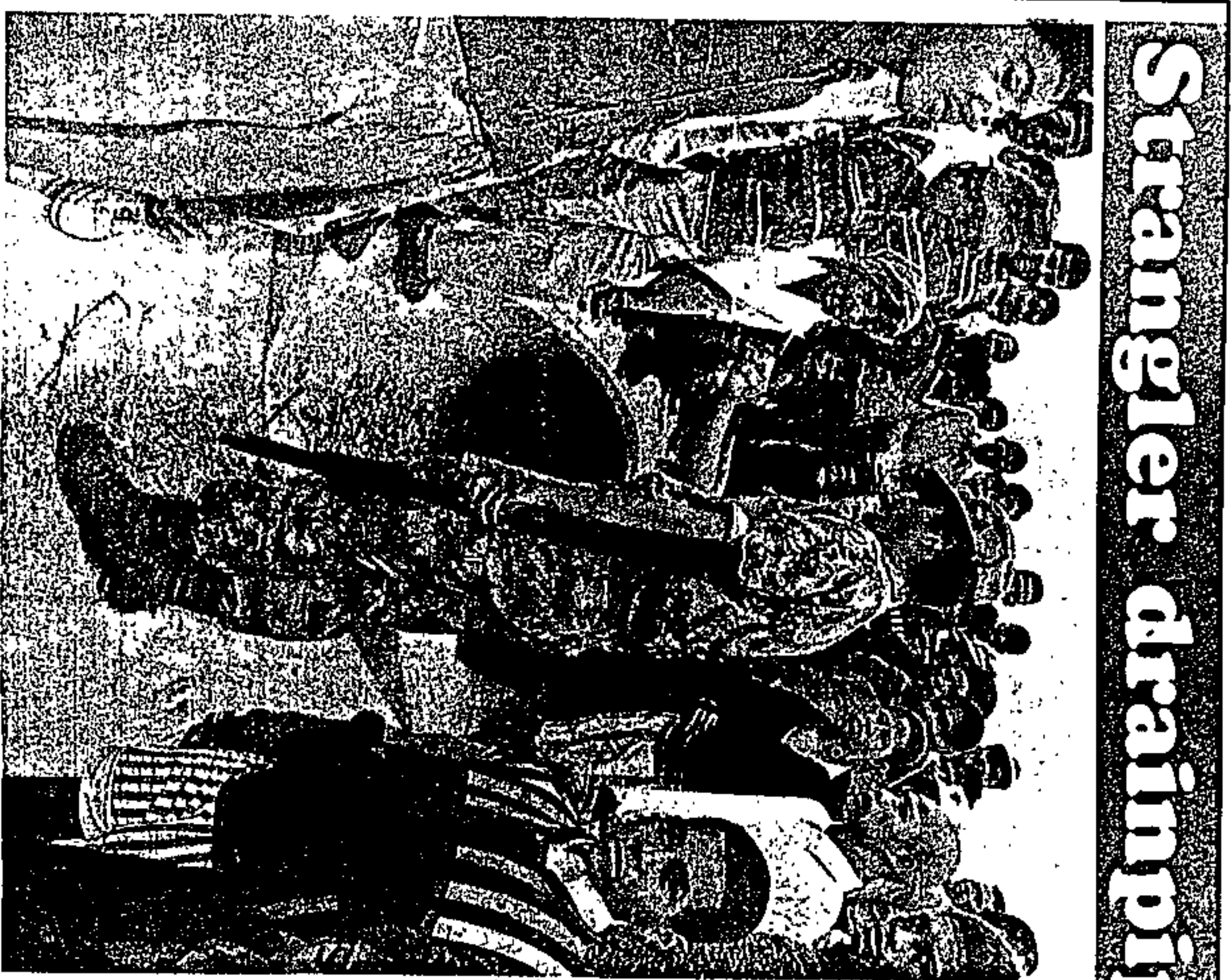
The ANC postponed last week's meeting between King Goodwill and Mr Mandela, after receiving threats to Mr Mandela's life.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday questioned the possibility of free and fair elections in KwaZulu in view of widespread intimidation.

He warned of an "ominous possibility of bloodshed and conflict" in KwaZulu/Natal.

● The IEC was awaiting appropriate political and governmental action following its failed mission to KwaZulu/Natal on Wednesday, Judge Krieger said last night.

The IEC delegation was repeatedly booed by KwaZulu Legislative Assembly members in Ulundi when presenting proposals for the election process to be extended to the region.



### Strangler drainpipe search

CT 25/3/94 (107)

### 'Snatched boy' claim sparks wide hunt

By JACKIE CAMERON

FRANTIC Eerste River Kleinvele residents searched drainpipes and scoured fields for a man they suspected might be the Station Strangler after a woman claimed she had seen a screaming boy being snatched in a street yesterday.



**MISSING** ... Cedric Solomons, 13, of Lentegur

In Strand, dozens of residents chased a man who resembled an identikit photograph of the killer who has been linked to the murders of at least 20 boys and one man. Police caught the frightened man but released him. They



# Hopes of an election fade

Sowetan 25/3/94

■ **URGENT MEETING** Natal IEC meets after the Buthelezi-Kriegler encounter:

## Sowetan Correspondent

**H**OPES of an election in KwaZulu have waned following Wednesday's meeting between Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. (307) (107)

The IEC in Natal went into an urgent meeting yesterday morning and sources said the Buthelezi-Kriegler meeting had "just not come close enough to addressing the situation in KwaZulu".

IEC sources added that their doubts remained despite an announcement by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that government buildings could be used as voting stations.

In another move aimed at drawing Buthelezi into the electoral process, former US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger and former British Secretary of State Lord Carrington have agreed to mediate in the constitutional dispute between the ANC and IFP if all three main parties in SA agreed to mediation and if the terms of reference gave some promise of success.

IEC hopes, however, have dimmed following the hostile reception accorded to its chairman, Justice Kriegler, at Ulundi on Wednesday.

The judge was repeatedly jeered in the KLA when he appealed for co-operation to make a free and fair election possible.

The ANC, meanwhile has urged a TEC-Government takeover of the administration of the KwaZulu government to ensure free political activity in the province on the eve of ANC mass action plans to show support for the election.

## Cutting off of funds

ANC candidate premier for Natal, Mr Jacob Zuma, and ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe, said although the ANC did not want to prescribe to the TEC, actions which could be taken against KwaZulu included the cutting off of funds to Buthelezi's administration.

The two leaders confirmed they would lead a protest march to CR Swart police station in Durban today to demand the creation of a climate of free political activity in KwaZulu-Natal.

(V Angamuthu, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.)



# KwaZulu on the agenda

Star 26/3/94

107 (107)

**CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH**

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi meets President de Klerk this weekend for talks that will weigh heavily on contingency planning for strife-torn KwaZulu/Natal.

The discussions come amid increasing Government speculation that an election in the region could be postponed.

However, ANC sources have indicated that they are not prepared to contemplate this.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has announced that it is going ahead with preparations for an election in the province on April 27.

## Steps

SACP chairman and Transitional Executive Council (TEC) delegate Joe Slovo said yesterday there was "no possibility" of postponing the election in KwaZulu/Natal.

The TEC would have to consider what steps it could take to ensure that the election was free and fair in the region.

A well-placed Government source said that if the situation in the province got "desperate enough" this could be an option, rather than having the entire election coloured by problems in KwaZulu/Natal.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee earlier rejected a propos-

## Four die in wake of march

**GREG KNOWLER and KAREN JACKMAN**

**DURBAN** — Violence erupted in Bhambayi squatter camp near Durban last night just hours after an ANC march through the city's centre broke up.

Four bodies were found on Bhambayi's soccer field and several shacks in the Inkatha Freedom Party

See picture Page 2

"Greens" stronghold were set alight, violence monitors said.

A member of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit was shot in the hand while investigating a report about the bodies.

After the march, a bus ferrying ANC supporters home to KwaMashu was stoned after one of the

TO PAGE 2

al by De Klerk that ballot papers for the region be reprinted to include the party's name.

De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela met on Thursday after it became

clear that steps would almost certainly have to be taken to ensure free voting in the province.

The two apparently disagreed on the need to send administrators in to take over the KwaZulu government.

Sources have indicated that a large troop deployment is planned for trouble spots in the province next week and that future options might include declaring a state of emergency in the region.

Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reported that the military wings of the ANC and PAC had ruled out military intervention, saying the situation had to be resolved politically.

## Thrust

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda and PAC political commissar Daniel Romero said they did not foresee the situation deteriorating to such an extent that it warranted military intervention.

It has been speculated that special voting provisions could be extended to KwaZulu/Natal to allow voters who fear going to polling stations an opportunity to cast their ballots.

The toughest decision for De Klerk will be acting against the KwaZulu administration. This will be the central thrust of his discussions with Buthelezi at an undisclosed venue

TO PAGE 2

## KwaZulu

Star 26/3/94

this weekend. De Klerk said on Thursday that his main task in meeting Buthelezi would be to "prevent painful action being taken in his territory".

A source said De Klerk would "read the riot act" to Buthelezi.

Although ANC and Government sources have refused to disclose what steps could be taken within KwaZulu, it is evident that should free voting be impossible troops could be deployed.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said this week after returning from addressing a hostile

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that free electioneering would not be possible in the province unless "appropriate political and governmental action" was taken to obtain the co-operation of the homeland's government. (107) (107)

"To conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to be established in the province as a matter of urgency," Kriegler said.

It is understood that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has yet to reply to a letter from Mandela proposing that they meet.



# Chief warns

CT 26/3/94

# on 'invasion'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — With the TEC likely to call this week for the deployment of troops in Natal/KwaZulu's strife-torn townships, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that he would regard any such move as an invasion.

The TEC's management committee will discuss today the deteriorating situation in the region, where more than 120 lives have been lost since last Friday.

The ANC will table a demand that troops be deployed immediately to ensure free political activity.

President F W de Klerk confirmed after a meeting here with Chief Buthelezi that the government was preparing to increase the security force presence in strife-torn townships.

Meanwhile, the family home of the ANC's deputy secretary-general and candidate for regional premier, Mr Jacob Zuma, was attacked and burnt to the ground at Nkandla, south of Ulundi, on Saturday night, after alleged threats by IFP members.

No one was hurt in the raid, but the entire complex of rondavels was destroyed.

Mr Zuma, who was in Durban at the time, linked the attack to King Goodwill Zwelithini's proclamation of a Zulu sovereign state last week and bogus ANC pamphlets calling for the people to replace the king with Mr Zuma.

## Independence

Mr Zuma said he and the ANC leadership were still loyal to the king, but it was "unfortunate" that the king had become involved in politics.

ANC sources said the king's symbolic declaration of independence in Ulundi marked the beginning of the latest upsurge of violence.

Meanwhile, the organisation claimed the march by more than 50 000 ANC supporters through central Durban on Friday was proof that the majority of Zulus wanted the poll.

It has made a strong call for military action in KwaZulu in the face of threats by Inkatha to disrupt the election.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa warned that the organisation would escalate its rolling mass action until it has attained its demand for free political activity.

Mr Zuma said that the occupation of stadiums and the increased violence was enough justification for the SADF to be deployed in the region this week.

"It is important for people who want to vote to be given protection. If the TEC does not act we may end up with chaos," he said.

When Mr De Klerk told a joint press conference with Chief Buthelezi after their meeting at Kings' House that the government's contingency plan had been discussed, Chief Buthelezi cut in abruptly and warned that the deployment of troops would be seen as an invasion.

But Mr De Klerk said he was confident that Chief Buthelezi's administration was committed to allowing the election to take place in the territory.

A "mechanism" involving the SA and KwaZulu governments and the Independent Electoral Commission was set up to "search for solutions to the practical problems (of) holding an election in KwaZulu".

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# 70 000 march for fair poll

Weekend Argus Correspondents

DURBAN. — More than 70 000 people marched peacefully through the city streets yesterday to join in the African National Congress's call for free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal.

In a memorandum read out at the Curries Fountain Stadium, near the city centre, the ANC called for an extension for special voting in Natal/KwaZulu and the immediate deployment of the SADF and National Peacekeeping Force in the region.

It warned of "unprecedented mass action" if its demands were not met, saying the KwaZulu administration might prevent voting on April 26 to 28.

The memorandum, read by ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Ra-debe, called for an "extension of special votes to all voters in KwaZulu and Natal".

Marchers, many of whom were armed with spears, pangas, sticks, knives and firearms, appeared to heed the ANC's call for discipline as they sang, danced and toyi-toyed through the streets.

A few broken shop windows were the only damage to businesses in the city centre. No incidents of violence or looting were reported.

Shops in the area closed early and many windows were cleared of stock in West Street. Curious workers watched the proceedings from their office blocks.

Police set up razor wire along the route as a preventative measure against damage to property.

The atmosphere at Curries Fountain was electric as people started arriving in buses from about noon.

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## 'Mother of all rallies'

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Some supporters raised banners making derogatory statements about Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, and people responded in loud agreement to Jay Naidoo's declaration: "Natal is part of South Africa. In five weeks there will be no more bantustan. We are marching to the new South Africa."

Most stores covered their windows with heavy wrought iron security gates.

"We expected chaos, especially after rumours that the IFP were going to march at the same time," said one retailer.

The saving grace, according to businessmen, was the strong, armed police presence and the quick-thinking action of marshals who prevented the chanting from running out of control.

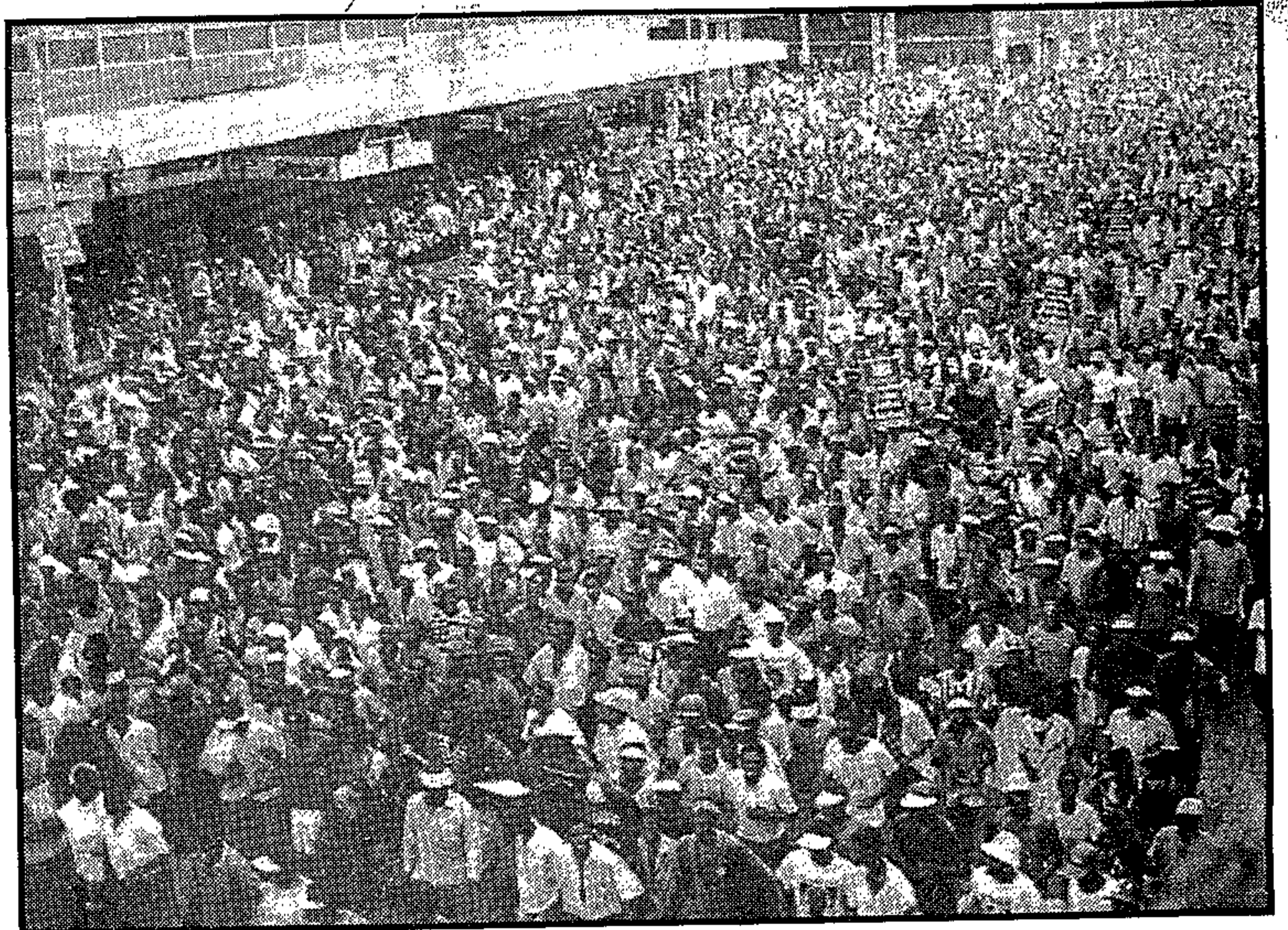
"The razor wire kept people in check and stopped them from moving off the designated

route," said a store manager. Durban Regional Chamber of Business chief executive officer Geoff Tyler said the advance planning and consultation with all the parties involved had paid off.

"Obviously there was a loss in business, which won't be made up, but at least retailers can open up shop as normal tomorrow and not pick up the pieces, as has happened in the past."

The ANC described the march as the "mother of all rallies", claiming 200 000 participants. "The rally put an end to the fallacy that Zulus are opposed to the April 27 elections. The people proved that the ANC calls the shots in Natal," said Southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye.

Ed Tillett, from the IFP information centre, described the march as "a spectacular failure for the ANC". He claimed that the ANC had bused in "imports" from the Transkei to "bolster and reinforce their sadly-depleted numbers".



□ **MARCHING FOR PEACE:** Tens of thousands of African National Congress supporters made their way down West Street in the Durban city centre yesterday. Police estimated the crowd at 60 000 while the ANC claimed 200 000 people had turned up.



# Future of KwaZulu On the line at talks

ARLT 26/3/94

(107)

**CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and ESTHER WAUGH**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

**THE immediate future of KwaZulu/Natal goes on the line this weekend when KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi meets President De Klerk for talks that will weigh heavily on contingency planning for the strife-torn region.**

The discussions come amid increasing government speculation that an election in the region could be postponed, but African National Congress sources have indicated they are not prepared to contemplate this.

The Independent Electoral Commission also has announced that it is going ahead with preparations for an election in the province on April 27. SA Communist Party chair-

man and Transitional Executive Council delegate Joe Slovo said yesterday there was "no possibility" of postponing the election in KwaZulu/Natal. He said the TEC would have to consider what steps it could take to ensure a free and fair election in the region.

But, a well-placed government source said yesterday that if the situation in the province became "desperate enough" this could be an option rather than having the entire elections influenced by problems in KwaZulu/Natal.

The Inkatha Freedom Party central committee earlier rejected a proposal by Mr De Klerk that ballot papers for the region be re-printed to include the party's name.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela met this week after it became clear that steps almost certainly would have to be taken to ensure free and fair elections in the province. The two leaders apparently

disagreed during a meeting on Thursday on the need to send administrators in to the homeland to take over the KwaZulu government.

Sources have indicated that a large troop deployment is planned for next week in the province. Weekend Argus has learned that options might include a state of emergency in the region.

But, the military wings of the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress yesterday ruled out military intervention in KwaZulu, saying the situation had to be resolved politically.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda and PAC political commissar Daniel Romero said they did not foresee the situation deteriorating to such an extent as to warrant military intervention.

There also has been speculation that special voting provisions could be extended to KwaZulu/Natal to allow those voters who feared going to

polling stations an opportunity to cast their ballot.

But, the toughest decision for Mr De Klerk will be the taking of action directly against the KwaZulu administration and this will be the central thrust of his discussions with Chief Buthelezi.

Mr De Klerk said his main task in the meeting with Chief Buthelezi would be to "prevent painful action being taken in his territory". A source said Mr De Klerk would "read the riot act" to Chief Buthelezi.

Although ANC and government sources have refused to disclose what steps could be taken within KwaZulu itself, it is evident that if free elections in the territory become impossible then troops may have to be deployed there.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said this week after returning from addressing a hostile KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that free

electioneering would not be possible in the province unless "appropriate political and governmental action" was taken to obtain the co-operation of the homeland's government.

"In order for the IEC to conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to be established in the province as a matter of urgency," added Judge Kriegler.

In Durban, the ANC yesterday called for an extension for special voting in KwaZulu/Natal and the immediate deployment of the SADF and National Peacekeeping Force in the region. It warned of "unprecedented mass action" if its demands were not met.

A memorandum read to thousands of people at Durban's Curries Fountain Stadium at the end of an ANC march for free political activity said the KwaZulu administration might prevent voting on April 26 to 28.



IEC report 'paints gloomy picture'

# Send troops to KwaZulu,

# ANC urges

BIB Day

28/3/94

DAVID GREYBE  
and LLOYD COULTS

THE Transitional Executive Council would have to send troops into KwaZulu this week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

ANC Natal premiership candidate Jacob Zuma repeated the call, saying that if the TEC did not take decisive action, the region would be plunged into chaos.

Ramaphosa said in Cape Town that SADF and National Peacekeeping Force troops should be deployed immediately.

"It's already overdue and the ANC will be pushing for the TEC to act immediately to bring about stability in the region and to prevent further loss of life."

He said the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was looking to the TEC and government to take action to ensure that free elections could be held.

After studying IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler's report on securing free political activity in KwaZulu, the ANC felt the commission had concluded it was impossible to hold free and fair elections there, Ramaphosa said.

"The finding of the IEC is quite devastating, and its conclusion draws a very gloomy picture of the province," he said.

An IEC source confirmed yesterday that there were two reports by the IEC on KwaZulu — a shortened version for public consumption, and a detailed confidential one that said it would be in a position to hold free elections in KwaZulu.

Zuma, speaking near Durban, said the KwaZulu government's pronouncements to Kriegler last week were justification enough for troops to be sent in.

Ramaphosa said: "Clearly the TEC and government will have to take drastic ac-

tion immediately. The situation is ominous and, therefore, we have to treat it with the seriousness it deserves."

He said the ANC's mass action campaign would continue in KwaZulu until it had ensured free political activity.

The ANC was dissatisfied with President F.W. de Klerk's handling of the situation and his political initiatives were not enough to secure free political activity.

After Saturday's meeting between De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the two leaders said it had been agreed a mechanism would be established urgently to address the requirements of the IEC in Natal.

Buthelezi assured De Klerk of his government's willingness to facilitate the holding of the election. He said Inkatha's opposition to the election did not imply the KwaZulu government would not be willing to work with Pretoria and the IEC.

De Klerk said contingency plans to deploy troops in flashpoints had been discussed, but said there were no plans to send troops to particular areas. Troops would be deployed where and when necessary.

Ramaphosa said while De Klerk's meeting with Buthelezi "might contain a ray of hope", measures to bring stability to KwaZulu had to be taken in tandem with any political initiative.

"The fact that the President can stand by while so many people are dying without taking immediate steps goes to prove that he does not really care about black lives,"

□ To Page 2

## KwaZulu

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From Page 1

Ramaphosa charged.

Zuma said troops should have been sent in last week. "It is important for the people who want to vote to be given the necessary security... It's late already," he told reporters before an Umkhonto we Sizwe passing-out parade near Pinetown.

Eland armoured cars have already been deployed in townships around Durban.

However, a Natal Command spokesman said mainly infantry had been deployed in Natal townships.

The main deployment of troops for the elections would probably happen between mid-April and mid-May. Citizen Force and commando members would be used.

Zuma said the Inkatha occupation of stadiums before ANC meetings and the climate of violence in the area showed Inkatha was out to prevent people from voting "and they have got to be stopped".

He dismissed Buthelezi's claim that the deployment of additional troops would be an invasion of KwaZulu, saying the homeland was a creation of apartheid and therefore not a country.

Ramaphosa was adamant that the provincial election in KwaZulu would not be postponed. "Our people will not allow it, and we (the ANC leadership) will never, never ever, allow it. The elections are just 29 days away and they must go ahead."

He said TEC and government action would have to include measures such as protecting polling stations.

Zuma said the call by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini 10 days ago for a sovereign Zulu region had heightened tensions and sparked off violence. He said the king had abandoned his role as a unifying figure by aligning himself politically.

Sapa reports Cosatu said after a campaign conference that government had to accept TEC control over security forces and international supervision of the elections. It called for Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel to be dismissed "for responsibility for the hit squads".

● Comment Page 6

Report by L Coult and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and Denny, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.





The coffins of five of the victims of unrest in Bophuthatswana are lined up during a funeral service attended by thousands of mourners at Montshiwa Stadium on Saturday. More than 60 people were killed in the homeland. PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

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# KwaZulu simmers

Sowetan 28/3/94

By Donwald Pressly  
Political Staff

**T**HE KwaZulu-Natal region remained a tinder box over the weekend — despite several high-profile peace initiatives. In one incident, the home of African National Congress regional premier candidate Mr Jacob Zuma was torched by a mob on Saturday night in Nxamalala, near Inkandla, in Northern Natal. (107)

Anti-ANC pamphlets, accusing the organisation of colluding with the Government (described as "the Boers") to overthrow Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, were strewn in the area, Zuma said yesterday. Zulus were also urged not to vote in the April 27 election.

This follows a series of meetings between the Government, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party culminating with President FW de Klerk's discussions with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday in an effort to reduce the tension and ensure free and fair elections in his territory.

This came after a meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and De Klerk last week.

Violence, however, continued to wreak havoc in the province with at least 12 people reported dead since Friday.

Pressure to force the Government and the Transitional Executive Council to take decisive

action in the province mounted, with 10 000 ANC supporters marching in Maritzburg and 80 000 in Durban on Friday as De Klerk and Buthelezi met in Durban.

The TEC management committee is expected to plan the road ahead when it meets in Pretoria today — but it is likely to take cognisance of the ANC threat of "unprecedented" rolling mass action if free and fair electioneering is not assured.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said in Cape Town after a Natal campaign visit that the campaign would be accelerated until their demand was met.

Troops had to be deployed "to protect innocent people against roving bands of armed killers", Ramaphosa, a member of the TEC management committee, said.

The TEC, however, faces the dilemma that ANC calls for massive deployment of SA Defence Force and National Peace Keeping Force troops were immediately rejected by Buthelezi as a sure method of sparking tension.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer's call for the postponement of the election, however, is unlikely to be favourably considered — which is privately interpreted in ANC circles as granting Buthelezi with a victory over the democratic process.

Violence monitor Mary de Haas, meanwhile, told Sapa there were unconfirmed reports of another 10 deaths concentrated in northern Natal.

The KwaZulu Police confirmed four deaths in areas administered by the KwaZulu government.



# Probe into Kwazulu election viability

TIM COHEN

AN INDEPENDENT Electoral Commission committee, which will include members of the Kwazulu government and the SAP, is to investigate whether it will be possible to mount a free and fair election in Kwazulu.

Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler told a news conference the committee, which began its work yesterday, would report back before April 5.

If the committee concluded an election was not possible in Kwazulu, it would be up to political leaders to find a solution. The commission would continue planning for an election in the whole of Natal.

However, Kriegler expressed confidence that an election in Kwazulu/Natal could be held.

Committee members would include the four Natal representatives of the Independent Electoral Commission, Kwazulu government department heads, a Home Affairs Department representative and a senior SAP member.

The commission's Natal office said it had received reports of people apparently under 18 being in possession of temporary voter cards. It said this was confirmed by a team of monitors sent to watch over the production of the cards at Home Affairs Department mobile units. Steps were being taken to tighten up procedures and filter out underage card holders before the elections.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.



Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday with commission adjudicator representative Kgomotso Moroka.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA



# TEC calls for 'emergency' in KwaZulu

Biday 30/3/94

**INKATHA** Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday vowed to fight the ANC "to the finish" unless the elections were postponed — as the Transitional Executive Council recommended emergency measures in KwaZulu/Natal.

A state of emergency encompassing the whole of Natal and KwaZulu would be proclaimed by the President within the next few days, the TEC agreed.

The declaration, accompanied by the incremental deployment of SADF troops, was intended to halt the escalation of violence in the region as well as ensure free and fair elections next month.

However, a government spokesman warned against hasty action, saying the TEC "should rather wait for the outcome of the summit meeting between leaders that is definitely taking place next week".

The meeting between President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, had been due to start today. It was postponed at the king's request and will now take place next week. This came after a flurry of telephone calls between the leaders yesterday following Monday's mayhem in Johannesburg.

In an uncompromising statement Buthelezi referred to the killings outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters as the "Shell House massacre... paralleled only by police action at Sharpeville".

The Shell House massacre shows that we have now entered a final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation, unless there is an extension of the voting date deadline to enable a negotiated settlement regarding the question of Zulu

**TIM COHEN, ADRIAN HADLAND and DAVID GREYBE**

sovereignty to be worked out before elections take place," he said. (107)

Buthelezi said he could not stand before his king and report that as chief minister and Inkatha leader he had taken no action other than calling for an inquiry.

He had reports "of Zulus massing at hostels in Johannesburg and Zulus travelling up to Johannesburg to stand by their comrades". If the elected leaders of these people did not take action, "there is no saying what the people will do in taking the law into their own hands", he warned.

What has taken place in KwaZulu and Transvaal so far "are only precursors of what will yet come", he said. April 27 would be declared a "national Zulu day of mourning for those who died". (307)

The government spokesman said government had hoped the leaders could meet this week. De Klerk was "extremely concerned and would make every endeavour possible to bring the major two protagonists to some sort of agreement to prevent further violence" so that free and fair elections could proceed.

However, achieving this depended on leaders' ability to control their supporters, an end to calls for mass action and no further rash and inflammatory statements about war. An agreement at the summit meeting would prevent the necessity for the action envisaged by the TEC, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niéhaus said: "The elections will proceed and the ANC will take whatever steps necessary to prevent a war." The ANC had taken note of Buthe-

□ To Page 2

## KwaZulu

Biday

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□ From Page 1

lezi's hardline statement.

In his letter to De Klerk, Zwelithini referred to Monday's events, saying "the slaughter of the innocent will reverberate around Zulu society for a long time".

It would be inappropriate to hold discussions before the Zulu bereaved had buried their dead and there should be a moratorium on negotiations "until such time as the fierce anger has abated somewhat".

He suggested the meeting take place after the Easter weekend. (107)

An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman said the organisation was legally bound to make preparations for the election in Natal and Buthelezi's comments did not alter that responsibility.

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" that the elections would take place as planned "throughout SA". (307)

Government TEC delegate Roelf Meyer said the decision was not aimed at any organisation or political grouping but to "ensure every person who wants to vote is

allowed this right". The state of emergency formed part of a "package" that would allow negotiations to continue.

TEC joint executive secretary Mac Maharaj said regulations for the state of emergency were being drafted in conjunction with the TEC's law and order subcommittee. While the proclamation would fall under the Public Safety Act, the new regulations would allow for political activities and campaigning to continue.

No indication of the numbers of troops to be despatched to Natal was given, although Maharaj said deployments had begun already. The security forces' special powers would be reviewed by government, the TEC and the IEC.

ANC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa said the steps had been taken to prevent Natal sliding into a "bottomless abyss of death and destruction".

Report by T Cohen, A Hadland and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.



TEC resolves to take strong action in KwaZulu/Natal

# Buthelezi's warning

Star 30/3/94

**GRAND summit** between South Africa's 'big four' has been postponed at Zulu king's insistence



BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

With a crackdown on political violence sweeping KwaZulu/Natal imminent, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of a "final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation" if the election is not postponed. (107)

The Transitional Executive Council last night authorised tough security action — including intensified security operations and the declaration of an effective state of emergency — in KwaZulu/Natal to ensure that next month's election does go ahead in the strife-torn province.

The focus for action against the violence had shifted to the TEC after today's scheduled summit — which would have brought King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk together for the first time — was postponed. This was done at the king's insistence and the meeting might now take place sometime next week. —P



## Buthelezi's 'final struggle'

Star 30/3/94

From Page 1

rest areas, possibly across the entire province. The measures would be designed not to interfere with normal electioneering in the weeks that lie ahead.

In another 'step bound to increase the stakes as the country heads towards a new dispensation he cannot stomach, Buthelezi yesterday also called for April 27 — one of the three scheduled election days — to be a "national Zulu day of mourning" for those who died in the Johannesburg carnage on Monday. Buthelezi placed the blame for this violence squarely on the ANC, and moved to rally Zulus behind the king.

The ANC yesterday said the bloodbath in Johannesburg had been the inevitable outcome of the IFP's "insane" determination to scupper the election.

The events in the city appeared to have hardened ANC attitudes towards shifting the election date — spokesmen were adamant yesterday it would not happen — while Government sources indicated that they believed it was now critical to get the election over with. (107)

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" that the election would go ahead throughout the country on the days agreed upon.

A Government spokesman last night announced the postponement of the summit scheduled for today. Chief among the Zulu king's reasons for delaying the meeting was the need to bury the dead from Monday's killings. He also cited the fact that it was a "holy week".

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler has said that a free and fair election might be possible in Natal.

A task group had been formed after a meeting between IEC members and representatives of the KwaZulu and South African governments. It would report back on April 5.

The TEC, in a signal to those intent on disrupting the election in Natal, last night resolved that "intensified security operations" were now necessary to secure the safety of those who wanted to exercise their right to vote in the country's first all-race election. These would be undertaken in co-operation with the SA Government and the security forces.

Other steps — to be implemented "as soon as may be necessary" — would include a declaration of a state of emergency or proclamation of un-

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Fear in the city . . . anxious passers-by wait for the all-clear from police after an attack on the ANC headquarters in Plein Street, Johannesburg, sent them scurrying for cover yesterday.

PICTURE: GREG MARINOVICH



# TEC to get tough with KwaZulu

*Sowetan 30/2/94*

## Sowetan Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council yesterday authorised tough security action, including declaring a state of emergency, in KwaZulu/Natal to ensure that next month's election went ahead as scheduled even in that strife-torn province.

The TEC, whose meeting came a day after the Zulu march which ended tragically in Johannesburg on Monday, sent a strong message to those intent on disrupting the election in Natal.

It said "intensified security action" was now necessary to secure the safety of those who wanted to exercise their right to vote in the country's first all-race election.

This action, to be implemented soon, will include a declaration of a state of emergency or proclamation of unrest areas, either throughout or in some parts of the province. However, this was not to interfere with normal political electioneering in the weeks that lay ahead.

The Government, the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission would constantly review the recommended use of special security powers.

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" the election would go ahead throughout the country on the days agreed upon.

Various speakers on the council floor expressed grave disappointment with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's decision to ask for a postponement of today's crucial meeting which would have included President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They strongly appealed to Zwelithini to reconsider his decision and attend the meeting.

In another development, the TEC's sub-committee which investigated allegations of "hit-squad" activities within the KwaZulu police yesterday recommended that its second interim report be submitted to a team which will probe these allegations further.

● See page 8.



# KWAZULU-NATAL Election problems in the second most populous region in SA

By Lulama Luti  
Political Staff

**W**ITH A total of 8,3 million people, KwaZulu-Natal is the second most populous province in South Africa af-

ter the PWV.

Proportionally, it is equal to the PWV as it comprises 23 percent of the country's population and contributes 17 percent of the Gross Domestic Product.

The major sources of revenue in KwaZulu-Natal are sugar, tourism and manufacturing.

There are considerable rural-urban disparities in the provision of services, especially health.

While this region can be classified as a water rich area, 25 percent of the urban population and between 35 and 85 percent of the rural population have an inadequate water supply.

For almost a decade now, KwaZulu-Natal has been plagued by violence which has claimed the lives of more than 15 000 people and left scores of others homeless.

### Parties

The two biggest political organisations in this region are the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party — with the National Party and the Democratic Party vying for the support of the white and Indian electorate outside the ANC and the IFP.

The PAC is another factor. However, since the IFP is out of the election race, political analysts in the region point to fierce competition between the NP and General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front should disgruntled IFP members go to the polls.

# Politics hit *Sowetan 30/3/94* by violence

■ KWAZULU-NATAL Fighting has

*claimed the lives of 15 000 in past decade:*

Plodding closely behind the aforementioned parties on the election trail in this territory is the Pan Africanist Congress with its main emphasis on the land issue.

This is particularly important for the black people in KwaZulu-Natal as most of them live in barren, arid patches of land where they struggle to eke out a living as subsistence farmers.

Until now, the single most dominant feature of the electioneering campaign in this region has been the violence itself and the lack of free political activity in the territory.

These are followed by the need for more jobs, primary health care services, housing and education.

According to IFP information manager Peter Smith violence is an intractable problem that has existed for a long time with solutions difficult to find.

He added that the ongoing training of IFP members in camps in KwaZulu was symptomatic of impending increase of violence as the country moves closer to the elections.

*iof*

What do ordinary IFP members in this region yearn for, *Sowetan* asked Smith.

"I think if you were to ask an ordinary IFP man or woman they would talk about peace, jobs and a political settlement in terms of sufficient self-determination in the region because it sets out the parameters from which the whole future is going to be determined," he said.

### Sowing division

ANC Southern Natal spokesman S'bu Ndebele conceded that the violence currently racking KwaZulu-Natal has been the longest in the history of the country and that it was a manifestation of the success of (white) regimes to sow division among Africans.

The threat of civil war in the region is a serious one, said Ndebele, adding that delay of the deployment of security forces would mean more bloodshed, especially during the run-up to the elections.

Farmers at Eston who spoke to



ANC candidate for the premiership of Natal Jacob Zuma (right) confers with Aziz Pahad.

*Sowetan* supported the idea of a Zulu monarchy as long as the name Natal was retained in the constitution.

"If they want a Zulu kingdom, why not? It's worked in Swaziland, why can't it work here? They gave independence to Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei — why can't they give the Zulu king his monarchy?" asked farmer and NP member Ian Hampson.

NP Natal organiser Thembisa Mafu (40), who is placed 17th on the NP National Assembly list, said there were a lot of issues affecting the people in this region but they dared not speak out.

"The political situation here is bad — very bad", he said.

## KwaZulu-Natal

### COMPOSITION

Population as at June 1993:  
Total of persons 18 years and older — 8,3 million.

Whites — 598 000; Coloureds — 107 000; Asians — 787 000; Blacks — 6,8 million.

There will be 40 seats in the provincial legislature, a 10-member senate and a premier.

(Figures supplied by the Development Information Group.)



# FW set to

# declare state

# of emergency

B1 Day 31/3/94

PRETORIA — President FW de Klerk is expected to place Natal and KwaZulu under a state of emergency today.

The move follows this week's Transitional Executive Council recommendation, the postponement of a summit meeting of leaders until next week and the failure of an Independent Electoral Commission and KwaZulu government task team to facilitate IEC activities in the region.

The TEC on Tuesday called for a state of emergency to lower the level of violence and allow a free and fair election.

Indicating government's and the TEC's determination that the election should proceed as scheduled, the declaration is likely to invoke the ire of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Tuesday a "final struggle" between the Zulu nation and the ANC would be launched if the election date was not postponed.

Sapa reports that KwaZulu Ministers have reacted angrily to the possibility of a state of emergency. Deputy Works Minister Velaphi Ndlovu said it would not end the violence but would create more problems. His intention was clearly not to create a climate for free and fair elections, but to topple the KwaZulu Government. Health Minister Ben Ngubane said it was a serious matter that deserved cabinet attention.

The ANC said yesterday it fully supported the declaration of a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal to counter a "systematic campaign of violence and bloodshed".

ADRIAN HADLAND

"A similar politically-motivated campaign to spread intimidation and terror to the Witwatersrand was the real motive behind last Monday's Inkatha foray into the centre of Johannesburg. This election wrecking, with its accompaniment of death and injury, cannot be allowed to continue."

"States of emergency under various NP governments have been used to stifle all legitimate and peaceful political activity," the ANC said. However, this one would not undermine anyone's democratic rights.

ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo flew to Durban yesterday for closed-door talks on deteriorating security in Natal, ANC sources said.

The DP gave its "conditional" approval to a state of emergency in Natal.

All parties had to commit themselves to international mediation and part of this mediation "should include constitutional accommodation of the (Zulu) king", but "not a feudal, 1830-style monarchy".

And all parties involved should agree to joint military and security structures.

But the Afrikaner Volksfront said it would be final proof that negotiations had failed and the elections should be cancelled.

TEC delegates were told this week that increased numbers of SADF troops were already being deployed in Natal/KwaZulu.

After last week's meeting between the IEC and KwaZulu MPs, IEC chairman Judge Johann Krieger expressed his con-

To Page 2

## Emergency

B1 Day

31/3/94 From Page 1

cern that "serious difficulties" had been encountered in attempting to execute the IEC's mandate in parts of KwaZulu. Free electioneering would not be possible unless "appropriate political and governmental action" was taken to obtain the co-operation of the KwaZulu government.

A meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi, which led to the establishment of a task team to deal with relations between KwaZulu and the IEC, gave rise to optimism on De Klerk's part that co-operation had been secured. But IEC sources said the task team's first meeting on Monday was "unsatisfactory and frustrating".

Its failure to make any progress and the summit meetings' postponement appears to have convinced the Cabinet yesterday that the immediate declaration of a state of emergency was the only option.

The TEC's law and order subcommittee and state legal advisers have spent the past two days finalising specific new regulations for the state of emergency. These preparations should be completed today.

While the emergency would be proclaimed under the Public Safety Act, new regulations were necessary to allow for political activities, canvassing and meetings, Ramaphosa said.

Political activities would not only be permitted under the new regulations, but

protection would be provided by the security forces if necessary.

Powers accruing to the SADF under the reformulated emergency include search, and seizure, arrest and detention, the confiscation of illegal weapons and the prevention of intimidation.

A spokesman for the president's office said De Klerk would be holding a news conference this morning at which an announcement can be expected.

Meanwhile, military analysts said millions of Zulus, inspired by pride in their warrior traditions, could rise in open revolt if emergency rule was imposed. They said up to 40% of the 8.5-million Zulus could take up arms.

Brig Bill Sasse of the Institute for Defence Policy said: "The greatest problem with the KwaZulu Police is that they might step aside. They could allow their weapons to be taken over by Zulu royalists."

Analysts Helmut Heilmann cautioned that sending in troops might escalate the conflict with Zulus.

"It is a very volatile situation. It could trigger off a rebellion or even full-scale insurgency," he said.

Report by A Hadland, THL, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and P Burger and M Bosch, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

See Page 4



# State of emergency expected

Star 3/13/94

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

A state of emergency is likely to be imposed on most or all of KwaZulu/Natal today — and President de Klerk has accused Mangosuthu Buthelezi of making a declaration of war.

The emergency is expected to outlaw all forms of political activity that might contain a potential for violence.

The dramatic crackdown, which has already been condemned by the IFP and the KwaZulu government, might be accompanied by the deployment of additional troops in the province to back those sent in recently.

Last night De Klerk added fuel to speculation on such a move when he told an election meeting at Eersterus, Pretoria, that a recent comment by



KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi amounted to a declaration of war.

He appeared to be referring to Buthelezi's warning of a "final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulus" if the election was not postponed. (107) (113)

De Klerk left the meeting soon after 8 pm, apologising to supporters for having to cut short the visit but saying he had to "work on the problems in KwaZulu/Natal".

Both the Government and

the TEC's law and order sub-council were understood to be hard at work yesterday putting the finishing touches to the "creative" state of emergency. It would give more powers to the security forces and target violence in the strife-torn province without impeding free political activity or affecting the press.

However, it is also understood the option of declaring several unrest areas across KwaZulu/Natal had not been ruled out late last night.

The IFP, which was scathing in its criticism of the police for their failure to raid ANC headquarters in Johannesburg following Monday's shootings in the city, threatened yesterday to unleash mass action of its own, with details expected to be announced by the party's

► To Page 3

# KwaZulu/Natal emergency on the cards

Star 3/13/94

◀ From Page 1

youth brigade today.

The IFP told a Johannesburg press conference that information reaching it said the ANC planned to have some of its Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres dress up as traffic officers to ambush Zulus and IFP members traveling home for the Easter weekend.

The ANC has vigorously denied the allegation.

Commenting on the impending state of emergency, KwaZulu Deputy Works Minister Velaphi Ndlovu said the move

would create more problems in the region instead of ending violence.

Ndlovu said the intention was clearly not to create a climate for free political activity, but rather to topple the KwaZulu government. Peace structures had to be used to end violence in KwaZulu/Natal, he said.

Buthelezi has indicated that an influx of troops into his territory might be seen as an invasion.

The Afrikaner Volkfront also blasted the Government and the TEC, saying the declaration of a state of emer-

gency in the area would be final proof that negotiations had failed and that the election should be cancelled.

However, the ANC and the DP — both represented in the TEC, which authorised the decision on Tuesday — welcomed the move, with the DP saying its support depended on international mediation beginning as soon as possible.

De Klerk was expected to announce the state of emergency at a press conference last night, but it was postponed until 9 am this morning.

A source said the legal documentation surrounding the imposition of a state of emergency was still being prepared late last night.

The weekly Cabinet meeting in Pretoria sat late into the evening yesterday and is understood to have concentrated largely on the threat to the election of violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

De Klerk hoped the summit would be held early next week, but observers increasingly believe it will not come off at all.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# Mediators seem ready to give up, says Meyer

ARC 14/4/94

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — International mediation on South Africa's constitutional impasse seem to be admitting failure, Constitutional Development minister Roelf Meyer said today.

Mr Meyer said after meeting mediator Henry Kissinger that the Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress had been unable to resolve their differences over the inclusion of a possible postponement of the election date in the terms of reference.

Mr Meyer said he could not speak for the mediators, who were due to give a Press conference later today, but it seemed to him that the "unfortunate position" was that mediation was off.

He rejected suggestions that the government had been a central cause of the breakdown. He said the ANC had taken the position that mediation and the election date should not be linked, while the IFP felt mediation should be completed before an election could be held.

These differences could apparently not be resolved in spite of a series of meetings this morning to rescue the mediation process.

Today's talks followed last night's breakdown in talks between the ANC, the government and the IFP over the mediators' terms

of reference.

The mediators, headed by former United States secretary of state Dr Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, met delegations from the three organisations last night.

This morning they met at their Johannesburg hotel, apparently to decide on whether to abandon their mission. Their spokesman said later the seven men were still meeting and were in constant contact with the ANC, the IFP and the government.

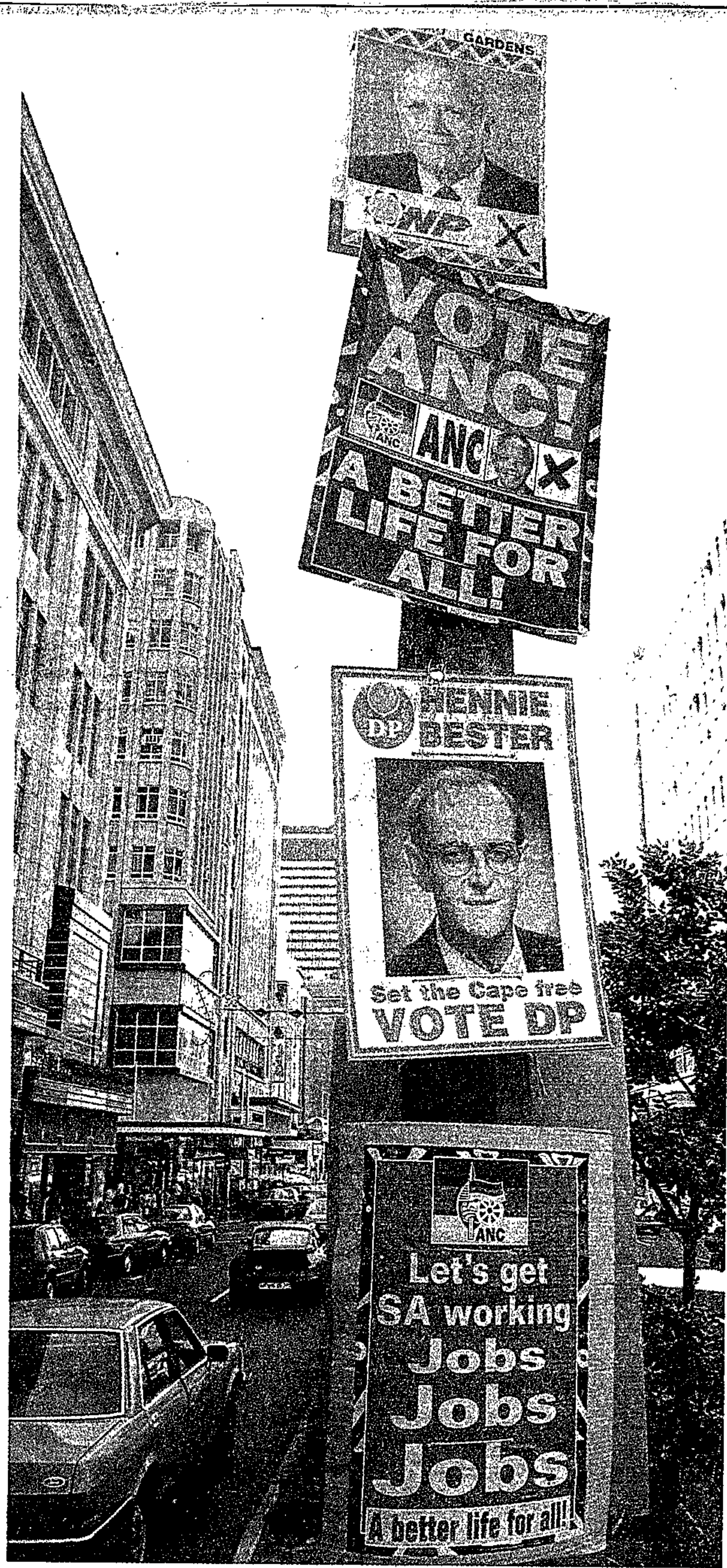
They had not yet decided to return home.

The spokesman also disclosed that the mediators were not being paid for their efforts and had not asked to be paid. They were donating their time for the sake of peace and democracy in South Africa.

But their efforts appeared doomed last night after the IFP, the ANC and the government negotiations broke down after five hours without reaching agreement on what the mediators would address.

The IFP was arranging a central committee meeting on the issue in Ulundi today.

(News by C Whitfield, E Waugh and K Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

**POLE POLL:** With only 13 days to go before polling day, a pastiche of contending posters confronts voters throughout the city.



A MEMORANDUM bluntly stating that free elections in KwaZulu/Natal were impossible without direct political intervention was the primary catalyst for the eventual declaration of this week's state of emergency there. (107)

The confidential three-page memorandum, with 15 pages of supporting documentation, was presented by Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler to President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Pretoria on March 24.

An edited version was released to the media the same day. The state of emergency was declared on March 31.

Appended to the original document — a copy of which has been seen by WeekendStar — was a nine-point memorandum from the IEC to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, setting out the guarantees the IEC wanted from Ulundi regarding co-operation in allowing the election to take place in KwaZulu/Natal.

It was the reaction to this memorandum by Buthelezi, King Goodwill Zwelithini, several KwaZulu Ministers, and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that led the IEC to give its own ultimatum to De Klerk the following day.

### List of demands

In the memorandum to Buthelezi dated March 23, the IEC proposed that in order to "execute its mandate of conducting an election within the territory of KwaZulu", it requested that Buthelezi "cause instructions to be given forthwith that":

- The KwaZulu Department of Education make schools available for use as polling stations.
- Principals give telephone technicians access to their schools.
- KwaZulu government buildings, including tribal authority and magistrates' offices, be made available for election purposes.
- The KwaZulu Department of the Interior co-operate with the IEC on matters including the issuing of identity documents and seconding staff.
- The KwaZulu Department of Justice make facilities available for the IEC Adjudication Secretariat.
- Amakhosi and other KwaZulu officials and authorities assist the IEC and observer groups.
- The KwaZulu departments of Health and of Pensions and Welfare co-operate with the IEC, in facilitating special votes.
- The KwaZulu Police provide security for IEC staff and secure the election process, as well as participate fully with other groups in security planning.

### 'Operation Access'

The IEC memorandum to Buthelezi also proposed the establishment of a working committee, and informed the KwaZulu authorities that the IEC intended to launch "Operation Access" in the region soon.

The response of the KwaZulu authorities to the IEC delegation was subsequently described in the IEC's document to De Klerk and Mandela as "stage-managed to humiliate the IEC".

Describing the atmosphere as "confrontational and aggressive", the IEC concluded that the requisite assurances sought from the KwaZulu authorities had not been given.

In the final paragraph of the confidential memorandum presented to De Klerk and Mandela, the IEC stated: "In order for the IEC to conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal, the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to be established in the province as a matter of urgency.

"How that is to be achieved is not for the IEC to determine. Nor will it be in a position to advise whether substantially free and fair elections can be conducted in KwaZulu/Natal unless and until such stability and co-operation have been attained."

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

SHAUN JOHNSON  
and ESTHER WAUGH

Star 2/14/94

# IEC's report clinched it



De Klerk shown chilling intelligence reports

# Why FW cracked down in Natal



F W DE KLERK: Was warned that political killings could increase tenfold before the election.

