BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1993

APRIL - JUNE
Government changes stance on VAT rate dates

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

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

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

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

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

The legislation would also provide that the old VAT rate would apply where the agreement had been entered into before April 7 even though the goods were delivered at a later date.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

General affairs expanded further

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sapa.
Federal or unitary state is key issue

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

This now becomes the top item on the constitutional agenda.

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

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

"Delegates did not go into the details of the federal versus unitary debate yesterday — they just agreed that, when the negotiation council meets on April 15, this will be the first constitutional point they start off with."

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

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

By Morris Bakubwa

BUSINESS closures in Katlehong, the town in the Pretoria metropolitan area, allegedly from the local leadership of the hostels which threatened to destroy the bus terminal if they closed their shops in the area of Centre Market, were a source of concern.

On the first day of the event, the hostel leaders convened at the bus terminal to discuss their options. The photographs show the leaders discussing their plans. The day was marked by protests and demonstrations as the hostel leaders demanded their rights.

However, Police arrested several hostel leaders during the protest, and the local authorities responded with force. The hostel leaders claimed that they were acting in self-defense, but the local authorities accused them of causing disorder.

On Monday this week, the hostel leaders were ordered to meet with the local authorities to discuss the issue.

The hostel leaders are determined to hold the authorities accountable for the events that led to the protests.

A representative of the hostel leaders, Mr. Makwane, said, "We will not tolerate any form of harassment or intimidation. We will continue to fight for our rights until we are heard."

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TRAFFIC PROSECUTIONS

In a recent traffic court case, the following traffic violations were prosecuted:

- Speeding
- Exceeding the speed limit
- Parking
- Overloading
- Moving traffic illegally

YOU DON'T HAVE TO WAIT FOR CHRISTMAS

OFF WHAT
The blonde white Zulu of Sandton

Suzanne Vos was back in the news this week, pushing for a higher female profile in the multi-party talks. Heidi Kriz takes a look at the Inkatha Freedom Party's best known white representative.

IFP's white face, Suzanne Vos

Suzanne Vos read Ayn Rand “five thousand times” as a child, submerging herself in the American author’s philosophy of “objectivism.” Propounded in books such as The Virtue of Selfishness, this holds that altruism and a free society don’t mix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Her colleagues at the National Peace Accord find her plumed ensembles as worthy of comment as her proposals for peace. One described her outfits at meetings as being “what you might see on the hostess of a handicapped children’s charity ball.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vos displayed all the usual signs of youth,
DURBAN. — Veteran politician and Durban city councillor Derrick Watterson has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

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

The IFP formally launched its Durban Central branch at a private meeting of its leadership at a beachfront hotel on Thursday.

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

The former MEC and parliamentarian predicted that Inkatha would become one of the strongest party political forces in Durban. "It's attracting more and more white members every day," he said.
GOVERNMENT-ANC DEAL IS AT THE HEART OF NEGOTIATIONS

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT
By EDITH BULBING

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

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

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

But on another level they are also a charade.

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

Struck two months ago, the deal is rarely, if ever, mentioned at the World Trade Centre - the two key players realize that unless all the parties are made to feel part of the deal, its legitimacy will be questioned and stability will be uncertain.

The task for the government and the ANC is to sell their agreed constitutional settlement to the other parties.

They will attempt to keep all the participants together for as long as possible. But when major problems arise, they will have to decide whether the ANC and the government will continue without them, backed by the majority of the parties.

At the World Trade Centre on Thursday the key players made the breakthrough to the point at which the ANC-government package could begin.

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

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

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

The real hard sell will take place in a 10-person planning committee, which will meet daily behind closed doors to thrash out compromises which can be placed before the public forum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This government of national unity will rule the country for five years under an interim constitution, which will also contain a Bill of Rights.
Cut it short, ANC told

By BENSON NTLEME

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

Master of ceremonies and Ximoko Progressive Party member S Mgimetl told Mr Andrew Mlungeni, speaking on behalf of ANC president Nelson Mandela, not to speak for more than five minutes or make a "political" speech. His was also the only speech not translated into Shangaan.

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

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

By FRED KHUMALO

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

Watterson was promptly appointed to its central city steering committee.

Watterson, who was a staunch anti-communist, signed up a few weeks after former National Party MP Jan van der Westhuizen defected to Inkatha.

Watterson's move was a welcome boost to Inkatha's Durban central branch, which has been struggling to attract new members.

Watterson said he was attracted to Inkatha because of its commitment to a non-racial, democratic society.

He praised Inkatha for its commitment to a non-racial, democratic society and said he was looking forward to working with the party.

Inkatha's national executive welcomed Watterson's move and said it showed the party's appeal to a wide range of people.

The move was seen as a sign of Inkatha's growing influence in the city, and it was expected to boost the party's chances of winning the next local government elections.

Inkatha's leader, Charles Nqakula, said the party was pleased to have another strong supporter on its side.

He said Watterson's move was a sign of the party's commitment to a non-racial, democratic society and said he was looking forward to working with the party.

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IFP urges Kriel to offer reward after man slain

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

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

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

It also said the reward should conform with that offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers of Natal Midlands African National Congress deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe, who died in an ambush between Ixopo and Richmond in October last year.

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

“The IFP is convinced that the assassination was politically motivated.”

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

“Such an attack defies comprehension, particularly in the light of Mr Gumede’s active and energetic participation in community affairs,” said the IFP statement.—Sapa.
Elections this year — Buthelezi

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

Chief Buthelezi told BBC Television elections could take place by September and that he was hopeful for the future of South Africa.

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

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

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

"There is a civil war in South Africa. While I was sleeping in London last night, 1,000 people were killed. It is going on all the time and clearly we cannot go forward until we get on top of the violence," he said.

Chief Buthelezi also denied that he was trying to break away and set up an independent Zulu state. — Sapa-Reuters
THE Inkatha Freedom Party's western Transvaal regional organiser on Monday claimed he had been shot at while driving to his home on Sunday evening. Jabulani Ngubane said he was driving to his home in Tshwane township at 7:30pm when he encountered a group of youths standing next to the road. A shot was fired at his car, hitting the left front door.
I’ll meet Mandela anywhere, anytime

By Lulama Lutli

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

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

He said this had been proved by the Goldstone Commission.

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

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

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

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

“I’ve always said we are living in a low-intensity war in South Africa. It’s been going on for seven years now,” he said, adding that there were a lot of loose cannons in all (political) organisations in the country.

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

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

“But even if they could be held in April, in principle, I am not opposed to that notion. In my point of view it’s just not practical,” he said.
Chief ready to meet Mandela

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

"I can see him tomorrow," he said. Mr. Buthelezi said he had incorrectly been reported as saying an election could be held by September this year; he had said next year.

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

He was replying, in the parliamentary provincial committee on Natal in Maritzburg, to a demand from the IFP that he release all information on his claims that Inkatha Central Committee member Mr Walter Felgate could be an NIS spy "or shut up".

Mr Felgate flatly denied the spy allegations yesterday.

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

"Why must I be personally scared? I have come a long way with this thing."

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

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

— Sapa, Own Correspondent
Felgate no NIS spy – Buthelezi

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

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

But Buthelezi said he did not believe Felgate was a National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent as had been alleged by Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan in Parliament recently. — Political Correspondent
SLUSH PUPPIES ... New corruption allegations have rocked the Inkatha-aligned union Uwusa, which was launched with great fanfare in 1986 and cost a whopping R1.5-million in slush funds.

Inkatha union hit by corruption claims

By SIPHOKHUKHUMALO

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

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

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

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

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

"They are not paid fixed amounts. Sometimes union workers receive as little as R60 a month but never more than R400," Ndebele charged.

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

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

Theft claims

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

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

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

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

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

The then Law and Order Minister Adriano Vlok then announced that his department would scale down and ultimately stop funding the union.
MPs seek power by joining majority parties

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

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

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

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

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

"Their move is essentially out of self-interest and not necessarily because they are sincere and believe in Inkatha. But, then, all politicians do things out of self-interest, in the first place." Whatever the motives behind those defecting to either the ANC or Inkatha, there is no escaping that the demographic reality has finally caught up with the politicians.

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

Options

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Nats deserting sinking ship

By Sekola Selho
Buthelezi warns of impending bloodbath

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. - Even free elections in South Africa will not stop the country plunging into a bloodbath, Chief Minister Mangouhlo Buthelezi has told a British newspaper.

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

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

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

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

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

The Daily Star said its problems in South Africa include "rigged opinion polls, smear campaigns and a hostile press."
IFP slates ANC racial outburst

Political Correspondent

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

IFP Regional Organiser Mr Malcolm Bagley said in a statement today: "The IFP has taken note of the serious inflammatory speeches by Mr Mokaba.

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

"The IFP demands that the ANC in the Western Cape apologises and distances itself from these remarks."
THE Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected a call by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance for the immediate holding of elections for a constituent assembly and establishment of a Transitional Executive Council.

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

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

Condemning mass action

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

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

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

Critical process

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mangope told Boutros-Ghali that the ANC and government had formed an alliance to force through their “secretly agreed agenda” but the Concerned South Africans Group was intent on stopping them. He appealed to the secretary-general to “use his good offices” to assist his government and members of the group to avoid “another Somalia or Bosnia-Herzegovina”.

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

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

Inkatha said it rejected the ANC’s plan to use violence and mass action “to hijack the negotiation process and unilaterally impose a constituent assembly, and make demands which will prevent the establishment of true federalism in SA”.

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

Spokesman Suzanne Vos said there was no softening of the party’s position on its total rejection of the need for a council and an interim government. "But that is a subject for negotiations, and we will fight for completing all talks and finalising the constitution in this forum," she said.
MMABATHO. — United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali met delegates from the IFP and Bophuthatswana's ruling party on Sunday to discuss the situation in South Africa.

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

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

Chief Buthelezi opposes rolling pickets and demos.

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

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

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

ANC southern Natal regional executive member Mr Jeff Radebe reportedly said the congress should rid the country of white supremacists, adding “phansi, Gatsha, phansi (down, Gatsha, down)”. Buthelezi said Radebe’s comment was provocative and “people had been angered by it”.

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

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

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

The ANC “cannot ram their demands down the throats of the other parties”. Buthelezi said statements by ANC officials at memorial services for Mr Hani were not the first time the congress had claimed it was the “government in waiting”.

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

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

The arrest of senior Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis at the weekend in connection with Hani’s murder would not affect the IFP’s position in the Concerned South Africans Group, of which the CP, IFP and the Bophuthatswana government were principal members, the party said. — SA Press Association.
A Sowetan Correspondent reports on new Minister of Home Affairs Mr Danie Schutte's career from Afrikaner student leader to taking charge of the Government's work in the pending first democratic election.

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

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

Power sharing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They did this by starting the march an hour early and then — apparently deliberately — deviated from the agreed route. That was followed by a spate of vandalism and intimidation which left Durban reeling.

The regional chamber of commerce has even called for a complete review of the policy allowing marches through the city centre, though management committee chairman Peter Mansfield says he doubts it will be possible to ban demonstrations. That, he maintains, would be going back to the "bad old days."

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

"I suspect that PAC support is still relatively negligible in the area," says Frost.

"Numbers under the PAC banner at the Wednesday march were small. Other yardsticks, such as less than impressive organisational ability and the fact that the PAC holds few rallies, support this view."

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

The real significance of the events of the last 10 days is that the ANC alliance has a martyrdom which has boosted their cause. Furthermore, the turnout at the funeral and the generally impressive way it was conducted, will have a bandwagon effect. So, politically speaking, the week of mourning has turned out to the advantage of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance."

Perhaps more important, Frost feels, is that the consequence of the events could upset the IFP timetable for change. "The IFP seemed to have comfortably accepted a lengthy process towards the establishment of a transitional executive committee, then an election and constituent assembly. The likely consequence of the past fortnight's events is that the whole process will be speeded up. If the IFP tries to oppose this, it will simply be seen as a spoiler."
ANC thrown out of Matie meeting

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

The FCM proposes maximum autonomy for each federal unit.

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

3

Puthelezi Warnings SA
Inkatha
Free Cape
in alliance

Staff Reporter

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

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

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

A Cape Times reporter who attended the meeting was told by the town hall caretaker that it could hold 1,092 people. The reporter estimated that about 800 people were present.
After Hani assassination, a sense of urgency prevails

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

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

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

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

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

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

ESTHER WAUGH, Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

The key issue to reach agreement on remains the scenario for the transition. The Government and ANC — and their allies — want a TEC to be installed and elections to be held for an interim government and a constitution-making body.

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

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

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

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

Titus said there was "enough in the report to come up with constructive suggestions on the way forward".
Democracy rules in run-up to voting

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

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

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

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

The complex proposals by the three men are constructed in a manner which will allow this to happen.

The aim is to avoid clashes that might lead to any of the parties walking out of the talks before substantial agreements have been concluded.

Negotiators believe that once such agreements have been concluded, it will be difficult for any major participant to walk out without attracting considerable opprobrium.

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

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

Given their approval by the diverse political parties on the planning committee, the proposals are unlikely to be blocked or substantially amended.

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

There are five proposals.

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

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

The commission would be made up of people who are not political office bearers, and could include seconded international experts.

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

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

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

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

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

Laws

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

The code would stipulate that all parties have fair access to air their views.
Six die after night vigil attack

IFP official buried:

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

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

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

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

Ngidi said the shootings seemed to be related to this political rivalry. — Sapa
IFP claims of joint spying

Own Correspondent

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

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

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet claimed yesterday that negotiations about a merger between South Africa's National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the ANC's DIS had reached an advanced stage.

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

The SAP last night denied the allegations. "It is regrettable that whenever the SAP has to take steps against members of an organisation it is automatically accused of siding with any opposing organisation," a police spokesman said.
Cosag warns of trouble ahead

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) yesterday gave notice that negotiators at tomorrow's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre were heading for another round of confrontation. Speaking after their meeting in Mmabatho yesterday, Cosag members said they were concerned about threats to exclude from negotiations these "retarding the process".

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

"Nobody should underestimate our anger just because we do not throw stones. We have the chance to get it right," Cronje said.

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

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

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

This would lead to the TRC, a Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, a Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, a Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, the Labour Party and the governments of Transkei, Kalungi, Lebowa, KwaDweshele and Venda.

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

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

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

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

Together they formed the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag). What they had in common then was fierce opposition to Pretoria and the ANC, who were accused of entering into secret deals. What binds them together now is their commitment to federalism — some say confederalism.

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

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

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

Concessions

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

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

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

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

That means parties like Wits’s Dikwankwetla Party, Gqozo’s unpopular Ciskei government and Amiench Rajkumar’s “one-man” National People’s Party have as much ability to slow down the process as either the Government or the ANC.
ANC, Inkatha peace marshals

ANC and Inkatha marshals should be trained jointly under the supervision of peace accords structures, delegates to a peace secretariat assessment mission during the burial of SACP leader Chris Hani said this week.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

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

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

Urgency

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

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

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

MDLALOSE: In close touch with Buthelezi.

The negotiations deadlock when IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose insisted on reading to the meeting a six-page document accusing the ANC and the Government of collusion in violence against IFP members in Natal.

The document, distributed on Monday, called for the disbanding of all "private armies" before constitutional negotiations could continue and elections could be held. It accused the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) of killing hundreds of IFP office-holders in Natal.

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

Orders

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

A ten-minute adjournment, running nearly two hours, saw the IFP agree to an "interim measure" to créate a technical sub-committee to study the IFP document, discuss violence and liaise with the national peace committee. However, Mdlalose said the sub-committee could be established only after his delegation and report back to its principal.

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

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

IFP claim on violence to be probed

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

Mdlalose said there had been a difference in approach over the technical committees. The IFP believed they would be called into being only "as and when necessary."

He said the IFP feared that the technical committees might try to "do the work we have not asked them to.

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

TO PAGE 2.
NEGOTIATING council delegates who fly into Jan Smuts airport pass an advertising hoarding on their way to the World Trade Centre. Selling trips to Sydney, it reads: "It's time to cross this bridge."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Uneasy

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

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

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

The planning committee, on which 10 delegates sit in their personal capacities to formulate proposals for debate by the council, is also the repository of all attempts at public politicising in the council chamber — but not a very secure one.

It had tried to block the IFP statement at least twice before Dr Mdlofas — himself a member of the FC — brought it into the open anyway.

"Whether it will stay safely in committee is moot as Dr Mdlofas is clearly under pressure from Umlindi to read it into the record come what may."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Claire Robertson
Inkatha move delays talks on settlement

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

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

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

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

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

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

Killed with AK-47s

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

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

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

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

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

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

The document also called for the banning of private armies, both from the left and the right and called on Pretoria "to stop treating MK with kid gloves."
INKATHA and KwaZulu delegations to the multiparty talks would withhold backing for the negotiations process until their demands were met, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate warned yesterday.

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

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

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

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

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

Inkatha

the committee members.

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

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

A preparatory meeting to set the date was due by March 5, but the renewed national negotiations forced a postponement.

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

Own Correspondent

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

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Pessimism

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Planners make modest progress

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

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

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

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

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

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander — who chaired the sessions — said a letter had been sent earlier yesterday to all 26 parties requesting nominations for the sub-committees.

By Friday the planning committee would have finalised its proposals for the members of the sub-committees, Alexander said.

The committee has proposed between three and six members for each sub-committee.

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

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

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

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

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

A meeting between the planning committee and the National Peace Committee was agreed to and will be arranged soon. — Political Staff, Sapa.
SA’s progress remarkable – FW

Political Staff

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

Speaking at an International Public Relations Association dinner, he said it would also be necessary to create the circumstances in which they would be able to take part freely and meaningfully in the process.

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

There were no illusions at the outset that it would be an easy race. Given the diametrically opposed ideologies at the outset, the deep-seated animosities and suspicions, and the legacies of prejudice, fear and envy in the society, it was clear there would be many difficulties.

But remarkable progress had been made, de Klerk said.

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

Apartheid victims ‘will not vote NP’

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

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

Also addressing the meeting, the head of the ANC’s local government unit, Thozamile Botha, said interim local councils should replace existing councils in black and white areas should be in place by July.

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

Mdlalose accusations referred to Goldstone

By Helen Grange

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

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

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

He also suggested that the police were deliberately neglecting to investigate perpetrators of violence against the IFP.

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

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

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

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

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

IFP plans to force talks on violence

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

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

The first march would take place in Durban.

“The IFP’s view is that violence has reached such a level that it should be tabled at the top of the agenda at the multi-party forum,” he said.

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

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

The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies.
SA’s progress remarkable – FW

The Star Wednesday May 5 1993

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The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. — Sapa.
Concern over halt in ANC-Inkatha talks

BILLY PADDOCK

MEMBERS of the diplomatic corps in SA yesterday expressed "great concern" that talks between Inkatha and the ANC had been "placed on the back burner for the sake of multiparty negotiations". They indicated they might take up the matter with the parties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The IFP also wants the government to provide a detailed report on all bilateral agreements.
Inkatha decides mass action is answer

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

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

On Monday, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said violence had to be the first item dealt with at talks. Inkatha’s delegation leader, national chairman Frank Maluleke, attempted twice last week to read a lengthy statement at negotiations council meetings. First it was referred to the planning committee and, later, to a technical committee still to be set up.

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

The 18-member committee has agreed to a package of proposals to be put to Friday’s meeting and the council is to begin addressing the concerns of the Concerned South Africans Group.

Vrede once again town of peace

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The police said the ANC’s possession of the weapons was unlawful.
INP to take to the streets

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

IFP spokesman Mr Ed. Titlaid said a mass protest action programme will be launched on May 15 throughout all major regions in Natal.
Urgency called for in local govt

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

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

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

TIM COHEN

The ANC’s Rob Hlosi also said local government was in crisis, while many, if not all, the white local authorities were unable or unwilling to meet the challenge of “one city, one tax-base”.

“They are busy budgeting for another business-as-usual year, battiered by the belief that their term of office will be extended,” he said.

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

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

Interest groups want open SABC board appointments

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

Campaign for Independent Broadcasting (CIB) spokesman Dave Dixon told a panel convened by Communications judge Siwald Mohammed and Piet Schabott that the large number of nominations (more than 700) pointed to a groundswell of public interest and support for the new process.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“We should have people with the required skills, but we cover 300 degrees of life. This board should seek to that the SABC fulfils its responsibilities to serve a medium with great impact.”

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

Inkatha plans ‘mass march for peace’

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

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

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Carter Ndlovu said between 8 000 and 10 000 people were expected at the march. Bekker said it would be monitored by the SAP and Wits Uit peace secretariat monitors. Inkatha would also appoint 100 to 150 marshals and 50 monitors.

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

DIRK VAN EEDEN
KwaZulu ‘paid for march, buses’

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

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

At the time, the march was billed as a march of Zulus to protest against the Record of Understanding signed by the government and the ANC/PDM Political Staff.
NEGOTIATIONS

Under orders

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

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

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

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

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

A declaration of Intent, which says an election date not later than April should be set within five weeks, was not adopted.
After a day spent listening to his colleagues arguing themselves into the ground over minor procedural matters, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo attempted to inject a note of urgency into the multi-party talks last Friday.

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

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

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

That move was seen as "lifting the spirits" of South Africa by taking a firm step forward, all but a step forward, on the long road to democracy.

The founding fathers of the new South Africa packed their briefcases and went home, having failed once again to capsize the notion of the negotiations as an endless succession of meetings and memos, delays and press conferences, incomprehensible and irrelevant to ordinary South Africans.

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

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

In the end he didn't, the matter was until MK, used interchangeably with "violence", is disbanded.

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

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

The problem must be put another way. If we accept that the multi-party negotiations are essentially about finding a route to democracy in South Africa where the white man can rule over himself. They collapse like cards in the face of the reality that nowhere in South Africa are whites in a majority.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The similarity between the IFP and the rightwing is that both are hell-bent on delaying an election as long as possible, if not forever. That is understandable: the Research Surveys poll last year found that the combined Cosag vote would be in the order of 1 percent.

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

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

Up to now the overriding concern at the multi-party talks has been simply getting everybody on board.
Everyone present had already had four days to read the statement and one was left with the inescapable impression that Mbeki was under strict orders from his boss, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not even to think of reporting back that he hadn’t read the whole document into the record.

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

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

Yet the IFP, with breathtaking one-eyedness, persisted again this week in trying to block constitutional talks with the South African Group (Cosas) spoilers who will not make them go away. They claim that all they are trying to prevent is the ANC and the National Party riding through a high-handed deal.

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

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

The problem is knowing which boerestaat. At last count there were about a dozen versions from a plethora of parties and institutions, pseudo-scientific bastards at carving out a piece of phantom country comprising 4 per cent of South Africa and where, he claims, whites are in the majority, is located. Is it the Knurig Park?

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

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

At last count he had attracted about two dozen families, engaged in a grim pioneer struggle to survive without their servants. A few hundred more have grown beards and donned veldskoene to help Carel Boschhoff make the desert bloom in Oranjim.

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

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

Black aspirations with white fears.

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

To now the overriding concern at the multi-party talks is to simple get everyone on board.

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

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

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

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

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

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

That, and an election date, ought to begin the process of restoring morale.
THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth League will hold a march in Johannesburg tomorrow to protest against the SABC's alleged bias against the IFP.

They will also protest against the ANC-led tripartite alliance's "rolling mass action".
'IFP not calling for talks break'  
DURBAN. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the IFP is not calling for the suspension of negotiations, but is demanding that the violence should top the agenda. (J/B)  
He said Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer had confused random violence with the calculated violence of armed wings when he said people should not be misled by calls for a suspension of negotiations until the violence was addressed. — Sapa
IFP plans city march

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

The march is to start at the Johannesburg City Hall at 11.00 am and proceed to SABC headquarters in Auckland Park.

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

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

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

Cronje produced a copy of an order form from the office of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi instructing the KwaZulu Department of Transport to “kindly provide 60 buses to transport Zulus” to take part in a march in Durban on October 10 last year.

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

“Can we get the assurance from the Government that the taxpayer will not pay for the programme of mass demonstrations as announced by the IFP,” he said.
SOUTH AFRICA'S AGONY: In a nation gripped by violent psychosis, drastic measures are needed to force peace on the intolerant

Time for shock treatment

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

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

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

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

The main culprits for the morass in which we find ourselves are the ANC, IFP, PAC and National Party. But the Church, and more especially the South African Council of Churches, must share some of the blame.

Once the country had committed itself to a negotiated constitution-making process, it was no longer necessary for churches to continue identifying with resistance movements. Their task then should have been to revert to a neutral position and ensure all parties acted responsibly and with commitment to the awesome task entrusted to them. Instead, they identified far too closely with the ANC and, as a consequence,
Martial law and a joint ANC-IFP platform are keys to aiding change.

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

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

There is much merit in looking at the past. But the problem remains how to make the new go.
AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE 10 middle-aged men — seated around a rectangular table on the first floor of the shabby World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — are collectively known as the Planning Committee. Their job is to smooth the talks-path for the 26-party negotiating council that haggles over SA’s future in the full glare of the world’s spotlight.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stubborn

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

He then timeously intervene to settle the

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Plotting and planning in the 10-man committee

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Cyril Ramaphosa

He gives a point while he scores an advantage

Colin Eglin

The DP man who is able to bring squabbles to heel

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

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

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

Across the table is the ANC’s secretary general and chief negotiator, C. F. E. I. Rama Phosa, who sometimes finds the contents of his electronic diary more interesting than the proceedings.

When his intervention is necessary, he will make an impassioned appeal that is so convincing that the Transkei’s chief state law adviser Zum Tius, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei’s position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

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

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

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

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

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

Seated on his left is his Cosag ally, Mick Webb, the overweight and redundant adviser to Ciskei leader Oupa Gcwezo and King Williams Town lawyer. He is quick to raise his hand to question any perceived slight, overanxious to go on the attack and is undoubtedly the most dominant voice in the proceedings.

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

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

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

**Logical**

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

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

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

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

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

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**EDYTH BULBRING**
Inkatha marches on 'biased' SABC

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

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

Inkatha West Rand secretary Humphrey Nkomo said the march was to protest against the SABC’s sidelining of most political parties, including Inkatha.

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

Police spokesman Maj Eugene Opperman said no incidents occurred during the march.

ZOLO BUDDIES ... Protests hitching rides on security force vehicles were reported.
While mass action may be a democratic right—ordinary South Africans are praying that the bombardment from left and right does not roll into anarchy. **Themba Molefe** explores the avenues:

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

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

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

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

Ibrahim said the distinctions were of the ANC alliance, the N/P/Government alliance, Cosasg and the Africanists.

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

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

In South Africa mass action—mass protest—is synonymous with the African Congress and its allies and dates back to the days of the United Democratic Front/Mass Democratic Movement in the 1980s, to demand the unbanning of political organisations and release of jailed leaders, for example.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Already, the IFP has succeeded in bringing attention to a lengthy document titled "Death List" which is submitted at the negotiating council.

In it the IFP accuses the Government and ANC of collusion in assassinating its leadership.

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

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

JOHANNESBURG. — Security forces on foot and in scores of armoured vehicles threw a ring of steel around the SABC here on Saturday afternoon when about 6000 Inkatha supporters arrived to hand over a memorandum protesting against alleged bias from the corporation.

They were in position in and around the SABC headquarters as the protesters massed in the street outside after marching from central Johannesburg.

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

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

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

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

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

**Star 16/11/93**

**Star Monday May 10 1993 11**

They have leap-frogged to the top of the media house's radio news bulletins over the last few weeks and have more than their share of newspaper headlines.

Last week saw the conclusion of the newly formed Committee of Deputies of the ANC and the PAC's participation in the negotiations.

They have been intense - the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Province.

The negotiations are part of the September 25 Record of Understandings between the ANC and the PAC.

They have been negotiated by the two parties and are intended to lay the groundwork for a peaceful transition to democracy.

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While mass action may be a democratic right, ordinary South Africans are praying that the bombardment from left and right does not roll into anarchy. Thembekile Molefe explores the avenues:

Policy grievance

A booklet of the South African Council of Churches, Glossary of Current South African Political Terms, defines mass action thus: "Organised political protest initiated on a national scale, or at least planned in accordance with a national strategy. While each demonstration has targeted a specific policy grievance, the underlying objective has been perceived as an attempt to dramatise the extent of a party’s political support, and thus strengthen its bargaining hand in negotiations. The democratic right to participate in peaceful mass action was reaffirmed by the South African Government in its Record of Understanding (September 26 1992) with the ANC.

Exert pressure

The ANC and the PAC maintain that they are liberation movements and as such have to exert pressure on the Government and its cohorts to commit themselves to the eventual transition to democracy. The ANC has suspended its armed struggle and uses mass action to back its mandates. The PAC maintains it will exchange the bullet for the ballot only when a constituent assembly is in the bag.

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

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

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

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

He said pressure was necessary to create a climate conducive to productive negotiations. “The Government thought it would weaken us by trying to persuade us to abandon arms. Of course, we still say there has still to be a substantive move towards democracy. We agree that we need to have a negotiated settlement but say that in order to do that we also need to maintain pressure on the regime. Mass action is one such pressure," said Ebrahim.

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IFP marshals save man's life

Marchers ordered to respect other people: 

By Tsale Makam

INKATHA Freedom Party marshals saved a Johannesburg man from almost certain death when some marchers, who were returning from a march in town, tried to attack him on Saturday.

Mr Simon Msibi of Berea said he was frightened when he met the "chanting group wielding traditional weapons", near Dobsonville hostel but decided to drive on.

"I sat there paralysed with fear as one man lifted his kierie, preparing to strike", he said.

But an IFP marshall came to his rescue hitting the hotheads with a kierie and shouting at the others to conduct the march in a disciplined manner.
Mourners rampaged after shots

JOHANNESBURG — At least one man was killed and three people were injured when IFP supporters returning from a funeral went on a rampage in Tembisa, on the East Rand, yesterday afternoon after two gunmen opened fire on them, police said.

Police have arrested a man in possession of an AK-47 rifle who fits the description of one of the gunmen who fired on the mourners.

An ANC member known only as Mashini was shot dead, according to Mr Isaac Mahlangu of the ANC Tembisa Peace Desk.

Police on the scene apparently saved the lives of a woman and her two daughters who were being attacked by IFP members.

Police spoke to the group's leader, who calmed the mourners and urged them to return to their hostel, which they did.

Allegations of police complicity and improper conduct were received and are being investigated, police said. — Sapa
ULUNDL. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the future may be too late to remedy South Africa's turmoil, and urged President F W de Klerk to discuss the nitty-gritty of negotiations with him. It was reported yesterday. Speaking here, Chief Buthelezi said there had never been so much hatred in the country as at present. — Sapa
UK slammed for supporting IFP
Inkatha slams ANC for snub

STELLENBOSCH

The Inkatha Youth Brigade branch at Stellenbosch University says the ANC's refusal to take part in a local march for reconciliation reflects its double agenda on peace and democracy.

It said this should be viewed alongside the ANC's disruption of the recent meeting at which IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was among the speakers.

— Sapa
Govt-Inkatha gap narrows

The yawning gap between the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party in negotiations appears to have been narrowed by a weekend meeting. Sources at the meeting on Saturday said it had succeeded in getting rid of “misunderstandings” between the two organisations. The IFP negotiators will report to leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi today. — Political Staff
Battle lines are forming amid talks of settlement, writes Patrick Laurence

Reality tempers the optimism

POLITICAL conflict is looming in the coming months, which — barring surpising wisdom from South Africa’s leaders — will resemble the guerrilla clash between the irrepressible force and the immovable stone.

Multi-party negotiations have deferred but not averted the conflict. The adoption last Friday of a declaration of intent to set a precise date for a successful election in the next four weeks echoes rather than reconciles the divergent interests of the main negotiators.

The irrepressible force is represented, primarily, by Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress and FW de Klerk’s National Party but includes a corps of political actors from the Transkei government to the Pan Africanist Congress. Although divided on many issues, each is united in its conviction that a nonracial election based on a tripartite parliamentarian constituent assembly and an elected national government of national unity should be held before the end of April next year.

A loose alliance of conservative forces, the Concerned South Africans Group (Consag), constitutes the immovable stone. It includes the Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVU), the largely Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.

Consag is strongly opposed to holding an election in the prevailing climate of violence and opposes in principle to the notion of mandating a popularly elected constituent assembly or constituent-making body to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Commitment to set an “exact election date” in the next four weeks has led to, and depends on, delegates at the multi-party talks agreeing on — in the words of the declaration — “fixing constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process” and on “adequate time-frame” for implementing these decisions.

These five-word phrases mean that the delegates will have to decide in the form of the future South African state, including the nature of its three branches of government and by whom — regional boundaries or states will be drawn and, importantly, what powers will be allocated to regional governments.

In large measure that problem is subsumed in another: who will draft the final constitution, an elected assembly, as agreed by the ANG, the CP, and the De Klerk administration, or the multi-party forum, as mooted by the IFP and the Consag partners?

Friday’s adoption by the multi-party negotiating council of the declaration of intent — like the earlier adoption at Conradtsville of a similar ringing declaration — has generated an aura of euphoria, a sense that the interlopers are, at last, moving forward.

But optimism, however, is itself South Africa needs still, must be tempered with reality.

Friday’s declaration of intent must be juxtaposed with another event which took place at about the same time: the formation in Pretoria of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront and its rejection of the “present negotiating process” in so far as it is aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination.

The formation of the Volksfront signals the death knell of hopes that the coming of the CP-led year — which led to the birth of the AVU — was a prelude to further fragmentation of the right wing and its disappearance as a potent political force.

It simultaneously serves as a warning that the CP and AVU — both members of the Volksfront — will withdraw from negotiations if they believe that the principle of self-determination is neglected or dismissed at the multi-party talks. As Perle Hartzenberg, acting leader of the CP, puts it: “If that door is closed, we shall not stay there and arrange our own funeral.”

The Volksfront’s primary objective is to unite Afrikaners in defence of their right to self-determination. Its secondary objective is to refrain the resolution of Consag to defend self-determination as a general principle. Both imply that the negotiations are a sham.

The office of one of the former generals involved in the formation of the Volksfront, General Theuns Erasmus, contains maps which depict more than the proposed Afrikaner Volksfront; the maps, drafted by the Endfield commission on the location of proposed states for the Transkei, the Bophuthatswana and the KwaZulu.

This the fight for an Afrikaner volksstaat is linked to the struggle for separate states — or autonomous regions within a federal system — for their black allies in Ciskei. The quest for an Afrikaner volksstaat supplements the IFP’s objective of a largely autonomous homeland and demands for continued regional autonomy by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

It is the potential link between Afrikaner conservatives and, above all, Zulu traditionalists which makes them a force to be reckoned with. Jacob Zuma, deputy general secretary of the ANC and himself a Zulu, admits that he “is worried by the prospect of an alliance between the Afrikaners and Zulu communities.”

Another worry is in beginning to haunt De Klerk’s New Century: retaining the respectability of his government for black ethnically based states as a bid to perpetuate apartheid in a disguised form. It warns: “The post of South Africa will not fold its arms and allow themselves to blackmanize into accepted scenarios that seek to turn South Africa into another Rhodes.”

Significantly, De Klerk’s most recent address in the Netherlands uses similar rhetoric: “South Africa would be dragged back into past. International isolation would return, sanctions and economic collapse would follow, violence would increase and a bloody little-like civil war could start.”

The only difference is that De Klerk is choosing “extremism of the Left and Right, ensure that both are involved in a "bipolar" bid to disrupt the negotiations.”

De Klerk concludes: “The opposite prospect available South Africa — if it wishes avoid such a catastrophe — is proceed swiftly to the conclusion of the present negotiations and installation of a government that represents the authority from a new and carefully crafted constitution.”

The problem, however, is that if conservative forces see an outcome that suits them, the rest are not likely to get what they want.

The final outcome of the negotiations, according to the consanguineous logic, is likely to be a solution that includes Afrikaner and black ethnically based states, to be guarded by an international police force until the states achieve self-sufficiency in a period unlikely to exceed ten years. This is neither a panacea for South Africa's problems nor a solution that all South Africans can accept.
and included prominent businessmen. Police also announced that a 69-year-old pensioner had been arrested after allegedly shooting a police helicopter because it was "noisy". Police liaison officer Major Andrew

No to multi talks

Azapo maintains status quo and 'intensifies struggle':

By Lulama Lutti

THE Azanian People's Organisation continues to play its cards close to its chest, opting not to join the multiparty talks. Instead, the organisation decided to participate in a special congress in Roodepoort at the weekend to maintain bilateral talks between itself and the Government.

The organisation also resolved to retain Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of the Central and Southern Africa Province of the Anglican Church as facilitator of the talks between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the Government on the other.

Addressing a press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Professor Jumelle Mosala said his organisation believed the current multiparty talks were never intended to deliver freedom to (black) people.

Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte. The gardener was not injured.

A police helicopter was then summoned to help trace the robbers and as it circled above the area the pensioner shot at it with a .38 revolver.

THE Kagiso branch of the African National Congress has vowed that the consumer boycott aimed at white businesses in Krugersdorp will make previous ones seem like a Sunday school picnic.

The consumer boycott, launched on Saturday, followed the arrest of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, in connection with the assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

Linked to the protest action is a set of eight demands which would determine the resumption of buying in the White Conservative Party-controlled town. These include the resignation of all Krugersdorp city councillors, the installation of an "interim administration accountable to the democratic majority in Krugersdorp" and the provision of security for "all leaders of the people".

THE lack of a uniform national housing policy for South Africa was partly responsible for the country's housing backlog, regional director of the Department of Housing, Mr John Africa, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing the 21st World Housing Congress, he said that until 1985 all State housing projects were undertaken without consultation.

The department's self-help programme, had provided homes for 80,000 people in seven years.

Three die in crash

TWO staffs at the Soweto campus of Vista University and a seven-year-old child were killed when their car collided with a taxi on the Old Potchefstroom Road in Soweto on Sunday night.

The dead are Mr Richard... and Khumalo's daughter, Mbalu. Khumalo (33) of Protea North, was chief librarian at East Rand campus of Vista University. The taxi driver allegedly ran away.

Pig put in coffin

THE Nuanu firm of undertaking in Honolulu has agreed to apologise and pay about R2 million in compensation for putting a dead pig in the coffin of Mimi Goldberg, whose family's Jewish faith regards pigs as unclean.

It was an accident, the undertakers explained in a statement.

R20,000 grabbed

THREE armed men robbed a petrol station in Athlone, Cape Town, of more than R20,000 yesterday.

The police said the bandits threatened a petrol attendant before demanding the money and escaping.

Offices vandalised

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade's offices in Germiston were vandalised by unknown assailants on Sunday night, an official claimed...
Court frees 15 IFP members

No proof of involvement in Boipatong massacre:

Soweto  116598

By Tsale Makam

The Delmas Circuit Court yesterday acquitted 15 Inkatha Freedom Party members who were accused of taking part in the Boipatong massacre on June 17 last year.

Last month, 27 IFP men had charges against them withdrawn.

The men were facing 45 counts of murder and more than 80 charges of attempted murder.

Seventy four KwaMadala Hostel inmates were initially arrested.

A nine-month-old baby

Yesterday's dismissal leaves the number of the accused at 32.

The Boipatong massacre, as it became known, left 45 people dead, including a nine-month-old baby.

Most people were attacked in their sleep.

Defence lawyers Mr J van Elk, Mr V Botha, Mr R Strydon and Mr J Swart yesterday asked to withdraw from the case, saying that the person funding the accused no longer had money to pay legal fees.
Threat to negotiations from extremists is growing
C
codesa came to an abrupt halt in May 1992 when, refusing to accept the
democratic will of its fellow partici-
pants, the ANC walked out of nego-
tiations, presented a series of
undeniably radical demands, and commenced a
programme of mass action to back these up with
force. Included in this was the overthrow of
certain administrations, including the KwaZulu
government, which opposed the ANC’s at-
ttempts to author the negotiations process on its
own.
The IFP proposed that a multiparty con-
ference be convened to review the failure and
success of both the Codesa and the peace proc-
esses so that negotiations could resume.
This was rejected outright by the ANC and
later by the Government which, since the con-
closure of Codesa, had decided both to appease the
ANC and to try, through selective imple-
mentation of only certain parts of the earlier
Codesa agreement, to engineer a deal for joint
ANC-NP rule for up to five years before intro-
ducing a democratic constitution and democ-
archy to the land.
The IFP rejected both the bilateral nature of
the agreement and the agreement itself, arguing
that negotiations had to be the product of
multiparty agreement and inclusivity, stating in
addition that the people of South Africa could
not be expected to wait so long for democracy.
In early 1993 the IFP renewed its calls for
greater inclusivity in the negotiation process and
for a review of Codesa’s agreements. Despite
opposition to both these principles by the ANC,
this was indeed the decision reached by the
planning conference when it first met in early
April.
Of great significance is the fact that it has been
agreed by all negotiators that the multiparty
forum will prioritize the key issue impeding
rapid resolution of the constitutional debate —
that concerning the form of the future state. The
real debate and the real divide is between those
favouring federalism and those favouring a uni-
tary state, and little progress can be made until
this is resolved.

This was why Codesa broke down: because
the ANC was not prepared to even discuss the
issue in a forum where those in favour of federal-
ism were the majority and would automati-
cally block the ANC’s desire for a centralised,
unitary state.

The KwaZulu government, on December 1
1992 adopted a proposed constitution for the
State of KwaZulu-Natal as a state within a
Federal Republic of South Africa. This constit-
tution is a model of liberal democracy, whose
classes embody the very best that the world has
to offer on the entrenchment of individual lib-
erty and the State’s obligations to the welfare of
its citizens.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave
his party’s perspective on Codesa in an address to the
Foreign Press Association in London recently:

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... ANC

The KwaZulu government and the IFP argue
that the people of the regions of South Africa
should determine for themselves — by means of
a popular referendum — their future rela-
tionship with the central government.
It is their view, as well as that of a number of
other participants in the multiparty forum, that
the negotiating process should be enriched by a
process parallelising deliberations at the national
level on the federal constitution, and that this can
best be achieved by a bottom-up approach to
complement the top-down approach.
The proposed process sees a marrying of the
two, such that State constitutions representing
the popular will of the people of the regions are
drafted at the State level and, in so far as they are
compatible with the federal constitution, are
subsequently endorsed by the multiparty forum.
The IFP believes that, instead of waiting up to
five years for the drafting and implementation of
a new constitution (the Codesa route), the entire
negotiation, transitional and electoral processes
can be finalised by late 1994 at which stage
elections will be held and the new democratic
governments elected. The noble mission of po-
itical liberation from oppression and apartheid
for all the people of South Africa will be finally
and emphatically achieved.

Other than persuading certain parties of the
merits of this vision over alternatives — which
is the IFP’s goal in the multiparty talks — the
only serious impediment to the realisation of this
dream lies in the intolerable levels of political
violence destroying the country, and geared to-
wards the destruction of the IFP. This, of course,
was why the IFP argued after Codesa that both
the negotiations and peace processes had to be
reviewed.
According to the IFP, there is no way in which a
transition to democracy can be premised upon
escalating violence and in particular violence
linked to an undemocratic political agenda in-
tended to render one major party impotent in the
next elections.

There is a low-intensity civil war under way in
which the IFP is both the major target and the
major victim. Of particular concern to the party
is that the forthcoming elections — which it
welcomes — be fair and free. Unfortunately,
politics in South Africa represent the complete
antithesis of this necessary condition, and is
instead best characterised as the politics of
hegemony through modern weaponry in the
hands of private armies and a government
unwilling to deal with the problem for fear of
upsetting the bilateral deal it reached with the
ANC.

The IFP believes the interest of peace can best
be served by the disbandment of private armies,
by the cessation of the military training of gue-
rrilla cadres; by the handing over of arms caches
to an independent authority and the cessation of
arms smuggling; and by the re-integration into
normal life of such cadres.

Unless this happens, the peace process will
fail, and if the peace process fails, negotiations
will also fail. Since neither can succeed without
the other, the IFP is convinced that negotiators
at the multiparty forum must do everything possi-
ble to address both the new constitution and
violence.

This is the basic position it has adopted in the
multiparty talks and which it is confident will be
accepted by the forum as the best path to a
democratic South Africa.
Buthelezi’s Joe has it all tied up

The Inkatha Freedom Party is leaving nothing to chance as it prepares for the country’s first all-in election, writes Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

JOE Matthews is a warm and likeable man and, unlike many of his colleagues in the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), enjoys the respect of some of his political adversaries.

Some people on the Left, especially in the ANC, may not like him, and may even accuse him of opportunism, but they will grudgingly concede that he has an impressive record in struggle politics.

For not only was he once a prominent member of the ANC in exile many moons ago, but he is also the son of the legendary ZK Matthews, a writer and academic who was a luminary in the ANC until his death.

That Joe Matthews fell out with the ANC and subsequently left the organisation is now history, and that he returned to South Africa in 1990 after an illustrious legal career in Botswana – to join his old friend, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in the IFP is also well documented.

Extremely knowledgeable in African politics, Matthews’s rise in the IFP, like that of his many white colleagues whose initial association with Buthelezi was as advisors, was meteoric.

The former Botswana assistant attorney-general began as the KwaZulu Chief Minister’s advisor, was nominated to the IFP’s central committee at Buthelezi’s request, and is now the party’s secretary-general – the IFP prefers the title “chief executive officer” – and chief delegate to multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

As the man in charge of the party’s election strategy and campaign, Matthews knows that the fate of the IFP in South Africa’s first all-in election may just lie in his hands. He is not at all unserved by the responsibility, and believes he will be equal to the task.

The IFP, he says, will do well in the following areas, even though it does not expect to win in all of them: KwaZulu-Natal, PWV (he expects the ANC to win here), northern-western Cape, western Cape and northern Transvaal.

He says the IFP has more non-Zulu members in the PWV than it does Zulu members, and says this proves that the party is not an ethnic regional entity as many believe.

However, Matthews singles out the eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei as areas where the IFP has no presence and enjoys no support.

According to Matthews, the IFP, which wants South Africa to become a federation, has three objectives in the forthcoming election. These are:

- To win “sufficient support” nationally so that the party can be “an essential partner in any government coalition at the central federal level”.
- To win “sufficient support” in many regions so that it can form ruling coalitions “in several states or regions”.
- To win “sufficient support” in KwaZulu-Natal so that it can form a government alone or in a coalition.

More than that Matthews will not say. First, he refuses to give the percentage poll the IFP hopes to get nationally, and later he reluctantly lets slip that the IFP aims to get about 26 percent of the vote countrywide.

His party expects to do “very well” among whites, and he says to his and his colleagues’ surprise there has been a huge swing from the National Party to the IFP in the white community.

He says the IFP enjoys support of about 4 percent among coloureds in Port Elizabeth, and “little support” among Indians in the country. However, the party plans to embark on a massive recruiting campaign among Indians in Natal soon.

The IFP, says Matthews, started preparing for the election around the middle of last year, and has adopted “a very comprehensive campaign plan which includes all sorts of details”. Intensive research has also been done, and a R1 million scientific poll is under way to determine the extent of support the party enjoys in the country.

For the purpose of the election, the IFP has divided South Africa into 30 regions, and has appointed teams in the different regions.

A “massive army of volunteers”, whose job will be to establish an IFP presence throughout the country, is also being mobilised.

“We are assuming that the electorate will be between 21 million and 22 million. It has been established through research that the first all-inclusive election in a country has a turn-out as high as 80 percent,” Matthews says.

He says the IFP plans to fight the election alone, but quickly adds that some of the parties’ allies might be prepared to contest the election under the IFP banner.

Adamant

Matthews is adamantly that the exercise will not be “a liberation election but a bread-and-better one”, and contends that the issues confronting the electorate will be the economic system to be adopted in the country, jobs, investment and housing.

According to Matthews, the IFP is preparing for an election early next year, but will not be caught flat-footed if the election were to be held around November this year.

Matthews says the IFP will need between R100 million and R170 million to adequately fight the election. R60 million of which will be for head office expenses.

This contrasts with the ANC’s R180 million to R220 million. The NFP’s R100 million and the Democratic Party’s R15 million.

Although he will not say how much of the targeted amount is already in the bag, Matthews says the IFP has engaged on a massive fund-raising campaign both here and abroad, and that the party will impose extra levies on its members for the general election.
IFP calls for front against communism

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A NON-RACIAL anti-communist front including all moderate South Africans has been proposed by an MP supporting the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Jurie Mentz, MP for Vryheid, was addressing about 200 people at an Inkatha meeting in the Parow civic centre.

References to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as the only man standing up to the ANC drew applause from the audience.

He said Afrikaners could feel at home in the IFP and an increasing number of them were joining it.

Mr Mentz said an anti-communist front was needed to counter a well-planned successful transfer of power by the communists.

He also supported a strong federal system and said the IFP was opposed to authority being centralised.

The ANC as well as the National Party were trying to present the IFP as the "spoilers" in the negotiations while it had in fact always been in favour of negotiations.

It was being said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was dragging his feet when everybody else was preaching peace and wanted speedy elections.

Some of these others were preaching peace while they killed innocent people and destroyed property.

It was the ANC who intimidated with mass action and violence.

INKATHA MP: Mr Jurie Mentz, inkatha-supporting MP for Vryheid, speaking at the meeting last night.

The IFP was opposed to communism and was in favour of free enterprise and equal opportunities and peace for all.

The IFP was not looking for half of a solution and an everlasting war. It did not want an election without violence having diminished.

Inkatha's past showed that when others encouraged sanctions and boycotts it stood by South Africa. Chief Buthelezi fought against apartheid but he fought equally hard against sanctions.

Mr Nicolaas Myburgh, Western Cape chairman of Inkatha, said the traditional white parties would be wiped out in an election.

The real choice for the voters would be between Inkatha and the ANC.
Romancing the whites of Parow

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

THE African National Congress, all set to woo white Afrikaners in conservative Parow, found itself pipped to the post by the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

No sooner had the ANC announced it would be entering the lion’s den to hold its first-ever public meeting in the former National Party stronghold, then IFP posters sprouted, advertising a meeting in the same venue a day earlier.

IFP organisers said this week they had not planned to steal the ANC’s thunder, having planned their meeting several weeks ago. It was the IFP’s third public gathering in the western Cape, all of them so far held in white suburbs. Media liaison officer Cloete Breytenbach said more meetings, reaching deeper into the heart of Afrikanerdom in the Boland and along the Cape’s West Coast, were planned.

The ANC intends doing exactly the same. Announcing his organisation’s recruitment drive among Afrikaners, western Cape ANC chairman Allan Boesak told how Chris Hani’s murder had prompted a stream of calls from Afrikaans-speaking whites saying the time had come for them to join the ANC.

“We have a growing conviction that many white South Africans are totally disillusioned with the political process and the lack of leadership and vision in the NP, which cannot break with its past and can’t present anything acceptable for the future,” Boesak said.

Ask the IFP why they’re focusing their efforts on whites and the answer is almost exactly the same: “We’ve had a lot of calls from NP, Conservative Party and Democratic Party members, but especially from NP people who feel the party has no leadership and no credibility,” Breytenbach said.

“(IFP leader” Mangosuthu) Buthelezi offers them hope because he wants a federal system with no dominance by a central government — and he’s saying the same things now he said 20 years ago.”

The good burghers of Parow may feel flattered at the attentions they’re receiving, but would do well to closely scrutinise their political suitors’ motives.

Political analyst Robert Schrire, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, sees the ANC’s move as an imaginative, bold step, but ultimately a symbolic attempt to demonstrate a commitment to non-racialism which it has so far been unable to realise on the ground.

The IFP, on the other hand, he sees as engaged in realpolitik — trying to present itself as a credible alternative to the NP, and boost Buthelezi’s waning image as a national leader.

Buthelezi’s appeal to whites, said Schrire, lay in his being a symbol of the tame black man, the guy you can do business with. But, he warned, it was likely this “romantic support” similar to that whites once showed for Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Jonas Savimbi — would erode as people came to know more about the personalities involved and what was at stake.
King wants goodwill... Zwelithini

Though banquet was over, King Zwelithini's message was clear. He wants goodwill, and he's willing to work towards it. But first, he needs to see a change in the way things are handled. Violence and politics must stop.

The King's words are echoed in the remarks of a concerned group of African National Congress (ANC) members. They call for a peaceful resolution to South Africa's political crisis.

King Zwelithini's goodwill gesture is welcomed by many, but there are those who are reluctant to accept it. The situation is complex, and there are many factors at play. But for now, the King's message serves as a reminder that a peaceful solution is still possible.
‘Bread and butter’
is IFP’s election bid

Like many of his colleagues in the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mr Joe Matthews is a warm and likeable man and enjoys the respect of some of his political adversaries.

Some people on the Left — especially in the African National Congress — may not like him, and may even accuse him of opportunism, but they would grudgingly concede that he has an impressive record in struggle politics.

For not only was he once a prominent member of the ANC-in-exile many moons ago, but he is also the son of the legendary Z K Matthews, a writer and academic who was a luminary in the ANC until his death.

That Mr Joe Matthews fell out with the ANC and subsequently left the organisation is now history.

That he returned to South Africa in 1990 — after an illustrious legal career in Botswana — to join his old friend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the IFP is also well-documented.

Extremely knowledgeable on African politics in the continent, Mr Matthews’s rise in the IFP was meteoric.

The former Botswana assistant attorney-general was nominated to the IFP’s central committee at Chief Buthelezi’s request, and is now the party’s chief executive officer.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is leaving nothing to chance as it prepares for the first all-in election, writes KAIZER NYATSUMBA of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

He is also chief delegate to multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

According to Mr Matthews, the IFP — which wants South Africa to become a federation — has three objectives in the forthcoming election. These are:

- To win “sufficient support” nationally so that the party can be “an essential partner in any government coalition at the central federal level”.
- To win “sufficient support” in many regions so that it can form ruling coalitions “in several states or regions”.
- To win “sufficient support” in KwaZulu-Natal so that it can form a government alone or in coalition.

His party expected to gain 26 percent of the vote countrywide and to do “very well” among whites.

He said the IFP enjoyed support from about four percent of the coloured population in Port Elizabeth, and “little support” among Indians in the country. However, the party planned to embark on a massive recruitment campaign among Indians.

For the purpose of the election, the IFP divided South Africa into 30 regions, and appointed a team of people to be in charge of the election in the different regions.

Mr Matthews said the IFP planned to fight the election alone, but added that some of the parties’ allies might be prepared to contest the election under the IFP banner.

He was adamant that the exercise would not be “a liberation election, but a bread-and-butter one”, and contended that the issues confronting the electorate would be the economic system to be adopted in the country, jobs, investment and housing.

Mr Matthews said the IFP would need between R160-million and R170-million to fight the election adequately.

Although he would not say how much of the targeted amount was already in the bag, Mr Matthews said the IFP had embarked on a massive fundraising campaign both here and abroad.
BRINGING the security forces under the control of regional government, says the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

"IFP Western Cape media liaison officer Mr Cloete Breytenbach said the party would prefer that "all regional police and military be controlled by the state".

The IFP proposes federal states for a future South Africa. They see the armed forces being controlled in a similar fashion as the United States, where there are police and troops controlled by the different states that make up the federal government.

The IFP is not in favour of the proposal that the security forces be brought under multi-party control when the Transitional Executive Council assumes government.

In support of their decision to opt for regional control, Breytenbach mentioned several advantages of locally-based security forces.

"Particularly in the rural areas, the local population will feel easier with the security forces they know than with security forces from outside," Breytenbach said.

"In addition, security or police matters needing urgent attention can be dealt with more effectively by the region's forces."

"The region's offices will also have the advantage of knowing conditions and traditions in their area."

He added that multi-party control of forces would only be practical if certain conditions were met.

"This can only succeed if there is a very strong central controlling system, one which everyone can trust.

"The ideal would still be, in a federal system as envisaged by the IFP, to have separate state security forces, with a really professional federal force to deal with matters outside the state's jurisdiction, or to be called upon if needed to assist in local matters," Breytenbach said.
Tigane is a powder keg

By DAN DHLAMINI

An ANC man was fatally shot and another wounded in Tigane yesterday.

The killing down of Oupa Mathoho and the injury of Oomie Sekonya by alleged Inkatha bands, comes hardly a week after the slaying of three other ANC members in ANC-Inkatha clashes that have erupted in the small western Transvaal township.

Mathoho was killed with a shotgun on Friday, a day before yesterday's mass funeral for Kleinbooi Kwa Ho, Daniel Secha and Hester Morebodi.

Since the beginning of the year, more than 25 people have been killed in Tigane and police have failed to arrest a killer who roams the streets with a shotgun causing havoc. They have offered a R5 000 reward for information.
IFP protests over deaths, violence

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The IFP at the weekend took to the streets in Natal in some of the biggest marches the province has seen to protest the killing of its officials and to demand an end to violence.

The otherwise peaceful demonstrations of the IFP's strength were marred by at least five incidents of violence against marchers, including two women being killed when a bus returning from a march in Maritzburg was ambushed.

Fourteen others were injured when the bus was raked by AK-47 fire outside the city, police said.

In Durban, more than 30,000 IFP supporters swarmed through the city centre en route to the SAP headquarters at C R Swart Square where regional organiser Mr. Senzo Mfayela handed over a memorandum for President F W de Klerk.

At the head of the march, a group carried 280 wooden coffins, each representing IFP officials who had been killed in violence since 1985.

Other IFP marches at Estcourt, Ladysmith and Newcastle were peaceful.

The IFP Central Committee at the weekend repeated its demand that federalism be put at the top of the agenda in constitutional talks.
IFP insists MK Should disband

Soweto Herald - May 27 1993

NEWS

In Khanya's call against 'serial killings' security forces raid Soweto squatter camps

T Plaa 10 Goldstone Probe Killings

of our members - Hlakula

Journalists demand freedom
Hiding from the Black Cats

By EDDIE KOCH

The Black Cats, a township gang accused of acting as a hit squad for Inkatha in the eastern Transvaal, have reportedly been boosted by reinforcements from KwaZulu and are targeting ex-members who have given inside information to the Goldstone Commission.

One dissident has been shot twice in revenge attacks and the homes of at least five others have reportedly been petrol-bombed.

Many of the defectors are now in hiding.

A group of ex-gang members told the commission last year about how they had been recruited by KwaZulu policemen and given training at a secret military base in Mkuze so that they could carry out attacks on members of the African National Congress in Wesselton township.

A dissident who gave evidence to the commission under the name “Mr P” was shot in the leg by members of the gang in May last year. In December, soon after he had recuperated from the first attack, he was hit by a shotgun blast in the same leg.

Last week he was discharged from hospital and he is now in hiding. He says he is afraid to leave the “safe house” where he has been taken because he is on crutches and will be unable to escape if the gang discovers where he is. He is even too afraid to go to hospital to have the stitches removed and for treatment of an infection in the leg.

Lawyers for Human Rights have applied for him to be placed in a witness-protection scheme organised by the commission.
Speculation on SADF, MK amalgamation is quashed

THE ANC and the Defence Ministry yesterday moved to dampen speculation that 12,000 members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe would be incorporated into the SADF.

A Defence spokesman said that Sunday newspaper reports stating that incorporation, up to general level, could happen within weeks was "in essence a synopsis of ideas, possibilities and speculation which are circulating around the exploratory talks".

MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise - tipped by Rapport as an SADF general - said while much progress had been made in the bilateral talks with the SADF and the SAP, no finality had been reached.

The Ministry agreed that no finality had been reached. It said that when Defence Minister Kobie Coetzee referred to the incorporation of 12,000 MK members during a speech in the Free State, it would have been a result of speculating that if there were to be a single joint force, this is what it could mean.

"It is known that exploratory talks over a future defence force is taking place between the SADF and others — not only the ANC," he said.

"It is only logical that changes in the SADF have to be made and all military and paramilitary capabilities should be consolidated as soon as possible . . ."

It is understood that the bilateral meetings during the past two years have been discussing a new defence force and MK members' role. It is also understood that not all MK members can be incorporated, because of financial constraints.

The ANC is also still insisting on some form of joint control and it is understood that until all the security forces, including those of the TBVC and self-governing states are included, no move will be made on incorporating MK into the SADF.

The decisions or recommendations of the bilateral talks will also have to go to the multiparty negotiations forum to be discussed and agreed upon as part of a transitional executive council before a new force can become a reality.

Inkatha in new call for Goldstone probe

ULUNDU - Inkatha has reiterated its call for Judge Richard Goldstone to investigate the "serial killings" of Inkatha members.

At a meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, the Inkatha central committee expressed its concern that the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe was being submerged by other considerations and not given the priority it deserved.

The committee noted the extent to which "serial killing of Inkatha members and violence against the party is undertaken to weaken our negotiating position".

It said the dismantlement of private armies, including MK, should be given the highest priority at multiparty talks, and resolved to instruct Inkatha's negotiation team to take "whatever steps are necessary".

The committee again endorsed the need for a federal system for the new SA and reiterated that regional powers and boundaries should be in place before an election. - Sapa.
IFP group barred at court

By Michael Sparks

About 120 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters gathered outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday but were prevented from entering the building, where Michael Phama appeared, because many were carrying cultural weapons.

On Friday Phama pleaded not guilty to 47 charges, including 21 of murder and 19 of attempted murder, after an attack on a group of Tokozla hostel dwellers in 1991.

Four women IFP supporters were stabbed on Friday when knives were used and shots fired as alleged ANC and IFP supporters clashed after the hearing.

The antagonists dispersed after policemen fired teargas.

Police said they arrested two ANC supporters, with knives and an IFP supporter with a firearm.

Yesterday a smaller group of IFP supporters entered the public gallery of the court, but had to leave to be searched on the police saw some were carrying knives.

The supporters went outside to join the other IFP supporters, and police found four knives in the gallery.

After the IFP supporters were removed, the evidence was held in camera.

A stand-off developed outside the court, where the IFP supporters gathered on one section of the grass on Pritchard Street while about 200 ANC supporters stood on the other side of the entrance. Police and newsmen were at the court entrance, between the groups.

The Wits/Vaal Peace Committee helped forge an agreement with police and the two groups whereby the ANC agreed to leave by mid-afternoon, followed soon afterwards by the IFP.

Both groups dispersed, apparently without incident.

Phama was allegedly part of a group who fired AK-47s on a group of 800 people going to the Tokozla stadium to attend a meeting organized by the East Rand Hostel Dwellers' Association on September 8 1991.

The gang allegedly also attacked commuters on February 26 1992, and Phama allegedly fired on traffic officers after being caught in a speed trap on March 27.

The hearing continues.
• Slovo plot suspect in court for remand

IFP expresses concern about MK

COMMITTEE’S DECISION Demands for its disbanding are being buried under other considerations:

Sowetan Correspondent

While thousands of Inkatha Freedom Party members took to the streets of the province at the weekend, the party’s central committee was meeting at Ulundi where it expressed concern that demands for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe were being buried under other considerations.

This was part of one of the resolutions taken at the meeting.

Possibly the most striking event during Saturday’s marches was when a phalanx of IFP leaders carrying 275 coffins made its way through the Durban city centre.

The coffins were carried in memory of IFP leaders killed since 1983 — one for each of the 275 leaders killed.

The marches were the start of the IFP’s mass action campaign to protest against the continuing violence.

In both Durban and Maritzburg there were claims that the marches there were the biggest Natal had ever seen.

Streets were packed from side to side but official estimates of numbers varied widely.

At the Ulundi meeting, the IFP central committee expressed “deep concern and consternation” about the escalating violence and intimidation which it said was hampering the proper course of negotiations and the holding of fair and free elections.

The committee resolved:

1. To applaud the firm stand its negotiation team has taken in demanding the reduction of violence and the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and

2. To express appreciation to the negotiation council for receiving the IFP resolution on violence and the disbanding of MK.

3. To express concern that the MK issue was being submerged.

Strike ballot for public workers

Thousands of municipal workers countrywide are to be balloted for industrial action against Government-initiated restructuring and wage-pegging, the SA Municipal Workers Union said yesterday.

In a statement after a weekend national executive committee meeting, the 70 000-member union warned that attempts to thwart the ballot would be met with retaliation.

Disgruntlement over unilateral restructuring:

It said the Sunwuvu executive had received “extremely disturbing” reports that local authorities were “collaborating with the [President FW] de Klerk regime in implementing the Government’s restructuring and rationalisation plans, as well as De Klerk’s decision to peg wages”.

“All worker protests have been completely ignored. It is clearly a waste of time and energy for workers and unions to make further appeals or protests.”

Sunwuvu said it was left with no option but to mobilise its membership and public sector workers for immediate action to stop “the Government and its agents in their tracks”. — Sapa.
Free State farmers demand security measures

BLOEMFONTEIN — Free State farmers gathered at police stations yesterday to demand the introduction of security measures in the province.

They demanded a curfew and police searches of townships and squatter camps for illegal weapons.

Free State Agricultural Union security committee chairman Fan Malherbe said in Herengvlei the measures should be carried out in cooperation with organized agriculture's security committees.

The farmers also demanded roadblocks on secondary roads and controlled points at township entrances. Similar demands were made in Pothofnium on Monday.

Meanwhile, ANC western Transvaal spokesman Frank Malope said agreements reached on Monday between security forces and western Transvaal farmers was a "declaration of war" and if implemented there would be mass action of "unimaginable proportion".

In a meeting on Monday about 250 farmers, police and the SAP agreed to "sharpen up" road blocks, patrols and searches for illegal weapons. The possibility of imposing curfews and unrest areas would be investigated.

The DP said yesterday it sympathized with eastern Transvaal farmers, but it urged them not to allow a racial war to develop.

DP eastern Transvaal official Mike Waters said although farmers' determination to take the law into their own hands in the face of a differing government was understandable, they should act only in defence of their families and property.

Two more elderly couples were attacked and robbed on Transvaal farms yesterday.

A 64-year-old farmer was seriously injured outside Pienaarshoek when he and his wife were attacked by two knife-wielding youths. The youths escaped with firearms and cash.

And near Boons in the western Transvaal, a 68-year-old woman was raped and her 82-year-old husband shot in the shoulder. Two attackers fled with a shotgun and cash.

Commission ready to probe Inkatha deaths

Official of the Goldstone commission were available to meet Inkatha "as soon as possible" to discuss ways of pursuing an inquiry into the killings of Inkatha officials, Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

Goldstone said steps had already been taken to investigate the deaths.

"Inkatha furnished the commission with a list of over 200 Inkatha officials and members who are alleged to have been murdered since the signing of the peace accord. That list was handed to the SAP with the request that the incidents, known to the SAP, should be identified and relevant information given in relation to the commission," he said.

The judge said the commission informed a senior Inkatha member on May 8 that it wanted "any relevant information concerning any murders which Inkatha alleged were not satisfactorily being investigated by the SAP". There had been no response as yet.

"On May 11, the commission was informed by the SAP that the Inkatha allegations have formed the subject-matter of an investigation since November 1992. There has been contact in that regard between the SAP, the Inkatha Institute, the KwaZulu government and the SAP," he said.

Meanwhile, our Maritzburg correspondent reports that police yesterday offered a R20 000 reward in their investigation into the killing of two people in an ambush on a bus carrying Inkatha supporters at Georgetown near Edendale on Saturday night.

The supporters were returning from a peace march in Maritzburg when gunmen opened fire with AK-47s, killing two women and injuring 14 people.
The fact that the two main partners in South Africa’s new deal would rule without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi raises the possibility that the country’s new government might have to resort to authoritarian measures to contain the resulting unrest.

This is the warning contained in the International Institute for Strategic Studies’ latest Strategic Survey, for 1992-93.

Thus, a white oligarchy would transform itself, not into full-blown democracy, but into a multiracial oligarchy, it adds. “Once again, full democracy in South Africa might be postponed and civil liberties, just beginning to emerge after decades of repression, could once again disappear.”

Whether or not that prophecy is fulfilled depends on whether the Government and the ANC can strike a deal on real federalism, the IISS says. “There is every reason — save one — why federalism with the maximum devolution of powers to regional and local authorities, should be accepted as the answer to South Africa’s potent ethnic mix and its mutually suspicious and fearful minorities.”

But the ANC, having striven to win the keys of Pretoria and all the patronage that entails, is “unwilling to deny itself the prize”, especially as it sees in the Government’s desire for federalism simply a device once more to divide and rule the black majority.

Neither is it likely that Chief Buthelezi will give up without a struggle his plans for a semi-autonomous Natal-KwaZulu, it believes, although the two-day conference at the beginning of March to plan for a new multiparty convention in April saw Inkatha representatives “present and conciliatory”.

However, despite the success of the March meeting, South Africa’s non-racial government was still far from its destination.

“In the months that lie ahead, the ANC and the Government will certainly squabble over the appropriate division of the spoils, while attempting to cope with threats as diverse as an estranged Winnie Mandela and her army of youthful radicals, the APLA terrorists, the ‘diehard’ racist of the Right, the former spies of the ‘dirty tricks’ brigade, the Zulu impis of Inkatha, and the murderers who gunned down six Inkatha schoolchildren on the eve of the March talks,” the IISS predicts.

But those threats were the reason why, between the Government and the ANC at least, a deal has been struck and will probably stick. “For they also represent the price of delay. After the ‘nightmare year of 1992, both the Government and the ANC appear to have decided that it is a price neither they nor South Africa can afford.”

“As President de Klerk put it during his 1993 address to Parliament, every South African faced a choice: ‘either to support constitutional change and everything reasonably required for its success, or to retire into the laager and prepare for bloody struggle’.

“By April 1993, it appeared that for the two main parties at least, the choice had been made.”
ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would be happy to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini arranged the meeting.

The king appealed to both leaders last week to meet and address violence.

Mandela said he was willing to meet Buthelezi to address all aspects contributing to the current violence. "We hope that His Majesty's good offices will facilitate the proposed meeting as soon as possible. We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems."

Mandela has repeatedly said such a meeting would serve no purpose and called rather for a meeting of peace accord signatories. Buthelezi has said the latter should be preceded by a meeting between the two.

Last night Buthelezi welcomed Mandela's statement, but said he did not know what call he was responding to. "I await a direct communication from Dr Mandela on this matter."
Commission 'unprocedural'

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE Motsumenyane commission of inquiry into alleged human rights violations in ANC camps may have to call back people who have already given evidence, says International Society for Human Rights spokesman Marc Gordon.

The commission, called by ANC president Nelson Mandela, heard the evidence of ANC members accused of violations before that of victims scheduled to testify.

When ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma was questioned on Tuesday, lead counsel for the defence Dullah Omar objected, saying it was "unprocedural" for an accused to answer to allegations not yet heard by the commission.

Commission chairman Sam Motsoyenane could not be reached yesterday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC regarded the commission as independent and would not comment on the procedures.

The commission has collected 300 pages of affidavits from witnesses. However, these testimonies will not be heard or questioned until after the ANC leaders have been heard.

Gordon said all those who had already given evidence might have to be recalled to re-present evidence or to answer to allegations by former detainees who had not yet been heard.

"Given the situation in SA this may be difficult for the commission to achieve, despite being established on the personal authority of Mandela."

Jamile will not return to the government, says Buthelezi

RELEASED murderer and former KwaZulu deputy interior minister Samuel Jamile would not return to the KwaZulu government, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week.

Jamile and five others were released from prison on Monday in terms of the Further Indemnity Act. He was sentenced to life imprisonment two years ago for murder and attempted murder.

Reacting to statements by the ANC on the release of Jamile, Buthelezi said Inkatha remained silent when convicted criminals who were ANC members were indemnified.

"The ANC's leadership has perfected the use of double standards into an art. ANC criminals are always canonised as heroes."

The ANC said Jamile's release was a "cynical political manoeuvre" by government, which was trying to placate its constituency.