**SADF has hands full in fight to silence the guns**

**JOHN PERLMAN**  
CHIEF REPORTER

**BHAMBAYI** — If body counts are the yardstick, then the impending state of emergency did help to stem the bloodshed in Natal for a day.

But after travels through townships and squatter camps around Durban, it's hard not to come to one cold, cruel conclusion: the fighters in South Africa's worst war zone were not at peace — they were simply drawing breath.

But in Bhambayi squatter settlement north of Durban they were not even doing that. Bhambayi nestles in a valley, with KwaMashu on one side and Inanda on the other. There was one drive-by shooting in KwaMashu, but most of the township seemed content to sit in groups round food and some beer.

### Quiet

There was a vigorous, noisy march in Inanda — just members of the Methodist Church celebrating Good Friday. By mid-afternoon Bhambayi — where seven people were slain this week — seemed set for the same kind of day.

"Everything's just quiet," said a group of peace monitors. And then an all too familiar hell descended on the place as guns suddenly began to blaze.

In seconds the empty streets filled with armed fighters, men and even some women. On their foreheads were marks of black charcoal paste:

TO PAGE 2

**CHRIS WHITFIELD**, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**CHILLING** intelligence reports predicting a sharp increase in KwaZulu/Natal violence fatalities as the election approached finally persuaded President de Klerk to declare a state of emergency in the region, according to government sources.

The reports — some of which are understood to have referred to a tenfold increase in deaths prior to the election — came shortly after the Independent Electoral Commission's blunt and decisive call for political intervention in the crisis-torn province (see report on Page 2).

One source described the intelligence reports presented to De Klerk as "hair-raising" and said they had indicated a massive potential for increased violence as the election approached. The sources declined to comment on whether specific campaigns of violence were planned.

They believed the gravest threat to stability lay in already volatile areas on the ground where violence was expected to break out and spread to other, more stable areas.

### US backs tough moves

**WASHINGTON** — The United States has expressed support for the state of emergency in South Africa's Zulu heartland to stem political and ethnic fighting and bloodshed there. "The escalating violence in KwaZulu/Natal in recent weeks poses a serious threat to the conduct of free and fair elections," State Department spokesman Mike McCurry said yesterday.

■ See Pages 2 and 3, and Undercurrent Affairs and Editorial on Page 8.

Troops began to arrive in KwaZulu/Natal yesterday as security chiefs gathered to plot how the tough state of emergency regulations proclaimed by De Klerk would be applied on the ground.

There was no immediate indication from the KwaZulu government or the Inkatha Freedom Party on whether there would be active resistance to the imposition of the emergency regulations, but it was clear that there was considerable unhappiness in Ulundi.

It is evident from the proclamation in the Government Gazette that steps have been taken to directly inhibit the continued training of Inkatha "self-defence units" and the carrying of "cultural" weapons in public. Both steps were met with anger by senior Inkatha members yesterday.

The organisation's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said: "No doubt, training people out of the country in Uganda is exonerated."

"But the small, little training at Umfolozi must be punished." It is estimated that some 5 000 self-defence unit members have undergone limited training at a camp in Umfolozi.

TO PAGE 2



**HEAVY BRIGADE:** SADF armour rolls through KwaMashu, near Durban, after the state of emergency was declared. PHOTOGRAPH: KEN OOSTERBROEK

P.T.O.



# Buthelezi will attend summit

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

SUPPORTERS of the Inkatha Freedom Party are hoping a miracle will save the party at next week's planned summit. But they are preparing to leave the party if the meeting fails or is abandoned.

Prominent IFP members said this week they believed IFP and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had dropped the IFP as a political vehicle and was now promoting the Zulu monarchy as his future source of power.

Chief Buthelezi, meanwhile, has confirmed that he will attend the summit and has expressed hope that it will find solutions, "otherwise I wouldn't be going".

However, in an interview outside a church near the KwaZulu capital Ulundi, where he attended a Good Friday service, the IFP president said if the summit went ahead it would take place in a "sour atmosphere" following Thursday's declaration of a state of emergency in Natal-KwaZulu.

The summit will be between President De Klerk, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi has described the emergency and the increased SA Defence Force deployment as an "invasion".

The clearly distressed IFP

■ Turn to page 3

## Summit may decide Inkatha's fate

(107) ■ From page 1

leader said on the Agenda TV programme that he told Mr De Klerk it was "embarrassing" for him to have declared the state of emergency before the summit. Chief Buthelezi said it was comparable to "someone holding down a woman for someone to rape".

Government sources told Weekend Argus that as far as Mr De Klerk was concerned,

the summit was still going ahead although a date had not been finalised.

They said one avenue to be explored at this week's planned summit was whether the IFP would be prepared to stand for the KwaZulu-Natal provincial election only.

The sources said this was still possible as the provincial ballot papers had a much shorter printing run than the

national ballot. Another possibility was that the Electoral Act could be amended to postpone the elections in KwaZulu-Natal if Chief Buthelezi agreed to take part.

IFP insiders said the one slender hope they held for next week was that the summit would go well and the IFP and ANC would finalise an agreement on international mediation.



■ Natal heaved a sigh of relief yesterday as the SADF poured into flashpoints and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi tentatively agreed to participate in next week's summit meeting.

GREG KNOWLER, Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — An uneasy calm has fallen over townships here since the declaration of a State of Emergency with violence monitors describing it as "spookily quiet, but very tense."

This is in stark contrast to the huge bloodletting in these townships during the past 12 days which left more than 110 people dead.

Yesterday, southern Natal African National Congress unrest monitor Roy Ainslie said: "It's the quietest two or three days we've had. We heard there were plans to launch a major attack on KwaMashu residents, but the inside word is that people are scared of a reaction from the South African Defence Force."

On the emergency regulations, he commented: "So far, it's working."

The KwaZulu capital of Ulundi was also quiet with most residents and government officials enjoying the Easter holiday.

A contributing factor to the drop-off in violence could be King Goodwill Zwelithini's call for peace over the Easter weekend. This has been supported by both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

ANC spokesman Zipho Mkhize said anyone defying the king's call for unity and reconciliation was not only a threat to Zulu stability, but to democracy. "The land, self-determination and dignity of the king are no longer things to fight and die for in this time of history. Negotiations and discussions are going to win the day and not guns," he said.

An IFP spokesman said his organisation had always been committed to peace and "we would support a truce."

On Thursday night, there were two deaths in Umlazi, while a taxi was ambushed and a passenger shot dead in the Nongoma area in northern Natal early yesterday; another person was shot dead in Nongoma on Thursday.

Government moves to re-establish law and order in the region are getting into top gear. Minister of Justice and Defence Kobie Coetsee yesterday appointed South African Police Regional Commissioner of Natal Lieutenant-General W H

■ Turn to page 3

## Natal heaves sigh of relief

From page 1

Steyn and Brigadier D Ferreira, Commanding Officer of Natal Command, as joint control officers of Natal, including KwaZulu. The appointments were temporary, he said in a statement.

Mr Coetsee announced that the decision to appoint the two men was taken in consultation with the management committee of the Transitional Executive Council.

Senior police and army officers met in Durban yesterday to plan security operations as additional troops prepared to be deployed at the weekend.

The discussions between top South African Police, SADF and KwaZulu Police officers were expected to last most of the day and a media briefing was planned for this morning, said SADF spokeswoman Captain Kim van Niekerk.

Yesterday's meeting was held as one of three extra companies of soldiers arrived in Natal. The remaining two companies, each comprising 100 to 150 soldiers, were expected at the weekend.

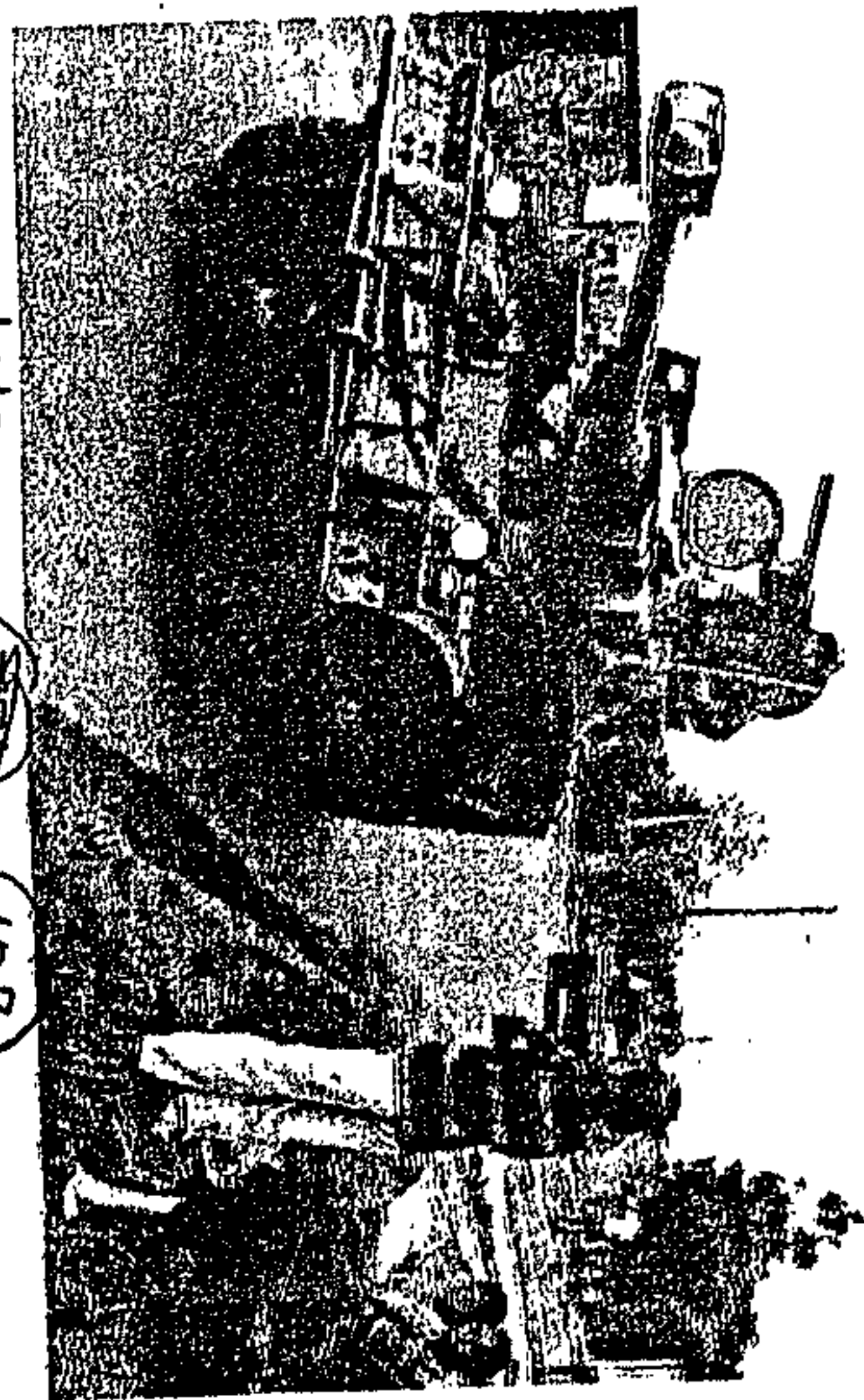
"The situation will decide where troops are deployed. At this stage tension is high and there are pockets of violence; it's not widespread."

The security forces have been given wide-ranging powers, including arrest and detention without trial for up to 30 days, in terms of the emergency regulations which came into effect in KwaZulu/Natal on Thursday.

Regulations published in yesterday's Government Gazette provide for the arrest and detention of those deemed to be a threat to public safety and the maintenance of law and order.

# Iron strip on Natal curbs bloodletting

□ PEACE: South African Defence Force armoured vehicles patrol in KwaMashu township near Durban, scene of clashes between African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.



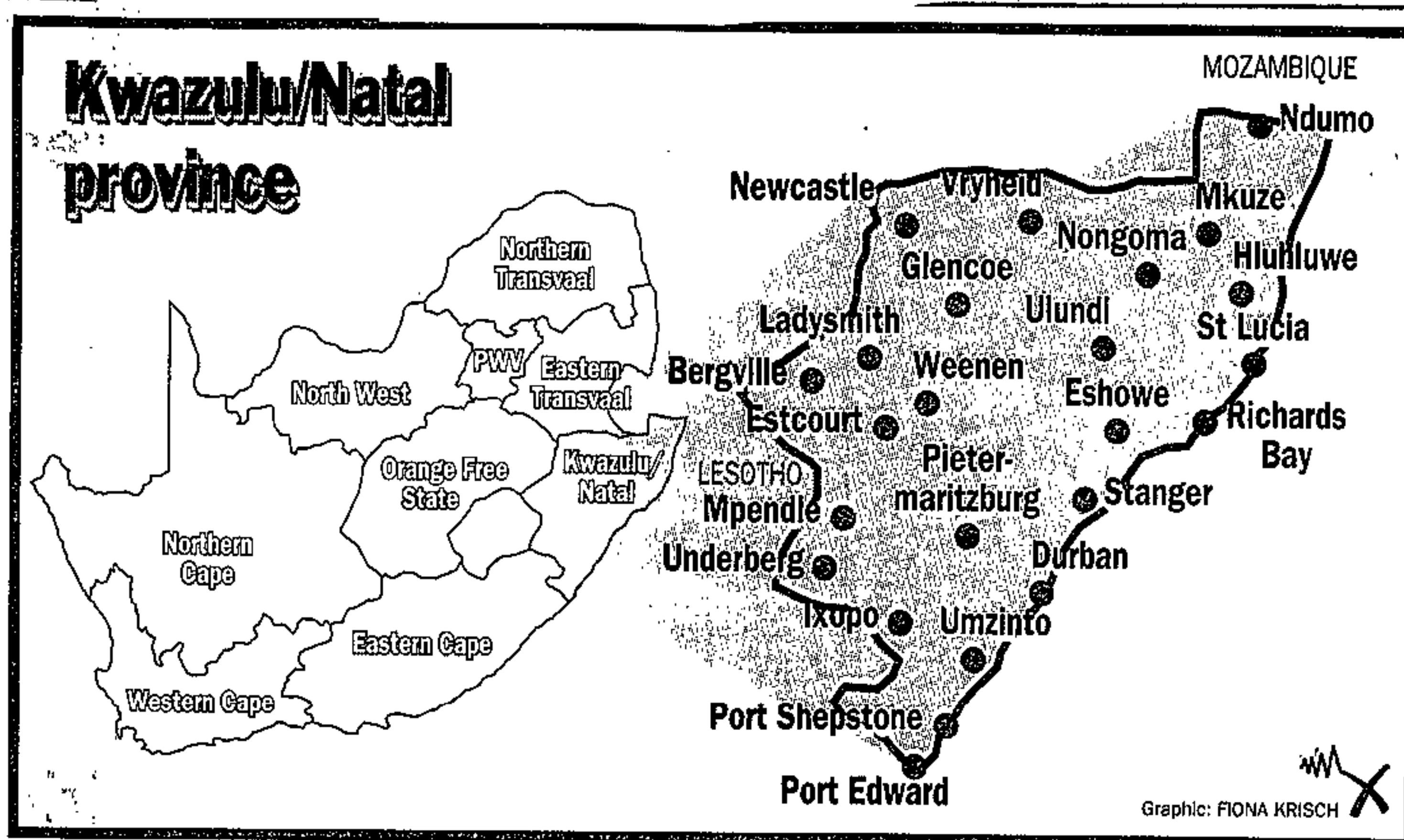
APC. 2/4/94



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# Boycott would suit ANC

**I**NKATHA'S decision to boycott the April elections will hand overall control of Kwazulu/Natal to the ANC, according to the latest Sunday Times Pulse of the People poll.

The poll, conducted by Markinor in the first two weeks of March, shows that the ANC can expect to receive 49,7 percent of the votes for the provincial parliament followed by the National Party with 25,3 percent and the Democratic Party with 8,0 percent.

But the outcome would have been very different had Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi not decided to boycott the elections.

According to the poll, overall support for the IFP running the province has risen from 18,7 percent in November last year when the previous Pulse of the People poll was conducted to 27,5 percent.

In the same period support for the ANC running the province dropped from 40,9 percent to 31,9 percent.

The rise in support cannot be attributed to the role played by Chief Buthelezi — the poll shows he has gone from unpopular to deeply unpopular among the majority of voters.

Nor can it be attributed to a belief among voters that Inkatha is best equipped to deal with the major problems confronting the country. Big majorities of voters think the ANC and then the NP are best equipped to deal with a range of issues from providing better education to attracting foreign investment.

Inkatha has also lost white and Indian supporters but gained among blacks largely at the expense of the ANC.

Given the above, the only conceivable explanation for the rise in Inkatha support is the entry of the Zulu king into the political arena.

It has paid off handsomely — which prompts the question as to why, with this trump card on his side, Chief Buthelezi didn't contest the poll.

As it is, up to half of Inkatha's supporters are likely to heed their party's boycott call. They will be joined by many other Natal/Kwazulu residents who told pollsters they would not cast a ballot because of the violence in the province.

S Times 314194

The indicated stayaways by these two groups of voters point to a low poll in the province which works in favour of the ANC. (107)

Although it has the backing of less than a third of the voters in the province, they are committed supporters who are determined to cast their ballots. As a result Markinor has estimated that the ANC's share of the final vote will rise to 49,7 percent. With this vote the ANC will get 41 seats — in terms of the complicated formula for allocating seats — giving it an absolute majority in the province.

According to the poll about 190 000 Inkatha supporters will vote for the NP in the election. This means that, though overall only 14 per-

cent of Kwazulu/Natal voters want the NP to run the province, on April 27 the NP is likely to get the backing of just over a quarter of all willing and able voters.

Overall support for the DP to run the province rose marginally from 2,5 percent in November to 2,8 percent in March. In addition about 64 000 IFP supporters indicated they would vote for the DP, giving it the support of eight percent of willing and able voters.

The expected low poll will also favour the PAC and the African Christian Democratic Party, giving them just enough votes to qualify for seats in the Kwazulu/Natal provincial parliament.

(News by M Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



More violence in Natal as state of emergency swings <sup>into place</sup>

# Crisis summit <sup>date set Star 4/4/94</sup>

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO

The crisis summit between President de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party head Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini will take place on Friday, the Government and the ANC confirmed yesterday.

The Star understands that the meeting will be held in Pretoria.

It is believed that De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi agreed on the date during a meeting of the Zion Christian Church at Moria, near Pietersburg, yesterday.

The meeting — seen by observers as the last chance to avoid wholesale confrontation over the election in KwaZulu/

## MEETING between leaders seen as last chance to avoid terrible confrontation in KwaZulu/Natal in run-up to election

hurdle was the ANC's continuing plans for rolling mass action in the region.

Further bloodshed is feared following reports from KwaZulu of a planned mass stay-away tomorrow to protest against the deaths of marchers in Johannesburg last Monday.

A senior IFP central committee source told The Star that the IFP would, in preliminary meetings with the Government before the summit, request that the state of emergency be set aside.

"I could not understand why the Government could not wait for a few days, at least until after the summit, before imposing the state of emergency. The problem now is not only the proclamation but also how it is implemented," the source said.

He said it would be unfortunate if the summit and international mediation, which was also expected to start this week, took place under a state of emergency.

Separately, the ANC has raised serious doubts about the effectiveness of the state of emergency after 13 of the organisation's supporters died in separate attacks in Port Shepstone and Estcourt on Saturday. The ANC's subregion offices in Umlazi, outside Durban, were shot at, allegedly by people using KwaZulu Police (KZP) vehicles.

The organisation said it was urgent that the powers of the state of emergency in relation to the KZP be clarified and

► To Page 3

## Leaders set date for crisis summit <sup>Star 4/4/94</sup>

◀ From Page 1

fully implemented. "It is crucial that the KZP should not be allowed to continue its reign of terror and intimidation," the ANC said.

The ANC said that during the Umlazi shootings, the South African Defence Force was nowhere in sight.

The organisation expressed concern that during this incident and in further experiences on the ground in Natal, the SADF was nowhere to be seen.

"This raises serious concerns about the lines of communication with the SADF. For the state of emergency to be effective it is crucial that the SADF must be accessible at all times through an independent channel of communication, and that complaints and emergency calls do not need to be channelled through the SAP, which has very little credibility and is actually part of the problem in Natal," the ANC statement said. <sup>(107)</sup>

In an earlier statement ANC president Nelson Mandela said the KZP would be confined to barracks. He was later reported as saying that he hoped the emergency could be lifted as soon as possible if the summit bore fruit. <sup>(107)</sup>

The ANC has appealed to the authorities, including the Transitional Executive Council, to ensure the effective implementation of the state of emergency in Natal.

The SADF has said the KZP would continue its normal policing duties and its members were not confined to barracks under the emergency regulations, but there were uncertainties about the KZP that needed to be clarified by the Ministers of Justice and of Defence.

Colonel Frans Verfuss of the SADF's Natal Command said at the weekend that the KZP was, at this stage, not restricted by the proclamation.

The Star was unable to contact SADF spokesmen last night for further clarification.



Natal — was put off last week after the deaths during a march in Johannesburg to show support for the Zulu king.

On Thursday De Klerk declared a state of emergency for the whole of KwaZulu/Natal, saying it was being imposed to prevent a further slide towards violence and anarchy in the province.

IFP sources told The Star yesterday that the three-day-old state of emergency — under which at least 40 people, including women and children, died at the weekend — was a major impediment to the success of the meeting. Another



# Eskom backs out of arms 'deal'

CF 4/4/94  
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ESKOM was considering destroying 1 000 semi-automatic rifles it nearly sold to the KwaZulu Police, a spokesman for the electricity supplier said yesterday.

On March 24 the Eskom Board stopped the sale of the LM-4 rifles to Johannesburg arms dealer Mr Ivan Garb, when it was discovered that he had secured a permit to export the weapons to KwaZulu for sale to the KZP.

On Friday Eskom notified the police and the Goldstone Commission and now the three parties, together with a Johannesburg auditing firm, are to investigate the issue.

Eskom spokesman Mr Kevin Morgan said yesterday the rifles were surplus weapons for Eskom's Protective Services, following the reduction of security at power installations, and Mr Garb had "approached us to buy the weapons".

However, the Eskom Board stopped the sale when it became apparent the weapons would not be sold overseas. — Staff Reporter, Sapa



# Natal 'poll delay'

CT 4/4/94

(167)

## Plan to get IEP involved

**Political Staff**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — The South African government would consider delaying regional voting in the troubled Natal-KwaZulu region to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party into the elections, a government source said last night.

Sapa-Reuter reports that the source, who did not want to be named, said a postponement could be on the agenda when President F W de Klerk African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini meet at their vital summit on Friday.

The date of the summit was agreed on by the leaders at the huge Zion Christian Church prayer meeting at Morija yesterday.

The venue will be an unidentified and "remote location" somewhere in the Transvaal so that the meeting can escape the glare of media attention and negotiations could develop in an "unpressured situation", a spokesman said.

Earlier yesterday the London Sunday Times claimed that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had agreed on a joint plan to defer the elections in Natal as part of a peace initiative to be put to King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi.

If the Zulus dropped their demands for independence, King Goodwill would be given safeguards and "special powers".

And, if this was accepted by the Zulu leaders at their meeting with Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk this week, voting in Natal

would be postponed "for a few weeks so that Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party can be included on ballot papers."

Elections would go ahead in all other regions as planned on April 27 and 28.

The newspaper said security chiefs had warned that they did not have the manpower to pacify Natal if violence escalated.

In a lengthy editorial the British Sunday paper also called for a nationwide postponement of the South African poll.

**BARRY STREEK** writes that while the reports were last night dismissed by some, including ANC sources, as "speculation" and "kite-flying", it is understood that the possibility of a postponement of the polls in northern Natal, but not the populous southern portion of the province, has been raised in behind-the-scenes pre-summit negotiations.

But, it was said, this is only one of many possibilities being discussed and the chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, Mr Justice Johann Krieger, reiterated at the weekend that an election was still possible.

Government spokesman Mr Dave Stewart regarded the speculation of a postponement as having "no basis."

Mr Mandela said yesterday it would take time for the state of emergency in Natal to control violence.

Mr Mandela, speaking to reporters near Pieterburg, said that the soldiers needed time to bring violence under control.

"We shouldn't have exaggerated or unrealistic expectations,"

- SADF presence to double in KwaZulu/Natal
- Delay vote, says UK paper

— Page 2



## Three leaders pray together for peace

**PEACE PRAYERS.** Mr Mandela, President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi talk briefly after praying together for peace at an Easter service of the Zion Christian Church in Morija yesterday. Behind them is Mr P. J. Botha.

**MORAJA.** — South Africa's top three leaders went down on their knees together on Easter Sunday to pray for peace amid fresh bloodshed in Natal.

President F W de Klerk, African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi joined in prayer with other political leaders at a service for one million followers of the Zion Christian Church.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela held brief but apparently cordial talks before the service.

Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk sat in the

front pew of the Morija church, separated by Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Andre Fourie.

Before the service began, they leant across Mr Fourie for an animated conversation lasting several minutes. Both leaders smiled broadly and Mr Mandela gave Mr De Klerk the thumbs-up sign.

Mr Mandela also spoke to his neighbours on the other side, Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Krieger and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Church leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane said the country was on the brink of violence of "catastrophic proportion... We have no option but to join hands in prayer for the birth of the new South Africa."

He warned followers of the various political parties that they were not giving their leaders "a chance to rest."

● Bishop Lekganyane has refuted claims that his church would not allow members to vote in the coming election or would at least forbid them to wear their church badges when they go to the polls. — Sapa



# Gun buying by KwaZulu 'not sinister'

■ **ARMS SALE** Two security men  
suspended from duty by Eskom:

*Sowetan 5/4/94*

## South African Press Association

**K**WAZULU POLICE COMMISSIONER Lieutenant-General Roy During says there is nothing "clandestine" or "sinister" about his force's attempt to buy guns from Eskom.

In a statement at the weekend, he described the deal as an "ordinary, above-board business transaction", and rejected any insinuation it was clandestine.

Two Eskom Protective Services employees were suspended on Friday pending the Goldstone Commission investigation into the cancelled arms sale. The sale, had it gone ahead, would have seen 1 000 automatic weapons sold to KwaZulu.

### Relieved of their duties

Eskom said the two security men had been relieved of their duties for their "serious error of judgment".

Eskom spokesman Mr Kevin Morgan said on Friday night the service's departmental manager and the employee who negotiated the arms deal had, how-

ever, acted "above board".

He would not identify the arms dealer other than to say the dealer was from Johannesburg.

During said at no stage did the KZP conceal its identity as the buyer. The KZP and the "negotiators for both parties were at all times fully aware of all the circumstances surrounding the transaction".

### Destined for KZP

During said Eskom was aware the arms were destined for the KZP because a signed letter from himself accompanied the required export permit for the weapons to be sent to a self-governing territory.

The deal was done through an "authorised weapons dealer", he said.

Eskom had been paid for the arms, and although the KZP considered the company's cancellation of the deal a breach of contract, the force had accepted this, During said.

He said representations made by senior Eskom officials, to the effect that they regarded the matter as politically sensitive, had resulted in the KZP calling off the deal.



# Major Zulu test of the emergency

□ 60 000 to brandish traditional weapons in a march of defiance today

AKG5/5/94

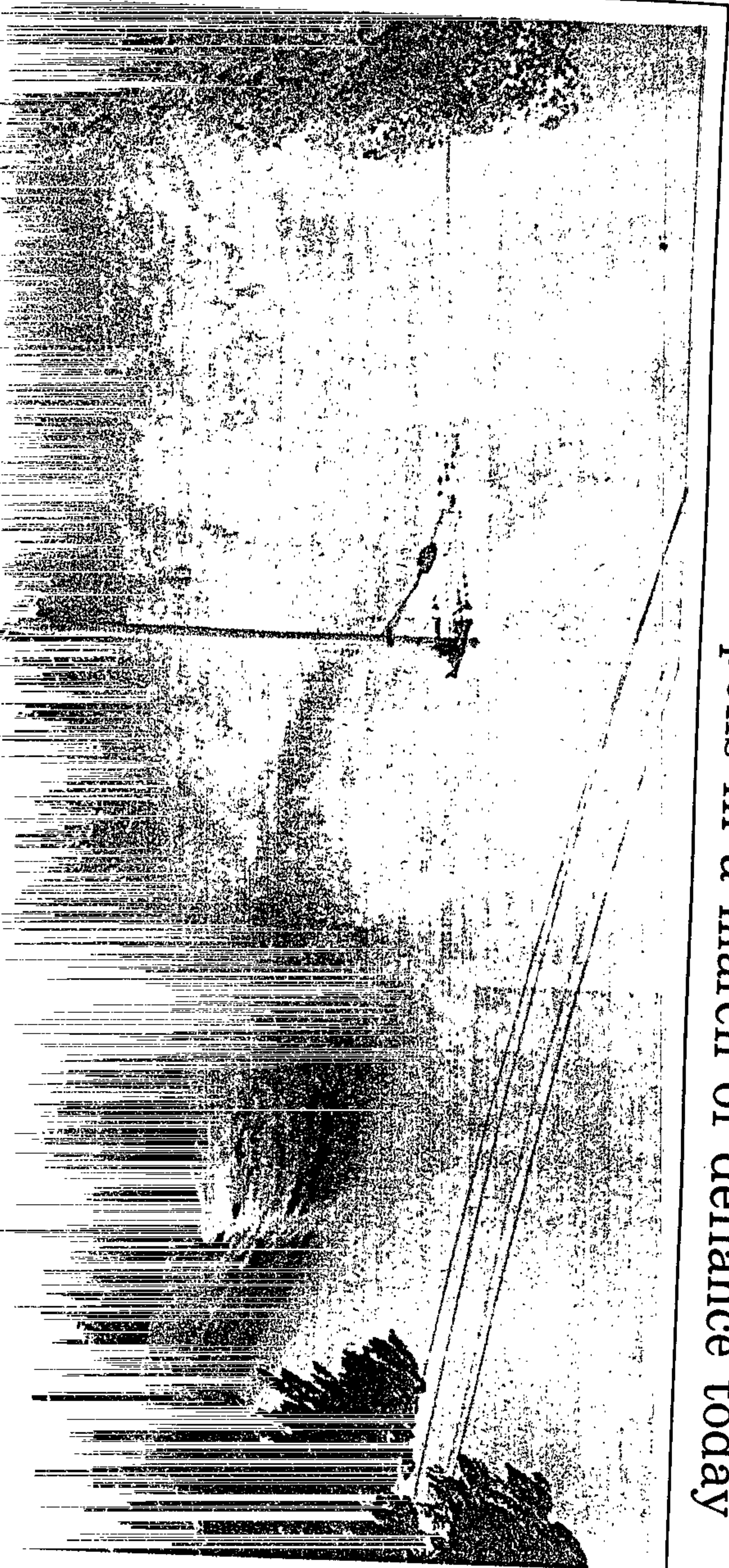
107

The Argus Correspondent  
DURBAN. — Regulations imposed to clamp down on political violence face their first major test today when about 60 000 Inkatha Freedom Party members are expected to march through the streets of Empangeni, 200km north of here, brandishing traditional weapons in defiance of the measures.

This comes as the death toll in KwaZulu-Natal has reached about 64 since the emergency steps were announced last week by President de Klerk.

Political developments in KwaZulu-Natal in the next few days will go a long way to shaping the climate for Friday's summit meeting between President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Goodwill and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

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In terms of the measures announced by Mr De Klerk, people are prohibited from carrying in public any of 25 listed weapons, including assegais, firearms, knobkerries, spears, knives and sharp-pointed sticks.

The IFP habitually carry these weapons to political gatherings, insisting they are traditional weapons, and there has been no indication from the IFP that they plan to do otherwise tomorrow in Empangeni.

Lawyers acting for the police were studying the emergency regulations today to determine exactly what the police's new powers and duties were, and also what the legal position was on carrying traditional weapons.

If the police try to disarm the IFP marchers, police will probably search their buses before they reach the assembly point. To return the weapons to people after the march will pose a major administrative problem for the police.

These steps would annoy the IFP. But if the police allow 60 000 IFP members to march carrying traditional weapons, they would annoy the ANC.

Meanwhile, Zulu chiefs in the Natal Midlands are planning a stayaway tomorrow in sympathy for the Zulus who died in Johannesburg last week.

Friday's summit of leaders takes place amid speculation that the election will be postponed, or at least the election for the KwaZulu-Natal parliament would be put back.

Government sources said today that any delays would have to have the blessing of the ANC and it was unlikely that the ANC would agree to any delays.

The summit will focus on accommodating the Zulu monarchy in the constitution, addressing the calls for Zulu self-determination and ensuring that the IFP take part in the election.



**POLICE investigate  
contravention of  
emergency  
regulations as  
marchers carry  
traditional weapons**

**■ POLITICAL STAFF**

With only three weeks before South Africans cast their votes, a joint committee consisting of the Independent Electoral Commission, KwaZulu and the SA Government has concluded that elections would be impossible in KwaZulu under present conditions.

Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said in a statement last night he had reported the working committee's conclusion to President de Klerk, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

An ANC spokesman last night said Mandela would respond to the working committee's report when he addressed students at the University of Durban/Westville



today.

Releasing the report, Kriegler said: "The IEC has indicated that in the light of the report, political measures were required. As such measures fell outside its brief, the IEC, as in the past, did not make any proposals."

He said the IEC was nevertheless continuing with its planning of elections in the province as a whole, and envisaged providing the optimal level of voting facilities possible in those areas unaffected by the political climate.

He said the effect of the recently proclaimed state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal could not be gauged as yet, but the IEC anticipated it would "significantly contribute to the performance of its mandate".

Kriegler said the working group — set up on March 28 — consisted of heads of rele-

► To Page 3

*IEC says election impossible under present conditions*

# KwaZulu vote shock

Star 6/4/94

107

P.T.O.





**Spears of Natal . . . IFP supporters march through Empangeni yesterday. Many carried traditional weapons such as knobkerries and spears, which were banned under state of emergency regulations.**

PICTURE: KEN OOSTERBROEK

# KwaZulu election Star lock 6/4/94

◀ From Page 1

vant KwaZulu government departments, representatives of the South African Department of Home Affairs, the SA Police and the IEC. He said the working committee gave the following reasons for its assessment that an election was not feasible in KwaZulu:

❑ The high level of political intolerance and fear, as well as large-scale intimidation.

❑ The KwaZulu civil service and tribal structures authorities are, at present, unable to fully assist the process for a free and fair election. (3474) (107)

❑ The KwaZulu Police do not foresee that they will be in a position in the present political climate to adequately ensure that the elections are free and fair. This is due to the additional demands on its manpower resources.

The latest developments came on the same day that 30 000 IFP members marched in Empangeni to protest against the killing of Zulu royalists in Johannesburg and the imposition of the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

A memorandum, handed to an IEC representative, accused the IEC and the Goldstone Commission of being political weapons of the AN/SAF government alliance to be used to destroy KwaZulu. The state of emergency, the memorandum added, was aimed at increasing tension "to frustrate the IFP and people of KwaZulu in the elections".

The IFP said it would encourage its supporters to boycott the elections unless a number of demands were met.

The call for the postponement of the elections to allow for international mediation, to give all parties equal opportunity to campaign and that the call by King Goodwill Zwelithini for recognition of his kingdom be accepted before the poll.

Police said they are investigating a contravention of the emergency regulations and the Electoral Act after the IFP supporters defied the regulations by carrying traditional weapons.

While the march proceeded peacefully and no reports of violence were reported by late yesterday, police were not able to enforce the emergency regulations banning the carrying and display of weapons.

(47 Sauer Street)

repeatedly what further concerns the king had, and how these could be accom-

□ To Page 2

top-level decision the SA Police Unit to the TEC for s increases in pay



# Kwazulu poll will take place — IEC

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON  
THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has drawn up detailed plans to allow Kwazulu's three million voters to cast ballots despite the violent climate and a lack of co-operation from Ulundi.

"We have no option but to run an election in Kwazulu — and we have the capability to do so," IEC member Gay McDougall said yesterday.

She and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke spent two days touring four of the province's five sub-provincial regions this

week. Anticipating security problems and resigned to little, if any, official co-operation from Kwazulu officials, the commissioners outlined plans that would ensure even those in the "no-go" areas in the north could vote if they wished to do so.

This included shifting polling stations to borders with South Africa, increasing the size of voting stations in predominantly white, relatively safe areas and bringing in mobile and temporary voting stations.

Only about 800 polling stations are now expected

to be set up in Kwazulu Natal's 51 voting districts, although 1 000 to 1 200 were originally planned.

The IEC is to liaise closely with the security forces, who will concentrate on keeping the main roads to these voting stations open.

It "may have to factor in" transporting voters to polling stations, said Mr Moseneke.

The exact siting of Kwazulu Natal's polling stations will be made known on Wednesday.

If violence decreases as a result of the imposition of the State of Emergency, the polling stations may be moved closer to where they are needed.

Already the IEC believes it will be possible to set up polling stations in parts of notoriously unstable Kwamashu and Umlazi, near Durban.

The IEC aims to provide polling stations not more than 10km from voters throughout the country.

This was not possible in the Zulu heartland around Empangeni, where Mr Moseneke identified several "problem children", including Nongoma — where the royal kraal is situated — and Mahlaba-tini, the district surrounding the Kwazulu capital of Ulundi.

(News by Claire Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

● See Page 7

## ANC guard held after shooting

Sunday Times Reporters

IT WAS almost a case of the ANC shooting itself in the foot — unfortunately, it was a passer-by who took the bullet.

The ANC had feared Third Force agents would disrupt events commemorating the death of Chris Hani, but yesterday one of its own men was held by police after a shooting outside a service in Hillbrow, Johannesburg.

The ANC security guard had been standing at the entrance of the Summit Club, a residential hotel where the memorial ser-

vice was being held. He

hold back a large crowd. A man working at a cafe nearby said he had been told by police that the shot had been fired "by accident".

Mr Bradley Clark, head of security at the Summit Club, said ANC guards had claimed the shot came from the top of the building.

"But it definitely came from inside the red vehicle," he added.

While there were unconfirmed reports of other shots being fired after the incident, no other injuries were reported.

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# KwaZulu death toll over 90

THE death toll in KwaZulu/Natal has risen to more than 90 since last week's declaration of a state of emergency.

Police yesterday reported the killing of 33 people — 22 in two separate incidents.

At least 12 people were killed in an attack at KwaMashu men's hostel on Sunday. Most of the victims were shot.

Also on Sunday, 10 people were shot dead in Ndwedwe, north of Durban.

On Monday night in Folweni, south of

Durban, four young men, believed to be ANC supporters, were woken up, taken outside and shot at point-blank range.

KwaZulu police also reported the death of a man in Esikhawini on the North Coast on Sunday night. His badly decomposed body was found about 6.30pm.

Two men were killed after a "kangaroo court" on Saturday, Maritzburg police said. They were tied to a chair and set

ET 6/4/74 (107)  
alight at Maphumulo, near Greytown. Six people were shot dead in attacks on a packed minibus and another vehicle in Nongoma, northern Natal, yesterday morning.

A KwaZulu Police spokesman said the attacks appeared to be linked to a local taxi feud over taxi routes.

● Two burnt bodies were found in Katilehong and Phola Park yesterday. — Own Correspondent, Sapa



# KwaZulu

# poll doubt

## Elections impossible, says IEC

CT 6/4/74 (107)

**JOHANNESBURG. — Elections cannot be held in KwaZulu in the current political climate — this is the unanimous conclusion reached by a joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African and KwaZulu governments.**

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said in a statement yesterday he had reported the working committee's conclusion to President F W de Klerk, the Transitional Executive Council, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, a decision to postpone the election would be a political decision, so Friday's leaders' summit would be of critical importance, an IEC spokesman, Mrs Ina van der Linde, said.

Judge Kriegler said: "The IEC has indicated that in the light of the report, political measures were required. As such measures fell outside its brief, the IEC, as in the past, did not make any proposals.

"The IEC is nevertheless continuing with its planning of elections in the province as a whole, and efforts to providing the optimal level of voting facilities possible in those areas unaffected by the political climate in KwaZulu."

He said the effect of the recently proclaimed state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal could not be gauged yet, but the IEC expected it would "significantly contribute to the performance of its mandate".

An in-depth study was under way and would be followed by an inspection in loco by two IEC com-

missioners later this week. They would report to the full commission on Saturday.

Mr Justice Kriegler said the working group, set up on March 28, consisted of heads of relevant KwaZulu government departments, representatives of the SA Department of Home Affairs, the SA Police and the IEC.

The IFP last night said it would be impossible to postpone the election only in one province and the entire general election should be rescheduled.

President De Klerk, who is known to favour the postponement of the poll at least in Natal, Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill

### IFP MEDIATION POSTPONED

— Page 2

Zwelethini are to meet on Friday to discuss holding free and fair elections and the rising tide of political violence — especially in KwaZulu.

The IFP's chief negotiator, Dr Ben Ngubane, said the IEC announcement was a significant development and IFP MP Mr Farouk Cassim said it was now clear the entire election should be postponed.

Democratic Party regional premier candidate Mr Roger Burrows said the summit should critically examine the possibility of postponing the election nationally subject to certain conditions.

These were that the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the king should agree to come into transitional structures; that the military and police should be unified under SADF command as under the state of

emergency and that international mediation must be completed in two months.

Both the IFP and DP have rejected a postponement of the poll only in the province.

While the ANC has repeatedly opposed a postponement of the poll, with ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala saying earlier that a minority in Natal could not hold back the will of the majority, pressure is now expected to build on the ANC to change its stance.

Judge Kriegler said the working committee gave the following as the reasons for its assessment that an election was not feasible in KwaZulu:

- "The high level of political intolerance and fear, as well as large-scale intimidation, which have led to the current state of emergency.

- "The KwaZulu civil service and tribal structures/authorities are unable to assist fully the process for a free and fair election.

- "Owing to time constraints, the IEC will not be able to follow the prescribed protocol required to confirm, evaluate, and secure the voting stations.

- "The SA Police and the KwaZulu Police do not foresee that they will be in a position in the present political climate to adequately ensure that the elections are free and fair.

ANC Natal premier candidate Mr Jacob Zuma said yesterday the elections had to go ahead on schedule or the country could slip into chaos. A legitimate government had to be secured as soon as possible so that it could effectively deal with the country's problems.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said his party would not oppose a postponement of the April elections, provided it was applied throughout the country. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



# 'The elections must go ahead'

AR 6/4/94 (107)

**TOS WENTZEL**  
Political Staff

THE government and the African National Congress were adamant today that the elections in KwaZulu must go ahead — in spite of the contention that the poll is impossible in the present political climate.

Spokesmen said the pre-elections uncertainty could not be allowed to continue and people who used violence and caused unrest could not be permitted to have their way.

Hopes of a solution now rest on Friday's crucial summit between President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The report and recommendation of a joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African and KwaZulu governments — that the elections cannot be held in KwaZulu under the present circumstances — will be one of the main issues for discussion at the meeting.

The IEC said political measures were required in KwaZulu, but these fell outside its brief.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said today that he felt the political climate in KwaZulu should be changed, not the election date.

Inspectors of the IEC would determine the effect of the state of emergency in the territory and report back by Friday. A decision on further action would be taken on Saturday.

The IFP has, for some time, been calling for the postponement of the elections.

Government spokesman Chris Fisser, deputy-minister in the office of the president, said the report of the working committee was "an extremely important matter" and would be studied carefully before it was discussed at Friday's meeting.

He said the government's attitude all along had been that the disadvantages of putting off the elections as a whole, or in part of the country, outweighed the advantages.

Even if only the regional elections were put off, a new Senate could not be put together as the constitution provided for proportional representation based on regional election results for the composition of this House of Parliament.



**ON THE MARCH:** Defying the state of emergency ban on carrying cultural weapons, 30 000 Inkatha supporters take to the streets of Empangeni to call for the election to be delayed.

Picture: Agence France Presse

If the elections were postponed the tremendous uncertainty and tensions between various political groups would continue.

Some elements could not be given the impression that if they caused violence and uncertainty, they would get their way.

There were high expectations among a large part of the population and the electorate and they would find it difficult to "process" a decision to put off the elections.

At present the government attitude remained that the elections should go ahead in spite of difficulties, but the report would be studied very carefully before Friday's summit meeting.

Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, who is one of the

ANC's top candidates, said today that putting off the elections was "out of the question"

Such a step would send out the message that people who caused enough bloodshed and chaos could get their way.

"This is exactly what Chief Buthelezi wants. He will not get it."

Mr Slovo expressed the hope that the state of emergency would help to make the democratic process possible.

The elections could go ahead at least in the rest of Natal and a result could be declared if 40 to 45 percent of the people voted.

Mr Slovo said the Transitional Executive Council had discussed the report yesterday and had considered possible solutions.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)

## Natal violence toll: 88 die in six days

**DURBAN.** — At least 88 people have been confirmed killed the past six days as violence continues to sweep the politically charged Natal-KwaZulu region in spite the declaration of a state of emergency.

The toll could climb as reports from far-flung rural settlements reach police liaison officials only days later.

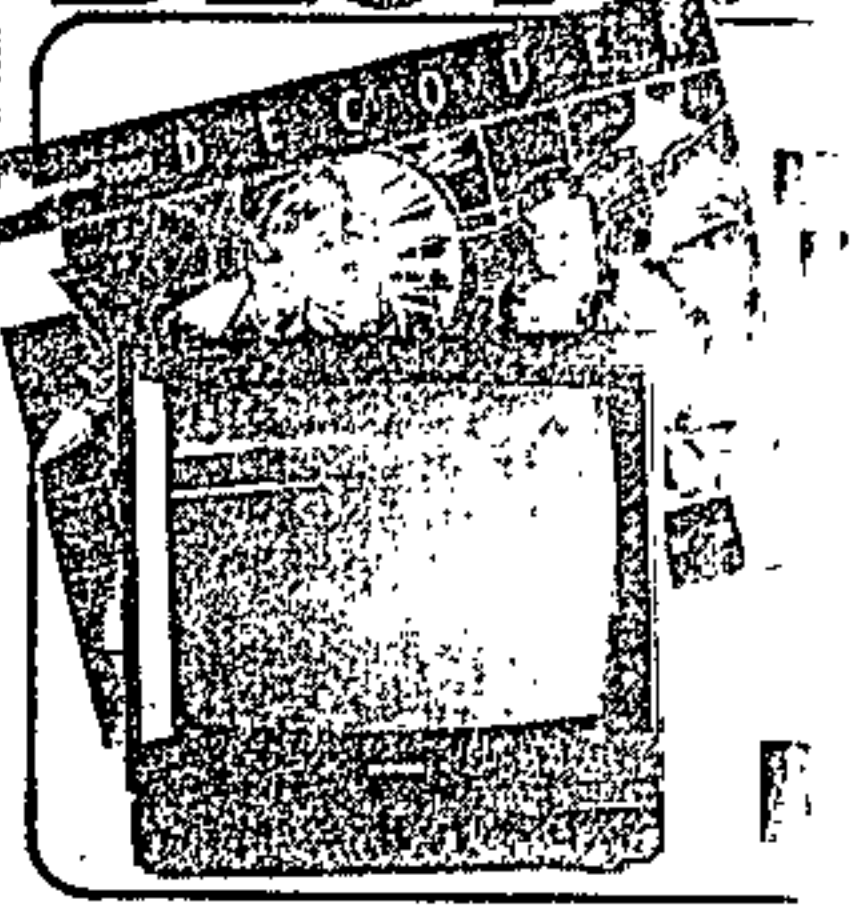
Natal unrest monitor and academic Mary de Haas reported 16 more deaths at the weekend in northern Natal townships and rural areas which police have not yet confirmed.

Police reports put the toll at 88 since Thursday — an average of 14 killings a day under emergency rule.

Violence in Natal has reached unprecedented levels with 300 deaths reported last month, the highest in several years. — Sapa.

(News by C Dinean and C Govender, 330 West Street Durban)

# LAD BESTIP



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# Contingency

# plan set up for KwaZulu poll

Biday 7/14/94

THE Independent Electoral Commission's contingency plan has swung into action in KwaZulu/Natal amid pessimism about tomorrow's summit meeting of leaders succeeding in ensuring free political activity.

At least 101 people have been killed in political violence in the region since last week's declaration of an emergency.

IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler yesterday denied the IEC planned to recommend postponing elections in KwaZulu. This was despite the findings of a joint committee — of IEC, SAP, KwaZulu government and SA government representatives — that elections "in the current political climate" would be impossible in KwaZulu.

"On the contrary, what has to be changed is not the date of the election but the political climate," Kriegler said. "We can't let the spoilers spoil the election for those who don't want to spoil."

He said the IEC had launched a contingency plan to ensure "optimal facilities for the electorate of the province".

Two IEC commissioners, Dikgang Mosenke and Gaye McDougall, were heading an "intensive crash programme" which, in the next few days, would identify areas in which polling could take place.

"It is our mandate and our duty to provide voting facilities for those who wish to vote, and that's what we intend doing. If we have to double, or treble, or quadruple the capacity of voting stations outside KwaZulu we shall do so. That's what we're planning right now... to run elections in those parts of Natal unaffected by the political deadlock in KwaZulu."

Kriegler said the IEC's job was to pro-

DAVID GREYBE

vide voters the opportunity to cast their ballots "irrespective of political solutions".

While the IEC's contingency plan was "clearly imperfect", there was no foregone conclusion that the elections in KwaZulu/Natal would not be declared substantially free and fair.

Our Durban correspondent reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela rejected postponement of the elections as the security forces had the capacity to curb the conflict in the region in time for the poll. Speaking at the national youth conference shortly before a closed meeting with the ANC's Natal leadership, he said he had taken note of the IEC committee's report. However, it was premature to consider postponing the election.

It would be unfair to be critical towards the security forces. "It is unrealistic for anybody to expect that within a week the SADF and SAP would have buffered the situation completely." They needed time to bring all their forces into the region.

Hundreds more soldiers were sent to KwaZulu/Natal yesterday as the SADF boosted its troop tally by five infantry companies and a squadron of Ratel armoured vehicles. The 700 additional soldiers bring the number of troops on the ground since the state of emergency was declared to about 1 900.

Meanwhile, ANC and KwaZulu government sources expressed pessimism that a breakthrough would be achieved at today's meeting between President FW de Klerk, Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

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KwaZulu

Biday 7/14/94 From Page 1

While the ANC and government appear to want the meeting to extract from Buthelezi and Zwelithini a guarantee of free political activity in the three weeks before the elections, Inkatha and KwaZulu negotiators said two "cardinal" issues — the king's future and greater provincial powers — had to be dealt with first.

KwaZulu Deputy Education Minister Vincent Zulu, who will accompany Zwelithini to the meeting, said his expectations were not very high, knowing the positions of the ANC and government. "They are only interested in doing a deal so that the elections take place. They are not interested in the root causes of the problem."

He said elections would have to be postponed for "one or two months". Inkatha Transvaal political director Themba Khoza said the elections should be postponed throughout the country.

A senior ANC source said: "A Zulu volkstaat is as much a pipe dream as an African volksstaat."

A government spokesman said the meeting presented a "crucially important opportunity" to resolve the underlying problems and deal with the IEC committee's finding.

SACP national chairman Joe Slovo said it was too late to change the interim constitution before the meeting.

In a joint statement they said: "It is hoped that the summit meeting will help build consensus on the purpose and terms of reference of international mediation." Sapa-Reuter reports from New York that former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who has been named as a mediator, said he wanted the ANC and Inkatha to make a "huge effort" at conciliation before he and Britain's Lord Carrington arrived in the country. He said they would visit SA from April 12-22.

Police said they were investigating confrontations of the emergency regulations and the Electoral Act after thousands of Inkatha supporters carried traditional weapons during a march in Empangeni on Tuesday.

Report by David Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and S Mathewson and K O'Grady, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborn St, Dur.

See Page 4



# Big four to thrash out poll issue

Sowetan 7/4/94

**By Mathatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

**T**HE DEMAND BY THE Inkatha Freedom Party for a postponement of the elections is set to dominate tomorrow's summit of leaders to be held at an as yet undisclosed venue.

The issue was given fresh impetus by the report of the joint committee of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the South African and KwaZulu governments which found that conditions in KwaZulu were not conducive to holding free and fair elections.

The report will form part of the agenda of the talks to be attended by Zulu King Zwelithini, State President F W de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

With violence raging in Natal and taking lives

despite the state of emergency declared last Thursday, hopes for resolving the impasse were dashed yesterday as positions hardened on both the ANC and IFP sides. (107)

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC was going into the talks to seek freedom of political activity in KwaZulu and would not accede to postponing the elections.

His leader, Mandela, backed this when he told a youth rally in Durban: "There will be no postponement of elections, either in the province of Natal or nationally."

The IFP, buoyed by the IEC report, has called for national elections to be postponed, saying the resolution of political differences should precede the holding of the elections.

Government spokesman Mr Chris Fisser said their attitude had always been that the advantages of postponing the elections in part or whole far outweighed the disadvantages.



# KwaZulu death toll now at 105

The death toll in KwaZulu/Natal has risen to 105 since the state of emergency was declared last Thursday.

The SADF is deploying more troops in the region.