"The government does not seem to care at all that it is undermining the whole judicial process, and sends a message to the right-wing and third-force elements that they can proceed with criminal actions without fearing serious retribution," the ANC said.

Buthelezi said no evidence was heard in court to indicate that Jamile acted under the instruction of the Inkatha.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Buthelezi this week rejected multiparty control of SA's security forces and warned that KwaZulu would resist the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the army or police.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in his budget speech on Wednesday, he said the "initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected."

The KwaZulu government's demand for a federal SA included a regional security force.

Buthelezi said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to "enable them to incorporate Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SA Police and armed forces and to gain political control."

Mayor in bid to avert Cape taxi war

CAPE TOWN — Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde said yesterday he was working with the local peace committee and the Goldstone committee to try to avert a full-scale outbreak of the township taxi war again.

"We are trying to organise a meeting between the two groups within the next few days," he said.

Van der Velde said he had held a meeting recently with one of the warring groups, the supporters of the so-called "Big Eight".

Members of the other faction, supporters of the Codeta taxi association executive, said earlier this week that most executive members were no longer sleeping at their homes for fear of attacks.
ANC, IFP battle for Zulu campus

The struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress in Natal has moved on to the campus of Zululand University. Students and academic staff are boycotting classes in protest against the appointment of Professor Charles Dlamini as the new rector.

Dlamini (41) was appointed by the university council last week. Students and staff say the council did not follow the proper procedure, but the real issue seems to be fears that Dlamini has IFP links and this could precipitate a struggle between the IFP and ANC for control of the university. Dlamini this week denied having links with any political group.

Dlamini was the first black dean of the university's law faculty. He said he would serve the interests of the university and accommodate differing points of view.

An academic who did not want to be named said the staff was divided on the issue. "IFP staff members support Dlamini," he said. "Students are being influenced by lecturers who belong to the ANC." He said students were suspicious of Dlamini because he came from Buthelezi's clan.

However, Dr Aaron Ndlovu, an ANC regional chairman and chairman of the Academic Staff Association, denied lecturers were influencing students. He said academic staff were protesting because the council had not followed the proper procedures in selecting Dlamini.

None of the academic staff who were IFP members had come to a staff protest meeting, which showed they supported Dlamini. He added that he knew that there were outside forces involved in Dlamini's appointment.

SRC president Khulekani Mohlongo said the students' rejection of Dlamini's appointment had to do with procedures and "nothing to do with politics."

"If we allow the council to appoint Dlamini they might reappoint Chief Buthelezi chancellor. Students want a chancellor and rector who do not belong to a political party."
Mandela heeds Zwelithini's peace call

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela yesterday said he was willing to meet Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi to address causes of South Africa's political violence.

Mandela's statement came in response to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call last Friday for a speedy end to violence. In recent weeks Mandela is known also to have come under heavy pressure from other leaders, including President FW de Klerk, to seek an accommodation with the Inkatha leader.

At a meeting three weeks ago in Wema, near Durban, Zwelithini stunned Inkatha supporters by departing from a prepared speech to say: "Enough is enough. Stop the killings."

As part of a move above party politics to contain violence among his subjects, the king is also expected to call a number of mass rallies including one which will be attended by Mandela and Buthelezi.

Zwelithini's call stems from a series of meetings between the multi-party Concerned Group of Zulus and advisers of the king. The former Inkatha-supporting monarch's shift is reported to have Buthelezi's support.

Mandela said yesterday he hoped Zwelithini's office would facilitate the proposed meeting as soon as possible.

"We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned, we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems," he said. "Our people and country yearn for peace, which is the main condition for a speedy democratic transformation of our society."

Mandela hailed the monarch's initiative as a "positive step." — Sapa and Weekly Mail Reporters
IFP 'rejects joint control' 21/5/93

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected multi-party control of the country's security forces and warned that the territory would resist the incorporation of the ANC's armed wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), into the army or police.

Addressing the KwaZulu legislative assembly in his budget speech as minister of police on Wednesday, he said the "initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected".

Chief Buthelezi said that in terms of the KwaZulu government/IFP's demand for a federal South Africa, it wanted a regional security force.

"Smaller, leaner and more efficient police forces working close to the people and within their communities are preferable to a huge bureaucratic police force at the national level."

He said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to "enable it to incorporate MK into the SAPolice and armed forces and to gain political control".

"The people of KwaZulu, whom the members of this house represent, are proud of the KwaZulu Police and loathe uMkhonto as an instrument of death being directed against us by our enemies."
Buthelezi, Mandela to meet

Political Staff
AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela has accepted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's proposal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should meet to discuss an end to violence.

Mr Mandela asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible".

Responding to King Goodwill's call last week that the two leaders meet, Mr Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by the king for a speedy end to the violence which had claimed thousands of lives in the country.

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, an organisation with which many thought he had close links.

Chief Buthelezi has expressed his satisfaction with the positive reply by Mr Mandela to the proposed meeting between the two leaders, reports Sapo.

An IFP statement in Ulundi said yesterday the meeting was a necessary step towards reducing violence in South Africa.
Slowly negotiating a marriage of mixed minds

As Bill Clinton acts as FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela's best man in Philadelphia, negotiators at the World Trade Centre are haltingly moving towards democracy

By PHILIP VAN NIERIK

Matthews made it clear that South Africa would never support his African state and said the demands of his own alienation could not be met within a democratic federal state.

He dismissed out of hand suggestions that the IFP might itself secede and take swasa Zulu/Natal out of the new South Africa. With the same ingenuity that has allowed him to describe his party’s route to democracy as the “bottoms up” approach, Matthews, himself a Zulu, said the Zulus were predominant in South Africa.

"We are the South Africans," he babbled, without a hint of irony.

After the lunch break the topic of Yugoslavia arose again. South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo weighed in with warnings of what happened when self-determination was demanded in nations from human rights as the CP was doing with its Afrikaner state. He raised the spectre of ethnic cleansing, turning people into second-class citizens simply because of their ethnic identity.

Substantive discussions had begun. Yet there was still slow moving towards our overall progress. By the end of the week, the negotiations were in progress towards a settlement.

Perhaps if Bush and Co. were to move in the right direction.
**Mandela to meet Buthelezi**

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela has responded positively to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's appeal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet to discuss an end to violence. He has asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible."

In accepting yesterday, Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by Zwelithini for a speedy end to the bloodshed.

Buthelezi said last night he was pleased by Mandela's willingness to meet him and was waiting for the ANC leader to communicate directly with him. He said he had not known about Zwelithini's approach.

Said Buthelezi: "This matter is of such importance that Dr Mandela should not have responded to whatever he had heard from his majesty through the media."

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, with which many thought he had very close relations.

Mandela said he wanted to assure Zwelithini of his readiness to meet Buthelezi "with an aim to address all aspects contributing to the current violence."

"We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems," he said.

"Our people and country yearn for peace, which is the main condition for a speedy, democratic transformation of our society."
DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected multiparty control of the country's security forces and warned that the territory would resist the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the army or police.

Addressing the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday in his budget speech as Minister of Police, he said the "initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected out of hand."

Buthelezi said the KwaZulu government and IFP wanted a regional security force. "Smaller, leaner and more efficient police forces working close to the people and within their communities are preferable to a huge, bureaucratically structured police force at the national level."

He said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to enable it to incorporate Umkhonto into the SA Police and armed forces and to gain political control.
IFP seeks funds from sheiks

By FAROUK CHOOTHAA
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY stalwart Rowley Areinstein is targeting Middle Eastern oil sheiks in a bid to raise money for his party's election campaign.

The Durban-based Islamic Propagation Centre Internation (IPCI) — which receives millions of petro-dollars from Arab royal families and oil sheiks — confirmed this week that Areinstein had recently approached them to discuss fund-raising.

"We gave him (Areinstein) the addresses of influential people in the Middle East," said IPCI spokesman Yusuf Deedat. "We will help anyone who can convince us."

Areinstein, seen as a close adviser of Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday: "Nothing definite has been decided. There are general discussions on ways to collect finances."

The IPCI appears to have thrown its full weight behind the IFP after the African National Congress snubbed them last year.

Deedat said the IPCI had invited both ANC president Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi to address an IPCI-organised meeting last year. Buthelezi attended; Mandela, Deedat said; did not even acknowledge receiving the invitation.

Earlier this year, Buthelezi was a guest speaker at the official opening of the offices of the Saudi-government-sponsored Muslim World League in Johannesburg. League spokesman Fareaed Choomah said the League was not going to help Buthelezi raise money.

Observers believe, though, that if the IFP — armed with the approval of the IPCI — goes on a fund-raising drive in the Middle East, it could raise millions of rands.
THE major concessions made by the ANC this week at the negotiating council meeting have gone a long way towards allaying the fears of Inkatha and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) about being dominated in a unitary state.

The concessions also pave the way for a breakthrough on the reincorporation of the TBVC states, and generally speed up the process of transition.

The ANC has placed the negotiating ball firmly in Cosag's court. Inkatha has consistently argued that it is in favour of a federal option for SA. The ANC has virtually conceded to this in its submissions that regions have original powers entrenched in the constitution, with the central government having overriding powers only in areas such as security and education policy.

It has also gone a long way towards answering Inkatha suspicions that it might change its mind as soon as an interim government starts negotiating the final constitution. It has agreed that the powers and functions of regions can form part of the constitutional principles ‘binding’ the constitution-making body. In doing this, the ANC has taken the substantial risk of alienating its more radical followers. It will have to do some hard selling to convince them this is the correct strategy.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says there is no longer any dispute over regionalism, and “we have a regional dispensation which has all the hallmarks of federalism”.

DP negotiator Colin Eglinton says the effect of the ANC concessions is that the powers and functions of regions will be “virtually written in stone” in an interim constitution, thus binding the ANC to carry the principle through to the final constitution.

On the face of it, Inkatha and its allies should now have little to fear in accepting a transitional executive council and an interim government. He contends the ANC could still amend its position in a parliament, and states that until a constitutional court has been established there is no guarantee this would not happen.

Felgate still rejects the establishment of a transitional executive council. He argues that while the ANC ‘concedes’ on the regionalism issue, during the transitional period it wants to curtail the autonomy of existing structures and revert to the old provincial council boundaries and system. He says the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly would then not have full control over its finance and its security forces during the run-up to elections.

DP negotiator Ken Andrew argues that Inkatha accepted such conditions at Codesa. “We cannot have all these different authorities with complete autonomy when we are trying to level the political playing fields.”

One of Inkatha’s allies, the Ciskei government, says it sees no need for a transitional executive council and wants to negotiate the final constitution in the multiparty forum.

Rather than being intransigent, Inkatha and Cosag are exposing their strategy: to negotiate a comprehensive an interim constitution, as possible and leave as little leeway as possible for an elected constitution-making body likely to be dominated by the ANC.

Government is also hoping to achieve a comprehensive interim constitution and in this way deny an elected majority from determining the final constitution.

The ANC has to convince its constituency it can still achieve its objectives on regionalism within this forum. But in making concessions it has nevertheless locked Inkatha into the process and put pressure on its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to compromise in the interests of a speedy settlement. And the belief among negotiators is that if Inkatha accepts the deal for transition as agreed at Codesa, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei will also fall into line.
INKATHA

Stealing a march

The official reason for massive IFP demonstrations in Durban, Maritzburg and other Natal towns may have been to protest at the continuing violence. But another motive was to demonstrate party loyalty in the wake of the ANC alliance's Hani marches in the region.

And, though it is generally accepted that the turnout following the Hani assassination was considerably greater than that of the IFP at the weekend, Inkatha did more than enough to prove its point. In Durban the IFP attracted about 50,000 - largely busied in from the rural areas and indicating where Inkatha support is based - which was still sufficient to make it one of the biggest marches through the city.

Discipline counts

At the head of the procession supporters carried 280 coffins representing the number of party officials killed in political violence. While this may have been the rallying call, Natal University head of political studies Mervyn Frost stresses that the real significance is that the IFP showed that it is still a major force to be reckoned with.

"If they wanted to mount a show of strength they did so, not only in terms of numbers, but in terms of discipline. I am not aware of any incidents of vandalism or trouble... The IFP mounted a sizeable demonstration without incurring any damage. Discipline of that order is impressive."

But, Frost adds, what makes Saturday's events particularly impressive is that such large numbers could be rallied by the party without a specific incident, such as the Hani assassination, around which to galvanise support in the heat of the moment. "Anyone who thinks there will be a simple victory for one or other side is under an illusion," warns Frost. "Under the circumstances, ignoring the IFP would be a recipe for disaster."

It can be assumed that the IFP and its allies will press with renewed vigour for concessions on fundamental issues such as federalism.

This is borne out by resolutions which emerged from an IFP Central Committee brainstorming session, which also took place at the weekend. Among them was a decision to explore power-sharing opportunities, though it was stressed that the IFP would continue to call for the entrenchment of regional powers, structures and boundaries before an election is held.
IFP seeks help from Italian MPs

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has enlisted Italian MPs to help lobby the European parliament into backing its call for a pre-election constitution in South Africa.

The IFP's representative in Britain, Mr Ben Skosana, said that the proposal was actively canvassed by Chief Buthelezi with Italian MPs and members of the country's Christian Democrat party during Chief Buthelezi's visit to Rome three weeks ago.

A report in the monthly magazine, The Southern African Exclusive, said the IFP and the Bophuthatswana government were launching an international campaign aimed at delaying the country's first non-racial election.

The magazine described prospects for success in the campaign as "slim" but said they "should add grist to the federalist mill" through the publicity generated.

Mr Skosana said the IFP's benefactors were also attempting to persuade the European parliament to invite Chief Buthelezi to address them, probably in June or July this year.

He said people needed know what direction South Africa was taking before voting.

A spokesman for the European parliament was unable to confirm any scheduled debate on the IFP proposal.
New blueprint spells out way to talks settlement

THIS IS BOTTOM LINE FOR PEACE

ROBBER ISLAND'S BEST KEPT SECRET
THE MANDELA ESCAPE PLAN

By EDITH BULBRING and CLAIRE ROBERTSON

LEADERS of negotiating teams at the World Trade Centre were yesterday handed a document which holds the key to a political settlement in South Africa.

The blueprint for a breakthrough is disclosed in a confidential document written by a technical committee consisting of eight legal and constitutional experts chosen by the various political parties to guide debate and help resolve differences.

With only 18 days to the deadline for setting a date for elections, the parties have been told they will have to make significant concessions:

- The ANC and its allies have been told the only way forward is for them to accept a plan protecting the interests of minorities and regions, and establishing clear constitutional principles before an election;
- Inkatha and its allies have been given notice that they will have to accept that an elected body will draft South Africa's constitution;
- And the Conservative Party's hopes for a white homeland were dismissed as a non-starter.

The blueprint will be presented to the “group of 15” planning committee tomorrow and to the 26 parties and various representatives in the
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### Ideal package:

- **Sunday**

  - The ANC in line with the commitment to explore ways of accommodating a suitable power-sharing formula and a set of constitutional principles for a white homeland were discussed.

### The ANC and its allies have been:

- Planning and moving forward to develop a set of constitutional principles that are consistent with the ANC's objectives.

### The report concludes:

- That the ANC and its allies have been discussing the process of moving forward, developing a set of constitutional principles that are consistent with the ANC's objectives.

### Conclusion:

- The ANC and its allies have been discussing the process of moving forward, developing a set of constitutional principles that are consistent with the ANC's objectives.
ANC, IEP in row over Tokozan massage

By Paul Bell

ANC, IEP clash over reserved manpower, Tokozan massage

ANC's IEP in row over Tokozan massage - The load of the ANC, which controls the government, is more than just the president's home minister. 

At the Tokozan massage parlour, ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe's security detail was seen conversing with the owner of the establishment. Mantashe, together with a group of members, is said to have been at the place when they were massaged. 

ANC member of the National Assembly who was at the establishment said that they were doing a test run. 

"It was a friendly visit," the member said. 

The ANC is currently facing a leadership crisis, with several members calling for a change of leadership. The ANC's internal disputes have caused some members to leave the party, leading to a decline in its support base. 

IEP's spokesperson, Thulani Mjwana, said that the ANC's claims were baseless. 

"The ANC should be ashamed of themselves," he said. 

The IEP has been critical of the ANC's leadership, calling for a change in the party's leadership. The IEP's leadership has also been involved in a leadership crisis, with several members calling for a change of leadership. 

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Mugabe may meet Buthelezi

HARARE: Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe was considering a request from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for talks on ways to end political violence in South Africa. Zimbabwe's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Nathan Shamuyarira said such a meeting would be a first between the two as Mr Mugabe has shunned the IFP leader and has described him as a puppet of the white-minority government in Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuters
TALKING TO 'PUPPET' """

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe was
considering a request from
Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi for talks on ways of ending
political violence in SA, Foreign
Minister Nathan Shamuyarira
said at the weekend.

Such a meeting would be the
first between Buthelezi and Mu-
gabe, who previously called
Buthelezi a puppet of Pretoria.

REPORTER: AP-DO, Sapa-APF-ANC
- Business Day Reporter.
NEWS  Cops stand accused of shooting indiscriminately

ANC, IFP air their views

By Lulama Luti

The ANC march in Tokoza on Saturday where 13 people were killed and 61 injured was organised to protest, among other things, against the continued detention of more than 30 ANC members from Phola Park.

WHAT THE IFP SAYS:

Chairman of the East Rand Hostel Association, Mr Zakhele Mlambo.

"We did not know anything about the march. The police were approached to ask the marchers to take an alternative route and not to proceed past the hostel along Khamalo Street. The police did not allow the march to take an alternate route. They let the march proceed. When the marchers were about 100 metres from the hostel gate, stones were thrown into the hostel and police opened fire (into the hostel) killing Mr Ndlinga Mazibuko who was standing near the gate. All this time the gate was locked. "The police are the ones who shot at and threw teargas at our people. The registration number of the (hippo) that shot at the people inside the hostel is BFD 489 R."

WHAT THE ANC SAYS:

Members of the ANC Youth League in Phola Park — Turner Nsebe, Hardat Nontume and local Peace Committee member Vincent Musi.

"Permission for the march was granted. It proceeded from the Tokoza stadium at around 11am. We were about 100m from the hostel when we stopped after police said we should take an alternative route. "We could not take an alternative route. We were at a section of the street where there are only circles. While our leadership stood discussing this, a shot rang out from the rooftop of the hostel. Police opened fire at us. Two of our members were killed instantly. "The police continued firing at us and people started running in all directions. The police are responsible for most of the casualties. Many of those killed were shot at by the police. "We don't have a problem with the IFP, we are not fighting them, it was the police who shot at us."

TOKOZA MASSACRE: Organisations blame police for provoking the incidents which led to

13 deaths:
IFP demands security after taxi fired on

Crime Reporter and Sapa

The IFP yesterday called for extra security in Natal's Wembenzi township after two of its members died and six others were seriously injured in an AK-47 attack on a minibus taxi.

The minibus, transporting 12 IFP supporters to work, was ambushed at about 6.15 am, police said. (116) (245)

Natal SAP spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said the gunman waved the minibus down in Depo Section, pretending he wanted to go to Estcourt.

As the minibus stopped, the man riddled it with bullets.

Budhram said 11 bullet holes were found in the vehicle, and police recovered 15 spent AK-47 cartridges at the scene.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet, who called for an immediate security force increase in the area, described Wembazi — an ANC stronghold — as a "hell run" for IFP supporters who had to travel through the township to enter Estcourt.

"IFP members daily have to run the gauntlet of stonings and being shot at," he said.
King's peace role in doubt

JOHANNESBURG. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has allegedly withdrawn as a facilitator of talks between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

So said Mr Mandela at Morris Isaacson School in White City, Soweto, today.

Mr Mandela said the king's position was now apparently that "TV got it wrong" about the planned talks and the king's role.

Morris Isaacson School, where the 1976 school protests and riots began, is today crumbling and empty and strewn with rubbish. Windows are broken. The walls are dashed with liberation slogans.

Mr Mandela said his visit there was part of a tour to see for himself the state of black schools.

He said he wanted to be fully briefed when he continued his discussions with President De Klerk.

Mr Mandela told pupils there to greet him they should go back to school to "qualify themselves to compete in a tough world."

The pupils, all of them in matric, said they studied every night at the school in one of the empty classrooms, but they took part in protests.

"We take action by day and we study by night," they said. Sapa.
Hopes fade for leaders’ meeting

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon to address political rivalry between their organisations dimmed yesterday.

Mandela, who had said he was happy to meet Buthelezi if King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the Zulu monarch had withdrawn as a facilitator.

Mandela said the king’s position was that “TV got it all wrong”, Sapa reports.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela was off.

“It does, however, complicate matters,” he said.

The king apparently called on Buthelezi and Mandela in recent weeks to meet to address violence.

TIM COHEN reports that Buthelezi said Inkatha had proposed that the issue of violence should top the agenda of multiparty talks, with particular attention on the disbanding of private armies.

He told a news conference in Cape Town that whenever Inkatha raised the matter, the ANC and government were “virtually apoplectic”, accusing Inkatha of trying to delay negotiations and of raising the matter prematurely.

Buthelezi said he found the “hype” about the need for an election date astonishing.

It amounted to “putting the constitutional cart before the constitution al horse.”

Inkatha CE and head of the party’s general election campaign Joe Mathews refused to announce the party’s support targets in an election, but said the party was “playing the game to win”.

If this did not occur, Inkatha hoped to be the strongest opposition party, holding the balance of power.

Matthews said Inkatha had set itself three major objectives in the first nonracial election:
- To win a sufficient percentage of the overall vote to be an essential factor in any coalition government;
- To do well in several regions so that Inkatha would form an essential part of any coalition at the regional level; and
- To perform well in the KwaZulu-Natal region where Inkatha expected to win, either in its own right or in coalition with another party.

Meanwhile, Mandela told school children yesterday that pupil mass action was not incompatible with a call to pupils to return to class.

Addressing pupils during a tour of Witwatersrand township schools, Mandela emphasised the importance of education.

“Education is the only weapon if you want to be a leader of your people,” he told them.

However, the ANC president also endorsed his organisation’s support for striking teachers and urged pupils to join the “fight” for equal education.

Mandela held a news briefing at King Edward VII High School in Houghton.

GERALD REILLY reports council chairman Allan Powell said yesterday that the Teachers’ Federal Council had requested an urgent interview with National Education Minister Piet Marais over the education crisis.

After an extraordinary meeting of the TFC’s executive committee, he said the present situation was cause for grave concern.

Certain facets called for most urgent attention.

Goldstone panel advisers named

PRETORIA — A former Watergate prosecutor (HSRC), Prof C Shearing, (University of the Western Cape), Prof T Geldenhuys (Unisa), Prof Otty Nxumalo (Zululand University), Canadian deputy chief electoral officer Prof Ron Gould, Prof J Ejiliko of Denmark and Ghanaian ambassador Theresa Stiggen-Scott.

WILSON ZWANE reports that an HSRC report has found that an effective system of control can help curb violence between township and hostel residents.

In the reportheast to Goldstone yesterday, the organisation said a lack of communication between hostel and surrounding communities was at the root of the conflict.
IFP could form private army tomorrow
Too soon for poll — Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was astonished at the optimism that an election date could be set within days.

"This hype and optimism about a date has left me astonished," he told a media conference in Cape Town.

In his opinion, a date could not be set before agreement had been reached on constitutional principles, or the commission on both regional boundaries and government had reported.

"After that we still want a committee of wise men or women to draft a constitution in terms of the principles, and want it approved by the negotiating forum before we go to an election," he said.

"Setting a date for an election now is putting the political cart before the political horse," he said. — Sapa.
At the heart of the agreement was the bringing together of ANC activists and the traditional leaders, breaking down the mutual mistrust which existed between the two groups. The leaders were encouraged to elevate themselves above politics.

Steven Collins, community conciliation and mediation co-ordinator at Idaas’s Durban office, points out that the traditional leaders have feared being sidelined and stripped of their powers in a new dispensation. They naturally fought to preserve existing power bases.

Moses Anathu of the Commonwealth Observer Mission agrees but stresses that fears of marginalisation probably stemmed from a lack of communication rather than any basis of fact. "I don’t believe the ANC ever planned to exclude the traditional leaders from the process of change. Whenever we’ve brought the ANC and traditional leaders together, it has gone like clockwork.”

Clearly others have picked up on this. Collins says there appears to be a growing tendency among the Amakhosi to distance themselves from political parties. "Some are even telling their people they can join whichever political party they choose.” That, says Collins, is a sign of change. Communities had in recent years become polarised with everyone being forced publicly to support one or other party.

Last weekend’s Mpumalanga peace rally, attended by thousands of ANC and IFP supporters celebrating the creation of peace in the area, is tangible evidence of the change under way.

Collins also points to the establishment of the group of concerned Zulus as evidence of a growing feeling that initiatives to end violence must transcend traditional political loyalties. Hence the involvement of luminaries like the ANC’s deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and IFP national chairman Frank Mdlosio in the 28-person Zulu forum which also includes PAC, business, clergy, trade union and academic representation.

Their primary objective is to encourage the king to become actively involved in the peace process on a non-political basis, something he certainly appears to be doing — hence his calls for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

As Anathu says: “The king is at the highest level of traditional leaders. If he’s going to take an active part in bringing about peace, we will all applaud him.”

Political violence, in spite of a few widely publicised incidents, is declining in Natal/KwaZulu. According to Natal/KwaZulu regional peace committee chairman M C Pretorius, the average number of deaths from political violence is about 4.5 a day compared to more than 10 or 12 in the last couple of years.

The committee has taken several new steps to improve its ability to head off violence, among them the possibility of having marshals from opposing parties at marches. The suggestion came from the ANC and the IFP, which is encouraging indeed.
Leaders ‘won’t get together’

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg — Hopes dimmed yesterday that ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon.

Mr. Mandela, who has said he was happy to meet Chief Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwe-lithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the king had withdrawn as a facilitator of the meeting. ANC spokesman Mr. Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean that a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr. Mandela was off.

"It does, however, complicate matters," Mr. Niehaus said without elaborating. The king apparently called on the two leaders in recent weeks to meet and address violence.
Ally or enemy? Inkatha could divide NP unity

An inspection of recent Hansards reveals increasing division within the National Party over how to deal with Inkatha. By CHRIS LOUW

CONFLICT is mounting within National Party ranks between "reactionaries" and "realists" over how to deal with Inkatha — and this could prove the last straw which breaks party unity.

Strategy in regard to the Inkatha Freedom Party highlights deeper policy divisions within the NP, and specifically whether to seek an ethnic solution to South Africa's constitutional problems.

If NP right-wingers did leave the party, they would probably join forces with Andries Beyers' Afrikaner Volksunie, with whom they already have behind-the-scenes contacts. The last straw could be the failure of multi-party negotiations to satisfy demands for "Afrikaner self-determination".

The NP reformers, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly frustrated by Inkatha inroads into NP support in Natal and on the Rand. Recent polls indicate that nationally, Inkatha may have more white than black supporters.

A close inspection of recent Hansards shows that senior Nationalists have been openly contradicting each other on Inkatha, with conservatives urging closer ties with the IFP and a reformist group castigating the Zulu-based party.

When President FW de Klerk embarked on his current course of negotiations, few NP members had any doubt that they would face a future election with the IFP as an ally.

The sharp attack on the IFP during April's provincial debates by the vice-chairman of the NP's constitutional study group, Johan Steenkamp, was widely reported. But while Steenkamp has serious problems with the IFP, his chairman in the same study group, Frik van Deventer (NP, Bloemfontein-North) often walks around in parliament proudly sporting an IFP tie.

In his speech in the extended public committee on provincial affairs, Steenkamp accused the IFP of trying to project itself as the "last remaining representatives of what can be termed the noble savage". He questioned the IFP's commitment to democracy and referred to the "mediocre leadership structure". People who were "not qualified to be corporals are made generals by the IFP", he said.

He also said the party suffered a "serious lack of intellectual and academic support", adding that there are "no intelligent, educated, dynamic Zulus surrounding Buthelezi".

In the same debate senior Nat MECs in Natal — including Timo Volker, and the administrator, Con Botha — waxed lyrical about joint control of the province by the NP and Inkatha. Volker strongly defended the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in Natal which consists of members of the provincial executive council and Inkatha.

While the NP's negotiators want the multiparty forum to find consensus on a regional dispensation, Volker defended the IFP's highly contentious constitutional proposals.

"I believe that the regional functions and powers of Natal-kwaZulu should not be subject to any concurrent and overriding legislative powers of a central government, or for that matter of an elected constituent assembly," Volker told the committee. "The empowerment of the Natal-kwaZulu province, its powers and functions, should be by the people of Natal."

Not all Nats agree with these sentiments.

At roughly the same time, a diametrically contrasting view was expressed by another senior Nat, Chris Fishman. In the April 6 and 7 provincial debate on the Transvaal, he said: "We are still waiting on members of the IFP in parliament to tell us why they are not interested in participatory democracy and why their constitutional proposals for Natal are still only making provision for a winner-takes-all situation. Why are they only presenting constitutional proposals for Natal and not for the rest of the country?"

Fishman also insisted that the IFP "must still be as what their share is in the violence and what they are doing to stop it".

Apart from revealing the lack of any coherent strategy in the NP, the conflicting approaches of Nat MPs also serve as an acid test of their political verkramptheid or verligtheid — in other words, whether they accept that negotiations will inevitably bring democracy.

Developments since the unbanning of the African National Congress have deepened the confusion in NP ranks.

These include Inkatha's adoption of its regional constitution for kwaZulu/Natal, which displays strong secessionist elements and which was drawn up by conservative American experts with little understanding of the South African situation.

On April 7 this year, former Democratic Party MP and now Inkatha defector Mike Tarr conceded that the IFP's constitutional proposals were secessionist in nature — although he added that they were negotiable.

Conflict among the Nats find this assurance difficult to accept. They point to a resolution by the NP in Natal that the proposals should be adopted by the Joint Executive Council and be ratified by the South African government. This completely ignores the present negotiation process, yet from recent pronouncements by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi it has become clear that he insists on using the document as his settlement blueprint.

The folly of an Inkatha-NP alliance has been most strongly highlighted by the DP MP for Umhlanga, Kobus Jordaan, a former official of the Department of Constitutional Development and key architect of the negotiations process. During the Natal provincial debate Jordaan repeatedly pointed out that the JEA had little legitimacy.

Jordaan based his assertion on figures relating to the last elections in kwaZulu and Natal. In the 1989 election for the Provincial Administration, 66 percent of eligible whites voted for the DP, compared to only 12 percent of whites in the House of Representatives in the provincial elections. In the elections, the DP had a 24 percent turnout and for the House of Representatives a turnout of 21 percent.

The voting percentages in kwaZulu are significantly less impressive. In the 1988 election, of three million potential voters only 780,000 voted with Zulu citizenship certificates could vote. Five constituencies were contested and only 24,000 votes were cast. "If anyone tells me those two groupings (the NP and Inkatha) can govern Natal-kwaZulu in the interim period and in the new dispensation, and take decisions in the process, I will say it is not possible."

In an interview in Cape Town last week, Jordaan attributed the differing approaches in the NP towards the IFP to arguments between reactionaries and realists in the party. "The reactionaries are suffering from the illusion that they still have the power to determine the country's future. They argue that democracy cannot work in Africa. It is not needed, according to them, as an elite group who dominate, who shrewdly pull the strings in the background."

These Nats, including cabinet ministers, have strong ties with Inkatha and the AVU. Behind the scenes they are also getting decisions going with the Conservative Party. Instead of finding a constitutional solution together with the ANC, they believe they should destroy the ANC as much as possible to weaken the organization.

Buthelezi is aware of the conflict. This is one of the reasons why he invited the conservative Local Government Minister, Terrius Delport, to open the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly this year, and not urgethe Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

But in the end Steenkamp may prove to have the last say about the future direction of the NP's relations with Buthelezi.

The IFP, he said in April, can't save the Afrikaner. It "finds it difficult enough saving itself."
By ENOCH MTHEMBU

Having lost a struggle for the leadership of the organisation’s key Transvaal region, Inkatha strongman Masa Myeni has withdrawn to Zululand to cool.

And, in a roundabout reference to Inkatha involvement in violence, he told The Weekly Mail: “I am sorry if I have done something wrong to the South African nation.”

While formally still a member of the organisation, he has withdrawn from all leadership functions and is embarking on a series of private business ventures.

Myeni was involved in a battle for influence with Transvaal IFP Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza, but knew that he had lost when IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi froze him out at a meeting at which he had hoped to explain the situation.

Myeni caused severe embarrassment to the IFP and Buthelezi when it was reported last year that he had signed a pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on behalf of Inkatha. Buthelezi was forced to deny the existence of a pact, and Myeni now claims that he was “talking to the AWB on behalf of black people who were being harassed in Venterdorp, which has now stopped”.

Myeni was the IFP’s foreign affairs secretary for many years, reportedly meeting Renee Hannum and travelling the world on behalf of the organisation.

Myeni still claims to be loyal to Buthelezi, but what broke his political neck were allegations that he was acting unilaterally without consulting other Transvaal IFP leaders. It was also claimed that he had spoken of himself as the next chief minister of kwazulu.

Myeni says the allegations were made by Khoza when he visited Ulundi late last year. “I believe in an effort to damage his ‘excellent relationship of 23 years with Buthelezi’.”

But aside from the palace politics and proteges of loyalty to the chief from all sides, there is a political aspect to the sidelining of Myeni: despite his militant rhetoric, he and IFP negotiations team member Suzanne Vos are regarded as “doves,” while Khoza and IFP Transvaal chairman Humphrey Ndlova are seen as “hawks.”

The split centres on the use of violence as a political weapon. Regarded as the more skilled tactician, Myeni is said to favour the selective use of violence along with negotiations. Khoza and his followers are more militant.

Buthelezi’s failure to call Myeni in for a discussion on Khoza’s allegations, forcing him to go to Ulundi cap in hand, are a sign that the IFP chief has come down on the side of the militants.

But Myeni still sees the conflict more personally: “If Khoza wanted to be a leader, he could have been one. I would not have competed with him. I consider myself a servant of the nation.”

Inkatha ‘dove’ is sidelined

The Weekly Mail 28.5.93
ANC/IFP rifts appear in KZP

Weekly Mail Reporters

The killing by kwaZulu Police of a notorious township gunman with firm links to the Inkatha Freedom Party has revealed a political split within the homeland’s police force.

Mantleny Mathenjwa (21), whose gang terrorised the Empangeni township of Esikhawini for years, was Inkatha Youth Brigade secretary for the area and had been linked to political violence directed at African National Congress activists in the area.

KwaZulu Police say Mathenjwa was killed when he tried to grab a constable’s weapon in an attempt to escape from custody. But his mother, an active Inkatha member, says he was killed in cold blood by policemen closely aligned to the ANC.

Many township residents also believe Mathenjwa’s killing was deliberate. They say it was because it was the only practical way to rid their area of the gang. “Things have been a lot quieter since he is gone,” said a young Esikhawini woman, who did not want to be named.

When shot, Mathenjwa was facing charges of murder and attempted murder.

On the surface, the rift divides the KZP into those who want to serve the community without bias and those who are prepared to enter alliances with violent gangs.

But the split goes deeper and has become political: policemen in many kwaZulu towns, particularly those close to urban areas, are finding that they are working within ANC-aligned communities. Taking a stand against the perpetrators of violence means being associated with the ANC.
Tug-of-war for the king

By FAROUK CHOTIA

APPELLANTLY fearing African National Congress inroads in his own back yard. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week torpedoed a planned meeting between the ANC’s Nelson Mandela and 20 Natal Midlands chiefs.

The meeting had been scheduled as the climax of Mandela’s tour of the Midlands last week. But it was called off when the chiefs were called to Ulundi for a “conference” organised by Buthelezi on the same day. Sources indicate that Buthelezi told the chiefs he expected them to ensure their subjects voted for Inkatha in an election.

The development took place against continued political jockeying around the figure of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, whom Mandela is wooing as the possible key to peace in Natal.

In speeches in Estcourt, Ladysmith, Dundee, Newcastle and Mdantsane, Mandela attacked Buthelezi in scathing terms, but offered Zwelithini an olive branch, describing him as “the king of all South Africans, both black and white”.

While Mandela did not name Buthelezi, he was clearly referring to the Inkatha Freedom Party president when he charged: “We are not like some black leaders who became great because they worked in some government institution.”

Mandela said his two previous summits with Buthelezi had failed to yield results, and that he would not take part in a “publicity show” with the Inkatha leader. But he added that if Zwelithini convened a summit, he would attend it.

Mandela’s key problem is that ANC militants in the province, notably Midlands leader Harry Gwala, oppose a summit initiative brokered by Zwelithini. The king could not be a neutral figure “as long as Buthelezi has a hold over the chiefs in this province or over the royal House.”
IFP to fight by-election

By Jacqueline Myburg

The IFP is making its first official bid to exercise some control in the running of Johannesburg, with the confirmation that an IFP public relations officer is contesting a council by-election next month.

Gerda Bekker (46), wife of MP Henrie Bekker, told The Star yesterday that she was confident of winning the by-election in Ward 36 (Mabopane), on June 23.

She would, however, stand as an independent candidate — and not officially under the IFP flag — since it was a whites-only election.

Bekker said the IFP had not formulated a policy to contest all future by-elections in the city.

Another independent candidate in the by-election, Barry Duncan, said an outsider did not stand much chance, but if the people wanted the IFP, he would go along with it. "But we’ve had outsiders come in and do nothing," he said.
Bamcwu, Num fight over membership

Buthelezi digs in heels over KwaZulu

**Non-Issue** IFP leader scoffs at possible reincorporation of homeland into SA:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

**THE LEADER OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI,** yesterday dug in his heels on the reincorporation of KwaZulu into South Africa.

Speaking during a historic first Press briefing in Parliament, Buthelezi said there was a perception that KwaZulu was a creation of Pretoria and that this was wrong.

He was reacting to legislation tabled in Parliament on Monday, which when it becomes law later this year, would revoke the autonomy of the self-governing territories.

He dismissed the question of reincorporation as a non-issue.

About a possible meeting between himself and the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, as an attempt to bring peace between their respective followers, Buthelezi said that the ball was in the court of the ANC leader.

"None of us are under any illusions a mere meeting in itself would be a magic wand and stop the violence at once. But nevertheless, I thought that it would be a signal to our followers if they saw the two of us were involved in a reconciliation exercise at the top.

**Peace movement**

"I think that is bound to be infections as far as our own leadership is concerned. I think it is important to create a peace movement in this country. By addressing rallies together I think we would be sending very strong signals to our members to do likewise," Buthelezi said.

He also said it was unnecessary for political leaders to rush towards an election. An election date would not be a panacea. "It wasn't in Angola".

"About the arrests of PAC leaders on Tuesday, Buthelezi said that the ANC acted in haste when the movement said that negotiations must proceed regardless."
Gwala stirring up violence — IFP

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A complaint about alleged inflammatory remarks made by the chairman of the Midlands branch of the African National Congress, Mr Harry Gwala, has been lodged with the National Peace Committee.

The Inkatha Freedom Party claims the remarks were calculated to incite violence and hatred.

Mr Gwala was reported to have made the remarks to students at the Natal Technikon in Durban on May 19.

He called on members of the South African Students' Congress to learn how to handle firearms, because if negotiations failed they must be prepared to win power through the barrel of an AK-47.

"I am not prepared to die for freedom, but to kill for freedom," he said.

The IFP said it was deeply concerned that the African National Congress's national leadership continued to allow Mr Gwala to use his senior office as a platform from which to launch "morally depraved utterances".

The party said Mr Gwala continued to foment regularly the provisions of the National Peace Accord with defiant and contemptuous impunity.

In Pretoria, African National Congress Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba received a tumultuous welcome from Mandela students who yesterday welcomed him with the slogan he coined: "Kill the boer, kill the farmer".

Mr Mokaba addressed students together with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, Mr Gwala and Transkei ruler General Bantu Holomisa.
Buthelezi determined to see Mr M

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the IFP, says he is disappointed that ANC president Nelson Mandela is no longer prepared to meet him on a one-to-one basis to find ways of curbing violence.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday it was vital for the two leaders to meet to set an example of reconciliation.

He was still determined to try to arrange a meeting, however.

Earlier this week Mr Mandela agreed to meet Chief Buthelezi after King Goodwill reportedly offered to act as a facilitator.

But, speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leader claimed the king had been incorrectly reported, and said the intended meeting was now off. — Sapa.
We were told to destroy evidence

By Martin Ntsoelelengoe

Two prominent Transvaal Inkatha leaders, Themba Khosa and Humphrey Ndlovu, told their supporters at KwaMadala hostel to destroy property looted from Boipatong township soon after the impi attacked and killed about 50 residents during their raid last year.

This startling evidence was heard at the Delmas Circuit Court this week where 32 Inkatha supporters are appearing before Judge JC Smit on 45 murder and attempted murder charges related to the death of Boipatong residents on the night of June 17, 1991.

They have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The state witness, who may not be identified, said soon after the township raid Khosa and Ndlovu held a meeting with the raiders at the hostel and ordered them to destroy their loot and to burn the blood-stained clothes they were during the attack.

The witness said the meeting was held after police searched the hostel and confiscated an assortment of weapons, including AK-47s.

Their meeting, which was held at the hostel football ground, was also used as a witchhunt against hostel inmates who did not participate in the attack against township residents.

The witness identified some of the accused in court as having taken part in the attack.

The hearing continues on Tuesday.
Withdrawal of king 'not end of peace initiative'

BY SIPHO KHUMALO

The battle for peace has not been lost despite reports that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, has withdrawn as a facilitator of talks between ANC President Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This is according to Rodgers Sishi, co-convenor of the King’s Committee for Peace which has asked King Zwelithini to use his influence to negotiate peace between Inkatha and the ANC.

Mandela said in Soweto this week that the king had withdrawn as facilitator between himself and Buthelezi.

He said the king’s position was now apparently that “TV got it wrong” with regard to the King’s facilitating role.

The Zulu monarch said in a radio announcement that contrary to initial reports that he wanted to bring the two leaders together, he only pointed out the significance of such a meeting between the two men.

However, Sishi told City Press that the king was still involved in the peace initiative.

Sishi said his committee was slowly but surely forging ahead with preparing ground for the King to intervene as a peacemaker in the violence.

This will involve izimbizo (rallies) to be jointly attended by the ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Those close to the King’s Committee for Peace told City Press that it was still their hope that the “ultimate culmination of their initiative” would be a summit meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

The sources said they were still hopeful that the summit was a “possibility”.

Meanwhile, the ANC’s Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has lambasted the initiative as having the potential to drive people back into tribalism.

Gwala told City Press he was disturbed that the initiative was not canvassed with the three regions of the ANC.

Gwala said: “We must not fool ourselves that the king will help as long as (Dr Mangosuthu) Buthelezi has chiefs and the royal family in his grip.

...We think that if people could organise at Ulundi without being threatened with civil war, we would have gone a long way.”

Sishi said Gwala was properly briefed about this initiative. “The ANC was also briefed at the national level. Our committee includes Jacob Zuma of the National Executive Committee. We think Gwala is being destructive.”
ANC's Gwala infuriates Inkatha

INKATHA filed a complaint with the National Peace Committee on Friday after alleged inflammatory statements by ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala at Technikon Natal recently.

Gwala is alleged to have said: "We call on students of the South African Students Congress to learn how to handle firearms because if negotiations fail you must be prepared to win power through the barrel of an AK-47."

Inkatha said Gwala's statements were intended to "incite violence and hatred".

Mangope lashes out at ANC

BOP President Lucas Mangope says the ANC-alliance is paying students to instigate revolt at the homeland's Setswego Technical College.

Mangope said Bop was "in the grip of a sinister and well-orchestrated campaign to throw education into disarray".

He accused the ANC of paying Student Representative Council members to disrupt the institution.

Inkatha woman necklaced

INKATHA confirmed that the woman who was necklaced in the East Rand squatter camp of Phola Park on Tuesday was Inkatha branch secretary Julia Mthuli.

An Inkatha statement said Mthuli was abducted last weekend and Inkatha officials had spent several days searching for her.

SABC board announcement soon

THE names of the new SABC Board members will be announced by FW de Klerk early next week, according to a recent government statement.

The statement said the original list "created concerns which De Klerk discussed twice with the panel".

An amended list has now been submitted.

Sisulu calls for reincorporation

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, speaking at Wits University, said linked to this central issue was the demand for free political activity and association in the homeland territories.
Cambodian voters defy Rouge

PHNOM PENH — Cambodia's ruling party took a small early lead in elections here — with its bitter enemy of 14 years, the Khmer Rouge guerrillas, denouncing the poll.

The movement said it would keep on fighting.

With about 20 percent of votes counted, the Cambodian People's Party had received about 44 percent and the main opposition FUNCINPEC party 36 percent, a United Nations spokesman said.

The six-day UN-organised election ended on Friday.

Almost 90 percent of the country's 4.7-million registered voters cast ballots, rebuffing Khmer Rouge threats to violently disrupt polls.

The Khmer Rouge radio said yesterday: "This cheatin' and dirty election is killing the Cambodian nation and people, leaving Yoom aggressors to occupy the country forever."

Yoom is a derogatory term for Vietnamese.

The UN mission on Saturday certified the election as "free and fair." — Sapa-AP.

Buthelezi in Harare talks

HARARE — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has arrived in Zimbabwe for the first direct talks on the situation in South Africa with President Robert Mugabe.

Chief Buthelezi, in Zimbabwe at the invitation of Mr Mugabe, is leading a high-powered delegation of six ministers.

He is to hold talks with Mr Mugabe who is the current chairman of the Frontline States, in Harare today on the violence in South Africa, particularly in Natal and to discuss progress on democracy.

The IFP president and his entourage were met at Harare Airport by Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and senior officials. — Sapa.
Progress of talks hinges on meeting

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

Today's Negotiating Council meeting is shaping up to be critical for progress in the negotiating process — including the setting of an election date later this week.

Yesterday negotiators were divided on whether South Africa would know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

Sources last night indicated that a weekend of bilateral meetings in which the Government met both the ANC and the IFP were designed to narrow gaps between various players in the process.

The success of these would depend on developments in today's meeting and hopes of an election date announcement hinge on substantial progress being made.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have been confident that the election date could be set at a scheduled meeting of Thursday's negotiating forum.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlozane has expressed concern at the "galloping" pace of negotiations while IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described the setting of an election date at this stage as impossible.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Council that not enough time was being spent on debating vital issues.

The Consultative Business Movement last week met the ANC, the Government and Concerned South Africans Group.

The political groups were asked to pursue their respective time tables too rigidly. The CBM was concerned that some parties were intent on speeding the process up while others appeared intent on delaying it.

Hopes high — Page 3
ED TITTEL

Validity of data is suspect

In reporting various aspects of the program, the
Information Center is supposed to be
accurate to a high degree. However, the Center's
data and conclusions should be critically
assessed, as they may contain errors or misrepresentations.
Buthelazi in Harare

ZIMBABWEAN President Robert Mugabe and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelazi held their first direct talks in Harare yesterday. They were expected to discuss the violence in SA. The meeting was held at Mugabe's invitation.
Peace, Justice and Prosperity only if South Africa is a Federal State
NEWS Mandela, FW meet as talks react.

Mugabe speaks to the IFP's Buthelezi

Zimbabwean leader asked to effect peace among groups:

HARARE — Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and the leader of Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday began their first direct talks on the situation in South Africa.

The closed-door meeting at State House is at the invitation of Mugabe, who as chairman of the Frontline States and who was asked by the Organisation of African Unity to try and bring South Africa's anti-apartheid movements together to speed up moves towards majority rule.

Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, flew into Harare on Sunday with a six-man delegation on his first official visit to Zimbabwe.

The delegation includes Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mkhathane, deputy secretary-general Simon Gumede, central committee member Denis Madide, Lionel Mthathu and Dr Ben Ngubane and Buthelezi's legal adviser, Mr Joseph Matthews.

The meeting is also being attended by Zimbabwean Vice President Simon Muzenda, Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and National Security Minister Sidney Sekeramyi. — Sapa.
HARARE — Chief Maingosuthu Buthelezi yesterday ruled out the possibility of an announcement this week of an election date, saying that this was simply unrealistic.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader who had day-long talks with President Robert Mugabe in the Zimbabwean capital, said agreement in the negotiating forum had to be by consensus.

"I am saying that though I am not in person I doubt that consensus can be reached ... in the next two days. It seems to me an impossibility however much we desire it," he said.

Buthelezi said he would like to emphasise that an election date would not be a magic wand to solve problems. It did not mean everything would blossom and fall into place and end all the violence.

The IFP leader said a very important stage had been reached in the talks. But there first had to be discussion and agreement on constitutional principles and this had not taken place.

He spoke of the low-intensity civil war going on in South Africa and said it was imperative this be addressed now.

This meeting with Mugabe had advanced the prospects of a meeting with ANC leader Nelson Mandela which he believed was "quite vital to help end the violence".

"It would be childish to think a face-to-face meeting would end the violence but it would contribute towards ending it. For the leaders to meet and address peace rallies would be an example for their followers."

Mugabe told newsmen he would be in touch with Mandela and with the ANC. He saw his job as that of a broker, trying to bring the parties together but he could not say if he would be successful.
The former Yugoslav republic provides a chilling example of what could happen in South Africa. Sapa-Reuter spoke to leaders about this gloomy prospect for the country that has not known peace in the past decade.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... secession a possibility.

factions that would intrude upon each other if there was a government collapse or if the right wing carried out its secessionist threat.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the right wing and black opposition would never reach consensus on regionalism.

**Colour divisions**

"There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on.

"Things look very ugly — the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid is beyond repair."

In public, at least, the ANC is optimistic it can reach agreement with the white Right on regionalism.

"Negotiations are about finding one another," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said recently.

"We’ve developed a very progressive and reasonable position on regions — those who have listened to our policies, have found sense in them. We look forward to convincing the Conservative Party."

One of the right wing parties at the constitutional talks, the Afrikaner People’s Union, said this week it had achieved a breakthrough on regionalism in talks with the Government.

The AVU, more moderate than the Conservative Party, said it was greatly encouraged to hear from the Government that Afrikaner self-determination could be accommodated in its constitutional proposals.
Election date still in doubt

Hope as talks reach vital stage

By Chris Whitfield and Esther Waugh

Negotiations were given fresh impetus towards a settlement last night - but the chances of an election date being announced this week still hang in the balance.

A majority of the 29-party Negotiating Council agreed after five hours of meetings to a resolution providing for a two-phased transition and an elected constitution-making body bound by agreed principles.

The resolution adopted by the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre also provides for interim regional governments and a transitional constitution.

The IFP's Joe Matthews said it wanted to consult its leadership on the resolution.

The Conservative Party and the Bophuthatswana government reserved their positions to allow for consultation with their leaders.

In another significant developmentPresident de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are due to meet today in Cape Town. They are certain to discuss the transition process.

The leaders met on Monday in Pretoria. It is understood the appointment of the SABC board and the Government's position on entrenched permanent power-sharing were among the topics under discussion.

Top Government and ANC negotiators met last night after a three-day bilateral meeting at the weekend.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night left the Negotiating Council describing the resolution as a major breakthrough in terms of putting the negotiations process on firm footing and also agreeing that there would be a two-phased process.

Determined

In terms of the resolution, the transition will be divided into the drafting and adoption of an interim constitution by the negotiating forum and of a final constitution by an elected parliament.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the Government was still determined to secure an election date tomorrow.

But he said it depended on progress during tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting, which has replaced a proposed negotiating forum meeting.

In effect the resolution adopted yesterday bridges the demand for a two-phased process and for entrenched constitutional principles being binding on the final constitution-making body.

The resolution instructed the constitution technical committee to make recommendations on:

- The powers, structures and functions of regions during the transition.
- The constitution-making process to be followed.
- The procedures to be followed in the drafting and adoption of a transitional constitution by the multiparty forum.
- The procedure to be followed in the elected constitution-making body.

Initially there were tense moments at yesterday's meeting.

Before any debate on the crunch issue of the transition could begin, the CP complained it has not been given an opportunity to argue its case for a confederation to the technical committee on constitutional matters.

All parties were to send written submissions to the committee. It then compiled a report based on the submissions.

It was finally agreed that the CP should make written submissions to the committee, which would advise the Negotiating Council whether oral evidence was required.
THE negotiating council made substantial progress yesterday in accepting a government- and ANC-brokered two-phased approach to drafting a constitution.

The implications of this are that Inkatha has conditionally accepted the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for an interim government to draft the final constitution.

Inkatha's acceptance follows the ANC concession that the powers, functions, and structures of regions will be entrenched in the constitution.

The negotiating council resolved that it had not made sufficient progress for an election date to be set at tomorrow's meeting, as originally proposed. It would meet on June 25 for a decision on a date.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met yesterday and may have been trying to work out an appropriate date for an election. They will meet again today for talks on the negotiations process.

It is also understood that the negotiating council may make recommendations tomorrow regarding a date.

Progress yesterday covered:
- Instructing the technical committee on constitutional matters to make recommendations on the powers, functions, and structures of regions during transition;
- Details of the constitution-making process to be followed, including the structures needed for that purpose;
- Procedures for drafting a constitution for the transitional period and its adoption by the multiparty negotiating forum; and
- Procedures thereafter for an elected constitution-making body to draft and adopt a constitution.

Yesterday's unanimously agreed compromise resolution implies that a transitional executive council can be established in the period leading up to elections for an interim government. Inkatha and Bophuthatswana, however, reserved their position on certain details. In return, government and the ANC conceded that a fairly comprehensive interim constitution be drafted in accordance with binding principles agreed in the multiparty forum.

These principles will also provide for justiciable fundamental rights, the structures of national and regional government and their respective powers, functions and authority.

Also yesterday, after the PAC and government failed to reach agreement in face-to-face talks, fears arose that the PAC might be forced out of the negotiating process.

The PAC issued an ambiguous four-page report calling for mutual cessation of hostilities and claiming that it had no war against women or children. It was unclear on the position of white men, especially farmers who it said were mostly members of commando units.

Government has insisted that the PAC cannot negotiate peace while waging an armed struggle. It has called on the PAC to enter into bilateral talks with the aim of suspending the armed struggle or placing a moratorium on it.

The parties agreed to meet tomorrow to try to break the deadlock.
Independence a ‘15-year game’

THE government had played games with the “independence” of four homelands for 15 years at the taxpayer’s expense, Democratic Party caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglin said yesterday.

The minister and successive deputy ministers of Foreign Affairs had given the same unsatisfactory replies to the same questions about financial control of TBVC funding for 15 years, he said.

They had been years of financial misdirection, misappropriation, shady deals, R1 million bribes, shadowy characters, shady companies, military coups and military governments.

Within these realities, it was inappropriate for the Department of Foreign Affairs to control these homelands’ finances.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Renier Schoeman, said the financial controls in these homelands were tighter than ever. It was not true that the issue had received very little attention over the last 15 years.

Call for ANC-IFP summit

DURBAN. — The ANC in southern Natal issued a comprehensive eight-point plan for peace and political tolerance yesterday and called on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to prepare for their summit as a matter of urgency.

The organisation called on both the ANC and the IFP to “preach the right to free political activity and an end to the militarisation of politics”.

The peace document was approved at the weekend by representatives from the organisation’s 128 branches in the region.

Regional chairman Mr Jeff Rebebe mooted joint rallies and said local organisers of both groups should “actively involve themselves and their supporters” in nurturing tolerance.

On the question of the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, the organisation suggested that the two leaders hold an initial meeting and then give further instructions to the committee preparing for the summit.

Responding to the programme, the IFP said the proposals “might prove constructive” but that it would “reserve judgment until we see more tangible signs of the ANC’s commitment to peace”.

Arms cache found at school

JOHANNESBURG. — Three AK-47 rifles, a shotgun, a 9mm magazine and ammunition were discovered at the caretaker’s quarters of an East Rand primary school early yesterday.

Four police officers who were arrested after policemen searched the room at the Enkanengi Primary School in Actonville, near Benoni.
ANC Natal branch calls for Mandela-Buthelezi meeting

THE ANC southern Natal region yesterday joined Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in calling on ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi urgently to defuse violence.

However, the ANC national office said in a statement yesterday that while the meeting was desirable, essential preparations had to be made to ensure it succeeded.

Supa reports that the southern Natal ANC leadership outlined a peace plan in Durban to engage Inkatha in joint initiatives to bring an end to Natal violence.

Inkatha has cautiously welcomed the move.

The main stumbling block to a meeting between the two leaders appears to be that the ANC wants a commitment from Inkatha that it will allow the ANC to freely organise and conduct rallies in KwaZulu.

The national office's statement said it welcomed Mugabe's initiative, which followed a decision of the OAU ad-hoc committee.

It said the discussions of the preparatory committee had progressed well, except in dealing with free political activity, where the Inkatha's committee members had been tied up with constitutional negotiations and had not been able to meet regularly.

The ANC region's plan is to call for an "initial peace meeting" between the two leaders to prepare for a formal summit.

Southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe said the first meeting should aim to instruct the ANC/Inkatha preparatory committee, appointed at the end of last year to remove obstacles to a summit, to complete its tasks by a set date, and to instruct its regional counterparts to consolidate the peace process.

After the formal summit, the ANC and Inkatha should convene joint peace rallies where free political tolerance and an end to the militarisation of politics should be advocated.

Radebe said a summit was not the answer to Natal's war, but the leaders needed to be seen together to accelerate the peace process and to encourage political tolerance.

Inkatha said in a statement: "If the ANC's rationale is truly to put an end to violence, we must accept that today's proposals by the ANC might prove constructive."

However, it questioned why the ANC had proposed the plan through the media instead of the regional peace accord structure, and said ANC supporters "continue to wage war on us".

"We must therefore treat the ANC's call with caution," Inkatha said.

Our Durban correspondent reports that the ANC Youth League has proposed a paramilitary youth peace corps be established to balance the existing security structures' bias during an interim government.

ANC Youth League publicity secretary Phakamile Makhubela said the corps should target the masses of unemployed youth. Such a corps would help prepare blacks to trust future police structures.

Southern Life rejected Masterbond, says agent

CAPE TOWN — Southern Life rejected the offer of involvement in a property equity participation scheme proposed by Masterbond agent Thomas Hosking. Hosking told the NEL commission of inquiry yesterday.

The scheme was eventually accepted by Fedlife.

Hosking, who acted as Masterbond agent in Port Elizabeth, had about R1m personally invested in the group at the time of its collapse. He said Fedlife agreed to gear the scheme on a two-to-one basis after its acting director and development manager had studied it. Fedlife eventually loaned R10m of its pension and annuity funds to investors in terms of the scheme.

Hosking told the commission he learnt later there were no assets in Club Mykonos Investment Holdings to underpin the scheme as he was claimed in the information document. Higher than normal commissions of between 5% and 10% were paid to agents for selling the units in the scheme.

He said he had great confidence in the project and had relied on the expertise of former Masterbond chairman Koos Jonker, who projected an internal rate of return of 34%.
IFP in Pretoria launch

The Inkatha Freedom Party has targeted Pretoria for a membership drive and a branch is to be launched this month.

Chairman of the launching committee Mr. Taha Humis said interest was mounting among many whites, who were disillusioned with the National Party and wanted to join the IFP. The launch meeting will be held in the Vereeniging City Hall on June 17.
Playing tight and loose

Commonsense is at last beginning to dominate the federal debate

We may not come to be known as the Federal Republic of SA, but it is almost certain that a new constitution will accommodate strong regional authorities as part of a three-tier system of government.

Aside from being the key to producing a lasting political settlement, the practicality — political, economic and social — of some form of regional government has become common cause.

Still to be resolved are the precise powers and functions of regions. The actual boundaries are not really contentious; a nonpartisan commission is to be formed to investigate them. The critical aspect is the precise relationship between regions and central government: under what circumstances may the centre override the region?

Fortunately, the gap on this issue has been greatly narrowed at negotiations. A workable compromise will probably be struck — perhaps this week.

It has gradually dawned on the protagonists that, in practice, as the Consultative Business Movement's report on regions in SA last year argued, "there are no absolutes as to central versus regional powers, but rather a continuum of greater or lesser powers and responsibilities." In short, words like "federal" and "regional" can mean pretty much what you want them to mean; the trick is to make sure that everyone agrees on those meanings and feels happy.

The big breakthrough on regionalism came last month when the ANC finally agreed to the demand that regional powers — or at least the principles governing them — should be constitutionally entrenched. In return for the ANC's concession on regionalism, it appears that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party has dropped its opposition to the need to set up a transitional executive council.

This suggests that the process of transition can now go forward — even though the setting of an election date by the multiparty negotiation forum by this week's deadline hung in the balance.

Inkatha's position has been that it wants the "form of State" (federal, confederal, regional or unitary), including regional boundaries and powers, to be determined before an election; and that these should be constitutionally entrenched and beyond the reach of an elected constitution-making body.

The ANC, of course, sticks to its belief that the precise formulation of regional powers and functions should be left to an elected constituent assembly — though its work will obviously be constrained by parameters predetermined at the negotiations. So, if the ANC, for instance, wanted in future to take away or amend entrenched regional powers, it would need a specially large majority, 67% at least, to do so.

But the ANC has for practical purposes accepted the regional idea — as a check and balance on the centre, as a means of bringing government closer to the people and to achieve a more effective government. And with signs of its youthful constituency growing rapidly impatient with a drawn-out transition (some talk darkly of a pre-Bolshevik situation in SA), the ANC is holding the prospect of an imminent agreement in both hands.

The ANC bottom line is that the centre should ultimately have the power to override regional governments on matters deemed to be repugnant to the national constitution. It also believes the centre should be the repository of powers not specifically allocated to the regions (the concept of residuary). But these are eminently reasonable positions — and include the proposal that a constitutional court would adjudicate in such disputes.
federal government." This is at variance with both government's and especially the ANC's view, which has it the other way round — giving the central government the power of ultimate override. Where Buthelezi wants residual powers vested in the member states, the ANC places these at the centre.

The IFP stresses its belief that federalism and territorial autonomy cannot be solved through majority rule.

However, this begs the question of whether most people in KwaNatal want the kind of federal autonomy Buthelezi and the IFP are pressing for. To that extent at least, there's a certain logic in the ANC's insistence that in the end only an elected body can write the constitution.

Unless the negotiators opt for confederalism or a unitary state, the outline of a regional dispensation that has emerged is as near to a federal system that anyone could reasonably expect.

A little more give-and-take ought to resolve the outstanding issue of power-sharing between regions and the centre — which in a modern state is neither black or white, after all.

Meanwhile, negotiators will have to be on their guard against approving a system which represents a compromise between the various political players — but which turns out to be inefficient or even unworkable in practice. As the *Penguin Dictionary of Politics* expresses it, "federalism is often seen as a complex and cumbersome method of government because it involves a number of potentially overlapping jurisdictions ..." Whatever form our system eventually takes, and whatever it is called — if it has to be called anything — that kind of confusion must be avoided.

Theoretical clarity is essential: if hard choices must be made, let them be made in advance rather than judged in the interests of compromise.

It is worth noting that most constitutional systems with federal features have created an enhanced role for the judiciary, in order properly to adjudicate disputes between central and regional authorities.
April 27 is target day for election

By Chris Whitfield and Esther Waugh

South Africa has a tentative date for its first democratic elections — April 27, 1994.

But negotiators are still some way from agreeing that the nation will go to the polls on that day.

A dramatic 3¼-hour debate on the issue in the Negotiating Council last night ended with the majority acceptance of a compromise resolution. It said the council would discuss the issue on June 19 and recommend to the negotiating forum meeting on June 25 that the date of an election should be April 27 next year.

However, the resolution left the final decision to the Negotiating Council meeting "with a view to maximise consensus".

And it left room for an even earlier date if a final settlement in talks allowed for it.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had tabled a resolution calling for the fixing of the April 27 date after fierce debate on whether it should even come before the council.

He argued that sufficient progress had been made in talks to warrant the setting of a date. He also warned of growing expectations across the country and "unpredictable consequences" if setting a date was delayed.

IFP and CP not happy, but 17 give nod

After extended debate and objections from most delegates of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosas), ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa proposed the compromise.

Most Cosas members continued to express opposition and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Heman Cronje explained later that while he had no opposition to determining the date, he felt several fundamental issues should be resolved first.

The KwaZulu government flatly rejected the resolution due to what it called "manipulation of the process".

The Conservative Party reserved its position and must now be seriously close to walking out.

CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs told The Star he would have to report back to the party leadership, but warned that the Afrikaner people" could not go along indefinitely with a process that continually adopted positions it could not agree with.

In sharp contrast, the Government, the ANC and 15 other parties were upbeat about the progress. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had been a long struggle but thought "the resolution is enough progress for now".

IFP negotiator Walter Felpgate, who reserved his position because he did not have a mandate to accept a specific date, said the end of April target date should not have been adjusted.

The IFP had no objection to any election date, but felt this should be set only once "we can properly do so and be sure it is attainable".

Both the Democratic Party and the PAC suggested March 31 as their preference but did not get any other support.

They felt important issues had been deliberately skipped in an attempt to settle an election date. Earlier debate on constitutional principles that would be entrenched in a future constitution had been cut short, and debate on a technical committee report on violence "would also have to be continued at the next meeting."

Other issues not addressed were the independent media commission and independent electoral commission.

The talks — Page 3
Elections

April 27 set

For elections down as date

Aprl 27 set

CT. offices, but Inukana goes along

APRIL 27 will be proclaimed
ANC decision on rally welcomed by the IFP

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday lauded the postponement of an ANC rally that was to have taken place on the East Rand on today, saying the move had probably saved lives.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was to have addressed the rally at Huntersfield stadium, Katlehong, at noon. The ANC leader said he would have made "a major speech on violence and the current political situation in the country".

But senior IFP Transvaal leader Mr Humphrey Ndlovu expressed reservations about the rally, saying it could lead to even more violence.

"The area (East Rand) is still tense after recent violence," he said.

"We in the IFP have lost many people to violence these past two weeks. We have been on the ground to try and calm temperatures and we fear the rally could spark more conflicts. It is better to try calm things down before planning events like the ANC rally."

But after being informed the rally had been postponed, Mr Ndlovu said:

"This is a very good thing that has been done. It is not our wish to see people dying. Many of our people who lost relatives in the East Rand violence two weeks ago have still not buried their dead. We know through our ears on the ground there is still much ill feeling in Katlehong and other areas."

"We congratulate the ANC for their decision. It has probably saved lives...let us have rallies when conditions are calm."

The statement announcing the rally had been postponed made no mention of IFP concerns, although Mr Ndlovu said he had earlier contacted ANC officials to express reservations about the gathering.

The ANC said the rally had been postponed "to a date to be announced soon".

The organisation added:

"The rally was postponed to give more time for thorough preparations and organisation of the event." — Sapa.
Homeland's chief negotiator under fire

Buthelezi, Mandela meeting hits snags

A

aid by the ANC Southern Natal region to clear the way for an early meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has run into trouble with the more militant Midlands ANC region.

Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala said on Wednesday night that a meeting between the two leaders could not happen until a number of issues had been cleared.

These included the preconditions set by the ANC, among them the banning of cultural weapons and fencing off of hostels.

Gwala said a document from the Southern Natal region outlining its eight-point peace programme had been presented to him but he needed time to study it.

He chastised the region for "rushing into peace" without thorough preparations, adding that his region found a number of the points "problematic".

Gwala said he was not sure whether a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi at this stage would achieve anything.

PEACE PROGRAMME

Natal Midlands

leader says time is not ripe for summit:

Gwala said that the preparations would ensure that peace was sustained.

He said the Midlands would study the Southern Natal document before taking a final position on whether it would support it or not.

The ANC Southern Natal region on Wednesday pointed out that a report that the three Natal ANC regions had committed themselves to the programme was incorrect.
Vow by ANC and IFP chiefs turns war zone into a haven of peace

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A LONG-STANDING pact between an African National Congress chief and an Inkatha Freedom Party chief has brought peace and rising prosperity to 70,000 people in a battle-scarred area of Natal.

When ANC regional executive member Chief Zibuse Mlaba, 37, of Ximba, and KwaZulu Legislative Member Chief Bangubukhosí Mdlubi, 59, of Manyavu, got together in February 1991 to talk peace, the event went almost unnoticed.

Notorious

But it was the start of one of the first and most amazing peace initiatives in South Africa because it turned around the desperate lives of their people and offered them a future.

The two beautiful rural KwaZulu areas ruled by the chiefs are part of the Mpu-

mulanga area in the notorious Table Mountain region of the Natal Midlands.

Late in 1989 a war between ANC youths in Ximba and IFP men in Manyavu broke out and quickly escalated.

By the time the two chiefs made their peace pledge more than a year later, hundreds of people had been killed and thou-

sands of refugees had fled the area.

In one battle alone, at the height of the trouble early in 1991, the ANC lost 50 men and the IFP lost dozens of its fighters on an open killing field.

Last Sunday that same battlefield was used by members from both areas to celebrate the completion of the first phase of a R10.5-million water project being constructed by Umgeni Water, and a community centre that will serve thousands of people.

The development project was funded by the Port Natal Joint Services Board.

Eskom has also moved into the area and electricity has been installed in hundreds of small huts.

After peace broke out the two chiefs went to industrialists in the area and got back jobs for scores of men who had been unable to go to work for months because they were too scared to cross into enemy territory.

Gunmen

A school for 1,000 students was recently built by the Independent Development Trust in Ximba.

Chief Masinga Mlaba is the brother of the Natal secretary of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contrelaswa), who was assassinated by gunmen in 1996.

Chief Mlaba said: “Nobody is forced to join any particular political party. We haven’t had fighting here for years and the crime rate is right down.

“The building projects in the area have helped keep the peace because we often talk to each other about the projects and they create jobs and a bit of prosperity.”

Chief Mdlubi, who had his tribal court and the shop in his area burnt down during the fighting, said people who had fled to other areas were “flocking” back.
Secret document used by Inkatha a fake — SACP

Sunday Times Reporter

A DOCUMENT being used by Inkatha to claim collusion between the National Intelligence Service and the ANC and its allies is a fake, according to the SA Communist Party.

Inkatha has obtained a document which purports to be an internal SACP memorandum. The writer alludes to a political settlement having already been concluded between the ANC alliance and elements within the government.

The writer says these elements, including the National Intelligence Service, have been responsible for disruptive actions aimed at Inkatha, the Conservative Party and elements within the military. However, SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin said the document was a skillful fake written by someone who was obviously familiar with debates taking place inside the party.

The document had as its target not so much the SACP, but State President FW de Klerk, the intelligence service and National Party negotiators.

"It appears to be an attempt to curry favour for military intelligence and the SADF in right-wing and Inkatha circles, and would suggest a serious split in Mr de Klerk's intelligence community," Mr Cronin said.

The document was first published in the right-wing Aida Parker Newsletter, he added.

See Page 20
An unhealthy alliance

BEN NGUBANE says members of the National Intelligence Service should be acting in concert with the ANC.
Buthelezi, Mandela agree to meet

INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela have agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks," Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced yesterday.

He said in a statement the meeting, to be held at his official residence "Bishopscourt", would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and himself. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate said he hoped the meeting would happen within the next few weeks.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at Pietermaritzburg. I then met Mr Mandela at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee."
IFP youth’s body found near mine

JOHANNESBURG. — An Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade chairman’s partially burnt body was found near an old diamond mine in Schweizer-Reneke’s Ipelegeng township yesterday morning, police said.

Western Transvaal police spokesman Captain Petrus Ramatsoele said Ipelegeng’s Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman, Paul Dintoe, 17, was kidnapped on Saturday night.

No arrests have yet been made.

The bodies of at least five people were found since Friday in violence-wrecked East Rand townships, police said last night.

Four of the five bodies were found in Katlehong, police spokesman Lieutenant Janine Smith said.

Mr Richard Shingange was found shot dead on Friday morning in the township, Lt Smith said.

Also on Friday, the bullet-riddled body of Ms Francesca Twaiso, 33, was found there.

On Saturday Mr Jabulani Milangeni, 27, was found shot dead at Radebe section, Lt Smith said.

At 3pm on Saturday police found the partially burnt and shot-up body of an unknown man at Nkandla hostels.

In Vosloorus on Saturday evening, the body of an unknown male was found at the Mhunu Hostel.

One policeman was killed and another seriously injured when they were attacked and thrown off a moving train on the East Rand on Friday. — Sapa
INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks", Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night.

He said in a statement that the meeting, to be held at his official residence, Bishopscourt, would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr. Stanley Mogoba, and himself.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said he followed up his discussions at those meetings with telephone consultations later yesterday; both leaders had accepted an invitation to meet at Bishopscourt.

"The date and time of the meeting are still being discussed. I would like it to take place as soon as possible. I certainly hope it will happen within the next couple of weeks," he said. He is due to leave for London today on an overseas visit but would cancel whatever engagements were necessary to return for the meeting. — Sapa
Mandela, Buthelezi to meet

Tutu opens the door to peace

Staff Reporters

In what could be a major boost for peace, Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night that he had brokered a long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Tutu hoped the meeting would take place within weeks at his official residence, Bishopscourt in Cape Town.

He said in a statement he and the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, would chair the talks.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos and African National Congress spokesman Carl Niehouse last night could not contact their respective leaders to confirm the agreement.

Vos said should such a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories.

National Peace Accord media liaison officer Val Fauguet said the Peace Accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mandela and Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

National Peace Secreta...
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has brokered a long-awaited meeting between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Archbishop Tutu said he hoped the meeting would take place within weeks.

He said and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba would chair the talks.

The leaders would meet at his official residence, Bishops-court, in Cape Town.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus could not contact their leaders last night to confirm the agreement to meet.

Ms Vos said should a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories.

Ms Val Pauquet, spokesman for the National Peace Accord, said the accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said Archbishop Tutu's "excellent" news enhanced the prospects of peace significantly.

"It will help a lot for the cause of peace in South Africa. It will send a message of peace from the very top leadership of two most important organisations."

Archbishop Tutu said Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttall would arrange the date of the meeting in discussion with Mr Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and Dr Mogoba.

Although he was leaving today for an extended overseas visit, he would drop everything and return for the meeting, Archbishop Tutu said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi at the consecration of Bishop Peter Barker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand, in Pietermaritzburg. I then met Mr Mandela at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee.

"I followed up discussions at those two meetings with telephone consultations later."

He said both leaders had agreed to the meeting.

The Archbishop originally planned to be overseas for six weeks, but would interrupt his visit if a meeting between the two leaders was set up before his return, said press officer Mr John Allen.

Archbishop Tutu will be in Britain until June 18.

"He then planned a three-week holiday in Norway, followed by a working week in the United States before returning to South Africa," Mr Allen said.
IFP youth leader found murdered

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG - Innsidla
Freedom Party Youth Brigade
Western Transvaal chairman
Paul Dintoe, 17, has been found
dead in Ipelegeng township at
Schweizer-Reneke in the Western Transvaal.

His body, which had multiple

A police spokesman said the
motive for the killing was not
known.

The IFP was shocked and
dismayed at the "senseless"
killing, said spokesman Mr
Humphrey Ndlovu.
ANC, IFP heads to meet

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

A FINAL date for a summit between African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be announced this week — pending the two leaders' approval.

The date was proposed to Mandela and Buthelezi yesterday during separate meetings between them and the conveners, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba.

In a joint statement from Cape Town yesterday, Tutu and Mogoba said they had proposed a date to the two at a meeting yesterday.

"We are now negotiating with the two leaders on its acceptability. "We believe we will be able to announce a date for the meeting later this week," the conveners said.

The summit is expected to be held next week at Tutu's official residence, Bishops Court in Cape Town, and would be chaired jointly by Mogoba and Tutu.

Couple of weeks

Tutu, who brokered the meeting, announced on Sunday night that Mandela and Buthelezi agreed to the summit "within a couple of weeks". He met Buthelezi first on Saturday and Mandela on Sunday.

In an earlier statement, Mogoba, who is also vice-chairman of the National Peace Accord, said he was delighted at the news of the intended meeting.

He described it as a breakthrough in relations between the ANC and IFP.

"We are hoping there will be a positive spin-off in the work of the committee and secretariat of the National Peace Accord, as well as that of the Goldstone Commission," Mogoba said.

The ANC yesterday said it welcomed the initiative by Tutu.

In his statement, Buthelezi said he agreed to the meeting but objected to an ANC statement which he said wanted to put preconditions to the summit.
Buthelezi-Mandela talks
date expected this week

A DATE for the long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could be announced later this week.

Following consultations with the two political leaders, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Stanley Mogoba said in a joint statement yesterday that they expected to announce a date for the encounter in the next few days.

The ANC welcomed the initiative taken by Archbishop Tutu to arrange the meeting but insisted that the organisation “doesn’t want a meeting for the sake of a meeting”.
Mandela-Buthelezi talks 'positive'

Political Staff

A MEETING between African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be "positive," President De Klerk said today. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev. Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church are to host a meeting in Bishopscourt, Cape Town, between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.
IFP-ANC meeting on track

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

ANC-president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to meet in two weeks' time in Cape Town for the first time since 1991.

Methodist Church presiding bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, who will be a chairman at the meeting, confirmed yesterday that a specific date had been proposed but no agreement had yet been reached.

Mogoba and his co-chairman, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said they expected to announce the date this week.

The ANC has indicated it wants the agenda to include free political activity throughout the country, including Natal and KwaZulu; public display of weapons; fencing of hostels; and the IFP's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded.

Buthelezi said he would meet Mandela at Tutu's home without any preconditions.

He stated: "I assumed that our agenda for the meeting would be mutually determined between Mr Mandela and myself and would revolve around the main issue, which is stopping the violence."

"I find these unilateral demands of what the agenda for the meeting should be once again puzzling and I do not understand if this means that I should agree to the listed issues beforehand," he said.
IFP deaths:
Goldstone call

DURBAN.—The In-
khatha Freedom Party
has called on the Gold-
stone Commission to in-
vestigate the "serial as-
sassination" of its
leadership following the
killing of another three
at the weekend.

• Three black men
have been arrested in
connection with the mas-
sacre of five people last
Friday.

• The African
National Congress has
slammed a police raid on
members in Apples-
bosch.—Sapa, Own Cor-
respondent
Peanuts

by Charles Schulz

Inquests against Pearl Harbor: A charge of sabotage and conspiracy to commit sabotage against the United States was filed against 30 sailors and two civilians, including three Japanese-Americans. The charges were based on evidence that the sailors had been plotting to overthrow the U.S. government and establish a Japanese republic in Hawaii.

FBI Investigation

The FBI has launched an investigation into the assassination plot. According to sources, the plot was orchestrated by a group of anti-government radicals who were planning to kidnap the President and hold him hostage until the U.S. government agreed to their demands.

Government's Stance

The government has called for a probe into the assassination plot. A high-level task force has been formed to investigate the matter and determine the extent of the conspiracy.

Source: The New York Times

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The Federal Telegraph

DA WAPORO WITHDRAW

Inquest is against Pearl Harbor: A charge of sabotage and conspiracy to commit sabotage against the United States was filed against 30 sailors and two civilians, including three Japanese-Americans. The charges were based on evidence that the sailors had been plotting to overthrow the U.S. government and establish a Japanese republic in Hawaii.

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The Federal Telegraph
Nats' loss
could be
star Gilberts
gain for IFP

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is poised to lose a Transvaal MP — probably to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is also understood that the IFP could gain another member from the House of Delegates — not an NP MP.

An announcement will probably be made on Monday. The moves come amid speculation that some senior Nationalist MPs are poised to quit politics when the current Parliament ends early next year.

A reliable NP source said yesterday that "lots of my colleagues are going to move out" but added that they would not be leaving the NP.

Tony Reeves, House of Representatives MP for Klipspruit West, said last night he was "not happy" in the NP, which he joined last year after eight years as a Labour Party MP.

He cited the handling of the recent education crisis as a source of his discontent.

The NP leadership was "not even looking at rectifying wrongs" such as housing, he said. He had not yet made up his mind whether to join the IFP.

NP sources have indicated that some senior MPs from the eastern Cape may quit Parliament soon.

One is reliably understood to be Sakkie Louw, Nationalist MP for Newton Park. He could not be contacted for comment yesterday.
Probe urged as more IFP leaders die

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate the “serial assassination” of its leadership after the killing of more IFP leaders in Natal.

It said the targeting of its lower-level leadership for political assassination was “symptomatic of a politically inspired strategy to emasculate the IFP prior to elections and render it incapable of contesting elections”.

The IFP statement said nine IFP leaders had been killed in the past month, six of them in Natal, bringing the total toll to 294.

On Sunday another IFP leader, Mkhobisi Buthelezi (46), branch chairman at Ekuseni ward, KwaMhethwa near Empangeni, was killed. His death came shortly after another IFP leader, Ndabanzani Nama, died at the hands of members of the Internal Stability Unit, allegedly when he fired at members of the ISU who were searching for illegal weapons.

The IFP has claimed Nama’s death was not accidental but part of a plot to “eliminate” him.
Spot Desk

Cavin Masdrop

of economic growth must and the cause regional policies
Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has either played a diplomatic masterstroke or boomed announcing that a Mandela/Ruth-
Elezi meeting is to take place within a forthcoming.
Within hours of Sunday night’s dramatic
announcement — that he would chair the meeting jointly with the presiding Bishop of the Methodists Church, Stanley Mogoba, at Bishops court in Cape Town — it became clear that the endorsement of the meeting was less than universal. Even the setting of a date won’t guarantee the meeting against political one-upmanship in the form of a lastminute withdrawal by one of them.
However, John Allen from the archbishop’s office is confident that the meeting will proceed. He says Tutu is in no doubt that the ANC and Inkatha presidents agreed to the summit after separate discussions and followup phone calls at the weekend. “They even agreed to the archbishop announcing the meeting on Sunday night and are happy with the way it was done,” he maintains.
But Monday saw the first signs of scepticism. While welcoming Tutu’s initiative, an ANC information department statement warns that a meeting will be pointless unless certain differences are resolved. These included long-standing disputes over freedom of political association in Natal/KwaZulu, the public display of weapons, fencing of hostels and the IFP’s insistence that MK should be dissolved.
These are the same issues which for months have stymied the chances of a gettogether by the two leaders, in spite of the efforts to pave the way by a combined ANC/ IFP task force. Known as the Preparatory Committee, its sole function is to iron out the differences and set a date for the MandelaButhelezi summit.
The ANC statement prompted a swift response from Buthelezi. He pointed out that though he’d agreed to the meeting, it was on the basis that there were no preconditions. This is confirmed by Allen, who says there are none. “The archbishop proposed that both leaders should submit lists of everything they want discussed. On that basis everything which concerns and worries them will form the basis for the agenda.”
Wits University political studies head Alf Stander says: “My initial reaction on hearing about the meeting was that if I were a gambling man I wouldn’t put too much money on it taking place. This is partly because of the history of breakdowns in the intentions to meet, plus the fact it seems one of the two, possibly both, actually don’t want to meet. Mandela is acutely conscious that a meeting puts them on a level which might appeal to Buthelezi. However, the danger for the IFP leader is that, though shrewd, he could be upstaged by Mandela.”
ANC/Zulu talks soon?

Waiting Times: June 2/13 1993
Date for ANC,
IFP talks soon
Political Staff

A DATE will be announced soon for a meeting between KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, a spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night.

He said a date will be set as soon as agreement had been reached on the agenda for the talks.
Inkatha will be biggest party, says Buthelezi

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party intends winning elections in the Natal/KwaZulu region and will demand autonomy in certain areas of government in a future federal state.

Addressing a public meeting in the Durban City Hall last night, the IFP president also predicted that his party would become the single largest party in South Africa.

"When the election comes, you must know that as far as this region is concerned (Natal/KwaZulu), we intend being the next government. We already govern and do so very successfully. Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretoria, not by Umtata."

He said the people of the Natal/KwaZulu region rejected centralised power or a unitary state.

"We reject anything but federalism. We will no longer be told what we can or cannot do. In those areas of government, that can be exercised by us, we are demanding autonomy," Buthelezi said.

He told the multiracial audience of about 1,000 that the IFP was on the road to becoming the "single largest political force" in the country.

His party could not cope with the demand for new branches across the country, Buthelezi said.

His address followed the inauguration of nine IFP branches in predominantly white and Indian residential areas around Durban.
Peace groups fear ANC, Inkatha clashes at rallies

PEACE organisations yesterday expressed concern that clashes could break out between Inkatha and ANC supporters when the two organisations commemorate the 17th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising at rallies in the East Rand township of Voslooonsburg tomorrow.

The ANC’s rally will be addressed by the organisation’s Natal Midlands chairman, Harry Gwala, and the Inkatha gathering by Transvaal organiser Themba Khosa.

Neither organisation is holding rallies in surrounding townships and this could boost the numbers attending the Vosloosburg rally.

Inkatha senior official Humphrey Ndlouvou said yesterday that his organisation would not switch its rally from Vosloosburg “just because the ANC will be holding a similar rally in the area”.

And sources close to the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat said the organisation had been caught off guard by Inkatha’s eleventh hour announcement that it would hold a rally in the township.

They said Inkatha had yet to furnish the secretariat with details of their rally.

These details are essential if agreement is to be reached on issues such as policing and choice of routes.

Sources expressed concern that violence could break out unless steps were taken to avert confrontation.

Ndlouvou said the secretariat was “not God”. He said Inkatha could not have provided the secretariat with details of its rally in Vosloosburg without having first secured a venue. This was done only on Sunday.

The organisation was due to provide the secretariat with details of its rally yesterday.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa called on all people commemorating the day to do so “with the dignity it deserves”. Mamoepa also called for peace monitors to be out in full force to ensure that “peace reigns supreme” during the services.

He also urged police not to act in a manner which might ignite violence. Mamoepa pointed out that the agreement which the ANC PWV region and Inkatha reached in March — on the eve of Sharpeville Day commemorations — should serve as a guide for tomorrow’s activities.

In terms of the agreement — brokered by the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat — Inkatha and the ANC vowed to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner. The parties also agreed on routes their respective followers would use.

Ndlouvou said it was about time that members of the ANC and Inkatha held rallies in the same area without police having to keep them apart.

Hundreds of thousands of black workers are expected to lay away from work tomorrow, AP-DJ reports.

Cosatu said, it expects all of its estimated 1.2-million members to stay away.

Cosatu threatened it would take industrial action against employers which did not recognise the day as a paid holiday.

Sabc estimates the stayaway will involve 80%-100% of workers across the country.

Labour consultants Andrew Levy & Associates predicts more than two thirds of the estimated 6-million black workers will stay away.

Sapa reports the Johannesburg City Council said yesterday officials anticipated a stayaway tomorrow and added the action may disrupt some services.

Council solid waste director Gys du Plessis requested Johannesburg householders who normally have their refuse collected on Wednesdays to keep their rubbish inside their properties until next Wednesday.

He added: “A June 16 stayaway may also disrupt other services such as clearing sewer blockages or repairing water leaks.”

The ANC’s western Cape region is to call for a stayaway tomorrow.

The future of the law to be debated

CHIEF Justice Michael Corbett and Judge Richard Goldstone will be two of the speakers at a one-day conference on the future of SA law in Johannesburg on Monday.

The conference, at the Standard Bank Arena, has been organised by law firm Webber Wentzel to celebrate its 125th anniversary and is co-sponsored by Standard Bank.

A senior ANC legal adviser will also take part in the conference, which will debate where SA law is heading and how it should be adapted to meet the needs of a changing SA.

Webber Wentzel senior partner Peter Reynolds said the conference would look critically but positively at SA’s legal system. “We wish to anticipate, in a meaningful forum, what will become of law in this country as we emerge from our troubled past into a new era. We want to play our part in guiding this country’s legal system along what we believe to be the proper channels.”

Reynolds said until now the debate on the future of law in SA had been confined largely to legal circles.

“The Webber Wentzel conference is open to the general public and will bring the debate into the public arena. All interested parties will be exposed to the views of respected and informed jurists, from the most senior of our judges to experienced practising attorneys facing clients on a day-to-day basis,” Reynolds said.

Nujoma off to US

WINDHOEK — President Sam Nujoma left Windhoek yesterday for an official state visit to the US.

He is the first African president officially invited to the US by the Clinton administration.

Acting US ambassador to Namibia Howard DAPER will welcome Mr Nujoma to the White House today, and in a separate meeting state officials, he will be interviewed on CNN, where the Congressional Black Caucus leadership and receive an honorary degree from Central State University in Ohio, before returning home via a human rights conference in Vienna.

SAPA
NP lashes out at Inkatha

Political Staff

RELATIONS between the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party are heading for a new low, with the NP lashing out at IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for his attack on the NP at a public meeting in Durban on Monday.

NP media director Mr Martynus van Schalkwyk said the NP was amazed at the attack in the light of ongoing discussions between the NP and IFP.

The chief minister said the government should remember that the black majority, which made up two-thirds of the potential voters in the country, was the same black majority that for decades was suppressed and brutalised by the National Party. "The NP had overstayed its welcome," he said.

"All surveys show that the IFP is continually losing black support and that they may no longer represent even the majority of Zulus," said Mr Van Schalkwyk.

"This has apparently convinced Chief Buthelezi that he must turn his attention to the NP support base to neutralise the IFP's loss of Zulu support. We believe this is counter-productive."
Inkatha to defy ban on East Rand march

INKATHA supporters would defy a police ban today and march from Thokoza to Vosloorus, where both the ANC and Inkatha were scheduled to hold June 16 commemorative meetings, Inkatha official Humphrey Ndlova said yesterday.

Ndlova said he had received a report at a peace secretariat meeting that the Inkatha march was to be stopped by police because no permission had been obtained.

Nevertheless, the march would go ahead because Inkatha had been told in the past that no permission was needed for marches proceeding to legal meetings.

Wits-Vaal peace secretariat officials made frantic efforts yesterday to avert potential clashes between Inkatha and ANC supporters on the East Rand.

Secretariat officer David Storey said between 150 and 200 monitors would be deployed in more than 17 areas on the Reef, including Sebokeng, Vosloorus, Krielshog, Thokoza, Soweto and Johannesburg. Inkatha and the ANC would jointly monitor events in Vosloorus and other areas.

The secretariat had convened discussions on preventing violence at which the two parties and the police were represented, he said. Agreements on policing and monitoring of events were being concluded at local level.

Ray Hartley

"We are hoping that people will commemorate the day peacefully and exercise restraint and tolerance. If a situation of conflict does occur, we appeal to people to co-operate with the monitors," he said.

ANC NEC member Harry Gwala would address rallies in Sebokeng, Vosloorus and Tembisa, an ANC spokesman said.

Inkatha Transvaal organiser Temba Kneza was scheduled to address a Vosloorus rally.

ANC President Nelson Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba would address a rally in Orlando Stadium, Soweto, while ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwane would speak at the Johannesburg City Hall.

Police public relations chief Maj-Gen Leon Mallet said police were prepared for any eventuality.

The ANC and Inkatha agreed to monitor rallies jointly in Natal, while the police and peace accord officials would form joint operational centres, Sapa reported.

Reuter reported the ANC’s main Natal rally, at Curries Fountain, would be addressed by Betsy Shabazz, widow of US campaigner Malcolm X.

Drought aid likely to exceed R100m

PRETORIA – Taxpayer support for farmers in drought disaster areas this year amounts to tens of millions of rand and could rise sharply before winter ends.

According to the Agriculture Department’s financial assistance directory, drought aid this year is likely to exceed last year’s R100m, especially if summer rains are delayed.

A National Drought Disaster Committee spokesman said 78 districts had been declared disaster areas. This would increase before the end of winter and probably into summer.

The Red Meat Producers Organisation (RPO) said a third of the 9,000 stock farmers failed to qualify for aid in terms of the stock farmers relief scheme launched this month.

At the end of last week about R60m in this financial year had been paid to 1,715 Karoo stock farmers.

This did not include R15m paid to eastern Cape farmers and R12m to 359 Transvaal farmers.

State stock farmers received another R15m.

To each his own – ANC

DIJK VAN EEDEN

THE ANC would fight for the right of people to be equal and yet remain different, ANC NEC member Abbie Sachs said yesterday.

He told the German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg that even though all citizens of a future SA would have equal rights, there was no single SA culture or way of life and no one would be identical to anyone else.

"We come to the new SA as we are," he said.

The future SA would be pluralistic, with the different cultures enriching the social fabric of the broad SA society.

The ANC believed that different languages and cultures had to be protected in a Bill of Rights. But political mobilisation around these issues would lead to civil strife as had happened in Bosnia.

Regions of a federal state could not be drawn around ethnicity, as ethnicity in SA was not geographically bound.

Sachs said that one of his biggest mistakes was believing that the state could solve all social problems.

Gerard Reilly

Jager said stock farmers were marketing millions of rand worth of breeding stock to survive.

Abattoirs were inundated with stock offerings and prices had sunk to the Meat Board floor price that did not cover production costs.

De Jager said the extent of slaughtering of breeding stock would set the industry back years.

Despite farmers’ distress, meat processors and others in the trade were still importing meat.

The RPO had asked government to raise the import levy and to close loopholes in the system.

Meat Board GM Pieter Kempen said cold storage available to the board was more than 80% full mostly with carcasses lifted from the market at the floor price. He expected pressure to continue at least until end July.

He said the problem was not so much heavy marketing, but lack of consumer demand which had declined steeply in the past few months.
Election date debate proceeds

Inkatha-led walkout jolts talks off track

MULTIPARTY talks were thrown off track yesterday by a walkout by members of the Concerned South Africans Group "to consult their principals" shortly before closure of proceedings and just before scheduled discussion on an election date.

Signs of the impending temporary crisis, which followed a KwaZulu threat to filibuster proceedings, emerged in the morning with an Inkatha/KwaZulu initiative, backed by Cosag, insisting that negotiations be halted until their demands were met.

The debate also became a serious test of the concept of "sufficient consensus", in terms of which decisions are taken.

Inkatha introduced a resolution which ruled out progress according to the agreed agenda. It proposed that negotiations on constitutional principles not proceed until parties were "provided with a clear alternative" concerning unitary versus federal state principles, as well as the processes which would lead to attaining each goal. It said any final determination of an election date would have to wait "until the negotiation council has adopted a final decision on the form of state and on the process on constitutional development which would lead to elections (unanited)"

In a statement to the council, KwaZulu government representative Ben Ngubane warned that if other parties failed to agree they would be "politically responsible for the withdrawal from negotiations by KwaZulu". His group would adopt a "constructive form of filibustering" to get its way.

After a three-hour meeting, the planning committee proposed referring the matter to a technical committee, which failed to satisfy the Inkatha/KwaZulu delegations.

During debate on the Inkatha motion, DP representative Colia Zulu pointed out that precisely the issues of concern to Inkatha would have been debated had the day's agenda not been thrown off course. The only way to get to discussing the form of state would be through a thorough debate on the constitutional principles.

When the proposal came to a vote, it was supported by eight parties, mostly Cosag members, and opposed by 16, including government and ANC blocs and the PAC.

When the chair ruled that the proposal had failed because it had not attained "sufficient consensus", the ruling was challenged by Inkatha/KwaZulu. When appeals by Cosag representatives for an early adjournment (which would have precluded discussion on an election date) were refused, they staged their walkout.

The discussion on an election date proceeded without the six Cosag delegations — Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

All parties present apart from the PAC agreed to put the April 27 election date resolution to a vote the following forum in 10 days' time for debate and finalisation.

Inkatha chairperson Fyank Mdlalose said last night he hoped the walkout was "a hiccup", but added that no firm date for Inkatha's return could be given until a full discussion of the crisis had taken place in the organisation. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha would be "the last people to delay talks".
Mandela, Buthelezi meeting delayed

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon dimmed yesterday when it was disclosed that their organisations had not made enough progress on the ANC's demand for free political activity.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said a preparatory committee, consisting of representatives from his organisation and Inkatha, had made good progress towards reaching agreement on most items for the agenda for the two leaders' meeting.

These included the public display of dangerous weapons, the fencing of hostels and the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The committee had, however, not made substantial progress on the ANC's insistence that the leaders' meeting should discuss free political activity throughout SA, including KwaZulu.

Mamoepa attributed this to the fact that KwaZulu

negotiator Ben Ngubane, a key figure in the discussions, was tied up in multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Hopes for an early meeting between the leaders ran high last week when Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it would be held within a couple of weeks.

However, the organisers, who include Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba, said the date for the meeting would be set only after the two organisations had agreed on the agenda.

Tutu is currently in London for anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston's 85th birthday celebrations. Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall is standing in for Tutu in the organising of the talks.

Buthelezi reaffirmed his willingness yesterday to meet Mandela.

Mamoepa said it was the ANC's view that the meeting should be a product of work done by the preparatory committee. But there was no indication on when a meeting might take place.
No compromise on federalism, says chief

By Brendan Templeton

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night warned, just hours after IFP negotiators walked out of multiracial talks, that his party would not compromise on its federalism demand.

He would not discuss the walkout at a press conference in Johannesburg, saying he had not been briefed on it.

Speaking later at a fund-raising dinner, Buthelezi said regionalism was "quite unacceptably disparate" of the cultural traditions making up our society.

"People should be free to decide if their regional leaders should have powers autonomous of a central government."

He also doubted the ability of opposing parties to co-operate in a constituent assembly.

Instead, he called for an election to be held next year according to guidelines led by grassroots opinion.

But he emphasised that the garnering of that opinion should take place on a regional basis.

"The constitution-making body should have mechanisms which would compel it to implement federalism in a region if its inhabitants opted for it."

"Traditional executive councils were needed to act as watchdogs to ensure that the playing fields were levelled fairly," he added.
IFP to defy ban on Soweto Day march

OWN CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG. — IFP supporters will defy a police ban and march from Thokoza to Vosloorus today, where both the ANC and IFP are scheduled to hold June 16 commemorative meetings, IFP official Mr Humphrey Ndlouv said yesterday.

He said he had received a report at a peace secretariat meeting that the IFP march was to be stopped by police because no permission had been obtained.

The march would, however, go ahead because the IFP had in the past been told that no permission was needed for marches proceeding to legal meetings.

Wits-Vaal peace secretariat staff made frantic efforts yesterday to avert potential clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.

A number of rallies will be held here today including one at Orlando Stadium which will be addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Peter Mokaba.
Mbeki slams IPI's US advisers...
NEWS  Eight killed on C

Cosag back in negotiations

Talks go on at World Trade Centre:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Cosag alliance will return to negotiations at the World Trade Centre today after walking out in protest on Tuesday. Mr Walter Pelgare of the Inkatha Freedom Party confirmed yesterday.

Cosag — made up of the IFP, the governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaner Volksunie — walked out after they failed to push through their proposal that the form of state be agreed upon before an election date is set. Pelgare said yesterday that the form of state was primary and that the IFP and KwaZulu government, as do the other Cosag affiliates, felt that until this was determined it would be futile to continue with talks.

He said Cosag would today propose that the technical committee dealing with constitutional principles should attend expeditiously to the question of federalism and the form of state before talks could proceed.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC yesterday said it was unfair for a single party "to negotiate on the basis that unless its particular proposals are accepted by everybody else it would not continue with further negotiations".
Cosag going back to talks

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

Amid indications that the Concerned South Africans Group was returning to the Negotiating Council today, the majority of its members registered at the World Trade Centre early today.

At 6.45 am only the Conservative Party had not arrived, except for a member of its support staff, Corne Mulder.

Indications last night were that Cosag would return after it staged a walkout on Tuesday.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu governments, Inkatha Freedom Party, and the CP confirmed yesterday that Cosag would arrive at Kempton Park today.

They left the Negotiating Council on Tuesday after a resolution that a federal state be placed on the agenda was not carried.

Today's meeting was scheduled to start at 8.30 but by 9 am the 18-member planning committee was still meeting.

Cosag is likely to reject the election date decision taken by the council after it walked out.

And in another development, which could encourage right-wing participation in the process, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer in Parliament last night confirmed the Government's intention to propose a federal state in which Afrikaans-speakers could exercise self-determination.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Maluleke said last night the party and the KwaZulu Government were "very disappointed" over talks today but the move would not alter the IFP's position.

The IFP insisted that the formation should be based on the outcome of the 1985 elections.

Message of peace... Nelson Mandela greets supporters in Orlando yesterday at the ANC's main June 16 rally, a gathering of its youth league. He told the crowd that negotiations were the only way forward.

Picture: Joao Silva
A battle of wills sets the scene for Cause Husher

ALAN FINE

Edgar Chilling
Inkatha advisers 'obstruct agreement on federalism'

Simon Barber

Washington — ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki yesterday blamed Inkatha's American constitutional advisers for obstructing agreement over the degree of federalism to be contained in a new constitution.

In Washington for talks with the Clinton administration and Congress, Mbeki said the ANC wanted real power to be devolved to elected regional assemblies, but was not prepared to see SA turned into a federation of sovereign entities.

"Thanks to the advice Inkatha gets from white American academics, it is proposing to carve up the country, with each region drafting its own constitution and leaving the central government those powers it doesn't want," Mbeki, who appeared to be referring principally to Prof Alfred Blaustein, said this approach was based on a "historical fiction".

Inkatha and its allies were digging in their heels over the issue as "they don't believe they have the strength to play an important role in central government after elections," he said.

However, Mbeki stressed that the ANC recognised the need for "strong regional governments".

The ANC was ready to discuss the division of powers—which should be exercised "concurrently" by the centre and the regions. He predicted the end result would be a united SA with "federal elements".
Inkatha and allies to return to talks

The Concerned South Africans Group, which staged a walkout of constitutional negotiations on Tuesday, held a series of meetings yesterday to devise a strategy for today's talks.

All six parties that walked out 10 minutes before the end of Tuesday's session have said they would be back at the talks today. But it "would not be plain sailing for the ANC/NP alliance", one Inkatha source said.

A senior government source said its negotiators would not meet Inkatha or KwaZulu delegates in bilateral meetings unless their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was present. This was because assurances that federal principles were still firmly on the table had not reached "the Inkatha strategist and decision-maker".

At Tuesday's talks it was evident that the Inkatha negotiators were under regular and direct instructions from Umlindi.

The Cosag group met last night after an earlier Inkatha executive meeting. Buthelezi also summoned the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a special meeting.

In a statement Buthelezi said the Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations "drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process of constitutional development".

Millions of South Africans did not want to see the negotiations going on for another six years.

He claimed that the constitutional principles under consideration at the talks "will be incompatible with a true federation", with all technical committee reports centred on an interim constitution and a constituent assembly. This process of establishing a final constitution would be

Talks completed only by 1999.

The ANC and government countered this, saying they had informally agreed that the interim phase would last only until April 1996 at the outside.

Buthelezi claimed the future form of state and a federal option had been sidelined by the negotiating council. Inkatha wanted this addressed immediately. Inkatha also wanted the council to consider a single-phase transition where the final constitution was negotiated in the current forum and not finalised by an elected body.

He said the Inkatha alternative would finalise the constitutional process by 1994.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and DP negotiator Colin Eglin said there was no reason for Cosag members to walk out. It was impractical to negotiate a form of state if they would not discuss constitutional principles.

See Page 6
His sin is that he speaks proper Zulu - in Jo'burg

By the end of the match, tensions were so high that conflict could not be avoided. Youths moved outside, and started to attack the cars of Amazulu supporters, while inside, the hostel dwellers had to be herded into the change-rooms for their own protection. "Amazulu amabori! (Zulus can't think)" the comrades were chanting. When we got to the parking lot, we found our minibus had been burnt, along with two others belonging to Amazulu fans. Police with Casspirs had to escort us out of the township.

One Jeppe hostel dweller foresaw what would happen. Speaking on the way to the match, he said: "We're sick and tired of being called Inkatha just because we support our home team. Amazulu belongs to the Zulu king, not (Inkatha leader Mangosuthu) Buthelezi."

Life is becoming increasingly difficult and dangerous for Zulus living in the PWV area, irrespective of whether they belong to Inkatha, the African National Congress, or no political party at all. Most youths in the PWV townships now see no difference between being Zulu and being an Inkatha supporter.

During the recent ANC-Inkatha war in Thokoza-Kutlehong, "Baba" Mazibuko was shot dead and his house was burnt down. According to his Sotho neighbours, with whom he was very popular, he was a traditional Zulu with two wives who wore sikhwaba (skin shirts) and sikholo (grass hats) but he was political. "Most of his friends were traditionalists," said a neighbour. "On weekends they used to sit outside and drink Zulu beer. People were not accepting him because he lived a different life."

Jabu Vilakazi, originally a resident of Soweto, told The Weekly Mail that he and his family had been forced to move to Spruitview on the east Rand because of harassment by "comrades". He and his family were not political, he said, but from 1990 they had been harassed all the same. When an aunt decided to join Inkatha "for protection", youths had arrived at his house and asked for his son. Finding him out, they had then demanded the keys to his van, which they took and burnt.

Said another Zulu-speaker interviewed in Johannesburg, who asked not to be identified: "If a Zulu-speaking person has done wrong, people just take it for granted that he's Inkatha. Some people at work say we get employed because we don't participate in strikes."

Sikhosana Methesele (29), a Zulu-speaking security guard from Zola in Soweto, who described himself as a Christian, said that even long-established township residents like himself were "not trusted".

This is despite the fact that I can speak Sesotho. I often hear people talking about us in the trains."

Soweto resident Fikile Gumede said that he had lived in Soweto for 10 years, but that "things suddenly changed. People in taxis talk bad about us openly. In some sections, like (mainly Venda and Shangaan) Chaitele and (mainly Pedi) Mapela you often hear people say 'ke Inkatha' if you speak Zulu. "Zulu used to be like an official language, but now all that is history. People have turned against us, even though many Zulus are not politically minded." Another man, who asked not to be named, said he had encountered anti-Zulu prejudice when burying his sister last year at Avalon cemetery in Soweto. "There was a commode funeral going on there at the same time. As soon as they heard us speaking Zulu, they started to abuse us."

Soweto taxi driver Themba Mhlongo (23) commented that people were "unkind" whenever violence erupted on the Reef. "I don't have a problem — most drivers are Zulus," he said. "But people sometimes behave differently, especially after incidents like the violence in Thokoza. Zulu schoolchildren are particularly hard hit, as they have to study with young "comrades". "My family was torn apart because of regular threats to my kids. They were forced to leave school; they're staying with relatives in Soweto," said Nombi Mthembu, of Spruitview. Next year she plans to move them to Newcastle in Natal.

The saddest story heard by The Weekly Mail concerned a Zulu-speaking pupil at the multi-racial Kensington Secondary School in Johannesburg. According to Std 7 pupil Bianca Mzobe, a boy there "is being harassed and isolated by other black pupils because they regard him as Inkatha, while he is not. "White kids, they don't understand why he is being isolated because they can't differentiate between our languages. This boy doesn't feel good about what is happening; he says he belongs to the ANC."

Said Bianca, herself Zulu-speaking: "His sin is that he speaks proper Zulu from Durban — now he is trying to change his accent to speak like us. You must be proud of what you are; it is wrong what they are doing."
IFP extends olive branch to Indians

BY FAROUK CHOTIA

CUTTING into the traditional support base of the National Party and Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party this week announced the launch of seven branches in Natal's white areas and, for the first time, set out to woo Indian voters in earnest.

At a meeting of about 2 000 people in the Durban City Hall this week, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi offered an olive branch to Indians, saying they had no reason to fear the IFP.

He tried to shed the IFP's image of being anti-Indian, stating: "Both I and the IFP have been vilified, through blatant lies and propaganda, as anti-Indian. We have been accused of being tribalist, of being narrow Zulu nationalists and of being intolerant of minorities, especially the Asian minority, These are outright lies."

However, a new Indian recruit to the IFP, House of Delegates MP Farouk Cassim, conceded that Inkatha leaders had in the past made anti-Indian statements.

In an interview with The Weekly Mail, Cassim said: "They were spoken at a time of raw emotion. The IFP is now giving us the hand of friendship. We must take it."

At the meeting, attended by a sprinkling of Indians, the IFP announced that it has launched two branches in Indian areas on the North Coast: one in Stanger and the other in Tongaat.

University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) political scientist Professor Douglas Irvine said the IFP's decision to target Indian votes was an "attractive political option. It makes a lot of sense because the Indian community is conservative in large numbers—though it is more likely to go with the NP as guaranteeing them order in the future."

Recently, Buthelezi seems to have concentrated more on addressing white audiences than black—a possible indication that the IFP does not believe there is much prospect of growth in the black community.

Irvine believes Buthelezi would be extremely successful in wooing the white vote in Natal. "There is this very powerful social and political myth that Zulus and whites in Natal understand each other. It could have a major impact (in elections)."

At the mass meeting, Buthelezi was swamped by English-speaking whites as he left the hall. At the request of a white supporter, he even chanted: "We love the boer. We love the farmer."
Mandela set to meet Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to come face to face publicly for the first time in more than two years at a dinner here tonight. A representative of their parties will receive the first Africa Peace Award.

Launched by the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (Accord) and the Africa Leadership Forum, the award will go to the community of Mpu- malanga outside here.
No harm
in IFP tie
— rector

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The newly appointed Unisa rector and adviser to the Inkatha Freedom Party, Professor Marinus Wiechers, does not believe his long association with the IFP will have any impact on his new post.

He said in an interview he was not a member of the IFP or the Broederbond.

He said that directly after the establishment of the Democratic Party, he was a member of the party and its governing body for 12 months, but that his membership had since lapsed.

He admitted to having "come a long way" with the IFP since he served as the chairman of the Buthelezi Constitutional Committee in 1979. "I have a lot of experience and understanding for the region's issues," Wiechers said.

But the Unisa constitutional law professor was adamant that he was not involved in politics. "I am a negotiator. I see myself as a constitutional lawyer and a South African. I don't take political sides. I stand for liberal democratic values."

Wiechers said he hoped there would not be a backlash from Unisa staff and students about his association with the IFP.

He expressed unhappiness with the "unconstitutional positions" adopted by the KwaZulu government and IFP at Tuesday's meeting of the Negotiating Council.

Turning to Unisa, where he has been lecturing for 33 years, Wiechers predicted "many, many changes."

He added: "We will look at the representative nature of its governing bodies. We will launch equal opportunities programmes on a large scale and we will assist with community and literacy programmes."
Negotiators sidestep Cosag delaying move

By Esther Vaugh
Political Correspondent

A second attempt this week by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to flex its muscles in the Negotiating Council was sidestepped yesterday, and the debate on constitutional principles finally got under way.

Attempts were made earlier by Cosag to use procedural issues to delay discussion.

Progress, however, was due only to a compromise resolution leading to a "win-win" situation, said Government negotiator Roelf Meyer.

In terms of the compromise, Cosag's concerns would be considered by the technical committee on constitutional matters while the other 20 parties could get on with discussing constitutional principles.

KwaZulu government negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane described the compromise as a "victory for negotiations".

Cosag walked out of talks on Tuesday after a resolution to place federalism and a single-phase transition on the agenda was not carried.

Senior Government sources last night expressed surprise at the IFP's position this week. The party had previously agreed to a two-phased transition; however, this week it firmly backed a single-phase approach.

Cosag members arrived at the World Trade Centre yesterday had planned to submit to the Negotiating Council statements on self-determination, the form of state, the process of sufficient consensus, and the election date.

Cosag also objected yesterday to sufficient consensus — the form of decision-making in the council — and rejected the proposed election date of April 27.
"Save the farmer, save the Boer" echoed round the Verwoerdburg Town Hall last night with the launching of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Pretoria branch.

About 600 people, including 100 whites, gathered at the hall to launch the new branch and unveil the party's new slogan of "Peace, Prosperity and Prayer".

Hennie Bekker, IFP Transvaal chief co-ordinator and MP for Jeppe, slammed out at the exhumation and burning of IFP organiser Ishmael Wishy Bojozi's body by a mob allegedly including an ANC organiser.

"We demand from the ANC that they investigate and report on this," he said.

He also expressed concern about the ANC Youth League still chanting "Kill the farmer, kill the Boer" at a rally on June 16 after the ANC's executive committee had called for its banning.

Bekker said the IFP - "a slumbering giant which is just waiting for the right moment to awake" - had already started its election campaign.

Referring to this week's walkout by Cosag from the Negotiating Forum at Kempton Park, he said the IFP was not a spoiler, "but it is impossible to set a wedding date without even knowing what the bride looks like".

Proceedings were briefly interrupted when a right-wing leader Fiel Slabbert warned the IFP's Zulu followers to be wary of the whites who had joined their party.

A six-member launch committee for the IFP's Pretoria branch was established under the chairmanship of Tabu Hennis.
IFP, Bop to remain at talks

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in the occupation of the World Trade Centre on Friday, the CP has been told.

IFP assurance

This assurance, made by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje, was given to the CP yesterday.

Conciliatory mood

In a meeting with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, which the IFP said had been planned before rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre on Friday — in Ulundi on Monday, Buthelezi reportedly said the IFP was in “a conciliatory mood” and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League President Faith Gasa, who is a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those roughed up by rightwingers on Friday. Although an IFP source said the CP had apologised “for what happened on Friday”, CP chief negotiator Mr Tom Langley on Monday night denied this and said Buthelezi had accepted the CP was not involved in the fracas. "After the meeting Cosag is now stronger than ever," Langley said.

Cronje said yesterday he also accepted the CP had not been part of the violent invasion of the World Trade Centre and that Bophuthatswana would remain part of Cosag.
'Civil war may be option'

Johannesburg — IFP leader Chief Manke- suthu Buthelezi said yesterday he believed in a federal system for a democratic South Africa and warned civil war might be the only option if this goal was denied.

"I have never believed in violence. I never accepted violence as a way of solving problems. But what will be will be," he was quoted as telling foreign correspondents.

Asked if he was prepared to lead his people in revolt, he replied: "If it is the only option, to lead my people through these dark waters, then it will be the option I will follow."

Later Chief Buthelezi denied he had said he would go to war if a federal system for a democratic South Africa was not adopted.

"What I said was there was already a low-grade civil war in KwaZulu, and that this would get worse if federalism was not considered," he said.

— Sapa
BUSESS BLERIE

The bank's loan program, which was announced earlier this month, will be effective immediately. The bank has set aside $10 million for the program, which will be available to businesses in the area. The program is designed to help businesses struggling with the growing cost of goods and services.

Mandela and Buthelezi fail to meet over dinner

At 17h45 today, Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi were expected to meet at a restaurant in central Durban. However, the meeting was called off at the last minute.

Opinion: The war may be

Civil war in South Africa could be imminent as the political situation becomes more tense. The opposition and the government are on the brink of a confrontation, and the situation could escalate rapidly.

Business Brief

The banking sector has been hit hard by the economic downturn. Bank profits have fallen by 20% in the past year, and many banks are cutting back on lending.

24-hour ultimatum to PAC

The PAC has given its members 24 hours to decide whether to support the movement. The PAC has been struggling to find a clear direction in recent months, and the deadline is seen as a critical moment for its future.
Moments of Levy's and The Horse-Trading

KAZIRE NATISANGA

The news; South Africa might...
Mandela, Buthelezi to meet this week

**Go-ahead for peace talks**

*Star 2/1/83*

**Staff Reporter**

The meeting violence-racked South Africa has been waiting for is to take place near Johannesburg on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that ANC president Oliver Tambo and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to be face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to conduct the meeting with the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Magubane.

The meeting was to have been held in Pretoria, Mr Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties argued the new venue would be more convenient in view of time constraints.

It will be the second meeting since Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 25 in Durban.

Since then, the country has been in a spiral of violence which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers.

Political rivalry between the two parties, however, has been at a low point in the past eight years, during which some 350 people have been killed. The last time was last night.

Mr Allan Pillay's spokesman, told the media last night: "The objective of this meeting is peace."

No details of Wednesday's agenda, decided upon by a joint preparatory committee, have been released, but it is expected that issues such as police withdrawal, autonomy for the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, public display of dangerous weapons and the framing of ballots will be on the list.

"The agenda is still being discussed and has not yet been finalised," Methodist Church General Council said.

"The Anglican Church in South Africa has been receiving requests for a meeting since last week. It was not until the two individuals could solve the complex violence issue that an agenda was finalised, and that unless a meeting was well prepared, it could exacerbate the situation rather than improve it."

The IFP's joint statement, signed by Bishop Raymond Mutsu, Dean of the Anglican Church of the Province, thanked the IFP and the ANC for their "hard work in attempting a solution."

ANC and IFP spokesmen welcomed the news.

**Midwinter chill will linger on**

Sub-zero temperatures between 0 and 4°C will continue this week in the JVM area, raising the winter alert.

It will warm up to a maximum of 24°C in Pretoria today, but the Western Bantu spokesman said the event "would be back over the region again by Thursday."

"The weekend was the coldest in the central interior this winter, with the mercury dropping to below freezing at most places."

The lowest temperature of -5°C was recorded at Tokwana, in the Free State, early yesterday, while Pickford, Hendrik Verwoerd Dam, Bloemfontein and Reitz, also in the Free State, were all below freezing.

It was -4°C in Bloemfontein and Pretoria and the coldest place in the country was in the Bloemfontein region at -5°C.

The weather office warned that it would remain cold for the next few weeks, with the nights tending to drop below freezing at most places.

**Pupil and driver killed in triple smash on N1**

By Peter Davies

A school pupil and the driver of a minibus were killed and a third person injured in a triple-vehicle smash on the N1 concrete freeway near Roodepoort early today.

A Nissan Skyline, a Mercedes and a minibus carrying schoolchildren collided about 1.30 am on the south-bound section of the highway between D.F. Malan Avenue and 14th Avenue.

According to Leicester Laubscher, the Roodepoort Traffic Department, the minibus, while travelling north, crashed into itself and attempted a U-turn through a traffic island.

It collided in the south-bound lane with the two sedans. A child and the male driver of the Skyline were killed. A second pupil was critically injured and 17 others taken to hospital.

Emergency vehicles from Randburg and Roodepoort were sent at the scene and a portion of the freeway was closed while paramedics freed the injured.

**Shopkeeper murdered**

A Portuguese shop owner was stabbed to death outside a shop near Pretoria, in apparent robbery.

The victim, a resident of the area, was killed in the early hours of today. Police said the robbers broke in after the shop was closed and opened fire on the victim.

A neighbouring shop owner found the body lying in a bucket with his head strapped to the bucket. The police were called at about 7.45 am.

The Roodepoort Witness reports that the police were called at about 1.30 am and that the victim was taken to hospital.
INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dispelled doubts that he had reservations about Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu facilitating a meeting between himself and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In an interview on Friday, Buthelezi said he had turned down an invitation to attend a summit of black leaders at Tutu's official residence, Bishopscourt, in November 1990 because of certain views Tutu held.

However, those views had been addressed during Tutu's subsequent visits to Ulundi.

He said he was expecting his meeting with Mandela to take place "within days". Items to be on the agenda had been dealt with by Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

Tutu's spokesman John Allen said the church leaders were waiting to hear from the organisations before announcing a date for the meeting.

At a function — hosted by Randburg mayor Brian Crail — earlier on Friday, Buthelezi took a swipe at ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, saying his "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan "was grossly irresponsible".
Rival leaders to talk on Wednesday

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The meeting which violence-torn South Africa has been waiting for will be held near here on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishops Court, Archbishop Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue as, in view of time constraints, it would be more convenient to hold it near Johannesburg.

It will be the second meeting since Mr Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29, 1991 in Durban.

Since then the country has been in a spiral of violence, which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers.

But political rivalry between the two parties goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15,000 people have been killed.

Archbishop Tutu called on all Anglican bishops to hold a prayer vigil on Wednesday.

The Anglican leader leaves Oslo today and is expected to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow.
the news
in brief

Hangings will not start now

HANGINGS will not resume summarily now that members of Parliament have voted in its favour. A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice confirmed this yesterday. During a special debate and consequent vote on Thursday night, National Party and Conservative Party MPs voted 125 to 55 in favour of lifting the moratorium on hangings, which has been in place since February 2 1990.

Pole held in central Italy

A Polish man armed with a 30cm knife and a tear-gas grenade was arrested yesterday morning in Foligno, central Italy, minutes before Pope John Paul II was due to pass by, Italian police said. The 33-year-old man, whose identity was not been revealed, was arrested on the route laid out for the Pope on a pastoral visit to the central Italian town.

Consumer confidence falls

CONSUMER confidence in South Africa has plummeted to its lowest level in eight years, Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research says in its latest survey released yesterday. According to the survey, Black consumer confidence also dropped to its lowest level since 1986.

Date set for talks

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will meet for talks chaired by Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Wednesday, according to a statement from the Methodist Church and the Church of the Province yesterday. The meeting is expected to focus primarily on the ongoing violence between IFP and ANC supporters in Natal.

Cold spell will remain

THE Weather Bureau yesterday reported that it will remain cold for the next few weeks with temperatures remaining well below freezing at most and at least for the next few days. - Sapa
Tutu returns for ANC, IFP summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is in Pretoria to hold talks with the IFP leader, Chief Buthelezi. Tutu is going to the meeting with an rather large delegation from his church. The talks are expected to be productive and a resolution is likely to be reached. The meeting is expected to take place tomorrow. 

The meeting comes a day after the IFP and the ANC arrived at an agreement which paved the way for the talks. The agreement was reached after a series of informal discussions between the two leaders. The talks are expected to be productive and a resolution is likely to be reached. The meeting is expected to take place tomorrow. 

The meeting comes a day after the IFP and the ANC arrived at an agreement which paved the way for the talks. The agreement was reached after a series of informal discussions between the two leaders. The talks are expected to be productive and a resolution is likely to be reached. The meeting is expected to take place tomorrow.
Buthelezi, Mandela agree to meet

INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela have agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks," Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced yesterday.

He said in a statement the meeting, to be held at his official residence 'Bishopscourt', would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and himself. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate said he hoped the meeting would happen within the next few weeks.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at Pietermaritzburg. I then met Mr Mandela at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee."
Big money, big talk in poll stakes

SOUTH Africa’s first all-in election, tentatively scheduled for April 27, will be a mega-bucks affair.

And, judging by the optimistic predictions — sometimes bordering on the incredible — the different political parties and organisations have been making, it seems that South Africans will have to cast multiple votes if the parties are to get what they each hope for.

Indications are that the historic election will be the dirtiest and most acrimonious.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress plan an all-out attack on the National Party’s abysmal apartheid record and gross human rights violations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party will be portrayed as a puppet of the Government, and the 1991 “inkathagate” scandal will not help matters.

The ANC will be haunted by allegations of torture and widespread human rights violations in its camps in exile, despite its two commissions of inquiry into the claims.

The albatross around the PAC’s neck will be the attacks by its armed wing on white civilians, even though this is not likely to cause much damage to the organisation since it is difficult to conceive of whites who will be queuing up to cast their votes for it.

The election will be expensive, with most contestants planning to spend liberally.

Most ambitious is the PAC, which hopes to raise R130 million for the election, 50 percent of which will be used on the big day itself. Secretary-general Benny Alexander says the PAC will have more than 900 “precinct commanders” working in each township in the country, and will need an estimated 190 000 volunteers to do door-to-door canvassing.

Next in the big-money stakes is the ANC, which hopes to raise between R168 million and R260 million, and the IFP, which plans to amass between R160 million and R170 million, a third of which will be for head office expenses.

As ANC election “general” Popo Molele explains, the ANC will recruit 180 000 election volunteers as “foot soldiers”, and will have one volunteer for every 100 voters.

The NP, which has a superb election machinery and the advantage of being an incumbent in office, does not need as much money, according to chief information director Piet Coetzee. The party believes R160 million will be enough to launch a nationwide blitz.

More modest is the Democratic Party, which believes R15 million will enable it to poll enough votes to remain a significant player in a government of national unity.

The Azanian People’s Organisation, on the other hand, has no illusion that it can raise more than R1 million, and therefore plans to put pressure on the Government to fund it from the public purse and return to it R2 million confiscated from Black Consciousness organisations when they were banned in October 1977.

Some of the parties make bold predictions about their chances at the polls.

The ANC expects to win the election convincingly, and has no doubt it will poll not less than 60 percent of the vote. The NP hopes to emerge from the election as “the biggest single party”, says Coetzee, and the PAC is convinced it will be the majority party after the election, according to Alexander.

Despite Azapo’s huge financial handicap, deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa says it “would not fear that our people will not support us in an election”.

Surprisingly, the IFP is much more realistic than the others, with chief executive officer Joe Matthews revealing that it aims to get about 26 percent of the national vote. However, the IFP will go all out to ensure it wins “sufficient support” in KwaZulu-Natal so that it can form a government alone or in a coalition in the area.

Also realistic is the DP’s Ken Andrew, who says his party expects to poll around 16 percent of the vote, 25 percent of the white vote, 40 percent of the coloured and Indian vote, and 10 percent of the black vote.

The Afrikaner Volksunie’s Moolman Mentz says it is “too early” for his party to grant interviews about its election plans as it is not yet clear whether the election will be for a unitary state, a federal system or a confederation.

The Conservative Party is opposed to an inclusive general election, and wants a separate state with sovereign powers for whites.
New MECs take office

PRETORIA — New members were sworn in as members of their provincial executive committees in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal yesterday.

At the inauguration ceremony for the four Transvaal members — Loretta Chaukenyane of Soweto, Lebo Mothiba from Lebowa, Lucas Nel of Pretoria and former journalist Pieter Koeitz — Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough said the executive committee had been increased to 18 members. (See story on Page 5)

Natal Dan Makhanya and Roelof Redinger were welcomed as members of the executive committee by Natal Administrator Con Botha.

And in the Cape, Martha Dicks, former President’s Council member and a government negotiating team member, has become the first female Cape provincial member of the executive committee.

Dicks was sworn in by Deputy Judge-President J.F. Fagan at the Cape Provincial Administration offices yesterday.

She takes over the Tourism, Nature Conservation and Museums portfolio.

Buthelezi outlines hopes for meeting

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he hoped that his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow would contribute towards defusing violence between members of their organizations.

Asked whether he wanted the meeting to result in joint strategies to curb violence, Buthelezi said he and Mandela had agreed at their meeting in Durban in 1991 on the necessity of good joint strategies.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the meeting of the two leaders would send out a signal to their followers, which should start “moving them towards bringing down violence”.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that Schoeman said: “We would like them to recommit themselves to peace to make it possible for their followers to be more tolerant.”

“It would be a major achievement if their meeting helps to bring down the level of violence.”

The two leaders will meet in Johannesburg at a venue still to be disclosed by church leaders.

The meeting will be chaired by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who is arriving from London today, and Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The question of joint rallies by the two leaders will also be discussed.

Buthelezi has said he expects the meeting to last more than one day.

The agenda for the meeting had not been finalised by yesterday. But the ANC has said the meeting should discuss among other things — Inkatha’s insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded, the fencing of hostels and the public display of dangerous weapons.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu was upbeat yesterday about prospects for the meeting. PAC leader had tried for some time to persuade Mandela and Buthelezi to agree to the meeting, he said.

“We wish them well. This is what we have been striving for all along.”

DP leader Zach de Beer said Mandela and Buthelezi had to show that they were capable of rising above party loyalties.

It was crucial that they put the interests of the nation first “because their followers are so heavily involved in the ghastly violence”. He added: “The eyes of SA and the world will be on them this week. If they can meet the challenge, they will have deserved high places in the new SA.”

NP media liaison director Mathilnus van Schalkwyk said yesterday both leaders had the ability to provide strong leadership on the issue of violence if they refrained from using the event for party political advantage.
A case of balderdash and Buthelezi-bashing

I AM amazed at the lengths to which Buthelezi-bashers are prepared to go. An example is Billy Paddock’s article “Buthelezi the unpredictable” (Business Day, June 18).

It is balderdash to say the stand taken by the KwaZulu government delegation at the negotiation council on June 15 was directly from me. Since multiparty negotiations began in April, the delegation made it clear that the first issues to be resolved were the form of state and government. The technical committee, clearly under manipulation, was sweeping these issues under the carpet.

These issues were discussed by the IFP central committee on June 12. Our delegation was given clear mandates by the central committee (not just by me) to raise the issue of the form of state before it completely disappeared. On June 14 the issue was discussed at Cosag at its meeting in Pretoria. It was emphasised to all Cosag delegations that this issue had to be raised the following day.

I see nothing unpredictable in all this. Consultations were democratic and involved the collective wisdom of all concerned — not just the decision of Buthelezi.

On June 17 I received a copy from President F W de Klerk a letter in which he assured me they were on our side on the federal formula issue. I also received a copy of Reolof Meyer’s resolution at the negotiating council on June 17 which was passed unanimously by the same council which rejected a similar resolution just two days before. Meyer’s resolution contradicts Paddock’s argument that the issue was now on the table.

As a hard-hitted politician, I accept that one must be criticised, even severely. But lies and calculated vilification campaigns are unacceptable. I am accused of trying to deprive De Klerk and the ANC of the “kudos” of announcing major progress in talks when they visit Philadelphia. Paddock states as fact that “it is known that Buthelezi was livid over the awards” given to Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. I challenge Paddock and Business Day to state where, when, and to whom I expressed this anger.

I wish to assure Business Day that I spend no sleepless nights over its allegation that I felt excluded because of the September 26 so-called record of understanding. We objected as a party, and formed Cosag to oppose the imposition of ANC/NP bilateral decisions on SA.

Nothing will stick which does not have the blessing of all parties. This is a question of democracy. All these years we opposed the white government’s unilateral rule. We will not accept it now merely because this time they are partnered by the ANC/ SACP alliance.

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

I am the most consistent politician in this country. All the ideas I have about the future of this country date back more than two decades. I cannot understand what is so unpredictable about me. I have rejected the armed struggle and sanctions for more than three decades. I started negotiations two decades ago.

I have often stated that I do not mind if the election is held this year, so long as the first things have come first — agreements on constitutional principles, a full Bill of Rights and the issue of regions, their functions, boundaries and their entrenched in the constitution.

I regret that Paddock did not ask me what I thought, rather than relying on this cheap thumbling and disinformation from my political enemies. As a black who has faced the ordeal of having white men tell me what I think and want all my life, I never thought I would be subjected to this sort of thing even as we poised to enter a new SA.

The person to whom Paddock spoke in the IFP delegation was, in any case, absent from both the central committee and Cosag meetings to which he referred.

We held some of the biggest marches seen in many cities in our region on May 15. The people gave us their leaders, the message that they want the issue of federation and form of state dealt with as priority issues. All I do is try to carry out my constituency’s wishes.

It is the media which has repeatedly suggested that if we do not rubberstamp ANC/NP bilateral agreements we should be left out of the negotiations. I appeal to Business Day, and to the media in general, to be constructive and to help the peace and negotiating processes.

BILLY PADDOCK replies: Mr Buthelezi makes a number of errors of fact. First, the text of KwaZulu delegate Ben Ngubane’s speech was clearly marked as having been faxed from the Umzimkhulu office of Buthelezi’s adviser Mario Ambrosini on the day it was delivered — June 15. Inkatha and the KwaZulu delegations also phoned Ulundi from the talks before they walked out.

Second, my article clearly states that the negotiating forum, including Inkatha and KwaZulu, decided that the best way of dealing with the form of state was in conjunction with looking at the constitutional principles, which the technical committee has unanimously reinforced.

Thirdly, Buthelezi has been wronged, informed. It was his two delegations, Inkatha and KwaZulu, and not the negotiating council, that rejected Meyer’s resolution and then accepted it two days later.

Finally, having failed for three months to secure an interview with Buthelezi, I asked Ambrosini and Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos for comment last Tuesday on the matters raised. I am still awaiting a reply.
‘SADF hid facts about Zulu training’

Goldstone report says De Klerk was not given full details about camp in Caprivi

The SADF told the commission that at the beginning of 1988, the Army was approached by the KwaZulu authorities about security. The training was financed from the Defence Budget secret account.

Although none of the trainees became SADF members, the SADF paid their salaries. After six months’ training, they returned to KwaZulu and had no direct contact with the SADF.

The report said: “The evidence as to the activities of the trainees after their return to KwaZulu is highly unsatisfactory. The probability is that the majority of them were kept idle.”

“The majority are still employed by the KZP.”

The Goldstone Commission had received information linking the Caprivi trainees with recent violence and intimidation.

“The secret training in the Caprivi in 1986 is unfortunate and has added to the suspicion and perceptions of political bias on the part of the KZP and SADF,” the Goldstone report said.

It said there was “a grave error of judgment on the part of the SADF.”

“The secrecy of the project had the consequence that very few members or senior officials of the KwaZulu government or police were aware of the project and thus led to the inefficiency and lack of control which were the hallmarks of the whole exercise.”

WINTER SOLSTICE:

Yesterday was the shortest day of the year and this scene, outside Johannesburg on Monday, shows graphically that temperatures were below freezing.

3 in court after baby ‘buried alive’

Ambush killing of brothers:

Four in court

The Argus Correspondent
Buthelezi, Mandela
talk at secret venue

By Shirley Woodgate

A silent prayer swept across South Africa this morning as Manto Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela met face to face on the East Rand for crucial talks.

The two started their talks, brokered by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, under stringent security which saw even the location of the meeting kept secret.

On the agenda — as bloody violence flared in Natal and from Khayelitsha to Kateshong — was peace.

A smiling Nelson Mandela arrived early to be greeted by the two church leaders.

Be said: "There is a will on the part of both the IFP and the ANC to make a breakthrough and put an end to the killings. Our leaders have called and we have responded."

Archbishop Tutu said after entering the conference room that both leaders were on the same side in opposing apartheid.

"Both wanted a democratic solution; now they could demonstrate to the world that they were allies.

Shortly afterwards, the IFP delegation, including Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and Walter Felgate, arrived to be warmly greeted by both clerics.

Next to arrive was Cyril Ramaphosa.

Buthelezi received the same exuberant greeting from Tutu and Mogoba and said his meeting with Mandela was more than symbolic. He said the present situation was vastly different from that in 1991. Although the IFP was poles apart from the ANC politically there was still no reason for their supporters to kill each other.”

Beat him, brother... ANC president Nelson Mandela takes time off yesterday to wish Dingaan Thobela well for his world title fight against defending World Boxing Association champion Tony Lopez on Saturday. Report — Page 30.

Picture: Karen Sandison
Mandela, Buthelezi summit venue 'secret'

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet today to discuss rivalry between their organisations, but journalists have been asked not to make public the venue of their meeting.

Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said today's meeting would centre on the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC and their leaders.

Methodist Church of SA spokesman Ms Ruth Coglin and meeting co-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba said the clergy who brokered the meeting did not want the venue disclosed for security reasons.
‘SADF kept Inkatha info from FW’

By Martin Challenor
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The SADF did not give President de Klerk the full facts about its training of 200 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, the Goldstone Commission has said.

Mr Justice Goldstone’s report on the training at the Hippo camp was released today.

The IFP supporters were recruited by MZ Khumalo, who was then the personal assistant to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the report said.

Brigadier Mathe, then Acting Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police (KZP) told the commission that at the beginning of 1986 the army was approached by the KwaZulu authorities about security in KwaZulu since it did not have an adequate security intelligence structure or adequately trained personnel. “The requirement was to train people for the protection of the Chief Minister, other VIPs, protection of buildings and the gathering of intelligence.”

The training was financed out of the Defence Budget secret account.

Besides weapons training, recruits learnt how to “educate the broad public and make them less vulnerable to intimidation and the activities of insurgents…”

Although none of the trainees became SADF members, the SADF paid their salaries. The secrecy of their training was impressed upon them. After six months training, they returned to KwaZulu and had no further direct contact with the SADF.

The report said that because of administrative and financial problems, the KZP were unable to incorporate most of the trainees before June 1989.

“The SADF continued to pay salaries to the recruits until their incorporation into the KZP. Bridging finance for that purpose was paid by the SADF to the KwaZulu authorities over a seven month period in 1989.”

Unsatisfactory

The report said: “The evidence as to the activities of the trainees after their return to KwaZulu is highly unsatisfactory. The probability is that the majority of them were kept idle. A small number were used for the protection of Dr Buthelezi and IFP offices.”

When the matter became public in consequence of disclosures in the Weekly Mail, the SADF informed the State President that the purpose of the training of about 150 Zulus was for security and VIP protection. This does not reflect the full picture. Had the full extent and wide-ranging nature of the training been disclosed at the time, the negative result of the information which subsequently came to light would have been averted, the report said.

There was no evidence at all to suggest that the SADF provided the training to help establish “hit squads.”

However, “the nature of some of the training: the secrecy of the project; the lack of candour when the truth began to emerge and the connection of trainees with acts of public violence continue to fuel the perception that the SADF was assisting the KwaZulu government and that IFP leaders built a private hit squad facility for use against the UDF and later the ANC.”

Although some Caprivi trainees could be involved in some current acts of violence there was no evidence to suggest that such involvement was a direct result of the training they received at the Caprivi, the report said.

The inquiry was made necessary by the secrecy of the training and the unwillingness of the people involved to invoke public disclosure when the inevitable leaks began to emerge.

The commission said it was the people involved who created the secrecy and kept from the public what was being done with public funds who were responsible for incorrect inferences that other peoples drew.
Row erupts on eve of municipal by-election

By Cyril Madlala

With only a few hours to go to the Johannesburg municipal by-election in Malvern/Kensington, a bitter row over canvassing tactics erupted between Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker and independent candidate Barry Dunne.

At the centre of the storm are four letters published in a local newspaper, all backing Dunne, to take over from Richard MacArthur (National Party) who has emigrated to Germany.

Bekker's wife, Gerda, is contesting today's election with Dunne and Tony Wasserman (NP) in what could be an important test of white support for the IFP.

Yesterday, a pamphlet signed by Bekker was distributed door-to-door in the area. He said this was a bid to "level the playing field" after the Bedfordview and Edenvale News published readers' letters supporting Dunne.

He said the appearance of the letters was not predetermined, orchestrated and malicious attempts to boost the image of Dunne to the prejudice of other candidates.

Dunne dismissed the pamphlets as "typical political propaganda," which did not worry him as he had nothing to prove to the voters.

"They know my character and my record, and I have nothing to gain out of this election but a humble seat in the city council," he said.

But Bekker insisted that the letters, submitted by individual ratepayers, created the impression that they expressed the viewpoint of the ratepayers' association.

In addition, at least one letter was not even drafted by the person who submitted it, he claimed, but he refused to identify the signatory.

"We are going to win tomorrow, and it is going to be the most historic day in South Africa because it is the IFP's first participation in an all-white election," said Bekker.

The result would prove that contrary to opinion polls, the IFP was not being marginalised, he said.

Dunne said he had had no influence on the writing of the letters and no say in the running of the newspaper that carried them.

"I am astounded by Bekker's interference. It is obvious that Mrs. Bekker should have addressed the articles, and it only proves how politicians want to dictate the way we live," Dunne said.

Gerda Bekker was not available for comment.

● The polling station at Malvern Primary School is open from 7 am to 9 pm.
They've met

TALKS START: ANC president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and FPL leader, Mr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today began their talks to end the violence in South Africa.

Johannesburg — A silent jumper swept across South Africa today. Mr. Nelson Mandela met with Mr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the FPL, in an effort to bring peace to the country.
Hopes high for peace

Sowetan 23/6/93

OPES for peace and a reduction in the level of violence are pinned on today’s summit between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi.

The two leaders begin crucial talks outside Johannesburg today in yet another bid to stem the carnage among their supporters.

Some 15,000 people have died since the early 1980s, mainly in Natal, as members of the two groups have battled it out over political turf.

Since the weekend, at least 45 people have lost their lives in horrific violence in Natal, adding greater impetus to the meeting.

Since Mandela’s release in 1990, the two leaders have met twice.

They first met on January 29, 1991 at Durban’s Royal Hotel, after which they again held discussions, also in Durban, in April that year “to iron out personal differences”, an ANC southern Natal spokesman said.

But both meetings failed to halt the inter-ethnic violence.

The latest indaba, brokered by church leaders and to be chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist President Bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, will be held behind closed doors at an East Rand church venue.

The agenda is not known but pressing issues that have emerged over the years include the IFP’s insistence that the ANC’s armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, be disbanded and the ANC’s demands for free political activity in KwaZulu, banning the carrying of “dangerous weapons” in public and the fencing-off of hostels.

Until now the ANC has spurned IFP calls for a further face-to-face presidential meeting, charging that the violence in Natal was far too complex for the two individuals to clear up.

On the other hand, the IFP insists that a joint meeting would send a strong signal to supporters of both organisations to end the killing.

The IFP further says a series of joint rallies by Mandela and Buthelezi would cement the initial agreement emanating from a personal meeting.

The meeting has instilled much hope in major political parties across the spectrum.

Most have welcomed the impending talks, with the Government saying the meeting would send a firm message to the ANC and IFP supporters.

However, not all share the fervour the meeting has engendered.

Head of the Centre for African Studies Mr Eugene Nyathi expressed scepticism that a mere meeting would call ANC-IFP supporters to order at grassroots level.

“I am sceptical that anything other than just symbolism will be served by this meeting. I have a feeling both parties recognise very little will be achieved although they must see the public relations value of attending such talks.”

Tutu’s spokesman, Mr John Allen, said: “The objective of the meeting is peace.” — Sapa.
Election still a sticking point

Pledge to 
renew quest for tolerance

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday recommitted themselves to taking urgent measures to ensure political tolerance among members of their organisations.

They also committed themselves to working towards the establishment of impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA.

But they spent a large part of the meeting disagreeing on whether April 27 1994 should be ratified yet as a date for SA's first nonracial elections.

Mandela said the ANC would continue to persuade Inkatha to accept the date, and Buthelezi reiterated Inkatha's position that a date should not be set until there was agreement on constitutional principles.

In a joint statement, read by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the end of the nine-hour meeting at the Kempton Park conference centre, they said they committed themselves to creating a climate of political tolerance.

"Both the ANC and Inkatha recognise the right of people to assemble and give expression to their grievances and that they support provided that such manifestations are in keeping with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord."

They agreed that when either party convened a demonstration, protest or any form of mass action, it would ensure that:

☐ It had given priority to the need to promote peace;
☐ The action would avoid deliberate provocation, damage or injury;
☐ All reasonable steps would be taken to ensure no weapons were carried with unlawful intent;

☐ Peace accord structures would be kept fully informed;
☐ Good faith negotiations would occur with all relevant parties and the security forces regarding the proposed action; and
☐ Provision would made for effective communication between relevant parties during and after the action.

To promote "healthy and constructive interaction" between their organisations, they committed themselves to "strengthen and expedite the work of the joint liaison structures between our two organisations". The structures would monitor the implementation of the agreed programme.

The two leaders pledged themselves to the holding of joint rallies and agreed that a meeting of signatories to the peace accord should be convened urgently.

On armed formations, they said violence and legitimate law enforcement should be addressed in the context of the transition, and committed themselves to making constructive contributions to negotiations on multiparty control of armed formations.

Tutu and Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba were enthusiastic about the meeting, which they said took place in a spirit of mutual respect. Mogoba said the meeting had laid the foundations for the resolution of problems.