Mechanised units are included in the new deployment, which will raise the number of soldiers enforcing the state of emergency to about 2 000.

The province remains tense this week, which has seen a further 13 killings following carnage at the weekend.

The latest deaths are the result of several unrelated inci-

dents spread over Natal from the coast to the Midlands.

They include a shooting at Batania Mission, near Port Shepstone, where a member of the mission was killed and several others injured.

A woman was shot dead in the Bhambayi settlement, north of Durban and a man and child killed in KwaMbonambi on the North Coast.

Three more people died in attacks in Newcastle and seven others were injured in an attack at the Mfolozi Reserve.

Three houses were burnt

down in the Drycott area of Estcourt, two petrol-bombed in Dundee and a woman was burnt to death in Inanda. ~~(234)~~ (107)

IFP supporters en route to Empangeni in two buses for the march on Tuesday were stopped, and a shotgun, ammunition and three homemade guns confiscated.

Six more people were reported dead following a shooting in Nongoma, Zululand.

According to police, gunmen opened fire on passengers in a taxi, killing four men, a woman and a baby. — Crime Staff.



# Army moves in heavy guns

□ More than 2 000 troops ready to curb election violence (107)

ARC 7/4/94

276

### Political Staff

HUNDREDS of mechanised combat troops in Ratel armoured vehicles rumbled into KwaZulu today as the SADF sent in reinforcements to help contain the continuing political violence in the region.

An SADF spokesman said about 750 troops drawn from the Durban Light Infantry, the Natal Field Artillery and the Light Horse regiment were part of the new deployment, bringing the SADF strength in the region to more than 2 000.

Colonel Frans Verfuss said the mechanised units in the new deployment would enable the SADF to cover wider and less accessible areas of Natal, and added that 2 000 troops would be sufficient for the SADF's immediate objective.

"If unrest does not break out simultaneously all over Natal, we will be able to make a substantial contribution to containing the violence," he said.

According to the joint SADF-SAP security committee, there was sporadic violence in KwaZulu and Natal last night as tensions rose ahead of tomorrow's summit between President De Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, King Goodwill Zwelithini and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Police and army officials today reported a further 23 killings in Natal townships and rural settlements this week, pushing the toll to at least 124 in the first week since a state of emergency was declared.

ANC national executive committee member and former youth league chief Peter Mokaba says the ANC will march into the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi to show that it is not afraid of IFP leader Mr Buthelezi.

Mr Mokaba said his organisation was becoming tired of listening to demands made by the Zulu king.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose today called on Mr Mandela to distance himself from what he called inflammatory remarks by Mr Mokaba.

Dr Mdlalose said: "These statements are an outrage. They are inflammatory and defamatory, and are clearly designed to scupper tomorrow's summit meeting between ourselves, the ANC and the government."

In Washington, Peter Fabricius reports that Chester Crocker, key mediator of the successful 1989 Namibian/Angolan settlement, believes that international mediators Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington can help to resolve the negotiation crisis in South Africa by restoring the element of trust which has been lost.



**CAR BURNS:** A soldier stands near a burning car in KwaMashu, near Durban, after the army sent in hundreds more troops to stem the violence linked to the elections.



**BIG GUNS:** Troops of the 5th Mechanised Battalion wait for orders to move into troubled KwaZulu. More than 700 new troops will be deployed today to combat violence in the area.



# Zulu king 'ready to accept headship of KwaZulu-Natal'

(107) (113) - AR 67/4/94

## Political Staff

DURBAN. — Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini is prepared to become ceremonial head of KwaZulu-Natal and drop his demand for an independent, sovereign Zulu kingdom if this would help reach a settlement at tomorrow's leadership summit, palace sources said today.

Secrecy still surrounds the venue. Several delegates said today they would board aircraft early tomorrow not knowing where they were headed.

The summit starts with a private, two-hour meeting between King Goodwill and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. This will be their first meeting.

Afterwards, they will join IFP lead-

er Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk.

Palace sources and IFP leaders said today they were going into the summit looking for solutions.

The IFP would want the election date to be put back by four weeks, however, so that it could campaign.

Mr Mandela, speaking last night at the University of Durban-Westville, was adamant there would be no postponement.

Palace sources said, given certain guarantees, the king would drop his demand for a sovereign Zulu kingdom and accept ceremonial headship of KwaZulu-Natal.

(News by R M Challenor and S Miller, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)



**T**HERE are certain political clichés about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party: he is mad; he is a dangerous megalomaniac; he is an enemy of the South African people; he fears electoral defeat and rejects democracy; he must be stopped.

Given the imminence of SA's first democratic elections, and the high hopes pinned to this great event of national catharsis, few dare stray from the realm of the politically correct to question the truth of these labels. With the juggernaut of majority rule bearing down upon the nation, better simply to go on believing that Buthelezi is an evil but ultimately impotent menace; then he can be crushed with impunity, and with no fear for the consequences.

That is the reasoning which underpinned last week's decision to impose a state of emergency in Natal and Kwazulu. The elections must go on, in spite of the opposition of Inkatha, which commands a large chunk of the electorate in Natal/Kwazulu; Inkatha can be easily defeated because it commands no army; once crushed, it and Buthelezi will disappear forever.

**W**ould that reality were so simple. For Buthelezi has been preparing for this battle — psychologically and militarily — for years. Since its formation as a "cultural movement" in 1975, Inkatha has worked hard to rebuild the sense of a Zulu nation, so strong in the 19th century but undermined by defeat at the hands of the British, the emasculation of the Zulu chiefs and the fragmentation of the Zulu kingdom early this century.

A prince of the Zulu royal family and an uncle to the king, Buthelezi has coaxed the embers of Zulu nationalism into full flame, reaching a climax last week when Zulu warriors, marching to defend their king, were gunned down by ANC security guards in central Johannesburg.

# Buthelezi cannot be dismissed as a mad megalomaniac

Esther Boy 7/14/1994

PATTI WALDMEIR



Buthelezi's ethnic message may be denied by the political elite, but it has penetrated the public consciousness. History may well condemn him for fanning ethnic flames which threaten SA's democracy. Historians will certainly condemn Inkatha — and possibly Buthelezi, though his responsibility has not been proven — for operating hit squads using weapons and training allegedly provided by Pretoria's security services.

Irrespective of history's judgment, Buthelezi is a reality; and he is doubly dangerous because he is not simply — as the politically correct would argue — a creation of apartheid whose power derives from apartheid structures.

Ironically, it would be more correct to say that Buthelezi is a creation of the ANC. As ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma (the only senior Zulu in the ANC's top leadership) explained in 1992, "forming Inkatha was the ANC's idea — to have a political organisation to undermine apartheid from within". For decades, Buthelezi did just that, refusing to accept independence for Kwazulu, and campaigning for the release from prison of



□ BUTHELEZI

Nelson Mandela. But when the United Democratic Front emerged in the early 1980s as de facto internal wing of the ANC, it

demonised all "collaborators", chief among them Buthelezi. The Zulu leader opposed ANC policy on two central issues: economic sanctions and the use of guerrilla tactics to overthrow white rule. Today there is no political leader more despised by the ANC.

Certainly, Buthelezi will lose part of his power base once an ANC government (which will sweep Natal as a result of Inkatha's election boycott) pays the salaries of homeland police, public servants, and possibly the Zulu king. But the Zulu warriors who fought in the streets of Johannesburg last week were not teachers, nurses and bureaucrats. They came from the world of migrant workers' hostels and Kwazulu villages where tradition and loyalty to the king remain powerful forces for resistance.

No army can hope to subdue every village and kraal in rural Kwazulu; and even if they do so temporarily, violence will resume once they leave. The risk is that the battles of 1994 will store up material for resentment and revenge for decades to come.

Yet the ANC seems unable to re-

sist the temptation to prod the angry bear that resides in Buthelezi's soul. They know they will get nowhere by humiliating a man whose sensitivity borders on the paranoid. They know that any attempt to trick him will backfire because he cannot bear to be taken for a "stupid kaffir", as he so often points out; yet they offer him constitutional concessions which look good but mean little, and hope he will not notice.

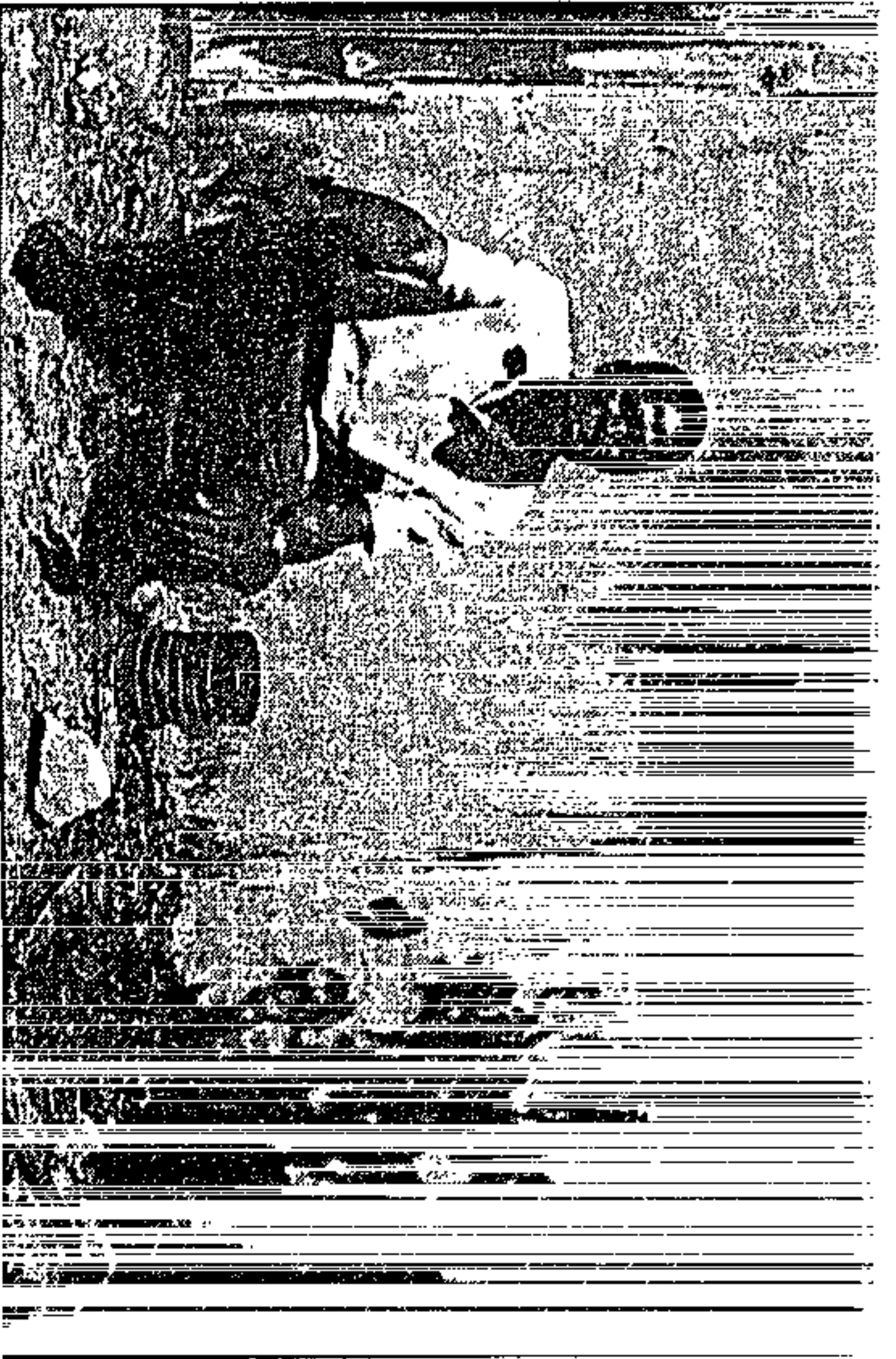
And most seriously of all, they think he has no true support and can be crushed by the legitimate will of the majority. In short, for the ANC, Buthelezi is a dictator clinging illegally to power, with no genuine constitutional complaints and no intention to negotiate. Their conclusion: accommodating him is not only unnecessary, but impossible.

That may be true now, but it was not always so. Even early this year, the ANC could have had a deal with Inkatha relatively cheaply, by agreeing to devolve real power to the provinces, rather than guarding it at the centre. The Zulu king was then on the sidelines, and could have been assured a place as titular monarch of Natal/Kwazulu, by guaranteeing the security of royal lands and palaces. Only when that deal fell through did he enter the fray, increasing tension by calling for a sovereign Zulu kingdom and commanding his subjects to defend their nationhood.

**T**he chances are it is too late for a deal, and further violence is inevitable. Many would welcome Buthelezi's demise, in SA and abroad. He has alienated almost every local and foreign friend he ever had. His counter-productive propaganda machine has made it impossible to understand his policies, let alone defend them. He is, quite simply, in the way, obstructing the event millions worldwide have waited decades to see, the death of apartheid and the birth of a new, nonracial democracy.

And if he does not move, he will be removed by force — whatever the consequences. — Financial Times.





Mourning — Mandela Khuzwayo sits in front of the gutted house of his brother Fana who was shot and injured and his wife Thandi killed in the ANC section of Inanda township

## 'KZP escorted the killers'

Steiaans Brümmer

**T**HE two women sat on a grass mat covering the cement of their tiny, unlit room. In the darkness, they spoke of the reign of terror unleashed on their community by Inkatha Freedom Party members which turned them into refugees.

Sbongile Mabaso and Eunice Mingadi are among the 400-odd former residents of Sonkombo section in Ndwebwe who poured into the relative security of Inanda township north of Durban after the attacks on their homes started early last month.

They blame not only the IFP men, but also kwazulu policemen who they say escorted the attackers. About 300 houses were looted or burnt in Sonkombo, a predominantly ANC area, and its surrounds.

"Every weekend they came. They looted the houses and took the houses from the people," said Mabaso. "They arrived early, from 10am, escorted by the kwazulu Police," said Mngadi.

WSM 8-14/4/94 (107)

The women reckon about 10 people were killed by men using G3 rifles, the same as those used by the KZP. Some victims were friends and neighbours.

A mass exodus started around March 20. Inanda residents welcomed the refugees into their own homes and made other buildings available after a church leader argued that putting the refugees in tents would not give them the safety for which they had come.

Mabaso and Mingadi each have three children. All share a room without furniture in a shed-like structure that is otherwise used as a clinic. The Red Cross brings food once a week, but they can go on, it's not much, but they feel safer.

But as township dwellers near Durban know, violence is unpredictable. Across the ridge from where the refugees stay, Mandela Khuzwayo was quietly speaking of his grief.

On Tuesday night the house in Inanda's Moscow section where his brother, Fana Khuzwayo, and sister-in-law, Thandi Mpanza, stayed came

under attack.

About 10.30pm the attackers flushed them out by lighting a fire against the front door, then sprayed them with bullets from pistols and zipguns.

His brother survived in spite of bullet wounds in the head and leg, but Mpanza died in fire which gutted the house.

Khuzwayo believes the attackers wanted to murder his brother, but were not politically inspired. They had come for him to settle a score. "It was because he is not on good terms with the people who are doing this, because they are criminals and he is not."

It was the second time they had come for his brother. Khuzwayo said. The first time he was shot in the leg. As is usual in the township, that incident was never reported to police.

Next door and down the street people went about their business as usual the day after the attack, seemingly unaffected by the tragedy. Perhaps the sight of gutted houses and bloodied bodies has become too familiar, political or not.



Forced to flee ... After attacks on their homes residents of Sonkombo section in Inanda township fled to the relative safety of Inanda

PHOTOS: GUY ADAMS

## Elections can take place — IEC

Chris Louw

**C**ONTRARY to newspaper reports, the joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the kwazulu and South African governments did not say that elections in kwazulu were impossible.

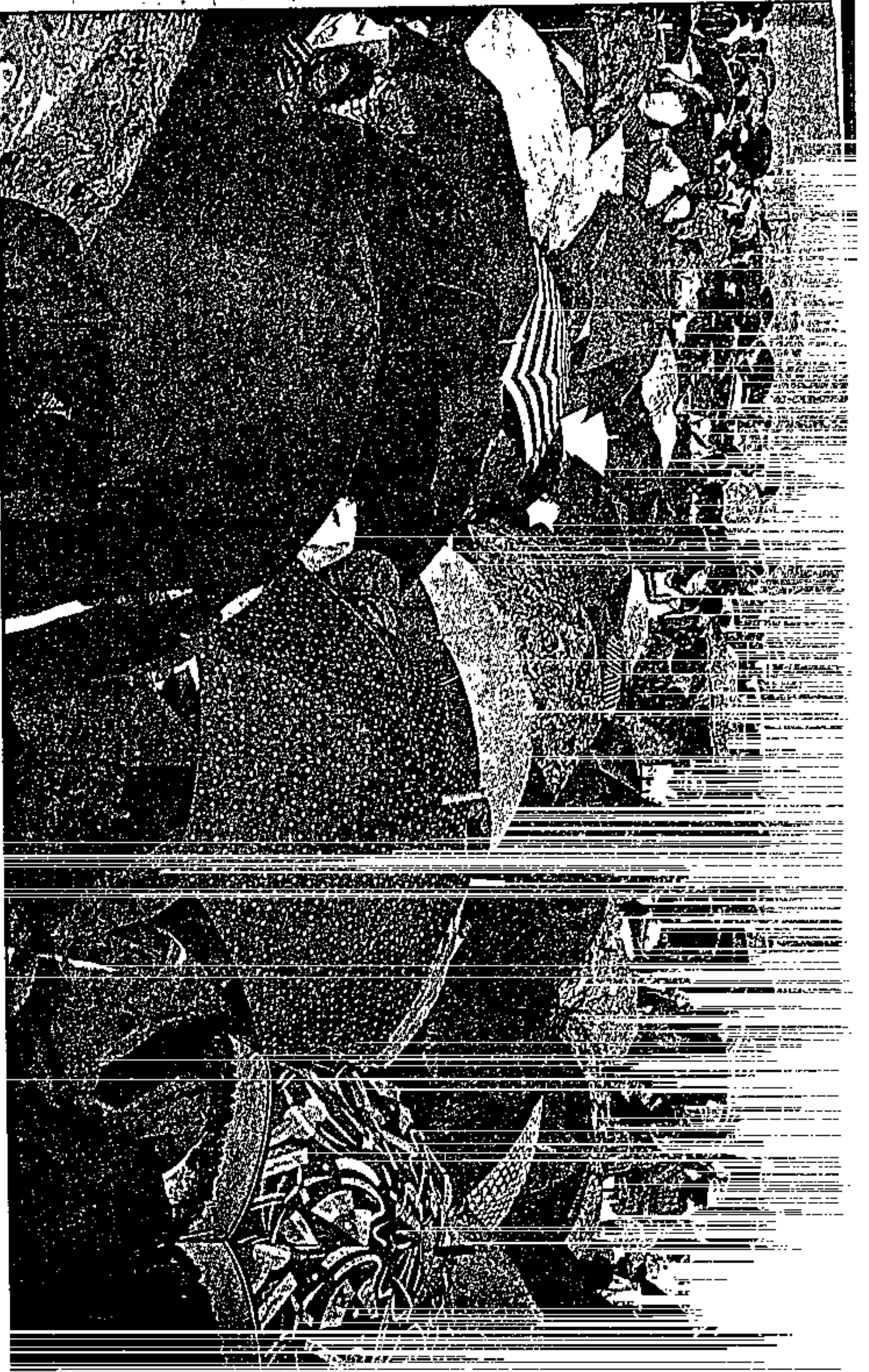
Indeed, the committee states quite

clearly in its report that an election can still take place.

The *Mail & Guardian* has obtained a copy of the working committee's original report, dated April 5 and signed by all 11 members, including those appointed by the kwazulu government.

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Sheltered from the sun, but not the violence... Mourners at an IFP memorial service in Elandsdorp

PHOTO: GUY ADAMS

## Stalemate. Still the people mourn

Stefaans Brümmer

**H**UNDREDS of umbrellas unfurled under the midday sun of Elandsdorp, a tiny Natal Midlands Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold. Under their shade the people sat in quiet mourning, there to remember kindfolk fallen in the Johannesburg march.

On Tuesday, there was another march further north at Empangeni and a second memorial service near Estcourt.

All three passed largely without incident, but the tension of old rivalry and IFP opposition to the state of emergency simmered beneath the surface.

At Estcourt and Empangeni traditional weapons, banned under the emergency, were much in evidence. The security force reaction was ambiguous. At the former, some weapons were apparently confiscated — termed security force harassment by an Inkatha headman — but at the larger Empangeni gathering marchers went

unchallenged.

Why expectations of strict enforcement went unfulfilled may be explained by security force reticence, but it seemed the marchers and the mourners were also holding back on too open a challenge at visible events.

The Elandsdorp memorial service illustrated the point. Peace Committee monitors were invited by the organisers to attend, at a time when they are coming under increasing threat in Natal. A few sharpened sticks and knobkerries carried by men milling about were the exception, but that was on the surface.

"There are some guns, but you'll only see them if trouble starts," said an Internal Stability Unit member on the scene.

He and his colleagues — about a dozen men — appeared less concerned about that potential for violence, preferring instead to stay in their vans under the shade of trees, folk and rock on a stereo. Even if they had wanted to act, they would have been out-

numbered. Stalemate.

After the prayers and the speeches, including one by kwazulu deputy minister of works, Velaphi Ndlovu, event organisers and local headman David Ntombela stated the police presence.

"When this decision was taken, no Zulu officials were present."

People were angry about the Johannesburg killings, he said, but "they won't do anything".

And the mourners got into their buses and taxis and bakkies, heading home along roads where after another 10km you may re-enter an ANC area; and not far beyond it's Inkatha turf again.

The lines are clearly drawn by the scars of burnt and ransacked buildings where the IFP graffiti stops and the ANC election posters start.

Home they went into the night, where the killers continue their carnage.

The peace of the day was no more than on the surface.

## But for how much longer?

Farouk Chothia

**W**HILE feared in ANC circles as a war monger, Thomas Mandla Shabalala was playing the role of peacemaker this week, trying to convince Inkatha Freedom Party hostel dwellers in a tense kwakwashu to make peace with ANC-supporting residents.

His message to them was simple: "If you want to fight, fight man-to-man. Don't affect the houses and the children. Only cowards fight like that."

As he spoke to the *Mail & Guardian* from his stronghold of Lindelani — a squatter settlement surrounded by ANC-strongholds — the clean-shaven Shabalala said moves were afoot to set up a Joint Operation Centre manned by police and soldiers in kwakwashu.

"If we have the JOC on the border (dividing ANC and IFP territory) it will help. We want the ANC and IFP there also," said Shabalala.

Aged 50, the father-of-three's role of peacemaker is far removed from the image ANC supporters have of him: they see him as being the most powerful IFP leader in the Durban region, master-minding attacks against them from Lindelani.

Although he has been accused of murder, he has never been convicted. In 1989, however, two of his bodyguards were found guilty of the murder of two United Democratic Front-supporting activists.

No electoral official is known to have yet set foot in Lindelani — and if they plan to do so, they ought to be careful: there have been claims that Shabalala has in the past issued death-threats against ANC-supporting teachers and has even "expelled" two medical doctors from Lindelani. Shabalala dismissed the charges as "blue lies" and "professional propaganda".

Despite the claims, Shabalala has at the same time built an image of peacemaker, as co-leader of an IFP delegation in peace talks with the ANC at regional level and also by encouraging local initiatives in areas such as Umhumbini.

Shabalala, who lives in a shack himself, has worked tirelessly to retain the loyalty of Lindelani shack dwellers. With funds from the kwazulu government, homes have been built, roads have been tarred and electricity and purified water provided.

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BUTHELEZI AND THE ELECTION

Fun 8/4/94

# One more cup of coffee for the road

It's a question of where to now for troubled KwaZulu/Natal as hopes fade of enticing or coercing Inkatha into participating in the April 27 general election.

Politicians are still going through the motions of trying a last-ditch rescue but the point of no return already appears to have been passed.

Inkatha and the ANC are still trying to establish the parameters for international mediation on constitutional matters and today's talks involving Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

Furthermore, Buthelezi suggested over Easter that if today's talks succeed, there is still a chance that his party could rejoin the election process. Whether that is administratively possible seems unclear; suffice to say that any logistical problems pale into insignificance compared with resolving the political question of Inkatha's election boycott.

If Inkatha doesn't rejoin the process the prospects look bleak for the region. At the time of going to press, more than 60 people had died in political strife since De Klerk declared a state of emergency in the province at the end of last week. Furthermore, violence will probably escalate rather than abate, in spite of a massive build-up of security forces in Natal, unless a political solution can be found.

At this stage Inkatha's participation on April 27 seems remote. An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman tells the *FM* that it is no longer even entertaining the possibility of Inkatha's participation because the commission is legally bound on the one hand to hold the election on the designated dates and, on the other, it is logistically impossible now to bring Inkatha on board.

"We regard the election dates as fixed in terms of our mandate unless or until the TEC decides on a new permutation. There are no plans to change, nor are there contingencies for doing so. The ballot papers are already in an advanced stage of being printed and, from a logistical viewpoint, it would be impossible now to accommodate Inkatha in the election."

Cape Town University's Robert Schrire argues there are two issues. The first is whether Buthelezi can be brought on board

in a rational way. Second, if he cannot, can the consequences be contained?

Schrire adds that the only way Buthelezi can save face and belatedly join the process is if regional elections are postponed. But that, he maintains, would be a worse deal for Inkatha than some avenues which it has already rejected.

"Essentially, it would mean Buthelezi has abandoned ambitions of power in central government and is reduced to competing for the consolation prize of running for KwaZulu/Natal province — and that would doubtless result in Inkatha's support levels dwindling still further."

Buthelezi's willingness to tear up all of his past positions and accept a regional election postponement, if offered, would hinge on whether he is sufficiently demoralised by the dramatic attack on his power base and the escalating regional strife.

"Another problem is that all sides are becoming increasingly inflexible and if Inkatha abstains, it will ensure that a free and fair election campaign is meaningless."

Schrire also feels that international mediation is a nonstarter and is, in any case, unimportant. "It was designed as a fig leaf for Inkatha but has been overtaken by developments."

A further concern he expresses is that it is almost impossible to have democracy in eight regions and autocracy in the ninth.

"What would probably happen is that the bad politics in the ninth province will drive out the good and authoritarianism in Natal

figure of national reconciliation. If that is possible, then things will be a lot more promising."

Natal University politics lecturer Ian Philips believes Buthelezi's bluff was called with the first set of amendments to the Electoral Act when Inkatha registered provisionally but then failed to lodge its candidates' list, thus invalidating its registration.

"That, of course, means they are not on the ballot forms either regionally or nationally. There seems just one escape route and that is to use the position on the ballot of the Freedom Front.

"If Buthelezi could reach an accommodation with front leader Constand Viljoen, they could compile lists which would incorporate the Inkatha representatives."

Philips questions the feasibility and practicality of delaying even provincial elections either for KwaZulu/Natal or all the regions.

"The problem is that Inkatha has painted itself into a corner and is now crying: 'Help!'"



IAN PHILIPS '94

will destroy democracy in the other regions."

But it doesn't have to be so. It is up to the people in KwaZulu/Natal to resolve the problem, which is essentially about a Zulu civil war but is being billed as something else. "If Buthelezi and the king succeeded in turning it into a truly ethnic crusade, the prospects are enormously bleak. But the situation could be saved by diverting attention from ethnicity to a regional issue. King Goodwill Zwelithini could then become a



## KWAZULU CLAMPDOWN: More troops move in but the death toll mounts

## Elections will go ahead — IEC

From PAGE 8

The report states:

"In the event of a positive change in the political climate by not later than Friday, 8 April 1994, it will be feasible to mount an election in kwaZulu provided that the requirements of the IEC ... are met."

The working group acknowledges that some of their requirements have already been met by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The following requirements are set out in the report:

● That the kwaZulu Department of Education allow the IEC to use schools in kwaZulu as voting stations.

● That school principals allow Telkom to install telephones.

● That the IEC be afforded the use of government buildings, including tribal authority and magistrate's offices.

● That the Department of the Interior co-operate with the election administration directorate of the IEC in identifying and setting up voting stations.

● That the Department of Justice co-operate with the adjudication secretariat of the IEC by making available space for electoral courts.

● That chiefs and other kwaZulu officials give IEC staff and voter education groups the necessary assistance, allow IEC monitors and observers unhindered access to areas under their jurisdiction, and allow the appointment and training of the necessary election staff resident in kwaZulu.

The kwaZulu Police is also expected to provide the necessary security for IEC staff and to secure the election process.

The police are requested to participate in the national strategic planning working group on a policing policy and a security plan for the elections.

The working group also asked for a directive to be issued to the Department of Education to allow "community schools" to be used as voting stations, and that all kwaZulu civil servants "and the public at large" be encouraged to offer their services and facilities to the IEC.

It is significant that the report was co-signed by the kwaZulu appointed members on the working committee.

Emergency regulations in Natal/kwaZulu give the security forces powers to act against both anti- and pro-election parties, reports **Farouk Chothia**

THE state of emergency declared in kwaZulu/Natal may backfire on the ANC. Regulations promulgated under the emergency could lead to the banning of its election rallies and voter education workshops.

Announced last week by President FW de Klerk and backed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the emergency regulations are couched in language similar to those of the mid-1980s, and give the security forces sweeping powers to act against both anti- and pro-election parties.

Several incidents in the Natal Midlands during an earlier regional emergency there — lifted after ANC mass action — sound an ominous warning for the ANC. They include:

● The SAP's detention of ANC regional secretary Sifiso Nkabinde after he returned to Richmond, having moved to Pietermaritzburg because his house had been burnt down.

The clause cited to detain Nkabinde is similar to one in the current regulations, giving the security forces the power to order any non-resident to leave a particular area if he is seen as a threat to the "safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency".

● In Bruntville, the SAP arrested 20 ANC supporters on charges of burning a hostel. When their lawyers indicated that they wanted to bring a bail action, police refused, saying the detentions were under unrest regulations. Charges against them were later withdrawn.

Before the emergency, the ANC did not need permission to hold marches in the Midlands townships of Imbali and Edendale, as no local authority exists there. Now, it will have to apply for magisterial permission.

Magistrates will have to consult the "control officer" and "all interested parties" before making a decision. They will also have to give "good reason" for refusing permission.

ANC meetings may be affected by the regulations, as parties will to send a "written notice" to the magistrate four working days in advance telling him of a planned gathering.

The party would then have to obtain a "receipt" from the magistrate — if the magistrate refuses to issue one, the meeting could



Police keep IFFP supporters at bay during a march in Empangeni

PHOTO: AP

be interpreted as an illegal gathering.

The regulations do not specify what a "gathering" comprises. As a result, a voter education workshop — or a meeting to discuss election strategy — could be regarded as illegal.

The regulations ostensibly bar future stadium occupations by "Zulus at prayer".

In the first test of the dangerous weapons regulations in Empangeni on Tuesday, police did not disarm 20 000 IFFP marchers.

The IFFP may exploit a loophole in the clause which prohibits the "carry(ing) and display" of weapons. At the Empangeni march, IFFP leaders asked people to put away their spears and cover the pointed ends of their sticks.

De Klerk said last week that in implementing the dangerous weapons regulations, security forces would note the "sensitivities" around "culture and tradition". This may mean IFFP supporters marching to an imbizo called by Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini or to a "Zulu prayer meeting" could argue that the regulation did not affect them.

The clause prohibiting military and paramilitary training appears to be watertight: the kwaZulu government's Umfolozi training camp, where 5 000 soldiers have already been trained, can no longer operate.

However, the training instructor at the camp, Phillip Powell, said he had been advised by his lawyers that the training was legal, as it is being conducted under the authority of the kwaZulu government.

In a regulation which flies in the face of Bill of Rights, security forces may, without a warrant of arrest, detain anyone for 30 days if they consider them a threat to "public safety, the maintenance of law and order or to the termination of the state of emergency".

An order ratifying the detention must be obtained from a senior officer within 24 hours — an improvement on other emergencies. Detainees will also access to their lawyers, families and a "special adviser" not employed by the state, who watch for abuses.

The regulations don't mention the media, enabling the security forces to remove journalists from an area because their presence threatens the "maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency".

The Human Rights Commission said sufficient powers existed within the law to restore order in kwaZulu/Natal: security forces could have been deployed in the province with "normal powers available under permanent law".

The HRC said the Regulation on Gatherings Act No 205 of 1993 — passed but not yet proclaimed by parliament — could have been "immediately brought into operation" and the carrying and display of weapons banned.

It says kwaZulu should have been disbanded in terms of Constitution Act No 200 of 1993, which allows the disbandment to take place before April 27. The KZP should have been brought under the control of the SAP or the TEC's law and order sub-council.

## Peacemaker for how long? Emergency fails

From PAGE 9

There is also a training centre where women are taught various skills, including sewing and cooking. Shabalala said he wanted to introduce new courses with funds from South Africa's Department of Manpower.

"We want to train people to become plumbers and electricians and everything," said Shabalala.

But with the state of emergency, would Shabalala live to see his dream come true — or would he flee? "Why should I be afraid? Why should I go into hiding? We have lived under a state of emergency before. We have been targeted from the times of the British."

He projects himself as a non-racist rather than a Zulu nationalist.

"I do not like someone because he is a Zulu. I like the God-loving people of all races. I am married to a Xhosa (I like King Goodwill Zwelithini) and I had Basotho girlfriends." Shabalala adds: "I lived with Indians in Springfield before separate development came about. I ate with them beryani and I used to go to the Bhakri Eid jholl. Yeah, I want it to be like that again," said Shabalala.

But he fears that if the political parties fail to hammer out a negotiated settlement, South Africa will become another Angola.

"After elections it was not peaceful. I believe they voted for war. I do not want this country to become another Angola. There must be a political solution," said Shabalala.

But should Zwelithini declare war, Shabalala would readily take up arms.

"I will do anything — even sacrifice my life to do whatever he tells me to do. But the king is a Christian. He doesn't like blood being spilled. I know it won't come to that."

But the traits of a hardliner are still within him — and the heightened tensions in the province have led to antagonism towards ANC Zulu traditionalist Jacob Zuma.

Whereas Shabalala would once have refrained from taking a swipe at the ANC's premiership candidate for the province, he now said: "I don't know what he (Zuma) is standing for. He can stand up next month and say he is the king. In our culture and tradition, we have the king and Chief Buthelezi is appointed as the traditional prime minister. Zuma will never be my prime minister."

Shabalala's area is heavily-armed: "Most of my people have licensed firearms," he said. He insisted his people would never launch attacks, but would fight back if targeted.

"We have taught how to defend ourselves," said Shabalala. But there aren't only weapons galore in Lindelani: during the IFFP occupation of the stadium in kwaMashu last month, peace monitors reported seeing tracer bullets being fired — an ominous sign that war preparations were at an advanced stage.

In the meantime, Shabalala plays the peacemaker, encouraging jaw-jaw rather than war-war among the kwaMashu hostel dwellers. But the question is: for how much longer?

From PAGE 9

riot squad which cracked down on United Democratic Front activists in the pre-1990 era. He also believes the the ISU, understaffed and overworked, has become "hardened" and "careless".

Observers believe the problem between the ANC and SAP goes even deeper. In ANC circles, SAP regional commissioner Lieutenant General Colin Steyn is seen as a conservative — and the security forces will fall under the command of his and SADF Brigadier Deon Ferreira during the emergency.

Verfuss said the SAP would be "entirely responsible" for manning polling stations on election day, while the SADF would patrol townships.

While he has allowed the SADF to operate in parts of kwaZulu, Buthelezi will resist any troop deployments.

In clashes in Mpumalanga in the 1980s, 121 Battalion earned the respect of the ANC as a non-partisan force. But it was removed from the area after pressure from Buthelezi.

This week Mandela called for the confinement of the KZP to barracks — but the SADF indicated the security forces would at this stage not antagonise Buthelezi.

While the KZP is not empowered by the emergency regulations, Verfuss said it would continue with its policing duties in kwaZulu-controlled territories. If the KZP needed assistance, it would seek this from the SAP and, if this failed, the SADF would be deployed. This arrangement applied prior to the emergency.

## Learning for All Trust

Based in Johannesburg, Learning for All is an NGO working mainly in north-eastern Transvaal communities with teachers, childminders and parents to facilitate sound education and care for children under six. We see educare as part of a broader process encompassing developmental issues in communities. We are expanding and wish to appoint:

## TWO SENIOR TRAINERS

Their duties will include:

- ★ developing appropriate methodologies for skilling educare workers and parents in child development
- ★ developing pre-school curricula for local needs
- ★ strengthening communities' democratic processes
- ★ initiating projects in new communities
- ★ spending extended periods of time in the field
- ★ reporting to the Board and to Funders

Applicants should:

- ★ write/speak English; speak SePedi and SeSotho
- ★ be skilled in facilitating learning, through formal workshops and informal networking
- ★ have organisational skills
- ★ have an understanding of developmental issues
- ★ thrive in a democratic environment
- ★ have a valid driver's licence

The remuneration package includes a 13th cheque, medical aid/provident fund contribution and generous leave. An initial one-year contract may be renewed for a further two years upon review.

Applications with CV, and names and contact numbers of TWO references knowledgeable about the applicant's work over the last three years should be submitted in writing to Sharon Ekambaram, Secretary, Learning for All Trust, 14 Hunter Street, 2198 YEOVILLE; Tel/Fax (011) 648-3759 by 22 April. Interviews 8/9 May.



## KWAZULU CLAMPDOWN: More troops move in but death toll continues to mount...

**T**HE week-long state of emergency in kwaZulu/Natal has been a spectacular failure, with the death toll still soaring and the South African Police and South African Defence Force largely failing to implement the regulations.

There are clear signs that the focus of attacks has shifted from the urban areas sparsely patrolled by the security forces to remote rural settlements beyond their range.

The ANC, a prime mover behind President F.W. de Klerk's emergency declaration, accused him this week of pulling a publicity stunt and lacking the will to take decisive action against Inkatha Freedom Party supporters. Implementation of this state of emergency has been in sharp contrast to the one in 1985, when troops cast a ring of steel around ANC strongholds.

A media spokesman at CR Swart Square police headquarters in Durban, Lieutenant Marzedt de Beer, signalled his opposition to the regulations. "I don't think anybody in their wildest dreams thought we were going to have a state of emergency. Previous emergencies haven't solved anything, and I don't think it will solve anything now," he said.

"Feedback from the ground is that police are acting only against the IFP. Where does that leave us to act impartially?"

De Beer's comments suggest that De Klerk did not act on the advice of his security and intelligence officers, but succumbed to pressure from

# Emergency fails to halt the

Security forces seem to have neither the will nor the manpower to enforce the state of emergency in Natal, reports **Farouk Chothia**

the Transitional Executive Council.

The SADF also hinted that it had been caught off guard by De Klerk's announcement. Spokesman Colonel Franz Verfuss said citizen force call-ups had been planned for the April 15 to May 15 period, when an upsurge in violence was expected.

The SADF has deployed only 450 troops in Natal flashpoints since De Klerk's declaration, beefing up its presence from 750 to 1 200. Verfuss said that from mid-April, another 1 200 members from citizen force regiments and infantry units would be deployed. This would bring the total SADF presence in kwaZulu/Natal to 2 400.

As the troops work in shifts, only about 1 500 would be on duty at a time — in a province with an estimated population of around eight million.

Journalists this week drove through the townships for several days, coming across the odd security force group after long searches.

Verfuss said the emergency was different in two respects from that of 1985. It was meant to

create a climate for free elections rather than "clamping down" on any political party, and there were no plans to "saturate" townships with troops.

"We cannot be in all places at all times. We just do not have the manpower," said Verfuss.

ANC violence monitor Roy Ainslie said he preferred the "optimal" use of the security forces rather than their widespread deployment. "We do not have a situation where townships are up in flames. There are pockets of violence. The best course of action would be to search, disarm and arrest people who break the law," he said.

Ainslie believes the violence in the townships around Durban is instigated by Inkatha supporters from seven or eight IFP strongholds — for instance, the hostel in kwaMashu's A Section. The security forces should, therefore, act as a buffer by patrolling the road which divides the hostel-dwellers from the residents.

Verfuss disagrees. "There are different access routes. Forces that are static can't contain violence entirely. They need to be mobile," he said.

He added that the SADF and SAP would set up joint operation centres where, after intelligence was gleaned, daily decisions would be taken.

"If there is a potential for conflict in Bhambayi on a particular day, we'll deploy troops there. The next day we may be somewhere else. It will depend on the situation on the ground." It is rural Natal which has borne the brunt of the recent violence. In Ndwedwe on the North Coast, at least 30 people have died, hundreds of homes have been burnt and thousands have fled the area. In the Port Shepstone area, gunmen killed nine people in an attack on a single home on Monday night.

After the earlier killing of two peace-brokers, the situation in the Port Shepstone area is explosive: local ANC leaders said their supporters were now demanding weapons.

And since the declaration of the emergency, the violence has taken a new turn — the first known attacks on church gatherings took place over the Easter weekend.

In Bhambayi, near Durban, gunmen opened fire on members of the conservative Zion Christian Church, killing a woman. An attack on a similar gathering in an ANC-stronghold in Wem-



Mourning ... Mandla Khuzwayo sits in front of the gutted house of his brother Fana who was shot and injured and his wife Thandi killed in the ANC section of Inanda township

## 'KZP escorted the killers'

Stefaans Brümmer

**T**HE two women sat on a grass mat covering the cement of their tiny, unlit room. In the darkness, they spoke of the reign of terror unleashed on their community by Inkatha Freedom Party members which turned them into refugees.

Sbongile Mabaso and Eunice Mngadi are among the 400-odd former residents of Sonkombo section in Ndwedwe who poured into the relative security of Inanda township north of Durban after the attacks on their homes started early last month.

They blame not only the IFP men, but also kwaZulu policemen who they say escorted the attackers. About 300 houses were looted or burnt in Sonkombo, a predominantly ANC area, and its surrounds.

"Every weekend they came. They looted the houses and took the houses from the people," said Mabaso. "They arrived early, from 10am, escorted by the kwaZulu Police," said Mngadi.

The women reckon about 10 people were killed by men using G3 rifles, the same as those used by the KZP. Some victims were friends and neighbours.

A mass exodus started around March 20. Inanda residents welcomed the refugees into their own homes and made other buildings available after a church leader argued that putting the refugees in tents would not give them the safety for which they had come.

Mabaso and Mngadi each have three children. All share a room without furniture in a shed-like structure that is otherwise used as a clinic. The Red Cross brings food once a week, so life can go on. It's not much, but they feel safer.

But as township dwellers near Durban know, violence is unpredictable. Across the ridge from where the refugees stay, Mandla Khuzwayo was quietly speaking of his grief.

On Tuesday night the house in Inanda's Moscow section where his brother, Fana Khuzwayo, and sister-in-law, Thandi Mpanza, stayed came

under attack.

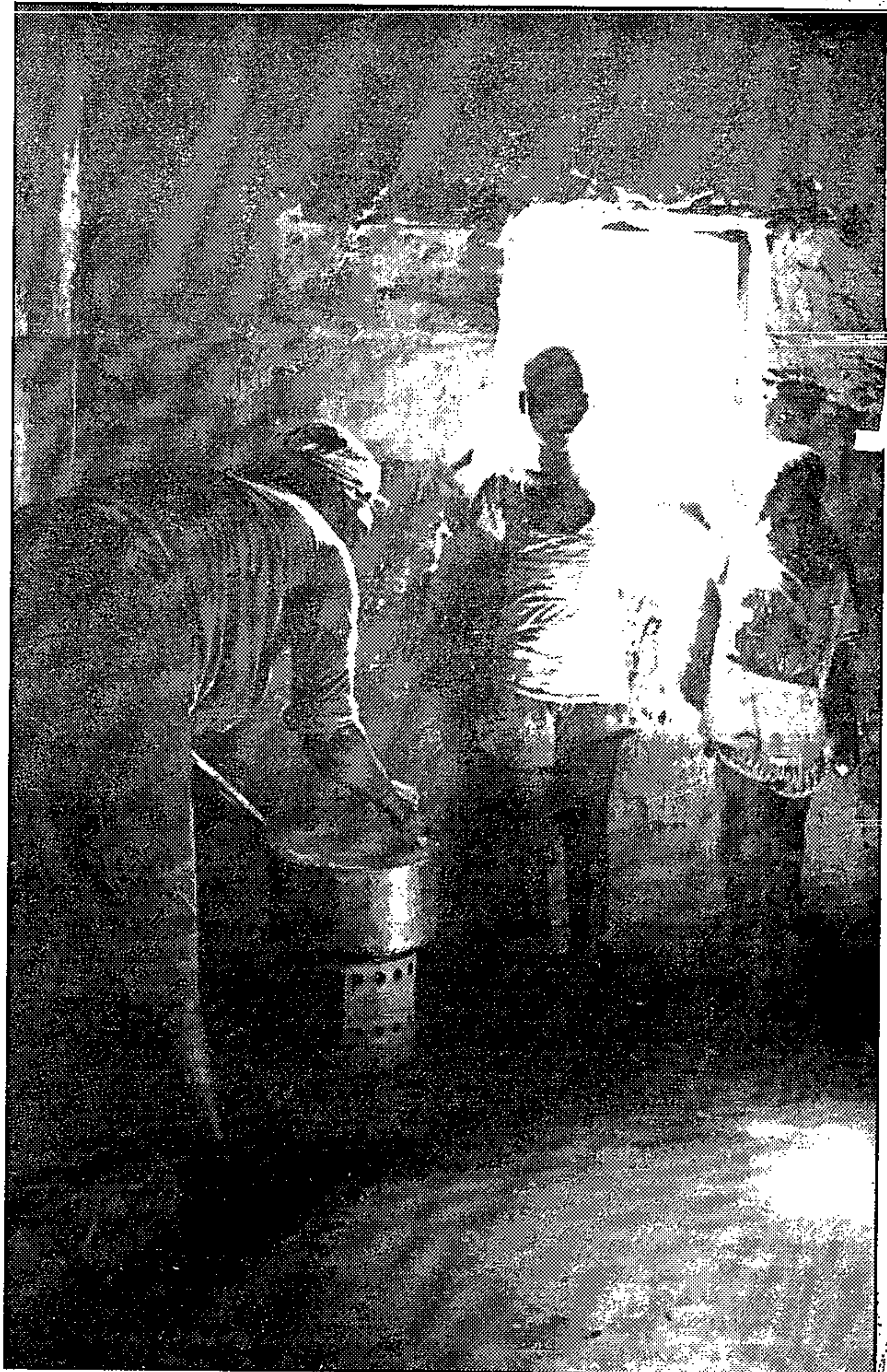
About 10.30pm the attackers flushed them out by lighting a fire against the front door, then sprayed them with bullets from pistols and zigguns.

His brother survived in spite of bullet wounds in the head and leg, but Mpanza died in fire which gutted the house.

Khuzwayo believes the attackers wanted to murder his brother, but were not politically inspired. They had come for him to settle a score. "It was because he is not on good terms with the people who are doing this, because they are criminals and he is not."

It was the second time they had come for his brother, Khuzwayo said. The first time he was shot in the leg. As is usual in the township, that incident was never reported to police.

Next door and down the street people went about their business as usual the day after the attack, seemingly unaffected by the tragedy. Perhaps the sight of gutted houses and bloodied bodies has become too familiar, political or not.



Forced to flee ... After attacks on their homes residents of Sonkombo section in Indwendwe fled to the relative safety of Inanda

PHOTOS: GUY ADAMS

## Elections can take place — IEC

Chris Louw

CONTRARY to newspaper reports, the joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the kwaZulu and South African governments did not say that elections in kwaZulu were impossible.

Indeed, the committee states quite

clearly in its report that an election can still take place.

The *Mail & Guardian* has obtained a copy of the working committee's original report, dated April 5 and signed by all 11 members, including those appointed by the kwaZulu government.

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... as bloodshed continues unabated in troubled province

# carnage in Natal

bezi, near Estcourt, left five people dead — including the minister.

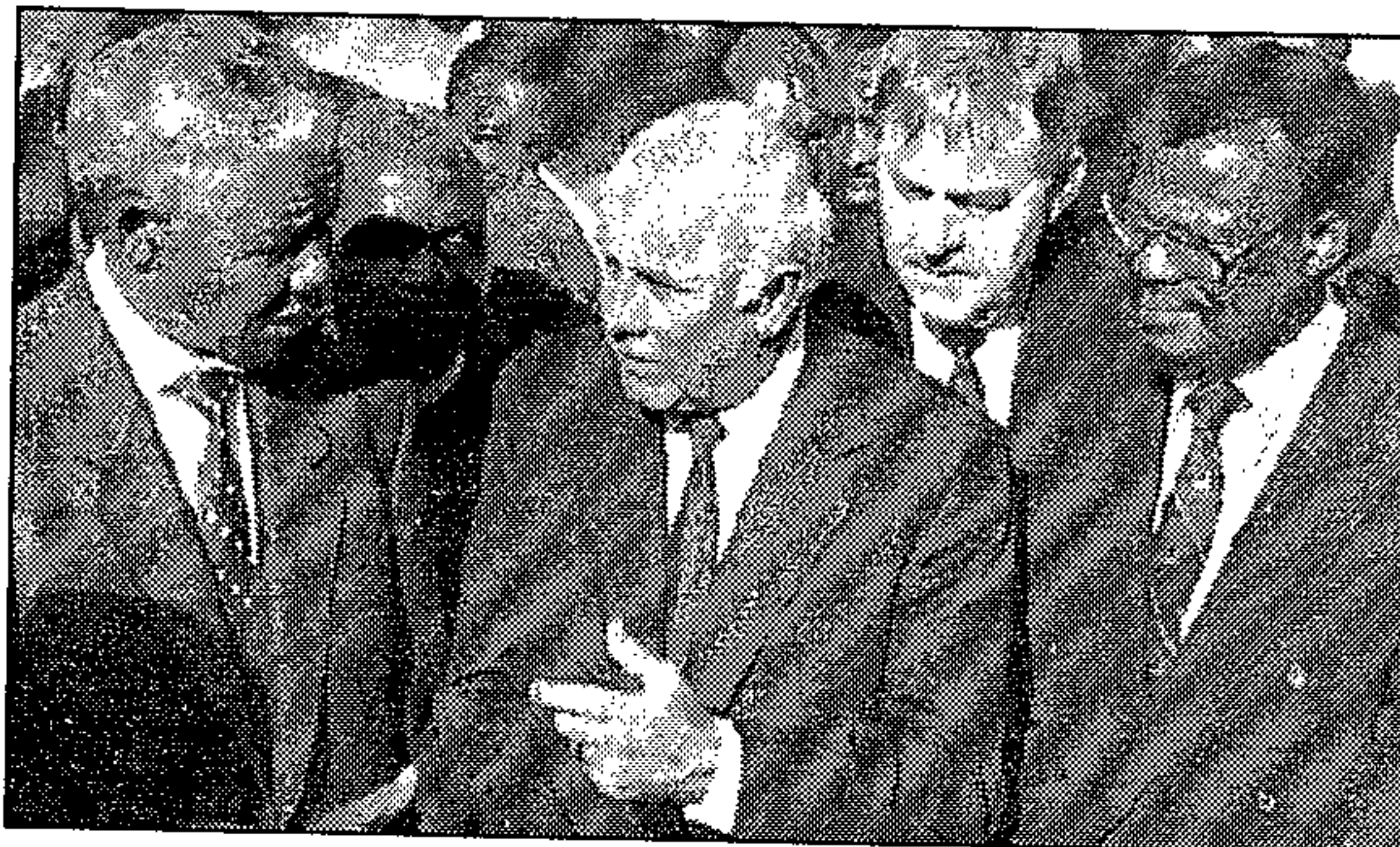
Although Wembezi has for months been a flashpoint of violence, Verfuss said the SADF has no plans to send in troops at this stage as it was being adequately patrolled by the SAP's Internal Stability Unit.

Conceding that enforcing the emergency in rural areas could pose a problem as "faceless" gunmen carry out "terrorist-style" attacks, mainly at night, Ainslie said the security forces should confiscate the G-3 rifles issued to IFP-aligned chiefs by the kwaZulu government.

Verfuss also conceded that it was "almost impossible" to prevent outbreaks of violence in "deep" rural areas, where roads were poor, homesteads scattered and the terrain often mountainous.

But he added: "One of the mechanisms we have available is the commando system. Their task is to co-operate (with security forces) and react to violence."

At the time of writing, 88 Natalians had been killed since the declaration of the emergency. At this rate the 266 political deaths recorded last month — the highest to date — will be easily surpassed.



Meeting in Moria ... ANC leader Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi sat together at Moria but they have yet to meet to discuss the crisis in Natal

PHOTO: AP

ANC Natal Midlands spokesman Blade Nzimande accused the government of "lacking the political will to act. The violence suits him because it is hitting the ANC and affecting our election campaign." Nzimande wants swift action, including the detention of IFP "warlords" and the party's military trainer, Phillip Powell. And he insists police should have confiscated

weapons — possibly through roadblocks — of the estimated 30 000 IFP supporters who marched in Empangeni on Tuesday.