Mandela said "active steps" would be taken to ensure that the agreements would filter down to grassroots level, while Buthelezi said although violence would not end overnight, the meeting's "symbolism" would contribute to peace efforts.
Chief's speech
wor(t)ld record

JOHANNESBURG.—
IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has
made it into the 1994
Guinness Book of Re-
cords for delivering the
longest speech, it was re-
ported yesterday.

He delivered the
tongue-crippling address
to the KwaZulu Legisla-
tive Assembly between
March 12 and 29.

Chief Buthelezi spoke
for 11 days, averaging 2½
hours a day. — Sapa
Tensions eased, but SA poll date remains unresolved problem

Big 2 may bury the hatchet

City/National
Negotiating forum delay

Johannesburg. — The failure of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to agree yesterday on an election date led to the negotiating forum being postponed for a second time this month.

It is scheduled to meet tomorrow.

Instead, it is likely to meet in a week's time, with a commitment from all parties to make sufficient progress so that the forum can decide on a date and the process of writing a final constitution.

At the multi-party talks yesterday, the PAC refused to clarify its position on suspending the armed struggle, blaming the media for "causing the confusion".

PAC delegate Ms Patricia de Lille, when called on by NP delegate Dr Dawie de Villiers to clarify the PAC's position, said the government was "overreacting to our statement last night and as we will be meeting them tomorrow there is no need to deal with it here".

However, the council decided it was necessary for the PAC to respond.

Claiming the media created the confusion, she said: "We are not prepared to answer to any reports by the media, which is in any case owned by the government or the liberal press."
DIS VONAGE TRAGEDY

SUMMIT: TANG Tsaon's President of Mission Message and Fll.

TALL GRIP

PROJECT CORRESPONDENT

Diplomat's Message to Peace of the East and West

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for election

Hope after

leaders meet

Still no date

Democratic elections.

South Africa's first
democratic elections.

Chief Magistrate

clash and public order

JOHN WICKS - 12the Herald - December 5, 1994
Caprivi training: FW kept in dark

Pretoria — The SADF had not fully informed President F W de Klerk of the secret training of 200 Inkatha supporters undergone at a Caprivi camp in 1988, the Goldstone commission has found.

In a report published yesterday, the commission said information passed on to De Klerk by the SADF, and known by Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Minister of Police Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "did not reflect the full picture".

The investigation into the "Hippo base" trainees was launched in February last year following allegations that, with SADF backing, they had embarked on hit squad activities against ANC-aligned organisations.

The commission said the full extent and wide-ranging nature of the training had not been disclosed to De Klerk, who had been told the purpose of training "about 150 Zulus" was "for security and VIP protection".

The secrecy of the project had fuelled the perception that the SADF was helping KwaZulu Police and Inkatha to build a private hit squad facility, the report said.

While the commission found no evidence that the SADF had provided training with the specific purpose of establishing hit squads, the inference could be drawn that the 200 trainees were not trained solely for VIP protection", the report said.

The commission pointed to a number of aspects uncovered during the investigation which described as highly unsatisfactory.

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W TO GET FACTS LIFE IN
Shake to end bloodshed

on Peace

By Serial Alienator

peace
Training of soldiers criticised

South Africa 24/6/93

The secret training in the Caprivi by the SA Defence Force of 200 Inkatha supporters was unfortunate and added to the suspicion and perception of political bias by the KwaZulu police and the SADF. (B. P)

This view is contained in the Goldstone Commission report, released yesterday, of the inquiry into allegations concerning front companies of the SADF and the training by the army of Inkatha supporters in the Caprivi in 1986.

Hit squads

There was no evidence to suggest that the SADF provided the training for "hit squads" being established, the report said.

However, the nature of some of the training, the secrecy of the project, the lack of candour when the truth began to emerge and the connection of trainees with acts of public violence all continued to fuel the perception that the SADF was assisting the KwaZulu government and IFP leaders in building a private hit squad facility to use against the UDF and later the ANC. — Sopa
Inkatha gains 'NP voters'

GAVIN DU TOIT

INKATHA was eroding the white support base of the NP, independent candidate Gerda Bekker said yesterday after losing a municipal by-election to another independent candidate.

Bekker, however, soundly beat NP hopeful Tony Wasserman, 2,512 to 1,312.

The Malvern/Kensington by-election was won by independent Barry Dunne, with 630 votes. Bekker received 350 votes while Wasserman managed only 212 in the 23% poll.

The by-election was called to replace NP councillor Richard MacArthur who moved abroad recently.

Bekker said although she campaigned as an independent, it was a "fully fledged Inkatha campaign" using party slogans.

Bekker, who is married to Henkle, a former NP MP who recently broke ranks to become an Inkatha MP, said the slump in support for the NP in what had been one of its "traditional strongholds" showed that whites were losing faith in the party.

Dunne said he thought many of Bekker's votes came from former "staunch NP supporters".
Inkatha slams CP call for white homeland

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA's Joe Matthews yesterday shook the Concerned South Africans Group by telling the CP it was at the negotiations for the wrong reasons. "It must take a lot of patience for a lot of us here that right now we are not discussing the freedom of blacks but rather the freedom of whites. The basic reason we are here is to determine the emancipation of the black majority," he said.

This followed an impassioned plea from CP delegate Panie Jacobs who said his demand for an Afrikaner homeland should be looked upon favourably. Matthews said Afrikaners had been in power for more than 40 years and did not partition a separate white homeland. "The Thomlinson commission looked at the issue and Verwoerd rejected partition."

He said the only reason a white homeland was becoming an issue was because of impending democracy. "We have to face the fact that the majority of people in the country are impatient with the idea of breaking up the South African state."

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo argued that the council should not hold out false hopes for the CP. "This council will not sanction an ethnic state."

Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that government and the PAC would hold another bilateral meeting on Monday at the request of the PAC in a bid to resolve their differences, Sapa reports. The two parties adjourned their talks yesterday to allow the PAC to consult its principals.

"They are not ready to respond to our questions," a senior government source said yesterday.

*See Page 4*
IFP, ANC engage in political horse-trading

This week's 10-hour summit between African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had more to do with efforts to find a constitutional accommodation than with peace.

It is unlikely the meeting will have an impact on the carnage in Natal and the Reef, but it has paved the way for bilateral talks on constitutional issues between the ANC and the IFP.

IFP sources said this week that the organisation was prepared to accept April 27 as an election date, even though this seemed the major sticking point at Wednesday's summit, and to concede the ANC's demand for a Transitional Executive Council. It might even participate in an ANC-led government of national unity.

But this would be in exchange for ANC acceptance of IFP proposals for a federal system of government.

The trade-offs are expected to take place in a series of bilateral talks in the run-up to a meeting of the negotiating council next week.

Significantly, Buthelezi was flanked by his top constitutional negotiators and advisors, including Joe Matthews, Frank Mdhlalose, Walter Fiegela, Ben Ngubane and Suzanne Vos, central committee member Velaphi Ntlou was the only person in the IFP team involved in Natal peace talks. He

The meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi may have had little to do with peace, but it went some way towards resolving constitutional problems.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

serves on the Natal/kwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

Mandela did not have a single Natal representative on his delegation. Instead, he took chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise and three Johannesburg ANC leaders involved in peace talks — Jacob Zuma, Sydney Maphamadi and Bheleka Kgositsile.

This has fuelled speculation that the real purpose of the meeting was to pave the way for the ANC and IFP to find common constitutional ground, rather than getting bogged down in historic disputes over violence.

The militant ANC Natal Midlands region cautiously welcomed the announcement of bilateral talks.

On peace, both sides seem to be pinning their hopes on the National Peace Accord and agreed that its signatories should meet soon.

With 38 Nataliand having died last weekend, the Natal/kwaZulu RDRC announced a meeting of all Peace Accord signatories in the Natal Mid-

lands sub-region for next month.

Meetings of the northern and southern Natal sub-regions would follow.

The Mandela-Buthelezi indaba failed to produce any new peace proposals. Instead, they recommitted themselves to freedom of political activity; that no areas would be no-go zones for either the ANC or IFP and that they would seek to ensure their followers did not carry weapons in public, except on cultural occasions.

The summit, however, failed to break the deadlock around the key issue of an election date, with Buthelezi sticking to his guns that there should first be agreement on constitutional principles.

IFP sources later indicated that they were prepared to make concessions to the ANC. Mandela's decision to meet Buthelezi had facilitated this process.

"If federalism and devolution of power are addressed, we have no problem with the proposed election date," said a source.

In private, other IFP sources suggested they may also compromise on their demand that the multi-party negotiating forum draft a future constitution. The sources said the IFP now accepted that a transitional executive would be installed as a forerunner to an election for a constituent assembly.

The IFP rejected the concept of a government of national unity, but was willing to change its stance, he added.
Goldstone’s punch falls short

Despite strong evidence, a report by the Goldstone Commission reserves judgment on the involvement of the security forces in a ‘third force’.

By STEPHEN LAUFER

THE Goldstone Commission has issued a major report on security force involvement in violence and murder in South Africa. The report, which was published on Thursday, is the first major report on the issue to be released in the country.

The report, entitled “The Role of the Security Forces in Violence and Murder in South Africa”, was released by the Commission on Thursday.

The Commission, which was established by the South African government in 1994, published its first major report on the issue in 1998.

The report was based on an investigation into the role of the security forces in violence and murder in South Africa, and was released in 1998.

The Commission was established in 1994 by the South African government to investigate the role of the security forces in violence and murder in South Africa.

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The Commission found that the security forces were involved in violence and murder in South Africa, and that they had a significant role to play in the country’s history.
'Scene set for new pledge for peace'

THE meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had opened the way for a long-awaited meeting of national peace accord signatories, senior peace officials said yesterday.

'Peace committee chairman John Hall and peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said in a statement that the encounter had signalled a "fresh commitment to peace".

"The scene has been well and truly set for a meeting of all signatories of the accord to follow the example of Mandela and Buthelezi to reaffirm their commitment to the principles laid down in the document and to the urgent implementation of measures to topple the barriers to peace," they said.

"The peace officials noted that most of the points agreed on by the two leaders were contained in the peace accord.

"Agreement on the prohibition of the carrying of dangerous weapons at political meetings is welcomed, as are the provisions laid down relating to political gatherings such as marches and rallies."
The consensus before the Wednesday meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi was that both had too much to lose politically by not showing tangible gains when they emerged. It was felt that planners must have prepared a minimum position, which they could agree on and press as progress.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande cautioned that expectations in his violence-ridden region were not high. He felt there was a risk of the meeting damaging Mandela’s image and concerned that the summit would cloud the real causes of violence, which he believes are still apartheid-linked. Nzimande also noted the similarity between the run-up to this and the previous ill-fated one, which failed to stop violence.

But the University of Natal’s Mervyn Proops believes substantial agreement must have been reached beforehand. The two would, he thought, have two separate agendas, one public and the other confidential. The problem, with their first meeting in Durban, was that there was no structured plan. The three Methodist, Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu would have done much homework.

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Summit fuels peace hopes in ANC, IFP

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

The summit between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi was warmly welcomed yesterday and appears poised to reap results in violence-ravaged Natal.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said the talks between the ANC president and IFP leader had "undoubtedly given invaluable impetus to the peace process".

The joint commitment by the leaders after their 9½-hour Kempton Park meeting to "bury the past" and maintain ongoing lines of communication had the potential to remove a "huge obstacle on the way forward", Hall said.

Campaign

"Furthermore, their appearance on joint platforms around the country — especially at community level — will publicly reinforce this resolve."

In the first indication of movement at regional level as a result of the meeting, the ANC's southern Natal branch vowed to start a peace campaign to support the agreements.

Dumisani Makhaya of the ANC region's department of information and publicity said the organisation would be seeking regional meetings with the IFP, business community and church leaders in the drive for peace.

"While we welcome the meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi, we are saying it must go further," he urged.

Makhaya's sentiments were shared by Ed Tillet of the IFP's information centre in Durban.

He told The Star the IFP was "without a doubt committed to the (peace) process" and would set no preconditions to meetings between regional leaders.

But, he cautioned that while the organisation was "buoyant" in the wake of Wednesday's summit, "agreements struck at the January 1991 Buthelezi-Mandela summit had not been followed through."

The IFP hoped supporters on the ground would take up the sentiments expressed by the two leaders and follow the same path, he said.

Meanwhile, sources inside the talks indicated that several hours were taken up with constitutional matters; and that while no agreement could be reached on the fixing of an election date, there was progress in some other areas.

They said the IFP moved significantly closer to accepting a transitional executive council, but retained certain preconditions such as the acceptance of principles to be binding on a new constitution-making body.

Kwazulu Constitution spells out, South African duties
South 26/6 - 30/6/1996
DOMESTIC AGRICULTURAL AND HOUSING DEVELOPMENT MONITORING AND EVALUATION OFFICE

- Monitoring and Evaluation of the Kwazulu National Government's Performance in Housing and Agricultural Development
- Evaluation of the Kwazulu National Government's Development Policies and Programmes
- Monitoring of the Kwazulu National Government's Implementation of the National Development Plan
- Evaluation of the Kwazulu National Government's Performance in the Delivery of Services
- Monitoring of the Kwazulu National Government's Compliance with Laws and Regulations

The Kwazulu National Government is committed to ensuring that all citizens have access to quality housing and agricultural development. The Office will monitor and evaluate the performance of the Kwazulu National Government in these areas to ensure that the goals set out in the National Development Plan are achieved. The Office will also monitor the implementation of the Kwazulu National Government's development policies and programmes, and evaluate the effectiveness of these policies in delivering the desired outcomes.
Freedom is the road to freedom.
Inkatha eyeing Indian voters?

By SIPHO KHUMALO

INKATHA president Maqgosuthu Buthelezi seems to have set his sights on wooing Indian voters.

For this mission Buthelezi has commandeered the services of an almost fanatical new Inkatha recruit, Farouk Cassim, the 49-year-old House of Delegates MP who defected from the Solidarity Party in February.

Cassim has already made a dramatic rise within the predominantly Zulu political movement, sitting in Inkatha's powerful decision-making central committee.

Buthelezi has also appointed Cassim to the election committee and he has been co-opted into Inkatha's negotiation team.

In an interview with City Press this week Cassim described himself as an "educationist" and a "political theorist" whose speciality was "constitutions of the world".

Natal University political scientist, Prof Mervyn Frost, said Buthelezi was now clearly involved in electioneering. "He's looking for votes," was Frost's synopsis.

Frost said it was not clear how successful Buthelezi was going to be with Indians because there had been hostilities in the past.

Cassim told City Press that he was already "staggered" by the support shown by Indians towards Inkatha.

There are 700 000 Indians eligible to vote in the forthcoming election - some four percent of the total vote and theoretically 20 seats in the parliament.
NO ACTION

ALL TALK,

MEAN AND... HOW TO BE THE PERFECT-BEHAVIORED SUBMISSIVE! THE Perfect-Beau Gender

CITY PRESS

CITY PRESS
ATTACK WILL HARM THE CP

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

WHEN, the AWB thugs who rampaged through the World Trade Centre struck Faith Gasa, they tangled with the wrong woman.

Mrs Gasa, an Inkatha Freedom Party delegate and outspoken champion of women's rights, was dragged from her vehicle, slapped, manhandled and sworn at "in the language of deep racial hatred", she told the Negotiating Council on Friday.

Fighting back tears, Mrs Gasa told of the "obscene way these things were said, the racial hatred".

But her anger and pain are not the consequences those who hit her will fear most.

The AWB members who abused her belong to the Afrikaner Volksfront, which is dominated by the Conservative Party.

The CP belongs to the Concerned South Africans Group, which is dominated by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

And IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated last night that his party could pull out of talks because of the attack.

If Cosasg collapses, the CP will be left without alliance or support in the talks.
A sweet and sour summit

The nine-hour summit closed doors this week between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to establish a cease truce between warring parties in an atmosphere of gracious cordiality.

But the two leaders, who addressed each other throughout as Madiba (Mandela) and Shenge (Buthelezi) — terms of great respect — failed to reach agreement on three crucial issues which would have strengthened constitutional talks.

Powers

A thick file of past complaints and grievances against the ANC was tabled and then ignored for a reconciliatory statement by Mr Mandela.

But while the meeting established more cordial terms between the leaders, buried the past and laid parameters for establishing a peaceful relationship, three issues need to be resolved.

Despite a proposal by Mr Mandela that Mr Buthelezi agree to a conditional election date of April 27 next year, Mr Buthelezi insisted the thorny question of regionalism had to be resolved first.

This was despite hours of argument which left Mr Mandela hoarse.

Mr Buthelezi would also not agree to the principle of establishing a transitional executive council until its powers and functions had been agreed to.

But delegates were confident the outstanding constitutional issues which would have contributed to breaking the deadlock at multi-party talks would be resolved in the agreed-to bilateral talks between the parties' negotiators.

A third issue still disputed concerned dangerous weapons.

While the two agreed that dangerous weapons should be banned at political rallies, Mr Buthelezi could not agree that traditional weapons were part of this category.

A delegate at the talks said Mr Mandela asked Mr Buthelezi why it was now necessary to carry traditional weapons when it had not been necessary when they addressed meetings together in the 50s.

Mr Buthelezi's response was that a Zulu could not be deprived of his traditional weapon.

Peace negotiator and ANC executive committee member Sydney Mufamadi said he believed the successes of the meeting were downplayed by disappointment over the failure to reach agreement on the April 27 election date.

Eleven crucial issues that set the parameters for building peace among the members of the two parties included:

- Commitment to strengthening the Peace Accord and an endorsement of a meeting of signatories to ratify new proposals on peace;
- Commitment to free political activity and the rejection of no-go areas;
- Commitment to the principle of freedom of assembly in the framework of guidelines set for mass action by the Peace Accord.

This was, however, significant, given Inkatha's opposition, to mass action;

Disputes

- Agreement in principle to reach agreement on a constitutional framework for dealing with armed formations. This was also important for both parties as it was an agreement to resolve their dispute over the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Kwambonani Police;
- Agreement to resolving disputes in the Peace Accord;
- Commitment in principle to the concept of a peace corps;
- Commitment to strengthening and establishing joint liaison structures;
- Commitment to symbolic visits and joint rallies; and
- Bilateral constitutional talks.
CHIEF WITH AN OPEN AGENDA

By SIPHO KHAMALO

DIMINUTIVE chief Zibuso Mlaba, who reigns over the hilly Ximba tribal valley in the Natal Midlands, is a different kind of ruler.

While chiefs in Natal have often been seen as symbols of the old order and a bulwark against the ANC’s growing influence in the region, Mlaba is not like that at all.

The 33-year-old Mlaba, chief of more than 70,000 tribespeople, does not subscribe to those views. Instead, he sees himself as an agent of peace and progress in his area.

Mlaba is not popular with the KwaZulu government because he has not only associated himself with the ANC, but also holds a position in its Natal Midlands executive committee.

Mlaba is also Natal secretary for the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has recently warned chiefs about Contralesa, calling it an “ANC front”.

Mlaba’s neighbour, chief Mhubunzima Mphumulo of Table Mountain, who was also a prime mover behind Contralesa, was assassinated in 1991. Mlaba took over from his brother, Bhekumisinga Mlaba, who was hacked to death in 1988.

However, despite being an active ANC leader, Mlaba lives in harmony with neighbouring Inkatha chiefs.

Because Mlaba is an ANC supporter, he receives no support from the KwaZulu government.

He said: “The people of KwaXimba have learned to develop themselves through their efforts. We are a strong community who believe in self-reliance. People have learnt to be on their own,” says Mlaba.

Mlaba is not only concerned with organising chiefs for both Contralesa and ANC, but he also cares about the development of his people.

A fortnight ago Mlaba officially unveiled a water project he brokered with the Umgeni Water Board and the Joint Services Board. The project, to pump clean water into the valley, will cost R10-million. Mlaba has also negotiated with the Independent Development Trust to help finance development of the area.

Eskom is currently busy with the electrification of the area while Telkom has installed more than 3,000 telephones.

Senior tribesman Wenzu Mlaba, an attorney, said: “He is the most popular chief in this area. This is because when he was enthroned there was a lot of violence in the area, but he worked tirelessly to stop it.

“Now he has been concentrating on developing the community. This has endeared him to the people.”

For the ceremony to celebrate fresh and clean water, Mlaba chose a very symbolic venue – a small strip of land which used to be the battlefield between his people and those of neighbouring KwaNyevu and its Inkatha chief Bangubukhosi Mdluli.

Fighting is now a thing of the past between the two groups.

Mlaba had arranged a peace meeting with Mdluli and a long-lasting deal was worked out.

At the water ceremony Mdluli, who was at Ulundi, sent a delegation of his senior headmen to represent him.

Why does Mlaba want chiefs to join the ANC? He said: “I think it is important that chiefs should be exposed to all political views. For the ANC it is also crucial that their position is explained to the chiefs. We need to map out a possible role that they could play in new South Africa.”
Fears of whites must be respected

South Africa was faced with the challenge of fostering reconciliation in the country as without this, there would be no political settlement, he told the crowd at Durban’s Curries Fountain Stadium.

Criticised rightwing violence

Earlier, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader again criticised the rightwing violence at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday, saying the incident was a "crude reminder that the birth of a new South Africa will not be without its own pangs."

"Even that ugly incident will not stop the birth," he added.

The country should not pander to racism and white demands. Instead, the future had to be determined by whites and blacks.

Referring again to the question of future government in South Africa, he reiterated the IFP’s rejection of a strong unitary government, saying even the best possible democratic model could not be forced on different population groups if they disagreed with it. --- Sapa.
Buthelezi warns of white fears

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — South Africa faced decades of revolution and counter-revolution if the "terrible destructive" fears of the white minority were not addressed, IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday.

Speaking at an IFP rally, he said racial conciliation was the "very first requirement of a political settlement."

Chief Buthelezi said Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre was "ominous" and he slammed the assault on IFP women's leader Mrs Faith Gasa by right-wingers.

The fracas at the talks venue has spotlighted the IFP's affiliation to the Concerned South Africans Group to which the Conservative Party belongs. But the IFP yesterday denied earlier reports that it was to reconsider its links with the CP.
IFP denies report

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Walter Pelgat has denied a news report that his party is reconsidering its alliance with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to which the Conservative Party also belongs.

The CP, the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbelieving, led Friday's violent occupation of the World Trade Centre.
Buthelezi urges minority Group against at big disciplining Durban Rally

Serious, says Inkatha leader

Prospects of the future:
Gunmen in car kill 12 in Sebokeng

Twelve people were killed when four gunmen driving along a street in Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle, shot at pedestrians on Saturday night, police said yesterday.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman L. G. van Rooyen said police were alerted to the bullet-riddled bodies of two men and a woman lying in the street at the township's Zone 8 about 8.30p.m. The body of another man was found not far away.

Police later found another eight victims, who had apparently been shot in a massacre in Zone 8. They were taken to Sebokeng hospital where they all died.

Two other critically injured victims are in the hospital.

Van Rooyen said it was reported that a white car with what appeared to be four black occupants drove along the street while the occupants shot at pedestrians.

The motive for the attacks was not known, he said.

In Cape Town the bodies of two men, shot in the head, were found metres apart in Nyanga township, Sapa reports.

An explosion rocked the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on Saturday afternoon during clashes between police and ANC supporters. Twenty people were arrested.

White fears 'have to be taken seriously'

DURBAN — Fears for the future by white South Africans had to be taken seriously and eliminated by addressing the issue of minority group protection, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

"We must take white fear seriously ... we must accept that we need to deal with it and ... eliminate it," the Inkatha president told about 8,000 supporters at a Durban rally yesterday.

Buthelezi said Inkatha agreed with the ANC that group rights were best protected by safeguarding individual rights in a Bill of Rights. However, the ANC refused to grant protection to minority groups, he said.

The Inkatha leader criticised the rightwing violence at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday, saying the incident was a "cruel reminder that the birth of a new SA will be without its own pain. Even that ugly incident will not stop the birth."

Buthelezi welcomed his recent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela, but cautioned he was not completely confident their joint undertaking to end political violence would work.

"I say this because the so-called 'convoys' like ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba and southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe, who had both recently disgruntled him, threatened the peace accords. However, the peace accords should not be broken by the IFP, he said.

Referring to the question of a future government, he reiterated the IFP's rejection of a strong unitary government.

He said even the best possible democratic model could not be forced on different population groups if they disagreed with it. — Sapa.

Entry alone can profit companies

Companies should not underestimate the benefits of entering for the SA Non-Listed Company Award, says a merchant banker who has helped several companies with their entries in recent years.

"It increases the value of the company from the perspective of all stakeholders, from staff to customers," said First Corp merchant bank vice-president Andre Roux, who is in charge of the company's investment banking activities.

"A good performance in the competition gives employees a sense of pride in working for a successful company, and enhances the standing of the company in the eyes of customers and suppliers."

The same message has
DP lets fly with anti-IFP salvo

Political Star

The Democratic Party today declared electoral hostilities against the Inkatha Freedom Party as political groups form battle lines and ready their polling machinery for next year's historic ballot.

Formally announcing the IFP as a political opponent, it indicted the party with human rights violations and gave notice that it can expect no mercy in the election campaign. In an unprecedented DP lashing for the IFP, it:

- Spoke of 'stark contrasts' between IFP word and deed;
- Accused it of restricting freedom of assembly, expression and association;
- Charged that it permitted effective one-party rule and lack of democracy in KwaZulu.
- Noted that it had supporters involved in violence;
- Said the DP had different interpretations of federalism.

Mr Mike Ellis, chairman of the DP's Natal coastal region, said his party would therefore conduct itself towards the IFP in the same way it did other political opponents:

Differences between the DP and IFP have in the past been played down by both sides, but recent Inkatha criticism of the DP's leadership has generated increasing resentment among Democrats.

Turning on the National Party, Mr Ellis again voiced suspicion about how Mr Renier Schoeman, chairman of the Port Natal/Umshaka region of the NP and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, came to possess copies of the minutes of a DP meeting.

He said Mr Schoeman's explanations had so far been unsatisfactory. His attempts at discrediting the DP were also futile. "Mr Schoeman should not try to take the focus off the very real problems his party faces, almost on a daily basis, by making silly suggestions about the DP."

Democratic MPs have queried whether the minutes were stolen from the home of Mr Kobus Jordaan, MP for Umfolozi, in a burglary at his home some months ago.
DURBAN. Conservative Party leader Dr Perdi Hartzenberg and senior party members met Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi yesterday to discuss last Friday's right-wing assault on the World Trade Centre.

Although IFP officials were tight-lipped on the meeting, it is believed that Dr Buthelezi called the CP to the KwaZulu capital to express his anger at the abuse of senior IFP negotiators during the fracas.
The Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in the occupation of the World Trade Centre on Friday, the CP has been told.

This assurance, made by the IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Bophuthatswana's Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje, was given to the Conservative Party yesterday.

In a meeting with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg — which the IFP said had been planned before rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre on Friday — in Umlazi yesterday, Buthelezi reportedly said the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those who was roughed up by the rightwingers on Friday.

Although an IFP source said the CP had apologised "for what happened on Friday", CP chief negotiator Tom Langley last night denied this, and told The Star Buthelezi had accepted that the CP was not involved in the fracas.

"After this meeting Cosag is now stronger than ever," Langley told The Star.

"But yesterday said he also accepted the CP had not been part of the violence," Langley said. The CP's present in the World Trade Centre and Bophuthatswana would remain part of Cosag.

The Scotch the Scots drink
IFP and Bop to stay in Cosag

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in Friday's occupation of the World Trade Centre.

This assurance was given yesterday by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje. Chief Buthelezi is reported to have said at a meeting in Ulundi with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg that the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those roughed up by the rightwingers on Friday.

CP negotiator Tom Langley denied apologising to the IFP and said Chief Buthelezi accepted the CP had not been involved in Friday's events.

"After the meeting Cosag is stronger than ever," said Mr Langley.
IFP 'insult' alleged

DURBAN — ANC leaders in Natal yesterday described Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rejection of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) as an insult to black South Africans.

Buthelezi met Conservative party leader John Pienaar in Pietermaritzburg last week, reaffirming his commitment to the negotiations venue outside Johannesburg last week during which senior Inkatha officials Faith Gasa was "roughed up".

"In both Afrikaner and African culture you never assault a woman," said Southern Natal ANC secretary Mr Sbu Ndebele. "I felt humiliated as an African and an Zulu on Buthelezi's embracing of Hartzenberg.

Northern Natal ANC secretary Mr Senzo Mchunu said: "What Buthelezi is doing is an insult to black people in general." — Sapa
IFP disowns poll-smear fax

DURBAN: Inkatha has distanced itself from an anonymous fax circulating here claiming the ANC, SACP and NP alliance intends to hold elections before a constitution has been drafted.

The fax, sent to the offices of several political parties and other individuals, calls on recipients to campaign against this.

NP director of information in Natal, Mr Johan Steenkamp, said yesterday the contents of the document were based on "either ignorance or deliberate falsehoods." — Saps
Negotiating parties declare a deadlock

THE ANC, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) declared yesterday that they were in deadlock over the process of drafting a new constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We reject out of hand the single-phase process in which this undemocratic, unelected body drafts a constitution. And in our rejection we have introduced a deadlock of major proportions."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Feni Gate said: "We say no to an elected constituent assembly writing a constitution. We have a deadlock."

He said: "Today for the first time we are starting to face the real issues. There is no way out but to find a compromise, but we cannot do it at this stage of the process."

Constitutional Development Minister Reuel Mampa intervened and said the technical committee on constitutional issues had proposed that the parties seek equilibrium. "I appeal to Inkatha that they have no choice but to consider the equilibrium proposal." In its report, the committee said the two opposing positions were incompatible and could be bridged only by compromise.

The report reinforces a two-phased transition in which the negotiating forum decides on binding constitutional principles which have a justiciable basis as a mandate to the constitution-making body. It binds the constitution-making body to drafting the final constitution within the limitations it imposes.

At the same time, it stirs the fears of Cosag parties by providing for regional constitutions with their own legislatures and executives.

Ramaphosa tabled a motion stating that the equilibrium proposal "offers the best possible basis for finding agreement on the constitution-making process."

The negotiating council decided it would debate, but not decide on the resolution until today, allowing parties to discuss the issue and consult their principals.

DP negotiator Colin Egin said the DP was prepared to compromise because the principles would be binding on an elected body and the powers and functions of regions would be determined by the negotiating body.

He said those parties like the ANC, which had wanted an elected body to draft the new constitution, had made considerable concessions over the past weeks. Referring to Cosag and Inkatha, he said: "If I would like to ask, what are you prepared to compromise on in bridging the gap?"

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said: "If there has to be a parting of the ways, so be it." He said Inkatha was clearly afraid of placing the future of the country in the hands of the people by facing an election. He said negotiators had to resolve the deadlock within the next 48 hours.
One step closer to interim govt

New deal on constitution ends impasse

A BREAKTHROUGH in the negotiating process was achieved yesterday when political parties agreed on a process to draft a new constitution.

After a full day of confidential meetings between parties to reach common ground, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee to draft a "constitution for the transition". This step will allow for the election of an interim government which will finalise the constitution and govern the country during the transition.

In essence, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans Group parties get their strong regional government powers and functions entrenched in an interim constitution, while the ANC and government and their allies get the two-phased process involving an elected constituent assembly.

The agreement follows Tuesday’s deadlock between Inkatha and the ANC.

The interim constitution will provide for an election on a proportional representation basis for an interim government which will finalise the constitution, legislate and govern during the transitional phase. This must include a national and a regional component and must provide for the election of regional legislatures and establishment of regional governments in the transition.

The powers, functions and structures of the regions will be entrenched in the constitution, which should also include fundamental human rights on a justiciable basis.

There should be a constitutional court/tribunal to ensure the justiciability of the constitutional principles, fundamental rights and of the constitution itself.

The council agreed that no parties tie themselves to the interim constitution until it was fully discussed and agreed. Agreement will depend on consensus in the council on constitutional principles, including provision for strong regional and national government.

The principles will be binding on the elected constitution-making body and be justiciable. The commission on regions has to finalise its recommendation on regional boundaries for regional elections during the transition phase.

The negotiators also have to reach agreement on transitional structures (such as a transitional executive and an independent electoral commission) and on the interim constitution and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

The CP opposed the resolution; Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksfront reserved their positions; and Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the Bophuthatswana government agreed on the direction of the process but wanted to see "the exact words" used in the constitution.
Walkout denied

BOTH the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu delegations left the negotiations, chairman of the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park last night before the start of a crucial debate on a transitional executive council.

IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate denied they had "walked out", saying the two delegations were on their way to Ulundi to consult "with our principals". — Sapa.
**Population predictions**

PRETORIA — SA’s population would increase by more than 40% within 30 years, the Bureau of Market Research has predicted.

In a report released yesterday, it estimated that the total population of SA, including the TBVC states, would rise from 38 million currently to more than 54 million by 2011.

The growth would have a major impact on the composition of the population and could signal an appreciable improvement in black living standards, the report said.

While the proportion of the economically active population (between 15 and 64 years) was expected to expand considerably, the number of dependants would drop.

In 1991 there were 80 economically dependent blacks for every 100 economically active. This figure would fall to 58 dependants per 100 by 2011.

"Provided the jobs are available, this decline in the dependency ratio will bring about an appreciable improvement in black living standards," the report said.

All population groups would experience a decline in fertility and mortality and would age accordingly.

Up to 90% of the population increase would occur in the black sector, with annual increases in the total population peaking in 1999-2001 before beginning to taper off.

In all population groups, the growth rate would decelerate over the 20-year period, the report said.

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**Inkatha complains about SADF**

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on the Goldstone commission to investigate alleged assaults by security force members of its supporters at Mpumuleni, in the Umbumbulu district outside Durban.

Inkatha said yesterday it had received widespread complaints of assaults and harassment — allegedly by SADF soldiers carrying out weapons searches — from residents in Mphumuleni.

The Natal Kwazulu regional directorate of Inkatha's provincial offices said it would look into the allegations immediately.

A Goldstone commission spokesman said he had not received an official complaint by Inkatha or a request for the assaults to be investigated by yesterday afternoon.

A Durban SADF liaison officer said she had become aware of the complaints only yesterday and would respond later.

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**Week’s toll in SA is 67 lives**

POLITICAL violence nationwide claimed 67 lives and left 20 people injured in the week ending Tuesday, the Human Rights Commission said in its weekly report released yesterday.

The death toll was lower than the previous week’s, when 78 deaths and 55 injuries were reported.

Most of the this week’s violence occurred in the PWV region, with 29 deaths, and included masacres in Bekkerskloof, where 12 people were killed, and in Elandsburg, where six people were shot dead.

Violence-related deaths in Natal were down to 26 from the previous week’s 46. The report said the focus of violence had shifted from the Midlands to the south coast, and 13 people were killed at Munchison on June 28.

Eight people died in the western Cape, one was killed in the eastern Cape, and two people died in an attack at Khutseng in the western Transvaal.

Two members of the SAP were killed during the period, the report said. A member of the crime intelligence service was shot dead in Kriel, and another policeman died in Crossroads.
The day Inkatha suddenly recognised reality

FAMILY VIEW

Equilibrium

BILLY PADDOCK

Elroy 21/11/94

The election could take place in September and our first proposal of a grand coalition with the ANC would be the best approach. The right wing of the various parties has always been able to secure our support, but the left wing has always been more responsible. We would like to ask these parties to support the ANC and we need to speak to more parties to secure our support.

The ANC has begun to seek the help of the left wing parties. The left wing has always been able to support us and our proposals have always been progressive. The right wing has always been more conservative. We should seek to secure the support of the left wing parties to ensure the success of our proposals.

Over the past year we have sought the support of the left wing parties. We are confident that we can secure their support. The left wing has always been more progressive and we believe that they will support our proposals. We are confident that we can secure their support.

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Natal peace prize winner

Against all the odds in war ravaged Natal, the head of the Commonwealth Observer Mission in Durban has succeeded in bringing the ANC and IFP together. By FAROUK CHOTHIA

FORGET about Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and FW de Klerk. It’s time to meet South Africa’s most successful grassroots peace-maker. He is, incidentally, a foreigner — Ghanaian-born Moses Anafu.

In the eight months that he headed the Commonwealth Observer Mission (CoM) in Durban, the genial 45-year-old Anafu succeeded where local peace mediators had tried and failed: brokering peace in rural Natal between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In the strife-torn district of kwaNdwalane, near Port Shepstone, both the ANC and the Local Dispute Resolution Committee made overtures to chief Aaron Ndwalane. Facing murder charges, and with the reputation of being a “warlord”, Ndwalane spurned their olive branch.

Yet, Anafu had success — not only in kwaNdwalane but also in the districts of kwaMavundla, Ezingolweni, Ndwedwe and Umbumbulu.

Explaining the reason behind his success, Anafu said: “I come from a chiefly family (his father was a chief) so I was quite familiar with protocol. When I arrived here, I noticed that the chiefs were conspicuously absent from the peace process — and you could not bring peace to rural Natal without their wholehearted involvement. We therefore put the chiefs at the centre of the whole process.”

After urging Ndwalane to adopt a neutral stance, Anafu gave him the role of peacemaker in the community and helped him to restore his authority over his subjects. Ndwalane called peace meetings between the ANC and IFP, earning the respect of both sides.

This was a far cry from the days when the chief, under fierce attack from ANC-supporting youth, was forced to flee his territory. Ndwalane returned later with his warriors and ruled with an iron fist, driving ANC youth away.

At the height of the violence in the 1980s, about 50 people were dying each month in his area. Violence is now declined sharply, with few deaths recorded.

Elaborating on his methods, Anafu said: “I told the chiefs what they already knew: that no matter what misgivings, anxieties and fears they may have of the future, as fathers of the community they needed to take the lead — and not only to support the peace process. When two of their sons fight, they need to mediate — not to take sides.”

Keeping the peace ... Moses Anafu

He has also tried to allay the fears of chiefs, citing the case of pre-independence Ghana, where chiefs earned the ire of Nkrumah for co-operating with the British colonial rulers. “Nkrumah had said that chiefs would either have to side with the people or one day they would have to run away and leave their sandals behind.

“But far from abolishing the chiefocracy, chiefs prospered under a national government. The present king of the Ashanti tribe, for instance, is a barrister and was once Ghana’s ambassador to Rome,” said Anafu.

He takes a sympathetic approach to chiefs, believing their “co-operation” with the British in Ghana and with the National Party government in South Africa must be seen in a historical context. “In Ghana, the Asantehene fought the British intermittently between 1800 and 1900, when the British finally put down the last Asantehene uprising. The Ashanti king was exiled to the Seychelles with his senior chiefs until 1925. The minor chiefs, seeing what happened to the bigger chiefs, caved in. It was a humiliating experience for the chiefs. They conformed outwardly, but in their hearts they could never have loved colonial rule.

“In South Africa, the defeat of the Zulu kingdom couldn’t have been a badge of honour for subsequent Zulu monarchs either. I won’t be surprised if they feel the same (as the Ghanaian chiefs of pre-independence),” said Anafu.

He hopes that South Africa’s political parties will not turn chiefs into a “political football” in an election campaign.

“They would be more useful playing a healing role. Throughout Africa, their role has been a standard one: to represent the spiritual well-being of communities.”

He does not believe chiefs should join either the ANC or IFP. “If there are divisions, the chiefs should bring the two sides together — every other thing is of secondary importance.”

He believes South Africa should look at other West African countries where it maps out the future of chiefs under a new constitution.

“In Ghana, we have a National House of Chiefs and we have Regional Houses in the 10 regions. But they do not have a political role — nor do they seek one. They are part of our cultural heritage — and we treasure them as such,” said Anafu.

Even though he has convinced chiefs — who provide the IFP with support at grassroots level — to accommodate the ANC, Anafu has not had any confrontation with IFP leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. “In every meeting I have had with him, he has promised me his wholehearted support. He told me that if I encounter any problems, I should approach him,” said Anafu.

Much to the anger of local peace mediators, Anafu has now left Durban to take up a new post in Johannesburg from this month.

Sources close to him said he was reluctant to move — but that he had had to give in after immense pressure from Commonwealth general-secretary Chief Emeka Anyaoku. This, sources say, reflects the Commonwealth’s new focus on upcoming elections, and downsizing of its peace role.

“As the general-secretary’s special representative in South Africa, I have to be close to where the politicians are,” said Anafu.

This has sparked concern that the various initiatives he has spearheaded in Natal could fizzle — though Anafu brushed the fears aside.

“My heart will always be in Natal. What we have built, we will not allow to fall apart. I will keep my ear to the ground and assist wherever I can. When necessary, I will come to Natal,” said Anafu.

He added that an earlier decision to close the Durban office of CoM has been overturned: new monitors would be based there.

Anafu — who boasts a doctorate in history — confirmed that the Commonwealth intended playing a more prominent role in South Africa in the run-up to elections. “We intend adding new dimensions to the evolving situation,” he said.

This would include sending in “election experts” to assist the Independent Electoral Commission, to send in “media experts” to ensure that media coverage is fair to all the political parties and to run training programmes on mediation and negotiation skills for grassroots activists involved in peace initiatives.
COSAG brushed aside as election train set to roll

Talks: Government, ANC force the pace

THE African National Congress and the Government yesterday hit the bullet and forced real movement towards a new order, bypassing vigorous opposition from the Concerned South Africa Group (COSAG).

The day ended with a symbolic walkout from the Negotiating Forum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party over a decision to fix the election date for April 27 — but all are expected back in the process soon.

The rejection by some COSAG members of the "sufficient consensus" basis on which the agreement was struck followed significant progress and studious attempts by other parties to avoid the conflict that could damage the process.

Besides the election date, overwhelming agreement was reached among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on the process to be followed in arriving at a democratic order, including the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council, the principles that would be binding on a constitution-making body and how to tackle the violence leading the country.

A draft constitutional document is ready in two weeks, and Government negotiations chief Poul My and his ANC counterpart, Cyril Ramphosa, are confident it could be adopted and ready to pass through Parliament in August.

The election will be held in two weeks, and it is expected that the IFP and KwaZulu would return.

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**Talks**

**FROM PAGE 1.**

IFP negotiator Thomas Langley said a decision on whether to return to the talks would be made in consultation with party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Essentially, however, the day was marked by considerable progress in several areas, notably:

- Fixing the election date for April 27 next year, or earlier if possible. It was noted that adoption of a transitional constitution and other agreements would have to be reached before elections.
- How the transition process should be run, including the transitional executive council, simultaneous elections for both central and regional government and the delimitation of boundaries for regions before elections.
- An independent media commission and an independent electoral commission will also be established, while discriminatory legislation will be scrapped.
- A range of principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body. These make provision for a proportional representation election, a multiparty democracy, a bill of rights, three-tier government with democratic representation and "adequate legislative and executive powers" at each level.
- Steps to end violence, including a national peacekeeping force, moves toward unified security forces and the ending of hostilities.

Ramaphosa said: "The democracy train is on track to its ultimate destination. This is one train that will not and cannot be derailed."
AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

IT'S all over bar the shouting — and one last, feverish round of horse-trading.

The shouting will be loud and long, and will range from the ultimatum of Inkatha-supporting Zulus girding for battle to the lonely pule of the Conservative Party.

The horse-trading will centre on the wording of legislation to flesh out a remarkable range of decisions taken on the form and substance of the next constitution and how to get there.

Full settlement is months away, but the most important concerns of the ANC and its opposition in Cosas were met in principle this week.

The ANC wanted a constituent assembly to be elected and to draft South Africa's "final" constitution. Cosas parties wanted to have a say in that constitution, and before many of them are all but wiped out by that election.

The two bottom lines were linked in a resolution adopted this week.

Cosas — a loose grouping of Inkatha, people who have homelands and people who want them — has made its acceptance conditional on getting the sort of interim constitution it wants and binding the future constituent assembly to the constitutional principles underlying the draft.

This is a big, but not insurmountable, condition. It remains to be seen whether the ANC and the government's stated commitment to strong regional government goes far enough to meet the fears and needs of the Cosas parties.

Parties have eight days to tell the technical committee on constitutional issues what they would like to see written into the constitution.

Once again this brilliant group of lawyers and academics will have to marry fears and hopes and democratic and peculiarly South African clauses into a comprehensible document. They are good at this.

Between the acceptance of the draft constitution and elections lies a transitional phase. Great strides were made in this area as well with the acceptance, in principle, of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Broadcasting Authority and Independent Electoral Commission.

Other technical committees will spend the next two weeks drafting legislation for these transitional organs.

Inkatha, whose petulant chief has tried to block almost every wobbly step forward, has remained uncommitted to allowing the process to progress until it sees the final draft constitution, felt the chill wind of realpolitik blowing through its cosy Cosas parlour this week as allies opted for movement.

Inkatha's junior partners realised that their common end-goal — strong regions and shelter from the harsh light of election — was being hampered by Umland's dyspeptic blasts.

"We are a group of people with very different philosophies," said Bophuthatswana's Howie Cronje after Friday's forum meeting when asked why he had not joined the IFP in walking out. "I consult principals" on the election issue.

It was Mr Cronje who brokered the bilateral agreement that led to the breakthrough.

This crucial meeting on Wednesday — between Cosas and the Patriotic Front — was characterised by "a really constructive attitude on both sides", he said, as Messrs Slovo and Rama-
phosa went out of their way to assure the meeting of their commitment to strong regional government.

Not present at the bilateral meeting was Mr Walter Felgate, defender and comforter of the unfortunate Dr Mario Ambrosini, an American citizen and constitutional adviser who is increasingly getting on the nerves of Inkatha delegates and the talks at large.

Dr Ambrosini was kicked out of Friday's forum because he is a non-South African — and after IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews muttered that he was "not even aware this person was here. I am not giving this person any protection".

Dr Ambrosini may have looked even more miserable than usual, but Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa both wore huge grins on Friday.

Their uncommon race to be recorded as proposer of the breakthrough resolution on Wednesday said it all.

Mr Meyer won, but both men had pulled it off by deliberately restraining themselves from confronting the crucial issue of the talks for three long months.

Behind the scenes, two powerful and opposing forces had kept this delicate strategy on course.

The government, with a smug 45 years of barely accountable rule under its belt, knew how to be patient, how to spend hours, weeks, listening to the concerns of the other delegates until they slowly shed some suspicions, trusting first the process and then their own voices.

The ANC, bounded by a hungry and volatile constituency, brought the urgency of this ominous rumble to the talks. "Every day was a learning and teaching process," said a government source.

"For the first time we had to deal with the raw politics of a real constituency out there."

At the end of an extraordinary week, an unstoppable vehicle was set in motion. And, with a very real interest in the draft constitution to be hashed out between now and mid-August, Cosas will be committed as never before.

Claire Robertson
Utundisbug's Fury

Inkhata vows to make way for farmer's cattle

By Tshemane Nbones

CREDIT: [Image credit details]
All-in election 'now urgent'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Negotiators heaved a sigh of relief at the weekend following the Negotiating Forum's confirmation of April 27, 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in elections, but warned that urgency would have to be the catchword.

Negotiators said it was now incumbent on the 26 parties and organisations in the talks to ensure that progress on remaining issues was swift. The Negotiating Forum also ratified agreements on the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council and discussed how to tackle the question of violence.

For the second time in three weeks, the IFP and the CP walked out towards the end of the talks, but this time without the backing of the Concerned South Africans Group (Coasag), who stayed behind.

Political observers believe the two parties will return to negotiations when the Negotiating Council (NC) sits in two weeks' time.

The formal setting of the election date has been welcomed abroad, with Canadian External Affairs Minister Perrin Beatty saying his country will lift remaining sanctions as soon as agreement has been reached "on the outstanding issues".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer have expressed the hope that the constitution could be adopted by the NC and be ready to be passed in Parliament by August.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, yesterday said negotiations had to come to an end soon so that the different parties could prepare for elections.

"The filibustering must stop now that we are 10 months away from an election. There is still some fine-tuning to do, but it looks as though the people will finally have their say," Slovo said.
Police helped Nongwe supporters with arson

‘Miss AC’ testifies to Goldstone Commission

JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporter

POLICE have been accused of helping supporters of Crossroads strongman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe in arson attacks on residents this year, in evidence before the Goldstone Commission.

The claims came from a woman who said she protected her identity, who testified before the commission at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

The commission is investigating the causes of the violence in Crossroads.

Miss AC said that as a resident of Section Two she witnessed Nongwe supporters from Section Four as they left police Casspirs and petrol-bomb homes.

Miss AC remembered that of the attacks took place in daylight on a Thursday in March.

Section Two residents had come under attack from Nongwe because they refused to move to Lower Crossroads as he had asked them.

Mr Nongwe had called a meeting and said he would build new houses for them in Section Two and that these would be rented for 75c a month. “He told us that if he did not do that, then the people must kill him,” she said.

Section Two people refused to move because Section One residents who had been promised new homes earlier were still in Lower Crossroads.

Miss AC told how she saw her sister’s 14-year-old son at a police station after men following Mr Nongwe’s instructions had allegedly abducted and assaulted him in Section Four.

The boy, who has testified as AA, had been hit. His face was swollen and his jacket torn and bloody. He could not speak, she said.

The commission hears further evidence today.

Local Inkatha chairman elected

MR DANIE van der Heever has been elected regional Inkatha Freedom Party chairman.

He replaces Mr Nicolas Myburgh.

Mr Van der Heever was elected at an IFP meeting at the weekend.

His executive committee will comprise vice-chairman Mr Alan Gibson, Mr Deon Nel (secretary) and treasurer Mr Bill Horwood.

Mr Myburgh said the IFP, which was going through a period of strength in the Western Cape, would “do its utmost to secure a safe and prosperous future for all South Africans.”

‘Lone Survivor’ to be honoured

Municipal Reporter

DUBBED the Lone Survivor, a 1920s bathing box at Muizenberg which stood up to the Easter storm is to be restored and have a commemorative plaque fitted.

This was decided by the amenities and health committee yesterday.

Meanwhile, the boating pool at the sunken gardens at Muizenberg Pavilion could be restored.

Civic amenities director Jack Kloppe is to be asked to call for tenders for an operator for the boating pool and other “appropriate family-oriented activities.”
ANC 'wages war'

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday accused the ANC of mounting a "vicious military offensive" in the Natal Midlands and warned of a showdown.

The IFP warning, dismissed by the ANC as nonsense, came after 43 people were killed in Natal townships between Thursday and yesterday. The ANC’s Midlands region claims many of those killed were its members. The IFP statement yesterday said a showdown was looming between it and ANC representatives on the Natal-KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee because of the upsurge in violence.

"The escalating violence in the Natal Midlands coincides with attempts by the ANC to seize contested territory by force," the IFP stated.

It claimed the ANC “offensive” was advancing eastwards from Maritzburg and was linked to a pattern of territorial expansionism to gain an electoral footing in the region.

In reaction, an ANC Midlands spokesman said: "There is no territory we want to seize. There is no point in doing so. We are in a campaign for free political activity, not only for us but for everyone." He said a military offensive was “out of the question” and “nonsense”.

“We are engaged in consolidating ourselves in the region and that has nothing to do with violence.

Both the IFP and ANC have sharply criticised police for the lack of arrests in the wake of daily killings throughout Natal.

June’s toll was about 150 — the highest monthly figure this year — and an estimated 800 people have died in Natal so far this year. — Sapa
n**ews in**

**Violence talks off**

AN URGENT meeting between Natal's Regional Dispute Resolution Committee and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders in the Midlands, to discuss recent violence around Richmond, has been postponed to today. "Sowetan 16/93"

The meeting was to have taken place yesterday but Midland's IFP leader Mr. David Ntombela asked for a postponement to consult with local chiefs and other IFP leaders."
Inkatha lauds Buthelezi

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Inkatha Freedom Party’s central committee has reaffirmed its loyalty to its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in stirring terms. In a resolution passed on Sunday, the committee said: “We profoundly respect our president ... for the courage he displayed, over decades in opposing apartheid.”

The committee said Buthelezi had a deep conviction of what was right and wrong. “Now that government and the ANC have come together to tell SA down the river, we thank God our president stands firm.”

It said President F W de Klerk had retreated “into the ANC camp” and would fail to usher in democracy as promised.

The committee also expressed its disappointment in ANC president Nelson Mandela, saying it was “tragic that a man who came out of jail after suffering so much for us should take a course of action that divides the country” and could push SA to the “brink of civil war.”

Vaal townships owe more than R1bn

GAVIN DU VENAGE

TRANSWAAL’s 85 black townships owe more than R1,3bn, according to TPA figures released by its communication department yesterday.

The largest chunk of the debt was rung up on the West Rand, which includes Soweto and Diepsloot. East Rand townships owed R450m.

Central Transvaal townships were R1,17bn in arrears, while those in the western Transvaal owed R42m. The eastern Transvaal townships owed R62m, and those in the northern Transvaal R22m.

Most of these townships are now under administration (59) with another two about to be appointed. Only 24 still have councils, according to the TPA.

The Greater Soweto Crisis Committee meets today to discuss the decade-long rent-and-services boycott in the township, but was not expected to achieve much, sources said yesterday.

Soweto’s street lights were cut off last week. Administrator Sakkie Lombard said staff would have to be retrenched and services cut back even further if the boycott did not end soon. Payment levels have dropped to between 1%-3%. Tariffs are still the main point of contention.

Sources said yesterday it was unlikely a workable solution would be found soon.

The ANC has indicated it wants the rent boycotts and service provision to be dealt with at national level.

TPA director-general Len Dekker said at the weekend that during the past year the TPA had provided R2,1bn to Greater Soweto in the form of grants, and the Central Witwatersrand RSC had given R144m. However, the money had already been used up. Funds currently available were not enough even to meet the monthly R3bn salary bill.

Sebokeng administrator Johan Killian was reported yesterday as saying that after so long there was a culture of non-payment of accounts.
IFP lashes out at govt, ANC/SACP

By Anthony Johnson

Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party has called for the multi-party negotiations process to be halted — and has accused the government and the African National Congress of "coming together to sell South Africa down the river."

A sharply worded statement issued yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office after an IFP central committee meeting at Ulundi at the weekend also contained stinging personal attacks on Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

The statement comes hot on the heels of the walkout by the IFP and KwaZulu delegations from Friday's meeting of the 26-party negotiating forum. The government and the ANC-SACP alliance are also accused of "connivance."

The IFP central committee accuses Mr Mandela of "courses of action" that have divided the country and "thrust it to the very brink of civil war."

The IFP central committee castigates Mr de Klerk for being "wrong" and adds that "his receding back into the ANC camp will go down in history as a failure to deliver the promise of his February 2, 1990, speech."

It says the break in talks should be used "to assess what it would mean to go ahead without the participation of parties representing at least half the future electorate."

Meanwhile, both the government and the ANC have expressed confidence that Inkatha will return to talks at the World Trade Centre after the two-week recess.
Buthelezi slams resolution

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the negotiating council’s resolution last week to have a two-phase process and an election for a constituent assembly.

He told Russian ambassador EP Goussarov in Ulundi that the need for durability and stability in the future of the country could never be achieved by following the constituent assembly route.

"Any election process controlled at central level for a national constitution-making body is by its nature unitary and therefore totally excludes the federal option," he said — contradicting the opinion of expert constitutional lawyers.

Buthelezi said a popularly elected constituent assembly would enable a majority power to overrule any agreed transitional constitutional principles “under the aged banner of the ‘will of the people’ but the voice of the people will soon be silenced under majoritarian rule”.

He disregarded as providing “no assurances” the explicit instructions to the technical committee drafting the transitional constitution. The instructions read; “The constitutional principles agreed upon by the negotiating forum shall be binding on the constitution-making body; the judicability of these constitutional principles shall be ensured by a constitutional court/tribunal.” The committee was also in-

Buthelezi said, it had to give self-determination to regions, constitutionally entrenched powers, duties and functions of regional and local government structures.

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said he was “quite amazed” that Inkatha kept talking of bringing government closer to the people and wanting true democracy for South Africans but rejected “the people’s decision through a universally accepted form of elections”. He said Inkatha could not talk of being representative when it had never tested this in an election.

Meanwhile, the ANC said yesterday the threat by Inkatha central committee member Walter Pelgat to “unleash the wrath” of 2-million supporters countrywide to delay the setting of April 27, 1994 as the final date for elections was counterproductive and dangerous.
1 nation

Dam levels down to 41 pc

The total amount of water in dams in the Vaal River system which serves the PWV has dropped to 41.5 percent, well down on the 52.3 percent at the same time last year. The Sterkfontein Dam which feeds the Vaal Dam is 76 percent full. No rain has fallen in the PWV this month, where the long-term average is a mere 0.3 mm, according to the Rand Water Board. — Staff Reporter.

Hijacker to appear in court

A 28-year-old man who hijacked a Royal Swazi Air passenger aircraft on Sunday will appear in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court today. Police said no charges had been formulated as offences in terms of the Civil Aviation Act were still being investigated. The man was found to have false identity documents. — Sapa.

Guard beats off attackers

A gang of robbers fled empty-handed from a Vanderbijlpark scrap metal business after shooting at an employee, Bereng Mokwena (31), yesterday. Mokwena is recovering in hospital from a bullet wound. Police said five armed men approached Mokwena and began firing at him. The men fled when Mokwena returned fire. — Vereeniging Bureau.

Suspect shot in buttocks

A suspected robber was wounded in the buttocks in a shootout with police yesterday, after he and another man tried to hold up a Fidelity Guards team outside the Nedbank in Stanley Street, Auckland Park. — Staff Reporter.

Unions, post office agree

The Post Office reached a wage agreement yesterday with two trade unions which had rejected the company's pay offer in May. In a statement, the Post Office said the Post Office Employees Association of SA and the Post and Telecommunication Workers Association joined three other trade unions in accepting the company's wage offer. — Sapa.

Fire destroys 76 shacks

Hundreds of people were left destitute in Kuals River outside Cape Town yesterday after a raging fire destroyed 76 shacks. The fire started when a paraffin stove burst into flames. A strong wind swept the flames out of control and firemen could not save the homes. — Sapa.

IFP, AV 'discuss threats'

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi met a delegation from the Afrikaner Volksfront in Ulundi yesterday to discuss threats to the Zulu and Afrikaner nations, according to a KwaZulu government official. They discussed multiparty negotiations and ways Zulus and Afrikaners could stand together to ensure their nations survived. — Sapa.

Unrest restrictions lifted

Law and Order Minister Herbs Kriel yesterday lifted unrest regulations for the magistrate districts of Estcourt, Winterton and Mool River in Natal. The repeal appeared in a special Government Gazette and took effect immediately, SABC radio reported. — Sapa.
At last, the talks bring...
Buthelezi in talks with AV

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi met a delegation from the Afrikaner
Volksfront in Ulundi yesterday to discuss threats to
the Zulu and Afrikaner nations, according to a
KwaZulu government official. They discussed
multiparty negotiations and ways Zulus and
Afrikaners could stand together to ensure their nations
survived, said an assistant to Buthelezi. Former SADF
chief General Constand Viljoen led the AVF delega-
tion.  

Soweto 17/93
Companies can call on ombudsman's aid

PRETORIA — Companies which felt they had been treated unfairly at the hands of government departments or agencies should contact the offices of ombudsman Judge P J van der Walt, the judge said yesterday.

In applying for licences, tenders, permits or benefits from the export incentive scheme, some companies had experienced actions by state representatives which could be considered prejudicial to their interests, Van der Walt said. (unnumbered)

But too few company managers, or members of the public, were aware of the services offered by the ombudsman's office since it was established in November 1991.

According to the legislation, if any person had reasonable grounds to suspect public moneys were being dealt with in a dishonest manner, or that maladministration or unlawful enrichment were being taken place by state officials, a complaint could be forwarded to the ombudsman.

Policemen to be sentenced for murder

TWO Vascoor police officers who murdered an Alexandra Taxi Association member in 1991 face sentencing in the Rand Supreme Court today.

Tobias Lucky Xulu, 30, and Bester Makoto Modiba, 26, were convicted by Judge R van Schalkwyk, sitting with two assessors, of abducting and murdering Ntombi Mtshengu on June 29 1991.

Both were acquitted of kidnapping another association member, Themba Thembimbo.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Military pilots die in crash

A TRANSKEI Defence Force transport aircraft crashed near Umtata shortly after noon yesterday, killing an SA Air Force and a TDF pilot.

Acting TDF commander Brig Makabongwe Mthunzi said the plane’s engines caught fire and it crashed in field near the TDF Air Wing base.

The pilots were on a routine training flight.

Buthelaux enjoys right wingers

DKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelaux held private talks in Ulundi yesterday with Afrikaner Volksfront leaders, genera Constand Viljoen, Robos Visser and Tienie Groenewald, and afterwards described the discussions as “therapeutic.

Viljoen said they discussed common threats and the continued existence of the Afrikaner and Zulu nations.

AWB accused released

African National Congress members Mathinus Erasmus, 27, and Johannes Gwagwane, 32, charged with the murder of a black man and the attempted murder of another, were released on their own recognisances today and warned to reappear in the Rhenosterberg Magistrate’s Court on Friday. They are alleged to have thrown two men — whom they suspected of stealing pigeons — from a speeding bakkie.

Court may appoint counsel

(Columns 6,7)
Hands join to end ‘war’

IFP and ANC in combined operation

By Bronwyn Wilkinson and Helen Grange

Amid desperate moves to end the carnage raging in the East Rand townships of Kliptown and Tokoza since Friday, the ANC and IFP agreed yesterday to take part in a joint operation to monitor the latest surge of violence.

War-oral Peace Secretariat leader Peter Havu said the ANC would station its centres to be based at Natalalpunt Hospital – set up immediately. The IFP and security forces have also notified the secretariats of their support.

SAP spokesman Captain Wilia Weber said the joint operation centre would be manned by security forces representatives of the warring parties and peace structures.

The peace breakthrough came after local peace committees from the East Rand failed to come to a constructive solution to the violence yesterday. They were meeting again today.

The PAC also announced yesterday that it would meet today to draw up a plan to end the war in East Rand townships.

As violence continued, four people were killed last night, bringing to 48 the number killed since 6 pm on Monday.

Police said four houses were gutted during the night. The townships were quiet, but tense this morning.

Peace monitors said the situation yesterday was “quiet but tense” – but they expected “normal” to return.

A joint peace in action was operating in the two townships under dangerous conditions, a Peace Secretariat source said.

A group of United Nations observers came under heavy AK-47 fire yesterday.

Acting SAP commissioner Lieutenant-General L.P.E Maix said yesterday that additional SAP and SANDF troops had been called into Kliptown and Tokoza.

Responding to charges by residents that police left the area at dusk and returned at dawn, Commissioner Maix said the SAP was doing all it could to protect residents under extremely tense and difficult conditions.

Police reported last night that at least 69 people had been killed in East Rand townships since Friday.

Weber said it was difficult to establish the exact time of the deaths or to establish exactly how the people had died.

In one instance, the body of a man lay face-down in the dust across the street from the Tokoza home. He had been killed by a shot in the chest before dawn.

Residents throughout Kliptown and Tokoza were streaming out of their homes yesterday to find safety at the Natalalpunt Hospital and the nearby Indian area of Palm Ridge.

There was no sound of gunfire yesterday. Monitors reported that killers seemed to have swapped guns for spears and axes to avoid attracting police for the sound of gunfire.

Four tanks were operating and several businesses on the East Rand said hardly any of their employees were at work.

This was confirmed by police, who reported that several bodies with back wounds had been recovered.

Law and Order Minister Hermann Kriel said in a statement that leaders of the ANC and IFP would have to take far-reaching steps to establish a culture of political tolerance to stop “the barbaric violence”.

• More reports - Page 3
II-P lauds Butheli's stand

By Israel Ligatien

Businessman joins regional debate on strengthening ties to his guns

NEWS
there is a new face in the front row of Inkatha's negotiating team. Political analyst SHAUN JOHNSON talks to Joe Matthews, the man who has moved from ANC to IEP, from the "room of consent" to the table of consent, and made waves all the way.

JOE Matthews gives off a clever, intellectual, quizzical air, both in private discussion — when he smiles a lot — and in negotiating sessions — when he does not. One senses an extraordinary background, but this is not surprising. In his 58 years of formative ANC patriarch and intellectual influence, Matthews might be a relative newcomer to the World Trade Centre, but his views are not new. His intellectual friendships and associations with ANCYL leaders, like the late Ezekiel Minnaar and national chairman Frank Minnaar, are still "boomers".

Disavowal

The CEO title is new to the IEP, effectively replacing the "secretary-general" moniker which fell into disuse after the 1984 ascension to power of Oskar Mkhize, who resigned the post in March 1989. Matthews believes the new title is "inappropriate" because it gives the impression of an "adviser", and makes no sense about his direct political position.

One of the consider the man's long South African history is that he is also one of the founding members of the party. Matthews was a lawyer. As an ANC member he was charge of the legal department with the ANC, along with ZK and Pi, in 1948, and went on to become a leader in the Sharpeville and abortive battle in 1948.

Dispute

Later, in London, he edited the ANC journal Sehosa and ran through the ranks of the Communist Party, sitting on the central committee for eight years.

In 1948, he went to Cape Town, according to the position of assistant attorney-general of the Western Cape, to fight for the establishment of a financial dispute which he has only recently been able to settle.

Despite being a man of substance, he was always a bit on the fringe of the ANC. He was one of the leaders of the ANCYL in the 1950s and 1960s, and was close to the anti-apartheid movement.

And he has worked with people who are in the IEP for years, he says, and with the ANC he believes that the ANC leaders should not be vilified.

Joe Matthews now? Does he foresee a Minister Matthews in a new Cabinet? He says his current role will continue for the foreseeable future, but he will not be drawn on the Cabinet, saying there are "too many other people," but he does not rule out.

It's unfair to Chief Buthelaha Natal's is a very different situation, from the ANC, the Xhosa people, or the Balawaves. The Xhosa are different, and it put this down to the fact that they have a military background. You have this sort of Pension issue.

Discovered in 1948, Inkatha is an ANC in Cape Town, in active ANC.

There's in line with our family tradition, the people, or the Balawaves. The Xhosa are different, and they put this down to the fact that they have a military background. You have this sort of Pension issue.

But what I'd really like to see in South Africa is a very different approach. Joe Matthews, among many others in the new South African politics, remains a peripheral figure. There are those among his critics who insist he jump into the IEP camp was opportunistic, because his options ran out in the ANC.

And he — and his many admirers — will have none of this. It's been a curious path, he says, of the country's politics but he can be expected to . . . trudging in the next phase . . . some time to come.
ANC and IFP talks spark peace hopes

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

ANC and IFP regional leaders are to meet today for crucial talks to find a solution to the crisis in East Rand townships, sparking hopes that peace will return to the troubled area.

The meeting, brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, comes after five days of intense conflict which has claimed at least 21 lives in Tokoza and adjoining Katlehong.

Police blame the warfare on power struggles between ANC and IFP supporters.

An IFP statement yesterday said the respective leaders would meet today “to find joint methods in addressing and ending the violence on the East Rand”.

ANC PWV spokesman Vusi Gumede confirmed that PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela and others would meet their counterparts today.

In another positive development towards peace, a joint control centre manned by the IFP, ANC, security forces and peace structures was set up at Natalspruit Hospital yesterday.

The townships were unusually quiet yesterday afternoon, with people returning to the streets for the first time since the weekend.

But barricades still blocked some streets and in others, boulders lay ready to block the road if necessary.

Police conducted a house-to-house search in Tokoza’s Twala section — one of the few areas virtually untouched by killers this week.

No weapons were found.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale visited Natalspruit Hospital yesterday, shaking hands and patting the shoulders of people who told of the terrifying attacks that landed them in the casualty wards.

Sexwale said he understood that people felt angry and vengeful. “But then you stop and think of the collective vision of peace, it will come to pass.”

The two then toured Tokoza and Katlehong, but ANC supporters near the Kwesta hostel prevented them from entering the IFP-dominated area nearby as it was too dangerous.

Police reported that 10 bodies were found early yesterday and another 12 brought in later.

Police believed those 12 had been killed over the weekend and their bodies kept indoors by residents too terrified to venture out to hand them to the police.

They never knew who shot them — Page 3
Agreement on steps to end violence as leaders plan peace

THE ANC, Inkatha, union federations, security forces and business organisations last night agreed on initial steps to end the violence that has claimed 22 lives in six days in East Rand towns.

In terms of the agreement, a centralised operations room has been established at the Nelspruit Hospital in Katlehong, manned by the Wits Vea peace secretariat, which will co-ordinate the arrangements and police.

Delegates to yesterday's meeting in Johannesburg agreed to the opening of commuter routes and security for commuters in Katlehong and Thokoza.

Erica Jankowitz and Stephane Bothma

SAP public relations spokesman Col Johan Mostert said police were "in the process of arresting people responsible" and intended to prove that the violence was being perpetrated by "some ANC-aligned self-defence units which are completely out of control". He said police had evidence of an influx of Umkhonto we Sizwe members, over whom leaders had "no real control", into the area.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said self-defence units had broader membership than the ANC.

"The police are very quick to collapse the units into the ANC which is not a true reflection of the situation," Niehaus said.

This was no time to trade allegations as both the ANC and Inkatha were involved in investigating the underlying reasons for the conflict. "We are prepared to make every possible contribution to the investigation and are doing so right now," he said.

Inkatha Transvaal leader Thembekile Kuzwayo said an attempt would be made today to find "joint methods of addressing and ending the violence" on the East Rand.

He said the Inkatha leadership was involved at a grassroots level in Katlehong and Thokoza. "Reports indicate that the level of violence in the area has decreased but that the area is still unstable."

"Meanwhile, peace monitors claimed yesterday that feuding parties had abandoned firearms in favour of pangas, spears and petrol bombs in an attempt to avoid police detection. Police sources confirmed that the majority of bodies found in Katlehong and Thokoza yesterday had stab, hack

Violence

Ten bodies were found by police on Tuesday night, and another 12 by family members after daylight yesterday, police spokesman Lt Janine Smith said.

Jonathan Davis reports that the national conference of the SA Council of Churches yesterday broke from its schedule to pray for the victims of this week's outbreak of violence, and to discuss an appropriate response.

The Midrand conference decided on a two-phase plan of action, which included an aid programme for victims, and a committee to deal with problems of violence in the area and nationwide.

The national peace committee said it was considering a national peace campaign to be held in September to coincide with the anniversary of the signing of the peace accord on September 14, 1991. 

To Page 2
ANC claims IFP has assassination plan

DURBAN — The ANC in Natal has alleged Inkatha leaders and "elements within the apartheid security forces" have planned to assassinate ANC leaders in the province in the run-up to elections. The ANC of the three ANC regions claimed in a statement that intelligence sources had disclosed a recent meeting in Ulundi had discussed ways of countering the ANC in Natal before elections.

One was to assassinate ANC leaders. A question on the statement, Natal ANC media co-ordinator Dumsa Makhaye said ANC intelligence sources had revealed the alleged plot. But Makhaye said the ANC was not sure who had been represented at the meeting. Inkatha said its members were in fact the victims of assassinations, citing the death of 275 Inkatha officials over the past several years as proof.

Our Durban correspondent reports Inkatha challenged the ANC to submit evidence to the regional dispute resolution committee or the Goldstone commission.

"It is reliably learned that the meeting took a decision that by the elections there must be no ANC leader in Natal with a high profile still living," said Makhaye.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet accused the ANC of making "dangerous claims" and said the organisation's propagandists were suffering from "delusions of grandeur."
ANC, IFP vow to control supporters

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Regional leaders of the ANC and IFP have committed themselves to controlling their supporters on the East Rand and have agreed to a series of bilateral meetings to end the violence in the area.

The breakthrough came after a meeting yesterday of regional leaders brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat.

The leaders endorsed agreements reached at a local level on Wednesday, including the deployment of security forces, the removal of barricades and the resumption of taxi and train services to Katlehong and Tokoza.

At least 95 people have died in violence in the area in the past week.

Both ANC PWV chairman Mr Obed Bapela and IFP Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza acknowledged that similar peace initiatives in the area in May had not prevented the latest outbreak.

But they said that this time was "different" as they were now determined to get their followers talking on grassroots level and they had also agreed to increased security force deployment in the townships.

The Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat agreed to co-ordinate relief aid for people displaced by the violence.

A joint control centre to monitor violence, has been set up at Natalpruit Hospital and began to operate yesterday. It is being run by representatives of peace structures, security forces, the ANC and IFP.

A series of regional bilateral meetings had also been set up, with the first set for Tuesday.

Meanwhile, the ANC held an urgent meeting with police generals in Pretoria yesterday to demand swift action to bring the carnage to an end.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Mathew Phosa said the meeting — which was "very frank and sharp" and was attended by 10 police generals and a brigadier — focused on the latest spiral of violence in Natal and the East Rand.

Police Deputy Commissioner Lieutenant-General S.J Smit led the police delegation.

● The ANC is to hold a major peace summit in Natal on July 24. ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

Speaking at a Johannesburg Press conference after an ANC delegation met senior police generals in Pretoria, he said the ANC was committed to implementing the programme of joint ANC-Inkatha rallies agreed on during talks between leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

All ANC regions affected by violence would meet on July 19 to discuss the implementation of decisions reached at the summit between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.
All the signs are there for a final, grand showdown between the ANC/NP and IFP over Inkatha's demand that federalism be entrenched before the general election.

Apparently spearheading the thrust is the traditionally apolitical Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, who has called two rare imbizos (Zulu traditional leadership gatherings) — at Durban's King's Park this Sunday and FNB stadium outside Soweto on July 25 — to inform his people "about the constitutional negotiations."

This is linked to resolutions taken by Inkatha's central committee at the weekend; following the second IFP/KwaZulu government walk-out from the multiparty Negotiations Forum last Friday, in opposition to ratification of the April 27 election date.

The resolutions accuse ANC president Nelson Mandela of taking courses of action which have led SA to the brink of civil war and government of betraying trust by backing ANC demands for an elected constituent assembly to write the final constitution. They also urge De Klerk to halt the negotiation process until consensus emerges over constitutional issues.

Adding grist to the mill, Inkatha's Walter Felgate appeared to threaten "unleashing the wrath of 2m supporters" to thwart the election date.

By Tuesday it was estimated that more than 100 people had died since the weekend in a surge in Inkatha-ANC clashes in Natal and the Transvaal.

Natal political scientist Ian Philips sees two interpretations of those developments. "The first is that this is Inkatha's last act of bravado because people like Joe Mathews (Inkatha's ex-communist chief negotiator and Buthelezi adviser) know they must remain in the negotiations. This, therefore, is a last-ditch attempt to say that Inkatha isn't giving up without a fight. It will also show that when Inkatha does compromise, it does not do so meekly."

The other, less generous, interpretation is that this is the beginning of the parting of the ways and a clear attempt by Buthelezi to use the monarchy to force people to accept that Inkatha stands for all Zulus and vice versa. "In other words, it's an election ploy."

Betting is Inkatha will return to the talks, if only to reject the draft constitution.
Inkatha and ANC begin peace meetings

ANC and Inkatha regional leaders began a series of meetings in Johannesburg yesterday in an attempt to resolve the conflict in East Rand townships, where 96 people have died since Friday.

By yesterday, relative calm had returned to Katlehong and Thokoza, but police reported the death of an SAP sergeant who was abducted and beaten to death while handcuffed to a friend.

Police spokesman Lt Janine Smith said the second man was seriously injured and was "fighting for his life" in hospital. She said the sergeant and his friend were stopped at an intersection yesterday morning and dragged from their vehicle.

"The two were later found in the veld on the outskirts of the township, handcuffed together. The sergeant was dead," she said.

Three other bodies were discovered in the township yesterday, Smith said.

Inkatha, ANC, Cosatu and SACP regional leaders yesterday announced the formation of a liaison structure to ensure regular meetings between the organisations.

They would meet again on Tuesday to discuss a 12-point plan aimed at ending East Rand violence. The agenda for the meeting would include conflict between hostels and the community, the right to own property, the right to hold marches and demonstrations, the removal of impediments to transport, incitement and cultural weapons.

Inkatha Transvaal leader Themba Khoza and ANC regional leader Obed Bapela told a news conference yesterday their organisations fully endorsed an agreement aimed at curbing violence reached by political and civic organisations and security forces on Wednesday.

Supporters would be addressed to ensure the agreement was adhered to.

In terms of the agreement, public trans-
Buthelezi slams Mandela's 'smear'  
June 22.  

When Mandela called Inkatha a surrogate organisation at the UN last year, it led to a standoff between the two leaders that scuppered all attempts by the peace committee to get binding agreements from them to help stop the violence.

Buthelezi said the latest remarks were "untruthful provocation which will further exacerbate tensions between our two parties and hinder the peace process". Mandela had to be aware that the statements were "inflammatory and an explicit contravention of the code of conduct for politi-

Buthelezi: "I am not concerned about advances in the negotiations process."

While he believed their recent meeting had gone a long way towards resolving their differences so they could work for peace, Mandela's statements had "again" imperilled that process, he said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation's view was that violence was orchestrated by sinister forces and that the recent violence was timed to coincide with the announcement of an election date and..."
Buthelezi lambasts Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The fragile reconciliation between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi looks set to be undone once again following “provocative statements” made in the US. Chief Buthelezi accused Mr Mandela yesterday of “vicious smears” and said the ANC leader had violated their June accord.

He reacted angrily to statements attributed to Mr Mandela during his tour of Chicago this week. Reports quote Mr Mandela as saying “Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by sinister forces”. Chief Buthelezi said yesterday: “One wonders why Mr Mandela has chosen to once again seek to viciously smear both myself and the IFP and in so doing blatantly renege on recent agreements reached by us on June 23.” ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the problem of violence was not for just the two leaders to resolve but the whole political leadership. "Buthelezi could have raised this problem through the joint preparatory committee that the two organisations have set up. He should use the structures and not the press."
ABOUT THA

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOLLOWING this week's release of proposed regional boundaries for a future SA by various political organisations, the issue of federalism has now forced its way into the open.

Now ordinary people will have a chance to scrutinise the proposals – not just lawyers and constitutional experts.

With the ANC, the National Party and the rightwing Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) having gone public with their views on what the new SA should look like – including an Afrikaner homeland – regionalism/federalism is likely to dominate political discussions in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

Rights

What powers should the regions that will ultimately emerge have? What will be their relation to central government? These are among the sticky questions that will tax the minds of politicians and citizens in the coming months.

However, some experts warn about the danger of focusing on constitutional principles only while ignoring socio-economic development; the rights and responsibilities of individuals and the kind of constitution that would best serve citizens and communities.

Engineers have also waded into the subject and advised that water catchments, commuter transport, resources and the seat of government are major factors to be considered when boundaries are being drawn up for future regions.

According to the South African Association of Consulting Engineers, in terms of water resource development there would be enormous advantages if regional borders were chosen to follow watersheds rather than river courses.

As far as other resources such as mineral deposits, natural forests and conservation areas were concerned, the association said it was important not to divide resources unnecessarily.

Such is the sensitive nature of regionalism/federalism that Inkatha, the CP, AVU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments have intimated that they will not take part in future elections unless this issue is resolved before any hustings.

Some development experts argue that regionalism/federalism issues could well determine whether the country emerges as a true democratic and non-racial society.

It is also argued that the manner in which this issue is addressed will fundamentally affect the country's chances of dealing successfully with what Ann Bernstein of the Urban Foundation (UF) describes as the “three great national challenges facing the country”.

These are:

- Massive socio-economic development;
- Building a democracy; and
- Returning to sustained and inclusive economic growth.

By finally making public their draft proposals on the delimitation of regional boundaries, the ANC, government and AVU have placed before the masses an issue which has been vigorously debated behind closed doors.

It is interesting to note that to a large extent the government's two proposed regions and those of the ANC are not dissimilar.

Such is the convergence of views between the two that the government has completely moved away from the Verwoerdian dream of defining regions along ethnic/linguistic/cultural lines.

Two of the AVU’s eight regions are to all practical purposes based on ethnic/linguistic/cultural considerations.

The two regions with a strong Afrikaans influence are Afrikanerland, which includes the Pretoria/Verwoerdburg/Akasia metropolitan area as well as the eastern Transvaal.

The second is Oranje which comprises most of the present Cape province.

According to the AVU, the two regions are respectively the
areas where the highest density of Afrikaners are to be found and where the most Afrikaans-speaking people resided.

Interestingly enough, both regions are dominated by people who are not blacks.

Blacks are in the majority in the Afrikanerland and the Orange region is dominated by coloured people.

The moderate rightwing party stressed that no forced removals would take place from the regions and that the recommendations were based on strong regional government.

Although serious efforts were made to steer away from boundaries with echoes of the discredited homeland sytem or on areas based on ethnic considerations, most regions are still dominated by blacks with the exception of the western Cape where Afrikaans-speaking people are in the majority.

But, it seems drawing up those boundaries was comparatively easier than addressing some of the other problems which go hand in hand with regionalism.

Difficulties with regionalism arise when trying to strike a balance between the powers given to federal states or regions and those retained by central government.

Inkatha and members of the Concerned South Africans Group want these points cleared up and written into a constitution before elections.

In an interview in the UF's bulletin, Development and Democracy, the ANC's director of legal and constitutional affairs, Zola Skweyiya, comes into conflict with Inkatha and Cosas when he accepts the need for constitutional safeguards and constraints for regions but at the same time maintains that residual powers lie with central government.

The ANC has a deep mistrust of strong regional government as advocated by Inkatha and its alliance partners because of fears that should these entities have too much power (particularly Buthelezi), regional leaders may be tempted to secede or not to work in the national interest.

KwaZulu chief spokesman at the negotiations, Ben Ngubane, has acknowledged in the UF bulletin that Inkatha's much vaunted model of regional government, the KwaZulu/Natal constitution, is a more confederal than federal document.

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Although fears of secession into account existing boundaries; and

Popular acceptance and a sense of rightness should be taken into account.

Proposal

The ANC's proposed regions are: western Cape; northern Cape (including the western districts of Bophuthatswana); Free State (including QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu); eastern Cape which is divided into Border, southern Transkei and Border-Ken (including Ciskei, Transkei and east Griqualand); Natal; eastern Transvaal including KaNgwane; northern Transvaal (including Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda).

The government's proposals are: south western Cape (including Cape Town); north western Cape; eastern Cape; Border-Ken; Free State, western Transvaal, Vryburg and QwaQwa; Natal/KwaZulu; eastern Transvaal/Kangwane; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and KwaZweleni; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

Egoli

The other government option is: northern, southern and western Cape; eastern Cape, Border/Ken; Free State, QwaQwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/KwaZulu; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and KwaZweleni; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

The AVU's recommended regions are: Kaap van Goed Hoop (Cape of Good Hope) which includes the Cape Town metropolitan area and southern Cape coastal region; the Kei, made up of the Transkei, Ciskei and Border region; Satswa which includes the Free State, western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana; Capricorn, which comprises most of the northern Transvaal; KwaZulu and Egoli, the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle region.
Basic differences may be bridged

Talks: crucial compromise

By Esther Waugh
and Chris Whithfield

South Africa's negotiators yesterday took one of the biggest leaps forward in the talks process to date.

A day of straight talking in five hours of bilateral meetings led to a crucial compromise proposal on the process to move from apartheid to democracy.

The deal, accepted by "moderate communists" in the Negotiating Council, is poised to bridge fundamental differences between those wanting an elected constitution-making body and parties demanding that significant regionalism be agreed upon now.

The breakthrough resolution mapped out, in essence, the process for the transition to a new constitution. The Conservative Party opposed the resolution while the Afrikaner Volksfront, the IFP and the KwaZulu Natal government—all members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag)—reserved their positions.

However, some Cosag members confirmed privately they were encouraged. They would now wait to see how the agreement was ratified in a draft document which a negotiations technical committee has been mandated to compile.

The compromise includes agreement that:
- A proportional representation election will elect national and regional interim governments—including the constitution-making body.
- Constitutional principles, including those for "strong" regional and central government, would be adopted by the multiparty negotiating process and be binding on the constitution-making body.
- Boundaries for the regions will be determined for elections and during the interim phase by the commission on the delimitation of regions.
- Powers, functions and structures of regions will be agreed upon in the multiparty negotiating chamber and entrenched in the interim constitution.
- A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission will be created.

Although no time frame was set, the progress could give the negotiation process a significant boost. Implicit in the proposals are that there will be a single constitution for the entire country, and no separate regional constitutions.

The compromise will go a long way to allay the fears of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) parties on entrenched regional governments, and IFP sources were last night delighted. The Government, ANC, and their respective affiliates have won concessions for an elected constitution-making body.
Tension rises after Inkatha call to arms

By FRED KHUMALO

FEARS of bloody conflict have gripped the Natal Midlands following Inkatha's withdrawal from all peace negotiations with the ANC and the movement's call to its supporters to arm themselves.

Inkatha's call to arms comes in the wake of the bloody spree of violence which left 17 people dead in the Natal Midlands at the weekend. (II)

Ironically, the Inkatha call came on the day the party was due to meet the ANC and members of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in attempts to broker peace in the embattled Richmond area.

Eight people were killed on Friday in the Phatheni area, an Inkatha stronghold. Hours later nine people – six of them children – were murdered at Hlala Hlala.

This brings to 41 the number of people killed in political violence in Richmond this year.

As tensions rose not only in Richmond, but in most parts of the Natal Midlands, a meeting was organised by the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) in a last-ditch attempt to bring the ANC and Inkatha to the negotiating table.

But, in a week where tensions have reached critical levels between Inkatha and the ANC nationally, the Natal Midlands Inkatha executive spurned the RDRC's olive branch and officially pulled out of all future negotiations with the ANC.

The movement called on its members to "arm and organise themselves into Self Protection Units".

But Natal Midlands ANC deputy chairman Dr Blade Nzimande warned Inkatha not to initiate a civil war "as they will never win it".

Inkatha claimed the latest attacks on its members followed a pattern which started at the beginning of the year.

The aim of the attacks, said Natal Midlands Inkatha secretary Philip Powell, was to gain leverage over Inkatha in the build-up towards elections.

"The continued murder of innocent women and children by gangs of ANC bandits has led our constituency to demand that we cease all further negotiations with the ANC on this issue," he said, adding 12,000 Inkatha members had been driven out of their homes in Gingerske, Magoda, Ndzalele, and Simozembeni.

However, Nzimande said the source of the problem was the refusal of Inkatha to allow ANC members to return to their homes in Phatheni.

The conflict in Phatheni revolves around the fact that Inkatha claims the ANC wants to get rid of Chief Z Dlamini, the reigning chief.

But the ANC has in the past explained it was not opposed to the ubuhloko (chiefdom) institution, but opposed to amakhosi who were partisan – and the chief in question had unleashed violence against ANC-supporting people, the organisation claimed.

For two years now ANC supporters from Phatheni have taken refuge in sympathetic neighbouring settlements following Inkatha attacks on their homes.

Late last year a tentative peace settlement was struck between the two sides and hundreds of refugees started flocking back to their abandoned homes.

But no sooner had they arrived in the area than ANC youths were summoned to the chief's house to "apologise for questioning his legitimacy" – a summons which they did not heed. They were again hounded out of the area. Security forces prevented a bloodbath.

Democratic Party violence monitor Radley Keys said the mood in the Natal Midlands was "despondent" following the Inkatha call to arms and pull-out from talks.
We're Generals paid for guns or spying?

Forbets in Arms

Against the communists, I will join me in the fight.

Bob, Cisco, and Inkhata
More Than Words to end Violence

By Moses Malela

Police and government officials came together to discuss the escalation of violence in Khayelitsha. The question of safety was a major concern, and the police could only deal with the situation if the community was willing to help. The formation of a community police forum was suggested, and many members of the community agreed. While this was a step in the right direction, the violence continued to persist. The police and other officials worked together to find solutions, but progress was slow.

ANC and Inkatha conflict continued, and the violence was escalating. The situation was desperate, and the government was desperate to find a solution. The Khayelitsha residents were frustrated and tired of the violence. More than 300 people have been killed in Khayelitsha this year, and the violence shows no signs of stopping. It is time for the government to take action and end the violence.
ANC-IFP pact ‘to withstand strains’

Political Staff

AGREEMENTS reached last month between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are likely to stand.

New strain was put on the relationship between the ANC president and the IFP leader after Mr. Mandela made statements in the United States about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP last week.

Chief Buthelezi objected strenuously to Mr. Mandela’s statements, which he said did the quest for peace and reconciliation “a great disservice”.

One of the main agreements bound the two to address joint rallies in violence-torn areas.

Mr. Mandela was quoted as having told the US Press that Chief Buthelezi allowed himself “to be used by sinister forces”, and that the IFP was “a surrogate” of the government.

The IFP leader said that by again seeking “to viciously smear” both himself and the IFP, Mr. Mandela had “blatantly renege[d] on agreements reached at their meeting outside Johannesbarg on June 23.

He said Mr. Mandela’s statements amounted to an “untruthful provocation which will further exacerbate tensions between our two parties and hinder the peace process”.

However, the IFP leader later told The Argus’s sister newspaper, the Star, that he had not repudiated the agreements reached at their meeting.

“The status of the agreements on my side is not in question,” the IFP leader said.

ANC PWV and Southern Natal regional leaders Tokyo Sexwale and Jeff Radebe have denied that Mr. Mandela had violated either the code of conduct for political parties contained in the Peace Accord or the spirit of agreements reached in the two leaders’ June 23 meeting.

The ANC, they said, remained committed to both peace and the agreements reached.

Mr. Mandela first made his accusations about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP when he addressed the United Nations in New York about a year ago.

An angry Chief Buthelezi subsequently refused to hold talks with Mr. Mandela, and laid a complaint with the National Peace Committee, which failed to resolve the dispute.

Chief Buthelezi said “provocative statements” specifically linking the recent spate of violence to those wishing to block or postpone the April 27 election were “a travesty of the truth and cheap party-political rhetoric at the expense of the on-going suffering of our people who deserve better.”
Decisions cannot be ‘forced on Inkatha’

DURBAN — There could be no way forward at the negotiations without agreement by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu government, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a rally yesterday. He said government and the ANC would never succeed in “forcing decisions down our throats”, and warned that Inkatha would mobilise massive public support to prevent any such attempt.

Buthelezi was addressing about 30,000 Zulus at an Imbizo — a traditional gathering called by the Zulu king — at Kings Park Stadium. He repeated his charge that the ANC and government were in cahoots at the negotiation forum, saying KwaZulu had walked out last week in rejection of a unitary state and constituent assembly.

But the KwaZulu government was still committed to negotiations, said Buthelezi.

“The only way forward is to stake our claim at the national level and to persist in our attempts to secure national support,” the Inkatha leader again claimed government and the ANC were attempting to “destroy” KwaZulu but warned that “Kwa-

Zulu stands as a colossus in the path of those who want to force the unitary state formula on SA”.

He reiterated Inkatha and the KwaZulu government’s demand for a federal form of state, saying that this was not linked to personal or sectarian power ambitions or “because we are afraid of the political world out there”.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu government favoured federalism because it would better address socio-economic problems, such as poverty and hunger.

“Heterogeneity in society must be respected. The communist dream of making one united socialist state of SA will never be realised.”

Buthelezi was addressing one of two Imbizos called by King Goodwill Zwelithini. Another takes place at Johannesburg’s FNB Stadium next weekend.

Organisers have stressed the Imbizos are not Inkatha-arranged gatherings but Zulu cultural meetings. This has been strongly contested by the ANC in Natal, which has accused Buthelezi of using King Zwelithini for his own political ends.

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Probe into local govt ethics almost done

PRETORIA — The Krugel commission into local government ethics is to hold a further session before submitting its report to Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough. Commission chairman Willem Krugel said the final session, scheduled for Monday July 79 in Johannesburg, was to allow mainly for the comments and written testimonies of non-governmental organisations and members of the public.

The commission’s central brief is to investigate whether it is proper or not for a serving town councillor to be involved in property developments within his own council’s area of jurisdiction. It had been alleged that a conflict of interests could make councillors vulnerable to corruption. The Krugel report is expected to have important ramifications concerning local government.

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ADRIAN HADLAND
Zulu king urged to make choice

By Kaker Nytsumba
Political Correspondent

The ANC yesterday accused the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) of manipulating King Goodwill Zwelithini, and has called on the king to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody".

He said the time had now come for Zwelithini, "who had been manipulated by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium", to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

Both Buthelezi and Zwelithini reportedly told the gathering that there could be no elections before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa.

Addressing an estimated 30,000 people, Zwelithini said he had called the gathering to protest against the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu.

Democratic Party Natal executive chairman Kobus Jordaan said it was unfortunate that the king was "being drawn into an unnecessary political point-scoring debate".

If KwaZulu became part of the Natal/KwaZulu region in a future regional dispensation, it was obvious that the KwaZulu structures - never similar to the original kingdom of Zulus - and the Natal Provincial Administration would have to disappear.

● Buthelezi flays Govt. ANC - Page 6
Buthelezi to launch IFP campaign in Cape Town

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to launch the IFP's election effort in the Western Cape tomorrow at his first public meeting in Cape Town.

The City Hall meeting, coupled with a PAC rally in Athlone at the end of the month, is expected to heighten electoral competition among the big parties in the Western Cape.

IFP organisers expect a large crowd for tomorrow's meeting but say this depends on the weather.

The meeting is being advertised under the slogan: "Don't be ruled ... rule yourself in a federal South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi will be inaugurating "several" new IFP branches in the Western Cape during his visit this week.

Party officials say Inkatha is gaining popularity in the region, particularly among whites.

Tomorrow's meeting follows a similar one last night in Port Elizabeth, at which Chief Buthelezi said the IFP would stay out of the multiparty talks if there was no guarantee of a federal system of government.

To do anything else would be committing political suicide, he said.

"God will help us (if things go beyond peace)," he told a cheering audience of about 400 — including many rightwing Afrikaners — in the Conservative Party stronghold of Algoa Park.

"We are not prepared to be bullied into our own suicide."

He said the IFP stood firm in its belief that the approach of the ANC and the government would not lead to democracy.

By agreeing to a constituent assembly "we are throwing away our chances of securing a federal system of government."

"What has South Africa done to deserve the National Party? What will we do to deserve an ANC government? If we are to make the new South Africa a place in which it is safe to bring up our children, we need to fight tooth and nail to stop the ANC and the government from imposing unitary plans on our country."

"Our view of democracy is not the kind of democracy which is glibly mouthed by the heads of totalitarian governments."

"Our view of democracy is not the kind that has held South Africa hostage to sanctions, to violence, to intimidation, stayaways and bond and consumer boycotts."

"If democracy as defined by so-called liberators is to account itself as a political opposition, South Africa can do without it."

"If democracy is to beat up old women because they dare to shop at white-owned shops, you can have it. If it means newspapers which do not toe the line are targeted for threats and boycotts, we don't want it."

"Yet all this has been done to South Africans in the name of democracy."

Instead of overthrowing the apartheid regime the ANC had joined hands with it for the reward of sharing power in a constituent assembly, he said.

The PAC has asked the business community for cash for its rally at the end of the month.

The rally is to be addressed by PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

He is expected to focus attention on the PAC's demand for an elected constituent assembly, and immediate transition to a fully democratic dispensation, stripped of interim or power-sharing features.
Buthelezi flays Govt, ANC

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The Government has cast aside the interests of its supporters in its haste to jump into bed with the ANC. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting in Port Elizabeth, Buthelezi again accused the Government and the ANC of entering into secret deals and said the National Party appeared to have forgotten the promises which saw it win last year's referendum.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said what South Africa needed now was "broad-based social and political consensus" on the need for economic growth and the means to achieve it.

He said the Government — which had cast aside its supporters' interests in its fight for political survival — had done little to alleviate the fears of its people.

Buthelezi said the IFP had been warning about the Government's "sell-out, position" for almost a year now, and said Pretoria's acceptance of a government of national unity with a five-year term was "yet another facade for a pact to exclude all others from... government".

"The citizens of South Africa, after years of bitter struggle and sacrifice, will refuse to be subjected to another demoralising dictatorship which will strip them of their freedom and their basic civil rights.

"The five-year transitional proposal tabled at multi-party negotiations imposes a solution which is the least likely to produce results respectful and protective of cultural and social pluralism," Buthelezi said.

President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela also came in for censure for their behaviour in the US last week.

South Africa, Buthelezi said, needed to move speedily towards a settlement. If negotiations went on indefinitely, the process would lose legitimacy — "an outcome our country can ill afford".
ANC calls on Zulu king to choose

The ANC yesterday accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of manipulating Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and has bluntly called on the king "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP."

In what amounts to an ultimatum to Zwelithini, ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody.

He said the time had now come for Zwelithini, who had been manipulated by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium, to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

"Kings among Zulus are respected for their deeds," Makhaye said.

He said the ANC was "shocked" by Zwelithini's manipulation, which the IFP had done "in all its military intelligence-sponsored rallies."

According to Makhaye, the IFP had called the King's Park Stadium rally in the guise of a Zulu "imbizo" because it was acutely aware of its lack of support among "patriotic Zulus."

Both Buthelezi and Zwelithini told the gathering that there could be no elections in the country before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu-Natal region.

Addressing an estimated 30,000 people, Zwelithini said he had called the gathering to "protest at the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu". Makhaye said Sunday's rally would go down in history "as the day on which Zulu pride was desecrated and stabbed in the belly."

"The great Zulu kings like Shaka, Dingane and Cetshwayo must be turning in their graves, for if they were alive today they would be at the forefront of those demanding an immediate date for elections." - Sowetan Correspondent.
IFP won't get a better deal

Government, ANC respond to Zulu leadership

they keep holding the whole of South Africa and the negotiating process to ransom. We have conceded so much and cannot continue trying to meet Inkatha when they keep changing the goalposts.

The ANC and DP, in separate statements, also said the Zulu kingdom was not the same as apartheid-created structures such as KwaZulu and its legislative assembly.

The ANC said it was not trying to destroy the Zulu kingdom but it was fighting to dismantle all apartheid-created structures, including KwaZulu.

The DP said the KwaZulu government was brought into being by the mother of all apartheid legislation, the Self-Governing States Constitution Act, and the kingdom of the Zulus had never been one and the same as the KwaZulu government.

"The Zulu kingdom, like all others, will thrive under a democratic South Africa," the ANC's three Natal regions said.

"The ANC cannot be accused of trying to dismantle the Zulu kingdom... Democracy will restore their dignity and will end their manipulation by apartheid," they said in a statement issued by Natal ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye.

"Zulus have always been part of South Africa and the struggle for national liberation. No force on earth will succeed in trying to isolate and quarantine any section of South Africans."

"The IFP, knowing its lack of support among patriotic Zulu-speaking South Africans, decided to call the rally in the name of His Majesty. It decided to con the people by calling its rally a Zulu Umhlanga," the statement said.

The DP said in a statement, issued by the chairman of its regional executive, Mr Kobus Jordan, that if KwaZulu became part of the new Natal/KwaZulu region with its own constitution, it was obvious that present structures would disappear.
ANC, govt tell Inkatha: enough is enough

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government had “got the best deal they were likely to get” at negotiations and had to start compromising, government and ANC negotiators said yesterday.

They were responding to speeches by Buthelezi and Zulu King Zwelithini Goodwill on Sunday in which they demanded that KwaZulu/Natal be regarded as a region and that it be allowed to draft and have accepted a regional constitution before national elections took place.

A senior government source said: “Inkatha has been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it.

BILLY PADDOCK

The other parties are not going to accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election.”

Everyone had tried to meet them and their fears. “They must now shift and show some flexibility,” he said.

An ANC negotiator said: “Enough is enough. Why should they keep holding the whole of SA and the negotiating process to ransom? We have conceded so much and can not continue trying to meet Inkatha when they keep changing the goalposts.”

He said the negotiating council had been studying a technical report which “at best allows for regional arrangements during the interim”.

“But these have to be in line with the interim constitution and if we decide finally that regions can have asymmetrical constitutions, then these cannot be in conflict with the national constitution.”

If KwaZulu went ahead with its constitution, which was unveiled in December and which took no cognisance of negotiated constitutional principles, it was showing no commitment to the process of negotiations, he said.

The government source said Inkatha seemed intent on creating its own fiefdom with scant regard for the national interest.
IFP adviser applies to be honorary Ciskeian

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party foreign adviser Mr Mario Ambrosini, who was ejected from the negotiating forum 10 days' ago because he was a foreigner, has attempted to get honorary Ciskeian citizenship to allow him to participate directly in talks.

However, he has so far stopped short of formally applying for either homeland or South African citizenship because if he does "he loses his US citizenship and this he does not wish to do," a senior Ciskei government source said yesterday.

He has regularly been asked to leave the floor as he is not entitled to negotiate or advise. He has been seen to "borrow" delegate accreditation badges and sneak into the council.
INKATHA Freedom Party adviser Mario Ambrossini, ejected from the negotiating forum 10 days ago because he is a foreigner, has attempted to get honorary Ciskei citizenship to allow him to take part directly in talks.

A senior Ciskei government source said yesterday he had stopped short of formally applying for homeland or SA citizenship because he risked "losing his US citizenship, and this he does not wish to do".

Ambrossini — who has regularly been asked to leave the floor as he is not entitled to negotiate or advise — now stands little chance of being allowed into the negotiating chamber. He has been seen to "borrow" delegate accreditation badges and sneak into the council backbenches. But Manpower Minister Leon Wessels is known to keep an eye open for these escapades and bring them to the notice of the chairman.

The Ciskei government yesterday confirmed that Ambrossini had made overtures. A spokesman for the Office of the Council of State said: "This department is able to confirm that Ciskei citizenship has not been made available to Dr Ambrossini. The required criteria for citizenship could not be met in this case."

The government source said citizenship was not granted as no formal application was made. The forms completed by Ambrossini in effect said that "if you offer me citizenship, I will gladly accept it.

It is understood that Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi have communicated over the matter, with the latter apparently conveying his appreciation for attempts to accommodate Ambrossini.
IFP out of talks

By Thembekile Mfolozi

Somethem 11/17/93
Inkatha members in right-wing group

PRETORIA — A senior Inkatha Freedom Party official yesterday admitted that the party had an overlapping membership with the extreme right-wing World Preservationist Movement (WPM), formerly known as the World Apartheid Movement.

Vereeniging Inkatha organiser Chris Theunissen said he was not aware of a "major" overlap in membership between Inkatha and the WPM, but said there was no conflict of interest between the two.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was dismayed by the involvement of international right-wing organisations in the violence.

Theunissen said Victor Kheswa — a member of Inkatha and the WPM — had been used as a scapegoat for violence committed by rival factions in the ANC.

Niehaus denied this.

Kheswa died in police custody at the weekend after being arrested in Johannesburg on Friday in connection with the murder of 19 people on the eve of SACP leader Chris Hani's funeral in March.

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Inkatha

The Times

Three policemen of the Vanderbijlpark unrest and violent crime investigation unit have been suspended in connection with the case and murder charges are being investigated.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Maj Piet van Deventer said Kheswa had been taken to Sasolburg Hospital on Saturday morning after being removed from police cells earlier. He was declared dead on arrival at the hospital.

Van Deventer said it was not yet clear why he was taken to the hospital.

WPM leader Koos Vermeulen said yesterday he was convinced Kheswa had been taken to Sasolburg to ensure that an autopsy would be done in Bloemfontein.

He warned that his organisation would insist on a second autopsy if it was not satisfied with the findings of the first.

He said his organisation had started recruiting black members after becoming a multiracial body earlier this year.

The organisation had no formal links with other organisations, but it had discussions with leaders of ethnic groups who were concerned about Xhosa domination in a future political dispensation. "We say to black people that we will fight for their land, language and culture. All we expect of them is do the same for us."

Theunissen said one of Kheswa's co-accused, Hunter Ndlovu, had been tortured in custody and Inkatha planned to lay a charge of assault.

To Page 1.
ANC prepared to meet Zulu king

By Kalzer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The row surrounding Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini’s alleged manipulation by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) took another turn yesterday with ANC president Nelson Mandela saying his organisation would be prepared to meet the leader to address his concerns.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his return from the United States, Mandela said the ANC had taken note of concerns raised by Zwelithini in Durban at the weekend, and was happy that he had come forward to express them.

The ANC, Mandela said, would “listen very carefully” to Zwelithini’s concerns, and would do everything possible to address them.

However, the ANC would not “be drawn into the use of labels like federalism”.

“We will listen very carefully to His Majesty and hear what his demands are,” he said.

Insofar as it lies within our powers, we will go all out to accommodate his demands,” said a conciliatory Mandela.

His response differed markedly from that of the ANC in Natal, which has accused the IFP of manipulating the king and bluntly called on Zwelithini “to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP”.

**Ultimatum**

In what observers saw as an ultimatum to Zwelithini, ANC Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said while Zulus had always respected their “patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody”.

Makhaye said the time had now come for Zwelithini to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party and “patriotic Zulus”.

“Kings among Zulus are respected for their deeds,” he said.

Zwelithini addressed a gathering at Durban’s King’s Park Stadium on Sunday with Buthelezi.

He said there could be no elections in the country before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu/Natal region.

Yesterday Mandela said the ANC would welcome an opportunity to discuss Zwelithini’s concerns with him, and would therefore be prepared to meet the king at a mutually convenient place and time.

“We believe that the king’s concerns are crucial and should be handled in a manner satisfactory to all people, including traditional leaders,” the ANC leader said.

Mandela said the ANC was willing to send an emissary to the king within a week to make arrangements for the meeting.

He welcomed Zwelithini’s statement that he was above party politics and did not side with any political organisation.

The ANC, said Mandela, hoped this would pave the way for Zwelithini to play a major and constructive role in unifying our people and help create a climate for peace and free political activity”.

NEWS  IFP offered 'best deal possible'  • Court sequel

Talks' ball in IFP court

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

THE Government and ANC are adopting a wait-and-see attitude regarding Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision not to return to the multiparty negotiations.

Buthelezi told a meeting in Port Elizabeth this week the Inkatha Freedom Party would not return to negotiations before a federal system of government had been agreed upon.

He said to continue participating in multiparty negotiations before this condition was met would amount to "political suicide" and warned the IFP was "not prepared to be bullied into our own suicide." Both the Government and ANC agreed, however, that Buthelezi had received "the best deal he was likely to get" and had to start making compromises.

A senior Government source said: "Inkatha has been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it.

"The other parties are not going to accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election."

An ANC executive showed little concern, saying Buthelezi was "holding South Africa and the negotiating process to ransom" while all parties at the negotiating council had made many concessions.
Buthelezi used govt car in PE

PORT ELIZABETH — An official at the government garage in Port Elizabeth confirmed that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi used a government car while attending an IFP meeting in the city on Monday.

The official, Ms V. Knoetze, said this was standard procedure for heads of state.

A spokesman for the Democratic Party, Bobby Stevenson, said if Chief Buthelezi had used the government transport this was wrong because taxpayers' money was used.

"We believe if people are on purely party political business they should provide their own transport," Stevenson said.

It raised the question of whether the political playing field was level when certain parties had access to state-funded facilities, he said.

New steel wage offer gets a 'no'

By Paul Bell
Labour Correspondent

Steel and engineering employers have made a final wage offer of seven percent — upping their previous offer by one percent.

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA put its position yesterday but applied a little pressure. It told union negotiators it would backdate its offer to July 1 if agreement could be reached in principle by next Friday.

Labour's response was mixed. The largest union, the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), rejected the offer. Those unions comprising mainly skilled artisans indicated a conditional acceptance. Two others indicated they would refer to their members.

Seifsa's offer is on condition that unions allow employers in the Natal Midlands and Cape regions to pay less than the agreed national level. In the Free State and Northern Cape, employers should be able to implement the wage increases only from January 1, 1994.

Numsa's national negotiator, Les Ketteldas, recalled the union's congressional mandate to negotiators barely 10 days ago not to accept any wage increase less than inflation.

"In view of this, acceptance on our part is unlikely," he said.

While Ketteldas would not be drawn on the principal implication — that Numsa will declare a dispute — other union officials felt this was quite likely.

Seifsa also tabled its acceptance that employers would disclose information to unions on the need for retrenchment, and to help them find ways to avoid it.
Chief Buthelezi launches campaign:

ANC deals.

Only the NP can stop the NP.

The NP wins.
IFP shows most growth: Buthelezi

By Patrick Laurence

The IPP is the fastest growing political party in South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told businessmen at a working breakfast yesterday.

For that reason, he had no plans to opt out of national politics and settle for a role as regional leader, Buthelezi said, citing towns outside Natal-KwaZulu — Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth — where he had recently addressed IPP meetings.

"I have IPP branches that I did not have before... how can I withdraw from national politics when I am getting branches all over the country?"

On the issue of whether the IPP would take part in the election scheduled for April 27 next year, Buthelezi replied that he had no problem with the date, provided that "first things are settled first".

He reiterated his commitment to a federal system which would provide for strong central government and largely autonomous regions, citing the United States as a role model, but noting that the proposed KwaZulu-Natal constitution would cede more powers to the central government than did the United States constitution to Washington.

Referring to his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela on June 23, Buthelezi quoted Mandela as saying he wanted a provincial system of government similar to that in South Africa before provincial government powers were interfered with and diluted.

The ANC proposal that a new constitution be drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly precluded federalism because "nowhere in the world has a sovereign parliament elected on a unitary basis produced a federation"
Govt ‘sold’ its constituency

Staff Reporter

The government has sold out its constituency by colluding with the ANC about a constitutional settlement so that a few government members could retain senior positions in a government of transition.

Addressing a meeting of about 350 people in the City Hall last night, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the government had promised its constituency during the referendum that negotiations would lead to power-sharing and that built-in guarantees would ensure that domination would be impossible.

“In total contradiction, the government/ANC five-year plan embodies a two-stage transitional process which will empower an elected constituent assembly to draft the final constitution during a transition period of five years.”

Chief Buthelezi, who received a standing ovation before and after his speech from an almost exclusively white audience, said the formal endorsement of this proposal would mean that the South African government was acting outside the mandate of the referendum agreement.

“In order to accommodate these proposals the government would have to abandon its original referendum directive to negotiate for a fully-fledged constitution detailing the powers and boundaries of the regions and the states in the transitional constitution, prior to the election of the new government.

At Codesa II the IFP and the government held the same positions on these issues and Chief Buthelezi said he remembered former government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen assuring Inkatha that the government also rejected the idea of a constituent assembly.

The record of understanding between the government and the ANC therefore came as a big surprise to the IFP.

“There are many members of government who are naturally opposed to the clandestine deals struck between the official government negotiators and the ANC.

“I have been notified that there are many cabinet ministers who are deliberately kept uninformed about compromises the government is prepared to make, in order to avoid the show-down this would cause.”

The IFP has entered the election campaign with an appeal for funding of the IFP and the “Mangosuthu Buthelezi Election Fund”, Sapa reports.

The appeal, contained in a party pamphlet marked personal and confidential, was distributed at a business breakfast in Johannesburg hotel yesterday which was addressed by Chief Buthelezi.

Hardly a Zulu weapon in sight — Page 4
ANC, government bid to smooth IFP ruffled feathers

Political Correspondent
PRETORIA — Efforts to address the Zulu threat to negotiations begin with government-Inkatha Freedom Party talks in Pretoria tomorrow and could be advanced by Mr. Nelson Mandela’s offer to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Government circles indicated that a meeting between IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk might offer a solution to the IFP intransigence at the negotiating table and a threat not to return to negotiations when they resume on Monday.

An ANC source said such a meeting could indeed be constructive and if Mr De Klerk “was willing to pull out all the stops to convince Buthelezi to remain within negotiations, it could work.”

He said the ANC had nothing further to offer the IFP.

“The feeling is that we have gone as far as can reasonably — or even unreasonably — be expected. Any further compromises would put us in jeopardy with our own constituency.”

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed today that the ANC would send an envoy to King Goodwill within a week.

Mr. Mandela’s offer to meet the king follows the row which began at the weekend when statements by the king brought accusations by the ANC in Natal of manipulation by the IFP.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport soon after his return from the United States yesterday, Mr. Mandela said the ANC had taken note of concerns raised by King Goodwill, and was happy that he had come forward to express them.

“We believe that the king’s concerns are crucial and should be handled in a manner satisfactory to all, including traditional leaders,” the ANC leader said.

His response differed markedly from that of the ANC in Natal, which has accused the IFP of manipulating the king and bluntly called on him “to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP.”

The row erupted when King Goodwill, who addressed a gathering in Durban on Sunday with Chief Buthelezi, said there could be no elections before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included under a constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu/Natal region.

Meanwhile, government sources confirmed that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would lead a government delegation to a meeting with the IFP in Pretoria tomorrow.
WPM linked to security forces — Inkatha

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress have linked the right-wing World Preservatist Movement to the security forces.

The IPF also said it knew nothing about alleged mass murderer and Inkatha member Victor Kheswana’s links with the movement, as suggested by WPM leader Koos Vermeulen and confirmed by an IPF Vaal Triangle official, had been fabricated.

"Vermeulen’s concern for Kheswana’s alleged torture at the hands of the SAP is a red herring."

Inkatha said: "The WPM’s involvement with the death in custody of Victor Kheswana is part of a systematic smear campaign against the IPF by the State."

"The IPF is aware that State intelligence organisations have as their mission the sinister linking of the IPF with the right-wing and violence."

The ANC alleged that Mr Vermeulen was a former commander at the Vilaklasa police base in Pretoria, where Askaris — "turned" anti-apartheid activists — and alleged police hit squads were trained.

"The public demands to know what is the relationship between the WPM, Vilaklasa, Askaris and alleged police hit squads?"

Apparenty referring to a statement on Tuesday by Vaal IPF organiser Chris Themissen that Mr Kheswana was in fact a member of both the IPF and the WPM, the ANC said: "The revelations that Khetili Kheswana was a member of the WPM gives a clear indication about the extent of the involvement of the third force in fomenting violence in our communities."

Sapa reports from Johannesburg.
IPF objections in Met Chamber debut
How the leader of IFP sees himself

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

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urse Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a group of business people in Johannesburg yesterday that he fancied himself as a national leader and not merely as a regional cog.

With his self-esteem boosted by increasing support among conservative whites, Buthelezi said the Inkatha Freedom Party was the fastest growing political party in South Africa and he had no plans to opt out of national politics and settle for a regional role.

Buthelezi has had a series of meetings around the country, including Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

"I have IFP branches that I did not have before. How can I withdraw from national politics when I am getting branches all over the country?"

About the IFP’s continued role in negotiations, Buthelezi said he would wait until a draft constitution was presented before deciding on the sincerity of the ANC and Government.

By leaving this route open for itself, the IFP would be able to see "whether the ANC and the NP are sincere in their claims of providing constitutional guarantees for the self-determination aspirations of other South Africans.”

He had no problem with the date set for the first nonracial elections but felt there were outstanding issues that had to be dealt with first.

Buthelezi said he was committed to a federal system which would provide for strong central government and largely autonomous regions and cited the United States as a role model.

Meanwhile in London, IFP representative in Britain Mr Ben Skosana has appealed to Conservative Party backbenchers to support the IFP.
Agreements ‘no problem’: IFP MP

INKATHA Freedom Party MP Mr Farouk Cassim said yesterday he had “no problem at all” with the provisions agreed to by most parties for an elected constituent assembly.

The burning issues of the day could be handled by the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and then an elected constituent assembly could negotiate a new constitution for South Africa, he said.

“I have no difficulty with that,” Mr Cassim said at an Independent Mediation Services of South Africa forum in Cape Town on the approaches by different parties to the election scheduled for April 27 next year.

The IFP withdrew from the negotiations when an April 27 election date was agreed upon.

Its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the party would not return to the talks until there was agreement on a federal system for South Africa and on a “form of state”.

Free for all in rush for voters

Fax machines are already working overtime in the offices of political parties as propaganda material is being distributed to voters in elections scheduled for next April.

ALAN DUNN views the opening week.

Peace, love, democracy: the ANC's strategy in the elections.

The party's leaders are confident of victory, but they know that the road to power will be difficult. They are preparing for a tough campaign, with a focus on young voters and the poor.

The ANC's main rivals are the IFP and the PAN, both of whom are expected to put up a strong challenge. The IFP, in particular, is known for its hardline stance on issues like land reform and the protection of traditional values.

The ANC is also facing internal divisions, with some members seeking to distance themselves from the party's socialist roots. However, the party's leaders are determined to maintain their grip on power.

The upcoming elections are seen as a crucial test for the ANC, with the outcome likely to determine the country's political future for years to come.
Doubt over IFP, KwaZulu’s attendance at negotiations

PRETORIA. — Attempts to resolve constitutional differences between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party/KwaZulu government appeared to have been partly successful — but it remained unclear whether the IFP would resume its seat at multiparty negotiations when they resume on Monday.

Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer described yesterday’s meeting between the government and the IFP/KwaZulu government delegation as constructive and said the concerns articulated by the IFP and KwaZulu government recently had been addressed.

He said it was clear from the discussions that the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the South African government shared the same views and objectives as far as a future constitution was concerned.

“We agree that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, that it should be the supreme law of the land, and that it should provide for a constitutional state.

Fundamental rights should be adjudicated over by a constitutional court, regional legislatures and regional government should be elected, and there should be special provision for amendments to the constitution.

“It is hard to understand why the IFP and the KwaZulu government should differ from what we believe has already been adopted in the negotiation process.”

Mr Meyer said the IFP/KwaZulu delegation had not indicated whether they would return to negotiations on Monday. — Sapa.
Govt, Inkatha's constitutional aims similar, says Meyer

PRETORIA — The negotiations process received a boost yesterday when Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week's bilateral meetings between the Inkatha Freedom Party and government had shown that the two parties shared the same views and objectives regarding SA's future constitutional arrangements.

Government had agreed with Inkatha that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, Meyer told a news briefing.

Both parties also felt that there would be elected regional legislatures and regional government, that a constitutional court would adjudicate over questions of fundamental rights, that the constitution could be amended through a special provision and that the constitution would be the supreme law of the land.

"We share the same views and overall the same objectives," Meyer said.

Concerns expressed by Inkatha had been addressed during the meetings and, as a result, Meyer could see "no reason why they should not be back at the negotiating council on Monday".

This was denied by Inkatha negotiator Walter Pelgate, who said Inkatha would not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

Meyer said the talks had indicated that common ground existed between the two parties; in particular on the substance of future constitutional arrangements.

In the light of this, it was hard to understand why Inkatha had differed from what was adopted in principle by the negotiating forum earlier this month.

This week's discussions, which would continue at the weekend, were aimed at conveying to Inkatha the views of government on the contents and interpretations of those principles, "and to ensure they are being understood the same way we do".

The next important step in negotiations was to judge the draft constitution upon its completion — probably by the end of this month — by the technical committee, Meyer said. "The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft."

Remarks made recently by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi concerning government's views on power-sharing and the way in which government had been conducting its negotiations were clearly part of Inkatha's election campaign, Meyer said. The remarks were far removed from the truth.
Buthelezi attacked by NP and DP

By Kazier Ntombela
Political Correspondent

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday came in for a roasting from the Government and the Democratic Party following his widely publicised opposition this week to agreements reached in negotiations.

Buthelezi, who has been travelling across the country accusing the Government and the ANC of having struck secret deals, has suggested the IFP and KwaZulu government delegations might not return to negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Monday until he obtained guarantees for a federal system of government.

In what Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday described as Buthelezi's electioneering the IFP leader told predominantly white meetings in the main centres that the Government had abandoned promises it had made to the white electorate during last year's referendum and was now selling out to the ANC.

But after meeting a two-man IFP-KwaZulu delegation in Pretoria yesterday, Meyer said: "It is quite clear that these statements are mainly part of election campaigning.

DP western Cape chairman Jasper Vlok, in a statement released in Cape Town, described the IFP leader's recent statements as "an transparent ploy to avoid the spotlight of ascertained electoral support."
The Zulu king and the KwaZulu chief minister have jointly thrown down the gauntlet on the issue of federalism. Although no-one has yet picked it up, there are no signs of opponents backing off either.

The challenge was issued in front of 60 000 Zulus last Sunday at the historic imbizo (meeting of the people) held at King's Park Stadium, Durban. While King Goodwill Zwelithini's message was unequivocal, the fuzzy line between being a cultural figurehead and a political player has become even less distinct.

The monarch echoed IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's line when he warned that there would be no election unless both government and ANC president Nelson Mandela first committed themselves to protecting the sovereignty of KwaZulu and accepting KwaZulu's constitutional status.

The stirring threat to raise the mightiest Zulu voice ever heard elicited a predictable response from the ANC. Its three Natal branches jointly reiterated that their organisation is not trying to destroy the Zulu kingdom, but fighting to dismantle all apartheid structures, including the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Furthermore, the blunt message from government and the ANC is that the IFP has won all the concessions it is going to get on regionalism.

The one thing that emerges from these events, says the Human Sciences Research Council's Tony Minnaar, is that the king has become a monarch of convenience through what was clearly a political call. "It will also create confusion among many Zulus, particularly urban dwellers, who want to be seen as loyal to their king without being politically supportive of the IFP — or any other party, for that matter."
Govt, Inkatha ‘share views’

**Own Correspondent**

PRETORIA — Bilateral meetings this week had shown that the government and Inkatha shared the same views and objectives regarding South Africa’s future constitutional arrangements, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

The government had agreed with Inkatha that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, he told a news briefing.

Both parties also felt there should be elected regional legislatures and regional government, that a constitutional court should adjudicate over questions of fundamental rights, that the constitution should be amendable and that the constitution should be the supreme law of the land.

“We share the same views and overall the same objectives,” Mr Meyer said.

**Common ground**

Concerns expressed by Inkatha had been addressed during the meetings and, as a result, he could see “no reason why they should not be back at the negotiating council on Monday”.

But Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said Inkatha would not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

Meyer said the talks had indicated that common ground existed between the two parties, in particular on the substance of future constitutional arrangements.

In the light of this, it was hard to understand why Inkatha had differed from what was adopted in principle by the negotiating forum earlier this month.

The next important step was to judge the draft constitution upon its completion, probably by the end of this month.

“The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft.”
KwaZulu cop 'given AK-47'

DURBAN. — A KwaZulu policeman told a Goldstone Commission hearing yesterday that he was given an AK-47 rifle and ammunition by IFP members and KwaZulu officials and told to kill people creating problems for the IFP in Zinkwazi township, near Empangeni.

The policeman, who may not be identified, said he had been recruited by the IFP in Natal to undergo training by the SADF in the Caprivi strip.

The policeman said he had been told the purpose of his training was to protect members of the South African and KwaZulu governments.

Foreign

He said members of the EZP had confiscated his weapon, apparently following intervention from the South African Police. The hearing continues.

The Goldstone Commission has appointed two foreign police experts to work with its Natal unit investigating the Musgrave Centre incident last week in which SAP members of the hot dead five suspected robbers. They are French Chief Superintendent J.Biotteau and British Superintendent G.Sims. — Sapa
Businessmen favour Inkatha, says Mentz

DURBAN. — People in northern Natal were streaming in to join Inkatha and there were businessmen in the Transvaal who were ready to move lock, stock and barrel to regions which would be ruled by the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP parliamentary leader Mr Jurie Mentz said last night.

He told the Afrikaanse Sakekamer at Richards Bay that Inkatha was the friend of business and the free market. He said many businessmen were seeking to avoid ANC-ruled areas and move to IFP "regionally controlled areas".
Inkatha enters vote fray

WITH election day still nine months away, the battle for the support of undecided voters in the Western Cape is shaping up as one of the hardest-fought elections campaigns in South Africa.

This week the Inkatha Freedom Party joined the fray when IFP leader Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi fired his party's first salvos at a public meeting in Cape Town which was attended by 500 mainly-white supporters.

The IFP now joins the National Party, the African National Congress and the Democratic Party in a four-way battle for the battle for majority support in the Western Cape.

Until now the battle for voter support seemed likely to be a two-way fight between the ANC and the National Party, with the PAC and the Democratic Party expected to draw smaller, but nevertheless significant, voter support.

According to the latest Home Affairs statistics there are 21 563 565 potential white, coloured, Indian and black voters in South Africa. Of the 12 219 087 voters in the Western Cape, 26 per cent are white, 58 per cent coloured, 0.3 per cent Indian and 14.7 per cent black.

Recent polls have shown that 38 per cent of potential coloured voters in the Western Cape are unlikely to decide which party to support until election day. Now observers are predicting that the four major parties will go all-out in their battle to win the support of those undecided voters.

Observers believe that the traditional wide-spectrum of political positions held by the Democratic Party have been overtaken by ANC, IFP and NP positions. They believe that another likely battle-ground will centre around the votes of the traditional white-liberals.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Now IFP flexes its electoral muscles in Cape

Mr Buthelezi's public meeting in Cape Town comes at a time when the IFP in the Western Cape has started to consolidate its election campaign.

The party has, until recently, been wracked by a power struggle with two different factions battling for control of the party's top organisational structure.

Now Inkatha claims to have established 50 branches in the Western Cape, each with a minimum of (mostly white) 100 members. The IFP is confident of increasing this support further in the run-up to the April 27 election.

Under a new federal regional dispensation, the party's increasing support among liberal whites could give the party an important role in the politics of the region — which is also becoming one of the most coveted trophies sought by parties bidding for the all-important "coloured" vote.

Statistics show an enlarged Western Cape will be the only region in the country — once the boundaries of new regions have been completed — which will not have an African majority.

Political parties gear up to win your vote, page 2
A tankful of taxpayers' cash?

By BEVERLEY GARSON, Port Elizabeth

THE use of a government car by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while attending a public meeting of his party in Port Elizabeth this week, has raised questions on whether taxpayers' money was used for party political ends.

An official at the government garage in Port Elizabeth, V Knott, confirmed that Buthelezi used a government car while he was in the city. She said this was standard procedure for “heads of state”.

The regional spokesman of the IFP, Eldrid Ferreira, also said he believed Buthelezi was flown to Port Elizabeth in a kwaZulu aeroplane.

Eastern Cape police media liaison officer Captain Lishe Vermulen confirmed that Buthelezi was escorted by the South African Police during his visit. She said it was normal procedure that a head of state be given the necessary security.

A spokesman for the Democratic Party, Bobby Stevenson, said if Buthelezi used government transport for party political ends it was wrong because taxpayers' money was used.

“We believe if people are on purely party political business they should provide their own transport. It is wrong that taxpayers' money is used,” Stevenson said.

He said there should be a “clear distinction” between functions of the state and political parties.

Stevenson said the use of the car raised the question of whether the political playing field was level when certain parties had access to state-funded facilities.

“This is a matter which the Independent Electoral Commission should take up to ensure that all parties can compete on an equal basis,” Stevenson said.

Buthelezi’s acting personal assistant, Thami Duma, said the visit was not absolutely IFP business, but included some kwaZulu government business too. He, however, referred all further inquiries to his president’s protocol officer, Ruth Makhlwane, who could not be reached despite numerous attempts. — Pea
WHEN the Inkatha Freedom Party had the chance to speak up, it preferred to keep quiet. But now that the negotiating council has agreed on an election date, the party has suddenly become vocal in its rejection of crucial facets of the process.

The IFP may be consistent as far as its ultimate goals are concerned, but its strategy is highly unpredictable.

One example: when key IFP negotiator Joe Matthews led his delegation in a walk-out during a session of the negotiating forum two weeks ago, he made it clear that his party would be back when negotiations reconvened on July 19. Now, however, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is threatening to withdraw from the process unless his demands are met.

To confuse things further, it is known that the IFP earlier this week presented its own proposals for an interim constitution to a technical committee in Kempton Park — despite its vociferous opposition to any interim measures leading to democracy. The IFP and kwaZulu walk-out was in fact precipitated by the forum’s decision to accept a two-phase transitional process, including an interim constitution.

In the next few weeks, all eyes will be focussed on the IFP and kwaZulu options. Inkatha may influence the course of negotiations even more decisively than the white rightwing. And the manipulation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to whip up Zulu nationalism has introduced a novel dynamic.

The IFP’s lack of consistency in its negotiations strategy is highlighted by a recently published book on the failure of the two Codesa conventions that preceded the present multiparty process.

Entitled *The Long Journey: South Africa’s Quest for a Negotiated Settlement*, it is the most authoritative work yet published on the efforts to find a negotiated political settlement. Edited by the Centre for Policy Studies’ Steven Friedman, it underlines the subdued role of the IFP in all the Codesa working groups while important decisions were being taken — decisions that have a direct impact on the present process.

Inkatha’s limited participation, the authors say, is difficult to explain. One explanation is “that it simply failed to send a senior delegation”; another “that Buthelezi’s absence made it impossible for IFP delegates to operate effectively, since the only man who could really bind it to agreements was not there”.

Buthelezi, it seems, did not expect the IFP to “present a strenuous defence of its interests, since he expected the real bargaining to begin only when his terms were met and he joined the negotiations”. This would only have been when a multi-party forum — as Buthelezi insisted — began drafting a constitution that would be put to the electorate; the IFP from the beginning rejected the notion of an elected constitution-making body.

Whatever the reasons, the IFP’s comparative silence limited Codesa’s ability to solve problems which have now emerged:

Neither the National Party nor the African National Congress took the IFP particularly seriously. The IFP’s proposals were largely ignored — specifically in Working Group Three, whose brief was to suggest the transitional arrangements, interim government or transitional authority — without Inkatha objecting.

When the negotiations resumed on July 19, it is precisely on the issue of a transitional authority that conflict can be expected.

Inkatha spokesmen, including Buthelezi, have made it clear that they first want to see what the technical committee on constitutional matters comes up with before deciding whether negotiations serve any further purpose.

The IFP insists that it wants a final say on the regional powers and functions and boundaries of its proposed kwaZulu/Natal region. Although the other negotiating parties — most significantly the ANC — have been willing to accommodate the IFP’s demands for strong autonomous regions, this is the one concession that will not be made.

The ANC and the NP accept that the central government will have to have overriding powers in a new dispensation, and that an elected constituent assembly will in the final analysis be responsible for deciding on powers, functions and boundaries.

Conceded in the last meetings of the negotiating council was a set of constitutional principles ensuring strong powers for regional governments, including fiscal powers. Another principle that will bind a future constitution-writing body is that the “national government shall not exercise its powers (exclusive or concurrent) to encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity” of the regions.

For the IFP, this was not good enough. It has insisted through its two key negotiators, Matthews and Walter Fелgate, that the current, unrepresentative body draws up the final constitution, and that elections be held before the end of the year, making transitional arrangements superfluous.

The final deadline for the submission of interim constitutional proposals was set for Tuesday this week. Despite the angry rhetoric, the IFP quietly handed in its proposals just before the deadline. Exactly what it is proposing is not known, however.

Both ANC and NP negotiators are now waiting with bated breath to see what the IFP’s next move will be. They are unclear on how serious the IFP is in its threat to withdraw from the negotiating process.

Regardless of whether the IFP and kwaZulu delegations report at the talks on Monday, it will be another week or so before the crucial issue of the interim constitution is discussed. This is how long it will take the technical committee to study the various proposals and come up with a compromise proposal.

Though the talks have reached a pivotal stage, next week’s sessions are expected to be taken up by mostly technical issues, which will be of little interest to a public hungry for tangible results.

But once the process restarts towards the end of the month, things may start to happen with speed. The negotiators are now quickly reaching the end of the pre-election phase.

On the table for the next few weeks are the transitional constitution, final constitutional principles and the preparation of the structures for an election. This phase could be finalised by the end of August — leaving the country for all intents and purposes ready for its first democratic elections, well within the deadline of April 27 next year.
Address the need
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The Zulu king picks up the IFP spear

"Let us fight," repeated the crowd at Sunday's imbizo. "I'll tell you when," said the king, "to the lashing I'm fighting to keep the IFP's threats of violence and coercion."

By FAROUK CHOTIAH

Armed Inkatha supporters make their way towards the hotel on Sunday.

A tankful of taxpayers' cash?

By BRIEFEY GISBSON

Port Elizabeth's THE use of a government car by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while attending a public meeting of his party in Port Elizabeth this week, has raised questions on whether taxpayers' money was used for party political ends.

An official at the government garage in Port Elizabeth, who confirmed that Buthelezi used a government car while he was in the city, said this was standard procedure for "official duties".

The regional spokesperson of the IFP, Elardio Ferreira, also said he believed Buthelezi was flown to Port Elizabeth on a government plane.

A spokesman for the Democratic Party, Bobby Stevenson, said if Buthelezi used government transport for party political ends, it was wrong because taxpayers' money was used.

"If people are using party political functions for their own transport, it is wrong because taxpayers' money is used," Stevenson said.

He said there should be a "clear distinction" between functions of the state and political parties.

Stevenson said the use of the car raised the question of whether the political party's leader had not used the car because he had access to state-funded facilities.

"This is a matter which the Independent Electoral Commission should take to ensure that all parties can compete on an equal basis," Stevenson said.

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R4M
Bid to hinder ‘monster’ autopsy—claim

THE saga of the “Vaal monster”, Victor Kheswa, took two bizarre twists yesterday when police claimed he had not died violently while in custody, and the pathologist who conducted the autopsy said attempts had been made to derail his work.

Arrested last Friday, Kheswa died several hours later in Soshanguve hospital. Inkatha and the African National Congress have alleged that he had intelligence links, and it has been suggested that he was killed by police to prevent him revealing a security force role in “third force” activities.

Sebokeng has been hit by a series of mysterious and suggestively similar drive-by killings. The most recent, in which 10 died, came last Monday night.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, deputy police commissioner for the Vaal, has been appointed to head an investigation into Kheswa’s death. Because of the latter’s political links, Mostert is to be assisted by Major General Piet du Toit of the Criminal Investigation Service.

A pathologist has alleged that attempts were made to derail his post-mortem examination of Victor Kheswa, the alleged assassin who died in police custody. By STEPHEN LAUER

Ndlovu appeared in the Sebokeng Magistrate’s Court this week in connection with 50 deaths.

Mostert told The Weekly Mail: “I am completely happy that Kheswa was not assaulted by the police. The autopsy revealed no evidence whatsoever of a fierce attack or assault. The suspension of the three officers involved was purely to show impartiality.”

Kheswa, it appears, had been confronted by the police with an array of material evidence implicating him in several killings in the Vaal townships, and had agreed to co-operate. At his own suggestion, he was put in a police car and taken to the Free State, possibly to point out accomplices or weapons sources to investigating officers.

Mostert: “While in the car, he suddenly became ill, and the officers with him rushed him to the nearest hospital, where he died a short while later. OPS detectives were immediately called in, and they conducted forensic tests on the car. They have taken over the investigation and I am satisfied that they will report impartially.”

A forensic pathologist from the Department of Health in Bloemfontein, a Dr Wagner, was called in to conduct the autopsy on Kheswa.

He told The Weekly Mail that he had subsequently received “manipulated” faxes apparently aimed at getting him to discontinue the post-mortem examination. He said he believed the faxes had “come from Kheswa’s side”, but was unable to specify whether he thought they came from the family, Inkatha, or Vermeulen’s WPM.

Wagner is as yet unable to specify the cause of death, because tissue samples and blood specimens are still being analysed. But he is sure that Kheswa was neither poisoned nor drugged. “I cannot rule out the possibility that muti in one form or another was involved,” he said. “Only exhaustive tests may show their long-term use.”
Buthelezi explains his hard line

The rumbling in South African politics this weekend comes from Inkatha. The tough stand taken by the Inkatha Freedom Party was explained in Cape Town this week by its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Support in the Western Cape is predominantly white. In fact, the occasion for his visit to Cape Town this week was the official inauguration of 20 new IFP branches in the Western Cape — established mostly in white areas.

These include: Cape Town, South Peninsula, Durbanville, Belhar, Paarl, Table View, Kuils River, Stellenbosch University, Somerset West, Hottentots-Holland, Rondebosch, Southfield, Lakeside, Wynberg, Kraaifontein, Mowbray, Strand, Swellendam and Montagu.

Although exact figures are not available, IFP officials say the new branches, with an average of 100 members each, bring the IFP's total membership in the Western Cape close to 10,000. It is claimed that before the establishment of these branches, there were already more than 7,000 Inkatha supporters in this region.

Chief Buthelezi told his Cape Town audience: "I have been too overwhelmed by the extent to which many of my fellow South Africans, other than black South Africans, are joining us in droves, literally every week."

He explained that Inkatha opened its membership to people of all races as soon as the Improper Political Interference Act of the old apartheid regime was removed from the statute books.

On the issue of political power, Chief Buthelezi believed no regional political force would survive if it could not hold its own at the national level. It would be "suicidal" for the IFP, he said, to confine its interests to the region of KwaZulu/Natal.

"We in KwaZulu and the IFP have never done anything else than to seek to produce a sound South African democracy in which we would have to face all-comers both at the national and regional level for our place in the South African political sun."

He emphasised Inkatha's objective was to develop a national power base. His party's policies, he said, were designed to meet national needs and aspirations.

While one of his biggest fears was clearly that of being sidelined by the other main political players, Chief Buthelezi made no bones about the fact that he was sadly disillusioned with the performances of both the National Party government and the African National Congress.

Of the NP, he said: "The government we see today is a far cry from the South African saviour it was portrayed in the early 1990s. The rhetoric of democracy has been exploited by the government, leaving South Africans with an obscure range of interpretations, but no clear vision of the future."

Of the ANC, he said: "Just like the apartheid government of the past, the ANC is promoting a unitary state power for a new South Africa, which can be concentrated to such an extent that it can so easily be abused. The election of a constituent assembly would pave the way for the ANC alone to decide on the structure of the future constitution of this country."
Make or break talks for IFP

Weekend Argus Reporter

A BIG question mark hangs over the participation of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the KwaZulu government in multi-party negotiations when the 26-delegation Negotiating Council (NC) meets at the World Trade Centre on Monday following a two-week recess.

The IFP, whose leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week travelled to many parts of the country opposing agreements already reached in negotiations, walked out of the Negotiating Forum on July 2.

It was followed by KwaZulu government and Conservative Party (CP) delegates who, like the IFP, are members of the conservative Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Now the IFP-KwaZulu’s return to negotiations depends on the outcome of at least two important meetings this weekend: a meeting between the government and the IFP-KwaZulu in Pretoria today and the annual congress of the IFP in Umlundi.

IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said the main thrust of the congress deliberations would be negotiations. “This will be a crucial conference, and it will make a very fundamental difference to the negotiations process,” he said.

Chief Buthelezi, who has been accusing the government and the ANC of having struck secret deals, has suggested the IFP and KwaZulu government delegations might not return to negotiations until he obtained guarantees for a federal system of government.

The three-day congress, which began in Umlundi yesterday is expected to take a resolution on negotiations when it ends tomorrow. Today’s meeting, the government’s third with the IFP-KwaZulu this week, might pave the way for the two delegations’ return to multi-party talks.

As Chief Buthelezi crisscrossed the country this week delivering blistering attacks on the government and the ANC, Pretoria quietly held talks with his lieutenants in Durban on Monday and in Pretoria on Thursday.

Today’s meeting - which both sides have described as one in a series of bilateral talks between the former “allies” - will enable the IFP-KwaZulu delegation to inform the government on its discussions with Chief Buthelezi.

The IFP leader, who will address a joint rally with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the First National Bank Stadium outside Johannesburg tomorrow, has come in for a roasting from the government and the Democratic Party (DP) following his recent statements.

In what Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer described as Chief Buthelezi’s electioneering, the IFP leader told predominantly white audiences in Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Johannesburg that the government had abandoned promises to the white electorate during last year’s March 17 referendum, and was now selling out to the ANC.

But Chief Buthelezi got as much as he gave, with DP western Cape chairman Jasper Walsh describing the IFP leader’s recent statements as “a transparent ploy to avoid the spotlight of ascertained electoral support”.

“Buthlezi’s attempts to stall the process are intimidating and have been backed by threats of extreme action if he does not get his way through negotiations.

“We object to the way both the ANC and the IFP are importing their war-talk to our territory. This is a peaceful and prosperous part of South Africa,” Mr Walsh said.

Mr Meyer dismissed the KwaZulu chief minister’s attacks on the government as nothing more than electioneering.

“His remarks with regard to power-sharing and the way in which the government is negotiating are far removed from the truth and therefore do not even require a response,” Mr Meyer said.

Speaking at the end of a meeting with a two-man delegation from the IFP-KwaZulu, Mr Meyer - for whom Chief Buthelezi has reserved some of his harshest criticism - said the government failed to understand why the IFP leader continued to express concern about issues on which agreement already existed.

He said the government and the IFP had a lot in common when it came to constitutional arrangements for the country, and constitutional principles adopted by the Negotiating Forum on July 2 would ensure that they got what they wanted.

Both wanted a future constitution based on federal principles to be the supreme law of the land, a justiciable Bill of Rights and a constitutional court, special provisions for the amendment of the constitution and strong, autonomous regional government.

“For that reason it is hard to understand why the IFP-KwaZulu should differ from what we believe has already been (agreed upon) in the negotiations process,” Mr Meyer said.

However, sources close to the government have said Pretoria was growing increasingly irritated by Chief Buthelezi, whom the government thought had lacked full understanding of the give-and-take that has been going on in negotiations.
Zulu king gets ANC 'ultimatum'

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of manipulating Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

In what amounts to an ultimatum to King Goodwill, ANC Southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaya said that while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody".

The time had now come for King Goodwill, who had been "manipulated" by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at the King's Park Stadium in Durban, to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

The Democratic Party also entered the fray yesterday, with DP Natal executive chairman Kobus Jordaan saying it was unfortunate that King Goodwill was "being dragged into an unnecessary political point-scoring debate".

Mr Makhaya said he could not understand how Zulus belonging to the ANC and "other democratic formations" could be accused of being traitors just because they supported demands for a united South Africa.
Buthelezi lashes NP and ANC in Cape Town speech

By Christelle Terreblanche

"WHEN the Record of Understanding was signed by the State President with the ANC in 1992, that is what started the first crack in the National Party."

This was said by Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), addressing an audience of about 500 people in the Cape Town City Hall on Wednesday evening. It was his first official speech in the city as IFP leader.

He said the NP government we see today is far cry from the "South African saviour" it was portrayed as in the early 90's.

"The rhetoric of democracy has been exploited by the government, leaving South Africans with an obscures range of interpretations, but no clear vision for the future."

He therefore finds the Record, as well as the ANC and government insistence on a constituent assembly, "circumvent. The IFP is the only party at the multi-party negoti-

ations which has not yet endorsed April 27, 1994 as election date.

He recounted how he "tried to forge unity amongst the oppressed", as chairperson of the South African Black Alliance, which Inkatha formed with the Labour Party before the formation of the tri-cameral parliament.

"It is disinformation and propaganda which try to reduce me to size by making me a regional leader when for decades my approach was always national," he said.
Buthelezi’s grim warning on talks

IFP leader threatens ‘breakaway convention’

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of a "breakaway constitutional convention" which would divide South Africa in two if this was the only option left his party by developments at the multiparty talks.