Police argue that the confiscation of weapons could endanger them. SAP legal adviser Major Margaret Kruger told reporters on the scene that the organisers of the march — including IFP Women's Brigade chairman Faith Gasa and

Northern Natal chairman Blessed Gwala — would be charged with contravening the emergency regulations.

The docket would be sent to the attorney general's office for a decision on prosecution, indicating that police want the law to take its normal course.

Differences between the ANC and government are not confined to strategy on dealing with the IFP. They go to the heart of the emergency regulations: who should be their prime enforcers, the SAP or the SADF?

Though the ANC wants the SADF to be the primary law enforcement agency, the force insists that it will merely play a supplementary role to the 115 000-strong SAP.

"The main role player will be the SAP. If they feel they need extra forces, they will approach the SADF," said Verfuss.

Relations between the ANC and the 7 000-strong ISU — likely to continue as the backbone of the SAP during the state of emergency — is at a low ebb. After the ISU's failure to act against IFP supporters occupying the stadium in kwaMashu last month, the ANC called for the ISU to be disbanded and for its members to be "court-martialled".

The Southern Africa correspondent of *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Heitmen Helmoed, believes the fundamental problem is that the ISU is the old

■ To Page 10



Sheltered from the sun, but not the violence ... Mourners at an IFP memorial service in Elandskop

PHOTO: GUY ADAMS

## Peacemaker ... But for how much longer?

Farouk Chothia

WHILE feared in ANC circles as a war monger, Thomas Mandla Shabalala was playing the role of peacemaker this week, trying to convince Inkatha Freedom Party hostel dwellers in a tense kwaMashu to make peace with ANC-supporting residents.

His message to them was simple: "If you want to fight, fight man-to-man. Don't affect the houses and the children. Only cowards fight like that."

As he spoke to the *Mail & Guardian* from his stronghold of Lindelani — a squatter settlement surrounded by ANC-strongholds — the clean-shaven Shabalala said moves were afoot to set up a Joint Operation Centre manned by police and soldiers in kwaMashu.

"If we have the JoC on the border (dividing ANC and IFP territory) it will help. We want the ANC and IFP there also," said Shabalala.

Aged 50, the father-of-three's role of peacemaker is far removed from the image ANC supporters have of him: they see him as being the most powerful IFP leader in the Durban region, master-minding attacks against them from Lindelani.

Although he has been accused of murder, he has never been convicted. In 1989, however, two of his bodyguards were found guilty of the murder of two United Democratic Front-supporting activists.

No electoral official is known to have yet set foot in Lindelani — and if they plan to do so, they ought to be careful: there have been claims that Shabalala has in the past issued death-threats against ANC-supporting teachers and has even "expelled" two medical doctors from Lindelani. Shabalala dismissed the charges as "blue lies" and "professional propaganda".

Despite the claims, Shabalala has at the same time built an image of peacemaker, as co-leader of an IFP delegation in peace talks with the ANC at regional level and also by encouraging local initiatives in areas such as Umbumbulu.

Shabalala, who lives in a shack himself, has worked tirelessly to retain the loyalty of Lindelani shack dwellers. With funds from the kwaZulu government, homes have been built, roads have been tarred and electricity and purified water provided.

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## Stalemate. Still the people mourn

Stefaans Brümmer

HUNDREDS of umbrellas unfurled under the midday sun of Elandskop, a tiny Natal Midlands Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold. Under their shade the people sat in quiet mourning, there to remember kinfolk fallen in the Johannesburg march.

On Tuesday, there was another march further north at Empangeni and a second memorial service near Estcourt.

All three passed largely without incident, but the tension of old rivalry and IFP opposition to the state of emergency simmered beneath the surface.

At Estcourt and Empangeni traditional weapons, banned under the emergency, were much in evidence. The security force reaction was ambiguous. At the former, some weapons were apparently confiscated — termed security force harassment by an Inkatha headman — but at the larger Empangeni gathering marchers went

unchallenged.

Why expectations of strict enforcement went unfulfilled may be explained by security force reticence, but it seemed the marchers and the mourners were also holding back on too open a challenge at visible events.

The Elandskop memorial service illustrated the point. Peace Committee monitors were invited by the organisers to attend, at a time when they are coming under increasing threat in Natal. A few sharpened sticks and knobkerries carried by men milling about were the exception, but that was on the surface.

"There are some guns, but you'll only see them if trouble starts," said an Internal Stability Unit member on the scene.

He and his colleagues — about a dozen men — appeared less concerned about that potential for violence, preferring instead to stay in their vans under the shade of trees, folk and rock on a stereo. Even if they had wanted to act, they would have been out-

numbered. Stalemate.

After the prayers and the speeches, including one by kwaZulu deputy minister of works, Velaphi Ndlovu, event organiser and local headman David Ntombela slated the police presence.

"When this decision was taken, no Zulu officials were present."

People were angry about the Johannesburg killings, he said, but "they won't do anything".

And the mourners got into their buses and taxis and bakkies, heading home along roads where after another 10km you may re-enter an ANC area; and not far beyond it's Inkatha turf again.

The lines are clearly drawn by the scars of burnt and ransacked buildings where the IFP graffiti stops and the ANC election posters start.

Home they went into the night, where the killers continue their carnage.

The peace of the day was no more than on the surface.



KWAZULU/NATAL

# Dignity and illusion

Fun 8/4/94

The election must go ahead — but Buthelezi must still be taken seriously

The declaration of a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal may well have been necessary. Special measures were needed to stop the killing that has been destroying so many communities. But it is highly debatable whether the state of emergency can achieve its main aim, which is to ensure an election that is free and fair. On the other hand, this does not mean that the election in Natal will be declared un-free and unfair.

Much comfort has been taken from the deployment of SADF troops in Natal. At the moment, the SADF appears to have more credibility than the police, certainly among ANC supporters for whom the police can do no right. KwaZulu politicians, on the other hand, have talked of Pretoria's army of occupation. Clearly the use of troops is not a solution but a stop-gap measure. And while the SADF may appear reasonably popular now, that could change rapidly.

Meanwhile, as long as their presence is legitimised by the Transitional Executive Council, there are certain things the soldiers can do. They can put a lid on the violence by the use of patrols, both in a deterrent and a reactive way. They can arrest people perceived to be responsible for organising and causing violence. They can ride around in armoured vehicles looking formidable; if necessary they can use violence to prevent further violence. And the emergency regulations allow them a certain latitude regarding detention without trial, as well as immunity from prosecution for actions taken in the course of duty.

What the SADF — or any security force, for that matter — cannot do is force people to feel safe about the election. The two main protagonists in the battle for Natal are the ANC and Inkatha. Over the past decade each has established its pieces of territory and no-go zones.

Readily identifying these bits of turf is difficult for locals, let alone soldiers from outside the affected communities. The boundaries tend to be informal — a stream here, a road there, a line of shacks or a field of mealies. Each area has its dominant chief, or warlord, or criminal gang leader, or committee chairman.

In some areas there are ANC supporters who are desperate to exercise their vote, but they are scared to be seen doing so because of the Inkatha boycott. In other areas there are Inkatha supporters who may wish to vote but dare not risk defying the party line — and others who do not want to vote, but may feel

intimidated by ANC members into doing so.

Of course, if all parties were involved in the election, only two things would be necessary: the security forces would have to keep the streets peaceful around the polling booths; and the voters would have to be convinced that the ballot was secret. But because one party is resisting the election, the visible act of voting (or not voting) is itself an invitation to intimidation.



Buthelezi

So sending in the SADF will not guarantee a free and fair election in Natal. In theory this has important implications for the election as a whole. More than 20% of the country's voters live in KwaZulu/Natal. Can the election as a whole be declared valid, if such an important provincial component is so fraught with complications?

We suspect, in fact, that the election will be declared valid in Natal and, therefore, in the

country as a whole. A boycott in itself is a legitimate tactic and cannot invalidate the election in Natal, even if the percentage poll is much lower than in the rest of the country.

Only if there is visible and widespread intimidation is there a risk of invalidation — and the SADF presence should, on the whole, prevent this. In practice, the election in Natal is highly unlikely to be free and fair — but it will not be easy for the Independent Electoral Commission to prove this.

None of which solves the problem beyond April 27 and 28. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's objections to the interim constitution will remain; so will enough of his power base to threaten ANC rule in the province. The SADF cannot stay there forever and, in any case, it cannot pacify every village. A political solution will be needed.

Though Inkatha is not on the ballot paper, it still has several options. Buthelezi could, at the last minute, declare Inkatha available under another party's registration; he could also relent and actively encourage tolerance of the electoral process. Both options are highly unlikely to be taken, simply because they would not fit in with Buthelezi's hardline strategy.

The third option — to continue to oppose the election, either tacitly or violently — is much more likely. Indeed, even if major concessions are now offered by the ANC and government, it is difficult to see how Buthelezi could do anything else. It seems that only a federal constitution will be acceptable to him and even if it were granted — which is most unlikely — it is too late for him to take advantage because he is not registered for the election. A federal system conceded now would simply entrench the ANC more firmly in Natal after the election.

So just about the most that can be expected from Buthelezi at this week's scheduled summit with the Zulu king, President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela is a promise not to be inflammatory. It is Buthelezi's right to boycott the election, but he certainly does not have the right to prevent others from voting.

He is also in a much weaker constitutional position than Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, now deposed. At least Mangope could point to the independence given him by Pretoria, whereas Buthelezi has never been more than a regional authority within SA. As several observers have argued, it is simply unacceptable for Buthelezi to be allowed to

hold to ransom the entire transition to democracy.

A low percentage poll, for whatever reason, will be used to boost Buthelezi's claims of support for his secessionist position. After the election those claims will again have to be addressed. King Goodwill Zwelithini, who apparently commands much broader affection and respect among Zulus than Buthelezi, has complicated matters by his recent forceful entry into the fray.

So what can De Klerk and Mandela offer Buthelezi and the king at their summit meeting? Very little in terms of electoral arrangements. There is no question of the national election date being put off; this would create more problems without solving anything.

But there has been a growing call for the postponement of the election for the Natal provincial assembly. One of the supporters of this option is Stellenbosch academic Willie Breytenbach.

He believes the provincial election is the crux of the issue for Inkatha, because it does not want to lose control at that



De Klerk



Mandela



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level. But Breytenbach also points out that voting by Natalians in the national parliamentary election cannot be postponed in the same way, because that would affect the national total vote (according to which seats are allocated to parties on the percentage system of proportional representation).

There is much that is seductive about Breytenbach's argument. Last week the *FM* also wondered about delaying the provincial election in Natal, while letting voting go ahead everywhere else. But, on second thoughts, we believe there would be no point to this, unless Buthelezi says now that he is prepared to take part at a later date — and there is no sign that he will. Doubtless the option has already been quietly explored by negotiators. In addition, as Breytenbach himself points out, there would have to be national voting in Natal, thus raising exactly the same problems of access and intimidation.

By now De Klerk and Mandela, who have come to a fairly cosy agreement about the transition in general, must be heartily tired of Buthelezi's obstruction. Their own eyes and energies, understandably, are focused on the campaign and the prizes to be had at the end of it. But they must swallow their impatience and try to find ways to address Buthelezi's objections beyond the election, in order to buy his compliance before it takes place. They might try somehow to emulate the ANC undertaking to the Freedom Front's Constand Viljoen, that an Afrikaner *volkstaat* in some form may still be considered after the election. But if they are to make any progress, they must appreciate again where Buthelezi is coming from.

It is worth reminding ourselves that politics is about power — and that Buthelezi is accustomed to power. He has been Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu for more than two decades, with real administrative authority over millions of Zulus. Though he flatly rejected the full independence offered by Pretoria, it is one of the ironies of the apartheid system that he gathered personal power anyway.

Buthelezi also built considerable prestige through his consistent opposition to apartheid — a stand that was appreciated for many years by ANC leaders in exile. It is only in the past decade that animosity between Inkatha and the ANC has flared, sparked originally by bitter division over how the 1983 tricameral constitution should be opposed.

Buthelezi gained the respect of businessmen for his consistent and lucidly argued opposition to economic sanctions — for which he was unjustly vil-

fied by the ANC and churchmen. In the mid-Eighties, he also lent his weight to the Natal Indaba, the generic term for the most imaginative constitutional proposals to emerge since Union and before Codesa (but firmly scotched by President P W Botha).

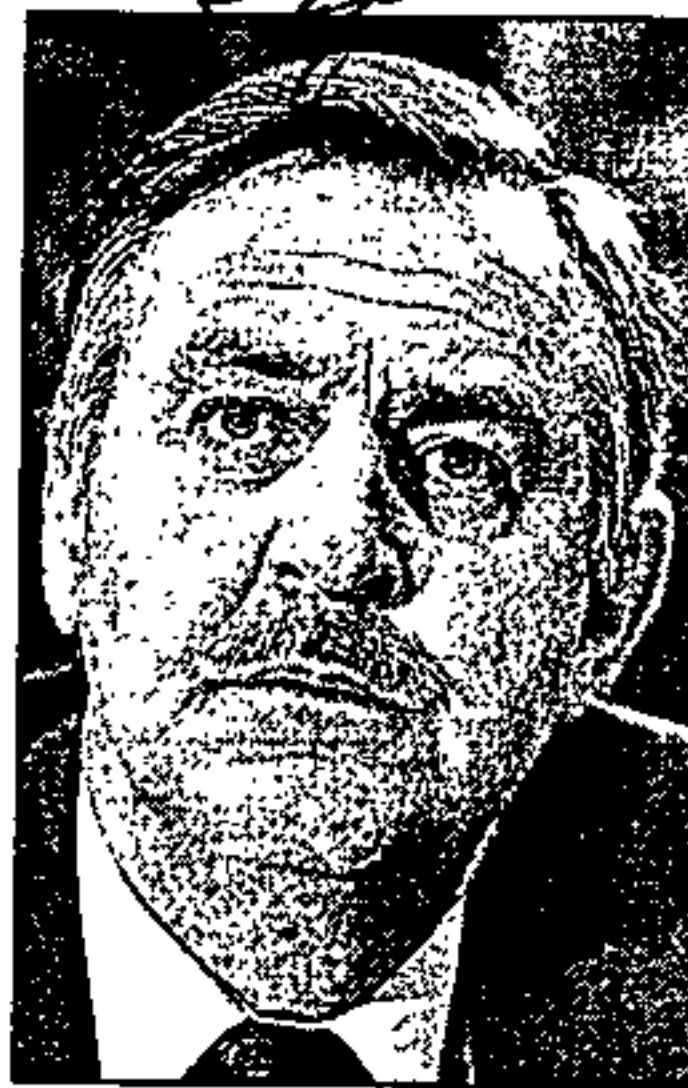
Buthelezi has been consistent and convincing in his defence of federalism — and he is right when he says that the interim constitution is not federal. Abroad, he commanded considerable respect, partly because of the principles he espoused and partly because of a lingering colonial romanticism about the Zulu warrior nation.

Yet Buthelezi has been under siege for some years from the ANC, in the territory he regarded as his own. He does not take kindly to criticism and has thus alienated important commentators who might otherwise have remained sympathetic. Crucially, he seems to have been influenced by unsuitable advisers. While he cannot be blamed for having a broad strategy, his tactics in trying to achieve it have been questionable. Arguably, he has played hard to get just once too often. Now his dominant place in Natal politics will be taken in the new provincial assembly, at least for a time, by the ANC's most senior Zulu, Jacob Zuma.

As a result of Buthelezi's boycott stance, large numbers of Zulus appear to have been alienated from him and must be presumed to have accepted the mainstream of national politics. By the end of last year, few neutral observers believed that Buthelezi would command majority support in Natal. Then, as he appeared to undermine his own potential electoral base, his overseas backers began to drop away.

Buthelezi's rigid and autocratic approach can perhaps be illustrated by looking at the history of opposition to him from within the Zulu fold. In 1972, the Umkhonto ka Shaka party was formed under one Charles Hlengwa, based (as the name implies) on the central appeal of royalty. This party appears to have been suppressed, then it faded away.

In 1973, the Zulu National Party was established under Lloyd Ndaba, supported by Johannesburg businessman Ephraim Tshabalala and Patrick and Clement Zulu. The sig-



Botha



King Goodwill

nificance of the ZNP was that Patrick Zulu was secretary of the Zulu Royal National Council and the party was formed, says Breytenbach, "explicitly to do what Buthelezi now wants to do" — that is, restore the Zulu kingdom. At the time, Buthelezi dismissed the ZNP — in which King Goodwill was implicated — as "the black branch of the Nationalist Party regime." Buthelezi's record seems to show scant tolerance of opposition politics.

It was in the late Seventies that Buthelezi invoked the idea of federalism, largely as a way to resist independence being foisted on him by Pretoria. However, "now that a federal SA has dawned, and because it is going to be an elected federalism, Buthelezi got cold feet," argues Breytenbach. "Clearly, an elected federal system will lead to Buthelezi's demise. But if he can succeed in establishing a Zulu monarchy, then there's a new lease of life (for him)."

Buthelezi's lineage is of interest because it may explain why

he has reacted so badly to assaults on his dignity, rather than with the traditional politician's thick skin. Apparently dismissive calls by the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa for a military solution in Natal were not calculated to soothe Buthelezi.

His grandfather, Mnyamana Buthelezi, was chief induna to the Zulu kings Cetswayo and Dinizulu. Mnyamana's son, Mathole, married Princess Makoku, a daughter of Dinizulu and sister of King Solomon, in a wedding at which a record number of lobola cattle was paid. The eldest son of this marriage was Buthelezi, born in 1928 and doubly linked to royalty. His name is linked to the royal battle cry, Usuthu.

A restored Zulu monarchy, says Breytenbach, might be high on legitimacy. But it is questionable how far traditional legitimacy can be taken in a partially modernised society like SA — especially given estimates that the ANC could get majority Zulu support in an electoral fight with Inkatha. And surveys have suggested that a majority even of Inkatha supporters wish to vote.

So a return to the heyday of Zulu power in the 1830s can hardly be taken seriously. But that does not mean Buthelezi must be dismissed as irrelevant. We have little idea what offers from De Klerk and Mandela would placate or even please him, but a good start would be to persuade him that he is taken seriously as a major player — irrespective of whether he takes part in the election. Perhaps the experience and diplomatic skills of Foreign Minister Pik Botha could be used to good effect.

Meanwhile the election goes ahead. That must be made abundantly clear. ■



Zuma



Ramaphosa



THE HOMELANDS

Fun 11/4/94

# Apartheid's booby traps

Artificial elites are threatened by democracy



**There was** never any doubt that the 10 black homelands would reintegrate with the rest of SA. Their fate was sealed in February 1990 when President FW de Klerk acknowledged that Hendrik

Verwoerd's apartheid dream had become a nightmare and the course was set towards democracy.

The homeland administrations, propped up by R17bn in the current financial year from the SA Treasury, were expected to be among the less troublesome issues facing multi-party negotiators. But they have, instead, become the most serious threat to a peaceful transition. Some of them have been revealed as booby traps, legacies of the grand apartheid ideology that remain to explode in the faces of negotiators.

Though the instability which followed the overthrow of Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo seems to have been contained by SADF action and the appointment of administrators, the situation in KwaZulu is explosive.

In Lebowa, the SADF and government administrators have moved in to prevent the homeland's civil service collapsing into total chaos after it had teetered on the brink for weeks in the wake of strikes by workers demanding pension payouts and more pay.

The situation in QwaQwa on the eastern border of the Free State is also tense. The homeland's political leader, Kenneth Mopeli, alleges ANC plans to topple him too. In Venda and Transkei there have also been pay and pension disputes and public services are reportedly grinding to a halt.

KwaZulu is a special case and by far the most difficult to resolve. There seems little doubt that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, encouraged by close advisers like Walter Felgate, has sufficient support in the KwaZulu police force, the civil service and the citizenry to withstand the sort of ANC-led popular uprising that brought down Mangope and Gqozo.

It would probably overstate the situation to suggest that an orchestrated domino effect is underway — though the ANC is making life as uncomfortable as it can for homeland leaders who do not support the organisation.

Those who do, such as Transkei's Bantu Holomisa and former Venda military strongman Gabriel Ramoshwana (now head of the National Peacekeeping Force), have been left alone or, in Holomisa's case, roped in to campaign for the organisation.

The underlying problem that made the homelands ripe for revolution is years of financial and administrative chaos. Reports of successive auditors-general have detailed varying degrees of corruption, maladministration and incompetence in all six non-independent homelands. The true situation in the TBVC states, which have their own AGs, is unclear, but is believed to be just as chaotic.

The main problem was that government simply channelled billions of rands annually into homeland coffers and had no say in how the money was used. The result has been massive wastage and rapidly declining levels of service.

Re-establishing stable administrations in the homeland areas when they become part of the provincial structures later this year will be among the biggest challenges facing the new government.

In terms of the interim constitution, the homeland administrations were to have remained in place until after the election, when they would be incorporated into the new provincial structures.

But the rejection by Mangope and Gqozo of the settlement negotiated at the World Trade Centre and their blocking of free political activity in the territories, set the scene for their overthrow. There is little doubt that the ANC has overwhelming support in both areas, so organising mass action that culminated in regional revolution was fairly simple.

demanding that the TEC appoint administrators, but is likely to be ignored.

In QwaQwa, Mopeli also faces the prospect of being deposed before the election. His Dikwankwetla Party opposes the ANC and is contesting elections for the national assembly and the Free State and PWV provincial legislatures. Though the ANC has widespread support throughout the Free State and QwaQwa, the organisation has accused Mopeli of threatening its right to campaign freely in the homeland.

There appears to be little resistance to the ANC from the administrations in Gazankulu, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele and action to overthrow the current nominal rulers seems unlikely.

Could the tension have been avoided? Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer believes so. More than a year ago in parliament, he urged De Klerk to re-incorporate the homelands as soon as possible and to use Pretoria's obvious financial leverage if necessary. But, in reply, De Klerk bitterly attacked De Beer and accused him of rejecting the need to achieve the co-operation of the territories before changing their status.

"If we act rashly, using the powers that we have, we shall destabilise those areas, we shall destabilise education and we shall destabilise the necessary services which are being rendered there. Therefore we shall not misuse those powers. We shall act responsibly because we have the interests of the people who live in those areas at heart," said De Klerk. Within a year, De Klerk and the TEC were forced to act unilaterally and without the co-operation of Mangope or Gqozo to prevent the instability he warned would occur if hasty moves were made.

De Beer regards De Klerk's failure to act

last year as a strategic blunder based on the mistaken belief that he had a potential election ally in Mangope particularly, but in other homeland leaders as well. De Beer says while he has little doubt that the uprisings in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei were orchestrated by

the ANC, they would not have succeeded had the organisation not been well supported in the two territories.

Peter Vale, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, says what is happening in the homelands has a parallel in eastern Europe. It shows that forcibly created political structures lead to the establishment of a



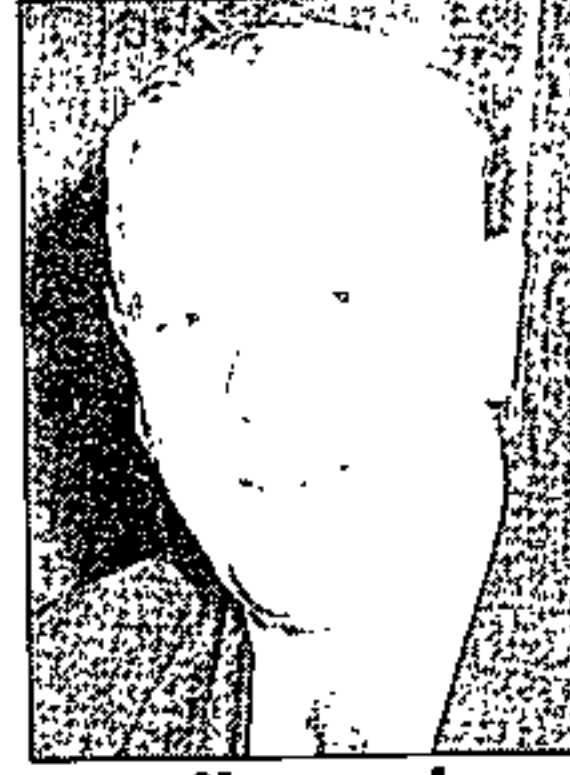
Buthelezi



Gqozo



Mangope



Verwoerd

In Lebowa the situation was different. Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike backs the ANC and is on the organisation's list for election to parliament. There the real problem is widespread corruption and maladministration. Last year, government took over Lebowa's financial affairs and has now effectively taken control of the entire administration. Ramodike, fighting to the last, has



THE ZULU FACTOR

# Fear to tread

**We should** not be surprised as the political temperature rises over Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's refusal to take part in the election. This confrontation has been implicit in the political process for a decade, ever since the ANC's surrogates in the United Democratic Front began making an enemy of Buthelezi. When President FW de Klerk unbanned the ANC in February 1990, the tension between Buthelezi and the ANC was always going to be the major threat to the transition and the election. (107)

The other homeland leaders, whether self-governing or nominally independent, never loomed as formidable obstacles to the process. Many were insignificant because their territories were small and fragmented, or because they were so unpopular and corrupt that little effort would be required to enforce reincorporation. Most of the homeland leaders, realising this, succumbed to the process without much protest. Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana was the exception, labouring under such delusions about his own support that in the end he had to be removed from power.

The eastern Cape territories of Transkei and Ciskei were reasonably coherent geographically, but historically they spawned the leaders of the liberation struggle. Their military leaders were wise enough not to resist the inevitable.

As for the white Right, it has never had the potential for destabilisation once possessed by its fascist predecessors in World War 2 such as the Ossewabrandwag. Whites may be nervous about the future but they are, as a group, sufficiently secure and prosperous to be prepared to take their chances under an ANC government. The reality of the armed threat posed by the far Right was finally exposed in the humiliation of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as they swaggered into Bop to support Mangope. Their embarrassment has in turn caused further splits.

That leaves KwaZulu and Buthelezi — always a special case. Unlike most other homeland leaders, Buthelezi refused to take independence from Pretoria and constantly voiced his strong opposition to apartheid. He took personal risks in doing so, which helped to give him considerable domestic and foreign prestige. He called repeatedly for the release of Nelson Mandela, whom he regarded as a friend.

As with most other homelands, the boundaries of KwaZulu were drawn to suit white interests and so the territory is fragmented. But it is large. And the Zulus make up SA's largest single ethnic group, estimated at around 6m. They have a fierce warrior tradition, based on conquest of other black people and often successful resistance to British and Boer aggression. They seem loyal to a traditional monarchy.

The ANC claims that Buthelezi does not command majority support in KwaZulu/Natal, but it is clear that his support is still substantial. He might not have a trained army, but then he does not need one to make (by omission or commission) a free and fair election impossible in Natal. His tactics may be questionable, but he is right when he says that the new constitution is not federal. His own constitutional demands have not been unreasonable.

There is no easy way to prevent this gathering crisis. It is certainly not the answer to send in the SADF or to embark on rolling mass action. The army can hardly be expected to pacify every village and hillside of KwaZulu; even if it could, its presence would not induce people to vote and, after its withdrawal, the problem would remain and the violence could proliferate. All the army can do is put a temporary lid on the boiling pot. In any case, there are limits to the number of men who can be deployed.

Mass action has become a convenient weapon for the ANC, whose members are clearly tempted to employ it against Buthelezi. But the ANC leadership must think carefully about this or they will have such blood on their hands as to make a democratic election meaningless. Mass action is a blunt instrument of indiscriminate violence which, once unleashed, defies control until it has run its ghastly

course and exacted a high price.

Whatever happens, the election must go ahead on schedule. Far too much symbolic passion rests on its liberating outcome. But if the regional election in Natal could be postponed, while voting for the national assembly went ahead, time would be provided for negotiation. This might help to save face: ANC supporters in Natal would not be denied the franchise, yet Buthelezi would still be in a position to negotiate.

Of course, the problems of intimidation and violence would remain — and Judge Johan Kriegler, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, has already made it clear that the conditions for a fair election do not exist in large parts of Natal.

The ANC is indisputably in a powerful position in the region. But, however unpalatable this may be to its leaders, it does not have the capacity to obliterate Buthelezi, whose power to disrupt an election now and harass well into the future may have been underestimated.

De Klerk and Mandela will have to come to terms with this, just as they came to terms reluctantly with each other. Negotiations must continue and more concessions may have to be made. Otherwise, what happens in parts of Natal could undermine the value of the entire election, disrupt the national economy and entrench a culture of violence. ■





BUTHELEZI AND THE ELECTION

FM 8/4/94

# One more cup of coffee for the road

It's a question of where to now for troubled KwaZulu/Natal as hopes fade of enticing or coercing Inkatha into participating in the April 27 general election.

Politicians are still going through the motions of trying a last-ditch rescue but the point of no return already appears to have been passed.

Inkatha and the ANC are still trying to establish the parameters for international mediation on constitutional matters and today's talks involving Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

Furthermore, Buthelezi suggested over Easter that if today's talks succeed, there is still a chance that his party could rejoin the election process. Whether that is administratively possible seems unclear; suffice to say that any logistical problems pale into insignificance compared with resolving the political question of Inkatha's election boycott.

If Inkatha doesn't rejoin the process the prospects look bleak for the region. At the time of going to press, more than 60 people had died in political strife since De Klerk declared a state of emergency in the province at the end of last week. Furthermore, violence will probably escalate rather than abate, in spite of a massive build-up of security forces in Natal, unless a political solution can be found.

At this stage Inkatha's participation on April 27 seems remote. An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman tells the *FM* that it is no longer even entertaining the possibility of Inkatha's participation because the commission is legally bound on the one hand to hold the election on the designated dates and, on the other, it is logistically impossible now to bring Inkatha on board.

"We regard the election dates as fixed in terms of our mandate unless or until the TEC decides on a new permutation. There are no plans to change, nor are there contingencies for doing so. The ballot papers are already in an advanced stage of being printed and, from a logistical viewpoint, it would be impossible now to accommodate Inkatha in the election."

Cape Town University's Robert Schrire argues there are two issues. The first is whether Buthelezi can be brought on board

in a rational way. Second, if he cannot, can the consequences be contained?

Schrire adds that the only way Buthelezi can save face and belatedly join the process is if regional elections are postponed. But that, he maintains, would be a worse deal for Inkatha than some avenues which it has already rejected.

"Essentially, it would mean Buthelezi has abandoned ambitions of power in central government and is reduced to competing for the consolation prize of running for KwaZulu/Natal province — and that would doubtless result in Inkatha's support levels dwindling still further."

Buthelezi's willingness to tear up all of his past positions and accept a regional election postponement, if offered, would hinge on whether he is sufficiently demoralised by the dramatic attack on his power base and the escalating regional strife.

"Another problem is that all sides are becoming increasingly inflexible and if Inkatha abstains, it will ensure that a free and fair election campaign is meaningless."

Schrire also feels that international mediation is a nonstarter and is, in any case, unimportant. "It was designed as a fig leaf for Inkatha but has been overtaken by developments."

A further concern he expresses is that it is almost impossible to have democracy in eight regions and autocracy in the ninth.

"What would probably happen is that the bad politics in the ninth province will drive out the good and authoritarianism in Natal



will destroy democracy in the other regions."

But it doesn't have to be so. It is up to the people in KwaZulu/Natal to resolve the problem, which is essentially about a Zulu civil war but is being billed as something else. "If Buthelezi and the king succeeded in turning it into a truly ethnic crusade, the prospects are enormously bleak. But the situation could be saved by diverting attention from ethnicity to a regional issue. King Goodwill Zwelithini could then become a

figure of national reconciliation. If that is possible, then things will be a lot more promising."

Natal University politics lecturer Ian Philips believes Buthelezi's bluff was called with the first set of amendments to the Electoral Act when Inkatha registered provisionally but then failed to lodge its candidates' list, thus invalidating its registration.

"That, of course, means they are not on the ballot forms either regionally or nationally. There seems just one escape route and that is to use the position on the ballot of the Freedom Front.

"If Buthelezi could reach an accommodation with front leader Constand Viljoen, they could compile lists which would incorporate the Inkatha representatives."

Philips questions the feasibility and practicality of delaying even provincial elections either for KwaZulu/Natal or all the regions.

"The problem is that Inkatha has painted itself into a corner and is now crying: 'Help!'"

## WESTERN CAPE Sails in the sunset

The National Party remains confident of winning the western Cape on April 27 in spite of the latest opinion poll that predicts a close finish with the ANC. The *Sunday Times* poll was one of the last before the publication of opinion polls became prohibited this week in terms of the Electoral Act.

The poll indicates that the NP could win 15 seats in the 42-member provincial legislature, the ANC 14, the DP five, the PAC, rightwing and "others" one each; five seats are at the mercy of undecided voters.

The results are a further boost to the NP after an HSRC survey for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD) suggested that it will win over 50% of the vote in the western Cape (*Current Affairs* April 1).

The ANC's fortunes in the province have slumped in the past four months in spite of hard-sell efforts by Nelson Mandela.

In what was widely seen as a desperate move last week to shore up support, Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn quit the SABC board to campaign actively for the ANC. His action was interpreted as a vote of no confidence in ANC regional leader Allan Boesak's ability to deliver the province. It also vindicates anti-Boesak elements in the ANC who warned last year that he would be more of a liability than an asset.

In belated reaction to the strength of the NP's western Cape campaign, the ANC is accusing the Nats of "swart gevaar" tactics



# Natal summit is the last

**T**ODAY'S four-way summit between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, King Goodwill Zwelithini, President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will present the last chance to defuse the mounting conflict in KwaZulu/Natal.

Elections in the region are unlikely to be postponed. That much was clear from informal discussions this week with both ANC and NP leaders.

Although it is expected that Buthelezi may arrive with a slightly adjusted set of constitutional proposals from those he tabled at last year's multiparty negotiations, the meeting is expected to focus on the position of the Zulu monarchy rather than any changes to the transitional constitution.

Buthelezi will enter the meeting under the Damoclean sword of Transitional Executive Council recommendations that the involvement of his office in hit squad activities be thoroughly investigated.

Political leaders at today's summit meeting are unlikely to postpone elections in Natal — but their talks might be the last chance to bring the province back from the brink of civil war, reports **Chris Louw**

It is understood that high-ranking KwaZulu government officials are named in a report handed last week to the international team investigating "third force" activities.

Strong pressure will be put on Buthelezi at today's meeting to allow free and fair elections in his homeland on the scheduled dates this month. Government and ANC demands will be backed by a combination of political and security strategies, which ultimately may include — if Buthelezi insists on a campaign of subversion — the removal of the present KwaZulu administration.

The first indication that steps may be taken against the KwaZulu administration, incrementally eroding Buthelezi's power, came when the TEC task group probing hit squad activities in the KwaZulu Police force recently recommended the revocation of the KwaZulu government's right to establish its own police force.

The task group — consisting of Professor "Pink" Hayson, Howard Varney and General Wynand van der Merwe — also recommended that provisions in the transitional constitution providing for the integration of the KZP and the South African Police into a new South African Police Service be "anticipated" before the elections.

If implemented, this will effectively strip Buthelezi of his authority over his security forces.

The Mail & Guardian learned this week that the second Hayson report on hit squads has already been handed to the recently appointed international investigating team. The team combines the work of the Goldstone Commission with that of the TEC task group into hit squads.

Serving in the team are Transvaal Attorney General Jan D'Oliviera, French police colonel and CID member Gilles Aubry, Zimbabwean assistant police commissioner FB Mapuranga, SAP Major General MJ Nel and advocate Arthur Chaskalson.

It is understood that the task group may expose more high-ranking officials as soon as indemnity can be assured for sources, who sometimes look part in criminal activities themselves.



**They're  
out to**

**get me!**

**Buthelezi!**

Political Staff

107

AS the crucial KwaZulu summit began at a secret location today, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed that hit squads were out to assassinate him.

He warned that he would not be influenced by threats of force, or the cutting off of funds to KwaZulu, when he and King Goodwill Zwelithini meet President De Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela today.

Chief Buthelezi told the British newspaper Daily Star that members of the Communist Party, who were also members of the ANC, were behind the attempts to assassinate him.

He added that he had little hope that today's talks would produce any result.

At the meeting proposals will be put to King Goodwill which could break the political logjam behind the violence sweeping KwaZulu-Natal.

There were also indications last night that special provisions could be made for the boycotting IFP to still take part in provincial elections.

The government and ANC were adamant that this month's poll would not be delayed, either nationally or in any province, as demanded by the IFP.

Sources in all camps warned yesterday against overdue optimism, predicting that a day of "very tough talking" lay ahead. Some thought a "best case scenario" would amount only to a deal being struck with the

# 'Dirty Tricks', election row

king and a commitment by him to tell his subjects they could vote if they wished. This would still leave the IFP out of the election, providing a spark for more violence in Natal.

Yesterday Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela met for brief discussions on the meeting. Government and ANC negotiators also held talks.

The four leaders gathered at a secret bush venue early today for the critical talks, which could hold the key to a peaceful election and an easing of the crackling tensions in KwaZulu-Natal.

King Goodwill and Mr Mandela met from 9am for about an hour before joining the other leaders for day-long discussions.

It is evident that the king's position will be critical to the outcome of the talks. He is likely to be offered some form of constitutional entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy.

Although he has rejected similar overtures in the past, sources were last night confident the king's demands could be accommodated in new proposals.

"But progress effectively depends on whether the king is prepared to soften his demand for independence for KwaZulu-Natal," said a source.

It was reported yesterday that Zulu royals believed the king would be prepared to drop his independence demands, but that these would again be linked to IFP demands for changes to the interim constitution.

Meanwhile British Prime Minister John Major says he hopes today's summit will produce a solution enabling all parties to take part in the election in three weeks' time.

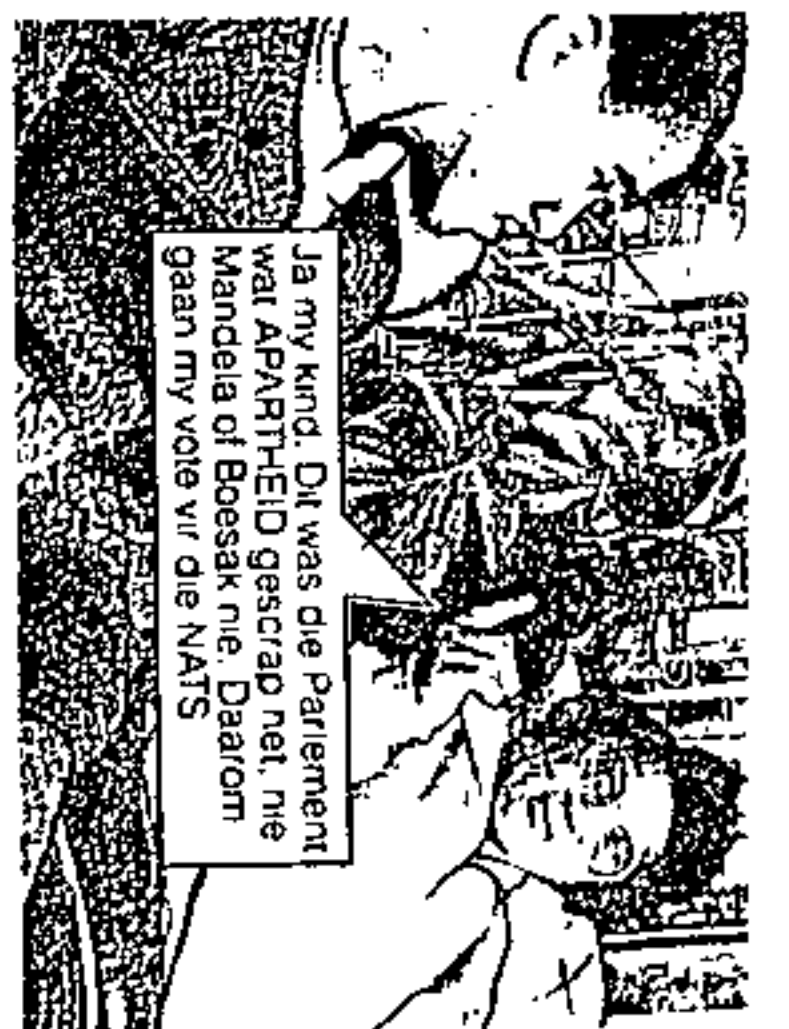
In a letter yesterday to each of the four participants Mr Major said: "I strongly hope your meeting will send a clear message in support of peace and democracy and against violence and unrest."

Britain looked forward to close relations with the new South African government.

(News by E Waugh and H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



The ANC pamphlet



The NP 'comic'

PUBLICATIONS AT CENTRE OF THE RUMPUSS

ARC 8/4/94



# 'Big 4' meet

CT8/4/94

(107)

## Axe KwaZulu govt — ANC



**SHINE ON SUMMER** ... Peninsula beaches were blessed with another long hot summer day yesterday, when temperatures soared to 27°C. Enjoying the sun at St James Beach were Sue Wilson and her 2½-year-old son, Kyle. Cooler weather is expected today and tomorrow.

Picture: BERNARD PEREZ

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The ANC last night called for the Zulu government to be axed — on the eve of the summit on the homeland by the "Big 4".

Both the ANC in Natal and ANC candidate and TEC chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan last night called for the state of emergency in KwaZulu to be intensified — and the ANC in Natal said the KwaZulu government should be stripped of all its powers immediately to create a climate for free and fair political activity.

Mr Gordhan said the state of emergency should be applied more comprehensively in KwaZulu — should the leaders' summit today not provide a solution that would enable free and fair elections.

### King's future

The future of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and KwaZulu, and the election and its timing, will top the agenda at today's summit between President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill.

Mr Mandela and a team of advisers will meet King Goodwill and his advisers for at least two hours before the scheduled 2pm summit.

Mr Mandela was last night said to be optimistic that he could secure a deal with the king in their private meeting. This would include that the king's subjects be allowed to make up their own minds whether to vote or not.

Mr Mandela said this week he would offer the king a better deal than he now enjoyed.

A senior ANC negotiator said Mr Mandela could "offer" the king the position of ceremonial head of the new KwaZulu/Natal province, plus greater financial independence.

Chief Buthelezi said in an interview yesterday that neither force nor the threat of a funding cut would compel him to accept a constitution that denied the Zulu nation its right of self-determination.

He said advocates of a federal system had been "elbowed out" of negotiations by the government and ANC.

"They knew we were not part of the consensus, and nevertheless they are prepared to trample over us through the barrel of a gun," he said.

Mr Gordhan said that at a Natal leadership meeting with Mr Mandela on Wednesday it was concluded that "under no circumstances was the election going to be postponed and it is about time the government took stronger action in clamping down on the perpetrators of violence and the unco-operative KwaZulu administration".

He said: "It is time that political and economic clout was brought to bear" on KwaZulu.

"Even if Buthelezi's co-operation is not secured tomorrow there are ways to ensure that elections can still take place. At the moment people are terrified of going to the polling stations to vote because they are afraid they will be seen breaking Buthelezi's boycott."

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) yesterday raised hopes for the possible participation of the IFP in the election by meeting South African printers to investigate the possibility of reprinting ballot papers for Natal and the P W V.

### Major's message

IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler told a media conference yesterday printers would report back today on the feasibility of such an exercise. He said the decision to request the information had been taken at the IEC's own initiative.

● British Prime Minister Mr John Major says he hopes today's summit will produce a solution enabling all parties to participate in this month's scheduled election.

In a letter yesterday to each of the four summit participants Mr Major said: "I strongly hope... your meeting will send a clear message in support of peace and democracy".

● Hundreds of teachers employed by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture in the Edendale area, north of Maritzburg, marched to the offices of the circuit inspector yesterday with a list demanding that the KwaZulu education administration be handed over to the TEC.

The marchers also demanded freedom of association, freedom to conduct voter education for pupils and recognition of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union.

● Striking Edendale Hospital staff have called on the TEC to take control of the hospital. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

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# Summit fails to resolve crisis

(107)

CT 9/4/94

SKUKUZA. — The four-way leadership summit in the Kruger National Park yesterday failed to find solutions to the problems.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after the summit that progress could not be made on most of the issues raised between himself, President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Though a task group was set up to pursue these unsolved issues relating to the situation in KwaZulu/Natal, Mr Mandela said: "I would like to warn that we should have no exaggerated expectations of what this task group is likely to achieve."

However, Mr De Klerk told the news conference he thought much progress had been made.

"I think we have achieved today the beginning of negotiations that should have started long ago."

Ways and means would be sought to ensure that this forum of leaders would continue to operate and interact, Mr De klerk said.

King Goodwill said he hoped the meeting would show the people at grassroots level what South Africa's leaders expected their followers to do.

Chief Buthelezi said, however, that the ANC's proposals to accommodate King Goodwill constitutionally were unacceptable. The IFP was also firmly opposed to the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

Despite the negative comments at the press

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From page 1

## Summit

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conference, the four leaders' joint statement said they had agreed to make proper constitutional provision for the recognition of KwaZulu.

A follow-up meeting was likely late next week to discuss progress made by the working group and to consider "the implications arising from this".

"Urgent negotiations should take place to reach agreement on the terms of reference and the procedures to be followed," the statement said.

At the summit the ANC has offered to install King Goodwill as the constitutional monarch of KwaZulu/Natal with his own "royal council".

Mr Mandela made a final offer to the king to allow the election to go ahead peacefully.

Mr Mandela also appeared to offer Chief Buthelezi a top job in a new provincial government — proposing that the king be empowered to appoint a member of the Zulu royal family as chief adviser and assistant.

Chief Buthelezi in his proposals to the summit called for a postponement of the election and certain amendments to the interim constitution.

He said that if the proposals were agreed to, he would give "a firm and definite undertaking to participate in (the elections in the) provinces and nationally".

Mr Mandela put to the king a blueprint which sought to underpin his monarchy under South Africa's final constitution. — Sapa



# ZULU CRISIS DEEPENS

## Seven-hour bush summit fails — new talks set for next week

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE crisis over KwaZulu's role in the election deepened after last night's bush summit involving the four key leaders ended unsuccessfully.

A joint statement issued by President De Klerk, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, African Nationalist Congress president Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the meeting had agreed to establish a working group "to deliberate further ... and to report back to the respective leaders by Thursday next week."

### End of the road for negotiations, says king

SKUKUZA — The African National Congress has offered Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini constitutional powers and recognition as king in exchange for free and fair elections in KwaZulu-Natal.

The trade-off was offered during the leaders' summit yesterday called by President De Klerk to quell violence in KwaZulu/Natal and allow a free and fair election in the territory. King Zwelethini — who attended the summit in the Kruger Park with Mr De Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — said he would "walk the extra mile" in an attempt to seek a solution to the violence, but in fact negotiations had "reached the end of the road".

The ANC proposed that the Zulu monarch be "recognised as a king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations which shall be ... in the province of ..."

A follow-up four-way summit is foreseen for late next week. The statement said the four leaders were unanimous in their condemnation of violence. They made "an urgent appeal to their followers and to all South Africans to end the killings, to exercise maximum restraint and to pursue their objectives by peaceful means".

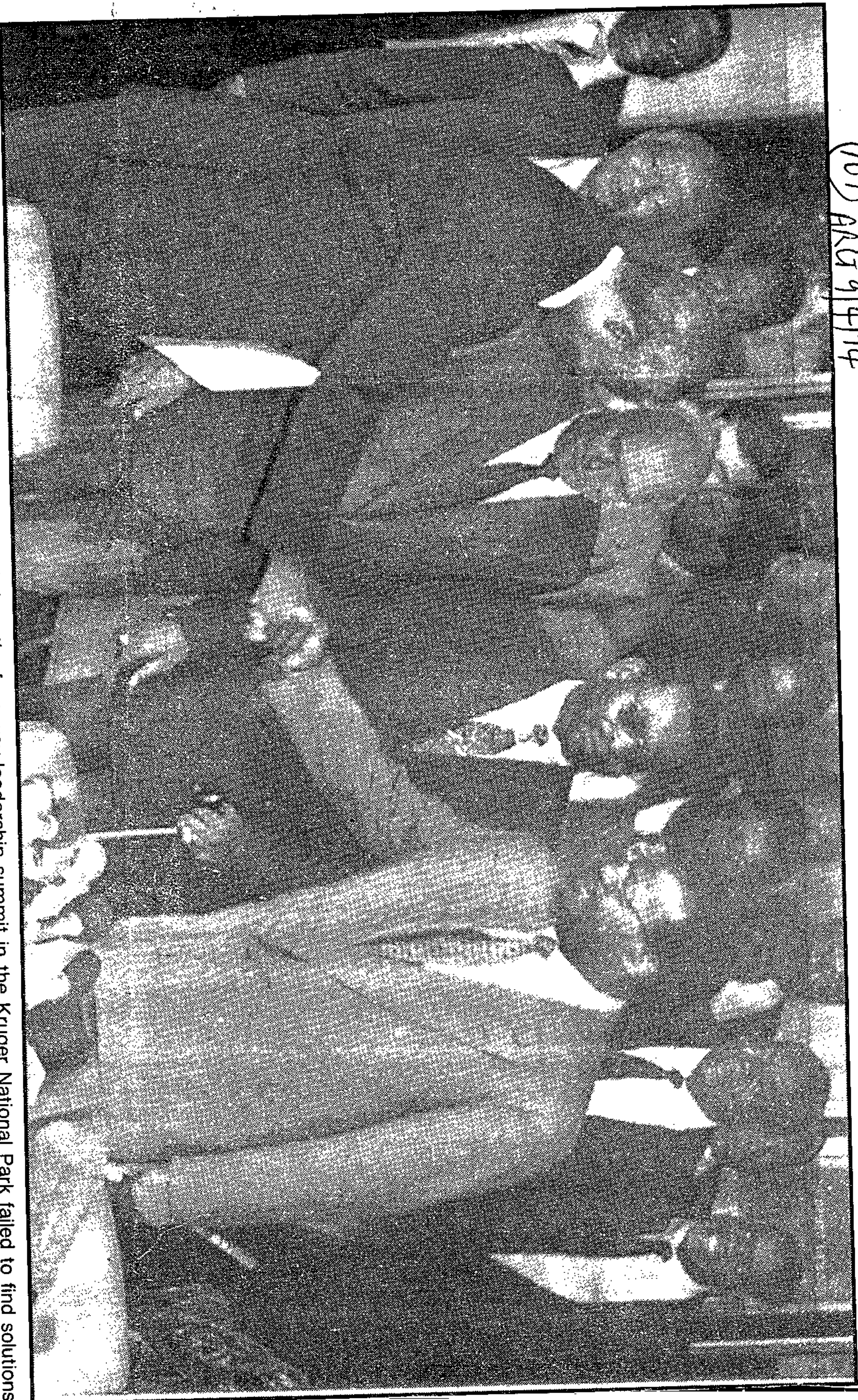
The parties agreed that international mediation should proceed on outstanding constitutional issues, and urgent negotiations should take place to reach agreement on the terms of reference for the mediators and procedures to be followed.

The statement said the delegations also discussed the future constitutional accommodation for the Zulu monarch, calls for Zulu sovereignty, violence and the state of emergency.

The parties agreed on the necessity to make proper constitutional provisions for the recognition of the kingdom of KwaZulu — and on this key subject the working group would be expected to report.

However, the summit ended in bitterness with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi disagreeing publicly over their interpretations of the talks.

At a late-night press conference Mr Mandela criticised Chief Buthelezi for issuing a statement on behalf of himself and the king when, he said, it had been agreed that only a joint statement would be issued.



**SHAKEN BUT NOT STIRRED:** Despite the cordial handshakes, the four-way leadership summit in the Kruger National Park failed to find solutions to the KwaZulu-Natal crisis. African National Congress leader Nelson Man dela shakes hands with his Inkatha Freedom Party counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi with President De Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini framed between them.

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#### **KwaZulu/Natal**

But it called on "His Majesty the King and the royal house of KwaZulu to undertake to do all in their power, in collaboration with the Independent Electoral Commission, to ensure that all persons seeking to participate and vote in the forthcoming election shall be able to do so without let or hindrance".

Chief Buthelezi, who is also KwaZulu Chief Minister, proposed a postponement of the election and amendments to the interim constitution.

The proposals were "a firm and definite undertaking to participate in (elections in) provinces and nationally", he said.

The proposals included the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal and amending the interim constitution to recognise and protect the Zulu monarchy as well as the IFP's KwaZulu/Natal constitution.

The king accused Mr De Klerk of ignoring the "hideous and despicable crime" when eight IFP members were shot dead and at least four injured outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters on March 28.

Referring to Mr Mandela's reported agreement with the SA Police that they would not to enter the ANC headquarters on condition that weapons inside the building were handed over to them, King Zwelithini said: "You saw them being ambushed, at-

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There were also sharp differences over the election date. Chief Buthelezi said a postponement was essential to achieve an inclusive settlement, but Mr Mandela responded by saying: "That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."

Mr Mandela suggested that ANC dialogue with King Goodwill Zwelithini would continue even after the election to accommodate the Zulu monarch's demands.

But Chief Buthelezi responded by suggesting that Mr Mandela's interpretation of the king's demands was incorrect in that the king did not seek personal gains, but was making demands on behalf of his people.

The only vaguely optimistic voice was that of President De Klerk who said that the bland joint statement issued after the meeting was not an indication of failure and that progress could be expected in further deliberations that would lead to another summit of the four.