Addressing more than 10 delegates attending the IFP’s pre-congress national council in the KwaZulu capital yesterday, Buthelezi said Inkatha could either back down and eat humble pie or consider the possibility of establishing its own constitutional convention with those who “are excluded with us, or join us in fighting our exclusion”.

Political backlash

"That may be the only thing left to do. But if we walk that road, we must know that it will be the first major step to split South Africa into two mutually exclusive political segments," he said.

The Inkatha leader warned, however, that such a move would have a political backlash which would, among other things, involve attempts to destroy the political control of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Buthelezi said a breakaway, mutually exclusive convention would be sparked by "the gauntlet thrown down to us by the South African Government and the African National Congress in their back-official convention decisions regarding issues vital to the future of South Africa, knowing that we reject them vehemently.”

He said the IFP conference would have to decide whether it was prepared to pay the price, knowing that article 151 of the constitution might precipitate the first step to civil war.

"I repeat that this is no threat to return to a civil war. It is a political assessment of what others are doing to bring about conditions for civil war, because the worst that can be done to us politically has failed to break us," Buthelezi said.

The ANC was probably aware of such an eventuality — that was why it had kept intact its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and continued recruiting.

The IFP leader said the ANC’s claim that it was in a hurry for elections because people expected them now was mere “political phishing”, if that was what was motivating the ANC, it would support the IFP’s proposal for an election next year under full constitutionalisation — it would therefore not wait five years or longer for a proper election.

Buthelezi nevertheless told the IFP delegates to prepare for an election next year.

Hand for township men with a mission

by Metepne (foreground) and Moss Chikane at the site of their project to upgrade Mamelodi township’s big business to get involved in the venture, which is in dire need of help. Picture: PETER MOOKI

Although morale is high and the men are proud of what they are doing, Godfrey Metepne from the trust, appealed to large business for financial support.

The trust has virtually depleted its resources to keep the building going, with a substantial sum going towards paying 14 matric trainee road builders through a course at the Pretoria Technical College.

"It is great to hear that the public is doing something, but what we really need is to get big business involved.”

To make a donation, phone Godfrey Metepne (012) 803-1049 or 801-4899.

Meeting of peace talks had proved fruitless until early this month, when negotiators identified a common desire for peace and development in the poor black land.

Mphbenzimela has been filled with excitement since news of the soccer match broke.

The Umkahlazi peace committee — a structure of the National Peace Accord — has done most of the groundwork for the match.

Umkahlazi mayor Maria Xulu has had grudges in the township preparing a soccer field for the match.

She has also promised the children will have a chance to play the game.

Although morale is high and the men are proud of what they are doing, Godfrey Metepne from the trust, appealed to large business for financial support.

The trust has virtually depleted its resources to keep the building going, with a substantial sum going towards paying 14 matric trainee road builders through a course at the Pretoria Technical College.

"It is great to hear that the public is doing something, but what we really need is to get big business involved.”

To make a donation, phone Godfrey Metepne (012) 803-1049 or 801-4899.

OWN CORRESPONDENT of Natal’s Banting townships.

Mphbenzimela has been filled with excitement since news of the soccer match broke.

Then they found another common love — soccer.

So on August 1, both sides will vie for a football Peace Cup, pitting their strength against one another without drawing blood.

Mphbenzimela has been filled with excitement since news of the soccer match broke.
HAPPY, HAPPY AT MANDELA'S 75TH

BLACK MEMBERS

CP OUT OF INHABITS

INFLATION

TALK BUSTERS!
CP pull out of democracy forum

By SEKÖLA SELLO and Sapa

CONSTITUTIONAL talks are facing a serious crisis following the withdrawal of the Conservative Party – and Inkatha’s decision not to return to the 26-party negotiating process when it resumes tomorrow.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has also threatened to launch an alternative negotiating forum.

The CP delivered this body blow to the negotiations yesterday when they announced that they would not return to multi-party talks until the “Afrikaner’s right to self-determination” receives unequivocal recognition.

This comes a day after Buthelezi, in one of his strongest attacks yet on the way negotiations are going, threatened to split up the democracy talks and set up a rival forum with his federalist allies.

Political observers claim that threats by both the CP and Inkatha could be a well co-ordinated move aimed at disrupting the talks which are earmarked to start tomorrow.

CP chief secretary Dr Lem Theron said party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg had made the announcement to withdraw at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in the western Transvaal town of Lichtenburg yesterday.

“Dr Hartzenburg . . . announced that the CP would from Monday no longer be taking part in the negotiations until the negotiating council grants unequivocal recognition to the Afrikaner’s full right to self-determination.”

The ANC’s Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation would continue to appeal to all organisations including the CP and Inkatha to throw their weight behind the talks.

In one of its strongest criticisms of Inkatha yet, the Democratic Party said the decision by the Ulundi-based party was the latest example of “Inkatha’s unfortunate and disruptive approach to negotiations”. National Party leader at the talks Dr Dawie de Villiers said Inkatha’s decision to temporarily suspend negotiations was shortsighted.

“It is clearly Inkatha’s intention to broaden its support base by a show of strength and independence. That is a dangerous game which denigrates the importance of the negotiations for the sake of political expediency,” De Villiers said.

In his opening address to Inkatha’s annual conference in Ulundi on Friday, Buthelezi warned that separate negotiating processes could lead to a “civil war”.

Buthelezi’s proposal to establish a separate “constitutional convention” of Inkatha and its federalist allies in the white right-wing and conservative black homelands came two weeks after democracy negotiators in Johannesburg set April 27 as the date for SA’s first non-racial election.

Musicians left poor and sore

By MÖSÉS MAMAILA

TWENTY-SIX musicians and technicians who took part in the “Heal Yourself” concert in Durban have not been paid amid reports of misappropriation of hundreds of thousands of rand.

Disgruntled musicians told City Press yesterday
WPM to lure black members

By MOSES MAMAILA

WORLD Preservatist Movement leader Koos Vermeulen said this week the rightwing organisation would train black members to use lethal weapons.

Vermeulen shot to prominence this week when he told journalists that self-confessed Inkatha member Victor Khethlisi Kheswa - who died in police custody last Saturday after being implicated in several Vaal massacres - was a member of the WPM, formerly the World Apartheid Movement.

Vermeulen told City Press in Pretoria that the organisation's name had been changed to accommodate Inkatha members.

"I lied when I said Kheswa was our member. We were trying to reach our black supporters," Vermeulen said.

Asked if he was not disowning Kheswa because of mounting controversy, Vermeulen said: "I do not want to cause any more trouble for Inkatha."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said police were investigating reports that Kheswa worked for the WPM.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus dismissed Vermeulen's denial, saying he could just be trying to get out of the serious case.

Inkatha has repeatedly denied any WPM links.

Meanwhile, in other developments yesterday linked to the case:

- Police confirmed they are investigating ANC claims that Kheswa's killing was part of an operation to cover up third force activities by elements within the security forces;
- Three white policemen - Sgt Gerhardus "Pedro" Peens, Sgt Petrus Claasen and Lance-Sgt Lourens Claasen - have reportedly been suspended;
- A source, who claimed to have seen Kheswa's body, told City Press Kheswa appeared to have been severely assaulted;
- Judge Richard Goldstone said his investigating unit had searched Vermeulen's home and confiscated documents.
Former foes unite in drive for peace

By RYAN CRESSWELL

WAR tears people apart, but it can also bring them together. Tula Isaac Shanda and Yusco Hlungwa, Isaac is an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter, and Yusco an ANC member, not so long ago, they would not even have spoken to each other.

But these days, they spend a lot of time together—driving through the troubled Umkhumbane area of Natal on a quest for peace and tolerance.

They are already making their mark, and they set up a peace sub-committee at KwaMakutha near Amatshakhe. The area was tense. A month ago, there was an incident of violence in the township, where hundreds have been killed in response of the tensions between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

The two businessmen spend most of each day together in a borrowed car, driving to townships, rural villages, schools and churches to preach peace and political tolerance, and educate people about the forthcoming elections.

"At one stage, it would have been impossible to speak to each other, but now we are good friends," said Isaac. "We have decided to dedicate our lives to visiting war-torn areas to educate people about peace.

"The people have accepted us— they want peace." Yusco added. "We reckoned to start with KwaMakutha because it was a flashpoint.

"Now we are already moving into the area around KwaMakutha, and hope to establish at least five other peace sub-committees by December."

THE LONG HAUL... Isaac Shanda and Yusco Hlungwa prepare for another day of travelling through Natal on their quest for peace and tolerance

Picture: HORACE POTTER
TO THE BRINK

Buthlezi Goes

Urgent talks fail to defuse crisis over breakaway threat
which the IFP leader said could lead to civil war.
"This makes all the talks we are having with them absolutely ridiculous," said one senior negotiator.

Mr Buthelezi dropped a bombshell on Friday by saying the IFP would have to choose between forming a "break-away constitutional convention" and "getting humbled pie" at the World Trade Centre.

Government chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer held talks yesterday with an IFP delegation — including hardliners Mario Ambrosini and Walter Falgate — to discuss the latest threat. The meeting, scheduled before Mr Buthelezi's statement, went on for longer than planned as government negotiators struggled to make sense of Inkatha's private, reasonable stance and its public threat.

At the meeting, the go
g
vernment tried to convince Inkatha that its constitutional objectives were attainable "within the framework of resolutions already adopted" by negoti
a
tors.

But the IFP delegation refused to offer any assurances that the party would not quit the talks. Another meeting will be held on Tuesday.

Political parties, already frustrated by Inkatha's posturing, have vowed the talks will go on — without the IFP if necessary.

SA Communist Party ward leader Joe Slovo said: "If this threat is intended to intimidate the process, it will fail miserably."

Credibility

"I have no doubt the talks can continue without the IFP. One doesn't want to risk antagonising any party to the talks, but on the basis that no party can hold the talks to ransom, we can continue without them."

The African National Congress has also offered to revive behind-the-scenes efforts to keep the IFP at the talks.

"It is said that they are positioning themselves into a corner," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus. "I do not understand what they hope to achieve by this.

"We are prepared to enter into further discussions to convince them to stay in the process. The only negotiating forum with credibility is the forum at the World Trade Centre."

For now, however, the IFP has not totally severed all links with the talks. Mr Buthelezi said yesterday the IFP would return once a draft constitution had been tabled.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Malalose moved to defuse the controversy, saying Mr Buthelezi was raising merely one of a number of options to consider.

Ciskel, stabilised in Inkatha's Concerned South Africans Group, would consider this option in the event of all others being unacceptable — but we would like to exhaust all other options," said Ciskel delegate Nick Webb.

Mr Buthelezi has been accused on all sides of having ulterior motives for threatening to split the talks.

The IFP's ambivalence is attributed in equal parts to attempts to stall elections, to internal divisions among the party's constitutional advisers, and to Mr Buthelezi's fury at being "marginalised" by the ANC.

The internal divisions were highlighted yesterday when a senior IFP negotiator, asked to explain what lay behind the latest Umlindi threat, said: "Don't ask me — ask the person who wrote the speech."

Mr Niehaus said: "One hopes the reason the IFP is playing this game is not simply because they are afraid they will not get support in elections."

Negotiators are growing dizzy, trying to keep up with Inkatha's constant shifts in position.

Two weeks ago, Inkatha said it would "not participate in the debate until it saw a draft constitution which met its needs."

On Wednesday, IFP delega
tes revived the war talk by stressing their unhappiness at the sufficient-consensus method of reaching decisions. Mr Falgate demanded that no decision could be made unless Inkatha agreed to it.

On Friday, Inkatha said it would boycott the talks altogether until it saw the constitution.

And on Friday, Mr Buthelezi threatened to split the talks.

But yesterday, he re-committed himself to the talks as long as the draft constitution was acceptable and made no mention of forming a breakaway grouping.
Political parties gear up to win your election vote

ALL major political parties in the Western Cape are hard at work formulating strategies for their election campaigns in the upcoming “Battle of the Boland”.

Political Reporter NORMAN WEST asked spokesmen of the various parties and political organisations about their election plans and membership.

Inkatha Freedom Party

INKATHA media spokesman in Cape Town, Mr Cloete Brentenbach, said that Inkatha started making a serious bid for Western Cape voters five months ago. 50 branches comprising an average of 100 members each, have been established in the Western Cape.

Most of the branches are in white areas and 80% of members are white, said Mr Brentenbach. He admitted black and coloured membership "was not what it could be”.

African National Congress

MS ZOU KOTA, head of the ANC election campaign in the Western Cape, said the ANC had established 125 branches and was in the process of launching another 65, all with a minimum of 100 members per branch.

She said the ANC regarded the Western Cape as "very important”.

Ms Kota said the ANC would conduct house visits on Mondays to answer questions.

Democratic Party

MR JASPER WALS, Democratic Party chairman in the Western Cape said in June the DP had recruited 1 172 members of which 93% were "coloured”.

He said so far the DP had 66 branches in the Western Cape and are establishing branches at the rate of two per week. New members are coming mostly from the presently disenfranchised community.

Azanian People’s Organisation

THE Western Cape publicity secretary of the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) Mr Jimmy Yekiso said Azapo will only participate in an election if it is for an elected constituent assembly charged with writing a democratic constitution.

Pan Africanist Congress

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) hold a similar view, but although it claims a growing membership in the Western Cape, PAC Western Cape chairman, Mr Theo Mahumela, refused to release statistics. However, it is known that the PAC so far has more than 50 established branches in the Western Cape.

In the past week alone, the PAC had started three branches in Stellenbosch, New Crossroads and the area known as KTC Camp, he said.

National Party

MR HENNIE SMIT, MP for George and chairman of the NP’s Cape Information Committee, said the NP had approximately 1 000 branches in the Cape. In preparation for the election, strategy committees have been established in all eight NP organisational regions.

He claimed the NP was particularly strong in the Western Cape.
IFP starts election fund

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A Chief Buthelezi Election Fund for next year's national election was established at the annual Inkatha Freedom Party congress in Ulundi yesterday.

The congress was attended by about 5,000 IFP supporters.

However, IFP members stood firm in opposing April 27 as the election date.

The fund was initiated by a donation of about R17,000 from members present at the congress. Election donations were coupled with voter education by Arthur Konikramer and Joe Mathews.

"We should stop wondering whether there is an election planned, but prepare for it as if it were next week," said Mathews.

He said that since many who could vote were illiterate, the IFP would opt for a secret-symbol voting system.

"This means we will have to choose the correct symbol that our people will know before going to the polls."
IFP/Kwazulu will remain in 'consultations'

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party/Kwazulu negotiators have stressed that while they will not be at multiparty talks today they will remain involved in “intense consultations and bilateral meetings” to pave their way back to the table.

Kwazulu negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said last night that his government and the IFP felt “marginalised” at the talks forum — an unhappiness that went right back to the Codesa period.

But the IFP would continue to seek to resolve its problems in meetings with both the government — the next one being tomorrow — and the ANC.

“They must listen to us. If we just paper over the differences, pretend we agree and pretend there is sufficient consensus ... that's fraught with danger.”

This was the danger alluded to by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the IFP’s annual general conference at the weekend, said Dr Ngubane.

“He didn’t threaten civil war but warned of the danger.”

He also said Chief Buthelezi’s suggestion of an alternative negotiating forum would be an option only when all other avenues had been closed.

“We’ve not reached that yet,” said Dr Ngubane, referring to the “intense consultations” that would be taking place. (16) 0267 191793

High on the agenda of these meetings would be the crux of the IFP/Kwazulu problem — the way in which sufficient consensus was applied and used to overrule objections.

His government and the IFP were not prepared to “hurry at the expense of matters of importance”.

The decision that emerged from the IFP weekend conference was a resolution demanding what amounted to a veto right in negotiations.

The conference rejected “the right” of the government, SACP and ANC to determine whether there was sufficient consensus — insisting: “There be no sufficient consensus without the IFP’s concurrence”.
IFP, CP, KwaZulu quit talks
By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Three of the 26 groups at the negotiating table — the Indi- 
khala Freedom Party, Kwa-
Zulu Government and the Con- 
servative Party — will 
not return today to the 
World Trade Centre for a 
meeting of the Negotiating Coun-
cil.  

The IFP general coun-
cil, resolved in Umlazi yester-
day to suspend its partic-
ipation in negotiations unless 
the Government "clearly de-
clares its position on the con-
tinuing deployment of MK 
(Umkhonto we Sizwe)."

In another resolution, the party demanded what amounted to a veto right in 
negotiations.

...To Page 3...

Talks hit trouble as three parties pull out

The conference rejected "the right" of the Government, SACP and 
ANC to determine whether 
there was sufficient consensus 
and refused to "re-enter nego-
tiations until there are assur-
ances that there will henceforth 
be no sufficient consensus with-
out the IFP's concurrence".

Constitutional Development 
Minister Roelf Meyer last night 
reiterated his view that there 
was no reason for the IFP and 
KwaZulu government not to 
take part in constitutional talks.

Further talks take place to-
morrow between the two 
groups and the Government. 
Sufficient consensus is expected 
to again be on the meeting's 
agenda.

Meyer would not comment on 
the CP's withdrawal from talks. 
CP leader Dr Perdi Hartzen-
berg said on Saturday that his 
party would not take part in ne-
gotiations until the Afrikaner's 
right to self-determination was 
recognised.

 Constitutional members of the World 
Trade Centre — the IFP, CP, 
Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and 
the Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bop-
huthatswana governments — 
are scheduled to meet early 
today before the meeting of the 
planning committee and the Ne-
gotiating Council.

AVU leader Andries Beyers 
and Bophuthatswana chief ne-
gotiator Rowan Cronje yester-
day said their delegations would 
attend today's meetings and 
take part in all the debates.

But, Ciskei negotiator Mick-
ey Webb said "at this stage" his 
government would take part in 
all negotiations except those on 
constitutional matters.

When the Negotiating Coun-
cil resumes meeting today after 
a two-week recess, it is expect-
ed to discuss an independent 
media commission; an indepen- 
dent electoral commission; and 
an independent, broadcasting 
authority. Other issues sche-
duled for negotiations are the 
repeal of discriminatory legis-
lation and fundamental human 
rights during the transition. 
A transitional executive 
council and a draft of an in-
terim constitution will only be 
discussed next week.
The Inkatha Freedom Party is to investigate the background and status of Vaal IFP official Chris Theunissen who has made statements about "Vaal Monster" Victor "Khetis" Kheswa on behalf of the party.

Theunissen confirmed to The Star last Monday that Kheswa had been a member of both the IFP and the World Preservatist Movement, formerly the World Apartheid Movement.

Goldsboro commission investigators raided the home of WPM leader Koos Vermeulen on Friday night, confiscating files and documents after Vermeulen told the press that Kheswa was a WPM leader and later denied this statement to the police.

Police said SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe asked the commission's Transvaal investigation team to conduct the raid after the Attorney-General had told the police that there were insufficient grounds to issue a search warrant.

The controversy surrounding Kheswa's death deepened with Theunissen's statements on behalf of the IFP last week, followed by the organisation's denial of an IFP-WPM link.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that he had first heard of Theunissen last week.

Theunissen said last week that he had been one of the first called to view Kheswa's body in the Sasolburg Hospital after the notorious KwaMadala inmate died in custody.

According to reliable sources, it was Theunissen who contacted WPM leader Koos Vermeulen last weekend to tell him of Kheswa's death.

Theunissen said he had acted on behalf of the IFP to establish the whereabouts of the three other KwaMadala inmates arrested with Kheswa.

He also claimed to have served on the local peace committee as an IFP representative. The chairman of the Vaal Triangle Local Peace Committee, Elise Cooy, confirmed that Theunissen had attended one meeting on June 7.
Inkatha sets conditions for rejoining talks

THE Inkatha Freedom Party’s annual general conference yesterday resolved to suspend participation in negotiations until other parties agreed that no decision could be made without its concurrence.

In a separate resolution, the congress also mandated the national leadership to suspend participation in negotiations until government declared its position on the continuing deployment of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its control of arms caches.

The resolution follows the CP’s decision on Saturday to pull out of the forum until its demand for “Afrikaner self-determination” had been met. Inkatha negotiators had previously said they would return to negotiations when a draft constitution was tabled.

The congress resolved “with a deep sense of gravity” that it was instructing its delegation to “reject the right of the ANC/SACP alliance and the SA government to determine when there is or is not sufficient consensus in the negotiating chambers and to refuse to re-enter negotiations until there are assurances that there will henceforth be no sufficient consensus without Inkatha’s concurrence.”

The resolution then instructs that the Inkatha negotiators should “consider very seriously the feasibility of an alternative negotiating forum of a national multiparty constitutional convention, if there is insufficient remedy for the negotiations at the World Trade Centre”.

Meanwhile, government has rejected Inkatha’s proposal to set up an alternative negotiating forum as “unworkable” but has said it would continue to encourage the organization to clarify its “vague and contradictory” requirements, a senior negotiator said. This message follows a week of intense bilateral discussions between government and Inkatha.

The call for a “go-it-alone” constitutional convention was made on the eve of the conference by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a meeting of the party’s national council.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said government negotiators were having difficulty forming a clear picture of what Inkatha wanted in addition to what was already offered by the existing negotiation process.

From government’s point of view, there was nothing that Inkatha leaders raised in the extensive discussions held over the past few days that was not wholly compatible with what was being discussed in the existing forum, he said.

Furthermore, Inkatha was shooting itself in the foot by not participating in the discussions as it would be missing out on an opportunity to shape the future constitution into a form it was demanding.

This problem could become particularly acute this week as it was possible that the negotiating council might discuss those sections of the interim constitution dealing with regionalism on Wednesday.

Inkatha’s objection to a constitutional assembly deciding on the final constitution

Inkatha was misplaced it had already been decided that certain constitutional principles would bind the constitution-making body.

“This is not a real argument,” he said.

Government sources said Inkatha seemed to want agreement that the KwaZulu-Natal aspect of negotiations should be agreed separately and “cast in stone”. Government was pressing for a solution for the whole country, and separate agreements on various areas were therefore not realistic, the source said.

● Sapa reports Inkatha is to retain its current leadership, after Buthelezi invoked special powers granted to him in December 1990 whereby he is able to lengthen the term of party officials without elections.

Saying the violence in black townships and rural areas had failed to achieve the establishment of the necessary branches, Buthelezi told the IFP’s national council it had not been possible to fully implement the party’s constitution.

“We do not have a sufficient number of the structures of the new constitution in place to hold party elections for the various leadership posts in the party.”
Inkatha backs talks boycott

ULUNDI — Delegates to the Inkatha Freedom Party’s annual conference here overwhelmingly backed IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s decision to suspend participation in the democracy talks.

In a resolution yesterday, delegates gave IFP negotiators a mandate not to return to the 26-party talks when they resumed today unless the government clearly declared its position on the continued deployment by Mr Nelson Mandela’s ANC of its armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe.

Government spokesmen criticized the IFP decision and said the talks would continue without Inkatha.

Earlier, the Minister of Home Affairs and Natal National Party leader Mr Danie Schutte said the Natal/KwaZulu region should have its own constitution. The sooner one could be devised and validated the better because it would bring certainty and stability to the region, he told an NP local government congress in Durban on Saturday.

**Suspended participation**

The democracy talks are to resume at the World Trade Centre today without the IFP and the Conservative Party, but with the ANC and government determined to keep the process going.

The CP also suspended its participation at the weekend and said it would not return to talks until the Afrikaner’s right to self-determination received ‘unequivocal’ recognition. Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg made the announcement at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in Lichtenburg on Saturday.

Senior ANC and government negotiators said they would continue to do their best to keep the IFP and the CP in the talks, but that the process could not be held to ransom.

Government sources indicated that Inkatha’s resolution amounted to a demand for a veto right which could not be accommodated. “They are just going too far,” one source said.

“Negotiations will continue even if other parties withdraw,” Mr Mandela said yesterday at an ANC youth rally in Soweto to mark his 70th birthday.

Sapa-AFP, Own, Correspondent.
IFP keeps its current leaders

ULUNDL — The Inkatha Freedom Party is to retain its current leadership, with no elections for party officials scheduled for its annual general conference which ended here yesterday.

Last week IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi invoked special powers granted to him in December 1990 whereby he is able to lengthen the term of party officials without elections.

The term of office of national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose has also been extended for another year.

Saying the violence in black townships and rural areas had interfered with the establishment of the necessary branches, Chief Buthelezi told the IFP national council it had not been possible fully to implement the party’s constitution.

“I again have perforce to use the powers given to me at the special general conference in December 1990 to hold the elected and appointed leaders of the IFP in their positions for the time being. We do not have a sufficient number of the structures of the new constitution in place to hold party elections for the various leadership posts in the party.”

He declared the present central committee to be the party’s executive body until the new national council could be elected. — Sapa.
IFP awaits Kheswa autopsy

By Abbey Makoe

The Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it would not bury its member, Khethiwe Kheswa, until the police made the post-mortem report public.

Kheswa, notoriously known as the “Vaal Monster”, died under mysterious circumstances while in police custody 10 days ago.

Police have, until today, not disclosed a State pathologist’s findings regarding his death.

IFP Vaal region official Mr William Nhlapo said yesterday that his organisation feared a possible cover-up by the police. “We will not bury Khethiwe until the police disclose their findings about his death,” Nhlapo said.

Vaal police spokesman Major Piet van Deventer said the IFP did not have to wait for the police to reveal their findings.

He said the organisation was free to appoint its own independent pathologist if they suspected a cover-up.

Van Deventer told Sowetan that the findings might only be released after a month.

Samples, he said, had been taken from Kheswa’s body and investigations into his death were continuing.
NEWS Government says discussions must continue

IFP, PAC to hold talks

By Ismail Lagadiren
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council resumed its business as usual yesterday despite the absence of the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu administration.

The Council resolved to continue its work until it has received formal notification from the IFP and CP of their withdrawal from multiparty talks, the Government was particularly adamant that talks should continue.

In the meantime the Concerned South Africans Group held a meeting yesterday to discuss its particular gripes with talks in general, the council and especially the procedures for the adoption of resolutions, among which is the concept of sufficient consensus.

Lawyers to probe highway shootout

Another of the Sisulu bodyguard's dies

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

A SECOND bodyguard of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu died in hospital yesterday following Sunday's shootout between police and Sisulu's convoy.

The guard was injured when police and ANC bodyguards exchanged fire on the Soweto highway as the Sisulus were returning from Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday celebrations at the Carlton Hotel.

One guard died soon after the shooting and a third at Baragwanath Hospital. The ANC yesterday named the two guards who died as Mr Jabulani Cebo Nilti and Mr Ismael Molosme.

Meanwhile, the organisation said lawyers Mr Matthew Phosa and Mr Fink Haysom would represent it in investigations to be headed by Witwatersrand Regional Commissioner of Police Lieutenant-General Koes Kalitz.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said Phosa and Haysom would meet Calitz today.

He said the ANC insisted on the involvement of the international police monitors who are in the country. The organisation also wanted independent experts to be part of the investigations, he said. Witwatersrand police spokesman Brigadier Zirk Gous could yesterday not confirm if there would be a meeting between Calitz and the ANC legal team today.
Different issues arise in drafting a standard to which the PAM Regulations refer to the IEC 61508 standard, which requires certain steps to ensure safety. The standard ensures the correctness of one of the major steps. However, the process can sometimes require a different approach than what is described in the draft. The PAM Regulations refer to the IEC 61508 standard, which requires the correctness of one component. However, the process can sometimes require a different approach than what is described in the draft.
No MK in peacekeeping force – IFP

By Helen Grange

Debate is heating up around the joint peacekeeping force to be established to oversee elections, with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) voicing strong opposition to the inclusion of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the force.

Recommendations have been made to the World Trade Centre negotiations technical committee on violence that a peacekeeping force should be established to maintain internal stability in the run-up to the elections, according to Democratic Party MP Robin Carlisle.

It would include members of the SAP, MK, APLA, homeland armies and even the AWB's We kommando — and would be under joint control or control by the transitional council.

However, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said at the weekend that although the IFP agreed that suitable structures need to be set up to oversee the elections, the party had "big problems" with MK.

"MK members would not be able to meet the criteria of a peacekeeping force without it being disbanded," she said.

Carlisle said the peacekeeping force had been broadly discussed and the idea was that it would be implemented over a period of time, starting from a small unit acting as official monitors, but growing to a bigger, more powerful force.

"I would say that not less than 10 000 peacekeeping soldiers would be needed ultimately, and they would have to have the same powers as the SAP. They would need to be adequately equipped and have different, identifiable uniforms."

"Parties to the negotiations feel the peacekeeping force should be established as soon as possible to allow them time to grow into an integrated unit with shared values, according to reports.

The SAP and SADF, if has been agreed, will continue to perform its normal duties.

Carlisle stressed that the idea of a youth corps, based on the concept of a United Nations peacekeeping force, was also being discussed but this was an entirely different concept.

The Joint Enrichment Programme — a church-sponsored project focusing on youth marginalisation — is currently involved in a number of township youth programmes and would have a key role to play in the formation of the youth corps.
Consensus
a spanner in works

Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council is continuing without the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu Government and Conservative Party, but a problem is looming over the decision-making mechanism in constitutional talks.

The six members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) at the World Trade Centre yesterday clearly indicated their unhappiness about sufficient consensus rulings whereby decisions are taken.

Despite the withdrawal of the three parties from negotiations, the other three Cosag parties - Bophuthatswana Government, Ciskei Government and Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) - continue to take part in the NC.

Cosag members yesterday denied that there was a split in the group -- or differences over negotiations tactics -- because of the continued participation by some of its members.

Although the row over sufficient consensus rulings has been brewing for some time, the latest unhappiness comes in the wake of a resolution taken on Sunday at the IFP's general conference which stated that the party would refuse to re-enter negotiations until sufficient consensus included the IFP's concurrence.

Several delegates at the World Trade Centre interpreted the IFP resolution as a demand for a veto right in constitutional negotiations.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the IFP and KwaZulu Government decision to walk out was based on "very weak and unconvincing" grounds.

"The IFP was doing a disservice to its members by not participating in the most important process that is shaping the future of the country. Their withdrawal will not shape the future", he said.

Ramaphosa noted that the IFP had agreed to sufficient consensus as a decision-making process.

"There is no reason why legislation should be delayed because some parties feel they cannot agree. We have used sufficient consensus effectively and where sufficient consensus included them (the IFP), they have not expressed unhappiness. That's hypocritical," Ramaphosa said.

Another round of talks between the Government and the IFP is scheduled for this afternoon.
Gaisha talks to OFS

INKATHA Freedom Party leader
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is scheduled to address the Free State business community in Bloemfontein on Friday as part of his campaign for national support.

Buthelezi will also address students at the University of the Orange Free State before holding a public rally at the Bloemfontein City Hall on Friday night. IFP Free State information officer Tienie McLean du Toit said his leader's visit was part of a countrywide campaign which was launched in Port Elizabeth last week. He will also address rallies in Welkom, Sisalburg and Kroonstad.
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had no choice. He either had to be a “Chief Minister” or just stand by and watch the Government carry out its policies. He spoke to Political Correspondent Themba Molefe in Ulundi:

Chief Buthelezi — born to royalty rather than politics.

KwaZulu was conquered in British colonial times. We were subsequently annexed to the colony of Natal and later dragged into the Union of South Africa without anybody asking us our opinion on these matters.

“Those things were done through the barrel of the gun to complete our subjugation,” Buthelezi says. Hopefully, this will help clarify whether the Chief indeed seeks a federal option or accession for the Zulu “nation.”

The IFP announced at the weekend that it would pull out of the negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation and forge closer links with the rightwing movement in fighting for their right to self-determination.

This is a new phase in the political struggle for a new South Africa.

Professor Harriet Ngubane, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and a negotiator at the World Trade Centre, put it this way: “The Chief Minister did not want to take up the position at all; he was refusing the idea of homelands entirely.

“At that time (in the late 1960s) the Government was imposing the homeland structures on everybody.

“The people, the elders of KwaZulu, came around and said: ‘If you don’t take this position then someone else will and actually carry out what the central Government wants’.

“The people of KwaZulu knew that they had no power to stop the Government from imposing the system at the time. They therefore wanted somebody else, not the King, because they did not want to involve him in politics.

“The Prime Minister of the King (Buthelezi) was therefore the obvious choice to be at the helm.

“Remember, the Chief Minister had been involved in the African National Congress Youth League between 1947 and 1953 when he became chief of the Buthelezi clan and as such rejected very strongly the Government’s policy.

“He had to be persuaded to take this position,” Ngubane said.

Grandson

Chief Buthelezi is a grandson of King Solomon kaMntuli, one of the great monarchs in the Zulu Royal line. Therefore, this made him a royalist rather than a politician.

Of course, the chief would disagree.

Whether consciously or otherwise, Buthelezi admits he got into mainstream politics by chance. This is besides the fact that he was an active member of the ANC/UL.

He says himself: “When the Bantu Administration Act was passed, I was told I had no choice. But KwaZulu had always been there as a kingdom ... just like Lesotho and Swaziland. . . .

Buthelezi says the leaders of the ANC, for instance, notably the late Mr Oliver Tambo, never regarded him as a “political leopard” because they accepted his role as an opponent of apartheid.

“It is actually the Press that creates the impression that I’m a traitor. The rest of Africa and the United Nations do not regard me as that.”

He says he believes in the principle that blacks must be freed from white domination but this cannot be equated with the self-determination of the “Zulu nation” because of its historical purview.

He spelled this out after his opening speech at the Inkatha Freedom Party’s 18th annual conference at the weekend.

“Not one of us is in doubt that we are now on the road to political freedom. Yet we would be deceiving ourselves if we pretend that things are easy merely because we are on this road to freedom.

Political freedom

“The achievement of political freedom will be the end of just one phase of the struggle, and the beginning of a new phase which in many ways will be even more difficult and more costly than the first phase. “When, therefore, I say that KwaZulu has the sovereign right of self-determination I’m not saying that to try claim to any ethnic privileges for KwaZulu.
Winne
beats the
deadline

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

WINNIE Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, avoided arrest yesterday afternoon when her lawyers made a last minute payment of R15 000 in compensation money at the Rand Supreme Court registrar's office.

Winnie was ordered by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein in June to pay compensation of R5 000 each to three surviving victims of a kidnap case.

The money was paid yesterday just 15 minutes before the registrar's office closed its doors.

A warrant had already been signed by a judge in preparation for her arrest today. Senior registrar at the court, Mrs E Herselman, said the money was paid shortly before 4pm.

Winnie failed to pay the money at the registrar's office by Monday afternoon as was previously arranged with her lawyers. Initially, Winnie was required to have made the payment by Thursday last week but her lawyers requested a deferment until Monday.

The compensation was part of the sentence handed down by Mr Justice M Corbett in the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein during June.

She was to have paid compensation of R5 000 to each surviving kidnap victim in a case arising from the abduction of teenage activists Kenneth Kgabe, Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Mckgwe from the Methodist manse in Orlando West, Soweto, in December 1988.

The body of one of the kidnap victims, Stompie Seipei, was found in the veld outside Soweto.

News in brief

Another Nat joins the IFP

NATAL MEC Mr Peter Miller has resigned from the National Party to join the Inkatha Freedom Party.

PAC to hold report-back

PAC Africanist Congress chief negotiator Patricia de Lille and general secretary Benny Alexander will on Saturday address a meeting of the central Transvaal region on developments at negotiations. The region announced yesterday that the meeting would be held at the Rethabile Hall in Mamelodi East, Pretoria, from 2pm.

Agreement on mine

The National Union of Mineworkers and management of Hartbeesfontein Mine have agreed on plans to restore calm after eight weeks of conflict and violence which claimed 19 lives.

Dissent in ANC ranks

ANC Southern Free State regional leaders said yesterday they would defy orders from their national headquarters in Johannesburg to return to the structures of the National Peace Accord they quit three weeks ago.

— Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.
Negotiations remain stalled as Govt. and Infrakta talks deadlock

Government and Govt. of Kerala-
Nats, IFP locked in day of tensions

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A DESPERATE bilateral meeting between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party dictated the tensions at the World Trade Centre yesterday where the negotiating council resumed its work.

A Government team, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer met an IFP delegation under the leadership of Mr Ben Ngubane to try and bring Inkatha and the KwaZulu administration back into multiparty talks.

Ngubane, who is the official leader of the KwaZulu administration's negotiating team, said the IFP and KwaZulu had "exercised their democratic right" by withdrawing from negotiations and "taking a step back" when some of their crucial principles were crossed in the multiparty talks.

Ngubane said they would continue to talk "until our principals are sure that sufficient progress has been made".

The IFP wants an effective veto over any decision taken in multiparty negotiations and is particularly sceptical about "sufficient consensus" - the mechanism used to reach agreement in the negotiating council.

Demand

Sufficient consensus in negotiations has until now been a fig-leaf for agreement between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP has also demanded that the Government rein in, as it were, the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we/Sizwe, and that the form of state be agreed upon ahead of anything else before it would start negotiating any matter of substance.

Shortly after the meeting, the negotiating council received the first report of the ad hoc committee on sufficient consensus.

Procedure

The committee report suggested that the concept of "insufficient consensus" be inserted in the standing rules for procedure in the negotiation process.

The committee also recommended that guidelines for the application of sufficient consensus be formulated to facilitate the application of the standing rules.

The proposed guidelines are to be discussed with leaders of negotiating groups before it comes up for debate on Monday.

Sufficient consensus should, however, be retained during the decision-making process, according to the committee.
Govt in deadlock with Inkatha

Visiting Soviet official urges pre-election poll

PRETORIA. — A referendum should be held before South Africa’s general election on the issue that a new government could not change agreement principles without consulting all communities, Supreme Soviet Member of Parliament Mr Oleg Germanovich Rumiantsev said yesterday.

Mr Rumiantsev, who is also head of the Russian Constitutional Commission advising President Boris Yeltsin, was addressing a news conference here. He is on a semi-official visit to South Africa and has had talks with government officials and the Conservative Party and is scheduled to hold discussions with the ANC/SACP and the IFP.

Principles agreed upon by the various political parties at the multi-party talks should be “un-touchable”, he said. This should be put to South Africans in a referendum. — Sapa
We may form
private army
— Inkatha

DURBAN — The IFP
yesterday indicated that it
would not tolerate an army
if the political sup-
pporters continued.

IFP national chairman
Dr Frank Mdlalose said:
"I hope that the conflict
will not reach a level
that will necessitate the
party launching its own
private army to protect
its members."

He spoke a day after
gunmen murdered seven
IFP supporters on the
East Rand.

But, Law and Order
Ministry spokesman
Captain Craig Kotsé said
the IFP and ANC should
rather instil tolerance
in their supporters.

The creation of yet
another private army
will not contribute to-
ward resolving the vio-
lations, but may very well
lead to an escalation in
counties like Sapa."
Top Natal Nat defector to Inkatha

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has not yet considered offering a senior post to Natal provincial executive committee member Peter Miller, who yesterday quit his job and the NP to join Inkatha.

His decision ended widespread speculation that he would resign after losing the important portfolio of roads and hospitals in an executive committee reshuffle this month. There was speculation that his Inkatha links were a factor in his demotion.

Inkatha's national chairman, Frank Mdlalose, said it was "too soon to tell" whether Miller would receive a high-ranking post.

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said he had been aware of Miller's divided loyalties for some time. Bartlett questioned how Miller could justify his change of allegiance as Inkatha and the NP had "basically the same objectives".

Miller, 51, has had a 14-year career in provincial politics — seven as a provincial council member and seven as an appointed MEC.

"Natal Administrator, Con. Botha said Miller had been a powerful figure in Natal politics and he regretted his decision.

"ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus said Miller's resignation indicated growing tension and confusion within the NP, and he predicted more defections.

DP spokesman Mike Ellis said Miller had been "the only MEC of any real merit. He was the only one who fought constantly for Natal."
Natal MEC joins IFP

DURBAN. — Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller has resigned from the National Party to join Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Miller, 51, supports a strong federal dispensation.

He announced yesterday that he told Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett on Monday of his intention to resign.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said yesterday: “He is a good man to have and we welcome him.”

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said it was “too soon to tell” whether Mr Miller would receive a high-ranking position in the IFP.

“With all his experience and diligence, he would be of value to any party,” Dr Mdlalose said.

Mr Miller’s resignation ends a 14-year career in provincial politics — seven as Member of the Provincial Council for South Coast until the council was dissolved in 1986 and seven as an appointed MEC.

He said yesterday he did not expect a position in the IFP and had not discussed what role he would play in the party.

He would devote his energies to the promotion of the IFP. — Sapa, Own Correspondent
Billy Paddock

Draft is unveiled critical phase as negotiations enter
ATTEMPTS by the Inkatha Freedom Party, its Concerned South Africans Group allies and its new strange bedfellows, the PAC, to devise a clear, legalistic definition of "sufficient consensus" are hardly surprising. But, like the ANC's ill-fated attempts at Codesa last year to pin down the precise vote in a constituent assembly required to approve a new constitution, it misses the point about the essence of constitutional and many other types of negotiations.

When the ANC proposed at Codesa that a constituent assembly be permitted to approve a new constitution by a two-thirds majority, it did so in the belief that it would enable the NEC to garner sufficient votes from an alliance of ANC-leaning parties to pass through a constitution reasonably acceptable to it. The NP, which wanted a 75% majority, had estimated that that threshold would be easily achieved with assistance from other anti-ANC parties — to block any unacceptable constitutional proposal.

Inkatha, then as now, knowing it can expect to win no more than 10% of the national vote, was and is opposed to the very idea of a constituent assembly where it would not be able to block any deal. That figure rises, perhaps, to around 15% for Cosas as a whole. But Inkatha cannot reasonably demand (just to be safe) a 95% constituent assembly majority. And that explains why it has demanded an effective veto right at multiparty talks.

Given the nature of politics, none of this naked self-interest is either surprising or especially contemptible. It is, however, rather unsophisticated — and costly in terms of the delays it has caused in reaching a settlement.

In making these demands, all three have been putting the cart before the horse. And this is why: a constitution sets out society's "rules of the (political) game". Those rules include procedures for passing legislation and even amending that constitution. However, certainly in SA's circumstances, trying to precede constitutional negotiations by attempting to lay out in full detail a set of rules for devising the rules of the game is a wasteful exercise.

SA's new constitution, when it is eventually finalised, will reflect a complex interplay — and a delicate balance — of the interests of the various parties.

ALAN FINE

Ideally, SA's future constitution should accommodate all parties. The greater the extent to which it does so, the more stable will be our society. Therefore — as the ANC has now accepted by agreeing that comprehensive constitutional principles be determined at multiparty negotiations — the idea of a two-thirds majority or anything like it is inappropriate.

However, total consensus at any cost is also not the answer. Unless they fundamentally moderate their own positions, it is unlikely the demands of either the PAC or the AWB/CP alliance can be accommodated. While there would probably be a security costs attached to excluding them, they will be manageable.

Inkatha is a different story. It would, as Mangosuthu Buthelezi has intimated and as the pattern of violence demonstrates, have the ability to destabilise those areas where its support is concentrated — mostly Natal and the East Rand. The ANC and NP blocs would do well to continue bending over backwards to accommodate Inkatha.

Even so, Inkatha cannot expect its main negotiating partners, the ANC and NP, to give it unrestricted veto right over two important reasons. The first has to do with the relative urgency with which the three approach negotiations. The ANC is in a hurry to finalise a settlement because it remains without any formal constitutional power. It also sees the country it wishes to rule collapsing around it. The NP, too, is looking for a rapid settlement. It believes the country cannot continue in its present limbo. Easing the transition for the NP is that it has negotiated a (so far imprecisely defined) power of power in a post-election interim government.

Inkatha, however, is in no such hurry. While it currently rules over a majority of territory, opinion polls show there is no guarantee that it will retain power in Natal/KwaZulu in an election. For this reason, the status quo may be preferable to life under a post-apartheid constitution. It certainly means Inkatha has a rational motive in seeking the best possible settlement terms. And it has little or no incentive to be hasty in seeking that most favourable settlement.

This is why ANC sources have tentatively suggested a clearly defined time frame would have to accompany any formula that gives the Cosas bloc anything like a veto. This, once again, is an attempt to devise a formula that would reflect the complex balance of forces. It should really not be necessary.

More important is for Inkatha to become more aware of its Achilleas' heel. These weaknesses include its limited support base and — perhaps more importantly — the KwaZulu government's reliance on central state funds for survival. The "separate negotiations" (and, implicitly, secession) proposed by Inkatha are a pipe dream too, because Natal remains one of the country's poorest regions and will continue to depend on transfers from central government long into the future.

The ANC, by downgrading the status of a constituent assembly, and the NP in gradually diluting its power-sharing formula, have both made fundamental concessions because the power realities have demanded it. Inkatha's resistance to compromise of any sort suggests parts of its leadership are oblivious to these realities.
Zulu call for arms 
affects the ANC

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Zulu chiefs yesterday appealed to all Zulus in the Transvaal to carry their traditional weapons at a meeting to be addressed by Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini at the FNB stadium on Sunday.

The call has been greeted with alarm by peace workers and the ANC.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the presence of dangerous weapons could only lead to violence.

And Witvaal Peace Secretariat chairman Peter Harris said he was concerned that people were calling for crowds to bear arms in spite of National Peace Accord agreements to the contrary.

He said peace monitors would be on the ground to keep an eye on the meeting.

Transvaal head chief Anthony Lamola told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that police had agreed to escort Zulus to the stadium to ensure that the meeting went off peacefully.

Police involved in the talks could not be reached for comment last night.

KwaZulu Government representative Vitus Mvelase said Zulus should carry their traditional weapons as this was to be a traditional gathering, not a political rally.

But, he said, as it was a meeting of the Zulu nation and had nothing to do with the IFP or any other political organisation, those attending should not wear political colours. He said all other ethnic groups would also be welcome at the meeting.

About 80 chiefs from Natal and Transvaal attended the press conference, flanked by 30 men in traditional gear carrying shields and spears.
IFP 'shifting posts’ for resuming talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party seemed to be shifting the goalposts for its return to the negotiating table. Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday.

Schoeman was reacting to an IPP memorandum, distributed yesterday in the Negotiating Council, which spelt out the party's reasons for having walked out.

The IPP said it would not attend any further meetings of the Negotiating Council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition.

A report proposing guidelines for the application of sufficient consensus rulings will be discussed in the council on Monday.

In the memorandum, the IPP argued that there was no sufficient consensus when the council decided on the April 27 election date and instructed a negotiations technical committee to draft an interim constitution.

Schoeman accused the IPP of "hiding behind procedural issues to avoid dealing with substantive issues such as federalism".

Initially the IPP's concern was that a new dispensation should be based on federal principles. Reports submitted to the council had since indicated that a new South Africa would be based on federalism, Schoeman said.

The IPP was "prejudging the draft interim constitution before having seen one word of it".
Inkatha demands veto rights

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg. The government and the ANC have embarked on a joint effort to head off what they perceive as a serious threat to a negotiated settlement, following Inkatha's announcement yesterday that it would not attend any further multi-party talks until its demand for a veto had been met.

Inkatha's latest decision is a shift from its previous position, stated as recently as Tuesday that it would attend the negotiating council meeting as soon as the draft constitution was tabled for discussion.

The Inkatha memorandum delivered to the negotiating council yesterday said, "Neither will attend any further meetings of the negotiating council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition."

It added that the IFP would not accept any definition of sufficient consensus. It said major players such as government, the NP, the ANC alliance and the Inkatha-KwaZulu government groupings were unable to accept the ceiling.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelof Meyer and ANC Secretary-General Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa were not present at the negotiating council yesterday. They met behind closed doors to discuss solutions.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Fanus Schoeman said Inkatha was demanding a veto right. It was "moving the goal posts".

The ANC is to meet the IFP tomorrow in an attempt to woo it back to the talks, while further government-Inkatha meetings will take place next week. However, ANC and government sources warned that there would come a time when they could no longer meet demands which were changed as soon as earlier demands were met.
IFP army threat slammed

Political Staff

DURBAN—A threat by the IFP to start a "private army" to counter attacks on its members has been slammed by other groups.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was under pressure from within party ranks to arm members and launch an army.

"More and more I am being asked why, if the ANC is allowed to continue its private army, the IFP does not establish its own. I have no answer," he said.

His remarks were prompted by the "execution-style" killing of seven Zulu-speakers at Germiston on the East Rand.

However, an ANC spokesman said the perpetrators of the Germiston killings were "enemies of peace" who sought to scuttle the talks at the World Trade Centre and ties between the ANC and the IFP.

The DP's Mr Lester Fuchs said more private armies would "simply exacerbate, not defuse the endemic violence."
Inkatha ‘moves goalposts again’

Govt, ANC join forces to save talks

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have embarked on a joint effort to head off what they perceive as a serious threat to a negotiated settlement, following Inkatha’s announcement yesterday that it would not attend any further multiparty talks until its demand for a veto was met. An Inkatha memorandum delivered to the negotiating council yesterday said: “We hereby confirm that we will not attend any further meetings of the negotiating council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition.”

It added that Inkatha would not accept any definition of sufficient consensus if “major players such as government, the NP, the ANC alliance and the Inkatha-KwaZulu government proposals” were unable to accept the ruling.

Constitutional Development Minister Reelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were not present at the negotiating council for the day. They met behind closed doors to discuss solutions.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fames Schoeman said Inkatha was demanding a veto right. It was “moving the goalposts” and hiding behind procedural issues as pretexts for not participating in negotiations.

He said the latest Inkatha move was a threat to the legitimacy of the negotiating process, and all parties were looking for ways to accommodate their demands and bring them back into the process.

The ANC is to meet Inkatha tomorrow in an attempt to woo it back, while further government-Inkatha meetings will take place next week.

However, ANC and government sources said that while they were prepared to go a long way to meet Inkatha, there would be a time when they could no longer meet demands which were constantly changed as earlier demands were met.

Inkatha’s memorandum said the resolution instructing the technical committee to draw up a draft constitution for discussion by the negotiating council did not meet its requirements and it therefore rejected the draft that was made available confidentially to parties yesterday.

Inkatha said it had reserved its position on the resolution on June 30 because it believed the instructions did not adequately reflect the gains made in two caucus meetings between itself and government and between Cosas and government.

Schoeman said the test of whether the committee had been correctly instructed would be to look at its draft. “Instead they (Inkatha) are prejudging the whole thing before seeing one single word of what the technical committee has produced.”

Inkatha’s latest decision is a shift from its previous position stated as recently as Tuesday that it would attend the negotiating council meeting as soon as the draft constitution was tabled for discussion.

“We cannot understand or accept that they will be absent when this constitution will be debated. Any party that is serious

Talks

about negotiating a settlement must be present if they want to influence the constitution,” said Schoeman.

He said Inkatha initially demurred federal principles in the constitution, and now that the new dispensation was clearly federal “they move the goalposts again”.

“They are just looking for a reason not to participate in negotiations,” Schoeman said. He rejected what he described as a contradiction in the memorandum where Inkatha states that it is committed to negotiation. “We cannot understand this when they are not here attending the process.”

He said the council was building the constitution chapter by chapter starting on Monday. If Inkatha was not present through this process it would not be able to have its views included in the constitution.

He said it seemed Inkatha wanted to wait until the interim constitution had been finalised and then reject it, claiming it had not been part of the process.
Buthelezi denies seeking talks veto

WINDHOEK — Inkhata Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied yesterday that he sought a veto at multi-party talks by rejecting decisions taken by "sufficient consensus".

He told a news conference that Inkhata's withdrawal from talks was not permanent, but it wanted the meaning of "sufficient consensus" to be defined.

Sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of 24 negotiating teams voted for an April 27 election date, he said. This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution.

Bilateral ties to other major negotiators had not been cut, and Inkhata teams had been instructed to talk to government, the ANC, PAC and CP.

Asked about the viability of the alternative negotiation forum he mentioned recently, Buthelezi said, this was an option with no defined structures yet.

He said principles of federalism and pluralism were inviolable and should be thrashed out at the multi-party forum. It was legitimate for a region to express its federal demands, as a unitary central government could not be imposed on a community and region that did not want that government as their own.

A new constitution should be drawn up before elections, with clear provision for full representation in a future government for all elements of society. — Sapa.
Confused signals at IFP nerve-centre

Conflicting pronouncements by IFP leader
Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be a result of worrying influences in the organisation's leaderships—where influential handliners
Walter Feglota is pitted against the more moderate chief negotiator, Joe Matthews.

By FARUK CHOTHIA

Buthelezi (left) is confused as Feglota (right) holds a wallet from negotiations opposed by the IFP's chief negotiator.

"to win the socialists' struggle."

Having "misled" the ANC, Feglota says that Meyer is now misleading the IFP. "I believe Meyer doesn't personally understand IFP politics—our commitment to the old struggle for liberation; to the south-south economic axis; and to liberal democracy," Feglota added.

Feglota is stillsmart from the government's ditching of the IFP for the ANC. He added that Meyer's predecessor, Gerrit Viljoen, had given a "categorial assurance" that the government would not agree to an elected constituent assembly, and had reportedly said Umkhonto weSizwe would disappear with the signing of the National Peace Accord.

After Meyer took over, the government had backed down on both issues, which were close to the heart of the IFP. "If we feel we were betrayed by the trust we placed in them," Feglota said. "We are (now) trying to establish alternative trust."

Although he still has Buthelezi's ear, observers see a relative decline in his influence. They say the post-February 1990 era saw "outsiders" coming into the fold of the IFP because the party needed to beef up its leadership for negotiations and elections. Buthelezi and Feglota could no longer shape IFP policy on their own—and expect the rest of the leadership to toe their line.

Skilled, highly educated and seasoned in politics, the new IFP leaders are gradually asserting themselves in the IFP and winning Buthelezi's confidence, apparently much to the chagrin of Feglota. Matthews epitomises this trend: a former senior figure in the ANC and South African Communist Party, he is the IFP's chief executive officer effectively in secretariat general and chairman of the election commission, as well as the chief negotiator. Said an ANC negotiator, who spoke on condition of anonymity: "Matthews is a brilliant intellect and clear thinker who has given the IFP a boost. He outshines Feglota in every way."

Feglota denies tensions between himself and Matthews or that Matthews is a threat to him. "Good gracious no, I'm very proud of him joining us. He comes from a distinguished background and he is a distinguished man," he said.

Informed sources say that Matthews has been a restraining influence on Buthelezi and the IFP, but is careful not to overpower his hand. Instead, he intervenes at the appropriate times, presenting his views diplomatically.

It was with Feglota's support, sources say, that Buthelezi raised the idea of an alternative constitutional convention in opposition to the multi-party negotiations forum at last Friday's national council meeting— the forum is to go to the national council which started the next day.

Matthews, the sources said, believed it would be premature to set up an alternative constitutional convention and that more time should be given to finding common ground with the government on the interpretation of "sufficient consensus".

In a subsequent congress resolution, the IFP demanded that no decisions be taken at the negotiations without the IFP's "concurrance." Matthews also wants the IFP to return to the multi-party negotiating forum to study the draft constitution—something which Feglota opposed and for which he won Buthelezi's support.

The effect of these warring influences was clear at the IFP conference. At one point, Matthews used tough words, suggesting that he wanted delegates to back the idea of an alternative constitutional forum. "The use of sufficient consensus against us and the going on without a meeting of one of two responses," he said. "Either we back down and eat humble pie, or alternatively consider whether there is any merit in setting about establishing our own constitutional convention with those people who are excluded from us, or who join us in our fighting activity.

But Buthelezi went out of his way to stress that an alternative convention would lead to attempts to "destroy" the basic political strength of the IFP as its control of the kwazulu Legislative Assembly. "Conference will have to decide whether we are prepared to pay that price knowing that action against us could be action precipitating the first step towards civil war."

In the end, conference delegates resolved to suspend negotiations—and to "very seriously" consider the feasibility of establishing an alternative forum. At the conference, Buthelezi seemed equally confused about the forthcoming no-resolutions. "We need to announce a conclusion as a timetable so that we are not left behind. If current legislation holds up, this big, fund-raising outside South Africa will not be possible for the six months preceding an election," he said at one point.

Technically, we could find ourselves in a position of not being able to fund-raise abroad after November 26 this year if the South African government uses the special (parliamentary) session in September to announce the April 1994 election. But such calls to gear up for an April 1994 election were contradicted elsewhere in the speech, when he said the IFP wanted a September poll—once a constitution was "finalised."

The reality is that the IFP is not prepared for elections of any kind. Buthelezi admitted that the organisation was short of funds—neither international donors nor local businesspeople were prepared to back the IFP's election campaign.

Opposition polls suggest the party's share of the vote has slipped in the last few months. A September poll published last week showed that the IFP's three percent of metropolitan blacks and six percent of whites would vote for the party nationally, while the Independent Science Research Council survey showed that the IFP has only 31 percent support in its stronghold of Natal.
Pointing fingers at each other

The ANC is concerned about the way elements of a Third Force are able to use the ANC-IFP conflict to start up local mini-wars.

Attempts to resolve the conflict between the two organisations have so far floundered because the IFP rejects the existence of a Third Force stirring up trouble, saying instead that MK is the third force, he says.

The IFP has also refused to co-operate in setting standards for control of killers in terror communities, such as the Toasters in Thembisa's Vatsamini Hostel and the Khetani Kineswa gang in the Vul

The ANC, however, see the IFP as an insignificant force which the organisation does not need spend any effort on trying to eliminate.

Gungubele says. The ANC has always fought white racism and its supporting system and not black.

 Asked about alleged attacks by "communes" aligned to the ANC on "Zulus", Gungubele says the IFP is responsible for the perception that all Zulus are IFP.

The IFP always explains every attack on itself by whoever as an attack on Zulus, thereby creating the impression that all Zulus are IFP members. But we have warned our members strongly about this." Gungubele says it is possible that people who have infiltrated MK and isegcwe are operating from within ANC structures, on orders of other forces, to create chaos.

The ANC has struck an agreement with the IFP on the need for refugees to return to their homes in safety to create a climate in which elections could be held.

Also, there is a need for freedom of movement and the right to belong to any organisation without regard to the section of township in which people reside.

Mrs Gwede Mazibuko, an IFP official who serves on its peace desk (for the Transvaal) with special responsibility for the East Rand, and the declaration of areas where the threat is pre-ANC or pro-IFP had led to killings, with opportunities claiming those killed as ANC members to create the impression that they were being attacked.

Dragged to civic meetings
She also said residents were being dragged to civic meetings dominated by ANC people, who turn what ostensibly seem to be community meetings into exclusive platforms for the ANC.

"At all these meetings it is the "Viva Mandela" and "Viva ANC" with flags. After that they pass resolutions against the IFP and hostels. People are called for the demolition of hostels."

She said hostel residents had been attacked daily since the assassinations of Chris Han. Trains carrying hostel residents were not alignt. The media did not play these events up, she alleged.

"But when white people agitated and defended themselves, the media came in and said hostel dwellers — that
ANC and police joint monitoring plan welcomed

DURBAN — The South African Police and the ANC are to begin joint monitoring of southern Natal violence flashpoints in what is being hailed by the ANC as a step towards joint control of the security forces.

Joint operation centres (JOCs) — already operating in some East Rand townships — are to be established within a week in Khamahlani near Durban, where factions aligned to the ANC have been involved in a war which has claimed about 150 lives in eight months.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and others linked to political conflict in the region will also be involved in areas where their supporters are affected, according to ANC southern Natal secretary Sbu Ndebele.

"This is a step towards joint control of the security forces," southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe said in Durban yesterday.

He said the ANC had held talks with Natal police commissioner General Colin Steyn and would meet him again.

Ndebele said the first JOC would be established in Khamahlani, possibly next week, and the ANC hoped to expand the joint operation to other violent areas, particularly Port Shepstone.

EFF spokesman Ed Titotla said his party would welcome joint monitoring but warned of obstacles.

"It could become bogged down in suspicion and mistrust."

JOCs will be discussed at a weekend peace summit in Durban for ANC-aligned organisations. — Sapa.
government uses the special session in September to announce an April 1994 election.”

Inkatha, however, has set its sights on October 1994 elections under a constitution agreed by September.

He added that Inkatha must decide whether to take part in the election of a constituent assembly. “We need a mandate to remain outside the formal negotiation process while we take crucial constitutional issues to the people for their judgment.”

The mandate was given in resolutions adopted by the conference, which decided:
- To stay out of negotiations unless government clearly declares its position on the continuing deployment of MK and MK arms caches in SA and the TBVC states;
- To establish an election fund known as the Chief Buthelezi fund;
- To reject the constituent assembly election as the constitution-making body for SA, along with the right of government and the ANC/SACP alliance to make decisions on a sufficient consensus basis; and
- To consider the feasibility of an alternative negotiating forum or national multi-party constitutional convention if the impasse at the World Trade Centre isn’t resolved.

Buthelezi, nevertheless, expressed profound optimism for the future because the negotiating process is so entrenched that there can be no other way forward. “Failed revolution seems to be behind us, though failed attempts to establish a dictatorship of revolutionary structures do not.”

He said the Inkatha team at Kempton Park is negotiating in enormously difficult circumstances. “They have to achieve results and bring home democratic victories for all South Africans to remain credible and justify what they are doing to people facing AK47s at home.”

Buthelezi argued that the ANC wants a free hand to write a constitution after elections, rather than take the route of many African countries during decolonisation, where constitutions were negotiated by consensus before elections. He did not, however, touch on how many of these constitutions have since been unceremoniously scrapped or ignored.

He again accused the ANC of trying to destroy KwaZulu and absorb it in Natal through an interim authority and by calls for the scrapping of the Black Authorities Act, under which KwaZulu was established. KwaZulu, he claimed, has a sovereign right to self-determination. It was conquered by the British, annexed to the colony of Natal and later dragged into the Union through the barrel of a gun. The people’s consent was never sought.

“We will not be dragged into the New SA without having a say,” he warned.

But he has every opportunity for having a say — as opposed to having his way — and that statement implies that he has not put himself irrevocably outside the process.
ZULU king Goodwill Zwelithini will address thousands of his subjects at a rally at the FNB Stadium on Sunday at 9am.

This is a sequel to the meeting the king has been addressing about developments at the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The king's entourage will include the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu Chief-Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
Negotiations

Buthelezi’s Bridge too Far

There is a growing perception that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is overstepping the mark in his quest to become, or remain, co-king of the walk in KwaZulu/Natal.

He hints as usual at civil war if he does not get exactly what he wants — and people are getting tired of him. Between his main rival, the ANC and his one-time ally, government, a great deal has been conceded in the spirit of negotiation to meet the chief’s concerns.

Thus the new constitution — to be built on sound principles accepted by Inkatha just before it again walked out on July 2 — has basically already been drafted, as Inkatha demanded, by the multilateral negotiating process. This includes a technical committee of constitutional experts chosen by the parties. Yet Inkatha beats on.

Similarly, the ANC long ago moved from its original stance on a unitary State to accepting strong regional or federal governments that are not of killer with systems generally accepted as federal. The list of non-governmental agreements already agreed to demonstrates this.

There is tentative agreement also on the demand that regional constitutions be in operation at the same time as the national one and on full acceptance of a constitutional court and special majorities for changing what will be entrenched principles.

The latest cry from Inkatha (and others) concerns the meaning of “sufficient consensus” and Inkatha’s attempt to secure for itself a veto right on decisions. Don’t be surprised if Inkatha turns the draft constitution into another battleground when it returns to the talks next week.

At this stage, no party in the negotiating council is prepared to say whether the transition will proceed without Buthelezi if he decides to pull out altogether. It will be a political decision should the time come, says a government spokesman. Addressing that no party of consequence has decided what its strategy will be. If any has one, it is unlikely to divulge it now.

“The point is that there is no alternative to the negotiations,” says the government spokesman. “Over the next two or three weeks, all parties, including the ANC, will do everything possible to get the IFP back.”

Belief is that the best moral weapon will be the draft constitution, expected to be presented by the technical committee on Monday and which Inkatha and KwaZulu (and the CP) have said they will return to examine before finally deciding whether to stay in the process.

Government is convinced that the draft constitution will be as accommodating as possible and if groups like the IFP still aren’t satisfied, then “Buthelezi will be seen to be completely out of line.”

Some in government believe that the process has to go on to the point of an election, which will be the true test of the IFP’s power. But Buthelezi knows the limits of his support and that “this is the very best deal that he will get,” avers the government source.

Chief Buthelezi insists that violence must be ended before an election, while government and others maintain that the result of an election will largely assist in controlling it. Would government ultimately consider cutting off funds to KwaZulu if Buthelezi refused to fall in line? No, because that would fuel the fire of a civil war.

While the IFP and CP cannot be compared, if the two got together it would cause more problems. But, it is asked, what kind of support will Buthelezi get in his own constituency — black and white — for hatching a revolution with the far Right? And if they were somehow to win such a war, would they divide the country in two, creating an Afrikaner State and a Zulu State, or what?

The perception is that Buthelezi is engaged in brinkmanship and is worried. While it is believed that he can be beaten, it is difficult to say whether he can be controlled.

“We’ll have to cross the bridges when we come to them,” is the view from opposing negotiators.

Inkatha/KwaZulu met government twice last week in an attempt to build bridges. Interestingly, the team was led by Walter Fagate and Ben Ngubane, with their foreign adviser Mario Ambrosini (who deeply irritates government) in tow. It seems the IFP’s Joe Mathews and Frank Mdhlalose, who are regarded as relatively moderate, will now concentrate on talking to the ANC and Cosag respectively.

At last Saturday’s bilateral meeting, the IFP spelled out its demands. It wants full federalism along the lines contained in the draft KwaZulu/Natal constitution; acknowledgment of the special role and unique status of KwaZulu/Natal with its Zulu kingdom; more clarity on a possible administrative hiatus between now and the election; and the fact that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and retreat of the status of self-governing states, would take power out of the hands of KwaZulu and hand it over to a lesser body such as the old provincial council.

They refused to accept anything which looked as though a grain of power would have to be given to the TEC or its sub-councils.

Without properly discussing the controversial decision-making mechanism of “sufficient consensus,” the IFP demanded a veto in the process — saying that if it did not get veto power it would not return to the table. However, the IFP indicated that if the draft constitution were acceptable, then the veto would assume less importance.

When it was pointed out that the new draft constitution is likely to emerge in chapters over a couple of weeks (as it gets referred to council to technical committee for improvement), the IFP members said they would not take part in that either.

But how, Inkatha were asked, could they not be part of the process and in some way decide whether or not they liked what it had produced? They replied that they’d go back to their principal in Ulundi.

Though the IFP maintains it is not in favour of a confederation (which the CP wants) or secession, government sees the KwaZulu/Natal constitution as confederal in the extreme. If Cosag member agrees that it contains confederal elements. It is believed that when newly appointed Unisa rector Marinus Wiersch (a member of the technical committee) terminated his contract as an Inkatha adviser, he informed Buthelezi that he could not associate himself with the proposed KwaZulu/Natal constitution.

With the prospect of fundamental change within months and backed as he is by dubious advisers, Buthelezi appears to be walking on a knife-edge, weighing his options between civil war and being part of the process. He will pursue brinkmanship as far as he can in order to secure maximum gains before the election. Having built his support on a system of patronage derived from the homelands set-up, his power-base is beginning to erode.

Another problem for him is that his Cosag allies do not seem to be going with him all the way. Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie returned to their seats in the negotiating council last Monday, leaving out Inkatha (and KwaZulu) and the CP, whose position is totally inflexible.
Buthelezi: Withdrawal from talks not permanent

WINDHOEK. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied suggestions that he sought a veto at multi-party talks by rejecting decisions taken by "sufficient consensus." He told a news conference here the IFP's withdrawal from talks was not permanent, but it wanted the meaning of sufficient consensus to be defined.

Sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of the 24 negotiating teams at the Kempton Park talks voted for an April 27 election date, he said: "This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution."

Chief Buthelezi was invited to Namibia by President Sam Nujoma for talks on forthcoming elections and ways to manage a peaceful transition, Foreign Affairs sources said the visit was part of Namibia's growing role as "honest broker."

The news briefing was held in the room where Namibia's constitution was drafted and where the spirit of national reconciliation was born, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab said. He expressed the hope that some of that spirit would accompany Chief Buthelezi on his return home. — Sapa
Inkatha prises open cracks in NP

TENSIONS within the ruling National Party are slowly reaching breaking-point - a fact that is being actively exploited by kwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

With this week's resignation of a senior Nat member of the Natal Executive Council, Peter Miller, to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, concern is growing in NP circles about the possibility of an exodus to the IFP before the first democratic elections.

This week even a cabinet member - Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte - took a pro-Inkatha stance, which runs contrary to the position taken by his negotiating colleagues, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels.

"The faultlines in the NP run along two different approaches towards Inkatha by NP caucus members. Most Nats are instinctively sympathetic towards the IFP. They feel strongly that the Zulu-based organisation is sold down the drain by their own negotiators, under the leadership of Constitutional Affairs Minister Meyer."

Inkatha's present boycott of the negotiations in Kemptown Park is creating serious frustrations among the government's negotiators.

While they are considering seeing the process through, even if it means that the IFP is completely sidelined, fears are growing that such a step may be the final straw convincing senior NP MPs - and even some cabinet members - to break ranks and throw their weight in behind Buthelezi.

In an amazing development this week, Schutte came out openly in support of the notion of an own constitution for kwaZulu/Natal. This is in direct defiance of the stance taken by his negotiating colleagues.

Regional constitutions are an extremely contentious issue, and are at the centre of the deadlock between negotiators - including Schutte's colleagues - and the IFP.

Schutte, in fact, went further. At an NP congress on local government held in Pietermaritzburg, he said Inkatha's constitutional proposals did not go far enough. They only made provision for the recognition of traditional and cultural structures, he said.

"That is not good enough. The Zulu king and monarchy are so important that they must receive specific recognition in the constitution of kwaZulu."

Realising the NP's vulnerability, Buthelezi in the past two weeks went on what can only be described as an election campaign, addressing predominantly white audiences in an effort to woo whites away from the NP. The main theme of his speeches was that the NP was selling out to the ANC and its communist ally.

Schutte attended the negotiations this week and took part in the debates on the establishment of an Independent Broadcasting Authority as well as an Independent Electoral Commission.

To observers it was clear that his cabinet colleague, Dawie de Villiers, who was in the chair on Monday, could sometimes hardly contain his irritation with Schutte's critical and highly technical interventions during the debate.

Sources close to the NP say that the "hardliners" are making life very difficult for negotiators Meyer and Wessels.

Meyer finds himself in the unenviable position of first having to negotiate issues within the multiparty conference, only to negotiate again within his own caucus to get decisions accepted which have been agreed on in Kempton Park.

The "hardliners" know they cannot stop the negotiations, but they are determined to make life as difficult as possible for Meyer because of a perception that he is not "tough" enough, especially with the ANC.

Schutte was recently appointed to a full cabinet post. He immediately joined the "hawks", led by Hermus Kriel and including Terrius Delport and Kobie Coetsee (popularly known as "Koos Skorpientjie").

Schutte, observers say, does not seem to realise that his term of office will not last more than nine months, until the first democratic elections. He is adamant about establishing his authority and trying to show the ANC that he still has political clout.

The resistance from within the NP notwithstanding, it is clear that the majority of the negotiating partners want the process to go ahead - if needs be, without Inkatha. The mood in the negotiating council is that if the IFP should refuse to rejoin the talks, decisions will be taken without them and they will just be confronted with the final constitution.

Neither the government nor the ANC is prepared to compromise further. They insist that the correct procedures have been followed up to now. What they will do in their bilateral is to explain their position to the IFP negotiators and try to convince them that their fears are unfounded.

In the two days preceding the meeting of the negotiating forum from which Inkatha walked out, government negotiators had regular discussions with Inkatha, both bilateral and as part of the debates in the meeting.