The king hoped the meeting would show people on the ground what the four leaders "want from their own followers".

■ See page 3



1 | Bombshell for ...  
Mandela, King Zwelithini draw their bottom lip

# Free elections, powers of Zulu king at issue

ARG 9/4/94

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NELSON Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini came face to face for the first time in a remote bush camp on the banks of the Sabi river, close to Skukuza in the Kruger National Park.

They met for 4½ hours — more than double the scheduled time — and early indications were that the meeting would not achieve much.

These talks were followed by a lunch of the four leaders — KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had arrived after Mr Mandela and President De Klerk yesterday morning. Then at 3.30pm the crunch four-way talks, with only the leaders present, began at Jak-kelsbessie, a private camp near Skukuza.

About 5pm the leaders had been joined by their delegations, totalling about 40 people. There was no indication of how long these talks would last, save for an announcement that nightlights had been brought to the Skukuza airstrip.

Government spokesman Marius Kleynhans intimated that marathon talks were in the offing — but said there were “no contingency plans for the meeting running on to the morning”. All four leaders had cleared their diaries for the day and night.

Seventy journalists were flown from Waterkloof air force base to Skukuza yesterday afternoon and began a bushveld vigil — denied access to the talks venue and in the

SHAUN JOHNSON, CHRIS WHITFIELD and SAPA  
reporting from Skukuza

hands of the government-ANC co-hosts.

The talks are pivotal to finding a solution to the impasse over KwaZulu resistance to the transition process. It is understood that the king was to be offered a deal on the entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy in return for a commitment to cooperate with the electoral process.

At the earlier meeting King Zwelithini delivered a blunt message to Mr Mandela: distance yourself from the ANC's shooting of Zulu marchers in Johannesburg before talks continue.

According to Chief Buthelezi's office, the king told Mr Mandela: “Until and unless you personally distance yourself from the shedding of the innocent blood of my father's people, by means of your personal initiative leading to the conviction of those who are guilty of this crime, our dialogue will remain difficult, if not impossible.”

King Zwelithini said immediate steps were required from Mr Mandela to heal the wounds from the Shell House massacre last week. He asked that Mr Mandela make available all information related to the killings. “I ask that you do whatever is in your power as the president of the ANC to ensure that all those who plotted, organised and executed the massacre are arrested and tried for their crime.”

At the same time the ANC yesterday unveiled a detailed proposal regarding the powers and position of King Zwelithini. In a draft document, it said:

■ The provincial legislature should establish by law a Royal Constabulary which, as a special unit of the KwaZulu/Natal policing authority, would be responsible for the security of the Royal House of KwaZulu, including the king.

■ The provincial legislature should, after consultation with the king, decide on an appropriate name for KwaZulu/Natal.

■ It would ensure the king's position, powers, prerogatives, rights and privileges — and those of the Royal House of KwaZulu.

■ The king should promote the right of all South Africans to free and peaceful political activity, as well as all other relevant rights and freedoms.

■ The king should guarantee that all political parties and organisations would be unhindered in their peaceful campaigns.

■ The king should pledge to do everything in his power to ensure that people wanting to take part in the election could do so without hindrance.

Before discussing the ANC proposals, King Zwelithini had condemned ANC statements on the monarchy and the KwaZulu government. “The insults that many spokespersons of the ANC, and particularly the Na-

tal leaders of the ANC, have hurled at me numerous times, that I am on the payroll of the KwaZulu government, or that my prime minister Prince Mangosuthu is my paymaster, is something which is more than just offensive.”

He said the stigmatisation of his uncle, Chief KwaPhindangene (Chief Buthelezi) had also caused offence. “It was he who destroyed the South African government's homeland policy, and it was his refusal to accept so-called independence that destroyed John Vorster's and P W Botha's dream of establishing a confederation of South African states.”

The king said he regarded the state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu as an invasion by a foreign aggressor and “rape of our national dignity and pride”.

King Zwelithini said the purpose of the summit was to discuss the sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom. He added that sovereignty could not be negotiated or conferred upon KwaZulu by anybody.

He said the kingdom would be bounded by the Transvaal in the west, Mozambique and Swaziland in the north and Transkei and Lesotho in the south and southwest.

In response, the ANC said the king should have constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations across KwaZulu/Natal, including ceremonial and traditional powers specified in the provincial constitution.



# es in historic bushveld meeting

# End of the road for negotiations, says king

From page 1

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tacked and massacred, yet your police did not enter Shell House to arrest the perpetrators and to secure incriminating evidence."

King Zwelithini said it was clear his meetings with Mr De Klerk had not been "fruitful" and "we have reached the end of the road which we together opened on January 17, 1994".

It was obvious that the only way in which Zulus would restore their kingdom was "through our own efforts as Zulus and as freedom fighters". Mr De Klerk was still defending a unitary state which gave no recognition to the separateness of the Zulu kingdom and nation, he said.

The Zulu nation had endeavoured to seek a peaceful and negotiated solution, but any possible freedom in the territory had been abolished by the "invasion" of the SADF and SAP to enforce the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

"I came (to the summit) because I felt it is my obligation to walk the extra mile in an effort to seek a solution to our problems. *ARC 9/4/94*

"However, I feel that you, Mr President, and I have discussed all that there is to discuss and that the time for discussion has somehow run its course.

"I always feel that deeds speak louder than words," King Zwelithini said.

He said the restoration of the kingdom of KwaZulu had to be resolved before an election was held in South Africa.

King Zwelithini said the key to successful negotiations lay in whether the other leaders were prepared to listen to Zulu aspirations, or whether, "like those who conquered us, you think you must trample with your feet on those just aspirations of my nation".

The summit began at 3.30 pm and continued for several hours into the night.

A large contingent of journalists was restricted to the Skukuza area and not allowed into the Jakkalsbessie camp, the venue for the talks.

The summit split into working groups to discuss proposals by Chief Buthelezi, including suggestions that the election be postponed, immediate lifting of the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal — Sapa.

(News by S Denny, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

**POLITICAL INTOLERANCE:** African National Congress supporters burn election pamphlets of rival political parties at the end of a voters' education workshop held by the Independent Electoral Commission in Howick, northern Natal.

wins £300 000

... where the ... and refused to



# Future hangs in balance



DECEPTIVE: The courtesy displayed here between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi belies the bitterness at yesterday's summit.

PHOTOGRAPH: KEN OOSTERBROEK

## Working group must wrestle further with issues

THE crisis over KwaZulu's role in the election deepened after last night's summit involving the four key leaders ended unsuccessfully.

A joint statement issued by President de Klerk, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the meeting had agreed to establish a working group "to deliberate further ... and to report back to the respective leaders by Thursday next week."

A follow-up four-way summit is foreseen for late next week. The statement said the four leaders were unanimous in their condemnation of

STANLIE JONSON and CHRIS WITHELI, Epone of the KwaZulu King

violence. They made "an urgent appeal to their followers and to all South Africans to end the killings, to exercise maximum restraint and to pursue their objectives by peaceful means."

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The summit ended in bitterness with Mandela and Buthelezi disagreeing publicly over their interpretations of the talks. At a late-night press conference here Mandela criticised Buthelezi for issuing a statement on behalf of himself and the king when, he said, it had been agreed only a joint statement would be issued.

There were also sharp differences over the election date. Buthelezi said a postponement was essential to achieve an inclusive settlement, but Mandela responded by saying: "That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."

Mandela suggested that ANC dialogue with the Zulu king would con-

tinue even after the election to accommodate the Zulu monarch's demands.

However, Buthelezi responded by suggesting that Mandela's interpretation of the king's demands was incorrect in that the king did not seek personal gains, but was making demands on behalf of his people.

The only vaguely optimistic voice was that of De Klerk who said that the hand joint statement issued after the meeting was not an indication of failure and that progress could be

## NIS link to Eskom's arms deal suspected

MEMBERS of the National Intelligence Service might be linked to Eskom's sale of arms to the KwaZulu Police.

On March 25, the day the parastatal announced it had uncovered and cancelled plans to sell 1 000 semi-automatic rifles to an arms dealer for resale to the KwaZulu Police, 10 weapons were signed out of Eskom's arsenal and loaded into a truck parked outside Eskom's Morningside Park headquarters.

A source within Eskom said the truck was accompanied by a number of other vehicles, including a grey Mercedes-Benz bearing the registration NVB1317.

Senior police sources said this week that the Mercedes was registered in the name of the NIS at a Stanner Street, Pretoria, address.

### Mysterious return

According to official Eskom documents in WeekenderStar's possession, two transactions for the removal of 20 LM-4 semi-automatic rifles to an unknown destination took place two weeks ago. The weapons were apparently checked out to a "bearer". WeekenderStar knows the identity of the "bearer", but for legal reasons cannot name the person.

Eskom officials insist that the "bearer" is not one of their employees. A form authorising removal from Eskom stores was signed by Eskom manager Johan van der Wal, who, with Eskom security



EXCLUSIVE REPORT by JANNINE LAZARUS

beat Floris Bonthuis, was suspended last week after the utility investigated the weapons deal. The weapons then mysteriously returned to the stores.

Repeated attempts to find out from the NIS, Eskom and the State President's office failed to establish what an NIS vehicle was doing at Eskom, the identity of the "bearer" who signed for the weapons, and why further weapons were being sold after Eskom had publicly undertaken not to sell arms.

An NIS spokesman, who refused to be named, denied that his organisation was linked to any arms deal between Eskom and the KwaZulu Police.

"There is no question whatsoever that we could be involved there. We do have contact from time to time. It's formal liaison — just a question of talking about what things are like. Then we drive to the front door."

The spokesman at first refused to take down the Mercedes-Benz's regis-

## THE CIGARETTE FOR CONNOISSEURS

In the traditional 20s tin



P.T.O.



# Star 9/4/94 Summit

expected in further deliberations that would lead to another summit of the

four. The king hoped the meeting would show people on the ground what the four leaders "want from their own followers".

A flurry of submissions from the leaders earlier indicated that prospects for significant movement were limited.

Buthelezi and the king had set the tone by issuing unbending and accusatory statements.

Mandela tabled an offer which, while recognising the dignity and future role of the king, seemed to fall short of a major new initiative.

In his memorandum to the summit, Buthelezi said he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met. These included the postponement of the April 26-28 poll.

Prominent in the list of conditions was the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal and the binding inclusion in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on regional powers and other constitutional matters.

The ANC had earlier tabled a seven-point draft agreement between itself and the king. In essence the document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchy, guarantee it "proper" regal status, clarify the king's domain over public property, and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provincial budget.

In return, the king and royal house would undertake to promote actively the rights of all South Africans to full political freedom.

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a searing attack on the ANC for the deaths which oc-

curred outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters.

He demanded that Mandela personally distance himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people" (107)

He added that Mandela should personally use his influence to seek the conviction of those guilty of this "crime".

The king warned that unless Mandela did so, "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible".

The king lashed out at the emergency declaration, calling it "an invasion ... an act of foreign aggression ... a rape of our national dignity and pride".

He said he and his people would never recognise the legitimacy of actions taken under the emergency.

The king said it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present form".

Leaving a door just ajar for further dialogue and a negotiated settlement, he said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a federal state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous state" depended on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do to me and my people".

The king said, while "the kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Africa", this should never be at the expense of what he called the sovereignty of the kingdom.

Allowing again for sovereignty within the federal option, he said: "I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa". This "elbow room" should include a provincial police force and militia.



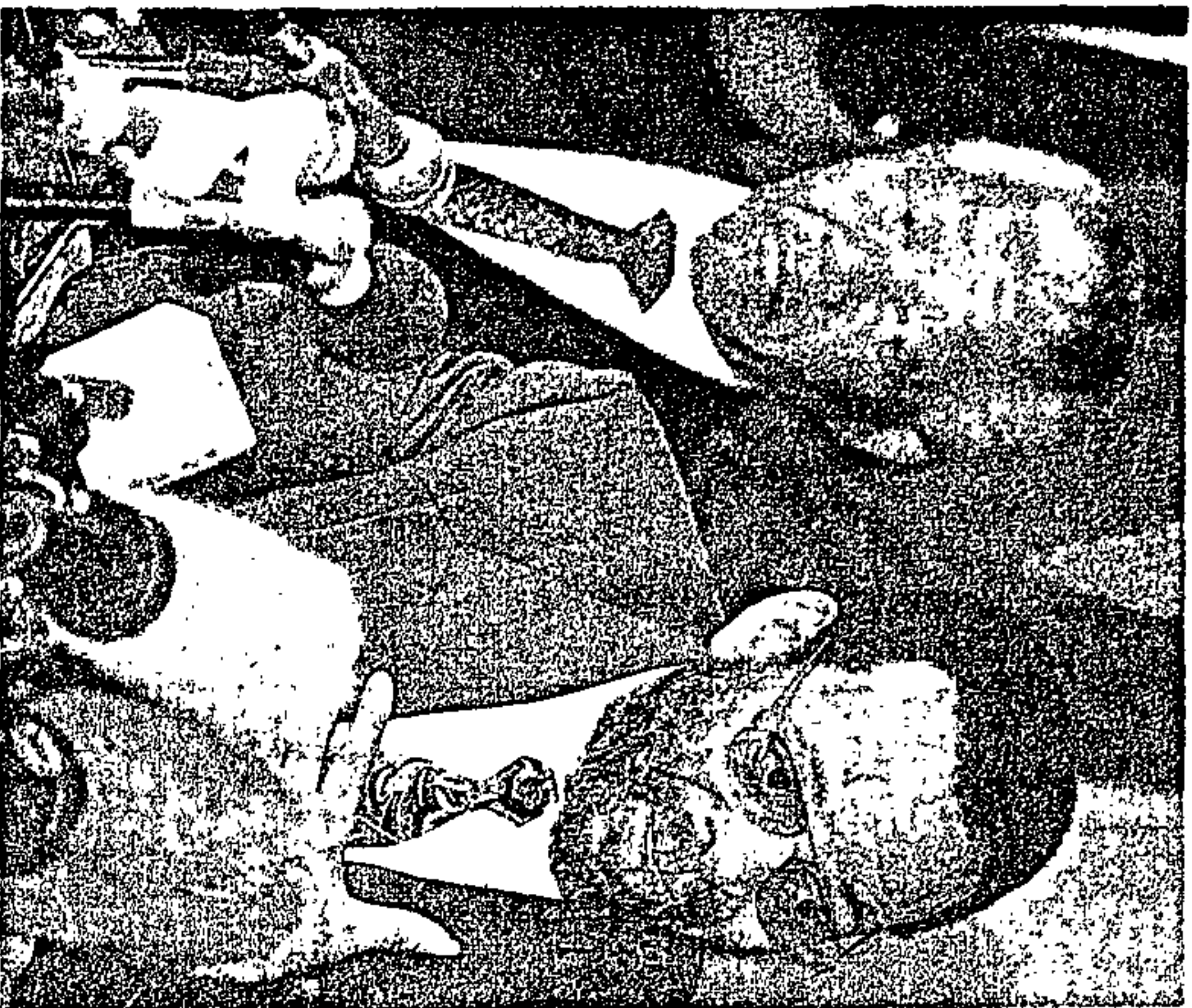
# Royal flush beats ANC race

SITimes

10/14/94



TRY THAT FOR SIZE, KEPLER, OLD COBBER



THE KING AND MANDELA... advisers thwarted an ANC bid to arrange a private meeting between the men  
Picture: DAVID SANDISON

## Kwazulu poll will take place — IEC

SITimes

10/14/94

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON  
THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has drawn up detailed plans to allow Kwazulu's three million voters to cast ballots despite the violent climate and a lack of co-operation from Umhali.

"We have no option but to run an election in Kwazulu — and we have the capability to do so," IEC member Gay McDougall said yesterday.  
She and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Mosenke spent two days touring four of the province's five sub-provincial regions this week. Anticipating security problems and resigned to little, if any, official co-operation from Kwazulu officials, the commissioners outlined plans that would ensure even those in the "no-go" areas in the north could vote if they wished to do so.

This included shifting polling stations to borders with South Africa, increasing the size of voting stations in predominantly white, relatively safe areas and bringing in mobile and temporary voting stations.

Only about 800 polling stations are now expected to be set up in Kwazulu Natal's 51 voting districts, although 1 000 to 1 200 were originally planned.

The IEC is to liaise closely with the security forces, who will concentrate on keeping the main roads to these voting stations open.

If "may have to factor in" transporting voters to polling stations said Mosenke.  
The exact timing of Kwazulu Natal's polling stations will be made known on Wednesday.  
If violence decreases as a result of the situation of

By EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY

A DESPERATE attempt by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to persuade Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to support peaceful elections in Natal was torpedoed at this week's crisis summit by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela played what he had hoped would be his ace card by offering King Goodwill powers as a constitutional monarch with sway over the whole Natal province.

But Chief Buthelezi scuppered the proposal by insisting the offer could not be considered unless all Inkatha's other concerns were handled at the same time.

Although a task group has been set up to consider the proposals, the ANC's failure to persuade the king to distance himself from Inkatha's call for a poll boycott does not augur well for the elections in the violence-ravaged province.

The Independent Electoral Commission announced yesterday it would push ahead with elections in the province — even if it could not operate in certain areas — and an army mechanised brigade was on standby in Eshwere this weekend to move into Kwazulu.

The political drama was played out at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park on Friday when President F W de Klerk, the king, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi met to discuss the growing crisis in Natal.

The 13-hour summit began badly for the ANC, which had hoped Mr Mandela and King Goodwill could meet in private. The ANC believes the king's advisers have an undue influence on him and wanted to avoid outside interference.

However, despite two attempts by Mr Mandela to meet the king privately, advisers Stan Armstrong and Mario Ambrósini insisted that according to protocol, King Goodwill should be accompanied by his full delegation.

Sources at the meeting said the king then proceeded, in Zulu, to read to Mr Mandela a hardline 12-page document which referred to perceived past injustices from the ANC and attacks on his supporters.

Only when he had finished was Mr Mandela able to table for discussion his proposals for a Zulu monarchy.

In terms of the proposals, King Goodwill would be recognised as a king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations in Kwazulu Natal.  
He would have a royal consubinary and a budget, be consulted and briefed on



**KNOCKED OUT:** Rival captains Allan Border and Kepler Wessels celebrate the end of four months of cricket battles after the Australians had pipped South Africa by one run in Bloemfontein to square the limited-overs series. The Test series also finished level. Border described Friday's win as "a brilliant end to a tour which we've all enjoyed". The Australians fly home today.  
Reports on pages 30 and 32  
Picture: JON HRUSA

**R300m pay rise to increase costs**  
SITimes 10/14/94

**JOHN ROYLER**  
America's First Tobacco Planter





SWEET AND SOUR ... a smiling Nelson Mandela looks on as F.W. de Klerk holds out his hand to a grim King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mangosuthu Buthelezi after Friday's summit. Picture: DAVID SANDISON

## Royal flush beats ANC ace at summit

From Page 1

modated. But, according to sources, King Goodwill remained silent, leaving it to members of his delegation to respond.

The delegation refused to separate concerns about the king's position from those that the IFP has about the constitution, and no further progress was achieved.

However, during the lunch break, the IFP's Ben Ngubane, Prince Vincent, government negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa got together in an attempt to resolve the impasse.

Sources say they drew up a proposal based on all

areas of consensus and disagreement between the king, the government and the ANC.

After lunch, Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and the king, with their full delegations, met for the first time.

But the bone fides of the Kwazulu delegation on reaching solutions were already in doubt. During lunch, the king's hard-hitting statement had been released to the press, and a backdown from this position was now impossible.

Then an attempt by the four negotiators to present their proposals to the four leaders was squashed by Chief Buthelezi. He reprimanded Prince Zulu, for participating in the lunch-time negotiations, saying they had been unauthorised.

The discussion then went round in circles, with each attempt to address the king's concerns being linked to the IFP's demands to postpone the election, lift the state of emergency, amend the constitution and grant federal powers to the region.

The acrimonious nature of these exchanges was

evident after the meeting when Mr Mandela reprimanded Chief Buthelezi for issuing a statement on behalf of himself and the king. He said it had been agreed that only a joint statement would be issued.

They also clashed over the election date. Chief Buthelezi said a postponement was essential. Mr Mandela replied that the election date was sacrosanct. There can be no compromise over it whatsoever.

The joint summit statement said a task force had been appointed to investigate matters under discussion and report back to the leaders by next week.

However, a glum Mr Mandela said he had no "exaggerated" expectations about the results the task team could achieve.

Chief Buthelezi said progress could not be made on most of the issues addressed at the meeting.

Yesterday, at an election rally in the Western Transvaal, Mr Mandela said King Goodwill had refused an ANC offer that would have given him the same constitutional status as the Queen of England and the

crowned heads of Europe.

Mr Mandela said the offer would have given him more honour and privileges than the constitution of Kwazulu. "I am sorry his majesty did not accept my offer as I'd have thought he would."

Addressing the media during a meeting of the IFP central committee yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said efforts by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to reassure King Goodwill of his personal well-being were insulting, and missed the point that his subjects wanted more than a symbolic kingdom.

Chief Buthelezi said the king had the means to look after himself financially.

The summit may have been regarded as a failure in much of South Africa, but in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi was described as "the master chess player" on his return early yesterday.

In the eyes of his constitutional advisers, he decisively won the summit battle by showing up the ANC and government for doing an about-turn on their commitment to keep the king out of political negotiations.



# Emergency brings little relief to Natal



HOPEFUL... SADF troops in Eshowe were in a peaceful mood  
Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

**ALMOST** nothing has changed in tortured KwaZulu Natal since a state of emergency was imposed nearly two weeks ago. *St Times* 10/14/94

The killings, burnings and intimidation continue. And as the election date nears, fear of widespread redistribution is growing. Worried monitors and researchers in the province feel the SADF is taking too long to deploy its troops and the police are not using their new-found powers. But the security forces said it was too early to say whether the emergency powers would succeed, as the effect had not been felt on the ground. Nearly 700 reservists, mainly from Natal, were

deployed in the province this week, bringing the total of troops now operating in the region to 3,000. From April 15 to May 15, the 18 commando units in Natal will each provide a further platoon for deployment. *Radley Keys, regional*



HOMELESS... this 84-year-old woman, being fed some cereal at a refugee camp, was forced to flee her home this week after it was torched because she was thought to be an ANC supporter  
Picture: JUHAN KUUS

By RYAN CRESSWELL

director for the DP in the Natal Midlands, said he did not think the emergency had "produced the required results" so far. "I don't think people feel any safer. Intimidation is still rife and people on the ground are looking ahead at the election with trepidation," he said. "A major question is

whether the security forces will be able to stop individuals and small groups from going from house to house and telling people what to do. "I don't think so. The army can't be in every nook and cranny." Human Rights Commission researcher Linda McLean said it appeared the state of emergency had "still not got off the ground". She estimated that at

## Mother's night of terror as two sons are executed



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whether the security forces will be able to stop individuals and small groups from going from house to house and telling people what to do.

"I don't think so. The army can't be in every nook and cranny."

Human Rights Commission researcher Linda McLean said it appeared the state of emergency had "still not got off the ground".

She estimated that at least 100 people had been killed in political murders since March 31.

She said this was "extremely high" and, so far, matched the record killing rate last month, when the organisation reported 311 politically related deaths.

"The SADF is taking a long time to deploy, and the police do not seem to be using their full powers. Monitors in the north say the security forces need to be motivated," she said.

On Tuesday, police made a half-hearted attempt to confiscate traditional weapons from some members of a 20 000-strong crowd of IFP supporters who gathered to march in Empangeni in Zululand.

But they soon gave up rather than inflame the situation, and the IFP supporters were allowed to march through the town with their weapons.

Thousands of armed Zulus defied the restrictions on weapons when they marched through Nongoma in Zululand on Wednesday to protest against the emergency.

One monitor on the lower South Coast said violence was continuing unabated in the region and there did not appear to be a noticeable troop presence in the troubled area.

The security forces face tactical problems in the divided region.

Even locals find it difficult to identify ANC and IFP turf and their exact boundaries in the province, so it will be even harder for soldiers from other regions to figure out where they are.

Each small area has a different type of local leader — either a chief, gang leader, party leader, church leader or warlord — and the province has some extremely rugged terrain.

An SADF spokesman said the success of the emergency could not be determined because the troops' presence had not yet "been felt" on the ground.

Police spokesman Major Bala Naidoo said: "It is still too early to say whether the measures are adequate."

He said at least 100 Internal Stability Division members from the Transvaal had been deployed on the North Coast since the beginning of the emergency, and more police from other provinces may be called in at some stage.

(News by Ryan Cresswell, 18 Osborne St, Durban)

## Mother's night of terror as two sons are executed



GRIEVING... Mrs Sarah Ndamande heard her two sons and two of their friends being executed outside her house Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

A HORRIFIED mother listened at the wall of her home while gunmen forced two of her sons and two close friends to lie down outside and shot them in the back of their heads with pistols.

The brutal slaying of four young ANC supporters took place in the troubled rural township of Folweni south of Durban on Monday night.

Brothers Edmund, 18, and Mduduse Ndamande, 17, and their friends Mandla Shange, 18, and Xolane Shange, 18, had gathered at the Ndamande home to watch television when four gunmen arrived.

The mother of the Ndamande brothers, Mrs Sarah

By RYAN CRESSWELL

Ndamande, said she heard a voice ordering her to open the door.

"They said they were policemen. All the men had short guns and one of them even had a camouflage uniform. They said the boys must hand over their guns but I told the men they did not own guns."

Mrs Ndamande said one of the men walked in and the frightened youths climbed out a back window.

"The men caught the boys just outside and told them to lie down on the ground. Then they shot them in the back of their heads.

"I am very sad about the death of my firstborn. We were very close," she said.

A relative said he believed the killers were IFP supporters because one of the young men argued with an IFP member last week.

He also said shortly after a massacre at nearby Mpu-shini in 1992, in which 20 people died, IFP members accused the youngsters of being involved.

ANC monitor for the area, Mr Landa Hlengwa, said the attack on the youths was probably an "IFP revenge killing".

Dr Ziba Jiyane, national spokesman for the IFP, said: "We do not condone violence such as this."



longfin tuna, the biggest caught nationally in the past 10 months, boated during the Bowls National Tuna competition on Saturday.

Picture: CHRIS BATEMAN

tearful Mrs P  
Police said  
tridges were  
double killing.

# Mandela still has hope for KwaZulu

CT 11/4/94

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FURTHER hopes for a settlement in KwaZulu emerged at the weekend, even as the government said emergency measures would be stepped up in the area following Friday's abortive summit.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said he would seek another meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini next week, despite the king's rejection of proposals to accommodate a Zulu monarchy after the election.

And the Inkatha Freedom Party said at the weekend meeting of its central committee that it had decided to keep the door open to further negotiation.

Inkatha negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said all parties will still "try to find common ground", and the party's political affairs chief Dr Ziba Jiyane said, while hopes had been dimmed after the summit, his party was not closing the door.

The decision to press ahead

with a task group with the ANC and the government was seen as positive.

Yesterday President FW de Klerk's office was involved in delicate negotiations with the ANC and the IFP over government involvement in mediation talks between the two parties scheduled for later this week.

The task group will report back to Mr De Klerk, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, King Goodwill and Mr Mandela on Thursday.

A second leaders' summit will be held "more than likely next week", a constitutional development source said last night.

Mr Mandela announced that he would seek a meeting with the king while addressing a rally in memory of the SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani at Orlando Stadium yesterday.

Mr Mandela said after King Goodwill had rejected his proposals on Friday, he had asked

him: "Do you want the same rights enjoyed by (Britain's) Queen Elizabeth?"

He said the king had not answered.

Speaking in Port Elizabeth on Saturday, ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he hoped the task group could reach an acceptable compromise on the position of the Zulu monarchy by Thursday.

A government source confirmed that "securing" the elections under the emergency was now the priority.

Mr De Klerk said on Saturday that the government could not take over KwaZulu as had happened in Bophuthatswana.

ADF spokesman Major Nick Sendall confirmed yesterday that there were an estimated 3 000 troops in KwaZulu/Natal, "assisting the SAP". About 1 000 more citizen force members had been called up. — Own Correspondents, Sapa



ANC, government lose patience

# Natal faces crackdown as talks fail

BIDAY 11/4/94

DAVID GREYBE and  
BILLY PADDOCK

EMERGENCY security measures are expected to be stepped up in KwaZulu/Natal in the next few days to secure the holding of the elections, after political leaders were unable to agree on free political activity at their summit meeting on Friday.

ANC and government negotiators said yesterday they had reached the end of their patience with KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, although they would continue trying to pacify King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Sources in both delegations said they were not hopeful that negotiations on the future of the Zulu king, or international mediation, would be completed before the elections in 15 days' time.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) management committee is expected at its meeting today to urge President FW de Klerk to tighten the screws on Buthelezi's KwaZulu administration.

A task group set up to deal with the demands of Zwelithini — a group representing government, the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government — will meet today, while mediation is scheduled to begin on Wednesday.

President FW de Klerk signalled after the summit meeting that government had dropped its initial opposition to international mediation, which he said could play a "constructive role".

However, the task group's job was made more difficult when Inkatha's central committee at the weekend rejected the ANC's proposals submitted to Zwelithini and his advisers at the summit meeting.

Meanwhile, senior ANC negotiators said they did not think international mediation would be completed before the elections. Buthelezi has insisted, however, that the elections be postponed until mediation has run its course. (107) (304)

ANC and Inkatha negotiators have still not agreed on the terms of reference for mediation. The two main mediators — former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington — have said they were not prepared to start work until the terms of reference had been sorted out.

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned against "exaggerated expectations" from negotiations in the short term. "Let me be frank. I cannot see a resolution before the elections," he said on Friday after the summit meeting.

"This problem can be resolved only by the government of national unity, a body which will have legislative powers."

He was confident the state of emergency, "when up to strength... will go a long way in securing free and fair elections".

SADF spokesman Maj Nick Sendall yesterday confirmed there were an estimated 3 000 troops in KwaZulu/Natal, "assisting the SAP". About 1 000 more citizen force members had been called up for a month's duty from Friday. "The numbers will be increased as and when the situation warrants it."

Defence and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee defended the decision to declare

□ To Page 2

## Crackdown

BIDAY 11/4/94

□ From Page 1

an emergency, saying government "was left with no other option".

A government source confirmed that, in the wake of the leaders' failure to agree on free political activity, "securing" the elections under the emergency was now the priority. "Negotiating, especially at this late stage, has limited power. If we rely solely on negotiations the elections won't take place." (107) (304)

One ANC source said a hold had been put on the full deployment of forces in expectation that Friday's summit meeting would be successful.

Both the king and Buthelezi refused to give guarantees that the election would be conducted freely in the province, one ANC source claimed. "The only recourse we now have in ensuring that elections go ahead is to intensify the emergency and reassure people that their votes will be secret, that they will not be intimidated about going to voting stations, and to increase the presence of security forces around voting sites."

However, the Independent Electoral

Commission (IEC) reiterated at the weekend, following a two-day fact-finding tour by two of its commissioners, that the elections would go ahead in the region. The IEC had drawn up detailed plans to allow the estimated 3-million voters in KwaZulu to cast ballots.

The TEC could also proceed this week to entrench in the constitution the ANC's proposal on the Zulu monarch even though it had been rejected.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that the IEC's information department said ballot slips for the election could not be changed even if a settlement was reached.

Speculation that the ballot papers, which are being printed in the UK, could be changed to accommodate Inkatha was not true, a spokesman said. "Inkatha affectively excluded itself from the ballot two weeks ago, and it is highly unlikely the papers will be changed now."

Report by D Greybe, B Paddock and G Duvenage, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Picture: Page 3  
Comment: Page 6



**LAST-DITCH attempts to stop low-key war in KwaZulu/Natal escalating out of control**

■ BY HELEN GRANGE  
CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and NORMAN CHANDLER

KwaZulu could face an intensified security crackdown if last-gasp talks this week fail to produce a breakthrough in the electoral impasse.

There are widespread fears that violence in KwaZulu/Natal might soar if the special working group — set up to provide the summit sequel with fresh initiatives — fails.

Yesterday there was deep pessimism in both Government and ANC circles over prospects for a breakthrough.

"Even if we manage to reach agreement in the working group — which is possible — it appears that it will be blocked by the IFP leadership," said a senior Government source.

They pointed out that encouraging progress in talks between the king and Mandela on Friday had been reversed after he consulted the full IFP delegation.

With the failure of the four-way Skukuza summit, it is understood that security action will be considerably intensified if tensions in the province con-



tinue to lead to bloodshed.

KwaZulu politicians acknowledge that the next four days will be crucial to the territory and the Zulu monarchy. They fear that if their demands are not met, the low-key civil war now raging in the region could escalate out of control.

The situation in the territory was generally quiet yesterday. South African troops had not been mobilised by nightfall at their temporary base at the Eshowe showgrounds. It is understood that mobilisation could begin by Thursday, depending on the success of the task force discussions.

Yesterday Ulundi was abnormally quiet, according to local residents. The local hotel had only three guests, and normal Saturday trade at the bar and restaurant was non-existent.

With hopes of an ANC-IFP constitutional resolution all but shattered by Friday's inconclusive summit, attention is also focusing on getting as many KwaZulu/Natal voters as possible to the polls.

► **Big chiefs forgo the peace pipe — Page 11**

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, speaking in Cradock yesterday, said it was estimated about 60 per cent of Natal's inhabitants would be able to participate freely in the election.

But IFP supporters, especially north of the Tugela, were actively intimidating people not to take part in the election, he said.

Meyer warned that if the election was postponed, the future of the country would be determined by radical elements of the Left and Right, and that a Bosnia-style situation would develop.

None of the arguments that were now being brought up by the IFP were new and there were no solutions for them, he added.

The IFP warned at its central committee meeting on Saturday that KwaZulu citizens would resist the state of emergency, and demanded its immediate lifting.

In resolutions addressing the reasons for rejecting the

► **To Page 2**

*Intensified security crackdown possible if task force fails*

**Crunch week for**

*Star 11/4/94*

*(107)*

**KwaZulu**



# IEC outlines KwaZulu poll measures

Star 11/4/94  
■ BY JASPER MORTIMER

Elections will be held in KwaZulu despite the violence and lack of co-operation from local authorities, Independent Electoral Commission members Dikgang Moseneke and Gay McDougall said at the weekend.

At a press conference, the commissioners outlined measures the IEC would be taking to overcome the difficulties.

These included using SADF troops to guard routes to polling stations; mobile polling stations; and increasing the number of polling stations on the periphery of areas where intim-

idation was pervasive.

McDougall said that on their two-day tour of KwaZulu last week, the commissioners had gained a "clear sense of the desire to vote" among the homeland's estimated 3 million eligible voters. (3477)

A very high percentage of KwaZulu's people already had ID documents or temporary voter cards, she added.

A working group of representatives of the IEC and the South African and KwaZulu governments reported last week that free and fair elections could not be held in KwaZulu because of resistance from local authori-

ties and intimidation.

Moseneke, the IEC vice-chairman, said he could not refute the report, but pointed out it did not cover the whole of KwaZulu. He made clear he believed the difficulties were not insurmountable. (107)

The most difficult areas were those around Durban, such as Umbumbulu and KwaMashu, where there were constant clashes between IFP and ANC supporters. Equally difficult were areas such as Msinga, Mahlabantili and Nongoma in the heart of Zululand. Here the influence of the KwaZulu authorities was strong and there

were no white-owned farms to provide polling stations on the periphery.

Other areas such as Nqutu were inaccessible owing to deep valleys and few roads.

The Star asked which was the bigger obstacle: the violence or the local authorities' refusal to co-operate.

"Both are substantial obstacles," McDougall replied. "But ... we can actually compensate for the non-co-operation. The issue that is more substantial, and that we are less equipped to deal adequately with, will be intimidation and violence."

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Edited by Mike Siluma

**A** working group has the Herculean task of forging a tenacious bridge across the chasms which emerged from the Skukuza summit. Failure could mean another period of dangerous inconclusivity, writes Political Commentator

# Big chiefs forgo the

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Star

**L**ATE on Friday night President de Klerk tried his utmost to put a positive spin on the day of talks that had just been completed between himself, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But it was evident from the language of aides that proceedings had gone far from smoothly. One described the meeting, bluntly, as a "stuff-up"; another said he was amazed the talks had survived through the day after it became evident that there was very little chance of bridging differences.

The words of Mandela and Buthelezi at a late night press conference at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park reinforced the suggestion of a yawning gap.

As midnight approached, Mandela reacted sharply to a statement issued jointly by Buthelezi and the king: "... the statement read by the Chief Minister comes to me as a complete surprise. I certainly was not informed about it before now. I would have expected that if there was a separate statement we should have been informed and warned about it."

The statement, read to the press conference by Buthelezi, had been aggressive, hitting at the state of emergency and the proposals made by the ANC as well as demanding a postponement of the election.

Responding to Mandela's criticism, Buthelezi suggested that the ANC leader had misunderstood proceedings during the talks and "it wasn't as if we were doing it (issuing the statement) secretly".

Mandela reacted bluntly to the election



*"The IFP wanted the date of the election postponed. We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."*

**Nelson Mandela**

delay demand: "We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."

Buthelezi also dismissed what he apparently believed were suggestions that the king was demanding personal reassurances: "The issues, as the king has raised (them), have a lot to do with the self-determination of the Zulu people. (It is) not just a personal issue which His Majesty raises about himself and his family, but an issue which he raises about his people as a whole."

In the circumstances De Klerk's notes of optimism sounded misplaced. He had urged observers not to look cynically on the creation of yet another "working group" to probe differences, and added: "I think we have achieved progress."

But one comment by the President did come close to summing up the situation in KwaZulu/Natal today: "To a certain extent

we have come to the brink of a very serious situation," he said.

The leaders are expected to get together again late this week. The working group is scheduled to issue its report on Thursday. The founding documents with which it will have to deal were released in the course of Friday's deliberations — and largely lost in the drama of the inconclusive media conference. Here is the crux of the various proposals and submissions put forward.

**THE ANC PROPOSAL**

The ANC tabled a seven-point "draft agreement" between itself and the king. In essence the detailed document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchy, guarantee it the "proper" regal status, clarify the king's domain over public property and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provincial budget.

In addition, the agreement allowed for the king to be crowned "in such a manner as may be agreed with him", reaffirmed his right to install all chiefs in the province and his powers determined by Zulu custom and tradition.

The constitution would provide for the king to open the provincial legislature each year. The premier of the KwaZulu/Natal province would be required to regularly report to and brief the king on all legislative

*"One can't really say in one breath that you have a free and fair election and then in the next breath say that you approve of the state of emergency."*

**Mangosuthu Buthelezi**

and executive actions.

The provincial government would also establish a Royal Constabulary responsible for the security of the royal house, while the king would have to be consulted by the provincial government on the question of the final name to be given to the province. In return, the king and royal house would undertake to actively promote the rights of all South Africans to full political freedom.

The document spelt out that this would mean "guaranteeing all political parties and organisations ... shall not be hindered ... in their unarmed and peaceful campaigns". The crucial requirement demanded of the king in the draft agreement was contained in its final paragraph: "His Majesty and the royal house of KwaZulu further undertake to do all in their power, in collaboration with the Independent Electoral Commission, to ensure that all persons seeking to participate

*"There is already broad consensus on a burning issue of accommodation and recognition of the Zulu kingdom."*

**F W de Klerk**

and vote in the forthcoming election.

Mandela said after the talks: "We have got out of our way to address this issue. We believe a constitution like to enjoy. There is no doubt in our view which we would like to see. Perhaps we were silent on the right of his majesty to legislate in indigenous law. When we indicated (that we would) address this question."

**GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL**  
President de Klerk put forward a proposal which he later said was "in line with the ANC's submission". It envisaged the constitution of the king's powers as that of an executive and not a monarch of the kingdom of KwaZulu.

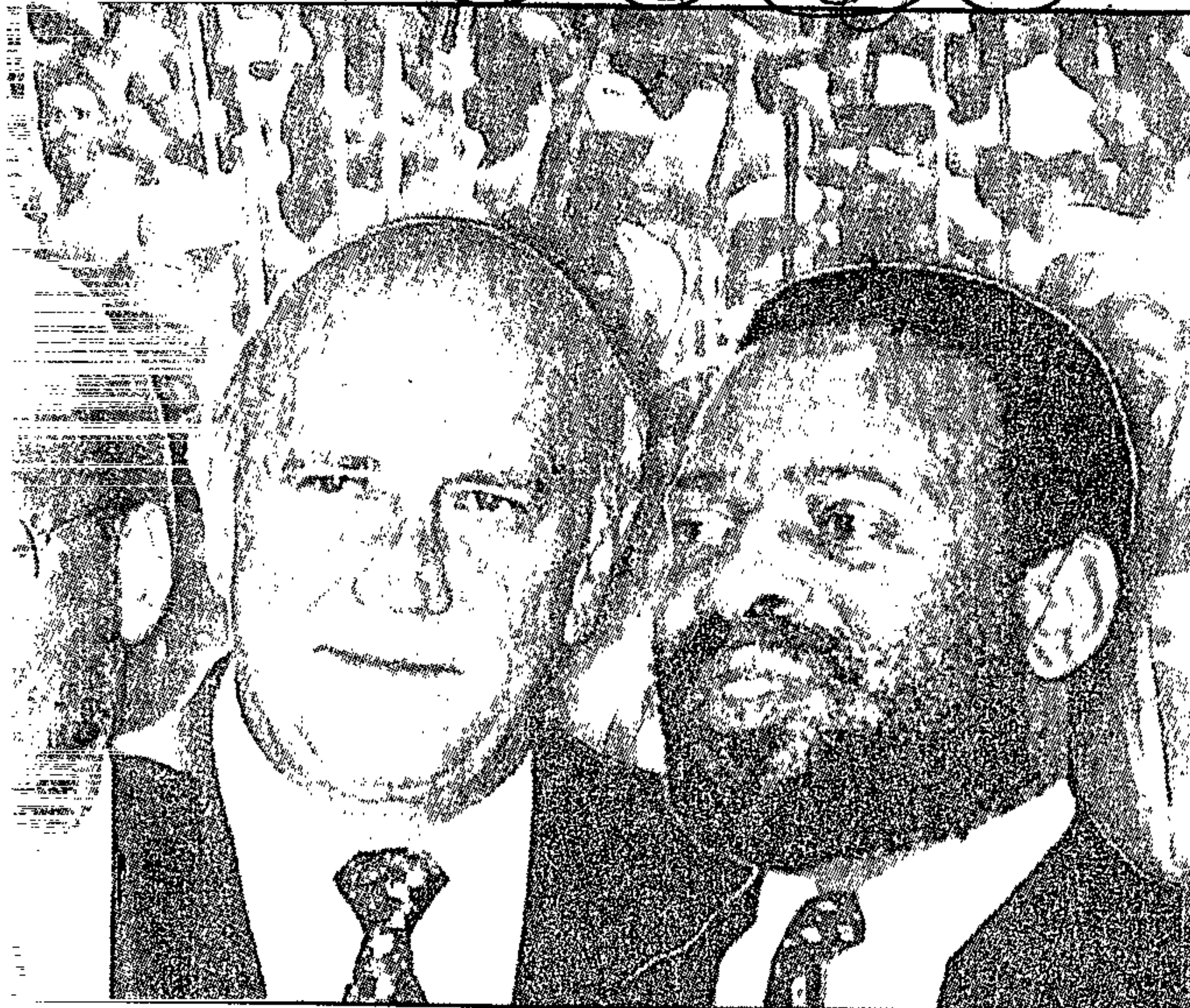


ask of forging a tenuous bridge over the political summit. Failure could plunge the country into ... writes Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield



# Go to the peace pipe

Star (NA) (VBS) (Boyer) 107



tance himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people" and added that the ANC president should personally use his influence to seek the conviction of those guilty of this "crime". The King warned that unless Mandela did this "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible".

The king lashed out at the emergency declaration, calling it "an invasion ... an act of foreign aggression ... and a rape of our national dignity and pride". He and his people would never recognise the legitimacy of actions taken under the emergency.

The king added that it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present form".

He said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a federal state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous state" depended on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do to me and my people". The king said that while "the kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Africa", this should never be at the expense of what he called "the sovereignty of the kingdom".

"I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa," said the king. This "elbow room" should include a provincial police force and militia as well as a recognition of the Zulu monarchy above the institutions of chieftanships.

### BUTHELEZI'S MEMORANDUM

In his submission to the summit, Buthelezi said he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met — these included the postponement of the election.

*"It is ... a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 Constitution in its present formulation."*

**King Goodwill Zwelithini**

Also prominent in the list of conditions was the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu, and the binding inclusion in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on regional powers and other constitutional matters.

Other demands were:

- Recognition of the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu in the Interim Constitution as well as "the KwaZulu/Natal provincial constitution";
- That provincial constitutions, as well as the powers and functions of provinces in the interim constitution, be "entrenched";
- That the results of international mediation be incorporated in the Interim Constitution.

Buthelezi insisted that to "facilitate" participation in elections and the resolution of constitutional disputes, the election be postponed and that parties be given another chance to register.

in one free and in the

*"There is already a discernible broad consensus ... on the burning issue of the accommodation and full recognition of the monarchy of the Zulu kingdom."*

**F W de Klerk**

The council would consist of 80 members, at least half made up of traditional leaders. The copy of the submission obtained by The Star made no reference to the composition of the executive.

The king, his executive and the council would "have jurisdiction over the land which is subject to the traditional land tenureship system or subject to the powers of a traditional leader and over all Zulu subjects".

The king, executive and council would have legislative and executive powers on:

- Indigenous law and customs and local government affairs in the relevant area of its jurisdiction;
- Traditions, indigenous law and customs relating to the Zulu subjects and;
- Other assigned or delegated matters.

De Klerk said later: "We have made specific proposals; we have specifically dealt with the two issues (outstanding from the ANC proposal). I am confident on this issue, which is an issue of major importance to the Zulu nation, that we have made progress."

### THE KING'S SUBMISSION

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a searing attack on the ANC for the deaths which occurred outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters in the recent city centre bloodshed.

He demanded that Mandela personally dis-

and vote in the forthcoming elections shall be able to do so without hindrance."

Mandela said after the meeting: "We went out of our way to address everything which we believe a constitutional monarch would like to enjoy. There is hardly any power in our view which we reserved except perhaps we were silent on the question of the right of his majesty to communal land and to indigenous law. When this was pointed out to us we indicated (that we were) prepared to address this question."

### GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL

President de Klerk put forward a proposal which he later said bridged the gap between the ANC's submission and the king's demands. It envisaged the entrenchment in the constitution of the king's position as well as that of an executive and a council to govern the kingdom of KwaZulu.

also es- ... while the ... of the province. In ... would un- rights of all ... this would parties and ... in ... The ... of the king in ... the royal ... take to do ... with the ... to en- participate



# Good reasons to take the Zulu king seriously

B/Day 12/4/94 (107)

**SIMON BARBER**

**IN PLACES** where they do things professionally, successful political summits follows a time-tested formula. Before leaders sit down together at the mountain top, their sherpas have generally done most of the heavy lifting, including preparation of the final communiqué. Leaps into the unknown are considered unwise when the wellbeing of nations is at stake.

South Africans, to judge from Friday night's fiasco at Skukuza, like to put their shoes on before their trousers. President F W de Klerk, the ANC's Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini convened at Jakkals Bessie lodge in the Kruger Park with little evident clue of how they might avert disaster by nightfall.

Setting nothing, they came before the cameras with nothing to announce beyond that they had agreed to do what they should have done in the first place: appoint sherpas to thrash out the bones of agreement. More irresponsibly still, with the success of the country's transition hanging in the balance, they blacked out publicly.

And not just between themselves. In the case of the ANC, at least, there were differences of opinion within the organisation's own team. Mandela was dismissive of the chances that the sherpas could achieve anything before elections, and suggested he would be entirely content if they did not. Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking afterwards, insisted that this week's task force exercise had to be taken in

genuine earnest.

From the observer's standpoint, this summit was certainly more interesting than the variety held each year by the Group of Seven heads of government. For one thing, in places like London and Tokyo, the security arrangements are not usually supplemented by hungry wildlife. But that was not the only source of excitement.

Bad amateur theatricals are always delicious. The play may get lost in the fumbling, but that is more than compensated for by the dramatic tension over whether it will be completed at all and the anticipation of hilarity as the vicar's wife forgets her lines and crashes panic-stricken into the backdrop. The spectacle of grown-ups voluntarily humiliating themselves is the primal essence of comedy.

What happened at Skukuza would have been funny, but for the fact that hundreds, if not thousands, of lives depended on its being a professional performance. Furthermore, the domestic and foreign investors upon whom SA's reconstruction depends, are not noted for their sense of humour. They do not bet on sick jokes.

Friday's slickest joke was not, as some of the government spin doctors at the scene would have it, Zwelithini's 12-page statement to Mandela at the start of the talks. Nor was it Buthelezi's six-page memorandum to the ANC leader and De Klerk. Officials from the president's office and the Constitutional Planning Department used phrases like "fair-land" to describe these documents,

and quipped about the number of trees that had to be sacrificed to prepare them.

Buthelezi may tend to prolixity, and there may, to faded sceptics, be a Ruritanian quality to the king's pronouncements. But simply to dismiss the Inkatha leader as a megalomaniac and the king as his useful idiot, to be lured away with flattery and the promise that he will be treated with empty pomp and circumstance under a new order, is arrogant folly.

The difficulties involved in establishing a workable, prosperous democracy in SA cannot be expressed solely by the Gini coefficient and other such measures of income inequality and apartheid-induced misery. There are, self-evidently, many other conflicts here. One of the most critical is the collision between ancient and modern.

Amid the chaos in Johannesburg's CBD two weeks ago, Zulu royalists (or whatever we are supposed to call them) were seen splashing potions on each other to render themselves invulnerable. Sophisticates may chuckle. They would do better to think through the implications and find ways of accommodating them.

The ANC, assisted by the modernising forces of urbanisation, now stands to win a majority of the vote

in Natal whether or not Inkatha takes part in the balloting. But in the process legions of exceedingly angry ancestors have been created, each needing to be appeased by further butchery. The situation might be better understood if pollsters could survey the dead.

Traditional Zulus are a difficult constituency to reach. Possibly the only conduit is the king. It therefore does little good to treat him with contempt, which is to say with the kind of concessions the ANC offered him on Friday. Shallow appearances to the contrary, he is not a character from a Marx Brothers farce. Whoever dreamed up the idea that he might be swayed by the prospect of being crowned by the Chief Justice of SA entirely misunderstood what the Zulu monarchy is about; either that, or was indulging in deliberate mockery.

One who recognises this better than most is Buthelezi, a man probably even more misunderstood than the king. Suspend, for a moment, the facile judgment that he is unhinged or motivated solely by a hunger for power, and entertain another explanation of why he might be so dead set on achieving a genuinely federal, arguably even confederal, constitution.

We are dealing with two worlds here. A world of indunas and amakhosi, amabutho and ancestors on the one hand; the world of rational, one-man, one-vote, industrialised democracy on the other. One does not have to have a romantic fixation with the former to understand that the chasm between the two has somehow to be

bridged.

Laying that bridge by seeking a constitutional framework that encompasses the two orders has been one of Buthelezi's paramount, and most consistently pursued, objectives for years. Witness the Buthelezi Commission and the writing of the KwaZulu/Natal constitution. Witness, too, Buthelezi's eschewal of armed struggle. He, at least, appreciated that once unleashed in this environment the genie of violence would not easily be rebottled.

All of which being said, Buthelezi errs if he continues to believe that elections can be delayed. And he will be guilty of more than error if he resorts to Serb-style ethnic mobilisation to push his case. For one thing, that would destroy everything he has stood for.

At the same time, even now, there is surely scope for a compromise based on more than a condescending, and surely vain, effort to buy off the king with the trinkets of constitutional monarchy. The key is to find a way of balancing tradition and modernity in a way that respects the ancestral order and the requirements of late 20th century democracy.

Is it too late to devolve a few more powers to the provincial level, and agree that the Natal assembly shall have a House of Lords with the authority, not necessarily tantamount to a veto, to review the actions of the assembly? Or have, in John Kane-Berman's elegant First World War analogy, the troop trains left the station irrevocably? Can SA's politicians really be that amateurish?

**LETTERS**



# TEC to tighten state of emergency in KwaZulu

ARG 13/4/94 (107)

THE Transitional Executive Council has announced that it will tighten state of emergency regulations in KwaZulu-Natal.

The TEC also said that talks had been held with the Independent Electoral Commission about extending the voting period in the territory by a few days.

TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan said the possibility of an extended voting period was being considered.

As mediators arrived in South Africa, the TEC said it could not leave it "to the goodwill of the KwaZulu government" to co-operate with the IEC's electoral machinery.

The TEC distributed a draft agreement, drawn up by the KwaZulu-Natal working committee, which would be sent to the owners of possible election facilities to cover IEC use of those facilities.

South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo introduced a draft resolution which would remove the discretion of the KwaZulu authorities to make available or deny facilities such as schools as voting stations.