They were under the impression that an understanding was reached - which at the forum transpired not to have been the case.

The situation at the moment is that the 26 parties at the negotiating council negotiate on issues, come to decisions and then find that the decisions agreed upon have to be negotiated once more with Ulundi. Buthelezi in effect acts as a one-man council on equal level with the World Trade Centre negotiators.
Buthlezi blames ANC and govt for violence

BLOEMFONTEIN.—The government was bent on sacrificing its working relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party to appease the African National Congress at the cost of peace, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi said yesterday.

Addressing a public meeting of about 600 mostly white people here, Chief Buthlezi claimed that there could never be peace while the ANC and the government were colluding behind closed doors.

Instead of forging a constitution which would safeguard the future, government negotiator Mr. Roelf Meyer and his colleagues had agreed to a two-phase transitional process which would allow the ANC to dominate the future government of the country.

"In so doing they have struck at the IFP's hope of achieving a constitution capable of protecting the freedom, democracy and pluralism for all the citizens of South Africa."

Chief Buthlezi also accused the government of selling out its own constituency when it agreed with the ANC on the election of a constituent assembly.

He said the proposed two-phased transition deal merely ensured that certain key government officials would be able to retain their senior positions in the government of transition.

The IFP would insist on a single phase process where a draft constitution would be negotiated and agreed upon by all representative parties at the multiparty negotiating forum, said Chief Buthlezi.

People at yesterday's meeting were invited to join and become card-carrying members of the party.
Talks with IFP on hold

Hopes that the IFP and its Coasg allies would be drawn back into constitutional talks have been put on hold until next week to allow the parties time to study the draft constitutional proposals.

Last night IFP negotiator Dr Frank Mdlatlose said a range of bilateral talks with the government and the Cosag partners this past week had been “helpful” but disagreements over certain issues still had to be ironed out.

The IFP confirmed that a range of bilateral talks with the Conservative Party, the government and the ANC would be held next week.

Last night ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC would “make a very strong pitch” to draw IFP back into the talks fold at a bilateral meeting “sometime next week”.

C
ANC 'ready to meet king'

Johannesburg. — The ANC yesterday stressed its commitment to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at his convenience to discuss concerns about constitutional matters at democracy negotiations.

The organisation's commitment was made in a statement here before a rally to be addressed by the king at the FNB stadium near Soweto tomorrow.

Commenting on the rally, the ANC said it supported a call by the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat that the carrying of dangerous weapons at rallies would not help create peace.

The ANC hoped the king would "call for peace among the people". — Sapa
Draft a ‘recipe for war’

BLOEMFONTEIN.—IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected a two-phase approach to the drafting of a final constitution, warning it was a recipe for civil war.

Speaking at the University of the Orange Free State, he said the setting of an election date before a decision on the future form of state was incomprehensible.

The IFP and the KwaZulu government walked out of negotiations two weeks ago because the April 27 date for elections was ratified by the negotiating council in spite of the IFP's opposition.

Chief Buthelezi said he objected to a constitution being written by the party or parties at the helm of a constituent assembly.

A two-phase transition process could only subject South Africans to needless suffering and hardship. It would also totally exclude the federal option, and the IFP regarded the principles of federalism and pluralism as inviolable, he said. — Sapa
Students grill Buthlezi

BLOEMFONTEIN. — In-
katha Freedom Party lea-
der Chief Mangos-
sitha Buthlezi was con-
fronted by hostile black 
students at the tradition-
ally conservative Uni-
versity of the Orange 
Free State where he ad-
dressed about 300 
people yesterday.

Emerging triumphant-
ly from a meeting with 
moderate and admiring 
university academics, 
Chief Buthlezi came up 
against a small but vocif-
erous black student 
body who accused him of 
promoting violence and 
allowing white people to 
use him for their own 
ends.

Chief Buthlezi said 
whites in Cosag were not 
using him. (18)

IFF members were 
only involved in vio-

— Saps
*Govt sacrificing ties with IFP*

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government was bent on sacrificing its working relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party to appease the African National Congress, at the cost of peace, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi charged yesterday.

Addressing a public meeting of about 500 mostly white people in Bloemfontein, Buthelezi warned that there could never be peace while the ANC and the Government were colluding behind closed doors.

Instead of forging a constitution which would safeguard the future, government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his colleagues had agreed to a two-phase transitional process which would allow the ANC to dominate the future government of the country.

"In so doing they have struck at the IFP’s hope of achieving a constitution capable of protecting freedom, democracy and pluralism for all the citizens of South Africa."

Buthelezi also accused the Government of selling out its own constituency when it agreed with the ANC on the election of a constitution-making body.

**High-handed**

He said the proposed two-phased transition deal merely ensured that certain key government officials would be able to retain their senior position in the government of transition.

"In their typical high-handed unilateral manner, the Government has sold out its constituency in order to look after its own narrow party political interests," said Buthelezi.

The IFP would insist on a single-phase process where a draft constitution would be negotiated and agreed to by all representative parties at the multiparty negotiating forum.

Earlier, Buthelezi told University of Orange Free State academics that the two-phase approach to the transition was a recipe for civil war.

He said the setting of an election date before the future form of state had been determined was incomprehensible.

The IFP and the KwaZulu government walked out of negotiations two weeks ago because they objected to the ratification of April 27 next year as the date for South Africa’s first democratic elections.

Despite his objections to the setting of an election date before the form of state had been agreed to, Buthelezi has embarked on an aggressive recruiting campaign in white areas in the Eastern Cape and now the Orange Free State. — Sapa.

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Subpoena of journalist deplored

THE Press Council of South Africa and the Conference of Editors yesterday expressed concern over the subpoena of Beeld newspaper journalist Andries Cornelissen under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

"The two bodies deplore the use of section 205 to gain information from journalists under the threat of penalty or a prison sentence," the two organisations said in a statement.

The action was also in breach of a written instruction by the Commissioner of Police on July 16 1991 that no such action would be taken in terms of section 205 without the editor of the publication concerned being informed in advance, the organisations said. — Sapa.

Ad has wrong phone number

THE telephone number in an advert entitled "Own Your Own Home" on Page 108 of the Property Guide is incorrect. The correct number of the Eugenic Foundation is (011) 866-0969.
Dr Jiyane drops PAC policy for Inkatha

BY SIPHO KHUMALO

TIRED of broadcasting rhetoric from the PAC, Radio Freedon in Dar es Salaam, Dr Ziba Bonginkosi Jiyane has moved back under the wing of Inkatha, a group he shunned in the 70s for its "lack of action".

Jiyane was recently appointed Inkatha's national spokesman.

Asked why he left SA, Jiyane said: "There were policy differences within Inkatha. Some felt there was a need for action and that the organisation was too moderate."

He left SA through Botswana where he sought political asylum before joining the PAC.

But by the mid-80s he had become disillusioned with PAC policies.

"Jiyane said he had differences with the movement's "socialist rhetoric" and felt "the futility of armed struggle".

Jiyane said he began to systematically defend the views of Inkatha in 1990 at the height of the violence."

This 34-year-old political scientist, believes Inkatha has the potential to become a major political party in the country."
Inkatha 'too shy' to beg

By SIPHO KHUMALO

"ZULU shyness" is following Inkatha's election campaign of millions of rand in potential donations.

This is according to party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who told a conference in Umtata that because of his Zulu upbringing, he could not go "cap in hand," begging for funds like other political leaders.

Buthelezi was launching the Buthelezi Election Fund at the party's conference. He said, good election plans were of no use if not properly funded.

"We need a truly political campaign," he said. "We need to announce a proper timetable so we are not left behind. If current legislation holds good, fund-raising outside SA will not be possible for the six months preceding an election," he said...

Buthelezi told delegates that although his "Zulu shyness" crippled him, Inkatha chief negotiator Joe Mathews, who is apparently not suffering from "Zulu shyness," was doing something about raising election funds."
Inkatha dig in their heels – again

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

HOPES of Inkatha's speedy return to multiparty negotiations are receding fast.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu government walked out of talks two weeks ago, saying they would not attend any further meetings of the Negotiating Council or its structures until a satisfactory resolution of the "sufficient consensus" issue.

Inkatha's concern is that any constitutional principles should be based on federalism, and that regional power should be clearly defined and not left to the tyranny of a future central government.

The two were expected to return to talks tomorrow, when the draft interim constitution will be discussed for the first time.

Although the contents of the interim constitution are not known, both government and ANC spokesmen have said in the past that Inkatha's demands on issues like regional power have largely been met.

Two days ago, when Buthelezi most likely knew the provisions of the interim constitution, the Inkatha leader was again on the warpath, rejecting a two-phase approach to the drafting of a final constitution and saying it was a recipe for civil war.

Buthelezi's criticism came two days after the technical committee on constitutional matters presented its draft interim constitution to all the parties at the multiparty talks.

At its annual general conference in Ulundi last week, the party added another condition before it would resume participation in the talks: that the government declare its position on the continuing deployment of Umkhonto weSizwe and its arms caches.

The long-awaited interim constitution was tabled before the negotiators this week at the World Trade Centre, but with a strict embargo.

In terms of the embargo, reports and comment on the document are forbidden until tomorrow afternoon.

According to a "source close to the authors of the draft constitution", it is detailed enough for everyone to know what kind of constitution SA could end up with.
Plan to halt election

Picture: JOHN LIEBERT

If a bid to have the matter in which decisions are arrived at by negotiators overturned.

The Prime Minister meets with National President Sam Nujoma this week. The IPP is threatening to go to court.
Draft constitution unveiled today

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

An interim new constitution for South Africa will be tabled in the Negotiating Council today and the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party will not be there.

The interim constitution, which, it is hoped, will lure the IFP and CP back to negotiations, was handed out to parties for scrutiny last Thursday. It will be made public today.

The IFP's Mr Walter Fellgate refused to comment on the constitution.

The IFP has said that if it was satisfied with the interim constitution it would return to talks.

This was one of three conditions put forward by the IFP. Another was that it should be given veto powers over any decisions made (through sufficient consensus) in negotiations.

The CP would also make its position known today.

The ANC and Government would not be drawn on their views. Both seemed satisfied with progress in talks as symbolised by the constitution.

The Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew was encouraged by the document and said while it "needed tightening up" it should inspire political parties to work on perfecting it.
News in brief

**Mshayisa dies at 39**

**SOCIALITE Jimmy Mzikayifani Mshayisa** (39), popularly known as “Mzi”, died last Friday after a long illness.

Mr Lucas Motshoane, a family spokesman, said Mshayisa would be buried in Soweto on Saturday.

The funeral service, starting at 9am, will be held at No 17647 Extension 25, Vosloorus. The cortège leaves for the Doornkop Cemetery in Soweto at 11am.

Mshayisa is survived by his wife Brooks and daughter Nalini.

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**Soweto 26/7/93**

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Join the swing to Bell's—
your No.1 choice

Zulus are angry—king

By Joshua Raboroko and Sapa

King Zwidehini yesterday said Zulus were angry about moves at the multiparty talks to set an election date without securing King Zulu's future. Addressing about 50,000 Zulus who had converged on the FIFA Stadium in Johannesburg, King Zwidehini said KwaZulu's fate would not be decided without the input of the Zulus.

A man was stabbed, another shot and several shots were fired from AK-47 rifles after King Zwidehini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed the rally. Police spokesperson Colonel Peter Beukes said there were no incidents reported.

Earlier, forces from as far afield as Natal brought crowds to hear Zwidehini and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi speak.

If security guards, the Welfare Action Peace Secretariat, European Community Observer Mission and the SAP monitored the proceedings on huge crowds arrived at the stadium.

As the impasse arrived, walking sticks and an assortment of weapons, they chased Zulus war songs while others danced.

There were loud chants of "Rasta" as King Zwidehini and Buthelezi and their entourage entered the stadium.

But there was an apparent lack of enthusiasm from the large crowd when the speeches began. Many apparently did not understand the purpose of the meeting and its speeches and left early.

King Zwidehini said KwaZulu's political future would be determined by Zulus and not by anybody else. He accused the Government and the African National Congress of trying to sell the Zulu nation its identity.

"Only we can step on what we want to change our future," King Zwidehini said.

The recent spate of attacks against Zulus, particularly in the Eastern Cape, could potentially be the beginning of "ethnic cleansing", the Zulus said.

"What makes the ethnic cleansing concept so hideous is our knowledge of the fact that once it starts, there are no boundaries for its ending," he said, likening it to Hitler's genocide of Jews on German.

"We say that no KwaZulu nation, no KwaZulu property and no KwaZulu structure will be changed except by moves that we as Zulus make," King Zwidehini said.

"We will decide how we are to proceed in our new South Africa and only then will we decide what kind of a new South Africa we are prepared to carry on."

He said he needed "absolute assurance" that the pre-conference of the ANC would assume all intention to rob the Zulu people of their rights to shape their own destiny.

"This is not a question of party politics," he added.

Buthelezi said federation was the only option for the country. He said the ANC and the Government were coming in to obliterate KwaZulu.
HANDS OFF KWAZULU, SAWS KING
JOHANNESBURG. - King Goodwill Zwelithini launched a powerful call for the preservation of KwaZulu's territorial integrity at a huge meeting of Zulus in Soweto yesterday.

More than 50,000 Zulus, many in traditional dress and armed with assegais, shields, spears and knobkerries, packed into the FNB stadium to hear speeches by the king and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Large numbers began leaving the stadium when Chief Buthelezi began speaking.

Immediately after Chief Buthelezi delivered his tough message, pistol shots and automatic rifle fire filled the stadium, apparently to underline his message.

The podium was surrounded by about 10 bodyguards, whom some members of the crowd claimed were current or past members of the SAP's security branch. There was also a large police presence.

The king spoke in support of Inkatha's decision to pull out of negotiations, saying: "I need absolute assurances that the present leadership of the ANC will renounce all intentions to rob the Zulu people of their right to shape their own destiny."

He spoke of an "ethnic cleansing" campaign against Zulus, saying that during the past weeks Zulus had died on the East Rand simply because they spoke Zulu.

"We are not political beggars who cannot help themselves," he said.

"The ANC and its allies have heard our Zulu voice say that we claim the right to self-determination and that in exercising that right we demand that nobody ever again tries to drag us into a new political dispensation which we disagree with."

Among the people at the "bazo" (a gathering assembled by the monarch) were members of the royal family and the clergy.

Chief Buthelezi said: "How can we be expected to give our blessing to the talks, which are obviously directed at obliterating the Zulu nation, politically and physically, from the South African map."

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said one man was injured in a burst of AK-47 fire while people dispersed.

Police are investigating. - Own Correspondent, Sapa

DURBAN. - The ANC is to hold a major rally in Natal in September to show that most Zulus want a united South Africa and elections in April.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will be invited to address the rally, which will be "to put to rest the myth that Zulus only support a confederal system and don't want a constituent assembly", southern Natal ANC chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said.

He was speaking after a two-day regional "peace summit" here yesterday.

ANC southern Natal secretary Mr Sbu Ndebele said Inkatha was mixing the issues of the Zulu kingdom with the kwaZulu "bantustan".

The Zulu kingdom would remain a powerful part of South Africa, whereas the kwaZulu homeland, an apartheid creation, had to be dismantled.

King Goodwill would always be accepted as the Zulu monarch and would be afforded the respect he had always been paid by all Zulus.

ANC regional organiser Mr Bheki Cele said chiefs had to be above politics, adding that the ANC recognised the right of traditional leaders to be accommodated in the future and were an integral part of society. - Sapa

BAYETE! . . . Some 50,000 Zulus, many with traditional weapons, attended a rally addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Soweto yesterday. Picture AP
Bid to woo IFP and CP back to talks

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE negotiations process at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, was halted yesterday in a bid to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party back into the talks.

The IFP and CP refused to accept the draft interim constitution tabled yesterday while other political parties hailed the document as a solid foundation upon which to continue building.

The IFP and CP are expected to explain their grievances regarding the negotiations process at a meeting with the negotiating council at noon tomorrow.

The IFP's Mr Walter Flogel said last night, however, that it was unlikely his organisation would return to the World Trade Centre tomorrow.

He said the IFP rejected the interim constitution. It said it would seek a Supreme Court ruling on the method of sufficient consensus as a means of taking decisions in the negotiations process.

The CP said the draft constitution "destroyed all hope of a peaceful settlement" in South Africa while the IFP found it "totally unacceptable".

There was a feeling of accomplishment in the African National Congress and Government camps.

The Democratic Party felt that the interim constitution provided a good basis for further negotiation.

The PAC voiced its principled opposition to an interim government of national unity and an interim constitution, but said it was encouraged by a clause which stated that the document could be revised totally.

See Pages 8 and 9
It's a basis for further negotiations, say Govt and ANC

Two cheers for first draft

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Government and the African National Congress have cautiously welcomed the first draft of the Interim Constitution as a basis for further negotiations, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party have rejected it out of hand.

The first draft of a constitutional blueprint for a new South Africa was tabled yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Debate on the draft Interim Constitution has been postponed until tomorrow at a plenary of the Negotiating Council yesterday. The council was divided on whether or not to accept the new proposals.

Supporting the resolution, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it went "a long way in walking the extra mile with the CP and IFP." He urged all parties to remain committed to the process.

Despite the absence of the CP, IFP and Nationalist government, the Negotiating Council continues today with discussions on a draft bill for a transitional executive council.

The CP yesterday requested the draft Interim Constitution as a "recipe for civil war." The document made it impossible for the CP to continue in the negotiations, party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said.

Rejecting the draft Interim Constitution, IFP negotiator Walter Felgate indicated that it was highly unlikely that party would return to the Negotiating Council tomorrow.

A debate on the application of different constitutional models was yesterday postponed until Thursday to allow the

Drafting committee . . . the legal minds who produced the first draft of the Interim Constitution are: (back) Professor George Prince (University of Natal), Bernard Ngqope ( Pretoria Bar), Dr Francois Venter (Wits University), and (front) Dikgang Moseneke, SC (Pretoria Bar), Michele Olivier (legal adviser, Foreign Affairs), Arthur Chaukekoana, SC (Legal Resources Centre), and Professor Markus Wielands (Unisa).

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek
NEWS Alexander backs ANC’s motion at talks ● Application against NCCR dismissed

PAC, ANC find each other

By Ismail Lagadiren Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress yesterday joined forces in the Negotiating Council to support a clause which provides for an unfettered constitution-making body after next year’s election.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a democratically elected constitution-making body had to write a new constitution for South Africa and not simply amend the interim document.

Ramaphosa’s counterpart in the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, seconded the motion “because the ANC can not second itself”.

Both spoke in defence of a clause in the draft interim constitution that was tabled in the Negotiating Council on Thursday. The draft interim constitution provides for the “total revision” of the transitional document.

The debate on the draft interim constitution was resumed with vigour and candour yesterday despite the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party.

The CP and IFP had until noon yesterday to return to the Negotiating Council after they were given four days to study the interim constitution. Both parties rejected the document.

The role of traditional leaders — a recurrent and contentious issue in the negotiation process — was also raised, especially in the constitution-making body.

Traditional leaders from the various provinces raised the matter and the PAC and ANC supported their inclusion in the constitution-making process.

Ramaphosa said it was unacceptable that the draft interim constitution failed to allow for the role of traditional leaders in the country’s first Parliament.

“It is inconceivable of how to consider these matters without giving attention to traditional leaders,” Ramaphosa said.

Mr Kalihele Sizane of the PAC said: “It is strange that traditional leaders were not considered.”

Sizane also raised the issue of two voting lists — regional and national — saying that the high level of illiteracy would complicate the voting procedure for ordinary rural folks who will be expected to vote twice.

He said it was difficult enough to vote once — for the first time.

Pair lose bid to take over NCCR assets

Sowetan Correspondent

TWO members of the National Returnees Forum yesterday lost a bid in the Rand Supreme Court to take over the finances of the now disbanded National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles.

Mr Justice WP Schutte ruled that returned exiles Mr Mmanenke Scacthe and Mr Jan Malanaka did not have the locus standi to bring the urgent application as they were not members of the NCCR.

The pair said allegations of fraud had been levelled at the NCCR. They asked the court to declare the NRF the owner of the NCCR’s assets and funds and to interdict the NCCR from disposing of its assets and funds.

The judge said there had been no obligation on the NCCR to provide funds to returning exiles. The most the returnees could hope for was to have benefited from the NCCR’s largesse.

The returnees had embarked on their own course of action without going through the NCCR’s member organisations. These were the South African Council of Churches, Catholic Bishops’ Conference, World Conference on Religion and Peace, ANC, PAC and Azapo.

SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane, who is also a member of the NCCR’s dissolution committee, said the funds outstanding after an audit had been done would be returned to the donors. The application was dismissed with costs.
FW holds talks with Buthelezi

Political Staff

PRESIDENT de Klerk flew to Durban today to meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at King's House - at the same time as the KwaZulu government filed an action in the Transvaal Supreme Court to halt the April 27 election.

President de Klerk was accompanied by Natal leader of the National Party George Bartlett and senior officials.

At the top of the agenda was the IFP's stay away from the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre and the notion of 'sufficient consensus'.

In a statement today, Chief Buthelezi said the negotiation process had avoided federalism. It had subtly and high-handedly entrenched the notion of a unitary state with possible provincial or regional characteristics and a process of transition, centred on the empowerment of a constituent assembly.

On June 15, KwaZulu's request to table a federal model was rejected and the negotiating council proceeded to set an election date before any agreement was reached on the form of state and the purpose and finality of such an election. The KwaZulu government objected, its objection was ignored, so KwaZulu was forced to walk out.

On June 30, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee on constitutional matters to draft a constitution which excluded federalism and empowered a constituent assembly. The KwaZulu government's objections were again totally disregarded. Chief Buthelezi said it was a "stall".
Council

In the context of the Australian Government and the constitutional framework of the Commonwealth, there is a significant power imbalance between national and regional levels of government. The Constitution grants the Commonwealth extensive powers over matters of national significance, while the states retain responsibilities for local and regional affairs. This power structure has implications for policy formulation and implementation, with regional governments often facing limitations in their ability to influence national decision-making.

In a letter to the Prime Minister, the National Governors' Conference expressed concern over the implications of this power imbalance. The conference argued that while the Commonwealth has the ability to make decisions that impact regional areas, there is a need for consultation and input from state and territory governments to ensure that policies are effective and equitable across the country.

The conference also urged the government to consider the role of regional councils in decision-making processes. By involving regional representatives in the policy development and implementation stages, the government can ensure that the needs and perspectives of local communities are taken into account.

In conclusion, the National Governors' Conference emphasized the importance of fostering a collaborative approach between the Commonwealth and state and territory governments. This collaborative approach is essential for addressing the challenges faced by regional areas and ensuring that policies are informed by the diverse perspectives within the country.

By: Peter Walsh

Parties to debate consensus today...
Facing up to Inkhatha's concerns

WHY MUST BUDGET! WANT TO FIND OUT WHAT NATAL'S POWERS WILL BE?
Time to spotlight Buthelezi's spoiling tactics in difficult task of changing SA

By ALLISTER SPARKS

It is time to focus on the spoiling role Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is playing in the immensely difficult task of trying to transform South Africa.

Here we are trying to democratize an oligarchic dictatorship, transform the world's most racially divided country into a non-racial one, give 12 million disenfranchised people the vote, hold our first fully democratic elections, redraw our regional boundaries, reorganize administrative powers, and draft all this into a new constitution that will, we hope, give us stability. And Chief Buthelezi is trying to obstruct the process.

Why?

He says he wants a federation. But as I read the draft constitution now before the negotiating council, it is essentially federal. He says the two-phase process of drafting the constitution is a recipe for civil war. Yet the draft of this later constitution is so benign, providing for a classical liberal democracy not unlike the Federal Republic of Germany, that it is hard to see how any major party wanting to make substantial changes at phase two can defeat the constituent assembly.

Like the Namibian constitution, it is likely to be 300 pages long, elected by a majority of weeks rather than months.

Larger end

That leaves the issue of "sufficient consensus." Chief Buthelezi cannot accept that the Inkatha Freedom Party has neither the weight in the negotiating council to the ANC and the National Party government, despite opinion polls indicating that the IFP has only 36% support nationally and 21% in its own stronghold of Natal.

He wants the same power of veto as the two major parties, which he believes should be the exclusive right of a party that has 36% of the vote and 21% of the seats.

The suspicion lingers that this procedural objection is a means to an end. That Chief Buthelezi is an exiled ex-president of the IFP and that his real aim is to achieve ethnic fragmentation so that he can lead Natal into secession with himself as president.

This raises the spectre of the Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu sanctions being repeated here — something Chief Buthelezi's frequent warnings of impending civil war do nothing to allay.

The current round of violence, accompanied by the badly placed King Goodwill Zwelithini, is aimed at whitewashing up KwaZulu's image with extravagant warnings that the present negotiations are a "conspiracy" directed at "liberating the KwaZulu nation" and that "a few more than ever the KwaZulu nation must stick together for self-defence." It is a reckless attempt to light a ethnic fire in a highly combustible country.

Lay claim

With this goes the assertion of a personality cult. Chief Buthelezi devoted much of his speech at Johannesburg's FNB stadium last Sunday to presenting himself as someone with a birthright to lead the KwaZulu nation.

Emphasizing the blood relationship of his family to that of the king, he seemed to lay claim to the lineage inheritance of political power. In addition to being president of the IFP and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, he added: "I, your majesty, am also your Prime Minister."

I was born to follow a course in life which was fixed by near two centuries of KwaZulu history.

There was much in this win. "The king and I," he said, "through our blood ties, go back to the very beginnings of our history as a nation... the king is a family, and my family, inseparably joined by history... the blood which ties us together... I have the right and duty to speak for the KwaZulu people which no power on earth will ever take away from me... I am born to lead, and I was also elected to lead."

Disturbing stuff. Will a man who believes he is born to lead his people, that he has an inalienable right to speak on their behalf, accept defeat if his 36% support in Natal results in his losing the election there and someone else becoming regional premier?

Dissent rare

Last week Vyre Weekfield called Chief Buthelezi "the Jonas Savimbi of South Africa," in an implication we may yet have cause to recall.

Yet Chief Buthelezi has managed to represent himself as the moderate alternative to the ANC, the champion of non-violent struggle, to the"face" of the anti-apartheid movement. He has rallied the support of the most moderate of the anti-apartheid movement. He has rallied the support of the most moderate of the"face" of the ANC, the champion of non-violent struggle, to the"face" of the anti-apartheid movement.

Few of those claims bear scrutiny. The image of democracy fades in the light of the fact that KwaZulu is run as a one-party state where dissent is rare. Elections are whitewashed Affairs with most candidates returned unopposed. Of the estimated three million KwaZulu people living in the "homeland," some 780,000 are registered voters. Only 12,000 votes were cast in the last election in 1983.

Chief Buthelezi claims to be a federalist yet, with the help of two conservative American advisers, he has presented a constitutional plan for KwaZulu/Natal that appears to set the province up for secession. Stephen Elliman, a New York law professor, has likened this plan to America's secession Articles of Confederation. It is estimated that it would "represent the central government of a future South Africa."

Likewise suspect

The proposed constitution makes KwaZulu/Natal a sovereign state whose laws would take precedence over those of the South African state. The state would have its own president, its own constitution, its own autonomous central bank, and its own national currency.

The South African government would not be able to send armed forces there or raise taxes there without that state's approval.

"Who would find a federal system attractive, should not be misled by the kwaZulu/Natal constitutional effort to claim the mantle of federalism," says Professor Elliman.

Chief Buthelezi's constitutional effort to claim the mantle of federalism is seen by Professor Elliman as a "federalist" effort to claim the mantle of federalism. It is a "federalist" effort to claim the mantle of federalism.

But it is Chief Buthelezi's links with the right and suspect elements of the military-security establishment that are most disturbing. Intelligence reports reveal some police officers have been a second security police officers.

Now there is the alliance with white extremists and evidence of some members who have been charged with assassinating for his part in the World Peace Movement, three of whose members were killed in 1983.

As the old adage says, you can judge a company by the people it keeps.
De Klerk fails to persuade Buthelezi to return to talks

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk has failed to woo Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha movement back to constitutional talks after four hours of talks in Durban.

The meeting followed a SUPREME COURT bid by the KwaZulu government to invalidate the April 27 election date and to challenge the notion of sufficient consensus.

Mr De Klerk told reporters after the meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party chief at Kings House in Durban that a new constitution could not be adopted without the IFP and KwaZulu government’s participation.

He was, however, optimistic they would return to negotiations.

This was reaffirmed by Chief Buthelezi who said his party’s withdrawal was not permanent.

"The fact that we’re not there now doesn’t mean I’ll destroy negotiations," the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

But it was futile to return now, he added, citing the African National Congress for saying the negotiation process could continue without the IFP.

Mr De Klerk’s meeting with Chief Buthelezi caught most political observers by surprise and came after an earlier series of government/IFP talks which failed to draw Inkatha and KwaZulu back to the World Trade Centre.

Observers said Mr De Klerk’s intervention highlighted the seriousness with which the government viewed the IFP’s non-participation in constitutional negotiations.

While both leaders skirted the issue of the Supreme Court application against the election date, Chief Buthelezi did say he hoped this would clarify the issue of sufficient consensus.

Expanding on the KwaZulu government’s legal intervention, IFP executive member and delegate to yesterday’s meeting, Ziba Jiyane, said it was a civil suit that would run parallel to negotiations.

“It doesn’t preclude negotiations,” he said.

He explained that the IFP and KwaZulu were attempting in the Pretoria Supreme Court to have decisions about an election date set aside “until the vague concept of sufficient consensus is defined.”

“When we’re satisfied this has been cleared we can participate.”

He also sounded an optimistic note: “The IFP and KwaZulu government are considering serious talks to iron out our differences and hopefully return to negotiations satisfied that the issue of sufficient consensus has been seriously addressed.”

He said Mr De Klerk had been “very sympathetic.”

Mr De Klerk said: “South Africa shouldn’t contemplate adopting a new constitution (without the IFP), and we’re giving all our energy to prevent that situation from developing.”

He stressed there could be no way forward without the participation of these parties.

— Sapa.
NEWS De Klerk meets Chief Buthelezi • ‘Norwood Rapist’ awaits mitigation argument

‘No voting without IFP’

SOUTH Africa should not contemplate adopting a new constitution or contesting elections without the Inkatha Freedom Party, State President FW de Klerk said in Durban yesterday.

The meeting with Inkatha leaders came as the KwaZulu government filed an action before the Pretoria Supreme Court seeking to invalidate the setting of an election date and challenging the notion of sufficient consensus.

This was an attempt to find out what sufficient consensus meant, said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi without elaborating on the court action.

De Klerk said he didn’t interpret Inkatha’s pull-out from negotiations as a “total withdrawal”.

“They’ve made it clear they’ve done it not because they won’t return... We can’t afford to go it alone while some role-players stay out.”

Violence had been high up on their discussions and De Klerk said he had been talking to other political leaders as well and “we may take an initiative in future”. He declined to expand. — Sapa.

Cop guilty on all counts

By Mzimasi Ngudle

NORWOOD serial rapist Jacobus Geldenhuys was convicted of all murder and rape charges by the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Geldenhuys (26), a former policeman whom the media dubbed the “Norwood rapist”, stood motionlessly as Mr Justice TD Cloete convicted him of five counts of murder, five of rape, one of attempted rape, five of theft and one of robbery.

Geldenhuys, dressed in a white shirt, striped grey trousers and brown and black jersey, listened attentively as the judge related the evidence of his rape victims.

Geldenhuys had pleaded guilty to all the counts and also made confessions on how he attacked, robbed, raped and killed some of his victims.

The court adjourned until September 20 after his pro se counsel Mr Paul Johnstone asked for time to secure the testimony of two forensic criminologists to assist in mitigation of sentence.
MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Tragedy beckons

It is an alliance that nobody predicted: the former Marxist revolutionaries of the African National Congress and the former white supremacists of the National Party. Yet here they are, the ANC and the Nats, striving to keep the transition to democracy on schedule.

Another paradox for bewildered South Africans is that greater progress has meant greater instability. This is because politics is not as much about ideological belief as the securing and protection of interests. As that shrewdest of political animals, Napoleon Bonaparte, noted: "A man will fight harder for his interests than for his rights." And progress always threatens someone's interests.

It is in the interest of both the Nats and the ANC to push through an interim constitution based on the draft published this week. The ANC has some wise leaders who know very well the costs of delay: they do not want to rule a wasteland.

As for the Nats, they know that their time began running out in 1948. Having enjoyed power for longer than they deserved, they experienced a sudden moral conversion and are now resigned to bargaining for the best possible settlement they can get. Believing, quite rightly, that they have just about got that settlement, the Nats want to put it in place. They might differ ideologically from the ANC — but the interests of the two major national players coincide.

This cosy agreement is threatened from two important sources: Afrikaner nationalism and Zulu nationalism. Or, if you wish to be less noble, white reactionaries and black secessionists. Both groups threaten the fledgling constitution — but the most powerful spoiler at present is undoubtedly the Inkatha Freedom Party under Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi has the potential to become the tragic figure of South African politics. In the Sixties and Seventies, there was something Churchilian in his refusal to be seduced by Pretoria into accepting the fake independence so readily lapped up by Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

As long as Buthelezi, the leader of the most populous black nation, held out, the policy remained discredited. It was a stance much appreciated at the time by the ANC in exile.

In the Eighties came the increasing divergence between, on the one hand, Buthelezi and his rural conservative power base; and on the other, the ANC and its internal surrogates in the SA Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front. Buthelezi disagreed with the UDF on making the townships ungovernable; he disagreed with clergymen like Desmond Tutu on the need for economic sanctions. He lent his weight to sensible projects like the KwaNatal Indaba.

But in Natal and on the Witwatersrand, territories were marked out. Fighting increased as a result of tribalism, uneven access to resources, unfair patronage, the breakdown of families, the spiral of vengeance. However complicated it all was, the analysis became self-fulfilling: Inkatha versus the ANC in a battle for power. Now the violence is endemic.

It is not clear to outsiders where exactly Buthelezi's own interests coincide with those of the Zulu people, but he perceives them to be severely threatened. Perhaps he does not want to lose his historical domain; perhaps Zulu does not wish to be ruled by Xhosa; perhaps it would have been better to let KwaZulu and Natal go it alone. But politicians cannot be wasteful; they must deal in realities.

Buthelezi's arguments and political aims are generally consistent; it is his tactics in pursuing them that are open to question. The question is not whether he is wrong in demanding so much devolved power, but how much he will risk.

It must surely be clear to him that his party's rigid federalist option will simply not be tolerated by the other major players, and that the time is fast approaching when they must move on without him.

If that happens, he might pull us all down with him — which is the measure of the risk that he must calculate as he considers his own interests.
Negotiators shocked over Kwazulu's legal action

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Negotiators at the World Trade Centre have reacted with shock and anger to the Kwazulu government's filing of an application before the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday to have certain decisions of the multiparty Negotiating Council (NC) invalidated.

Inkatha Freedom Party national spokesman Ed Tillett yesterday confirmed the application had been filed.

The application names Intando Yesizwe, as well as party chief negotiators N.J. Mahlangu and Natal-Transvaal Indian Congress chief negotiator Pravin Gordhan — two of six rotating chairmen in the NC — as co-defendants.

In it, the Kwazulu government gives notice that it intends bringing an action before the Transvaal division of the Supreme Court on August 24 or soon afterwards, asking for the invalidation of certain decisions of the NC.

Mr Mahlangu and Mr Gordhan were probably chairmen on the day those decisions were taken.

Bophuthatswana minister of state and chief negotiator Roan Cronje told the NC soon after it started its deliberations yesterday that the Kwazulu government had decided on litigation because of its dissatisfaction with rulings of sufficient consensus on issues with which it disagreed, and that summonses would be served on the representatives of the parties and organisations represented in the multiparty talks.

Although negotiators generally refrained from commenting directly on the court application, they suggested that the application would be vigorously opposed.

Democratic Party delegation leader Colin Eglin said his party was "shocked at the political implications" of the legal action.
NEGOTIATIONS

A time for good tactics

"Extending a hand of friendship and accommodation" to Inkatha, KwaZulu and the Conservative Party to rejoin the talks, the other 23 parties present in the negotiating council on Monday resolved to delay debate on the first draft of the interim constitution and the issues of federalism and sufficient consensus, until (last) Wednesday. A week's grace was considered too much.

"The absence of the IFP and the CP is of great concern to us," says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, adding that the resolution "walks that extra mile" in an attempt to get them back to where their concerns could be properly addressed. The NP's Dawie de Villiers urged the two parties to stop making threats of violence and to put the interests of the country first.

Signs of their return were hard to detect as the FM went to press. On the contrary, Inkatha suggested that it would bring Supreme Court action against the council over the controversial issue of decision-making by sufficient consensus, which is how the April 27 election date was decided at the Negotiating Forum on July 2 (Current Affairs July 23).

The other hurdle Inkatha has erected is the draft interim constitution, which it rejects completely because, it claims, the draft fails to meet its demand for federalism. Not only that — Inkatha demands that federalism must be implemented in one stage and be immune to an elected constitution-making body. Until something like this is "at least put on the table," say Inkatha, it will not return.

Behind-the-scenes attempts are being made by government and the ANC to prevail on the boycotting parties to get back to negotiations.

The CP might just return for the debate on federalism, but its initial reaction to the draft blueprint was utterly negative and it ruled out any chance of rejoining the talks. The idea of an alternative negotiating forum has been mooted by the CP and IFP.

Other parties in the Inkatha-led Cosag alliance — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie have stayed on board so far.

A rumour at the talks suggested that Afrikaner Volksfront co-ordinator Gen. Constand Van Cuylenburg could again put in an appearance at the World Trade Centre — this time to take part in the debate on federalism, as part of Andries Beyers's Volksunion team.

It seems there's something of an internal battle going on between the CP and the generals over who controls the Volksfront. Viljoen is said to have been "discovered" politically by the Volksunie, not the CP, and the hope is that he will join this more moderate rightwing group instead.

According to the Afrikaner Stigting's Carel Boshoff Jar, his group sees an opening for the pursuit of a largely Afrikaner-dominated region, thanks to government's proposal to the regional boundary commission of two regions in the western Cape (Current Affairs July 16).
KwaZulu in court bid to halt elections

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government has gone to the Supreme Court in a bid to invalidate the April 27 election date, shocking participants in the negotiations process.

The move came as President F W de Klerk spent three hours with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — attempting “to dissuade the Chief Minister from taking the court action”, government spokesman Mr David Steward said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk told Chief Buthelezi the correct action was to address the issue through negotiations.

After the meeting, Mr De Klerk said he was not even contemplating the situation where Inkatha was not part of the process as he had always believed that no workable solution was possible without all the major players.

The KwaZulu government filed the action yesterday and a summons was issued to negotiating council chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan and Mr M J Mahlangu, who had ruled that there was sufficient consensus to set the election date at the forum’s July 2 meeting.

The application also calls on the court to set aside a decision of the negotiation council to reject a KwaZulu government resolution calling for a one-stage federalist approach with bottom-up negotiations.

ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he thought the application would be “laughed out of court” as there was no legal basis for it: “It is understood that the Pretoria Supreme Court’s Registrar set August 24 as the provisional date for the hearing.

Chief Buthelezi said his government had been forced to file the application as “a last resort once all the remedies had been exhausted”.

Discussions between the government and Inkatha delegations will continue today.
THE DRAFT INTERIM CONSTITUTION

The end of the beginning

Not a bad start — but further progress depends on leaders, not lawyers.

The draft interim constitution tabled at the negotiating council on Monday brings us closer to a point of no return, which is why it has drawn some emotional responses. It represents a remarkable compromise between two former bitter enemies, the African National Congress and the National Party. Yet it also appears to have driven some parties — notably the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — further away from the two major players. Thus it prompts both hope and despair.

But we must bear in mind that the draft is just that — a draft — and we must be quite clear about the intended role of the final version.

This document is not the proposed ultimate constitution for the country; it is merely the first draft of an interim constitution. It will take force after the general election in April 1994 and will be used to govern the country while the elected constituent assembly formulates a final constitution. That process is expected to last as long as two years from mid-1994. (Before the April 1994 election, the country will be governed by an appointed multiparty Transitional Executive Council, which is expected to be set up by the present parliament in September.)

But there is little time. A feeling of desperation grows in the country, with many wondering whether to emigrate because of rising crime and violence — such as the barbaric church massacre in Cape Town last Sunday. First draft it may be, but there will not be an opportunity for many more — which is why careful criticism and responsive statesmanship is vital.

Within the negotiating council itself there is, paradoxically, a pall of gloom brought on by the absence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s IFP and his CP allies. Though decisions can be taken without them, these decisions may have to be revisited should the recalcitrants decide to return — or should they work to subvert the transition and next year’s general election. Government, the ANC and others want the process and solution to be as inclusive as possible — but the time may soon come when the risks of moving ahead without the CP and IFP will have to be faced.

All constitutions have a lot of “feel-good” apple-pie stuff on which everyone can agree and this one is no different. It is often general or vague and it leaves out entire sections pending formulation by other technical committees.

But it is an important step, symbolically and practically. It sets out broad and democratic constitutional principles. It also constructs a transitional political framework. According to a leading US expert on transitions to democracy, the Hoover Institute’s Larry Diamond, the draft “allows for proportionality, power-sharing and the devolution of power both in the governance of SA during the period following the election of a bicameral interim parliament and in the drafting of a permanent constitutional system for after the interim period.”

The most ominous objections to the draft come from the IFJP, which is “gravely concerned about much of the content.” Inkatha spokesman Walter Fekate says it is “not even a starting point.” While the IFP takes no exception to the work of the committee, which “correctly fulfilled its brief and instructions” from the Negotiating Forum on July 2, the problem, says the IFP, is in those instructions.

“The IFP,” says Fekate, “walked out of the negotiations precisely because it felt that the instructions would lead to a constitution which excluded federalism and leaves the shaping of SA’s destiny to a constituent assembly. This is precisely what has happened.” So Inkatha will rejoin the negotiations “only once a model for the establishment of a federal system in a one-stage process is at least put on the table.” This is a familiar refrain. Increasingly, the IFP seems to view the talks as a means simply of getting its way.

The IFP alleges deep political dishonesty and misrepresentation by government and the ANC, which “totally ignored IFP objections” to the technical committee’s brief. It says the draft is not fully comprehensible, with important sections (such as that on the constitutional court) not yet written. It claims that the document “has no purpose other than to empower a constituent assembly.”

This assembly, the IFP continues, will be charged with completely re-drafting the constitution which could be adopted by a 51% majority after the deadlock-breaking mechanisms have run their course. The requirement for a 60% majority in a referendum, says Inkatha, with considerable justification, is meaningless if the ultimate deadlock breaker is a simple majority.

Inkatha is on shakier ground when it maintains that the regional powers in the draft are limited and that they will not in any case vest in the regions. But it argues that this decision, including the extent of those powers and whether they will be exclusive or

THE DRAFT IN A NUTSHELL

Proposals to build on...
- A multiparty executive;
- Entrenched independence of judiciary;
- A national assembly elected by proportional representation, based on party lists;
- Direct election of regional assemblies at the same time as the national body;
- Regions to have own constitutions;
- A directly elected senate with real power to protect regional functions;
- Asymmetry among regions an option;
- Abolition of TBVC/homeland administrations;
- Adequate room for more bargaining on regional powers;
- Establishment of an expert financial and fiscal commission, to ensure fair allocation of national revenue;
- The separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary; and
- Acceptance of a common market and a common currency.

Crucial problem areas...
- No specific protection of property and economic activity rights offered beyond April 1994;
- Deadlock-breaking mechanism for adopting a new constitution heavily favours the ANC;
- Lack of clarity over intended powers for regions;
- Possible over-representation of regions through own assemblies, central assembly and central senate;
- Likely financial burden of too many elected representatives and a bureaucracy to service them; and
- Important aspects, such as a constitutional court, are not yet addressed.

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concurrent, "is left to the full discretion of the new government and the constituent assembly." Regional constitutional autonomy is totally ignored; there is no assurance that the territorial autonomy of the TBVC and self-governing states will not be ended when they are re-incorporated into the present provinces.

These objections seem persuasive — but are they rational? Unisa expert Prof Marinus Wiechers, a member of the technical committee which produced the draft and a former Inkatha constitutional adviser, disagrees totally with the IFP's interpretation. He says there is enough in the draft to meet Inkatha's federal demands: "Federalism is a pragmatic form of State government. It is a relationship between central and State governments with protections and checks and balances."

"Test all the classic criteria against this draft: having a rigid constitution, division of powers, a body to solve conflicts between regions and centre, and the main thing is protecting the autonomy of the regions. If that's not federal, I don't know what federal is."

Wiechers describes the draft as a "constitutional scheme, within strict parameters in order to make a constitutional democratic State possible. It's not a fixed constitution — but any good constitution should take the form of an evolving scheme. I would certainly call this federal — that is, a pragmatic form of State where you have very well-protected autonomous powers of the component parts."

Regional powers, Wiechers maintains, are in fact spelled out, including a mechanism for their implementation and protection. He describes the IFP model as a crude form of confederalism — which is to the IFP's own detriment, "because in the model envisaged by the committee, there is a give-and-take, and there's much to be given from central level to KwaZulu/Natal. In their model, they wouldn't be able to get any allocation from the top."

As for the CP, there is provision, Wiechers points out, "for establishing cultural rights, collective self-determination, and so on. But it's something they've got to work for. It's not something they can claim historically or otherwise. So, if they want to sit back and have a static claim, they're not going to get it."

The view of the Democratic Party — the one, genuine, longstanding federal party — may be instructive. Reacting to the draft constitution, DP national chairman and negotiators co-ordinator Ken Andrew says: "It provides a good basis for further negotiation and contains many of the essential ingredients required for a liberal, democratic and federal system of government for SA."

Though many of the details still have to be spelled out, Andrew continues, "one can already identify many good features which the DP can support in a constitution for the transitional period." (See Draft in a Nutshell.)

But Andrew says there are important flaws in the first draft that need attention. He detects two major problems — and both are also identified by Inkatha.

The first is the provision that if a new constitution cannot be agreed by a two-thirds majority, or by 60% in a referendum, then a newly elected constitution-making body can adopt a new constitution on the basis of a 51% majority. "This is most unwise. It gives any majority group no incentive to compromise, because it will know that if it holds out long enough, it will simply be able to write its own constitution. It also gives rise to the possibility of SA having a constitution rejected by 49% of the population — surely a recipe for disaster, as the constitution will inevitably have become the centre of bitter political controversy."

The second major problem for the DP is "the inadequate way in which the powers and functions of regional governments are provided for in this draft." Andrew reckons that too many powers and discretions are left in the hands of the National Executive and the State President to decide how, when and what regional powers will be allocated.

The NP government says the document cannot be regarded as more than a first draft. In a joint statement, Ministers Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers — clearly offering the olive branch to Inkatha and the CP — say the document is meant to facilitate discussion.

Government is satisfied with the overall approach and the fact that many of the features it proposes are included. However, the proposals on a new regional dispensation "do not meet all the requirements of the government." Accordingly, it is to make recommendations in the negotiating council "intended to strengthen these clauses" as it believes that more certainty about federal aspects of a future constitution should be built into the draft.

According to the ANC, the tabling of the first draft "opens the way for substantive debate and decision. It does not reflect the option of any single party, yet skillfully caters for the real and legitimate concerns of all the participants." The instinctive response of parties, adds the ANC perceptively, will be to emphasise the aspects that do not conform exactly to their own proposals — but it says this should be resisted in the interests of the country.

ANC regional policy chief Thozamusile Botsha says the ANC doesn't necessarily agree with everything in the draft. "For example, the asymmetry of the functions and powers of regions. Our view is that there should be certain basic minimum powers and functions that are allocated to all regions. And because the centre has set national standards, it's crucial that there should be an enforcement of minimum standards one way or the other."

"There should be provisions for the financing of the regions to meet those minimum standards. You cannot, for example, have compulsory education for so many years in one region and not in another. It's also important that regions should know the implications of asking for more powers; regional politicians should know that they must also take responsibility for taxpayers. There are different viewpoints on all of these things, they have still to be debated, and we will fight for our positions."

According to Botsha, "the catalogue of powers and functions (in the draft) covers quite a lot. But when it comes to the final constitution, you will still have to decide what are the concurrent, exclusive and original powers of regions. These are not finalised. In the interim constitution, everything is supposed to be supervised from the centre, so that is not necessary at this stage, but it will be when it comes to the actual drafting of the new constitution."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli says the draft shows that negotiations have finally reached maturity and it provides "an acceptable framework within which detailed negotiations can take place."

While the ANC national working committee is discussing the document, its regional branches have raised questions over:

- Whether or not the inclusion of members of the proposed senate in the constituent assembly means regional "over-representation in what is essentially a national body?"
- The provision for the adoption of regional constitutions (though they'll be subject to the national one) "raises the spectre of Balkanisation and conflictual regional chauvinism."
- The justification and affordability of having a possible 900 legislators — 400 in the national assembly, between 80 and 100 in the senate, plus 400 in the regional assemblies; and
- The two-year time frame for adopting the final constitution is unduly long — the ANC regions say nine months would be enough.
Making a mouse of the mighty lion

TURNING to the diminutive Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the recent Durban imbizo (meeting of the Zulu nation), Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi thundered in his praise: "You are the elephant. You are the lion that roars for the people that our enemies fear, and let traitors among us tremble!"

The question is: who actually trembles before whom? Or, rather who sits on the throne in Nongoma — Zwelithini or Buthelezi?

In public, Buthelezi grovels in the presence of the king, and in private he sees to his well-being, the latest example being the kwaZulu government's decision to build a R3-million royal home near Ulundi. In return, Zwelithini refers to Buthelezi as "my uncle" and calls huge imbizo to help Buthelezi boast his flagging political support.

Buthelezi denies using the monarch for political gain. Zwelithini maintains that: "I stand above party politics" — yet throws his weight behind the IFP's constitutional proposals.

Buthelezi may grovel now, but when Zwelithini's loyalty was not so assured, he was a lot less respectful. When the IFP leader accepted "self-governing status" in 1972, he insisted that the king should only perform ceremonial functions. With Zwelithini, the heir apparent, still at school, the regent, Prince Mswayiza Israel Zulu, argued for the monarch to have executive powers.

When Zwelithini was to be crowned the following year, Buthelezi flew back from the United States, hoping to be part of the historic occasion, but Prince Herbet Zulu was chosen master of ceremonies. Buthelezi travelled to the palace in Nongoma — only to be told he could not speak to Zwelithini.

Hostility flared again in 1979 when Buthelezi accused the monarch of entering party politics by trying to form an opposition party, Isila, in the homeland. He further accused the king of trying to obtain Frelimo's support.

With a week-long debate scheduled in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) to discuss the dispute, Zwelithini was invited on three occasions to attend the debate. He refused. Angry, the KLA reduced Zwelithini's salary from R21 000 to R8 000.

Zwelithini finally attended a KLA session — only to find Buthelezi telling him that an inquiry would be held into his "unconstitutional" conduct, including alleged assaults, his advocacy of violence and incursion into politics. Fuming, Zwelithini stormed out of the KLA, which later passed a resolution ending the inquiry and restoring Zwelithini's salary.

While Buthelezi later announced that his feud with Zwelithini had been resolved, he tightened the noose around the monarch, announcing that he could no longer give interviews to the press unless arrangements were made by the king's private secretary and the kwaZulu minister of justice.

In August 1980, the feud took a new twist: the monarch applied to join the South African Defence Force. His application was sent to the kwaZulu cabinet for approval, and was turned down. For the first time a king had to take orders from his subjects. It was their last confrontation — Zwelithini appeared to have learnt that his "prime minister" was a formidable opponent who also controlled the purse strings.

Buthelezi shows no sign of loosening his grip over Zwelithini — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's attempts to meet the monarch have failed — and he could emerge as the IFP's main drawback in elections.

Yet, his reward would be minimal if the IFP wins the election. He does not get a mention in the party's constitutional proposals, and political power would still rest with Buthelezi.
Inkatha's fear on the transition trail

Inkatha's walkout of the World Trade Centre stems from fears that a Transisitonal Executive Council will result in it losing the backing of the kwaZulu government.

By Farouk Chothia

The Inkatha Freedom Party's decision to boycott the multiparty negotiating forum this week stems from a fear that the talks will lead to the formation of a Transitional Executive Council which will take control of kwaZulu government structures in the run-up to elections.

The kwaZulu Police (KZP) is widely seen as the kwaZulu government's armed wing, while essential political patronage is dispensed through its effective control of the civil service, pensions, health and education.

"The IFP's bottom line is that it wants control over the electoral process in Natal/KwaZulu — and it is holding out for concessions in this regard," said University of Natal political scientist Ian Phillips. "It is covering its tracks with red herrings — the issue of sufficient concessions and the Zulu kingdom.

"But the important point is that in its constitution the IFP says nothing about the king and the kingdom. The king has a major role to play in securing support for the IFP, but a minor role in terms of political power which Buthelezi wants for himself."

Overshadowed by the unveiling of the draft constitution on Monday was a draft Bill outlining the functions and powers and functions of the TEC which was tabled on Tuesday. It proposes that the TEC be made up of all the negotiating partners and that six sub-councils with six members each be established in order to level the playing fields.

"If there is joint control, Buthelezi will no longer be able to use kwaZulu government structures for IFP purposes — and without its infrastructure he is nothing," said Phillips.

He points out that the IFP's absence from the multiparty talks poses a problem: how does the TEC take control of kwaZulu government structures, particularly its police force, without IFP participation?

Phillips said the government and the African National Congress, rather than making further concessions to Buthelezi, should throw down the gauntlet. "The World Trade Centre has bent over backwards to satisfy Buthelezi. The SAP should assume control of the KZP to counteract their alleged abuse of authority and power."

The IFP wants the electoral process in Natal/KwaZulu overseen by Natal's Joint Executive Authority which comprises representatives of the kwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration. "The IFP has 75 percent control of the JEA," said Phillips.

The IFP also hopes that its decision to stay out of the talks — coupled with a public campaign against the draft constitution — will shore up its support among voters in the run-up to national elections. IFP sources said the party had agreed at a central committee meeting on Monday to contest the April 26 poll.

"We will fight an election. We will campaign against the draft constitution. It will not bring us our freedom, it will put us in chains."

The sources said the central committee had also endorsed a suggestion — first expressed by hardliner Walter Felgate last Sunday — of supreme court action to scrap the draft constitution. The view was that Natal/KwaZulu's historical sovereignty was extinguished if the draft constitution was adopted.

Observers believe that the IFP has much spadework to do in order to move into top gear for the elections. Surveys conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council found that in July 1992 the party had eight percent support nationally. This rose to nine percent last October and dropped back to eight in February this year.

The ANC mustered 41 percent last July, 44 percent in October and 37 percent in February this year. The National Party had 25 percent, 23 percent and 21 percent support.

A visible indication of Buthelezi's sagging support emerged at the two recent imbizos in Durban and Johannesburg called by Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini. In both instances, large sections of the crowd began to leave when Buthelezi took to the podium.

Apart from the imbizo, Buthelezi has not addressed black audiences in recent months. He is focusing on the white and Indian communities, having addressed meetings in Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Stanger.

Heartening for the IFP is the fact that 62 percent of whites said they support an autonomous or semi-independent Natal/KwaZulu.

The key question is: would the IFP really go for secession if it lost an election, and would Buthelezi take the "Savimbi option"? Johan Steenkamp, vice-chairman of the NP's study group on constitutional development, doubts the IFP could follow the example of the Angolan leader. Savimbi had an army, the military hardware, a solid ethnic base and favourable terrain — factors which the IFP did not enjoy.
Painting himself into a corner

Interactable Zulu chief could be

AN EXPERT BELIEVES THE IPPS.

Reports MARIUS BOSCH
with the government and the ANC,
who is leading for constitution.

With inertia and another violence
such could lead to further violence.

CHIEF Keetsha believes the IPPs.

National Party — age-referer.

You can enter into the discussion here, by using your Facebook account.

Here you can enter into the discussion here, by using your Facebook account.

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Negotiators plan defence

JOHANNESBURG. — Multi-party negotiators at Kempton Park have appointed a special sub-committee to take legal advice on defending two of its chairmen against KwaZulu government legal action instituted on Thursday.

The planning committee reported to the Negotiating Council yesterday morning that the legal action was directed at two members of the council, who had acted as officers of the multi-party negotiating council in taking decisions in terms of the disputed concept, “sufficient consensus”.

Yesterday President F W de Klerk said he still believed elections would be held at the end of April next year because “there is still ample time to adhere to that time-frame”.

He was addressing the media after a meeting with the ecumenical eminent persons group, comprising foreign delegates.

Negotiators were “near to a breakthrough” and were moving closer to a compromise based on “really sufficient consensus”, he added. — Sapa
Too much depends on central government, say delegates

Clearing way for debates

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

THE Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre yesterday continued to try to clear the ground for the tough debates ahead on the draft constitution and a Bill of Rights for the transition — with mixed success.

Debate on the council floor produced some clarity in the complex wranglings over what powers regional governments should have, but consideration of the technical committee's report on the Bill of Rights saw traditional leaders insisting that customary law was not being accorded its due place.

Opposed

Delegates — excluding those from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party — debated about how constitutions for the states, provincial and regional governments would be drawn up.

The African National Congress (ANC) and the South African National Congress for a New Democratic Society had opposed the idea that the elected legislature of the government — as opposed to appointed regional representatives — would draw up a constitution and decide it did not need a constitution.

The council's regional powers still depended too much on central government for their meaning.

"Regions in this constitution remain a big " if," said Curli Kruger of the ANC. Everytime, she said, "region on the balance" of the central government.

Joe Slovo of the SAPC said the ANC and its allies had already made concessions, "a 180-degree turn", on regions.

"One aspect from which we cannot depart is that whatever laws are proposed, they were decided by the people in the region that must decide. We can't bind them in this forum," he said.

Moezim Moua of the AVU said the constitution of a region should be drawn up by "a body like this one."

Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator Tlou Croal said that while regions were "provided for", they were "dependent on and controlled by central government without a little bit of autonomy to think and do for themselves."

That, he said, was "our central problem."

The council was not looking to make any decisions. This week's discussion was intended to tell the technical committee what the constituencies would do during the transition. - the seventh report of this committee — included several changes made after debate on July 21.

Among them was a detailed description of what constituted discrimination, which would not be allowed on the grounds of race, gender, ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation, and above all culture.

Traditional leaders' submissions about this had been ignored. The question of "culture and customs to the people of this country is fundamental," he said.

Professor L. M. du Plessis, convenor of the technical committee which drafted the document, said traditional leaders' objections had been addressed by a clause which stated that rights recognized and conferred by indigenous law remained in full force. However, there could not limit any right given in the document. Nonkonyana said this was contradictory. Although "an urban bias" and excluded customary law subordinate to Roman-Dutch law.

1. Challenged

The DP's Tony Leon argued that the Bill of Rights should not just have "vertical application" — where citizens could challenge the state but not "horizontal," where citizens could challenge each other — as well as non-governmental organizations.

The DP also challenged the proposed "interpretation" of the Bill which would seek to promote the values which underlie the democratic society and the constitution.

The document proposed strong objections from Chief Mawela Nonkonyana of the Cape Traditional Leaders. It also drew criticism from different sources, from the Democratic Party. Nonkonyana said the "whole thing" was based on "Western culture" which was being "imposed over
Azapo stands firm on the Constituent Assembly

By Christelle Terreblanche

AZAPO has reiterated it would continue the liberation struggle if negotiations do not bring into being a Constituent Assembly (CA) in the way the movement understands it.

In the week that has seen three of the 26 partners at the World Trade Centre withdraw from the talks, Azapo's regional publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Jimmy Yekiso, told SOUTH the movement has no plans to join the talks.

The Conservative Party has confirmed its permanent withdrawal, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government is weighing up its position — all in protest at the draft constitutional principles unveiled on Monday.

"We do not want to take part, because the talks are undemocratic in that the parties there were not the talks we will be giving them legitimacy.

"At the same time we do acknowledge that the negotiations can deliver a CA. If this assembly's sole purpose is to draft a democratic constitution, we will participate in the elections and the transitional authority structures.

"Yekiso was adamant that Azapo was against a CA that drafted the constitution and governed at the same time.

"We are in favour of government by a transitional authority, comprising neutral bodies like the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and the Commonwealth," he says.

If this did not happen, he foresaw the movement protesting against the "fraudulent government" after the elections.

JIMMY YEKISO

Elected to decide on the country's future," Yekiso said. "Parties taking part should do so on an equal basis and not have a situation where the NP is still in government. If we join..."
BLACK POLITICS — HOMELANDS

AUG. — DEC.
NATAL businessmen want the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu Government back at the constitutional negotiating table.

Business reaction follows the decision by the two to withdraw from the talks and the KwaZulu Government challenge in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, to the proposed April 27 election date.

SA Sugar Association vice-president Tony Ardington says the industry has a membership of about 40000 who vary considerably in their political views.

Mr Ardington told the Sasa annual meeting this week that neither the Government nor the transition executive council had the credibility to re-establish the State's authority.

"It is encouraging that an attempt has been made to set an election date and the parties to negotiate that date. To delay the opportunity to re-establish law and order cannot be in the interests of the country and the utmost pressure to compromise needs to be applied to all parties to the negotiations in order to ensure a speedy resolution of outstanding issues."

Theo Swart, joint managing director of the motor retailer and chain-store McCarthy Group, says it is of vital importance that the KwaZulu Government returns to the negotiating table — or "a new constitution will be formulated without it."

"The possibility of negotiating a separate region or federal area for Natal can be discussed later," he says. "Mr Swart says the future of the country must be decided through negotiation and not in the courts."

Glyn Taylor, chairman of C.S. Smith Sugar and a board member of CC Smith Group, says that although there will be differences of opinion, "it is essential that we find a solution as quickly as possible to generate a recovery in the economy and attract investment, trade and tourism."
De Klerk’s Inkatha dilemma

Inkatha to return to the talks.

A possible meeting with US President Bill Clinton is being held out to Mr. Buthelezi – provided he is part of a democratic settlement of the ANC. Four occasions have been held with Inkatha, but all have been cancelled. However, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said further attempts would be made to meet Inkatha. The ANC also wanted to arrange a meeting between Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Buthelezi in Ulundi, he said.

Parliament meets on September 13 to pass the legislation based on decisions made at the World Trade Centre. The August 30 deadline has been set to allow parliamentary committees time to study the vital legislation. The first visible sign of the agreement will be the establishment of the TEC, which is particularly important because it will open the doors to foreign funding, the normalisation of SA’s relations with the rest of the world and the lifting of sanctions.

But, more importantly, it appears the only legitimate possibility for limiting violence.

If Inkatha is not on board by August 30, Mr. de Klerk will have to either go ahead without it and risk splitting his cabinet or lose these benefits – and possibly jeopardise the entire peace process.

Natal leader George Bartlett, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Deputy Foreign Minister Rainer Schoeman, who show a deep sympathy for Mr. Buthelezi, are some of the senior-NP members who could leave should the president press on without Inkatha.
Inkatha man given AK to ‘plough’ with

By SIPHO KHUMALO

CONTROVERSY over 200 Inkatha members who were secretly trained by the SADF in the Caprivi strip continues to haunt KwaZulu with revelations this week that the men were trained to kill Inkatha’s opponents.

This was said in testimony to the Goldstone Commission by a former trainee, who joined the KwaZulu Police after his training.

The commission is probing allegations KwaZulu cops have been involved in violence.

The man’s identity is covered by a witness protection programme. He was referred to as “the constable”.

Testifying before Commission chairman advocate Malcolm Willis, the constable said that while based in Esikhawini near Empangeni he was given an AK-47 rifle by three Inkatha members.

He was told that it was to be used to “plough” through the township’s sections H1 and H2.

Esikhawini is a hotbed of warfare between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

The constable said that in 1986 the “advisor” attached to his Inkatha branch recruited him to join the 200 Inkatha men training in the Caprivi.

“I was told that I was being trained to protect the government of South Africa and KwaZulu... and to attack people who did not belong to Inkatha and people who did not like KwaZulu.”

The constable said that at the camp in the Caprivi there were discussions about what would happen if they were caught with a gun or for shooting someone.

“I was told that if I carried out my instructions I was not going to be arrested.”

After finishing his training he worked as part of Inkatha’s recruitment team in the office of the national organiser in Ulundi.

Pressed by Willis on whether it was part of his job to attack people who did not belong to Inkatha, the constable confirmed this. However, he added that he had not had an opportunity to do so.

The constable told how 160 of the Caprivi trainees were absorbed into the KZP and the constable had joined in 1987.

While stationed in Esikhawini three Inkatha members — Joyful Nyamboshe, Peter Msane and Daluxolo Luthuli — handed him an AK-47.

The three trained with the constable in Caprivi. Luthuli was an MK cadre who fought in the Wankie Operation but later joined Inkatha and is based in Ulundi.

Luthuli was a political commissar during the training in Caprivi.

“They said that the firearm was going to be ploughing between H1 and H2 sections. I was complying with instructions... they could have told me anything and I could have done it,” he said.
Zulu court bid may be staved off

Pledge to withdraw action if talks solve problems

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The timing of the KwaZulu government's challenge to multiparty negotiations does not exclude a resolution of the problems before the action goes to court on August 24 — and, in the interim, bilaterals will continue.

This was the view of KwaZulu sources who said the court challenge was "not designed to damage the process of negotiations", and if problems were solved before August 24 the application would be withdrawn.

The thick wad of papers and supporting affidavits from, among others KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been filed with the Supreme Court in Pretoria, but the application is set for almost a month from now.

It will seek to invalidate the setting of the April 27 1994 election date by the multiparty Negotiation Council and will challenge the application of the mechanism of sufficient consensus in respect of some decisions taken by the council.

The respondents are named as two of the panel of six revolving chairmen, Mr M J Mahlangu and Mr Previn Gordhan, who were in the chair on whose days the contested resolutions were adopted.

Government sources noted last night that the application did not seek to challenge or invalidate negotiations, and also did not challenge sufficient consensus as a decision-making mechanism outside its application to specific resolutions already carried.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane confirmed today that he would be travelling to Pretoria for a further bilateral meeting with government negotiator Roelf Meyer this afternoon.

He said the court challenge had not interrupted the process of trying to find solutions for KwaZulu and IFP's "very genuine concerns".

Given the delayed timing of the court application and the fact that bilateral negotiations are continuing, it seems fair to characterise the court bid as more of a bid to apply pressure than a flinging down of the gauntlet by the IFP-KwaZulu negotiators.

Yesterday, however, their colleagues in the multiparty forum took a less generous view, and were puzzled as to why the IFP had taken this route after asking the council just the day before to delay its debate on sufficient consensus until the IFP central committee had studied the matter.

Most negotiators felt this request was a measure of the seriousness of the IFP in trying to find a solution. They felt the court application flew in the face of that.

Mr Meyer confirmed that bilateral meetings with the IFP and KwaZulu would continue. He expected today's encounter to focus on the problem of sufficient consensus and "the self-determination of the Zulu people".

Democratic Party delegation leader Colin Eglin said his party was "shocked at the political implications of the legal action".

"Clearly when mutual trust breaks down to the point that participants resort to legal action, the process of negotiating in good faith becomes impossible," Mr Eglin said.

However, the spirit at the negotiating table yesterday remained one of "let's get on with business" and this is expected to continue today when the 23 remaining parties continue discussing the draft constitution and study another report from a technical committee on the Bill of Rights for the transition period.
ANC, Govt lead poll

The two major negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre — the ANC and the Government — command the support of 70 percent of voters on the Witwatersrand, a new poll by The Star and Radio 702 shows.

Of this, the ANC can claim the lion's share of 54 percent, the survey conducted last month by Marketing and Media Research shows.

The IFP on the Reef registers just seven percentage points less than the NP, at 9 percent. More than eight out of 10 respondents who declared they would vote for the IFP were white and overwhelmingly English-speaking.

In another shrinking off of old race-bound allegiances, President de Klerk had substantially higher support among the coloured community of the Witwatersrand than among whites.

* Full results — Page 9
Even rivals agree that ANC would win

The 702/Star Poll was conducted by Media and Marketing Research in the third week of July. The sample was made up of 817 eligible voters on the Witwatersrand. 72 percent were randomly selected and interviewed by phone, and the remainder were questioned in street interviews conducted in areas without telephones.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE summarises the findings.

Predictably, the ANC's own supporters hold this view. But 23 percent of NP voters and 43 percent of IFP respondents share the perception.

Marketing and Media Research observes: "The better the level of education, the more likely the person is to believe that the ANC will be the strongest party in the government after April's election."

The proportion of black voters who would like De Klerk to continue in office is higher in the coloured community (55 percent) than in the white community (36 percent). Among whites, De Klerk runs neck and neck with Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the popularity stakes, with the latter pulling in 21 percent of support.

When it comes to the next generation of party leadership, the power of the national majority-party negotiations appears to be a powerful factor in shaping perception.

The ANC and the NP's chief negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, are clearly lined up as heirs apparent.

Ramaphosa was the likely successor to Mandela by 24 percent of all respondents, irrespective of party allegiance.

And among ANC supporters his support rose to 63 percent, as against 27 percent for Thabo Mbeki, who recently received a vote of confidence from the ANC Youth League.

When it came to assuming the NP mantle, Meyer got the support of 34 percent of all respondents, while Pik Botha won 55 percent of votes. If opinions were restricted to NP voters, Botha and Meyer would be running neck and neck.

Marketing and Media Research's observation is that Pik Botha's support comes from English and Afrikaans-speaking whites alike, while he is very unpopular among blacks, compared to Roelf Meyer.
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday maintained his opposition to South Africa's April 27 election date and offered an alternative timetable for what he called "a straight hard run to democracy".

Addressing a meeting in Tongaat, Buthelezi said if his proposals are accepted by an election that can be held before September next year.

The IFP and its allies - Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Ciskei homelands and the white right-wing Conservative Party - want guarantees for a federal South Africa in a constitution drafted before the election.

The negotiating process should put down the principles of the new constitution, which should then be written in its final form by a "panel of experts and wise men and women," Buthelezi said.

"Once they have done so, it should be referred back to the multiparty negotiation process for approval. After approval, the constitution can then be put to an electorate for approval. In this way we can have a straight hard run to democracy and we can have an election under a finalised new constitution by September 1994."
Uncertainty over exactly what IFP leader wants - Appeal on next year's elections

Buthelezi wants to start all over

Sowetan Correspondent

Government negotiators were yesterday opposed to a suggestion by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that constitutional negotiations restart from the beginning. Buthelezi was reported to have said at a meeting in Tongaat on Sunday that he would withdraw his Supreme Court case and end his stayaway from multiparty talks if negotiations could start again at the beginning.

This presented some problems for Government negotiators yesterday.

Another bilateral meeting is to be held between the Government and the IFP later this week. Government negotiators are to use this opportunity to find out if Buthelezi did indeed suggest that negotiations start afresh and, if so, why and what he meant.

"Does he mean we start off again before Codesa 1, or before this multiparty process? We would not favour that type of situation," a Government source said.

Government negotiators also took issue with Buthelezi on his claim that 50 percent of the electorate supported the Concerned South Africans Group, Cosag includes both the IFP and the Conservative Party. Buthelezi said that to go ahead without these parties was a democratic folly and negotiation suicide. However, a Government negotiator said: "All the opinion surveys we have seen would not reflect that 50 percent claim." In fact, an HSRC survey recently "reflected a totally different picture, as far as black people are concerned". An HSRC survey released in June showed that the African National Congress held 54 percent of the vote and the National Party 26. The IFP had between eight and 11 percent of the vote. The Conservative Party had between four and five percent.