● The TEC also announced yesterday that it was finalising provisions to grant indemnity to those prepared to testify about hit squad activities in the country. The indemnity would be given after prior consultation with the relevant Attor-



ney-General and only be applicable until the new cabinet has been appointed.

The draft provisions proposed that the indemnity be granted by a judge.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party will take up arms if the elections proceed without it, Transvaal IFP official Hum-

phrey Ndlovu told Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency yesterday.

He claimed that the IFP had the capacity to survive a civil war against the SADF.

● The National Party was the only choice for those wanting peace and stability in the country, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha told about 500 people at an election meeting in Coronationville, Johannesburg, last night.

"The National Party comes to our people honestly and sincerely. Once we get stability and peace in the country foreign investors will invest here for us to build more schools, clinics, hospitals and other facilities," he told the cheering crowd.

(Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

## Business community is bankrupting SA, says PAC

JOHANNESBURG.— The Pan Africanist Congress has accused sectors of the South African business community of deliberately spearheading moves to bankrupt the economy.

"Sectors of the business community are in the forefront of bankrupting the economy through unlawful exodus of capital schemes," PAC general

secretary Benny Alexander said.

"The fact that our net capital reserves are being depleted at an alarming rate is a cause of concern."

He said the main method of removing capital from the country was fictitious business deals involving fraudulent over- and under-invoicing. — Sapa.

## SP swearing-in day to be holiday

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— The day the new State President is sworn in at the Union Buildings will be declared a public holiday.

The Transitional Executive Council has also agreed that 800 soldiers will line the streets on that day. It was decided that 130 members of each armed formation taking part in the integration process would form part of the group.

The Joint Military Command Council will decide between

two uniform options.

The TEC sub-council on defence proposed that the integration of all armed formations should be completed by March 31, 1998. All units will be under the command of the National Defence Force by August 1 this year, and by April 1, 1996, all forces will operate under "common doctrine".

The defence sub-council also proposed three categories of medals to be awarded to National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) members.

The peacekeeping service medal will be awarded to all members who serve for at least 30 days.

The peacekeeping medal for valour (silver) will be awarded for "exceptional bravery during peacekeeping operations while in great life-endangering circumstances".

The peacekeeping medal for valour (bronze) will be awarded for deeds of bravery during peacekeeping operations while in life-endangering circumstances.



## Mediator is put in the picture at outset

JOHANNESBURG. — Henry Kissinger came to South Africa to mediate between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party but his first taste of violence was a scrap between foreign photographers.

The former United States secretary of state looked shocked as two photographers sitting under the podium at Jan Smuts Airport, where he was launching an international mediation effort, pummelled and shoved each other to get the best shot.

Meanwhile, a potential skirmish was brewing in the television camp several rows back, where cameramen were fuming over having their view blocked.

"Photographers down, get down you people," screamed a cameraman, shaking his fist with fury. "Get out of our way."

To add to the bewilderment of Dr Kissinger and his six foreign colleagues, weary from jet lag and long flights, dozens of telepaggers carried by journalists repeatedly beeped loudly with fresh press alerts.

Foreign journalists have descended on South Africa in droves in the run-up to the election.

At least 3 000 cameramen, reporters and freelancers are expected for the watershed poll, with hundreds more technicians and back-up crews following in their wake.

Their numbers are in addition to the thousands of international observers coming to ensure that the poll is free and fair.

Hotels in Johannesburg and Durban are packed. Cellular telephone companies and firms selling bullet-proof vests report brisk business.

Some car rental firms say they have run out of vehicles.   
✶ Sapa-Reuter.

# SA worth the trouble of mediation, says Kissinger

□ Bid to break KwaZulu election deadlock starts today

(107) ARG 13/4/94

### Political Staff

THE long-awaited international mediation aimed at resolving the KwaZulu election impasse begins today.

The mediators charged with the responsibility of seeking a constitutional common ground between the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government all arrived yesterday.

They were welcomed at a function in Johannesburg last night, where the parties' leaders expressed the hope that the process would succeed.

Mediation spokesman, former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, told the gathering, which was attended by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC Natal premier Jacob Zuma, that South Africa was worth the trouble.

"This is a country that's suffered like few others; been divided like few others. It's worth the effort."

Dr Kissinger said that if anybody had told him when at the time of Zimbabwe's independence he would be in South Africa 18 years later, "with apartheid just a memory", he would have thought the person was crazy.

He said he had previously met ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela was "one of the great figures of the epoch ... and I remember how passionately Mr Buthelezi criticised the government and the institutions of that time".

With a nod also to Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha who attended the conference on behalf of the government, Mr Kissinger praised the "truly heroic effort by the chief actors to overcome their memories, their suffering and doubts".

Initially involving primarily the two parties, the mediation, the terms of reference have not been made public, now includes



**MEDIATORS:** Britain's Lord Carrington, left, and former United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flank Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi after their arrival yesterday as part of an international mediation group that will try to sort out the deadlock surrounding KwaZulu-Natal.

the government.

First mooted by the IFP and its allies in the Freedom Alliance, international mediation was decided upon when a series of intensive trilateral talks involving the government, the ANC and the IFP and KwaZulu government failed to reach a constitutional settlement which would secure the IFP's acceptance of the negotiated package of agreements, primarily the Interim Constitution.

Mediators subsequently agreed upon after much wrangling are Dr Kissinger, former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, Mr Justice H K Bhagwati of India, Mr Justice A Leon Higginbotham of the US, Mr Justice Antonio La Pergola of Italy and Professor Jean Antonie Laponce of Canada and Professor Paul Kevenhorster of Germany.

The IFP has been steadfast in its demand that this month's election should be postponed, but the ANC and the govern-

ment have been equally insistent that the election will go ahead as scheduled.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the Transitional Executive Council in Pretoria yesterday that the election date would not be subject to the mediation.

"The IFP seems to be getting into the mediation process in the hope that the process will result in the date of elections being postponed.

"The election date is sacrosanct. Not even the mediation process can tamper with it," Ramaphosa said.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday expressed guarded optimism that the mediation would resolve the constitutional deadlock.

But if the mediation failed, the ANC would continue to hold talks with all involved.

At the function last night, Chief Buthelezi said it was essential that any constitutional agreement reached through

mediation was "translated into amendments to the interim constitution".

Such "meaningful amendments" would enable the IFP to take part in the election.

He said failure to reach an all-inclusive settlement would "generate tragedies of unparalleled proportions, which we must avert at any cost".

Mr Botha said it would be "a great irony and tragedy" if South Africans could not find one another now that apartheid was gone. The government, he said, stood ready "to make your (the mediators') task easy and to make compromises."

The three parties and the mediators will leave for an undisclosed venue today where the process, expected to last between a week and 10 days, will get under way.

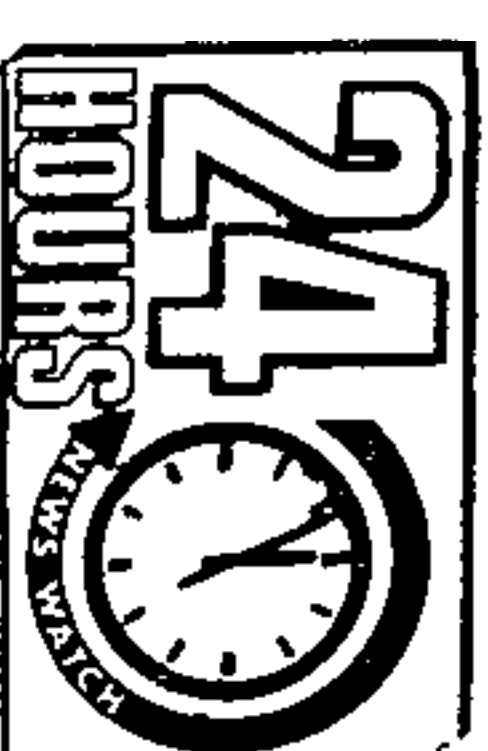
Each party will have two constitutional advisers while the mediators will be assisted by three special advisers.

(News by K Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



NEW SOUTH AFRICA

# Kwazulu quandary



## Go-it-alone attempts in Africa have led to bloody tragedy

WILF NUSSEY, a former editor of the Argus Africa Service and of The Pretoria News, looks at Kwazulu, its history and what has led to the quandary it is presenting South African politics with at this most critical juncture.

**K**WAZULU'S dogged refusal to walk the prepared road to the next South Africa, and to hold out for what it wants, conjures up an ominous sense of having seen it all before.

There have been many go-it-alone attempts in black Africa since the rush of independence began in 1956, and they all share two overriding characteristics: every one has cost lives, and every one has failed.

Africa's leaders cannot abide a secession for the good reason that success would encourage others. Their ultimate cartographical nightmare is a continental mosaic of roughly 2 000 mini-states each with its own dialect, culture, president-for-life, army and bureaucracy — a ghastly collection of backward Luxembourg...

Destroy is not an overstatement — conflict would

savage much of the country and other groups would probably seize the chance to take their own slice of territory. The 6 million or so Zulus may be deeply divided between Inkatha and the ANC... but they have always shown this bothsome tendency to unite if threatened as a nation.

Maybe there is an object lesson in the corpses of a few secessions elsewhere in Africa.

The first and by far the most Byzantine was by Katanga, now Shaba, the southern province of Zaïre where the fabulously rich Union Minière group of mines produced much of the world's copper and most of its cobalt.

The Belgian Congo became independent in June 1960, and the next month the charismatic Moïse Tshombe and his compatriot Godefroid Munongo, fiddled the vote in the provincial parliament to declare Katanga's independence...

riying film footage and photos to emerge from Africa.

Ojukwu surrendered and fled into exile.

Magnanimously, Nigeria's new leader, General Yakubu Gowon, ordered there should be no retribution and there was none. Today Ibos are fully back in the bureaucratic system.

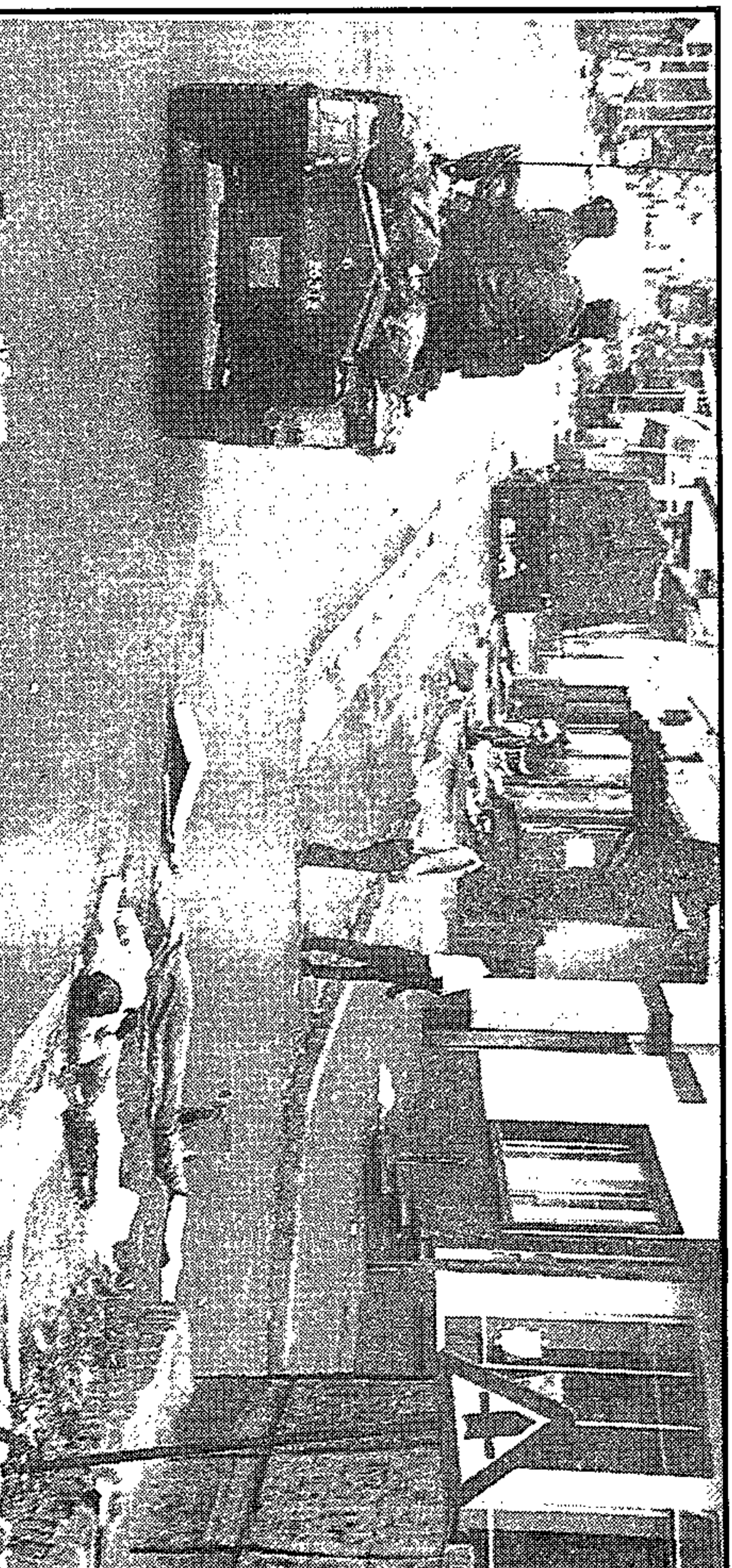
The result: 1 million lives lost, maybe twice that, for nothing.

Since then the mere whisper of secession has brought drastic reaction. After independence in Zimbabwe there were vague murmurs about the Matabele people seeking more power or going it alone. President Robert Mugabe sent in the Korean-trained Fifth Brigade.

They swept through Matabeland in an orgy of silent butchery whose details are only now beginning to emerge. The numbers who died are not known.

Appalling cost of trying to secede

(107) ART 13/4/94



**DEATH**... Katanga, Congo, 1964: The bodies of two rebels lie in the streets of Bukavu as a government scout car carries out mopping-up operations. Thousands died in Katanga's attempted breakaway.



...t's not fantasy. African governments are painfully aware of a factor which the Europeans ignored in their imperial carve-up of Africa. It is ethnicity, an overworked word carrying a political meaning vastly different to its strict dictionary one of heathenism or paganism.

Standing over the largely naked map of Africa in 1890 in Berlin, the Great Powers drew their colonial borders with almost total disregard for the peoples these encompassed.

Tribes were split into sections, each under different rule. Completely disparate peoples were lumped together. Territories were created with small regard for political or economic realities and the process continued through expediency.

In that way — by decree a continent away — South Africa was formed in 1910 of four extremely different parts, each of which contained an arbitrary mix of peoples who have never been able to live easily together.

One of the elements tossed into the pit was the proud and aloof Zulu nation, defeated but respected by both Boer and Brit, feared by all others.

Blacks were no great political problem then. In 1908 Britain's august South African Native Races Committee solemnly reported that the black population was 4 637 972 — including Swaziland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia. Whites numbered 1.1-million and others nearly 600 000.

Today the population of South Africa alone is somewhere between 32 million and 35 million and only about 8 million are not black. With population explosion comes land pressure, and with land hunger comes ethnic competition.

Which comes back to the KwaZulu situation — so volatile it could destroy the country if the belligerents cannot pocket their pride and drop their hackles.

...t a mos: worse for a while. Belgium publicly opposed it and privately supported it, as did much of the West. Hundreds of foreign officers, advisers and mercenaries helped build the Katangese gendarmerie into a formidable army. The mines boomed.

Tshombe's slide began when, in the incredible tangle of UN and African intrigue that ensued, independence hero Patrice Lumumba was murdered by the Katangese.

Katanga devolved into a morass of fighting against UN troops, Baluba rebels and rising international criticism. After more than two years of it Tshombe was forced to re-integrate Katanga.

He briefly became president of the Congo, was deposed and died a lonely and mysterious death. The result: thousands of lives lost for nothing.

Biafra's secession from Nigeria was far less devious and far bloodier. The 8-million Ibo people, bright and competent ex-cannibals, per-mitted Nigeria's bureaucracy throughout the federation.

In 1966 five of them overthrew the government by killing the prime minister and several other leaders. In swift vengeance other Nigerians butchered Ibos everywhere.

The call went out: come home. Ibos returned to their oil-rich territory in droves, some carrying the severed heads of their children. On May 30 1967, Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu declared the independent Republic of Biafra.

Federal Nigeria attacked in force. Recognised by only four African states and helped only by France, the Biafrans fought fanatically, but it was hopeless.

Cut off from supplies, a thousand Biafrans died of starvation daily. The war yielded some of the most hor-

...the KwaZulu are an ill-shoot of the Zulus, no less proud and militant. Maybe they did not want to secede. The cost of suspicion: thousands of lives lost.

The sharpest lesson against secession is almost next door: Angola. Secession by the Ovimbundu group of tribes under Jonas Savimbi's leadership — and with copious South African and American help — is devastating that once rich and splendid land so thoroughly it might never recover.

The incomplete result: the greatest and goriest disaster in African history, with a cost in lives that may reach millions and an ineradicable legacy of fear and hatred.

There are no direct parallels between these tragedies and the KwaZulu situation, but there are points of comparison.

Katanga resulted partly from tribal pride, partly from loathing of hegemonic and socialist central government. Biafra fits better — it was pure Ibo isolationism and resentment (ironically, they tried to escape federalism: KwaZulu wants it).

Matabeland is a model of the kind of clinical military suppression we might expect if no sane solution is found in KwaZulu, only it will be far bloodier because these Zulus won't be caught napping.

Angola is the final model, the one to be avoided at all costs.

Surely there is an acceptable point halfway between, on the one hand, the ANC/NIP insistence that KwaZulu join the roadshow and on the other, KwaZulu's demand for a sovereign monarchy. Whatever happened to the federalism that was supposed to be part of our half-baked, cliché-cut-tered interim constitution?

I don't want to see my Zulu fellows massacred into submission, but Africa has this awful habit of repeating itself.



**STARVATION ...** Biafra, Nigeria 1970: Scores of ill-fed Biafran children, stomachs distended by hunger, wait around for food. A million people died in the Biafran war — fought for independence from Nigeria.



**AND MORE DEATH ...** Menongue, Angola 1993: Family and friends pay their respects at the military section of the city's cemetery. The civil war in Angola continues, claiming thousands of lives.



# I would like to vote, so would my boyfriend, but I fear for my children

KARL MAIER of The Independent reports from Mandini in Natal.

HER soft voice was barely audible as she sang a favourite tune, *Too Many People Are Crying*, when suddenly the 23-year-old woman declared: "That song is not allowed around here. If they find that cassette, you can be dead."

The mother of two children was describing life in communities around the northern Natal town of Mandini, 80km north of Durban, where an Orwellian code of political and cultural conduct is enforced by traditional chiefs, or amakhosi, loyal to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Kwazulu "homeland" leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

*Too Many People Are Crying* is a song by Blondie Makheke, who before the African National Congress was unbanned in 1990 used his music to support the struggle against apartheid. "If you have a cassette of that music it is suicide," said one religious worker. "It is the same if you have an ANC T-shirt."

"You cannot talk about Sarajina either," the young woman said, referring to the world-renowned South African musical about politicised schoolchildren who identified with the ANC.

Also banned is any public support of Kaiser Chiefs, one of the most popular football clubs, whose sin is to sport the same colours, gold and black as the ANC.

Even fashionable haircuts — very close at the sides and high at the top — identified a person as a potential ANC supporter among the violent youths working for the local chief and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, residents of the area said. "It is like Nazi Germany," said one human-rights worker.

So palpable was the fear among rural dwellers in the areas around Mandini such as Mangete, Amatikulu and Nyoni, that no one would disclose their names and all pleaded that their identity be disguised. Interviews had to be conducted at the back of shops or in people's homes.

Many rural residents have opted to sleep in the sugarcane fields or the open bush at night for fear that the youths will come knocking at their doors to demand that residents present their Inkatha party cards for inspection. "I stayed in the bush on April 2 because I had failed to buy a card by the deadline the day before," said the young woman. "They said they would kill us if we did not have an IFP card." The next day she bought one for R10. Her boyfriend was forced by Inkatha to resign from the South African Police and join the Kwazulu Police, she said.

As the confrontation worsens between Inkatha and the ANC and the government over Chief Buthelezi's decision to boycott this month's election, pro-Inkatha Zulu chiefs have sown widespread terror in the rural areas to scare off people from voting.

"We have been told that anybody who votes will be killed," said a woman whose son was recently beaten by Inkatha youths because of his suspected ANC leanings. "No one is going to vote around here because the chief has said he will send people to watch," said the younger woman, who said she preferred the National Party.

Mr De Klerk, under strong pressure from the ANC president Nelson Mandela, declared a state of emergency in Natal and Kwazulu on March 31 and dispatched Defence Force troops to the region to try to ensure free and fair elections. While the move has won praise in the mainly pro-ANC urban townships outside Durban, there was little sign that it has lifted the climate of fear in the rural areas.

"I would like to vote, so would my boyfriend, but I fear for my children," she said.

The official death-toll in Natal since the state of emergency was imposed stood at 178 yesterday, although the figure is widely believed to be a low estimate.

"What gives me a shock is that people all around are dying," said the religious worker. "There is no action taken by the police. They just come to collect the corpses."

# Where have all the flowers gone?

TONI HASSAN of Sapa-Reuter reports from Port Shepstone.

IN the battlefields of the Kwazulu townships, black children play "AK-47", "Funnerals" and "Necklacing" — murder by placing a burning tyre round a victim's neck.

For some youngsters it's no longer a game — they have seen killings and even joined in the bloodbath, child welfare experts say.

Hundreds of people die monthly in factional fighting between rival black groups that has robbed township children of their youth and innocence.

Battles between militants of the ANC and Inkatha Zulus have turned some kids into killers, while others are haunted, sleepless victims, worried their families will be attacked in bed at night.

"The problem is astronomical," says clinical psychologist Beverley Killian, head of the Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence. "Your heart just goes out to these children. It's an enormous waste of human potential. The average child has not only witnessed a murder but seen lots of horrific incidents."

She said a recent study of 300 black primary school chil-

dren in the Natal Midlands clearly illustrated the disturbing trauma and violence they live with.

Eight children said they had had killed someone.

Eleven were part of a group that had committed murder, 82 said they had seen a person killed, 47 had had their houses burnt down, 138 had seen another person assaulted and 125 belonged to a political party.

Another survey asked nearly 150 pre-school children to draw something that had happened to them.

Eighty-four pictures showed figures associated with violence, 50 depicted attacks on people with guns, traditional spears or other weapons. Twenty-two drawings were of people running away, 63 of police and soldiers, 34 were of burning houses, ambulances, corpses and displaced people carrying their belongings in search of a safe home.

There were few suns and flowers — images common and appropriate for children of that age. Only 15 percent of all the drawings were not reflective of some form of disturbance," said Ms Killian, a researcher with the Psy-

chology Department of the University of Natal.

She said up to 80 percent of pre-school children exposed to violence whom she had surveyed had at least one of the classic symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder — haunted by flashback experiences, disturbed sleeping and eating habits and constant vigilance.

"Here kids do their homework worrying if they'll be shot. I spoke to a 16-year-old who was doing his sums when a bullet was fired through his window and took off half his thumb," says Anne McKay, a peace monitor who works with the Natal Programme on Survivors of Violence.

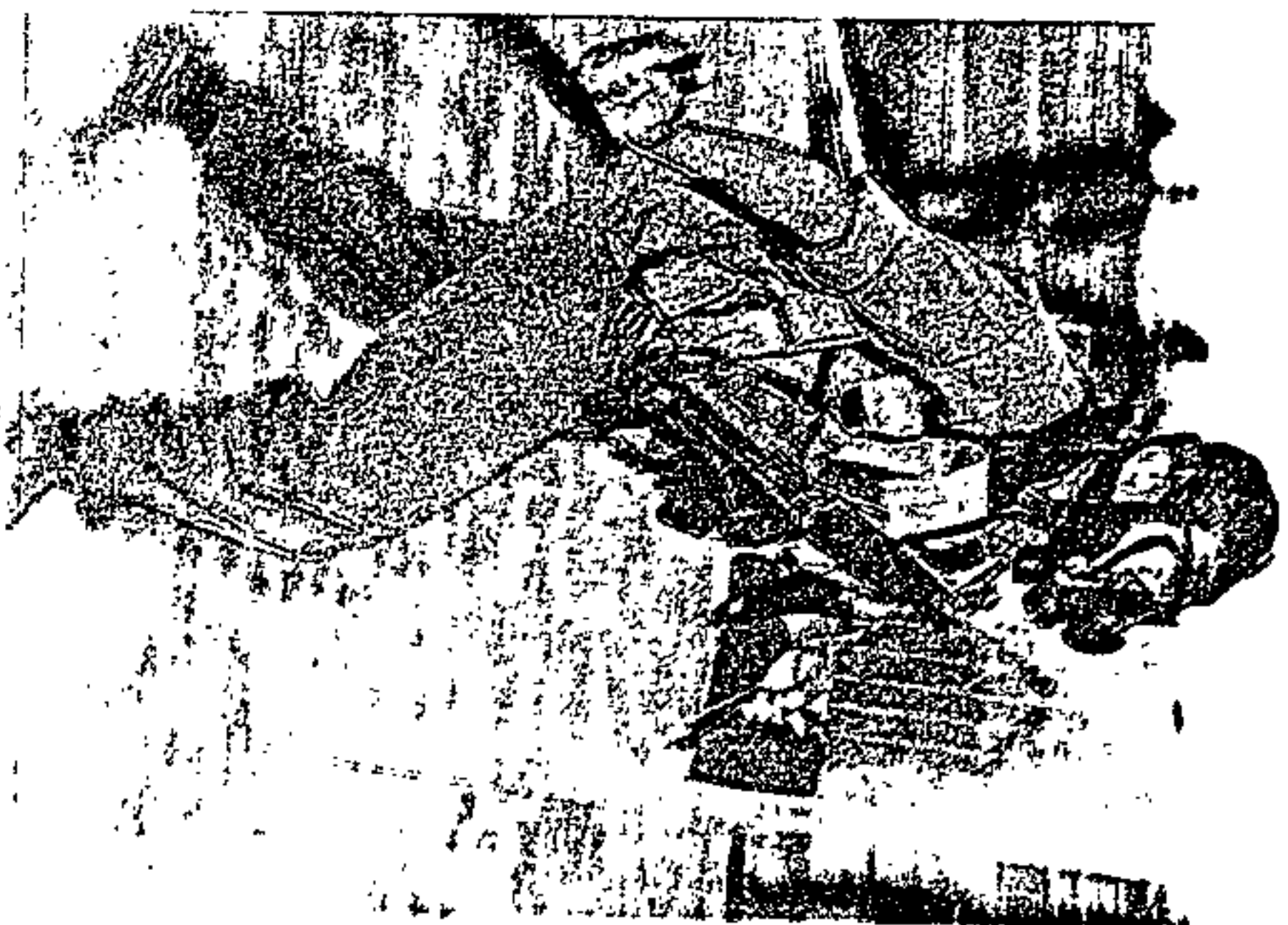
"Children have a split consciousness in the townships. On one level they're dealing with the everyday hassles of simply growing up — school, getting a job, fitting in and worrying about girlfriends.

"On the other level they have a wartime consciousness, a way of having to deal with their homes being burnt, their parents and elder siblings being killed, tension wondering when the next attack is going to happen."

(Report by T Hassan, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg)

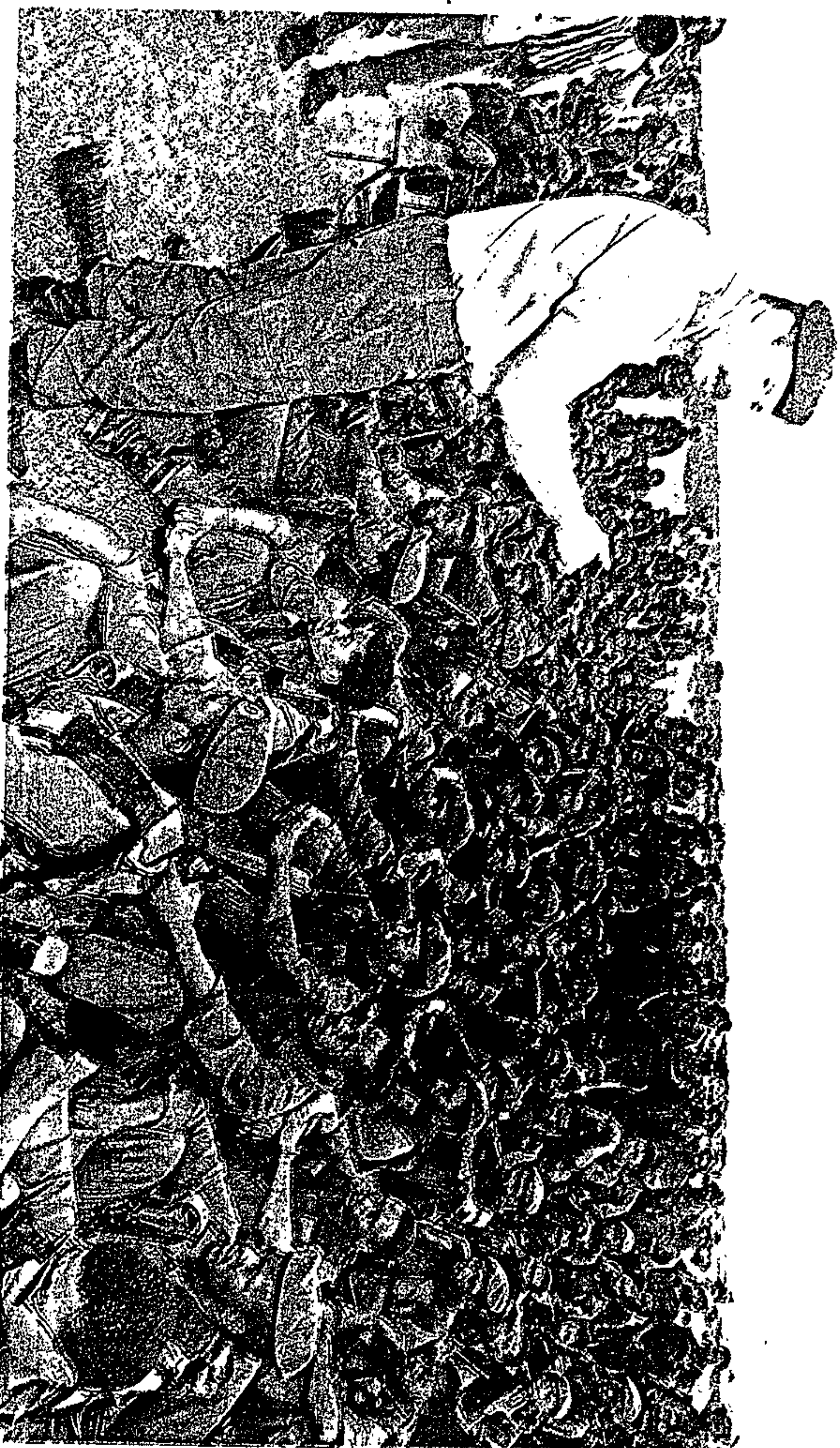
(Report by K Maier of The Independent, 40 City Road, London)



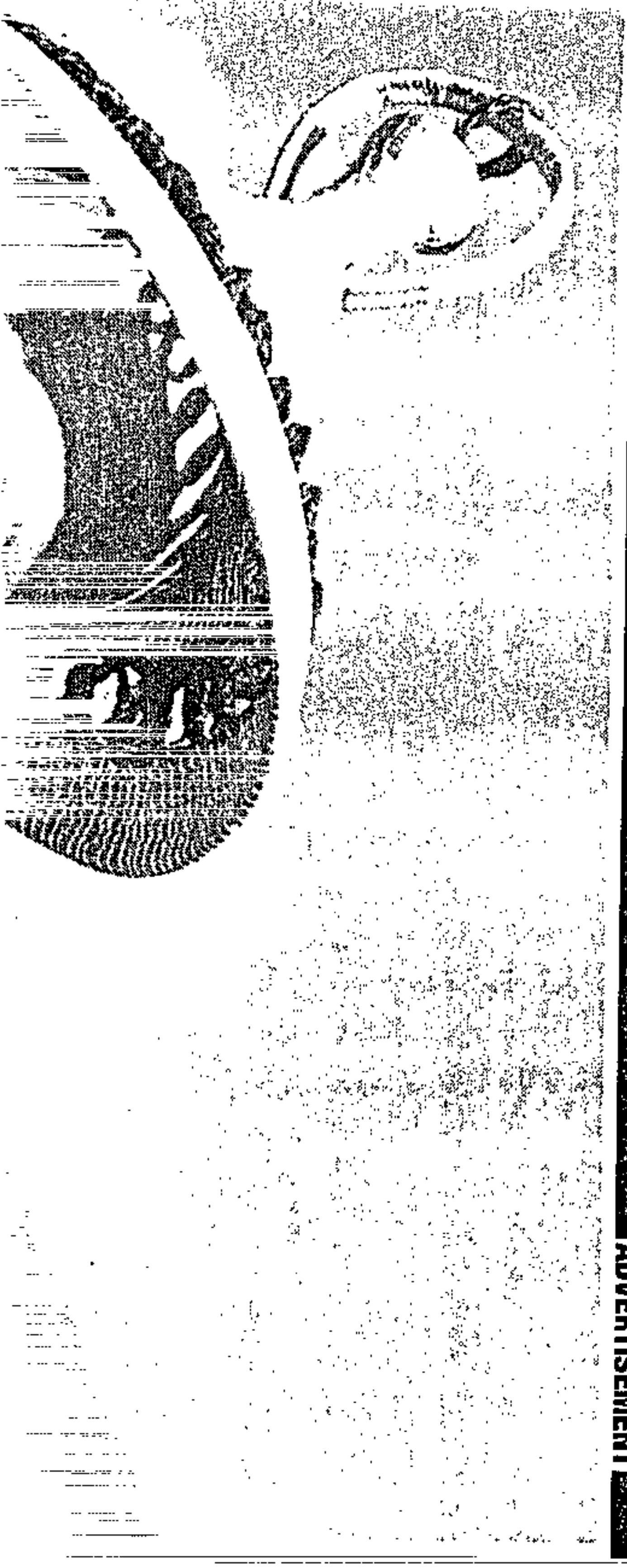


**IN SYNCH:** Baton and shield at the ready and breathing easy, a National Peacekeeping Force troop demonstrates crowd control in manoeuvres at Koeberg.

**LETTER OF THE LAW:** Officer in charge of training Colonel Sakkie Marais, right, lays down the law to the men he commands.



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# Cloud known as 'Natal' hangs over Koeberg

□ Peacekeepers will go to 'hot-spot'

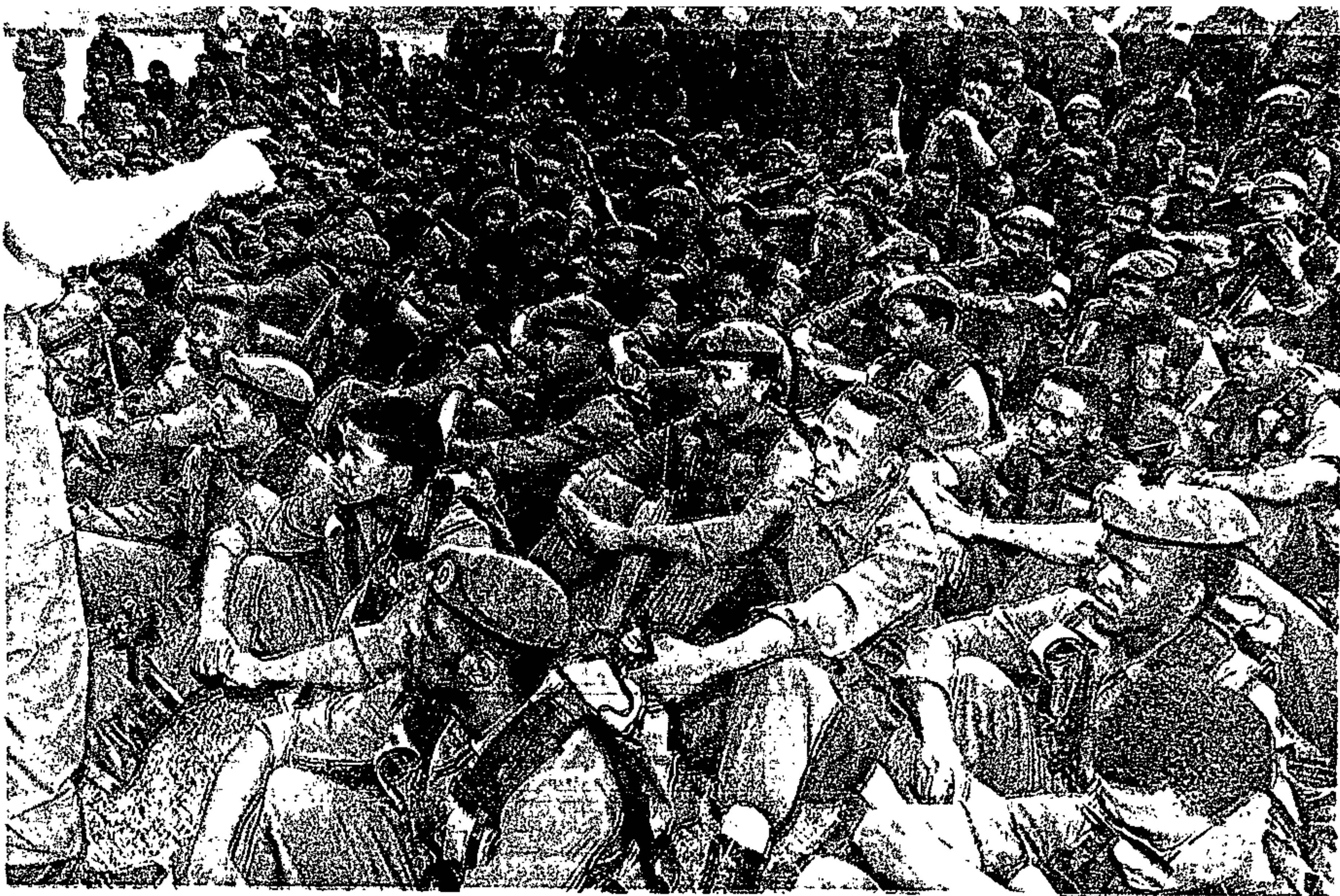
**ROGER FRIEDMAN**  
Staff Reporter *AR4* 13/4/94

A CLOUD called Natal hangs heavy over Koeberg, temporary home to the National Peacekeeping Force's Fourth Battalion. The battalion completes its eight-

blue Mamba personnel carriers adorned with NPKF logo surrounded by olive branches were on display yesterday.

Fourth Battalion commanding officer Molefe Dhladhla declared the troops ready and waiting for further





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# Cloud known as 'Natal' hangs over Koeberg

□ Peacekeepers will go to 'hot-spot'

ROGER FRIEDMAN <sup>107</sup>  
Staff Reporter *ARC 13/4/94*

A CLOUD called Natal hangs heavy over Koeberg, temporary home to the National Peacekeeping Force's Fourth Battalion.

The battalion completes its eight-week training programme today, but remains in the dark about where it is to be deployed.

The talk in the camp is of Natal and a lukewarm to ice-cold welcome from Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

Spokesman Connie van Rensburg said he hoped to know by today, after a command council meeting, where the troops would be sent.

"Deployment is very contentious at this stage. NPKF headquarters is carrying on contingency planning for deployment and is awaiting instructions from the command council," he said.

The peacekeepers — who strode through a battery of stringent internationally-monitored evaluations with a 100 percent success rate last week — begin a week's leave today.

Their return to Koeberg next week will be brief. All they know is that one of the country's "hot-spots" awaits them.

The NPKF's brand-new blue two-tone uniforms and a fleet of 18 bright

blue Mamba personnel carriers adorned with NPKF logo surrounded by olive branches were on display yesterday.

Fourth Battalion commanding officer Molefe Dhladhla declared the troops ready and waiting for further orders.

Colonel Van Rensburg said the soldiers were evaluated by an independent team comprising two senior South African officers and six French military specialists, "assisted by local instructors from the various forces".

He said only half the NPKF intake at De Brug, near Bloemfontein, passed evaluation at the first attempt.

Muff Anderson said the Transitional Executive Council had budgeted for another three battalions and the NPKF was negotiating with Eskom for the continued use of Koeberg camp.

Major Anderson said the TEC had approved its 1994/1995 budget, "so there will be NPKF activity throughout the year".

Beyond the parade ground officer in charge of training Sakkie Marais explained helicopter drill.

NPKF officers said Fourth Battalion's high standards, discipline and morale were largely due to the respected Colonel Marais.



## Council beefs up emergency measures

PRETORIA — The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) moved yesterday to force the KwaZulu government to cooperate in election procedures by agreeing to extend the powers of the state of emergency in Natal and KwaZulu.

The reinforcement of the powers, by the addition of several new regulations, was necessary to prevent KwaZulu government officials from interfering with the requirements and duties of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

SACP representative on the TEC, Joe Slovo, said the elections could not be left "to the goodwill of the KwaZulu government". There should be no element of discretion in whether officials and facilities, such as government buildings, were made available for the elections. The current emergency regulations were inadequate to ensure the KwaZulu government's co-operation, he said.

The TEC, noting the reluctance of the KwaZulu government, some traditional leaders in the region and members of the public service to participate in the elections, resolved to allow its joint executive secretariat and state legal advisers to

ADRIAN HADLAND

draft the new regulations. *B/Day*

Details of the new regulations had not been finalised and government TEC representative Dawie de Villiers said only that "further steps may be necessary to enhance the democratic process".

The content of the new regulations would be based on the needs of the IEC and the security forces, he said.

Sapa reports that at least 11 people were killed after violence erupted again in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Ndwedwe and Bambhayi, near Durban, on Monday.

The latest reports push the toll in Natal to at least 178 since the emergency was declared 12 days ago. *1314194*

□ About 40 000 people are expected to march on the magistrate's offices at Vryheid in northern Natal today in support of the Zulu monarchy. *(107)*

Police have appealed to marchers to heed the emergency regulations, in terms of which they are not allowed to carry traditional weapons.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 216 Vermeulen St, Pta.

● See Page 12

## AWB men found guilty of roadblock killings

FIVE AWB members who shot at 10 blacks including three children they stopped at a bogus roadblock last year were found guilty in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday of murder, attempted murder and assault. *B/Day 1314194*

In a marathon judgment which resumes for the third day this morning, Judge D Marais and two assessors found all five men guilty on four counts of murder and six counts of attempted murder.

The men were part of a group of nine armed right-wingers who set up a bogus roadblock on the Krugersdorp-Ventersdorp road on December 12 last year to apprehend black motorists.

The 10 victims, four of whom died from their wounds, were travelling in two vehicles stopped at the roadblock. They were ordered out of the cars and told to sit on the ground.

The AWB men opened fire on them at close range and without warning.

The judge found that four of the men, Petrus Matthews, 26, Martinus van der Schyff, 25, Frederick Badenhorst, 20, and Marius Visser, 23, had intended to kill their victims when they opened fire.

He found that they had fired their weapons in accordance with a decision taken at the roadblock by at least six of the AWB men.

He said the four at the very least should have, and must have, foreseen that their

SUSAN RUSSELL

unlawful activities could lead to deaths.

The fifth man, Karel Meiring, was also convicted of murder yesterday.

The judge said there was no direct evidence that Meiring had fired his handgun, but he rejected Meiring's testimony that when he had heard a shot he had jumped into a car used by the right-wingers and had not asked his friends what had happened afterwards. *(214)*

There was also evidence that Meiring had told his friends after the incident that he had fired two shots.

The court found the five men and two co-accused, Gerhardus Diedericks, 34, and Andre Visser, 39, guilty of assault.

Marais said the men had gone out on the night of December 12 intending to apprehend, assault and intimidate blacks. They were all guilty of the assaults that had taken place.

Marais will continue with his judgment this morning.

He has still to give his finding on the murder and attempted murder charges against Diedericks and Visser.

Two other co-accused, Phillipus Kloppers, 40, and Deon Martin, 30 — who were allegedly the leaders of the group — were referred for psychiatric observation last month and will be tried separately.

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*TEC to toughen emergency regulations*

## 'Get KwaZulu to polls on time'

*Star 13/4/94*

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

Far-reaching steps to ensure voters can get to the polls in KwaZulu/Natal, including beefing up the state of emergency, are imminent amid signs of increasing militancy from Ulundi.

With only two weeks to go to the election, the TEC agreed to toughen the state of emergency regulations in the province yesterday and it was revealed that extra polling days may be allowed in KwaZulu/Natal.

The moves came as a KwaZulu deputy minister warned that the homeland government would defy the new dispensation and continue operating if its constitutional demands were not met.

### 'IRA war'

A KwaZulu cabinet minister also speculated on the possibility of an IRA-type war if the IFP was excluded from a settlement.

At the time of going to press the task group formed after the Skukuza summit last week and deliberating the future role of the Zulu monarchy, was still meeting.

However, a Government source said that if the task group was successful — and there had been some vaguely encouraging signals — another

**ULUNDI is taking a tougher stance ahead of moves to ensure those in KwaZulu who wish to vote will be able to do so without hindrance**

summit of the four leaders may not have to be held.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo introduced a resolution at the TEC yesterday which, he said, would remove the element of discretion from KwaZulu in deciding on what facilities it would make available for the election.

The KwaZulu government could not be allowed to exercise its discretion because it had not displayed goodwill towards the election, he said. The exact nature of the additions to the regulations was left to the TEC's structures to decide.

TEC chairman Dawie de Villiers said in a briefing after the TEC meeting the new regulations would be released today.

Slovo also said that it was imperative for the regulations to be "reinforced" to enable the security forces to carry out their tasks.

He said the KwaZulu government was not co-operating fully with the Independent Electoral

Commission, some tribal chiefs were reluctant to facilitate the holding of free and fair elections, and KwaZulu civil servants were hindered in co-operating with the IEC. (107)

Natal Indian Congress delegate and TEC management committee member Pravin Gordhan also told the meeting there had been "a thinking that additional days for voting were required in Natal".

Exploratory discussions on this issue had been held between the TEC management committee and the Independent Electoral Committee.

No decision has been taken, but it was agreed that the situation in the province would be monitored, Gordhan said.

KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Valaphi Ndlovu said from Ulundi that it would be business as usual on April 29.

"Who will come to Ulundi to tell our government to disband if we do not take part in the election?" he asked defiantly.

KwaZulu Finance Minister Dr Denis Madide said yesterday that if the IFP was excluded from a settlement "one can with the greatest horror think of the PLO or IRA... because then you have people driven by a very strong force of nationalism who are on the outside and who are dissatisfied".

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# 'Kwazulu violence down — poll goes on'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The elections would go ahead as planned in the Natal/Kwazulu region because there had been a downward trend in violence since the declaration of the state of emergency, Independent Electoral Commission vice-chairman Mr Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

He was speaking at the University of Natal here, where he was invited by the student publication Dome to address students on why people should vote.

Mr Moseneke said it appeared there was a reduction of violence over the past 48 hours in comparison with the preceding 48 hours. His comments were based on briefings the IEC receives from the

army generals in the security forces.

He said 18 million ballot papers had already been printed to be distributed to the 9 000 voting stations.

Asked if he could be certain that there would be free and fair elections in Natal, he conceded that the IEC had had difficulties in running voter education in large areas

of Kwazulu and in setting up voting stations.

"We will try to make voting as near perfect as possible," he said.

He told the students it would make sense to vote, and urged them to make themselves available to work as IEC electoral officers.

Mr Moseneke's IEC colleague Ms Gay McDougall described the elections as a moment of history that

would signal a break with the past and offer opportunities for the start of a healing process.

"Your vote is going to place your destiny in your own hands and create opportunities for you to transform this country into a society of equality between the rich and the poor, man and woman, city dwellers and the rural folk," said Ms McDougall.

CT 14/4/94  
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THE SKUKUZA SUMMIT

Fm 15/4/94

# An exercise in futility?

~~107~~ 107

Maybe not, but the immediate consequences have done more harm than good



Over the past week, the four "democratic" leaders portrayed on our cover have contrived to do more harm to the economy and SA's democratic and peaceful aspirations than did the last "apartheid" presi-

dent, P W Botha, on that fateful evening of the Rubicon speech in Natal nine years ago when he balked at the implications of his own political innovation.

The outcome of the summit put us in a worse position than the Rubicon reversal did all those years ago. Indeed, the four leaders gathered with what can only be seen to have been uncompromising aspirations.

The tide of optimism that preceded Friday's meeting of the top four political leaders at a private bush camp near Skukuza in the Kruger National Park was short-lived.

Confrontation rather than compromise dominated the day and the first gathering of the four may well have been their last. Let us pray for the sake of SA that it isn't. Panic in the financial markets (see *Economy*) in reaction to the failed talks illustrates how much our future is in their hands.

Hopes for a breakthrough now rest with international mediators headed by Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington. Their efforts are probably our last chance of a settlement in the short term, but the outlook is not good.

The summit may well have hardened positions instead of opened the way for compromise. The faint hope that President F W de Klerk, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela would somehow find one another in the tranquillity

of the Kruger Park and pave the way for relatively peaceful elections in KwaZulu in less than a fortnight was wishful thinking.

Failure was signalled more than four hours before the talks ended. The 80-strong media contingent flown in by the SA Air Force to await the outcome was given a scathing 12-page memorandum presented by Zwelithini to Mandela: a chronological account of months of perceived insults by the ANC against the Zulu monarchy and people, and a new demand for restoration of the kingdom.

Though the meeting between the king and Mandela — their first ever — was initially scheduled as one-on-one, the king, relying on protocol, insisted on being accompanied by his entire delegation. ANC aides regarded this as a ploy by Buthelezi, the king's chief adviser, to ensure Mandela couldn't persuade the king to change his anti-election attitude in return for a high-profile constitutional position.

Though upset by Zwelithini's attitude, Mandela nevertheless made a proposal to accommodate him in the regional constitution. The ANC had apparently been so confident that the plan would be accepted that it headed the document: *Agreement between the ANC and the Royal House of KwaZulu*.

But later, when a copy was circulated to journalists, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the plan had "unfortunately" not been accepted and should therefore be regarded as a proposal, not an agreement.

The full extent of the summit's failure became apparent only at the late-night press conference. It was announced jointly by the

four that the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu royal house was to be referred to a joint working group that had to report back within six days and that unresolved constitutional issues would be referred to international mediation. In other words, there had been no progress towards a settlement.



Buthelezi remained insistent that the election should be postponed and that registration of parties participating in the poll be reopened. This was emphatically rejected by Mandela: "There should be no doubt whatsoever about the election on April 27. We cannot postpone our freedom. We are determined to set up a government of our choice on that day."

Ever the optimist, De Klerk insisted that "important progress" had been made on "major issues" such as the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu monarchy. "I'm confident that the task group will come up with good results. There is already consensus. It is a question of putting it together."

Buthelezi disagreed: "Unfortunately, progress could not be made on fundamental issues," he said. Then, as if to emphasise his point, Buthelezi read a separate statement in which he and Zwelithini raised issues not addressed in the joint communiqué.

Angered by not having been warned of Buthelezi's intention to issue a separate statement, Mandela responded with a bitter attack on Inkatha. All pretence of progress crumbled under the glare of the world's TV lights.

Mandela said the ANC had gone out of its way to address the king's concerns and would press ahead with the accommodation of the monarchy in the regional constitution. He cautioned repeatedly against expecting miracles from the working group. He clearly believes time has run out for constitutional tinkering before April 27 and now wants the political crisis in KwaZulu to be resolved by



Four on the floor ... De Klerk, Mandela, Zwelithini, Buthelezi



the new parliament after the election.

It was not quite one minute to midnight, but close enough to be dramatically symbolic, when De Klerk intervened to prevent the press conference from degenerating into a destructive verbal duel between Mandela and Buthelezi. He rescued some unity of purpose by shifting the focus back to the summit's achievements and emphasised the "broad foundation" that had been laid.

Mandela took the cue and agreed, belatedly, that "tremendous progress" had been made. Buthelezi followed, acknowledging that it had not been "an exercise in futility."

But, when the press conference ended and the delegations gathered in tight, isolated knots to await executive jets to wing them back home, it was obvious to journalists, who were regaled with unflattering accounts of how rival delegates had behaved, that the situation remains dangerously grave.

As things stand, the election will go ahead without Inkatha in 12 days' time. Even if international mediation begins right away, there is scant hope of progress by April 27.

What, then, is the immediate outlook for the region and the country? As we noted (*Leaders* April 8), the unrest in many parts of the province is not conducive to a free and fair election. Even if the security forces succeed in bringing down the death rate, the climate of intimidation and fear will probably take years to ease.

Nevertheless, the election will be held in KwaZulu but on a smaller scale than initially planned. The IEC has reduced the number of polling stations in the region to allow greater concentrations of security forces at the stations and along access routes from nearby residential areas.

Unless no voting is possible anywhere in the province, which is most unlikely, the IEC will, in all probability, declare the poll there to be substantially free and fair, based on the votes that could be counted.

The IEC could justify this on a poll as low as 30% if it is assumed that there would have been a poll of at least 70% had Inkatha participated and that Inkatha has 50% of voter support in the region. A 30%-35% poll could therefore be regarded as a fair reflection of the views of voters other than Inkatha supporters. This means only 1,3m-1,5m of the province's 4,5m voters will need to vote for the poll to be considered legitimate.

According to Department of Home Affairs figures, more than 60% of voters are concentrated in 16 of the region's 66 magisterial districts, including 360 000 in Durban, 200 000 in Umlazi, 189 000 in Inanda,



Zwelithini



De Klerk

161 000 in Maritzburg, 121 000 in Chatsworth and 133 000 in Pinetown, all of which are relatively easy to police for three days of polling if security forces are deployed in sufficient numbers.

Central Statistical Service in Pretoria says there are 445 000 white and 500 000 Indian voters in KwaZulu/Natal, so a 70% poll among whites and 60% among Indians would alone provide more than 600 000 votes. Only about 20% of the 3,57m black voters would then have to vote to give a poll of around 30%. Chances are that substantially more will.

The outcome of the election in these conditions raises interesting possibilities, including an outside chance of an NP victory in the province if a significant number of Inkatha supporters defy Buthelezi to back the NP and a substantial number of ANC supporters stay away because of intimidation.

An ANC-dominated provincial government is more likely but with a strong NP component. The effect of a low poll in

KwaZulu/Natal will be felt at national level but not sufficiently to undermine overall credibility.

A 70% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 30% in the region will give an average poll of 62%. An 80% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 35% there will give an average of 71%.

The NP will probably gain most nationally by a low poll in Natal, which will almost certainly destroy what little chance the ANC has of gaining a two-thirds majority in the national assembly.

But Buthelezi and Inkatha will be far worse off. Speaking to journalists after the summit, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa made it clear that the KwaZulu government will cease to exist after the election. If necessary, Buthelezi, his Ministers and other elected and appointed political representatives will be forcibly removed from office.

As PM to his nephew, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi will keep an important ceremonial role, but political power — and control of the purse strings — will rest, in all probability, with ANC regional leader Jacob Zuma and his national unity administration in Maritzburg.

A purge of Inkatha loyalists from the KwaZulu civil service and police is also likely, but most officials, not wishing to lose their jobs, are expected to have no difficulty switching allegiance.

Inkatha's future is difficult to determine. Though party workers continue to put up election posters in parts of Natal urging a vote for Inkatha "when the time comes," it certainly won't be on April 27.

The continued support of traditional leaders will be an important factor. Without patronage to dispense, Buthelezi may find that much of it evaporates, particularly if the ANC succeeds in portraying itself as a defender of the monarchy.

Lacking a constitutional platform from which to further their cause, Inkatha militants may consider some form of insurrection. But an armed struggle without substantial foreign backing in terms of bases and logistical and diplomatic support will be short-lived. Limited sabotage and other violent acts are a possibility, especially in concert with rightwing fanatics, and could cause considerable disruption for a while.

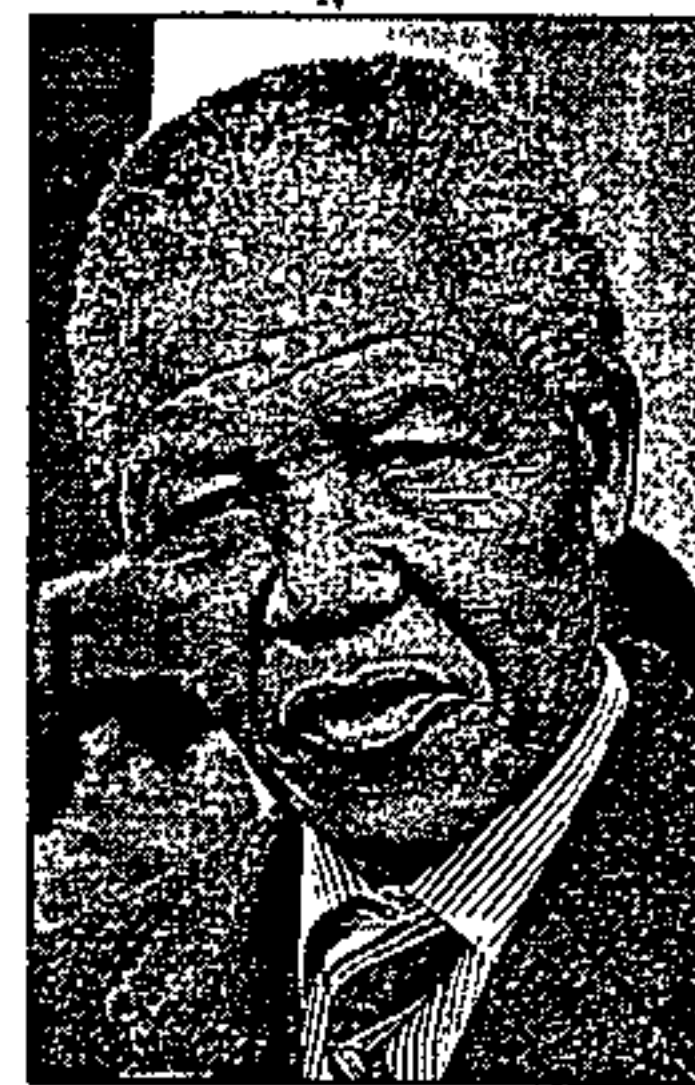
Peaceful resistance such as strikes and boycotts may have limited success, but most Inkatha supporters tend either to be migrant workers anxious to keep their jobs or rural dwellers not employed in the formal sector and lacking the financial muscle to sustain long-term consumer boycotts. Disruptive mass action will probably not be tolerated for long by the new government, particularly if it leads to violence.

The spectre of full-scale civil war and military action such as the air strikes now being mounted against Bosnian Serbs by UN forces in central Europe are mostly the product of overzealous reporters eager to squeeze the last iota of sensation from a story that needs no dramatic embellishment.

The SA Defence Force and SA Police are infinitely superior to any militia Inkatha may be able to muster and the new government is expected to use the security forces far more ruthlessly to stamp out the unrest than is currently the case. Some ANC leaders are already pointing to the effectiveness of previous states of emergency when thousands of dissidents were arrested within days of the security measures becoming effective and asking why the same is not happening now.

This potential within the ANC for a vicious backlash against Inkatha must not be underestimated. An important task of minority parties in the national assembly and of the international community will be to guard against it.

They must insist that



Mandela



Buthelezi



KWAZULU

Fm 15/4/94

# Can the mediators pull it off?

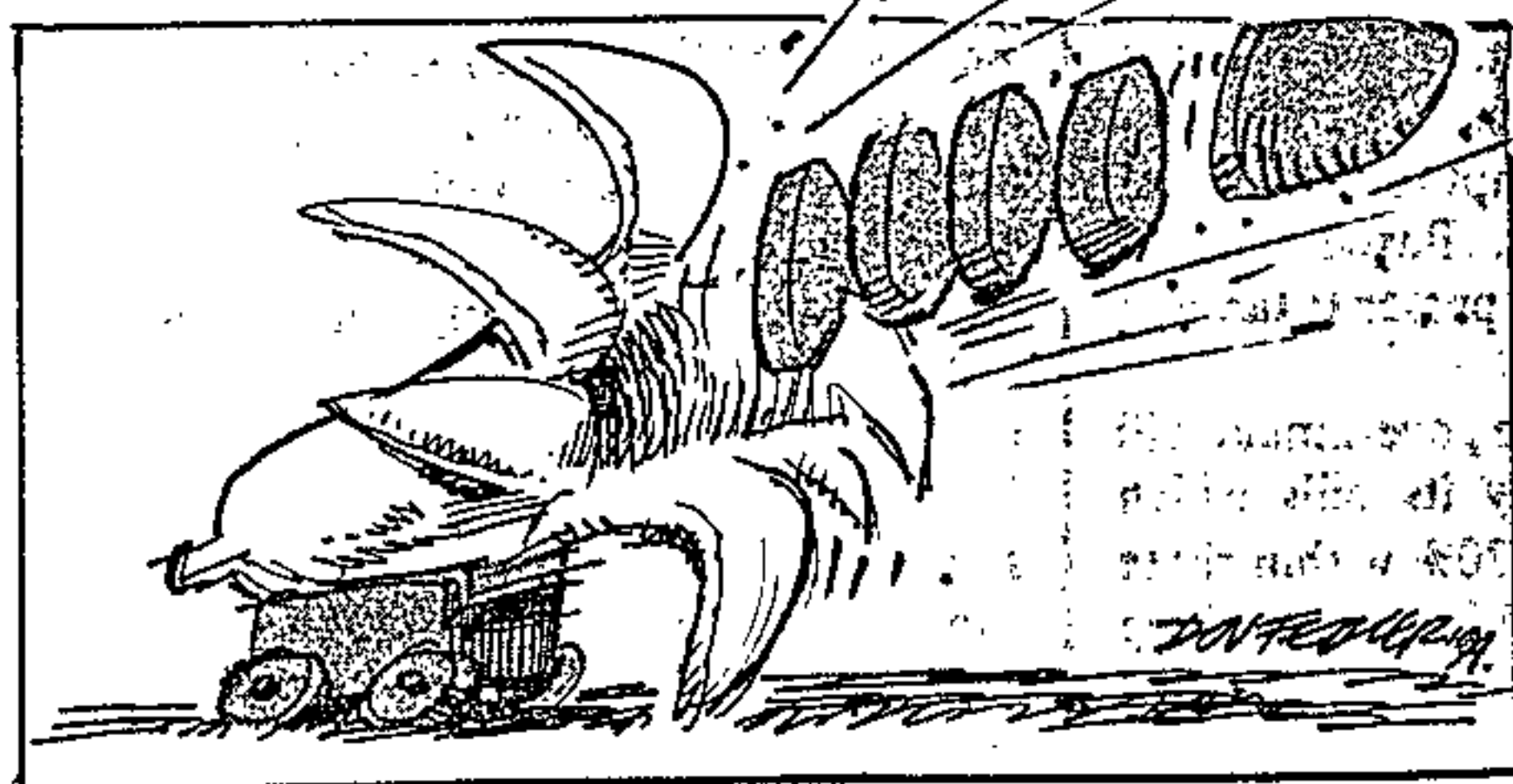
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If ever there was a demonstration of the carrot-and-stick approach to politics, it is that now being used to resolve the volatile KwaZulu/Natal impasse. The problem is KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is barely sniffing at the carrot and, far from cringing from the stick, threatens to hit straight back.

For all ANC leader Nelson Mandela's assertions to the foreign media that Buthelezi does not have the capacity to wage a Vietnam-style military campaign in the province, he's all too painfully aware that the chief minister and his supporters, irrespective of whether they remain in control of Ulundi and its civil service, can make things decidedly uncomfortable for any new regional administration.

The region is known to be flooded with arms and a considerable number of Inkatha supporters have been given at least the rudiments of military training at clandestine training camps set up throughout KwaZulu. They clearly have the capacity to wage an effective, low-key, guerrilla war capable of tying up men and resources for years with devastating consequences for the region.

Moreover, though the ANC has yet to be elected to office there are signs of increasing disenchantment, locally and abroad, with the unceremonious (and legally and democratically questionable) way both the ANC and government sweep aside opposition to the election. Both would thus be well advised to tread carefully in their dealings with Inkatha from a purely diplomatic perspective if nothing else.



The state of emergency in KwaZulu is a case in point. Captain Kim van Niekerk, of the Natal Security Infoc Centre in Durban, says the number of troops deployed in the province in the first fortnight of the emergency has risen to between 2 200 and 2 400.

"If warranted we will send more troops to the area. The situation is assessed on a day-to-day basis," she says. "We also decide on a daily basis where in the province to deploy forces so they are not wasted in non-conflict areas."

Van Niekerk adds that the strategy seems to be working, though to what extent it is being effective is difficult to quantify. "Violence seems to have dissipated, though we cannot yet prove it statistically, particularly as it is difficult to differentiate between politically and criminally motivated strife."

There is a body of opinion, however, which believes that all the troops have done is serve to heighten tensions and that they will be of little or no effect in ensuring free and fair elections take place in the region.

On the carrot side, the picture is equally bleak (see *Leaders*). Last week's quadrilateral talks in the Kruger National Park were clearly a failure and the last vestiges of hope for a pre-election resolution of the impasse rest with ongoing discussion between the negotiating teams and international mediation which was scheduled to begin on Wednesday.

Interestingly, though government and the Nats initially poo-pooed the idea of mediation when it was used as a means of enticing Buthelezi to register for the elections, government has now wheedled its way into the process. Clearly it believes there could be political advantage to be gained from participation, though it would seem the NP would have the most to gain if Inkatha stayed out of the election. Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte believes there is an excellent chance of the Nats winning the election in KwaZulu/Natal. Certainly, the

NP's campaign seems to be gathering momentum in the region.

Realistically, though, what chances are there of a breakthrough in the mediation process?

The international mediation team consists of Judge H K Bhagwati (India); Lord Carrington (UK); Judge A Leon Higginbotham (US); Henry Kissinger (US); Prof Paul Kevenhorster (Germany); Judge Antonio La Pergola (Italy) and Prof Jean Antoine Laponce (Canada).

Cyril Ramaphosa leads the ANC's team to the mediation talks, Roelf Meyer government's, Ben Ngubane Inkatha's and Prince Vincent Zulu that of the King.

The odds, of course, are virtually nil that any solution can be thrashed out in time for Inkatha to participate in the election. The leaders' summit last Friday gave their negotiating teams until Thursday to reach an agreement which would allow for Inkatha's

participation. And Ramaphosa has stressed that the ANC will not entertain any postponement of the poll. There's a feeling abroad that it would take a "miracle" to produce a constitutional deal between the ANC and Inkatha at this late juncture.

The mediators' first task is to mediate on the terms of reference of their mediation task — only part of which has so far been agreed. One issue that may well scupper mediation before it gets under way is Inkatha's demand for a postponement of the election. Other differences include the ANC's desire to test the interim constitution against the yardstick that it provides for a "democratic, nonracist, nonsexist, united SA," while Inkatha wants a "federalistic and pluralistic" constitution.

The general view, then, is one of pessimism. However, that in itself could pave the way for a more realistic approach to compromise than has been evident previously when hopes of a breakthrough were higher. ■

## PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMMES

### Note of warning

Hot on the heels of a call by the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) for an ANC government to break up the Development Bank of SA, because of alleged tardiness over job-creating public works projects, comes an Urban Foundation report on the international and SA experience of public works programmes.

Unlike Sanco, the foundation's report advocates a crucial need for partnerships between government and the private sector, as well as local community involvement, as a key element of future employment policies.

It emphasises that the central government should not be seen as the sole, or even the main, player in the development of public works programmes as it is extremely difficult to conceive an effective "developmental" state which on its own can design, manage, implement, maintain and monitor a sound programme.

According to the report, SA spends R6,2bn a year — about 5% of its national budget — on a variety of projects that are partially public works.

It is noted that the programmes (centre-piece of the ANC's election manifesto), are likely to be an important component of the new government's reconstruction and development programme. But the foundation's Ann Bernstein warns that while such programmes can have strong benefits, they can also be costly failures if poorly thought out.

In raising the question of whether it is possible to increase significantly the labour



**As the political conflict continues in kwazulu with the death toll mounting and preparations being made for war, an IFP spokesman reveals that the call to wage war against an ANC government will come from the King, 'a political untouchable', Farouk Chothia reports**

# Call to arms in kwazulu

(107)

WMM 15-21/4/94

**A** CALL by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on his subjects to wage armed struggle against an ANC-led government of national unity was "within the realm of possibility", Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Mtshali said this week.

Mass action and civil disobedience campaigns, including rent boycotts, were also possible.

In an interview, Mtshali said any call to arms would come from Zwelithini — a political untouchable.

The IFP would continue operating as a legal organisation, while an "amorphous group of people" would operate outside it, making any government clampdown on the party difficult.

Other sources have confirmed war preparations are underway, with guerrilla-type cells being formed.

They claimed 5 000 IFP fighters trained at Mlaba camp in Umfolozi and other camps would form the backbone of a guerrilla force, and said IFP supporters were already stockpiling weapons — including tracer bullets, mortar bombs, AK47 rifles and RPG

7s. By using Zwelithini, the IFP hopes an armed struggle would have wider appeal, observers believe.

Said Mtshali: "Royalist fervour is running very, very high (in the urban and peri-urban strongholds of the ANC)."

But observers believe the IFP would be strongest in rural areas, where it can rely on the support of chiefs and fighting farmers, enabling attacks on industrialised areas which could include blowing up pipelines and railway lines to the PWY — South Africa's economic heartland.

The kwazulu government is expected to resist any moves to disband the homeland which, legally, is due to cease to exist after elections.

Kwazulu deputy minister of works Velaphi Ndlovu told the *Mail & Guardian* it would be "business as usual" in Ulundi after the elections and that the new government would be regarded as "illegitimate".

As kwazulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) members were elected, "nobody can just tell us what to do".

If a new government wanted to "force" them out of office, they could send in troops.

Sources said the kwazulu government was considering adopting a new constitution — either before or after the election — and presenting it as a new constitution.

This would frustrate dismantling the homeland and put pressure on a new government to meet its constitutional demands.

Several ANC election rallies were banned under the emergency regulations this week while IFP anti-election rallies went ahead.

In Durban, about 20 non-governmental organisations at a civil society summit warned the emergency had increased "political polarisation" and fostered a "war psychosis".

Meanwhile it is believed the TEC will use beefed-up emergency regulations to prohibit all strike action, which would force striking kwazulu teachers — some staying away in the face of IFP death-threats — and nurses back to work.

Sources said other amendments could include:

● Empowering the TEC to "commandeer" kwazulu property — to aid election preparations.

● A ban on carrying and displaying weapons in public, whether concealed or not, to counter an IFP ploy of hiding weapons in plastic bags.

● Giving the National Peacekeeping Force powers similar to those of the police and SADF — paving the way for NPKF deployment in the province and reducing reliance on the SAP and SADF to enforce the emergency.

A number of incidents show the emergency's impact on the ANC's ability to campaign in the region:



# Mediators quit

CR1514/74

SAF 107

## Move to set up fresh summit

**THE government and the ANC are making a last-gasp attempt to secure a free election in Natal/KwaZulu following the collapse of international mediation.**

As international mediators packed their bags last night for their ANC and government sources confirmed there were plans for a second bush summit with Inkatha.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has responded indifferently. After the collapse of the talks yesterday, he warned of a catastrophe, but ruled out the possibility of armed insurrection in Kwazulu/Natal.

Inkatha was entering a period of "resistance politics", he said. As much as he tried it was expecting too much of him to control his supporters. The outlook was "very grim".

President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela wanted to arrange a summit with Chief Buthelezi and the Zulu king, government and ANC sources confirmed last night, but it was not certain they would agree.

Indications are that all that can be negotiated are measures to ensure the poll is held in the region. The seven-man team of international mediators said the reason for their decision to leave was that the parties disagreed on the terms of reference.

Chief Buthelezi refused to accept revised terms of reference that said the election date was not a subject for mediation. The original terms of reference agreed to by an ANCI/IFP team had made no mention of the election date.

The IFP argued that the purpose of the mediation was to resolve constitutional issues, leading inevitably to the IFP's rejoining the electoral process. However, the new terms of reference — drawn up in conjunction with the government when it joined the process as a full participant — were not acceptable to Chief Buthelezi.

A last-minute attempt by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha to save the mediation process came to nothing. Mr Botha told mediator Dr Henry



**GOING HOME . . .** Foreign mediators former US Secretary of State Mr Henry Kissinger, right, and former British Secretary Lord Carrington, left, leave a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday after announcing the mediation team would return home immediately.

Picture: AP

To page 2

P.T.O.



# Mediation

ET 15/4/94  
Kissinger yesterday morning the government was prepared to go back to the original terms of reference.

This was rejected by the ANC.

Despite Dr Kissinger's appeals to Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, he could not save the process.

Dr Kissinger said the mediators had come on the "honest misunderstanding" that their terms of reference had been agreed to.

United States mediator Mr Justice Leon Higinbotham said it was not so much that mediation had failed, but that the process had not come about.

The ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, warned that more SADF troops would be moved into KwaZulu/Natal to strengthen the emergency measures and secure elections.

Chief Buthelezi warned that this would be "dangerous".

He predicted violence would increase despite the emergency, but the election would go ahead because he could not stop it.

He said Inkatha's central committee would meet urgently to consider its next move.

It is understood the ANC is still pursuing ways of accommodating King Goodwill Zwelithini and has revised the package presented at last weekend's summit.

— Own Correspondent  
Sapa



# I'm not worried

Sowetan  
15/4/94  
says  
chief

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday appeared resigned to the fact that two weeks from now he will not be Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg on the international mediation which never got off the ground, Buthelezi said he was not unduly concerned about his future after this month's election, adding that his pension would be safe.

Asked if he was worried about his and his people's position in KwaZulu once an ANC-dominated regional government was in power in KwaZulu-Natal, Buthelezi replied: "We have our pensions, if you are talking about money. I will get my

Similarly, his colleagues in government and KwaZulu civil servants would also get their pensions, he said.

The IFP leader expressed his "great disappointment" with mediation's failure, and laid the blame at the door of the ANC and Government. He said the two had been opposed to mediation from the beginning, and had now "again ruined another opportunity where there could have been reconciliation, where there could have been rapprochement and we could have participated in the election".

However, he would continue to engage the ANC and the Government in negotiations.

Pushed repeatedly by foreign journalists to say he would now resort to armed insurrection, Buthelezi said he had never considered taking up arms even against racist successive National Party governments, and he would not do so now.

"The reason why I was never attracted to the armed struggle is (that) there will be no spoils of war. There will be no beautiful women to bring home for people to marry," Buthelezi said.

*Sowetan Correspondent*  
(K Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



*'Great disappointment' at failure of talks*

# There will be no war - Buthelezi

Star 15/4 1994

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■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi appeared resigned yesterday to the fact that two weeks from now he will not be Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

A relaxed Buthelezi told a press conference in Johannesburg on the failed international mediation that he was not unduly concerned about his future after the election, adding that his pension would be safe.

Asked if he was worried about his and his people's position in KwaZulu once an ANC-dominated regional government was in power, Buthelezi replied: "We have our pensions, if you are

talking about money."

He expressed his "great disappointment" with the failure of mediation, and laid the blame at the door of the ANC and the Government.

The two, he said, had been opposed to mediation from the beginning, and had "again ruined another opportunity where there could have been reconciliation".

However, he would continue to engage the ANC and the Government in negotiations.

Asked whether he would resort to armed insurrection, Buthelezi said he had never considered taking up arms even against successive racist National Party governments, and he would not do so now.

"It (a war) would be a terrible thing for Natal. It would be terrible for South Africa and the rest of southern Africa. Whoever wins power through war would have won a pyrrhic victory."

The IFP leader said he had always stated openly that those who wanted to vote in the election had their democratic right to do so, adding that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had not called on Zulus not to vote.

He said he did not know if he and King Goodwill would still attend the second round of talks with ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, now expected to be held next week.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# Bid to get king's okay on voting

Star 15/4/94

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Ulundi — A last-ditch effort is being made to persuade King Goodwill Zwelithini to authorise Zulus to vote in the election.

It is understood that church leaders headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu have been granted an audience with the king, possibly today, near Nongoma.

This follows the inconclusive Skukuza summit last week and the breakdown yesterday in international mediation efforts to resolve the impasse. (107)

The IFP has declined to participate in the election and Zwelithini has not advised his 8.2 million subjects about voting.

## Assurance

It is widely believed that without his personal assurance many Zulus — particularly those in the IFP — will not go to the polls in KwaZulu.

This weekend, they are to be urged at mass rallies in KwaZulu/Natal that they should vote. ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to address a series of rallies in the Durban area and Ladysmith tomorrow.

■ It was widely believed in Ulundi last night that units of the SADF and SAP were preparing to take up positions this weekend in the light of the failure of mediation.

It is understood that roads are to be barricaded, but this could not be confirmed.

Long convoys of armoured vehicles were seen yesterday heading south on the Vryheid-Melmoth road close to Ulundi.



# King Goodwill calls for peace

cr 16/4/94

(107)

ULUNDI. — King Goodwill Zwelethini joined top-level South African church leaders yesterday in a plea for peace in KwaZulu-Natal — even as thousands of Zulus marched and more troops prepared to move into the region.

Speaking after a meeting with church leaders at his residence at Nongoma, King Goodwill appealed to his subjects to reject violence.

Before the meeting, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu told reporters: "We have come just to speak about peace . . . We are not going to be partisan."

Also in the church delegation were Professor Johan Heyns and Dr Louw Alberts of the NG Church, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, who is also National Peace Committee vice-chairman, Dr Khoza Mgojo of the Methodist Church and Pastor Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church.

National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall, who was

'Talks did  
not go  
smoothly'

also present, said the talks had not proceeded smoothly, but added: "I think we reached common ground."

Thousands of Zulus marched through Pongola in northern Natal yesterday in support of King Goodwill's constitutional demands.

SA Defence Force spokesman Commandant Braam van Wyk said last night that before the election another 900 soldiers would join the 3 000 already deployed in KwaZulu-Natal.

The deployment had been planned before the emergency

and was unrelated to political developments, he said.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said he had appointed three special advisers to visit and report on people detained under the state of emergency in Natal.

They are Mr A I J Chadwick, SC, Mr M A Mhlahla, a member of the Legal Resources Centre, and Mr E Moolla, an attorney.

IEC officials charged with organising the poll, said in Durban yesterday they were confident free and fair elections could be staged in KwaZulu-Natal, despite "substantial obstacles".

IEC commissioner Mr Thabani Jali said the IEC had to reduce the number of polling stations from 1 500 to 900 because communities had not made their facilities available.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, speaking at the College of Education in Sebokeng yesterday, called for a summit of leaders following the failure of international mediation. — Sapa



# 'Boere' bid to train Zulu soldiers

**ROBERT BRAND**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

**PRETORIA.** — Members of the rightwing Pretoria Boere-kommando (PBK) are being recruited as military instructors to train Zulus in Kwazulu/Natal.

Disaffected members of the PBK said they were being offered salaries of R4 000 a month and a car to become military instructors in "Zulu-land".

The PBK is under the command of Commandant Willem Ratte, who is wanted by police for his involvement in the "occupation" of Fort Schanskop in Pretoria. The IFP has denied any in-

volvement in the recruitment campaign (107)

The men, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said they had refused the offer because they feared a repeat of the Mmabatho fiasco, when rightwingers rushed to President Lucas Mangope's defence only to be repulsed by the local populace.

"We don't want to train blacks so that they can turn their weapons on us," said one.

Intelligence sources reporting to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) suspect about 5 000 Zulus have received or are receiving training under the guise of "self-defence units".

In another development, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday confirmed Zulus were being trained on the Ventersdorp farm of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini last night appealed to all Zulus — irrespective of political affiliation — to "stop the senseless killings" in Kwazulu/Natal.

Similar pleas for peace were also made last night by the chairman of the National Peace Accord, John Hall and Archbishop Tutu.

The appeals came in the wake of a day of drama in which more than 1 000 soldiers

were mobilised to be deployed in Kwazulu/Natal where five more people were reported killed.

Archbishop Tutu, Johan Heyns and Louw Alberts of the NGK, Bishop Stanley Mogaba and Khoza Mgojo of the Methodist Church and Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church, headed for Kwazulu on the peace mission following the failed attempt at mediation to draw the IFP into the political process. Mr Hall said yesterday he believed the church group and the king had reached common ground on the way forward.

The dirty election, page 5. More politics on pages 18, 18 and 19.



# Eskom pledges to come clean on R2,1 m Kwazulu arms deal

JOHANNESBURG. — Eskom chief executive Allan Morgan has pledged to put the company's house in order following an internal investigation of an aborted R2,1 million arms sale to the Kwazulu Police which implicated the parastatal.

Speaking at a Press conference at Eskom's headquarters in Sandton, Mr Morgan said yesterday the investigation showed controls on the sale of Eskom's surplus weapons were inadequate and that neither the board nor any executive director had approved the sale.

"We would like to emphasise that the attempted transaction, which had been cleared by the SA Police, was cancelled because of the suspicious circumstances surrounding the hand-over, particularly in the light of political sensitivities at this crucial time in our country's history."

"It was not cancelled because of the identity of the agent, arms dealer or end

purchaser. Indeed, the report makes it clear that a similar transaction was concluded with the KZP in July, 1989."

Mr Morgan said Eskom was grateful the arms transaction had come to the attention of human resources manager Dr George Lindeque, and that executive director of services Mr Hank Plenaar had been able to put an immediate stop to it.

"I accept that ordinary citizens will be disturbed by these events. It is obviously inappropriate that a publicly-owned utility which exists to improve the quality of life of the population should find itself involved in the sale of weapons at this sensitive time."

"I regret that the good name and reputation of Eskom has been impacted by this unfortunate incident. I do believe, however, that we have responded appropriately and I have no doubt that our transparency and willingness to take

corrective steps reflects positively on the corporation."

He said controls on arms sales had been tightened and all surplus arms sales suspended. The board would control the further disposal of destruction of surplus weapons. The board would also take disciplinary action against employees implicated in the sale.

Reporters were given a summary of Eskom's evidence presented to the Goldstone Commission, which started its preliminary inquiry into the arms deal yesterday.

According to Mr G.A.F. van Niekerk, the head of Eskom's confidential investigation department, Eskom personnel had acted in good faith in a legitimate business transaction.

He said the Eskom personnel involved, namely armory manager Mr Johan van der Walt and his superior Mr J Bonthuys, Eskom's national protective services manager, had accepted the

word of arms dealer Garbs (Pty) Ltd that the weapons were intended for distribution outside South Africa.

Mr van Niekerk said Garbs' agents had "continuously denied that the weapons' destination was Kwazulu".

Three other arms sales by Eskom were made public yesterday.

The sale of 50 LM4 rifles to Shotgun Willie's Arms and Ammo in Kempton Park is still under investigation, although all the rifles have been accounted for.

The sale agreement, which should have been presented for approval to Eskom's executive director, went ahead without his permission. The weapons were removed from Eskom on March 24 and the parastatal received R10 900 for them.

Earlier KZP legal representative Mr S R Mullins told the commission the KZP had required additional weapons

for about 1 000 new special constable recruits.

The KZP had been unaware the weapons would be supplied by Eskom, although it had bought weapons from the parastatal in the past.

He said an executive officer of the Kwazulu Chief Minister's Department, Philip Powell, had initiated and closed the deal. The KZP had become aware of who the supplier was only when the vehicles were sent to Megawatt Park to collect the rifles on March 24.

It appeared from the evidence that Mr Powell had dealt through Seyeh International, which had bought the weapons from a Rosettenville arms dealer Garbs (Pty) Ltd, which had in turn purchased the rifles from Eskom for R675 000. Garbs allegedly sold the consignment for R1 070 million to Seyeh, which then resold the weapons to the KZP for R2,1 million. — Sapa.



# King tells Zulus to end violence

Star 16/4/94  
NORMAN CHANDLER

ULUNDI — Zulus were yesterday told by their king to end their role in political violence in South Africa.

His appeal came after a marathon six-hour meeting with a Peace Committee delegation headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

But King Goodwill Zwelithini's agreement to appeal to his followers was not a foregone conclusion, royal sources said.

The meeting, which was held at the Kwakangele Royal Kraal 80 km from Ulundi, was marked by disagreements on several points and discussion was heated at times, with the king also objecting to being interrupted by delegation members while he was speaking.

## Satisfied

Tutu said last night that he and his delegation were satisfied at the progress made particularly in view of the failure of the Skukuza Summit and the international mediation effort.

"We felt that those who had helped to broker peace in South Africa should do all in their power to reduce violence. The king has a crucial role to play as it is his people who are involved in violence from both sides," Tutu added.

"He did what we asked him to do by saying that this nonsense of violence must stop."

Apart from Tutu, the delegation consisted of Professor Johan Heyns, Dr Louw Alberts, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Dr Khoza Mgojo, Pastor Ray Macauley and Peace Committee chairman John Hall.



# Buthelezi dismisses proposals on king

By BRIAN SOKUTU

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed as "nonsense" suggested changes to the constitution that will be presented to King Goodwill Zwelithini by a working group established after the government-ANC-IFP summit meeting in Skukuza.

The Skukuza meeting sought to accommodate the Zulu monarch in the new dispensation.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday the changes were a "rehash" of earlier proposals. "What was put before the king was not worth much," he added.

Asked what he would do if the April elections went ahead without him, he said: "I can't spell out my plans yet. The IFP has always operated outside the electoral process."

He added: "It is a very abnormal situation to expect people to participate in what is called free and fair elections when there is a state of emergency (in Kwazulu/Natal)."

He said he was "ashamed" that international mediators had come to South Africa "to help us", only for the mediation attempt to be aborted. He said he hoped the mediators could "still come and help".



107 Alt 18/4/94

# Zulu secret army gearing up for war — press

**GARNER THOMSON**  
**The Argus Foreign**  
**Service in LONDON**

**A** BRITISH journalist has returned from northern Natal where he reports witnessing hundreds of heavily

armed Zulus on secret military manoeuvres to prepare for civil war after the elections.

Andrew Hogg of the *London Sunday Times* says he gained access to a secret camp near the Mozambique border where he saw

armed with semi-automatic weapons, training for war against the ANC.

By day they train under the guidance of a white former security officer and at night they sleep in foxholes, he reports.

"The guerrillas are challenging emergency laws ban-

ning unauthorised military training in Natal and show that, despite assurances last week from Buthelezi that only 'self-protection' training is taking place, Zulu royalists are gearing up for war."

Hogg quotes their trainer, former police intelligence officer Phillip Powell, as saying

the men are turning into an efficient force.

"Zulus are born fighters, but they have to be taught the mechanics of war," he says.

Powell tells Hogg that, without accommodation of the Zulus in the new South Africa, "this is a Biafra in the making".

He adds: "White rule is finished here, but instead of moving to a multi-party state, we are heading towards a one-party state. Why should the Zulus be left defenceless?"

Hogg adds that although the ANC and the government publicly dismiss the Zulu dan-

ger, an internal security report obtained by the newspaper says the Zulu forces could "play an ever-increasing role in an attempt to destabilise Natal".

He claims ANC leader Nelson Mandela has admitted privately that it could take two years to "smash" the Zulu royalists.

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# SAP plans to keep 'a close watch' on KwaZulu Police

THE SA Police would move quickly to "sideline" KwaZulu Police officers manning voting stations if there was any indication they were not performing their jobs properly, SAP Natal regional commissioner Lt Gen Colin Steyn said yesterday.

The SA security forces had also asked for a sizeable reduction in the planned number of voting stations within Natal and KwaZulu government controlled areas due to a shortage of policing manpower.

The KwaZulu Police would be on duty at a number of voting stations in the KwaZulu area, Steyn told a news briefing in Durban yesterday.

Although the Inkatha Freedom Party was campaigning for an election boycott, party leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had issued a directive to the KwaZulu Police to co-operate in the election process, he said.

Asked what would happen in communities where there had already been objections to the presence of the KwaZulu Police, Steyn said these situations were being

MICHAEL MOON

monitored on a daily basis.

"If it comes to our notice that irregularities could take place we will take action. If there is anything questionable, we will move the KwaZulu Police aside."

Although there might be some KwaZulu Police officers who stepped out of line, he indicated he was confident most would handle the task adequately. There would be sufficient back-up if KwaZulu Police members refused to man any stations.

SAP members could not be used at all voting stations as there were not enough policemen to go around. The minimum number of policemen at a voting station was five, but in some places it would be necessary to deploy up to 25.

Steyn said senior security officers were hoping the IEC would reduce the number of voting stations allocated in Natal. At present 341 stations were pencilled in for KwaZulu areas and the SAP was hoping for a significant reduction in this number.

Report by M Moon, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

# KwaNdebele govt fined for misusing publication

IN ITS first ruling, the Independent Media Commission yesterday found the KwaNdebele government guilty of misusing state publications.

The KwaNdebele information department was fined R3 500 plus costs for an article in its In Progress publication, which quoted Chief Minister James Mahlangu praising the ANC for its support during riots over homeland independence in 1986. Mahlangu urged followers to vote for the ANC in the elections.

The Independent Media Commission Act prohibits the use of state publications and resources to the advantage of any political party during the election period.

Sapa reports from Port Elizabeth that the Independent Electoral Commission tribunal was told yesterday that the Steyn commission report on "dirty tricks" proved the truth of Transkei ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa's charge of vote-rigging by the NP.

MARK ASHURST

Holomisa's legal counsel Silas Nkanunu said the general could not produce the report because it was in President FW de Klerk's hands. He also had to protect his source's identity.

Holomisa lost an application which asked the tribunal to compel the NP to produce the Steyn report. Presiding officer Lex Mpati ruled that he was "not convinced the NP has the power to direct government to make the report available".

The NP lodged a complaint with the IEC against Holomisa after a public meeting on March 29 at which he said the NP planned to rig the ballot and would offer black voters "pap en vleis" tainted with non-poisonous ink.

NP counsel Ben Niehaus rejected the call to release the report, saying it did not deal with the elections.

Report by M Ashurst, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and J Saunders, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

# PAC launches media drive

SELLO MOTLHABAKWE

THE PAC yesterday announced a major elections media campaign starting on Thursday.

Speaking from new PAC offices in central Johannesburg, publicity officer Siphwe Sithole said the campaign had been made possible by a R1,7m grant from the Independent Electoral Commission.

She said it would focus on extensive regional radio broadcasts in all 11 official languages as an important part of a low-profile "below-the-line" approach.

The PAC's PWV region had already placed several ads in freesheets available at taxi and bus ranks.

Several thousand glossy posters featuring PAC leader Clarence Makwetu had been sent to regional offices.

Sithole said a below-the-line approach suited the PAC's aim of appealing to voters who were not urban-based or very literate.

Report by S Motlhabakwe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.



DOWN + + + ELECTION COUNTDOWN

# King calls for peace

DURBAN. — King Goodwill Zwelethini made an impassioned plea for an end to violence yesterday after a political breakthrough saw the IFP joining the election process.

Speaking at his royal house at Nongoma, he thanked all the parties involved in the negotiations which had led to his demands on a Zulu monarchy being met.

A carnival atmosphere erupted at the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi, when the news was made known, with motorists hooting, women ululating,

men bursting into tribal singing and dancing and youths toyi-toying in the streets. (105) CT 20/4/94

Thousands of civil servants joined in the celebrations outside the Legislative Assembly buildings. (107)

Earlier a protest march by thousands of Zulus at Denny Dalton turned into an election campaign when the news was announced.

King Goodwill said he was above party politics and would not be supporting any particular party.



# Inkatha's election decision puts SA on course for peace

This statement was issued by Inkatha president MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI after yesterday's election agreement

By 20/4/94

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee decided at a meeting held on Sunday that it would contest the elections at the national and provincial levels if amendments to the constitution could be made to secure the kingdom of KwaZulu and the future role of His Majesty, the King of the Zulus, as a constitutional monarch.

The central committee's decision was further made conditional upon the final formulations for provisions for the existence of the Zulu kingdom and the role of His Majesty being agreed to through mediation.

In a series of meetings which took place on Sunday, Monday and today final agreement was reached securing the kingdom of KwaZulu and the role of His Majesty. I therefore am pleased to announce that the Inkatha Freedom Party will contest elections at the national and the provincial levels.

The IFP's entry into national and regional levels will be made possible by suitable amendments to ballot papers and there will be certain relaxations to the procedures laid down for the registration of parties and the publication of electoral lists. I am pleased to announce that the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission have promised their full co-operation to make the IFP's entry into elections possible.

**T**he Inkatha Freedom Party has decided to make the kind of compromises which will make its entry into elections possible in order to avoid a great deal more bloodshed and carnage which we have been witness to in recent months.

Only the IFP held firm to principles right until the very last moment and did everything in its power to eliminate the very worst elements of the 1993 Constitution. The best in the Constitution can be attributed to the IFP's interventions and the long struggle it waged to ensure that the country benefited from a constitution which will lay the foundations for a democratic future.

Central to the IFP's concerns were the need to ensure viable regional government with minimum state interference. It is to this end that the

IFP finally managed to negotiate a secure role for His Majesty the King and the guarantee of the future existence of the Zulu kingdom.

In securing these things the IFP has guaranteed that provincialism in the KwaZulu/Natal province will set standards which other provinces will be encouraged to adopt in their own search for their provincial constitutional futures.

The IFP had previously succeeded in securing amendments to the 1993 Constitution which will enable provinces to adopt constitutions of their own choice. The IFP also secured the right of provinces to adopt constitutions which will not be confined by the structures laid down for provinces in the 1993 Constitution.

The IFP's negotiation victory in securing the role of His Majesty the King and the continued existence of the kingdom of KwaZulu is therefore a victory for the principle of self-determination from which the whole country will benefit.

I wish to convey my deep gratitude to Prof Washington Okumu for the role he played in making it possible to reach the agreement which will result in the IFP entering elections. He was an additional appointment as adviser to the international mediating team and remained on in SA when the other mediators left. It was his personal intervention which made the final negotiation break-

through possible.

When my spirits were down after the international mediation had been aborted, and I was leaving Johannesburg for Ulundi on Friday April 15, I received a message at the airport from Prof Okumu that he wanted to meet me at the airport and would be there in 20 minutes.

I have known Prof Okumu for more than 20 years, having met him at a prayer breakfast in Washington, and we have kept in touch on the basis of Christian fellowship.



I waited at Lanseria Airport for as long as I could on the morning of April 15 for Prof Okumu but as two of my colleagues had an appointment with His Majesty the King I had to leave. However, the aircraft had been airborne for only a few minutes when I was told there was a problem and we had to turn back.

Fortunately Prof Okumu was still there and I said that it was as though God had prevented me from leaving, and I was there like Jonah brought back. I told Prof Okumu that my forced return was a Godsend.

He insisted that everything should be done to try to see if lost mediation could be retrieved, and that I should do everything I could to negotiate even at this late hour the IFP's par-

ticipation in elections.

I shared with Prof Okumu the IFP's problems — the fact that the IFP took a decision not to participate because of its serious concerns regarding His Majesty the King which had not been met, and that I could not disregard that. If I did so, I would be committing treason.

Prof Okumu said that everything notwithstanding, he was going to see Mr Nelson Mandela, whom he has known a long time, as well as President Fw de Klerk.

I had hardly arrived back in Ulundi on Friday when Prof Okumu telephoned and said he had been in touch with government which said they were quite prepared to look at the concerns I had expressed. Prof Okumu was very firm and said I should telephone the President at three o'clock that afternoon.

Before I did so, the President telephoned and asked me what it was I wanted to say to him. I said I gathered from Prof Okumu that he wanted to talk to me and I gave him the background. The President told me the issue of the IFP's participation was sympathetically looked at by government. They were prepared to look at participation on a regional level but I told the President there was no way the IFP would participate at regional level only — the IFP had support all over SA. The President said he was quite prepared to

look at the possibilities.

I said the only way this could be done was if the issue of His Majesty the King was addressed. The President said a special session of Parliament could be called to effect amendments to the 1993 Constitution. I reminded the President that His Majesty said he wanted matters dealt with before elections.

On Saturday Prof Okumu telephoned again. On Sunday we met in Durban where we both were attending the Jesus Rally organised by Africa Enterprise. Prof Okumu gave me a draft of a proposed agreement which could be entered into between myself, the ANC president and the SA government. The draft incorporated many of the answers to our needs and I gave my provisional approval to it.

Prof Okumu said he was flying to Cape Town to talk to Mr Mandela. I showed the draft to Mr Jacob Zuma and Minister Dami Schutte who were also at the rally, before I put it before the central committee because that is the way I exercise my leadership — referring all crucial matters to the central committee which is the final decision-making body between general conferences.

By arrangement with the President I met him in Pretoria on Monday. I was pleasantly surprised to find the draft agreement had been shown to Mr Mandela who said he wanted to study it for clarification. After further negotiations the draft agreement with the necessary amendments was accepted by myself, Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk.

I wish to pay tribute to Prof Okumu. He is a really remarkable man who studied under Dr Henry Kissinger at Harvard. I pay tribute to the subtle diplomacy he initiated and what has been achieved through it.

I wish also to pay tribute to both President Fw de Klerk and Mr Mandela for the fact that they were receptive to the suggestions made to the three of us by Prof Okumu.

I believe that as a result of the signing of this memorandum of understanding, SA may well have been saved from disastrous consequences of unimaginable proportions and has been put on a course which I hope will lead to long-lasting peace, democracy and meaningful federalism.



**NEWS** IFP's Felgate rapped on the

# Way clear for Inkatha to contest

*Sowetan 21/4/94*

■ **IN LINE** Interim constitution

amended to recognise role of king:

**By Tyrone August**  
Political Staff

THE Negotiating Council yesterday formally opened the way for the Inkatha Freedom Party to take part in next week's election.

At a special session at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, the council passed two amendments to the interim constitution to recognise and protect "the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarchy".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer welcomed the IFP in the election fold. "It is further contribution on the path of reform and, more importantly, putting into operation a full-scale democracy in South Africa," he said.

But the jubilation behind the unanimous decision of the Negotiating Council did not prevent ANC general secre-

tary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa from attacking IFP official Mr Walter Felgate for his remarks on Tuesday that it was the IFP's strategy to hold out on a constitutional settlement for as long as possible.

Ramaphosa also questioned whether the IFP would accept the election results, saying this was "absolutely essential."

SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo described Felgate's remarks as "callous and repulsive. Never again must a political party be allowed to use human life as a bargaining chip in the negotiating process."

Meyer also questioned why the IFP rejected a draft agreement last week which also gave Zwelithini constitutional protection and specific powers in KwaZulu/Natal. (107)

(T August, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg)



# Joy as IFP plunges in

**Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa**

**T**ENS OF THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched through Ulundi yesterday to the Legislative Assembly building to celebrate the decision by the party to enter the election.

And later at a rally, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced that IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose would stand as candidate for the premiership in KwaZulu/Natal.

Buthelezi will head the party's national election list. It was expected last night that the party would hand its preliminary list of candidates to the Independent Electoral Commission in Johannesburg.

However, it is believed the IFP has instead opted to come up with its final list on Friday, the new

deadline allowed by the IEC.

What was originally planned as a protest march turned into celebrations as women bearing the image of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's face on their dresses ululated, danced and stamped their feet as they awaited Buthelezi's arrival outside the KLA building. Chanting impis moved through the town and the business centre came to a standstill as shops were closed. (107)

Sporadic gunshots were heard and at least two people were seen carrying AK-47 rifles.

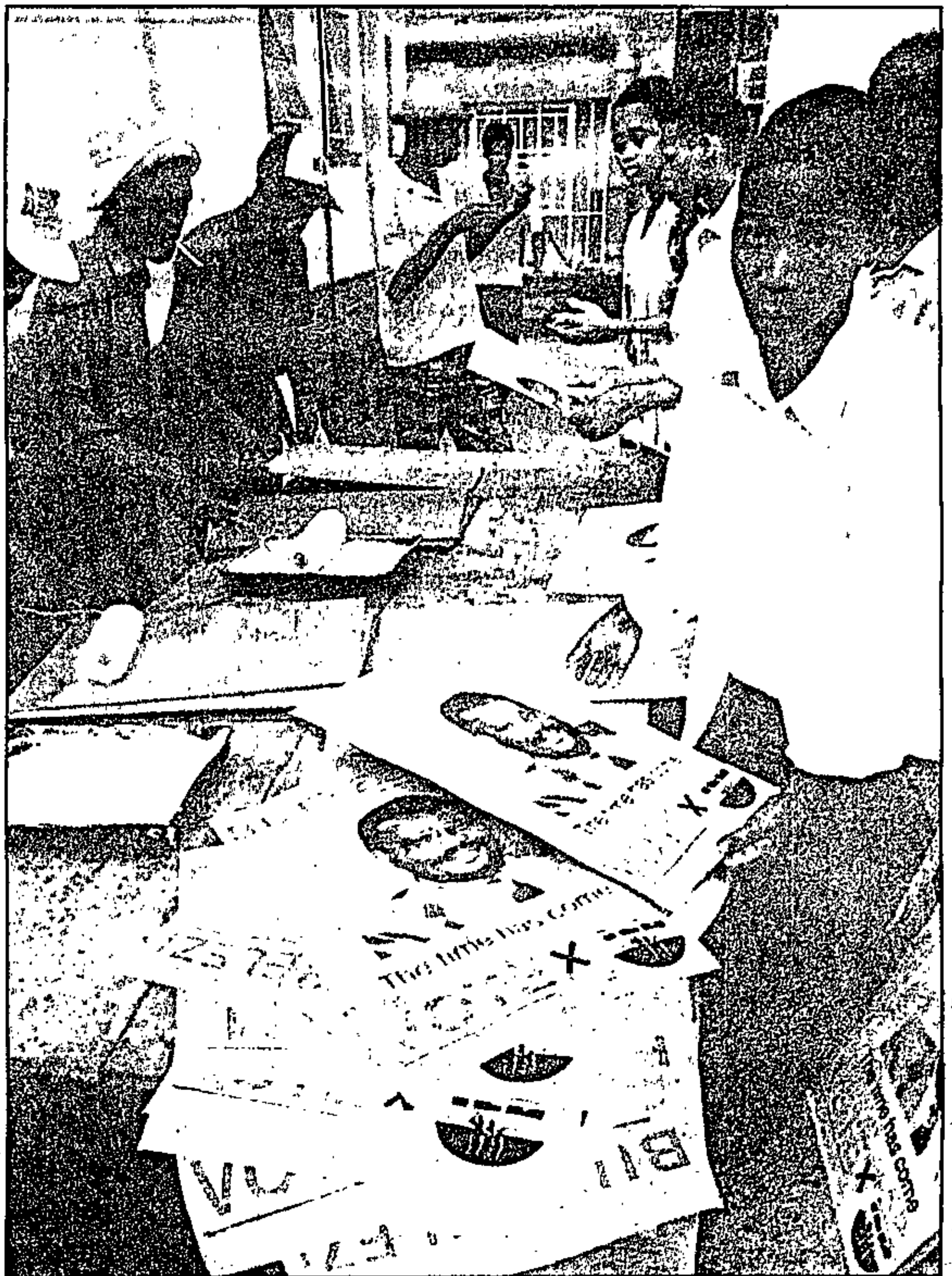
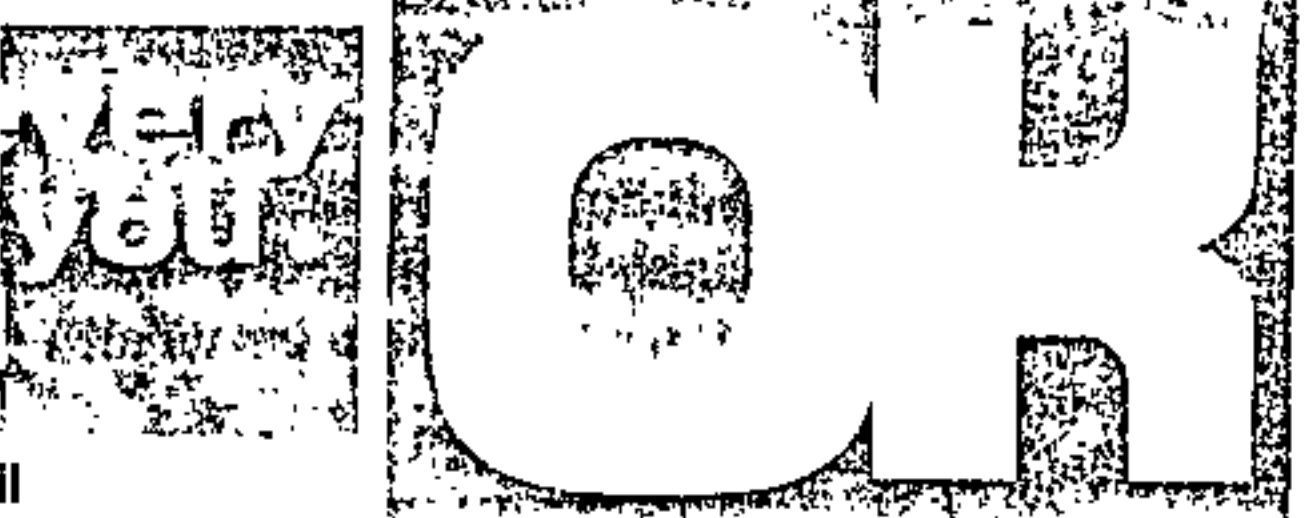
Buthelezi told more than 10 000 supporters that he had joined the electoral process to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace.

Although he did not think the IFP's participation in the election would lead to an immediate reduction in violence, "the proportion of violence will be less".

He said it would be naive to believe the IFP's participation in elections would mean an end to violence "but it should decrease because tensions are less".

He said he had asked State President FW de Klerk to lift the state of emergency only to be told that his advisers had suggested he impose the emergency in other volatile parts of the country.

(Report by I Sithole, 18 Osborne Street, Durban and C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban.)



## Polling from pole to pole

Youth members of the Inkatha Freedom Party prepare election posters in Durban for the party's campaign which they later distributed around various areas of Natal-KwaZulu. The IFP decided at the 11th-hour on Tuesday to contest next week's election and yesterday launched its belated campaign.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU



# KwaZulu pledge on extra 500 poll stations in region

ARL 21/4/94

## IEC ready to 'do its damndest' for election in Natal

### Political Staff

The KwaZulu government has pledged its full support to ensure an additional 500 voting stations are established in the region before the elections, according to Independent Electoral Commission vice-chairman Dik-gang Mosenke.

Addressing the media after a five-hour meeting with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday, Mr Mosenke said a tough job awaited the IEC in the days remaining before the elections.

But he said the IEC would try its "damndest" to ensure it was prepared for elections in the region.

"The IEC also announced a 'major voter education blitz' in KwaZulu-Natal today to reassure voters about the voting procedure after agreement on the addition of the Inkatha Freedom Party's sticker on ballot papers.

IEC electoral administration training division head Kumi Naidoo said electoral officers would affix the sticker to ballot papers at a "supplies desk" before the papers were handed to voters at national and regional "issuing desks".

Meanwhile the IFP was welcomed back into the political mainstream yesterday — but not without accusations that its negotiations tactics had cost hundreds of lives.

Meeting at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, the multiparty negotiating council unanimously adopted a constitutional amendment that

formed the basis of the IFP's decision to take part in next week's elections.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the only explanation for the IFP's action was that it had been trying through the process of international mediation to postpone the elections.

And African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that while the IFP was to be welcomed back its tactics had cost the lives of about 700 people since its decision on March 4 not to confirm its registration as a political party taking part in the poll.

The parties warned the IFP that now that it was back in the process, it would be fair game for all the other parties battling for electoral gain.

There were no offers or inducements to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to get him to take part in the election. President De Klerk said last night.

Speaking on John Qwelane's talk show on Radio 702, Mr De Klerk said he had not offered any incentives to Chief Buthelezi and "I know of no other offers".

The IFP yesterday committed itself unequivocally to accepting the election results.

Fears were raised in yesterday's special meeting of the negotiating council that the IFP, in spite of its last-minute entry into the elections, was contemplating a "Savimbi option" if it fared poorly in the election.

But IFP delegate Walter Felgate and his KwaZulu government counterpart Harriet



LET'S VOTE: A group of Zulus walk past a taxi displaying a placard of their leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on their way to attend an election rally in Ulundi.

Nqubane backed a resolution which included a clause reading: "We will accept the results of the election and will abide by the decision of the IEC in respect of the fairness and freeness of elections."

IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose will stand as candidate for the premiership in KwaZulu-Natal.

The announcement was made by Chief Buthelezi at a public meeting in Ulundi yesterday.

The party's full list of candi-

dates had to be handed to the IEC in Johannesburg by last night.

Chief Buthelezi heads the party's national election list.

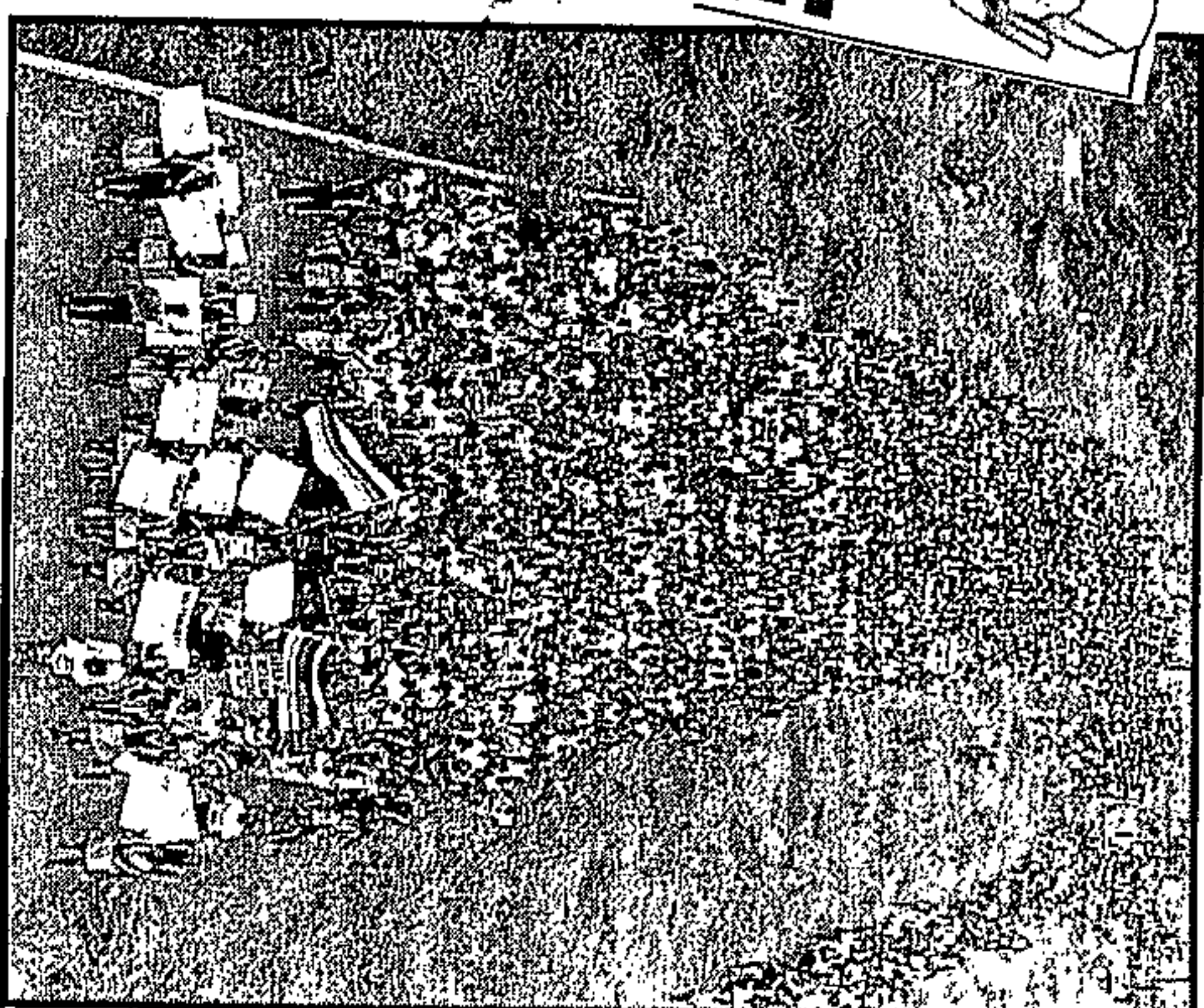
ANC president Nelson Mandela, preaching reconciliation and promising good governance, was hailed as a president-in-waiting by thousands of supporters across the eastern Cape yesterday.

His speeches reflected the perception too — he appealed to people to work together in building the country, to culti-

vate good labour relations with employers and not to hold unrealistic expectations of the next five years.

His one-day swing through the region took him to the coastal resort of St Francis Bay and nearby Humansdorp, and ended at Graaff Reinet in the Karoo, where he released two white doves to symbolise peace.

He told anxious white farmers in Graaff Reinet that their property rights would be respected in the post-apartheid era.



IN SUPPORT: Thousands of Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party supporters march to a gathering in Ulundi to celebrate Buthelezi's decision to take part in the election.

Talks between the Freedom Front and the Conservative Party could result in all rightwingers taking part in next week's election, FF leader Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

Addressing businessmen in Lichtenburg in the western Transvaal, he said his discussions with CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg looked promising.

"The outcome may well result in all people in South Africa going to the polls next week."

All Christian people needed to vote against the communist element in the ANC/South African Communist Party-alignment, he said.

Addressing Potchefstroom University students earlier yes-

terday, General Viljoen said a federal constitution was the only plan that would work in South Africa.

There will never again be racism in South Africa, nor will policemen commit murder in the name of the law, says ANC chief negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Speaking at a rally at Effingham in Durban yesterday, he said there would never be apartheid in South Africa because the ANC would be the new government from next week.

He said said the IFP had played a dangerous game of brinkmanship over the past two years by walking in and out of the negotiation process. (Compiled by H S Robertson, 127 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)



# Buthelezi promises Inkatha will accept outcome of the elections

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday Inkatha would accept the results of next week's elections, if they were endorsed by the international community.

Delivering his first formal campaign speech in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi, where he was received as a hero by thousands of jubilant supporters, he said: "One must accept that whatever the international monitors say will be it — whatever one's feelings may be."

While Inkatha's candidate lists were still being drafted, he "assumed" that he would head the party's list for the national assembly. "As national leader of the party I

have to be on the national list. One can't appear on both," he said, ending speculation that he was eyeing the KwaZulu/Natal premiership position.

Buthelezi acknowledged that there was little time for electioneering, but said "miracles may still happen". The party's late entry would hamper its performance at the polls, because voter education had not reached all its supporters.

Inkatha's participation in national elections would not lead to an immediate end to violence but it would decrease, he said. "It will be difficult to imagine that all tension can vanish in a few days."

Thousands of Inkatha supporters

**BILLY PADDOCK**

streamed through Ulundi in a march to celebrate the party's decision to contest the elections.

A light aircraft with four occupants crashed near the rally after its engine failed, injuring one person. It had been circling low over the 10 000-strong crowd.

TIM COHEN reports that Independent Electoral Commission and Inkatha officials in Durban and Ulundi were working frantically on Inkatha's candidates' lists last night to ensure that they were completed and checked with the Home Affairs Department by this afternoon's deadline. An

IEC official said the checking procedure was being done in conjunction with the Inkatha officials to ensure that there were no delays.

Inkatha sources said chairman Frank Madalose would head the party's Natal list, but others lists were still being finalised.

Meanwhile, senior IEC members met Inkatha representatives, including Buthelezi and the KwaZulu cabinet to discuss securing free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal. They reported that good progress had been made.

IEC spokesman Glen McDougall said deputy chairman Dikgang Mosenke, Gayed McDougall and Zac Yacoob formed the

## Inkatha

21/4/94

From Page 1

previous meeting with the KwaZulu legislative assembly when chairman Judge Johann Kriegler was heckled and shouted down. Yesterday, a senior Inkatha official who had angrily told Kriegler he would not be able to use schools in KwaZulu as polling venues, pledged his party's full co-operation with the IEC.

very welcome. It will have the fullest co-operation of all our people, especially in the rural areas." The IEC had said rural areas were virtual no-go areas for its officials.

Report by W Paddock and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St. Jhb: and C Doonan, Sapa, 330 West St. Dbn.

See Page 7

IEC contingent and were discussing the number and siting of voting stations required in the region. "They were also discussing access to voter education, free political activity and the securing of warehouses for voting material and other logistical matters."

McDougall said: "It seems that things are going very well and that they are making good progress, having reached agreement on voting stations and other essential issues". He said the IEC was well received and Inkatha and KwaZulu authorities were very co-operative.

To Page 2



# Coetsee rejects KZP indemnity

Chris Louw

(107) ~~107~~  
WM 22/28/4/94

office of kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

INVESTIGATIONS into kwaZulu Police hit-squad activities are being frustrated by the refusal of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to indemnify KZP members willing to testify.

A Transitional Executive Council task group on hit squads last month proposed indemnity be granted to kwaZulu policemen who took part in criminal activities but were reluctant to divulge information, for fear of incriminating themselves.

The issue was discussed by Coetsee, Judge Richard Goldstone, TEC co-chairman Zam Titus and two members of the TEC task group — Professor Nicholas Haysom and Howard Varney — at a meeting last week.

Coetsee apparently refused to agree to an indemnity, despite two Goldstone Commission reports implicating senior KZP officers in hit-squad activities and the alleged involvement of people in the

Coetsee argued that he did not want to interfere with the judicial process, and specifically not with the independence of attorneys general, in deciding whether or not to prosecute.

Judge Goldstone and the TEC delegation argued the need for a longer-term view to help prevent violence, while the task group said they needed collaboration from "foot soldiers" in the hit squads if anyone was to be prosecuted.

Coetsee agreed on the necessity for interim measures, but steadfastly refused to interfere with existing legal procedures.

Haysom said he was hopeful that an acceptable agreement might soon be reached on the TEC task group's recommendations.

He confirmed that a second task group report had been handed to an international investigation team under Transvaal attorney general Jan D'Oliveira.



## THE ELECTION

# Buthelezi's late, late entry

Fun 22/4/94

107

While SA heaved a collective sigh of relief at Inkatha's decision to enter the general election after all, many of its supporters will be scratching their heads in wonder at how passing strange are the ways of the wise. What, they may well ask, makes today different from yesterday, when their leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was talking about a fight to the finish? And what of the constitutional changes towards pristine federalism that Buthelezi seemed prepared to die for, but are not part of this week's breakthrough?

The tragedy is that so many people had to die and so much economic damage had to be done before Buthelezi finally accepted, in effect, what Nelson Mandela had offered him two weeks earlier — that is, to guarantee the constitutional position of the Zulu king and KwaZulu and continue mediation after the election — in return for his taking part.

Buthelezi's decision had an immediate upbeat effect on financial markets, with the finrand bouncing back from the trough it sank into after the failed, "last-ditch" summit between Buthelezi, his king, Mandela and State President F W de Klerk two weeks ago.

The immediate hope must be that Buthelezi's abrupt U-turn will dampen the violence, which this week flared into open warfare between the ANC and Inkatha in Thokoza (causing the death of, among others, award-winning photographer Ken Oosterbroek), and lead to the cancellation of the threatened march into central Johannesburg by the Inkatha Youth Brigade, with all its potential for a bloodbath.

The immediate hurdle is the logistical problem of amending the 80m ballot forms (already on their way to safe warehouses around SA) to include Inkatha candidacy in the national and all nine provincial polls.

Since it will not be possible to reprint the ballot papers in a week before the election, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) says adhesive stickers will be used, containing the Inkatha logo, acronym and leader Buthelezi's picture. The stickers will look the same as the other entries except that they will not have the security marking.

They will be fixed to the ballot form below

the last entry (which is the National Party's), in the polling stations before being distributed to voters. Printing of the stickers began on Tuesday night. A potential problem is that improperly affixed stickers will result in spoilt papers.

Clearly intent on not wasting a moment, Inkatha began an intensive poster campaign in Durban on Tuesday even before the Pretoria talks were completed.

The clinching agreement commits the parties to peace and reconciliation. It makes the following pledges:

- Inkatha agrees to participate in the April 26-28 election for both the national assembly and provincial legislatures;
- A commitment by all three parties to do everything in their power to ensure free and fair elections;
- Agreement to recognise and protect the institution, status and constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of KwaZulu, which shall be provided for in the provincial constitution of KwaZulu/Natal. To this end the 1993 constitution will be amended (probably at a short sitting of parliament on Monday) before April 27;
- Any outstanding issues in respect of the Zulu king and the 1993 constitution as amended will be addressed through international mediation, which will start as soon as possible after the election; and
- Government will do all it can to help the IEC arrange the full participation of Inkatha in the election.

The first hint that Buthelezi might be having a change of heart came on Friday, with calls from King Goodwill Zwelithini for Zulus to stop killing one another. It was a noticeably more conciliatory tone

than the threats of a week earlier. However, the final decision to participate, according to Buthelezi, was taken by the Inkatha Central Committee on Sunday. Negotiations began immediately and were completed on Tuesday.

It marked the end of the resistance campaign

Buthelezi effectively began when he boycotted the second plenary session of Codesa because of the exclusion of the Zulu king in May 1992. The rift between him, the ANC and government deepened over the months, particularly over issues such as the ANC/Nat Record of Understanding signed in Sep-

tember 1992, after which Buthelezi alleged there was a plan afoot to "ethnically cleanse" the Zulus *a la* Bosnia.

The election proclamation and establishment of the TEC without reference to him only added insult to injury. "Final" deadlines came and went with monotonous regularity and all negotiations ended in deadlock.

When the Kruger Park summit between Mandela, Buthelezi, Zwelithini and De Klerk ended in acrimony two weeks ago, it was closely followed by last week's stillborn attempt at international mediation. However, Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington left when the ANC and Inkatha could not agree on their terms of reference. It looked like the end of the road.

Nothing more, it seemed, could be done — that is, until an obscure Kenyan professor, who had been included as an afterthought in the international mediation team, stayed behind to have one more try. And he succeeded.

While Tuesday's settlement was hailed by Mandela as a victory for all who love SA, UCT professor Robert Schrire believes it amounts to a political defeat which could write Buthelezi out of future politics.

"If Buthelezi and Inkatha had decided (in February) to participate in the polls after winning agreement on separate national and provincial ballots, he would have been hailed as a great and brilliant statesman who had won significant concessions from a weak position. Instead, he hung on for a couple of months, precipitating mass bloodshed. His bluff was called, he went to the edge, peered over the precipice at the abyss, and capitulated. Though he won concessions on the status of the king, that was a side issue.

"His boycott was based on two issues. He wanted the elections postponed and he wanted fundamental change in the interim constitution. The bottom line is that he achieved neither."

Schrire believes Buthelezi's change of heart was precipitated by the unacceptably high violence brought about by the party's election boycott stance. "As a committed Christian and moral person he was appalled by the loss of life, even though it was partly a terribly destructive consequence of his own strategy. He could not help but be distressed at the violence."

This Christian element, says Schrire, was reinforced by the involvement of his Christian fellowship friend of 20 years, Prof Washington Okumu, as the mediator from Kenya who is given the lion's share of credit — by Buthelezi certainly — for this week's breakthrough.

Schrire believes the other crucial element was that "reality finally broke through the cocoon of the advisers with whom Buthelezi







King Zwelithini ... some goodwill  
shines through

FM 22/4/94

had surrounded himself. He really finally realised that he was about to be marginalised. He was about to become the first victim of the SA which he had helped create. I doubt that he liked the idea."

Though the impact of the election agreement should reduce the intensity of the violence which brought about a state of emergency in Natal and is ravaging the East Rand, there is little likelihood that it will abate completely. (107) (108)

UCT's Prof David Welsh observes that having "virtually everyone on board" enables conflicts to be funnelled through the ballot box rather than the bullet. "It is a step in the right direction. Clearly, electioneering will still be pretty hairy but one would hope that violence will diminish. Inkatha's inclusion in the process could, of course, just add a new dimension to it. The settlement, however, remains good news."

Schrire says the real problem is that Buthelezi has "taken the genie of anarchy and ethnic chauvinism out of the bottle" and will have difficulty returning it. "The legacy of violence and hatred plus the fact that the traditionalists have suddenly become politically relevant means that forces like the Inkatha Youth Brigade and some of the senior indunas around the king will be less likely to obey Buthelezi automatically than they would have six months ago."

Another problem could be just how he and his party will react if they do badly at the polls. Wits' Tom Lodge argues that Buthelezi capitulated too late to make a good showing at the polls. For this reason, it is suggested, he will not be offered anything by the ANC government that he doesn't win.

Says Schrire: "This probably sees the end of Buthelezi as a major national player. By exclusively focusing on the monarchy, which will be taken out of politics, he has essentially written himself out of the script." ■



# A reticent but insanely happy man riding high on a wave of support

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

RIDING HIGH on a wave of support and approval, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi looks like the happiest politician in the world.

He laughs as he describes himself as the "most insane politician".  
 "I don't think any politician in the world would agree to fight an election in only seven days. I must be the most insane politician."

In the deserted cabinet room in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Wednesday night, having just addressed an ecstatic gathering of IFP supporters, Chief Buthelezi was a changed man.

Gone was the irritable, defensive persona he has shown in the past few years. This Chief Buthelezi laughs a lot and cannot stop himself from beaming even when he speaks of his huge concerns about the coming week.

"I have mixed feelings. While I am happy that agreement was reached as far as the king is concerned, the mechanics of participating in the election concern me."

He was met on Tuesday evening by the largest crowd ever to greet him in Ulundi, but he says, "I got very worried when I saw the euphoria of the people, because the big battle is still the election."

SUNDAY TIMES

He dismisses criticism of his late entry into the election, a delay that is said to have cost many lives in battles between his followers and ANC supporters.

"There is a feeling that we could have reached this agreement earlier. But I am comfortable with my conscience. If I look back, there's nothing I regret."

"There were a lot of our enemies who said we could have done this earlier and so on but, really, even some of the little things that have been achieved were largely achieved because of us... things like the double ballot."

"I feel so free. I thought people would be confused by (the decision to stand in

24/4/94

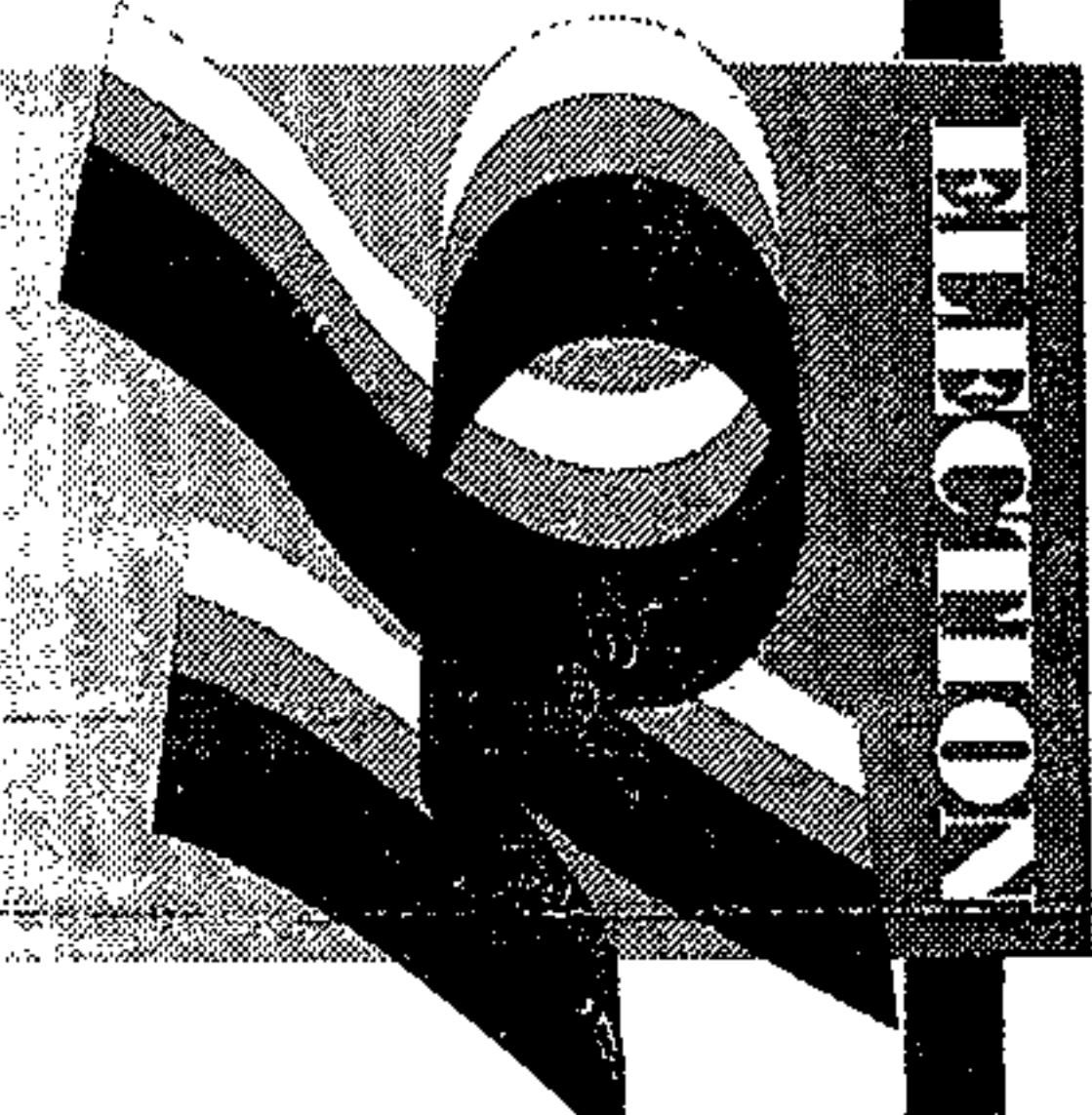
the election), but the symbolic calling of parliament to include the Zulu kingdom, and mediation, reassured them."

The breakthrough, he says, came when the ANC and NP agreed to legislate "a place for the king", and not merely offer a "gentleman's agreement" to accommodate Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini after the election. (S.A. 107)

The fact that the election loomed and was clearly set to proceed with or without the IFP's participation — had nothing to do with it, he says.

It had been very difficult for him to weigh up accepting concessions on the status of the king against taking an unpre-

1 • 1



pared nation, denied the voter education offered to other rural communities, into a seven-day election campaign.

"But once I had said the biggest obstacle was the issue of the king, there was no reason to say I wouldn't participate."

In an anteroom, his aides have already grasped election-speak and enthuse about "the next state president of this country"; but Chief Buthelezi is not sure he will even join the cabinet.

He is not sure he wants to be a part of the government of national unity in which all parties attracting more than five per cent of the vote may serve.

"I don't know whether I will be in the cabinet, seriously. I might offer the king to be in the cabinet."

"If there was opposition politics rather than the government of national unity, I would have preferred that."

"There is joint responsibility in a cabinet, and in fact people have raised a lot of false hopes that cannot be fulfilled. There is no way those promises can be fulfilled."

(News by C Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



EUPHORIC... Inkatha supporters celebrate the IFP's inclusion in the elections



# SADF saves election workers

By GEORGE MAHABEER  
and CAS St Leger

EIGHT ANC members and four IEC monitors were rescued from the Kwazulu capital, Ulundi, last night by the SADF after they were besieged in a police station by more than 1 000 IFP supporters. *SI Times*

Earlier, an ANC supporter was burnt to death in his bakkie and another was shot dead.

*Sapa-Reuter* reported that a third person died of a gunshot wound after taking refuge in the police station.

In an apparent exchange of fire between members of the rival groups, IFP supporter Alpha Ngcobo was also wounded. *24/4/94*

The SADF rescue operation was launched after IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short his Free State roadshow to rush to Ulundi. *(107)*

A Kwazulu police spokesman said the ANC supporters were confronted by Ulundi residents who objected to them canvassing for voters in the town.

"I understand an ANC member took out a firearm and shot Mr Ngcobo. This

□ To Page 2

# SADF to ANC's aid

□ From Page 1

incensed the crowd who attacked the ANC members.

"The ANC supporters ran in different directions, with the exception of one who remained in the vehicle. The bakkie was set on fire with the man inside. He was burned to death.

"They also torched another bakkie loaded with ANC pamphlets and shot dead a fleeing ANC member. *SI Times*

"Four IEC monitors and eight ANC supporters sought protection at the Ulundi police station" the spokesman said. *(107)*

IFP campaign manager Arthur Konigkramer lashed out at what he called "extremely provocative" behaviour by ANC members. *24/4/94*

The ANC last night expressed its shock and outrage at the "vicious attack" on its members.

However, the party welcomed the "prompt action taken by Chief Buthelezi".

(News by G Mahabeer, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville, and C St Leger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



**The dramatic events that led to Inkatha agreeing to enter the elections involved an "act of God", the use of Anglo American's Lear jet and the intervention of a large Kenyan professor**

27/4/74

**C**HIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi simply refused to believe the election date was fixed. Right to the end, he thought that if he did not blink the ANC would.

As long as Chief Buthelezi kept this faith — and key lieutenants Walter Felgate and Mario Ambrossini were at pains to ensure he did — attempts to persuade Inkatha to accept a constitution negotiated in its absence and enter the election were doomed.

Then, last Friday he blinked.

For it was then that an "act of God", as Chief Buthelezi puts it, brought him face to face with a fellow Christian, a friend of 20 years, a Kenyan diplomat who was to succeed where everyone had failed and bring the IFP into the election and avert a bloody war.

The dramatic sequence began on Sunday April 10 in Johannesburg when Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose met his ANC counterpart, Thabo Mbeki, to finalise the terms of reference for international mediation.



BACK IN THE FOLD . . . after months of steadfast refusals, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was finally persuaded by a friend to give in to pressure to enter his Inkatha Freedom Party in this week's elections

# How the Chief was turned

he was scheduled to address election meetings. The initial response from Mr Mandela was one of irritation — at yet another possibly abortive attempt to strike a deal with Chief Buthelezi — but he agreed to see Professor Okumu, Mr Coleman and Mr Spicer at 1.30pm.

Mr Coleman and Mr Spicer flew to Durban in Anglo American's Lear jet to pick up Professor Okumu and then immediately on to Cape Town.

On arrival, however, they were told Mr Mandela had already left for Athlone Stadium where he was to hold a meeting at which three people were killed in a stampede.

**T**HEY left for the Cape Sun in the hope that Mr Mandela would be able to see them before his scheduled 5pm meeting with Archbishop Tuhu. However, because of the stampede, this was not possible and Mr Mandela eventually arrived at the Cape Sun at 6pm.

Time was of the essence as Chief Buthelezi had indicated to Professor Okumu he was prepared to be in Pretoria by 5pm to meet President de Klerk and Mr Mandela to finalise details of an agreement.

Mr Mandela was initially sceptical but, after listening to the three men for more than an hour, began to warm to the possibility. He phoned President de Klerk and returned, even more favourably disposed to the deal they were suggesting.

line



International mediation represented a final desperate effort to resolve intractable differences between the two organisations by drawing on the talents of some of the world's foremost diplomats, including former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

When Dr Mdialose and Mr Mbeki met, the election date was uppermost in their minds. Inkatha wanted the elections postponed: the ANC did not.

After some hours of haggling, however, both parties agreed not to mention the issue in the terms of reference.

The following morning Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, chief negotiator and Mr Mbeki's rival heir-apparent to assume the mantle of leadership from Nelson Mandela, was talking to his government counterpart, Roelf Meyer.

Mr Meyer said: "I see you have agreed terms of reference with Inkatha."

Mr Meyer knew more than Mr Ramaphosa. He had obtained a copy from the Department of Foreign Affairs. Mr Meyer faxed it to Mr Ramaphosa.

The ANC secretary-general was incensed. Leaving the date of the elections unstated created the danger it would become the key point for debate as mediation progressed.

RAMAPHOSA and Mr Meyer agreed things had to change. They scheduled a meeting with the IFP's Ben Ngubane to discuss anew the terms of reference and produced a second draft.

Importantly, it contained the following sentence: "Although the IFP prefers that the first democratic election be postponed for April 26-28 be postponed, the postponement of the election date is not part of the subject matter of the mediation process."

Murray Hofmeyr and Liberty Life's Donald Gordon.

The third was the arrival at the Carlton at the end of the press conference of a very large, dark man. He pushed his way through the throng of dignitaries surrounding the stage and made his way to the microphone. Introducing himself as Professor Washington Okumu from Kenya, the man announced that he had been asked to serve as adviser to the mediators. Why?

To answer that question you need to go back 20 years and to the US capital, Washington. It was then and there that Professor Okumu met Chief Buthelezi at a prayer breakfast. The two men, both devout Christians, struck up a friendship which has lasted to this day.

In recent months Professor Okumu, at the behest of religious organisations, has been involved in behind-the-scenes talks as a facilitator in disputes between the South African political parties.

When the list of foreign mediators was announced it became embarrassingly apparent that there was not an African among them. Michael Cassidy of Africa Enterprise, who had been working with Professor Okumu, suggested to both the ANC and Inkatha that the professor could be of assistance. Both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela agreed.

But there the agreement between the two leaders ended. Negotiators could not settle on the terms of reference, the election date being the sticking point. On Thursday Dr Kissinger and the other mediators departed but Professor Okumu remained behind. On Friday Professor Okumu left a message at Lanseria airport outside Johannesburg for Chief Buthelezi, who was flying back to Umtata, asking for a meeting. Chief Buthelezi waited for

as long as he could but eventually left because two of his party had a meeting scheduled with the Zulu king.

It was at this point that Chief Buthelezi believes God intervened.

Mechanical problems forced the aircraft to return to Lanseria and when it landed Professor Okumu was waiting for Chief Buthelezi. He had two messages for

continued to resist the new dispensation.

"They are going to get you. They mean it," he is reported to have added.

It was straight talk but, coming from a friend of 20 years, it was not only tolerated by the notoriously prickly Chief Buthelezi but taken to heart. Chief Buthelezi flew back to Umtata.

# They are going to get you. They mean it

24/4/94

the chief. One, the elections were going ahead and would not be delayed. The second was that after the elections he would be in a new position because of the new government would take over the running of Kwazulu.

But the manner in which he conveyed the messages was important. The Kenyan later described it as "African-style straight talking".

He told Chief Buthelezi to think about the Bugandan tribe in Uganda. They had a monarch who was stronger even than King Goodwill Zwelithini. They played a much larger role in the affairs of Uganda than the Zulu nation did in South Africa.

But they had been obliterated, written themselves out of history, because they had tried to resist change.

He told Chief Buthelezi to remember he was dealing with African politicians who, after the elections, would seek to obliterate the IFP if it

Mr Coleman in turn phoned CEM head Murray Hofmeyr.

As he was in Knysna, he asked Mr Coleman to get in touch with Anglo America's Michael Spicer who would ensure that whatever assistance was needed was provided.

In Umtata, meanwhile, a meeting was taking place between National Peace Secretariat chairman John

to IFP hardliners who were vowing to die fighting rather than allow the elections to take place.

Behind the scenes the king's advisers were also pressurising Chief Buthelezi to accept offers from the ANC to entrench the constitutional powers of the king.

Following his discussions with Professor Okumu it can also be expected that Chief Buthelezi held discussions with his senior advisers.

Given the impact of the professor's message to him it is likely for the first time in many months that the advice of pro-election IFP members such as Dr Mdialose, Dr Ben Ngubane and information head Ziba Jihane will have carried more weight than that of someone like Mr Felgate, who was opposed to participation.

Significantly, Mr Felgate was to adopt a low profile in the meetings that followed, while Mr Jihane was ever present. One insider said Professor Okumu kept Mr Felgate and Mr Ambrossini on a tight leash, cutting down efforts by them to intervene during meetings to discourage Chief Buthelezi from making a deal.

Publically, however, there was no indication from Chief Buthelezi that he was prepared to settle. Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, Mr Coleman and Mr

Spicer attempted to ascertain whether it was practically possible for the IFP to participate in the elections at this late stage.

They met IEC commissioner Charles Nupen who arranged for them to meet IEC head Judge Johann Krieger. They rushed out to a Jan Smuts hotel, where Professor Okumu was staying, and drove him back to the IEC's Kruis Street headquarters for a meeting with the judge.

The response from Judge Krieger was that if there was a political will for a settlement a way would be found.

The judge said this week it was he who suggested stickers containing the IFP details could be printed and attached to the bottom of the ballot paper.

Having established that it was logistically possible for the IFP to participate, Professor Okumu and Mr Coleman drafted the details of a possible settlement.

On Sunday morning the professor flew to Durban where he met Chief Buthelezi — ironically, again at a prayer breakfast. Chief Buthelezi accepted the terms. Hurdle number one was safely negotiated. The next one was to persuade the ANC to accept the deal.

Unfortunately, Mr Mandela was in Cape Town where

was that he would not change his arrangements until he had had a chance to speak to his negotiators, specifically Mr Ramaphosa, SACP head Joe Slovo and Mac Maharaj.

The task of breaking this news to Chief Buthelezi fell to Professor Okumu. The IFP leader was initially angry but Professor Okumu succeeded in placating him and persuaded him to fly to Pretoria to meet President de Klerk the following day — Monday. He told Chief Buthelezi ANC negotiators would attend the meeting.

Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi met for eight hours. Professor Okumu was present and midway through the talks Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Slovo arrived.

Professor Okumu said afterwards: "It is looking good."

Mr Ramaphosa was positive. The next day the talks continued with Mr Mandela in attendance this time.

At 1.15pm they emerged with a deal signed. After months of heated arguments, failed mediation efforts and the loss of hundreds of lives in political violence, a breakthrough had finally been achieved.

That afternoon, while Judge Krieger was explaining how Inkatha would be accommodated on the ballot, a European community poll monitor was moved to mutter, "it ain't over till the fat professor



# Provision for Zulu King 'election key'

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□ Roelf Meyer welcomes IFP 'back into fold'

## Political Staff

A BILL making special provision for the Zulu monarch in the new constitution was the key to free, fair and all-inclusive elections, Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer told a special session of parliament today.

Introducing the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Second Amendment Bill he said it held the promise of a constitutional dispensation in which all South Africans could take part.

"In the very last dying moments of the present dispensation", he applauded the IFP's decision to take part in the elections and welcomed it back into the fold.

A group of Zulu princes in traditional regalia watched the proceedings from the public gallery.

Mr Meyer said the measure had come about after negotiations between the government, the ANC, Inkatha and the Zulu king, and the decision of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in the election.

It had been agreed that the parties would actively promote the dignity of the Zulu monarchy and would undertake to ensure that the provincial constitution of KwaZulu-Natal would make suitable provision for the king's status.

The monarch's status and role of provisional leadership, according to indigenous law, would be recognised and protected in the constitution. Provision in the provincial constitution, relating to the constitutional role, authority and status of a traditional monarch would be protected in the national constitution. Provision for the Zulu monarch was mandatory in the case of KwaZulu-Natal.

Mr Meyer said a miracle had happened in negotiations over the past four years.

It had been shown that:

● Party political differences could be resolved through negotiations.

● Political gamesmanship had cost the country dearly.

● The democratisation process had only just begun and was a force too strong to be stopped by destructive elements. It transcended party politics.

Farouk Cassim, an IFP MP, said his party would fight for more rights for the regions in the system.

It would not allow the ANC's attitude that it was above the law to take root.

Democratic party leader Zande Beer said the real object of the bill was to make it possible for the IFP to take part in the election.

(News by T. Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus.  
**PRESIDENT SPEAKS:** President F W De Klerk speaks to journalists shortly before the start of today's special session of parliament.

# Cabinet may lift KwaZulu state of emergency today

(107)

## Political Staff

DURBAN. — State of Emergency provisions in KwaZulu-Natal could be lifted today by the cabinet following the Inkatha Freedom Party's decision to enter the general election, say security and political sources.

Army officers in Durban reported to the government last week that conditions had calmed to the point where they no longer needed the extra powers.

But they said the present number of troops should not be reduced. There are about 3 000 extra soldiers on duty in KwaZulu-Natal to ensure that voting takes place in a peaceful climate.

Police officers agreed with this assessment.

But attacks on African National Congress supporters in Umtata at the weekend and the unearthing of a huge arms cache in T-section, Umtata on Friday night prompted a rethink.

Police found 32 grenades in

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T-section, two AK rifles and more than 1 000 rounds of ammunition of various types. Security forces this month have found more than 600 guns in KwaZulu-Natal.

Balanced against this, government sources said, lifting the State of Emergency would be a gesture towards political reconciliation and would help avoid political criticism afterwards about voting taking place under a State of Emergency.

The cabinet meets today to discuss lifting the regulations. Parliament meets today to amend the constitution to secure the position of the Zulu monarchy.

Chief Buthelezi condemned the State of Emergency again yesterday. He called for its immediate lifting and for a "true multiparty, multiracial endeavour now to finally put violence behind us and to develop the national unity needed to make democracy work".

(News by R M Challenger, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.)



# Inkatha releases list of candidates

**BILLY PADDOCK**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party released its list of candidates yesterday, appearing to give high-profile public figures and whites prominence on its national list but preserving its top echelon for the regional list in KwaZulu/Natal where it expects the strongest support.

Inkatha expects at most to win 23% of the votes nationally, with its list of provincial candidates almost equalling that of the combined regional and national component for the national assembly. It is fielding 76 candidates to contest the 400 seats.

Most opinion polls have given Inkatha about 13% of the votes nationally, although the latest Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report gave it only about 7%, which would result in the top 20 making it into Parliament on the national list. President Mangosuthu Buthelezi heads the national list followed by former SACP member Joe Matthews and hardliner Walter Felgate.

Positions five, six and eight are held by former NP members Koos van der Merwe, Jurie Mentz and Hennie Bekker. Press officer Sue Vos will also make it into Parliament at number seven. At number nine is information director Ziba Jiyane with Velaphi Ndlovu at 11 and former Independent Broadcasting Authority member Harriet Ngubane at number 12.

Chief negotiator Ben Ngubane heads a strong list of candidates on the regional list, the safest route to election.

HSRC director Lawrie Schlemmer estimates that Inkatha could manage 25% support in KwaZulu/Natal, giving about 15 candidates from that region a good chance.

Among these are Dennis Madide, Faith Gasas Forouk Cassim, Kisten Rajoo, Peter Smith of the information department, Natal Red Cross director Inka Mars, Ben Skosana and Philip Powell.

For its KwaZulu/Natal Provincial legislature, Inkatha has its chairman Frank Mdlalose as premier candidate followed by Jeffrey Mtetwa and two royal family members Gideon and Vincent Zulu. Also high on the list are former DP MPs Mike Tarr and Peter Miller, with Arthur Konigkramer in ninth and Sue Felgate at 15.

Maritzburg mayor Patrick Cornell occupies the number 20 slot and Lindelani warlord Thomas Shabalala is at number 26.

In its second strongest region, the PWV, Inkatha has chosen Transvaal leader Themba Khoza to head the list for the national assembly. He is likely to get into Parliament. At number nine is Charles Loliwe, who called on Inkatha members to march on the ANC offices at Shell House recently.

Inkatha's choice for PWV premier is Musa Myeni with Hennie Bekker's wife, Gerda, occupying fourth position before Ruth Felgate.

MUNGO SOGGOT reports that Inkatha's 11th hour decision to take part in the poll has triggered the frantic printing of 88-million labels.

Jackstadt MD Ken Steyn said his company, which printed the stickers, had delivered 40 tons of label stock to printing company Self-Adhering Products. It, in turn, had printed 22-million labels a day since last Wednesday.

Report by W Paddock and M Soggot, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.



# NEWS

*Last day of tricameral system*

# Role of Zulu king affirmed

Star 26/4/94

## ■ POLITICAL STAFF

Cape Town — The last white parliament ended yesterday with Zulus in traditional garb witnessing the ratification of constitutional measures to affirm the position of the Zulu monarch.

All parties, except the Conservative Party, voted in favour of amendments to the Interim Constitution to ensure the IFP's participation in the election.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Second Amendment Bill was witnessed by the king's uncle, Prince Gideon Zulu, and a team of *amak-hosi* (chiefs) dressed in leopard skins.

## Spears

The men had been told to leave their spears at security, but the prince managed to sneak in his traditional axe.

The amendments recognised the institution of the Zulu monarch in Natal, its role, authority and status.

At the special day-long ses-

**AMAKHOSI attend session as royal salute; shouted by IFP MP Koos van der Merwe, echoes through House of Assembly**

sion, the Democratic Party retook the seats of the official Opposition after six years, following the defection of 10 MPs from the CP to other parties, including the IFP.

The MPs of General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front took their seats next to the IFP for the first time on the last day of the tricameral Parliament.

During the debate, which also marked the CP's swansong in Parliament, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg posted a token protest and warned that the flame of nationalism would burn again.

President de Klerk closed Parliament with a warning that South Africa's new democracy

should be nurtured carefully, otherwise it would wither and die.

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South Africa was being watched by Africa, which needed an example of success, and by the world, which needed a symbol that intractable differences could be resolved peacefully, De Klerk said.

## Powers

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said parties agreed that the provincial constitution of KwaZulu/Natal would make suitable provision for the king, who would have such rights and powers as determined by Zulu customs and tradition.

The House of Assembly, where apartheid architect Dr Hendrik Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966, echoed for the first time with the Zulu royal salute, shouted out by the IFP's Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal. It was taken up by people in the gallery.

(T Molefe and D Pressly, Press Gallery, Cape Town)



# KwaZulu Police slam SAPS raid on camp

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*(107)*  
DURBAN. — The KwaZulu government paramilitary training camp outside Ulundi was allegedly raided by the SA Police Service on Tuesday night, a move which drew condemnation yesterday from the KwaZulu Police.

KZP commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During slammed the late-night raid which he said was initiated by Mr Mac Maharaj, senior African National Congress representative on the Transitional Executive Council and lawyer Mr Howard Varney who is currently investigating alleged KZP hit squads.

Gen During said the SAP had told him the raid was executed because training at the Mlaba camp was in contravention of the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal. — Sapa



# Rescue teams fly at dawn to Ulundi

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□ Home Affairs helps out IEC

## Political Staff

**DURBAN.** — About 60 Home Affairs officials were flown to Ulundi at dawn today by the Air Force to help the Independent Electoral Commission salvage the election in KwaZulu/Natal.

And if the rescue is not completed today, IEC personnel and voting materials from Durban could be airlifted early tomorrow to the problem areas of Ulundi, Non-goma, Ubombo and Dundee.

Special permission would be given to the presiding officers in those areas to open their voting booths tomorrow.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on television today that these plans had averted a crisis.

But they ran into immediate problems because there was no IEC staff at the Ulundi airport to meet the Home Affairs teams.

President De Klerk said in Durban last night that virtually the whole Air Force was now at the disposal of the IEC.

Seven teams of Home Affairs officials were flown from Pietermaritzburg to Ulundi with all the equipment needed to issue temporary voters cards, a particular problem in some remote parts of KwaZulu/Natal.

The IEC yesterday had two million more ballot papers for the National Assembly printed for KwaZulu/Natal, and two million for the Provincial parliament. These included the IFP option, so doing away with the need for stickers.

Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte offered Chief Buthelezi and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Mosenke all the facilities at the government's disposal to ensure the election worked in KwaZulu/Natal.

Mr Schutte said that in terms of the Electoral Act an extension of voting hours could only be allowed at specific polling stations.

IFP people told Mr Mosenke at the midnight meeting that voting equipment had not arrived at some

polling stations. People had waited two days, but had still not voted.

At some polling stations there was no electricity to work the machines that checked voters' hands. Some ballot boxes were not sealed.

Also, the IFP said, some IEC staff were young and arrogant and did not seem to know what they were doing. Some IEC officials had opened ballot papers in front of voters.

The 225 000 ballot papers flown into Newcastle this morning were part of an order for a million placed by IEC officials yesterday.

The IEC's sub-regional director, Vaughan Southey, was hopeful that the rest of the order would be flown in later today.

"We have decided to deprive the Newcastle town centre itself of papers for the moment and send those we have to the more volatile areas," he said.

"This is necessary, even though some people in Newcastle might be unhappy."

Mr Southey said one of the reasons for the under-supply of ballot papers was the lack of proper population figures for the area.

"For instance the townships around Newcastle are supposed to have a population of about 250 000. We suspect the true figure to be more than 600 000."

Mr Southey said the available stock would be taken by road and helicopter to the various stations.

A Puma helicopter was on standby awaiting the arrival by air of a shipment of voting supplies to be taken to the Greytown, Msinga and Kranskop areas, where frustrated and angry voters were reported to have been turned away last night.

IEC liaison officer Denhem Grey, said: "Overall, things in the Midlands are a lot calmer and smoother. All our stations are up and running. The crowds are a lot smaller. One wonders if there are any people left who have not voted."



**A PLEASURE:** An enthusiastic supporter rushes in to greet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi after he cast his vote yesterday at the King Goodwill Zwelathini Stadium voting station outside Durban.

## Postbags used as ballot boxes

**EAST LONDON.** — Completed ballot papers may be put into postbags if there are not enough ballot boxes at polling stations, the Independent Electoral Commission has decided.

The IEC says presiding officers can exercise "flexibility". If no official stamps are available, officials should sign the ballots; if invisible ink runs out, they are to sign voters' identity documents to indicate that they have voted and some form of indelible ink is to be applied to the voters' cuticles; if there are no more ballot boxes, completed ballot papers can be emptied into post office bags, which must be sealed and tagged. — Sapa.



A new dimension



# Huge effort for voters in KwaZulu

(107) ~~3/4/94~~

DURBAN. — An operation of unprecedented scale has been launched in KwaZulu for the extra voting day today.

Nearly six million additional ballots including the IFP were being printed.

Radio messages in homeland languages and aircraft with "sky-shouts" were prepared overnight to inform selected regions that voting will continue today.

Special radio messages were recorded for broadcast in the areas to ensure the electorate were given the best chance to exercise their voting rights, IEC spokesman Mr Humphrey Khoza said.

The IEC insisted last night that administrative hitches had largely been resolved, and were confined to northern KwaZulu/Natal. It blamed the chaos in certain areas on shortages of ballot papers, marking ink and ultra-violet lights and innaccurate census figures, the last-minute addition of nearly 500 polling stations and an overwhelming turnout of voters on the first two days of voting.

The extra voting day seems to have placated IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who earlier had criticised the IEC after touring the troubled areas. — Sapa-Reuter

OT 29/4/94



# ANC and NP agree to compromise on king

(107) WSM 3/3 - 7/4/94

Secret talks have led to agreement on the recognition of the Zulu king in Natal/kwaZulu, writes **Farouk Chothia**

**I**N A major compromise, the African National Congress and government have agreed to amend the interim constitution to include a guarantee on the position of the Zulu monarch in kwaZulu/Natal.

Reliable sources said the agreement — reached in talks among ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and government negotiators — will probably be endorsed at a four-way summit between king Goodwill Zwelithini, IFP leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC president Nelson Mandela and state president FW de Klerk early next week.

The summit — which was to have taken place yesterday and today at a private game lodge in Natal — was called off by Zwelithini on Tuesday in protest against the killing of his subjects during Monday's march in central Johannesburg.

Sources said negotiators agreed earlier in secret talks to include a clause in Article 160, which deals with provincial constitutions, which would recognise the Zulu monarch in kwaZulu/Natal.

His exact future role would be defined by the provincial legislature which would take office after elections, though all parties seemed to agree that he would be ensured the titular position of constitutional monarch.

Barring any last-minute hitch — and there was concern that the Johannesburg killings could harden attitudes — the agreement will be placed before the four leaders for ratification at next week's indaba, sources said.

Taken at face value, this agreement represents a major compromise between the IFP and ANC. The IFP previously demanded the king's future sta-

tus be enshrined as a constitutional principle while the ANC insisted the matter be left entirely in the hands of a future provincial legislature.

In making the concession, the ANC and government hope to achieve several objectives. These include:

- Reducing the possibility of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly adopting a new constitution in the run-up to the April poll in which it planned to map out the future relationship between kwaZulu/Natal and the rest of South Africa.

- Weakening the IFP's anti-election campaign which centres on claims that the Zulu kingdom is under threat.

- Placing pressure on Zwelithini to stop calling for a boycott of the poll and to endorse the interim constitution, thus driving a wedge between himself and the IFP.

But sources said while the ANC and government hoped to woo Zwelithini, any such agreement would be more likely to cement the relationship between Zwelithini and Buthelezi — as the IFP leader would take the credit for securing the monarch's position under an ANC-led government.

Sources suggested Zwelithini would continue carrying the IFP banner and would now focus on demanding a postponement of the elections.

**H**e would go as far as tying acceptance of the constitutional amendment to a postponement of elections.

"The king will say that if his subjects cannot vote, the constitutional amendment will be meaningless. He can't be a constitutional monarch of whites, Indians and coloureds," said one source.

To rule out any prospect of Zwelithini endorsing the present election date — or of IFP participation in the poll — Buthelezi this week declared April 27 as a "National Zulu Day of Mourning for those who died".

Bargaining against a backdrop of rampant political violence and a tran-

sitional infrastructure which appears incapable of stemming the tide of violence, observers believe the ANC and government may find themselves hard-pressed to resist a postponement as hopes of an all-inclusive settlement once again hover within reach.

Taking advantage of the deaths of Zulu supporters this week to claim the moral high ground, the king has also pulled off a rearrangement of timetables: the four-way summit will now coincide neatly with the planned start of international mediation.

**T**his is likely to ensure that the mediation team, to be headed by Lord Carrington and Henry Kissinger, will make few moves without Zwelithini's support, thus raising the possibility of much greater constitutional concessions to Buthelezi than could otherwise have been extracted.

Sources suggested that, remaining faithful to Buthelezi, Zwelithini will demand recognition of his "sovereignty" through an asymmetrical federal constitution — one which would give kwaZulu/Natal more powers than other provinces.

In return for Zwelithini's support, the IFP would ensure that the provincial legislature — rather than central government — would be solely responsible for his stipend, sources said.

Sources added that the IFP was also standing firm on its demand for fiscal autonomy and exclusive powers for kwaZulu/Natal — and that it may even push for these to extend to natural resources, effectively meaning that the PWV region — the heartland of South Africa's economy — would be reliant for its water supply on the benevolence of kwaZulu/-Natal's federal government.

Some sources were optimistic that if it started next week, international mediation could be concluded by mid-April — on condition the ANC and government agreed to a postponement of elections.



**Mangosuthu Buthelezi**  
... Standing firm

■ See Page 6



## Judge postpones squatter verdict

Supreme Court Reporter (107)

JUDGMENT has been reserved in a Supreme Court application by the Vredenburg municipality for the eviction of 58 squatters living on municipal ground. ARG 17/5/94

The court action comes after the failure of 14 months of negotiations to move the squatters to another site.

The squatters, some of whom have been living on the municipal site since 1992, want the municipality to provide housing on the land they now occupy while the municipality claims the land has been set aside for formal housing.

Mr Justice Marais postponed judgment.

Charles Louw SC appeared for the municipality and Brendan Manca for the squatters.