Meanwhile, negotiations continue at Kempton Park this week. By staying away from the multiparty talks, the IFP, KwaZulu and the CP would miss this week's debate on the new internal boundaries.

BILATERAL MEETING

Government negotiators don't know what he meant:
Return body of leader, IFP urges

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday appealed to organisations across the spectrum to work together to ensure that the body of a murdered IFP official is returned to the organisation without delay.

East Rand IFP leader Abahlom Shozi was shot, stabbed and burnt to death on July 25.

His body was removed from a Krielshoogt funeral parlour on Sunday by armed men who reportedly threatened parlour workers with death if they did not hand over the coffin containing Shozi's corpse.

Yesterday East Rand IFP regional organiser Thabane Dlamini said the police, Department of Justice, Peace Secretariat, United Nations and Organisation of African Unity observers should all work together to ensure the body was returned to the IFP for a dignified burial.

Sunday's body snatch has enraged IFP supporters on the ground and Dlamini expressed concern this anger might spill over into yet more political violence.

"It is a scandal that Mr Shozi's body should be treated in this manner. He is already dead and he deserves a decent burial," he added. — Sapa.
IFP not to boycott session

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party would not boycott the forthcoming session of Parliament even if it lost the court action to invalidate the date of the country's first non-racial general election, nominated MP Mr Farouk Cassim said last night.

The party would, nevertheless, fight the draft constitution vigorously when Parliament met in September formally to turn the draft constitution into law.

When one considered that the April election would cost the political parties in the region of R1 billion in campaign money it would be "a daft plan" to hold another election after two years in terms of a final constitution, Mr Cassim said.

In addition to this the country could also face the financial burden of a referendum if a two-thirds majority of the constituent assembly was not mustered in support of the final constitution.
AWB, MK leaders to be honoured

Natal NP and IFP slate commission

Sowetan Correspondent

NATAL MEMBERS OF THE National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to fight a proposal by the Regional Demarcation Commission that East Griqualand becomes part of the future Eastern Cape province.

East Griqualand, including the towns of Mamatiele, Kokstad and Cederville, has been part of Natal for 17 years. Previously, the area fell in the Cape Province — though many services such as railways and telephones were provided from Natal — but this arrangement was ended as part of the Transkei independence process.

White residents in the East Griqualand area have called for their region to be included in Natal. However, many black people in the area have family links with Transkei.

REGION'S LOSS

New plan seeks to place East Griqualand in Eastern Cape:

There were several submissions to the commission for East Griqualand to stay in Natal. The commission, set up at the multiparty talks, did say that the final Natal-Transkei border should be decided by negotiation.

Mr George Bartlett, Natal leader of the NP, said the NP was totally opposed to separating Natal and East Griqualand. The people in the area preferred to be in Natal.

“We will have to do something about that,” Bartlett said. IFP member Mr Peter Miller, formerly a Natal MEC, said the IFP would oppose the change tooth and nail: “People in East Griqualand will oppose this tooth and nail, right across the political spectrum.”

However, IFP and KwaZulu government negotiators are still staying away from the talks, so will not be able to make their points known at the multiparty talks this week.

There were overwhelming economic, traditional, government, sports, agriculture and business links between East Griqualand and Natal, said Miller.

Miller said he proposed new Eastern Cape region would stretch from East Griqualand to Humansdorp, 1,000km away: “It’s ridiculous. I can only think that the commission must be totally bereft of any sense whatsoever.”
ANC motion surprises Inkatha

A MEMBER of the Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee and KwaZulu minister without portfolio Chief NJ Ngubane has expressed surprise that the African National Congress was calling for urgent signs to deal with political violence.

Ngubane was reacting yesterday to a call made by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Monday that a joint peace force be established to curb violence in the townships.

Ngubane said one of the reasons leading to the IFP's withdrawal from negotiations was that its suggestion that issues such as violence be addressed first had been ignored.

He said IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had repeatedly emphasised that violence and the constitution should be first on the agenda.

He said now that the idea had come from the ANC and its partners, everybody, including the Government, was in favour of it. — Sapa.
IFP may go back to negotiations

The IFP, in talks with ANC on possible compromise over consensus issue, will not meet the IFP's conditions, which include the appointment of a joint peacekeeping force and an end to repression. The party has also hinted at its willingness to consider a negotiated settlement, but this is conditional on the ANC's readiness to negotiate. The IFP's leader, Albert Luthuli, said that while his party was open to talks, it would not be bound by any agreement that did not meet its demands. The ANC, on the other hand, has rejected the IFP's proposals and has called for a unity government. The situation remains tense as both sides continue to negotiate.
MEC’s defection hailed

Own Correspondent (IB)

MARITZBURG. — Former Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller’s move to the IFP was a major coup for the party and a graphic demonstration that it was “attracting the cream of leadership talent”, KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Mr Velaphi Ndlouv said here yesterday.

Speaking here to “formally introduce the IFP’s newest high-profile recruit”, Mr Ndlouv said Mr Miller’s defection from the National Party marked a turning point in regional politics.

He claimed Mr Miller’s move to the IFP had already triggered an exodus of white voters from NP and Democratic Party ranks.

Addressing his first press conference in his new role, Mr Miller said his sympathies lay with the region and the need to forge a good working relationship with the IFP.
Offer to lure Inkatha back

NEGOTIATORS were optimistic yesterday about the chances of the Inkatha Freedom Party returning to talks soon after the party was given an offer "so reasonable they cannot refuse it."

It is understood that government made the offer, accommodating most of Inkatha's concerns and demands, during regular private discussions on Monday.

The offer has the support of the ANC and other major parties at negotiations.

TIM COHEN reports President F W de Klerk yesterday again expressed confidence that Inkatha would return to negotiations. Bilateral meetings were continuing and specific proposals aimed at facilitating its return would be discussed at talks.

Asked if a point would arrive when the process would have to accept that Inkatha would not return, he replied: "We are not budgeting for failure." He warned of "serious consequences" if a party with the third strongest voter support was excluded.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Inkatha negotiator Walter Falgata met yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. Another meeting between government and Inkatha was scheduled for today, when Inkatha is expected to respond to the offer.

Yesterday Falgata was playing his cards close to his chest "because we are in the middle of negotiations." But Inkatha was "very conscious of the urgency of the process and the need for decisions to be made soon so that government can process legislation for the short session of Parliament in September."

Legislation has to be ready by about August 20 in order to be processed.

Details of the offer are sketchy but it is understood that it includes a refined definition of sufficient consensus and agreement that Inkatha can revisit decisions made by negotiators under the new decision-making mechanism.

Schutte said it was a very strong proposal "consisting of a more representative version of sufficient consensus and dealing with other areas of the total package."

It would also allow Inkatha to contribute to work done at negotiations since it walked out at the beginning of July.

It is understood that government is arguing that there is enough opportunity for Inkatha to revisit constitutional principles, the form of state and the instructions to the constitutional committee within a discussion on the draft constitution without jeopardizing the progress made so far.

An agreement on the disputed setting of an election date still has to be found, but it is not expected to be a problem.

Commenting on yesterday's talks Falgata said "Negotiations are frank and fruitful but we still have to look at the implications of the council having taken wrong decisions." The form of state had not yet been decided and there was also concern over what an elected constituent assembly would do with regions.

The Concerned South Africans Group elected a six-man national executive committee at a meeting in Vereeniging on Monday. Bophuthatswana's Noxolo Cricoge was elected chairman of the committee, which includes Falgata, MP Tsho Macra, Inkatha national chairperson, Frank Mdlalose, AVU negotiator Moolman-Montu and Ciskei chief negotiator Mickey Webb.
Offer to lure Inkatha back

JOHANNESBURG. — Constitutional negotiators said yesterday Inkatha had been made an offer "so reasonable they cannot refuse it" which they hoped would lure the party back to the talks soon.

They were optimistic it would be accepted.

It is understood the government put the offer, which accommodates most of Inkatha's concerns, to it on Monday during regular behind-the-scenes talks.

The offer has the support of the ANC and other major parties at the negotiations.

It is hoped Inkatha will respond to the offer at a meeting between it and the government today.

President F W de Klerk yesterday again expressed confidence that Inkatha would return to negotiations.

"Negotiations"

Saying that bilateral meetings were continuing, he warned of "serious consequences" if a party with the third strongest voter support was excluded.

Commenting yesterday, IFP negotiator Mr Walter Pelgare said: "I am being deliberately ambiguous because we are in the middle of negotiations."

However, he said Inkatha was "very conscious of the urgency of the process and the need to have meaningful discussions as soon so that the government can process legislation for the short session of Parliament in September."

Legislation would have to be ready by about August 20.

Details of the offer are sketchy.
IFP and ANC try for accord

By Kaizer Nyatombha
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations.

At a meeting held at a hotel close to the World Trade Centre yesterday, the ANC and the IFP said much progress had been made, and IFP executive officer and chief negotiator Joe Matthews intimated his party might return to the multiparty talks soon.

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made and we might be able to return to negotiations," he said.

However, Matthews would not give any indication of how soon the party might return.

He said his party was "mindful of deadlines in negotiations and it hoped the next session of Parliament will make movement in a certain direction".

However, the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, took a stern line in Ulundi yesterday.

He warned of civil war if the draft Interim Constitution were adopted and criticised the United States for interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs, Sapa reports.

He said the US would be held accountable if civil war broke out as a result of the ANC "getting its way" at the talks.

The IFP leader accused the US government of wanting a political settlement at any price and warned this could "thrust this country into civil war".

Buthelezi was addressing US Consul-General Bismarck Myrick at a function in Ulundi marking the end of his term of office in Durban.

On the future constitution, Buthelezi said bluntly: "There shall not be a unitary state. "There shall not be a constituent assembly to write a new constitution."

Regional powers, boundaries and structures should be finalised before elections, he demanded.

● Passed by "general consensus" — Page 6
Report passed by

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

Negotiating parties yesterday unanimously accepted a report showing how decisions should be taken.

The parties who walked out on July 3 were conspicuous by their absence for a Negotiating Council debate on the ad hoc committee's report on sufficient consensus — meaning enough support to accept a decision.

The IFP and KwaZulu government — which took the issue to the Supreme Court — have yet to return to the forum.

In their absence, the most significant response to the report was the approval given to it by the IFP's Concerned South Africans Group partners who had not joined the walkout.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie were among those who approved the report, allowing chairman Llewellyn Landers to rule that it had been accepted by "general consensus" — unanimous approval.

The debate had begun with SAC ownership, Joe Slovo offering an olive branch to those who had rejected the way the principle of sufficient consensus had been applied.

He said no single party should be allowed to "immobilise" the process, adding that "no party, however powerful, should act in a way which rides roughshod over the views of participants."

Besides procedures already provided for in the standing rules, the report suggested that ad hoc committees could be created to look at ways of bridging differences.
ANC and IFP bid to heal negotiations rift

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations.

After talks yesterday at a hotel near the World Trade Centre yesterday, the ANC and the IFP said much progress had been made.

IFP executive officer and chief negotiator Joe Mathebula hinted that the party might return to the multiparty talks soon.

"We are having such wonderful bilateral talks that so much progress is being made, and we might be able — sooner or later — to return to negotiations," he said.

However, he would not give any indication of how soon the IFP might return.

He said that party was "mindful of deadlines (in the negotiations) and it is hoped the next session of parliament will make movement in a certain direction.

He was referring to next month's special session of parliament, which is expected to pass legislation on agreements reached at the World Trade Centre.

The IFP walked out of the July 2 negotiating forum meeting, which formally adopted April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first non-racial election.

The ANC and the IFP discussed a wide range of issues yesterday and agreed on the formation of the sub-committees.

Mr Mathebula and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said violence and constitutional issues featured prominently in the talks.

Also discussed were "federal features" in the draft interim constitution and the proposed Bill of Rights.
Inkatha to resume talks within two weeks
DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned the United States and President Bill Clinton that it would be held accountable for a civil war in South Africa because of its interference in the country's domestic affairs.

Speaking at a farewell lunch in Ulundi for the US consul here, Mr Bismarck Myrick, he also accused the US government of supporting the ANC.

"The US government and Mr Clinton, and because of them (US ambassador to South Africa) Mr Princeton Lynham, are interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs to such an extent that the US will be held accountable for a civil war which could break out.

This war would be a result of the ANC "succeeding in: intimidating the government and riding rough-shod over everybody else in its forward drive to acquire or seize power at any cost."" I get the impression that the US is backing a Mandela victory because the US wants a settlement tomorrow, and it is a case of wanting any settlement at any price," he said.

On the future constitution, Chief Buthelezi said bluntly, "There shall not be a unitary state. There shall not be a constituent assembly to write a new constitution."

Regional powers, boundaries and structures would be finalised before elections, he said. The IFP would not allow an election campaign on who would write the country's constitution. — Sapa
and Sufficient consensus revisited

IFP set to return to the multiparty negotiations soon

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

The Inkhata Freedom Party may return to the negotiating table sooner than expected.

IFP chief negotiator Mr Joe Matthews yesterday told journalists in Kempton Park that his party could resume its seat after two or three meetings".

This was after he and his African National Congress counterpart Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had held talks aimed at resolving the problems which led to the IFP's walkout two weeks ago.

Ramaphosa said he was hopeful the problems would be sorted out in follow-up meetings. A sub-committee to deal with the obstacles had also been set up, Ramaphosa said.

The IFP will meet the Government today in a follow-up to a meeting held between State President Mr FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week.

The multiparty negotiating council also reached an agreement on a set of guidelines which would redress the sufficient consensus rule, an issue which sparked the IFP's walkout.

The guidelines adopted yesterday provide that the chairman of the day's proceedings would ensure that disagreeing parties be given an opportunity to voice their objection and time to consult with their principals with the ultimate goal of guaranteeing maximum consensus on substantive issues.

If the guidelines are acceptable to the IFP, the party might withdraw its lawsuit challenging the sufficient consensus rule.
Inkatha backing for peacekeepers

PATRICK BULGER

INKATHA said yesterday it supported the formation of a national peacekeeping force, adding to ANC and government calls for a multiparty supervised force.

The issue is due to be thrashed out at multiparty talks soon; although informal discussions about a peacekeeping force were taking place, a source at the talks said yesterday. Several submissions would be discussed either in the technical committee on violence or the committee on a transitional executive council.

One source close to the talks said the force could consist of 10,000 to 20,000 members and would be deployed primarily in the PWV and Natal. Although February 1994 had been suggested as the deployment date, negotiators might try to establish a peacekeeping force sooner in the wake of this week's East Rand violence.

Inkatha said it understood the peacekeeping force would not superecede the authority of existing forces and would include equal numbers of SAP, interna stability unit members and recruits from political formations.

"Inkatha will strongly oppose recruits being primarily selected from the ranks of the private armies of certain political parties. Equal party representation will be crucial," Inkatha said.

In a submission to the technical committee, Institute for Defence Policy director Jakkie Cilliers said the force could absorb at least 10,000 members of existing forces.

Peacekeepers: 6/893 6/893

and guerrilla armies.

He said the proposed forces would accommodate demobilised soldiers who would not be taken into a future defence force. He warned against integration first and demobilising unwanted soldiers later, a practice he said would "massively expensive and require that additional funds be allocated to defence". This would require that all capital expenditures be redirected to operating costs.

"This translates into the virtual destruction of the SA defence manufacturing industry," Cilliers said.

Spence said a multiparty peacekeeping force would be difficult to set up, but there was no doubt that it was necessary. The panel of international experts appointed by the commission, whose report was published on Sunday, had recommended a multiparty peace force. "This proposal may have flaws and difficulties, but it is the best one we have," Spence said.

SADF advocates at the hearing Piet de Jager said the defence force favoured the creation of such a force. The SADF had a proposal that it would discuss with the panel and would make written submissions in the commission.

The African National Congress (ANC) rejected the proposed peace force, calling it a backdoor method of the current plan to end white rule.

To Page 2
Blow against IFP in heart of Zululand

Farouk Chothia

A SCHOOL was attacked and pro-African National Congress and Apfa slogans were daubed on walls this week in Nongoma, the site of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini's palace, a possible pointer that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's anti-election stance is backfiring.

This is the first time that such an incident is known to have happened in Nongoma — and indicates that anti-Inkatha sentiments exist in the heart of Zululand, Buthelezi's traditional support base.

It is also embarrassing to Zwelithini, who finds that subjects living close to him refuse to back his pro-IFP stance.

In its crime report earlier this week, the kwazulu Police (KZP) said that last Sunday evening, unknown people threw stones at the Dinizulu high school and teachers' quarters in Nongoma. Nineteen window panes were damaged.

"The slogan 'Viva ANC, Apla/Down with Inkatha' was written on the school verandah," the KZP statement said.

The KZP added that a case of malicious damage to property was being investigated.

ANC sources in Empangeni said their organisation did not have a branch in Nongoma, but did have supporters.

Anti-IFP sentiments also exist in Buthelezi's seat of power, Ulundi. Last year IFP supporters accused residents of being ANC supporters and burnt their homes.
A Kwazulu representative said he was named to fill non-Nk Uinta vacancies.

Captive Hit-squad

New evidence on

J3082

CAPSTONE COMMISSION:

New evidence before the Capstone

Commission

\( \text{18}\)
Little to show for Inkatha boycott

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will have little to show for its bid to scuttle constitutional negotiations when it returns to the table within the next fortnight. The indications are that no major concessions have been made by government and African National Congress negotiators.

Inkatha's Joe Matthews told a news conference on Wednesday that the party would end its month-long boycott and return to negotiations "after a few more bilateral" ANC and government sources believe this will happen within two weeks.

Their optimism is based on bilateral discussions with senior IFP leaders over the past 10 days. Meetings also took place between the IFP's constitutional adviser, Dr Marko Amброси, and senior members of government negotiator Roelf Meyer's Department of Constitutional Development, arranged to clear up misconceptions about the concept of "federalism".

The IFP's imminent return is partly due to its failure to convince its partners in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to join its boycott of the talks. Other negotiators have little doubt that the IFP was trying to emulate the ANC in bringing the process to a standstill.

In the event, the 23 remaining negotiating parties showed they could go ahead with the process without the IFP.

Inkatha insisted in its bilateral meetings with the government and the ANC that clarity be reached on the issue of sufficient consensus and that it be given a chance to be heard at the negotiating council.

Indications are that it will be met on these issues to enable it to save face.

In effect, the IFP will be allowed to make an input on all issues that were discussed while it boycotted the proceedings after walking out at a negotiating forum meeting on July 2. It missed the crucial debate on the draft constitution, as well as debates on an independent broadcasting authority and on the proposed division of South Africa into nine regions.

IFP sources were adamant, however, that none of these questions had been finalised, saying that there would still be time for Inkatha to contribute once it returned.

The first signs of Inkatha's impending about-face came when its key negotiator Walter Felgate, accompanied by central committee member Suzanne Vos, unobtrusively turned up at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday this week. It was the first time IFP representatives had been seen at the venue of the talks since their walk-out.

Felgate arrived at the building at about noon, leaving some time after 4pm. He was seen at the press table collecting the latest reports from technical committees.

Asked the reason for their unexpected presence, Vos insisted that they had only come in to "make some telephone calls". It is known, however, that Felgate had a long meeting with Internal Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, known for his IFP sympathies.

Schutte, a nominated NP who hails from Natal, was given the task by the National Party of talking to Inkatha with the aim of trying to lure it back to the table. This was done in order to ward off serious conflict within the NP caucus, with negotiators Meyer, Dawie de Villiers and Leon Wessels (all three cabinet members) quite prepared to see the talks through without the IFP, if necessary.

Fears of a serious conflict within the NP in the end made the return of the IFP imperative. Opposing the negotiators called "softies" by their adversaries were their cabinet colleagues Terence De Deur and Jiskra Kriel. Kobie Coetsee and George Bartlett. Among other things, they are unhappy with the draft constitution presented to the negotiating council last week, believing that the powers and functions of the regions are not sufficiently catered for.

It is no coincidence that these ministers strongly sympathise with Inkatha. Two of them - Schutte and Bartlett - are from Natal and face the problem that many members of their constituency management teams are threatening to cross to the IFP.

Kriel, Coetsee and De Deur have for more than a year regularly raised objections to aspects of the negotiations. They fear the negotiating colleagues should take a much stronger stance against the ANC. Deport - until recently one of the IFP's key negotiators - has shifted so far to the right that he now identifies with most of the demands for an Afrikaner homeland.

Sources in the Afrikaner Volks-stem say they have the "active support" of Deport in their endeavours to establish a cultural base for Afrikaners.

The conflicting approaches were very evident at an NP caucus meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday. According to sources the "objectors" complained they had not been kept informed of the direction of the negotiations and had been left in the dark on agreements. In the end, it is said, only President FW de Klerk's leadership averted serious conflict.
IFP opens in ANC ‘war’ area

DURBAN — The IFP is to launch a branch this weekend in the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, the scene of renewed fighting yesterday which left seven dead.

Police, who have offered a “substantial reward” for information, are expected to be out in force this weekend in the informal settlement which has had eight months of severe violence.

The death toll in fighting between two gangs, the Reds and the Greens, is now estimated at well over 200.

Both groups were ANC-aligned but it is now believed that the Greens have broken away to join the IFP.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tilliet said members of the Green gang had approached them within the past fortnight to join.

Southern Natal youth leaders of the ANC and the IFP are to meet in Durban tomorrow in an effort to bring peace to townships in the region, they jointly announced yesterday.
‘Spoilers’ need a face-saver

There is speculation, denied by one Inkatha Freedom Party source, that the party would join negotiations in another two weeks after what is regarded as an abortive attempt to scuttle the talks as the African National Congress did at CODESA. But most other COSATU members did not join a walk-out and the boycott has cost the IFP dearly.

The protest has reinforced some perceptions that they are spoilers and the party has sidelined itself while crucial issues are being discussed.

Sources close to the talks earlier expressed fears that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would attempt to go it alone if his demands were not met. These include agreement on a federal set-up and the completion of a “final” constitution before the elections.

But the party’s critics maintain it will have no gains to show for what they describe as a failed power play. They

- The KwaZulu delegation needs an honourable face-saver before it can return to the multiparty talks, but it will win no real concessions. A report by John MacLENNAN of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

IFP sources hold, however, that the principles are far too vague to guarantee their not being turned inside out by the new government which will have the task of completing the constitution.

The ANC and the NP are both attempting to convince the KwaZulu delegations that the process can deliver what the IFP want.

The immediate pressure, however, is being felt by the KwaZulu delegations because its stayaway has not achieved any purpose — the talks are continuing. Critics also say it makes no sense to walk out over demands for a federal system when the concept of strong powers for regions has already been approved.

Sources say the formula which will allow the KwaZulu delegations to return to the talks will include agreement by other parties that the problems/issues will be “revisited” so they can make their observations. But they will not be given a veto — which is what the walk-out sought to secure.
'We won't commit political suicide'

DURBAN. - Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed that he would never accept central government control, which he said was milking the Natal-KwaZulu region dry.

"Never again will we, of our own volition, place ourselves as a region at the mercy of any central government, regardless of who is at the helm," he said yesterday at a ceremony at the Hluhluwe Game Reserve, south of the Mozambique border.

Chief Buthelezi, who is also chief minister of the KwaZulu black homeland, explained that the region's riches were being used to fund projects elsewhere in South Africa, while Natal-KwaZulu remained "a Cinderella province".

"At the risk of being demonised as the veritable nigger in the woodpile, I am not prepared to allow the people of this region to commit political suicide," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he remained committed to South Africa's multiparty democracy talks, from which both his IFP and KwaZulu delegations walked out of on July 2 after the majority of participants agreed on April 27 as the date for the country's first non-racial elections. — Sapa-AFP.
Inkatha pull-out applauded

By Ryan Cresswell

A group of chiefs and several thousand of their followers gathered near Maritzburg yesterday to voice their support for the KwaZulu government's decision to pull out of negotiations.

KwaZulu legislative member, Mr M.Ndumbela — the main speaker — said the Zulu nation would "oppose the destruction of KwaZulu to the last breath." 

He said the KwaZulu government had pulled out of the Kompton Park talks when the National Party and African National Congress/Nationalist alliance ignored KwaZulu's objections to the proposed process for the formulation of the constitution, the lack of clarity on the form of state, and the failure to consider concerns about violence voiced by KwaZulu and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

A resolution was passed formally backing the KwaZulu government's decision.
Ulundi sends top man while ANC pleads for peace

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

KWAZULU Justice Minister C.J. Mthethwa was sent to the trouble-torn East Rand by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week after reports that the violence was discrediting Inkatha.

The point of the visit was to obtain information from grassroots leadership on the levels of violence, and also to prepare for the proposed East Rand tour by Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela.

Mthethwa held a meeting behind closed doors with several leaders from violence-stricken areas such as Vosloorus, Thembisa, Thokoza and Katlehong.

Inkatha central committee member Humphrey Ndlorno confirmed the visit.

Ndlorno said the minister, accompanied by chiefs, wanted to get first-hand information on the ground instead of having to rely on newspaper, fax or telephone reports.

Violence in the area since last week has left more than 140 people dead.

Thembisa and Katlehong resembled war zones with hostels in both areas cut off from the townships after train services were stopped due to the drivers' endangered lives.

Plea

In an impassioned plea during an address on Thursday at Huntersfield Stadium, Mandela called on residents not to attack Zulus simply because they were Zulus.

He condemned killers within both Inkatha and the ANC who murdered innocent men, women and children.

He also lashed out at the conduct of police, especially members of the internal stability unit, saying they had no interest in the people they were supposed to protect.

Amid jeers, Mandela called on Katlehong residents to make friends with hostel dwellers.

He told the crowd that he understood their anger when their loved ones and relatives were killed by criminals.

Mandela congratulated the SDUs for their tireless work in protecting township residents.

Youths in Katlehong called for the withdrawal of police.

Most of the youths interviewed belonged to the PAC's student body, Bassa. They told City Press they were not fighting hostel dwellers but police, adding that hostel dwellers were being used by security forces.
LEADERS RUSH TO FLASHPOINT

Ulundi sends top man while ANC pleads for peace

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

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NEWS 12-hour meeting resolves to end conflict

IFP and ANC youths in peace pact

YOUTH leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party have declared a cessation of hostilities in Southern Natal and have called on their supporters to stop waging war.

"No member of one of our parties must from today onwards engage in conflict with members of either party," said a joint resolution yesterday.

The ANC's Southern Natal Youth League met the regional IFP Youth Brigade's leadership in a 12-hour meeting in Durban on Saturday aimed at bringing peace to Natal.

Reconciliation

The first-of-its-kind meeting ended with a strong call for peace and reconciliation and a joint condemnation of violence. Regional ANC Youth League chairman Mr Cyril Xaba and national IFP Youth Brigade organizer Mr Otto Kunene led delegations in what they both described as successful peace talks.

"We accept the challenge ... and strongly commit ourselves to bring about peace in our land," they resolved.

While recommitting themselves to the June 23 peace pact between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the youth leaders pledged to form a joint liaison committee to maintain the momentum to peace and ensure agreements are not breached.

Calling for an end to violent conflict between their supporters, they resolved to "declare a cessation of hostilities, at least and in the main, among our constituency-membership."

The ANC and IFP shared a common objective — peace. To achieve this, they would try to ensure representation of the youth, who are at the forefront of political fighting, on all National Peace Accord structures.

Xaba and Kunene expressed outrage at continuing political bloodletting.

In a further message, they called on supporters to commit themselves to education and "remain in classes." — Saps.

Today is National Women's Day. See page 7 for a special interview with Albertina Sisulu.
Secret discussions bear fruit

Inkatha may rejoin talks tomorrow

THE Inkatha Freedom Party might return to constitutional talks tomorrow following a flurry of secret meetings with government and the ANC and intense internal discussion, senior Inkatha negotiator Joe Matthews said yesterday.

But he warned that if Inkatha returned the talks were not going to be as "easy" as they had been, "with issues going merrily through without being contested".

"Our leadership will still have to be convinced that we will not be returning just to be a rubber stamp again," he said.

Inkatha would reject anything that looked like a pre-planned ANC/government deal.

If Inkatha did rejoin the talks, it would take up its place to discuss the second draft constitution, which will be tabled tomorrow.

Matthews said there had been intense discussions with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the past week. A decision would probably be made at the party's caucus meeting today.

"There is a strong possibility that we will be back on Tuesday," he said.

Matthews attributed the positive development to the secret meetings Inkatha had had with government and the ANC. The meeting with the ANC was "particularly good".

On the thorny issue of "sufficient consensus", Matthews said the chairman had no precedents or guidelines by which to work. However, the position adopted last week by the negotiating council seemed to be moving in the right direction.

The new rule is that if parties find an issue problematic, the council will adjourn and follow a set of mechanisms, including meetings with technical committee support, to achieve consensus. Only when all avenues have been exhausted will decisions be taken by "sufficient consensus".

Matthews said he was not too concerned about the second draft constitution.

"Normally these things take 18 or 19 drafts before you get a good document. The first few are usually inadequate and bad."

"But in order to turn out a good constitutional draft we all have to be there to thrash out issues and argue for our points of view."

Despite the advertisement in yesterday's Sunday Times rejecting a two-stage process, Matthews said Inkatha could live with it as a concession to the ANC.

However, the constitution had to be as complete as possible, with the elected constituent assembly being entitled to amend it. As things stood, the election body could overwhelm all the negotiators' decisions.

"We need a political settlement in this country, and if the elected body can just override everything and ship it off, then we do not have a settlement at all."

Although the contents of the second draft constitution are still confidential, it is understood that changes have been made in the area of regional powers.

It appears that regions will have substantial powers with which central government will not be able to tamper. This arrangement will come into effect when the new constitution replaces the tricameral one.
IFP talks stayaway goes on

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL STAFF

The Inkatha Freedom Party is almost certain to stay away from the talks table this week.

This follows intense speculation that the party was poised to return and take part in tomorrow’s debate on the second draft of the Interim Constitution, couriered to negotiating parties at the weekend.

IFP negotiator and central committee member Walter Felgate was unequivocal yesterday when asked whether the party would be returning to talks: “There is no question of it whatsoever.” The matter would be decided at a central committee meeting on Saturday, he said.

KwaZulu government delegation leader Dr Ben Ngubane also poured cold water on the speculation, saying meetings on constitutional issues with the ANC and Government would continue this week.

Meanwhile, negotiators face a period of “pressure cooker” tension as they begin a race to ensure that the process does not fall behind its targets. Already, hopes that key pieces of draft legislation would be finalised at the World Trade Centre by Friday are being damped.

However, draft Bills providing for the transitional executive council, independent broadcasting authority, independent media commission and independent electoral commission will have to be approved by the Negotiating Council before August 20 if the process is not to be disrupted.

This would allow just enough time for them to be squeezed through the parliamentary standing committees and ready for the short session of Parliament scheduled to begin on September 13.

There are fears that if the legislation cannot go through Parliament during the session, the April 27 election date could be jeopardised. Sources believe the Interim Constitution and the Bill of Rights will have to be approved at another short session later in the year.
IFP dashes hopes of return to talks

By Theimba Molefe
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday temporarily withdrew its court action against the negotiating council but later dashed hopes of an early reconciliation when it reinstated the lawsuit.

It is believed the IFP withdrew its original suit because of a technical omission. It did not include the words “sufficient consensus”, which are central to its protest and a walkout three weeks ago.

Efforts to get an explanation from the IFP failed but central committee member and negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said from Durban the party could return to the negotiations at the World Trade Centre next week.

Meanwhile, it remained unclear whether the IFP or KwaZulu Government was behind the action.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said as far as he knew the legal action was still on but “things do change from hour to hour”.

Yesterday’s chairman, Mr Bravin Gordhan, announced the IFP’s decision in his report to the council on behalf of the multiparty planning committee.

He and Mr M4 Mabutho of the Lebowa United People’s Party were again served individually with papers as chairmen for the day. They ruled that sufficient consensus had been reached on decisions to declare April 28 next year as an election date and on the draft constitution.

However, debate began in earnest on the second draft interim constitution, which is expected to be finalised and legislated by next month.

 Debate on delimitation and boundaries continued yesterday.

Gordhan said a decision had still to be taken on when the negotiators would visit strife-torn East Rand townships.
Education forum launched

PLAYERS across the spectrum took a major step towards resolving the education crisis when they launched the National Education and Training Forum at the weekend.

Forum spokesman Alan Tonkin said there were high expectations among all the signatories at Satur
day’s launch that the forum could be the answer to education’s problems.

More than 150 people representing all the major stakeholders in education, including the ANC and government, attended the launch outside Johannesburg. The forum secured government’s promise that all restructuring in education issues would be referred to it.

Although the forum would be responsible for creating a single non-racial education system, the most immediate issues facing it were rationalisation, the proposed strike by coloured teachers, black matric exam fees and classroom disruptions. Tonkin said forum working groups had already gone a long way to defusing some of the burning issues.

However, the issue of teachers’ salaries which could result in a national strike on August 16, would remain outside the ambit of the forum as it was the subject of negotiations between the Commission for Administration and public sector unions.

National Education Minister Piet Marais said the forum’s characteristics would include that:

- It operated on the basis of inclusiveness and consensus; (5)
- It acquired its authority through developing widely accepted implementable and effective policies; (6)
- It accepted that responsibility for managing education remained with the government of the day; and (5)
- Matters be dealt with by working groups to guard against ideological contamination of education.

No handover, town councils vow

MORE than 100 city and town coun-
cils decided at a special congress of the Transvaal Municipal Association in Boksburg on Saturday to reject the proposed model for new authorities.

Ten councils from the Cape, Free State and Natal were represented at the congress.

Spokesman Roos le Roux warned government that the councils would not under any circumstances hand over their control of cities and towns. The congress demanded that government hold white municipal elections before legislation was promulgated.

Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen told the congress the Afrikaner had been ignored at multiparty talks and his call for an area of self-determination in a new SA had been put on hold.

The former SADF chief said, however, that talks between the Volksfront and government on Friday had been positive. (5)

Viljoen said government had become weak and had created the perception there was only one political winner in the country, namely the ANC-SACP alliance.

He said a high potential for conflict existed. There were three groups which had great potential for violence — the ANC-SACP alliance, the Zulu nation and the Afrikaner — but war was not the answer.

Viljoen urged multiparty negotiators to accept the basic realities of the country and warned there would not be peace until the national aspirations of all had been addressed in the new SA. — Sapa.

Inkatha and NP gear up for polls

THE Inkatha Freedom Party effec-
tively kicked off its election campaign with full-page advertisements in Sunday newspapers yesterday, and the NP will fire up its election machine within the next few days, armed with a range of new slogans.

In its advertisement, Inkatha said it was ready to govern SA, but warned that a final constitution would have to be agreed on before it would welcome the setting of an election date.

Inkatha said it was already SA’s most representative party.

With constitutional agreements taking shape and polls showing slipping support, the NP is likely to dust off its recently-former election machine during the forthcoming provincial congresses.

Party insiders said at the weekend it would drop the “velvet gloves” approach adopted during constitutional negotiations.

“We have deliberately adopted a low-key stance because securing agreement on constitutional issues had to come first,” said NP Federal Council Information Director Jacob Maree.

But the NP now needed to counter electioneering by the ANC and Inkatha, he said.

More and more, President F W de Klerk could be expected to show his political colours.

Maree discounted political polls which reportedly indicated a decline in NP support, saying analysis of the poll did not “bear scrutiny”.

Maree estimated the NP’s support among blacks to be between 25% and 30% of the total black electorate.
Buthelezi 'won't rule out alliances'

DURBAN — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not rule out an alliance with the NP — or even the ANC — in the coming election, according to an investment newsletter published yesterday.

Omega, published by the research firm headed by the DP's Dr Denis Worral, quoted Chief Buthelezi as saying no political leader can be expected to make categorical statements about alliances. But he said there was no prospect of an alliance with the NP "while it continues to eat ANC humble pie".

Speaking from Ulundi yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said he could not say when his party would return to the talks at the World Trade Centre.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council was informed yesterday that the KwaZulu government was changing the terms of its lawsuit against it.
Blade Nzimande, an executive member of the ANC Natal Midlands region, takes issue with Inkatha for claiming to speak for all Zulu-speaking South Africans:

Maintaining the KwaZulu bantustan indicates that all of a sudden the IFP accepts the legitimacy of a highly fragmented and poverty-stricken territory which Buhelezzi himself had appropriately described in 1975 as “such an unconsolidated Dalmatian-skin type of thing”. Inkatha cannot have its cake and eat it. We cannot allow the selective dismantling of apartheid structures after a democratic election.

The biggest problem facing all those who have served under, and benefited from, apartheid structures is how to retain their position.

The IFP’s headache is how to secure the positions of the more than 150 members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and its cabinet, as well as its latest opportunistic white converts, irrespective of an election outcome. This is simply impossible. The sooner Inkatha accepts this reality the better.

Federalism

It is also clear that the demand for federalism is largely a smokescreen behind which to entrench political privilege ahead of an election. We therefore cannot and should not allow the IFP to take this country to civil war on the basis of such selfish considerations, and on a demand that has not even been tested with the people of Natal.

No single political organisation has a right to go to the World Trade Centre, throw tantrums and claim to be speaking on behalf of the people of Natal.

The only democratic way to test the views of Natalians is through participation in a national, free and fair election for a constitution-making body.

If the people of Natal are in support of federalism, the results of such an election will tell. A referendum for Natal on the basis of a constitution drafted by an illegitimate apartheid creation is out of the question.

This country’s problems cannot be dealt with through regional processes, but through a national process. South Africa is bigger than Natal.

* Sowetan will carry the IFP’s response to Nzimande’s opinion tomorrow.
Buthelezi in dark over Inkatha talks

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had not been kept informed of progress in discussions between his negotiators and the ANC and could not give any indication of when his party would return to talks at the World Trade Centre, he said yesterday. (11E)

Inkatha would definitely not take up its seats at the negotiating council today.

Responding to questions, Buthelezi said from Ulundi: "There has been no decision by any of the IFP decision-making bodies that the IFP goes back to the talks at Kempton Park. In fact, apart from what I read in the media, I have not even heard from anyone how the talks (last Wednesday) with the ANC went."

His reply follows conflicting statements from Inkatha officials, reflecting differences among the party's negotiators.

On Sunday, senior negotiator Joe Matthews said Inkatha negotiators had been "in constant discussions with Ulundi on the very successful meetings we have been having with the ANC and government and the party would decide within a day whether it would return to talks this week. Matthews, who leads the inkatha negotiating with the ANC, said there was a "strong possibility we will be back on Tuesday."

However Walter Felgate, who heads the team in discussions with government, said yesterday there was "absolutely no chance we will be back tomorrow and that is authoritative."

He said a decision on returning to the negotiating council would be made on Saturday when the Inkatha central committee met.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council was informed yesterday that the KwaZulu government was changing the terms of its lawsuit against it. Felgate said this did not alter the court date or the substance of the action but was merely a technical change in documentation.

Inkatha refiles its bid to set aside election date

The KwaZulu government has refiled its application in the Pretoria Supreme Court in a bid to set aside the ratification of the April 27 election.

KwaZulu, supported by other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Casa), is contesting the validity of the sufficient consensus ruling at talks which was used to adopt the election date.

The application consists of affidavits from KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the chief negotiator Ben Ngubane.

According to a member of the planning committee at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, the application was refiled last Friday because of inaccurate information.

Subsidy for farm radios

The application names two respondents, Lebowa's M J Mahlangu and Pravin Gordhan of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress, in their capacity as chairmen on three separate occasions at the talks.

Ngubane argues in his affidavit that sufficient consensus as it appears in the negotiations' standing rules "is quantitatively and qualitatively vague and ambiguous to the extent that it cannot serve as a proper guideline for the exercise of a discussion as to whether sufficient consensus exists or does not exist."

Buthelezi, in his affidavit, said a fair debate on federal constitutional proposals had, for all practical purposes, failed. — Sapa.

Moves to restore East Rand schooling

A MAJOR effort to find a way of resurrecting schooling in the violence-racked townships of Thokoza and Katlehong is to be launched this morning when teachers, pupils and community representatives meet to discuss ways of protecting schools.

A Democratic Teachers' Union representative Vusi Ndlonvo said schooling had received a severe blow and pupils could not afford to wait until the violence had subsided to continue. "We have to find a way of restoring a culture of learning despite the violence."

Ndlonvo did not elaborate on proposals to be presented to the gathering at KwaDukuza High School, except to say community members would discuss setting up a "ring of steel" around schools.

People, disillusioned with the security forces, would not enlist their help.

National education forum spokesman Alan Tonkin said the meeting was a positive move.
New constitutional deal not enough for the IFP

Political Staff

THE second draft of the Interim Constitution in the Negotiating Council has increased powers for regions — but appears not enough to satisfy the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre were generally encouraged by the draft and said the inclusion of "exclusive" powers for the first time significantly strengthened the federal character of a constitution for the new South Africa.

Last night the KwaZulu cabinet was still meeting on the issue and a top negotiator said a formal response to the second draft would be made during the week.

But he said that while there had been "some tokenism to meet some of our objections", the second draft remained substantially the same as the first, tabled two weeks ago.

It retains the worst elements — the two-phased process, the deadlock-breaking mechanism and no mechanism to ensure that the regions will have constitutions before elections. It also allows the Constituent Assembly to finalise the regions," he said.

Although the second draft does not appear to contain enough to lure the IFP back to the talks table immediately, its meetings with the government and ANC are progressing.

The report said an SPR (states/provinces/regions) government "shall have exclusive legislative competences, including all necessary ancillary powers in a variety of areas, including:

- The "appropriation of SPR revenue and moneys for financing the government and services of the SPR"
- SPR planning and development as well as town planning.
- Firefighting, ambulance services and other civil protection services.
- Language policy and languages for official use in the SPR.
- SPR cultural affairs, traditional authorities and indigenous law.
- Delivery of water, electricity and other essential services.
- SPR tourism, recreation, media, roads and public transport.
- Casinos, racing and gambling.

The report directs that parliament will not legislate on these matters except when necessary for the setting of minimum standards, the maintenance of national standards or security, the promotion of inter-SPR commerce and to prevent "unreasonable action" by one SPR against another.
The second draft of the Interim Constitution tabled yesterday in the Negotiating Council has increased powers for regions — but appears not to go far enough to satisfy the Inkatha Freedom Party.

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Tokenism

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"It retains the worst elements: the two-phased process, the deadlock-breaking mechanism, and no mechanism to ensure that the regions will have constitutions before elections. It also allows the constituent assembly to finalize the regions," he said.

Although the second draft does not appear to contain enough to lure the IFP back to the talks table immediately, its meetings with the Government and the ANC are continuing. These talks are understood to be progressing.

In its report, the technical committee on constitutional matters said: "Put simply, original powers vested in SPRs (states/provinces/regions) that are derived from the constitution cannot be withdrawn by the national government, nor can they be changed without amending the constitution itself."

It said an SPR government "shall have exclusive legislative competencies, including all necessary ancillary powers" in a variety of areas, including:

- The "appropriation of SPR revenue and money for financing the government and services of the SPR."
- SPR planning and development as well as town planning.
- Firefighting, ambulance and other civil protection services.
- Language policy and the languages for official use in the SPR.
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The promotion of inter-SPR commerce and the prevention of "unreasonable action" by one SPR against another.

Parliament would have "concurrent legislative competence" for housing, education, health services, welfare services, agriculture, fish and game preservation, the environment, public works, SPR and local policing.

The powers of an SPR government in these areas would be constrained only to the extent that the legislation passed by the central government "expressly or by necessary implication limits the legislative competence of SPR government."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the draft addressed the Government's concerns on exclusive powers to regions, but several areas still had to be negotiated.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the document was "something to build on".

SA Communist Party delegate Sam Shikwana described it as "a lot better" than the first one.
NEWS FEATURE

IFP plans to shock those who think election results are foregone conclusion

KwaZulu 'will endure'

IFP Natal organiser Mr Senzo Mfayela responds to an accusation that the Inkatha Freedom Party is distorting history to achieve its own narrow political interests:

King Goodwill Zwelithini ... forefathers dispossessed.
Cosag plans strategy

LEADERS of the Concerned South Africans Group met in Pretoria yesterday to discuss a common future approach to an election strategy and the multiparty constitutional negotiations. — Sapa.
IFP boss calls for peace

By Abbey Makoe and Sesa

In search of a rough 

By Abbey Makoe and Sesa

The IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday called on his supporters to find common cause with the African National Congress and to translate the IFP into "a force for peace." Addressing about 2,000 supporters in Tokoza on the East Rand, he said: "I am for peace." He added: "We cannot replace the will of a people to banish violence."

"When this will does not exist, no police-keeping force and no dispute-resolution committee will ever be able to function properly."

Echoing a similar call by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week, Buthelezi said: "I say to IFP members and supporters that they must find common cause with ANC members and supporters."

"Let the agreements we made with Mr. Mandela on June 23 be implemented, let the people talk political leadership that enough is enough and let the people themselves come together and say no to violence."

Buthelezi also warned that the IFP would "vehemently" oppose the inclusion of United Democratic Front in the SA Defence Force and the deployment of a peace-keeping force in troubled black areas, saying this would be "a total prescription for disaster."

He described MK as an "ill-trained, underdeveloped and wrongfully mobilized army." Buthelezi also lashed out at President FW de Klerk, saying the National Party leader had failed to disintegrate MK.

Although the IFP was itself involved in talks with the Government, Buthelezi criticized "bickering" between the ANC and National Party, saying they were cleaved in secrecy that had brought such decisions as the "record of understanding." "It is the bilateralism which is beginning to peter out. South Africa can indeed well precipitate civil war if it is not made transparent and brought into focus for all to see," he said.

Buthelezi blamed Morambo for the influx of AK-47 rifles and other weapons used in the East Rand fighting, saying much weapons reached places like Tokoza to be used against his people. He made reference to the Bible and said he understood what Jesus Christ meant by saying "turn the other cheek" when attacked. "But what do you do when you are attacked after turning the second cheek?"

A few days after the attack on Buthelezi's house, MK leader Mr. Joe Modise, who was last week honoured with the freedom of Independence township in the Western Transvaal, was killed. But he said he was ready to "kick ass" for South Africa. He said: "Let us take the East Rand and make it a place where we have conquered violence. Let us show the world that we can do this thing in South Africa."

During his address, a group of youths marched in Mogadl, Kwalwag, setting a number of shots alight. 
FW offers hand of friendship to IFP

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.—President De Klerk has offered Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party a choice: the National Party's hand of friendship or a formidable adversary.

There were only 37 weeks left before the first national election, Mr De Klerk said in the Durban City Hall at the start of the NP's Natal congress. The NP saw the congress as the beginning of the election campaign, he said.

Mr De Klerk had his mind fixed on the election and the NP's opponents. While he gave the IFP the choice, he had only condemnation for the African National Congress. The ANC was a dangerous and untrustworthy party. "It must be cut down to size in the election. The voters of South Africa have the power to do so and they are going to do so."

Mr De Klerk said the IFP and Democratic Party stood much nearer to the NP.

"I therefore find it strange that they spend so much energy on denigrating and fighting against the NP."

Mr De Klerk said NP and IFP policies "are close to one another, even though IFP propaganda purports that it is otherwise. They sometimes differed on procedures."
Buthelezi puts paid to hopes for peace force

LOYD COUTTS
and JOHANNES NGCOCO

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi quashed hopes for the creation of a national peacekeeping force yesterday, saying he was bitterly opposed to the inclusion of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in such a body.

However, the call for a peacekeeping force under international supervision received support from Methodist bishops yesterday, while the ANC insisted it include all armed formations.

Speaking to about 400 people at a Thokoza rally yesterday, Buthelezi made a strong appeal for peace on the East Rand, but called for the disbanding of MK, saying its inclusion in a peacekeeping force would exacerbate circumstances in which violence was flourishing.

"The absorption of MK into the SADF and the absorption of MK into a so-called multi-party peacekeeping force is a total prescription for disaster," he said.

The ANC, in a statement calling for "urgent and drastic" action to end political violence, reiterated its call for a national peacekeeping force.

"Such a force, integrated and representative, must be composed of all armed formations which should contribute personnel on the basis of the principle of parity," the ANC said.

It denied that East Rand violence was caused by clashes between Inkatha, for it was a Zulu/Xhosa conflict, and blamed elements of a "third force".

Buthelezi rejected the idea of third force involvement, saying violence was a function of planned political campaigning.

He called for peace and tolerance and urged his supporters to restore humanity among themselves and other tribes.

"What happened to our Ubuntu/Botho, that golden thread that goes right through our black culture, whether one is Zulu,

Buthelezi 12/8/93

Sithole, Xhosa, Tsonga, Shingane or Venda? It is my call on the people of the East Rand to understand that they must reject violence of all kinds," Buthelezi added.

The Methodist bishops condemned the recent violence and said that wherever possible clergy must offer their services to peace accord structures and other peace-making initiatives.

The bishops called for people to attend a nationwide national service for peace and assuring to be held on August 22.

Regional police commissioner Lt.-Gen. Koos Callies yesterday appealed to Ntshakala residents to allow the families of those killed in the July 31 massacre to bury their dead in peace today.

Meanwhile, an additional 50 investigating officers have been deployed on the East Rand to investigate crimes committed during the past month's violence.

Six deaths on the East Rand were reported by police yesterday.

Three people were killed overnight - two by the SADF - and three more deaths were reported yesterday afternoon.

The bodies of two people were found near Katlehong station yesterday morning.

A body with gunshot wounds was discovered outside the Kwesti Hostel.

In Soweto, a policeman was shot dead by two men armed with handguns and an AK-47 rifle. A police spokesperson said he had attempted to stop the suspects and a colleague of their services

The Canadian embassy, meanwhile, announced yesterday that it had donated R100 000 to the Wit/Val peace secretariat to provide humanitarian assistance for victims of violence.
When you stay away to get your way...

One couldn't help noticing the difference in approach. The IFP walked out of the talks on July 2, leaving the issues dearest to its heart to be debated by everyone else. This has led to evident frustration, not least from Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who was moved to remark: "It doesn't help to stand outside while the debate on the contents of the draft Interim Constitution is at the negotiating table."

ANC and its allies in the council: with each development, the unspoken question uppermost in negotiators' minds was: "Will this be enough to bring the IFP back?"

The verdict, as the week's session drew to a close on Thursday, was negative. The IFP chairs remain empty. It is a confusing situation, though, because although Buthelezi's team has vacated the field, it is still involved in the game.

While the party is — in its own words — exercising its democratic right in demonstrating its protest against the sufficient consensus procedure, it is simultaneously discussing the contents of the draft constitution in bilateral meetings. And there is an argument which says that it is precisely this playing-hard-to-get ploy which has seen the party winning major concessions.

At the start of Codesa negotiations, the ANC would not agree to the powers and functions of regions being determined before election for a constituent assembly — the body which will draft the final constitution.

Now the ANC has not only moved to the point where these powers are agreed to in a set of constitutional principles binding on a constituent assembly, but it further consented to wide-ranging "exclusive powers" for the regions.

Given the nature of these regional powers, it is now obvious that the constituent assembly eventually elected will be a diluted version of what the ANC proposed at the start of Codesa — a major victory for the IFP.

So the IFP has been very much part of what went on at the World Trade Centre this week, in spirit if not in body. But, in the Alice in Wonderland nature of negotiations, the party's name was never mentioned — not once. Should all of this be food for thought for Andries Guibebe?
AMANZIMTOTI — President de Klerk this week successfully negotiated a political tightrope that had threatened to damage the National Party as it launched its 37-week election campaign.

Faced with divisions from grassroots up to his Cabinet on the thorny issue of how to deal with the Inkatha Freedom Party, De Klerk defused tensions by telling the party faithful in a Durban City Hall rally that he was extending the hand of friendship anew.

On the eve of the NP's Natal congress — where it was thought the issue could come to a head — he said: "I shall continue to try to remove obstacles in the way of better cooperation between the National Party and the IFP.

"In Natal/KwaZulu especially, the National Party and the IFP owe it to voters to maintain a sound and constructive relationship," said De Klerk.

At the same time he did reflect the feeling of those in the party who have grown frustrated at the IFP's talks boycott. The province would get its own regional constitution, but through the NP's bargaining and not as a result of Inkatha's semantics about federalism, its walkouts or its filibustering.

CHIRS WHITFIELD

He was critical of the IFP's style of negotiating and its "skewed propaganda" about the NP.

De Klerk also tried to address fears among some supporters that the IFP was getting too close to the ANC.

It was, he said, a "dangerous and untrustworthy party" which did not have "the courage... to distance itself from communism".

Natal NP leader George Bartlett moved to woo the IFP, calling for the "great Zulu tradition" and monarchy to be respected and for a regional constitution to be drawn up through negotiations in the province.

De Klerk's words appeared to have a soothing effect on congress delegates, with little sign of dissension on the Inkatha issue.

The other main theme of the two-day congress was violence. De Klerk's warning that "the levels of violence will have to be drastically reduced before any general election takes place" was echoed by other speakers.

Bartlett said: "It will be totally impractical to hold an election under the present circumstances, because it will be impossible to ensure that the election will be free and fair."

In an apparent reference to the ANC, Bartlett said political opponents claimed they were "ready to govern" yet "in reality, on the ground, in the townships in our metropolitan areas, and the villages and kraals around the country, they are slaughtering each other like fiends."

ANC Youth leader

De Klerk

FROM PAGE 1.

Peter Mokaba's reported statement that bullets should be saved for De Klerk and the security forces driven out of the townships came under blistering attack at the conference.

A resolution adopted unanimously by the delegates described the comments as "reprehensible and totally irresponsible".

It warned that "if there is any bloodshed, it will be on Peter Mokaba's head".

It called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to give a "clear and unequivocal response" to the comments and called on its representatives at the negotiations in Kempton Park to urgently "demand a debate on this very serious matter".

TO PAGE 2.
Peace army' under fire
IFP and CP fight shy of election-monitoring force

THE multiparty peacekeeping force has not yet been formed — but its credibility is already in doubt.
PHIL MILLAN reports.

HOPES for a multiparty peacekeeping force to police elections next year may already have run into trouble, with the Conservative Party joining the Inkatha Freedom Party in its opposition to the proposed force.

CP deputy leader Willie Smyman warned yesterday that his party viewed the institution of such a force as illegal, while Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on tour of strife-torn Tembisa on Wednesday, said he was “bitterly opposed” to the inclusion of Umkhonto we Sizwe in such a joint force.

“Nowhere in the world has an ill-trained, underdeveloped and wrongly motivated liberation army ever been able to act as an honourable peacekeeping force,” he said.

Smyman added that the Government’s support for the plan would be tantamount to a motion of no-confidence in the legal security forces.

Control

The establishment of a multiparty peacekeeping force — treated with circumspection in some quarters because of the cost and statutory complexities it would entail — would fall under the control of the sub-council of law and order under the control of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which may be operational as soon as next month.

Most parties in the Negotiating Forum agree that a third organisation outside the military and police with independent control should be established before elections, less than nine months away.

However, the credibility of such a force without the participation of the IFP, which originally agreed to the idea — and less so the CP, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Azanian People’s Liberation Army — is doubtful.

“We can’t not have a peacekeeping force because the IFP doesn’t want to be involved,” said Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman Brian Curren last night.

More in dispute, however, is how this politically neutral force be constituted and who its political paymasters should be.

The TEC proposal states that the SANDF will be responsible for supplying the force with uniforms, transport, accommodation, equipment and other logistical support.

The proposal, based on months of bilateral discussions between the SANDF, SAP and MI5, stipulates that the proposed force should be fully integrated and independent of Government control. President de Klerk insists, however, that the Government retain ultimate control, even though it would “interact with the TEC”.

The ANC would obviously rather see the peacekeeping force — which should total around 20 000 members — acting as a primary force rather than as an auxiliary to the existing SAP.

How to constitute it is a matter of contention as well. The focus is on the role of the Internal Stability Division (ISD), the revamped version of the SAP’s old Riot Unit, blamed by many in the townships and particularly the ANC for much of the violence in black areas.

Proposals by the likes of Lawyers for Human Rights and the Goldstone Commission view the ISD as a natural repository for the new peacekeeping force.

“Using a stringent basis of selection, one would be able to draw candidates from all the existing forces, private or otherwise, and alter the central command structure while keeping the existing infrastructure in place,” he said.

After an intensive period of retraining and “refoosing” a viable force should be up and running within four months, contends Curren.

However, in order to be effective, the new peacekeeping force must have powers of arrest. This would require an Act to be passed by Parliament or whatever legislative body is in control at the time. Its rules of engagement and where these powers begin and end must ultimately invite conflict with the SAP, unless a formula is reached which is acceptable to all.

Whether the present security forces, the TBVC states or the KwaZulu Police will yield to the authority of such a force also remains to be seen.

Bangkok: — About 100 people were feared dead and more than 300 were injured yesterday after a hotel in north-eastern Thailand collapsed, burying guests and workers under tons of concrete and steel.

By nightfall, 17 bodies had been retrieved, as hundreds of rescue workers clawed their way through the ruins of the Royal Plaza Hotel in Nakhon Ratchasima, eight hours after the disaster happened.

Many of the injured were in serious condition, and emergency appeals for blood donors were broadcast on radio and television.

“We heard a loud bang, everything started shaking and suddenly the walls and floor just split,” said a teacher who had been attending a seminar on the second floor of the hotel.

She fled to Nakhon Ratchasima to inspect the site and was injured in various hospitals in the city.

There was still hope that the victims were trapped in the building and would be saved, or ministry officials in Nakhon Ratchasima, said.

But police said the ops was being slowed by heavy equipment.
The hoped-for return to the negotiating council by Inkatha this week failed to materialise. This was despite intensive bilateral discussions with government and the ANC, and tabling of the second draft of the interim constitution, which forms up two critical areas of concern to Inkatha and the Cosasg group: regional powers and the question of regional administrative continuity in the transition.

An indication of whether Inkatha will re-

join the process is expected after its central committee meeting in Ulundi this weekend. Though government is plugging away at continuing talks with the IFP, in the hope of being able to report progress soon, the prospect of upbeat remarks made by IFP negotiator Joe Matthews after his meeting with the ANC.

His colleague Walter Felgate, who heads discussions with government and does not share Matthews's tendency to sound more positive, soon scuttled any optimism about the IFP's returning to the negotiating table.

But a situation is evolving where the IFP won't have any influence on the emerging new constitution.

Yet, "other means to have them heard" are being explored in the bilateral discussions. And it seems that some members of the government team detect a "subtle yearning" by both Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront to be given a suitable opening to join the multiparty process.

The issues being tackled in talks with the IFP centre on constitutional matters — specifically, federalism and the "unique" position of KwaZulu/Natal, plus its concern that a hiatus could develop on day one after the April 27 general election, given the two-stage transition process which Inkatha deplores. Then there is the question of decision-making in the council by sufficient consensus.

Inkatha have yet to react to last week's council decision which attempts to refine decision-making by setting procedural guidelines for the chairman. These state that the chairman shall decide at his discretion whether there is sufficient consensus or not.

More detail

However, before ruling, "the chair shall ensure that the disagreeing parties, especially those who consider themselves materially affected, as well as the meeting, shall have had sufficient opportunity to utilise a variety of mechanisms in order to reach the widest possible consensus." The additional mechanisms include adjournments to enable informal discussions, calling on technical committees and consulting principals.

Last Friday, however, the KwaZulu government withdrew its original application challenging the setting of the April 27 election date, to file a new one with the Pretoria Supreme Court, containing more detail against the sufficient consensus ruling on the date. Two of the council's revolving chairmen, Lebowa's Jo Mhlangu and the NTC's Praveen Gordan, are named as respondents. It's interesting that the word "urgent" is dropped from the refiled application, whose hearing was due on August 24, suggesting a further urge to delay proceedings in the council.
SECRET TALKS KEEP INJAKTHA IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS

BILLY PADDOCK

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BILLY PADDOCK

SECRET TALKS KEEP INJAKTHA IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS

FAR EAST VIEW
**No breakthrough - Meyer**

**IFP won’t return to talks soon**

**BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and CHRIS WHITFIELD**

After a series of bilateral meetings with the Government and the ANC, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party was still nowhere near returning to multiparty negotiations soon, according to IFP negotiator and central committee member Walter Felgate.

Speaking from his Empangeni, Natal, home hours after another round of talks between the IFP and the Government in Durban yesterday, Felgate — who has the ear of the IFP leader and KwaZulu chief minister — said his party had not yet reached the stage where it could return to the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre.

But Constitutional Development Minister and Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer told the NP congress in Durban that yesterday’s meeting might pave the way for the IFP’s return to negotiations. Felgate — who is known in IFP circles as a hardliner — said this was unlikely.

Meyer said there had been no breakthrough yet in getting the IFP back to talks. Progress now hinges on an IFP central committee meeting tomorrow, at

**INKATHA and KwaZulu’s aim for self-determination is attainable, says hopeful Meyer**

Meyer said it appeared that the IFP and KwaZulu government were striving for the self-determination of the Zulu people, and “we believe that is attainable.” To this end a variety of proposals had been put to the IFP. They were:

1. That there would be a constitution at national level embracing a federal system “allowing regions to determine their own future”.
2. That the constitution would provide for specific powers to go to the regions.
3. That regional constitutions would be agreed upon at the regional level “within the framework of the central constitution”.
4. That we provide for the development of a constitution for the region of KwaZulu/Natal”. 

**19818**
IFP borrows
ANC slogans

Mduduzi Harvey

HAS the Inkatha Freedom Party suddenly been transformed into a revolutionary movement?

Reporters covering IFP leader Mthosuthu Buthelezi's speech in Thokoza this week were startled to see IFP supporters adopting the chants and symbols of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

As Buthelezi arrived, the standard IFP tributes—like "Buyethu! (Hail)" and "Wena usapakothi! (He of the royal kraal)—were replaced by ANC-style cries of "Viva Buthelezi!"

Youngsters in the crowd addressed one another as "comrade" while, from the podium, Buthelezi referred to Transvaal Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza as "comrade Khoza."

Behind the African nationalist trappings, it was business as usual for some in the crowd. "The Transvaal is finished and we must go back to Natal," one IFP supporter said. "But before we go back, we must finish the ANC."
ANC members swing to the IFP

IN a highly unusual development, a group of African National Congress supporters has defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party in the strife-torn Bambayi settlement near Durban.

The result has been an upsurge in violence in the area, with at least eight people being killed last Sunday when the IFP launched a branch there. More than 200 people have died in fighting in Bambayi since last December.

A local IFP leader, James Mfethwa, said the defectors had been IFP supporters in the pre-Uitketo Democratic Front/ANC era — and were now returning to their roots.

Mfethwa said UDF supporters fleeing violence from other areas had moved into Bambayi in 1985 and set up political structures. He said the original Bambayi residents had joined the UDF, but that its leadership was suspicious of them.

“We were singled out as ‘IFP’ — so we have now decided to go back to the IFP,” said Mfethwa.

There were previously two ANC factions in Bambayi, “The Greens” and “The Reds”, which clashed last December in a struggle for control of the ANC branch. Also at issue were allegations of the misuse of ANC funds, which traditional leader should run the community, and suspicions on both sides that the other was collaborating with the IFP and police.

With “The Reds” in control of the ANC branch, “The Greens” claimed that the ANC southern Natal leadership had sided with “The Reds” — and called in the Transkei consulate to bus them to their traditional homes in the homeland.

Said the IFP’s new chairman, Victor Tshiwane: “When we (The Greens) were told to leave, there was a feeling that we should join the IFP. If that was the way the ANC treated us — their members — we did not want to belong to them.”

The ANC deputy chairman, Jafet Nqakwe, said he did not regret the defections to the IFP. “Everyone has the freedom to choose.”

Billing the event as a “test case” for free political activity, the IFP launched their branch in Bambayi on Sunday. Violence flared, with casualties on both sides. Monitors said the IFP had been provocative: it had launched its branch in an ANC stronghold, after saying it would hold the event in its own area, and armed supporters had marched through the ANC territory when they could have used another route.

There is also suspicion about the role of the South African Police, with allegations that it has backed the IFP in its fight against the ANC.

In May, the ANC claimed it had reached agreement with police that the Internal Stability Unit would be pulled out of Bambayi and replaced with soldiers. When this happened, there was no violence for a week. The ANC claimed the regional commissioner of the SAP, General Colin Steyn, ordered the ISU to return to Bambayi and violence flared up again.

Steyn said the SAP had never agreed that the ISUs removal would be permanent.
INKATHA

Big swell

IFP ranks are, it seems, being swelled at an astonishing rate. According to its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, about 40 000 new members are joining the party each month — or nearly 500 000 a year. Add that to the party’s last published membership tally of 2m card-carryers and the IFP appears to be a formidable force.

But what makes Buthelezi’s claim (at the IFP annual congress in Ulundi recently) all the more astounding is the fact that this growth has gone largely unnoticed in opinion polls, surveys and the gut-feel of political commentators around the country.

Burgeoning IFP membership hardly seemed evident at the IFP’s attempt last week to establish a base in the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near Durban. There appeared to be about 60 local supporters only; the rest were bused in, apparently, which is hardly an auspicious start. However, violence and the fear of intimidation doubtless kept many away.

Buthelezi is sceptical about opinion polls and cites the examples of Zimbabwe’s independence election and the last British election, where the outcomes differed markedly from authoritative opinion surveys.

But they are the best indications of support we have. One of the most thorough in the black community comes from the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), which canvassed 8 400 people representative of nearly 80% of potential black voters (it excluded Bophuthatswana, Transkei and formal metropolitan townships which are extensively covered in other surveys).

HSRC senior researcher Chris de Kock says that on the straight question of which party is supported, the ANC emerges with 56%, IFP 9%, PAC 2%, NP 1% and other parties with less than 0.5% add up to 2%. He adds that 29% claimed no affiliation.

“If you remove that 29% on the basis that they will decide and follow the same trend between now and an election, then the ANC emerges with 81% support, the IFP 14%, PAC 2% and the NP 1%.”

A different pattern emerges when respondents were asked how good they feel about parties on a list. Here the responses (which indicate potential swings) give the ANC 45%, PAC 16%, SACP 13%, Azapo 9%, IFP 7%, NP 5%, DP 4% and CP 1%.

The pattern in the white community is somewhat different. Clearly the number of politicians defecting to the IFP in Natal suggests a groundswell of white — especially farmer — support for the IFP in the region.

Markinor research last month shows the IFP as the first choice among whites — jumping from 2% to 6% in a year. However, Buthelezi’s standing among whites has remained relatively static at 5.6% — though intriguingly his support among blacks rose from 1.9% to 2.6% over six months.

Markinor’s Mari Harris says the IFP is largely a regional party which has its biggest support in rural KwaZulu. “Its second source of support comes from whites all over SA, but concentrated in Natal.”

[Signature]
Govt tables proposals to woo Inkatha back to talks

AMANZIMTOTI — Negotiation to draft regional constitutions could begin soon, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

After government discussions with Inkatha yesterday, Meyer said he was convinced that Zulu self-determination now topped Inkatha’s agenda.

Addressing the NP’s Natal congress, he said that during the three-hour discussions, government had proposed a set of specific proposals for consideration at Inkatha’s weekend central committee meeting.

“It seems to us that one of the most important things (Inkatha leaders want) is to ensure self-determination of the Zulu people. We believe that is attainable.”

Government negotiators had, therefore, proposed a “particular route” for consideration by the Inkatha central committee which, if accepted, would result in its return to negotiations.

The proposal consists of four elements. First, at the national level, a federal system should be provided for “allowing regions to determine their own future.”

Second, the constitution should make provision for specific powers that could be exclusively exercised by regions. Provision had already been made for certain, though insufficient, exclusive powers in the proposed interim constitution.

Third, the national constitution should provide, as it did already, for regional constitutions.

And, lastly, provision should be made for the development of a regional constitution for KwaZulu/Natal.

“We should engage ourselves now, not only at the central level, but also at the regional level, in drawing up the constitution that could be adopted in the future,” he said.

Both Meyer and President F W de Klerk emphasised the urgency of the situation, saying the negotiations process had only 21 days to reach agreement to permit the April 27 elections to go ahead on schedule.

De Klerk said the election would be a “make or break” moment in the country’s history, and its result would lay the foundation for the next 50 or 100 years.
IFP boycott to continue

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The IFP will continue its boycott of constitutional talks despite major concessions having been made in the Negotiating Council.

After a central committee meeting on Saturday, the IFP said it would not return to the World Trade Centre until "the decisions taken without our participation are set aside".

A government spokesman said the IFP central committee resolutions would be discussed today at a meeting between the party and the government.

The IFP said: "We demand that the issue of sufficient consensus be resolved. No one can have the political arrogance to impose fundamental decisions by a show of hands and in total disregard of IFP concerns."

The IFP and KwaZulu government's objections to sufficient consensus rulings at the negotiating table are scheduled to be heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court next Monday.

Spelling out its bottom lines, the IFP rejected elections before the drafting of the final constitution. It further said only those powers which could not adequately be exercised at a regional level should be devolved to a central government.

The IFP demanded that a transitional executive council — which will run the country in conjunction with the tripartite Parliament until April 27 — should not affect the KwaZulu government's autonomy.

Chief Buthelezi arrived in Lusaka yesterday for a four-day visit. He is to hold talks with the Zambian government and the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy on South Africa's constitutional talks. — Sapa.
Inkatha gives a flat 'no' to talks

By Ray Hartley

The Inkatha central committee yesterday scotched any hope that it would return to multi-party talks this week.

A series of hardline resolutions adopted by the central committee rejected out of hand the latest draft constitution, which made some concessions to federalism.

"The negotiating process is moving from inexcusably wrong constitutional premises and is rushing the country to a constitutional and political disaster," the committee said in a resolution.

"We reject the documentation produced by the technical committee on constitutional matters.

"It has no purpose other than fully empowering a discretionary constituent assembly to do as it pleases, and excludes the entrenchments and finalisation of federalism at this stage of our constitutional development," the resolution said.

A second resolution listed eight key guidelines for Inkatha negotiators.

These included the holding of elections once a final constitution is adopted, rejection of the constituent assembly in any form, and insistence on federalism with states having wide powers.

"Our bottom lines are now more than ever the basic principles upon which freedom, peace and democracy will be premised in our country. We hereby instruct our negotiation team to hold on to such bottom lines in all stages and phases of negotiations," the resolution said.

A third resolution rejected discussions between Inkatha, the government and the ANC as "any substitute for true and inclusive negotiations."
Third force 'not to blame'

By MOSES MAMAILA

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed views of third force involvement in the violence sweeping the country.

Addressing hundreds of Inkatha supporters in Thokoza this week, Buthelezi said: "I believe it is a false call to war against third force factors when it comes to the causes of violence.

"One of the latest ugly developments of this carnage is the involvement of ex-Mozambicans in the smuggling of 'arms' into Phola Park and Mandela Park and their participation with Umkhonto cadres in the ongoing violence."

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa rejected these views.

Responding to MK commander Joe Modise's accusation that he was following a path of destruction, Buthelezi said he knew about war and its consequences better than Modise.

"I come from warrior stock. That is why I reject playing war games in the manner he (Modise) does. That is why throughout my political career I have always believed in a negotiated settlement," he said.
THE IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane last week claimed his party walked out of the multi-party talks in exasperation. The ANC's MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA responds

When last did IFP make a concession?

DR Ben Ngubane claimed in last week's Sunday Times that "the KwaZulu government believes its constitutional goals should be achieved through negotiations".

We all hope he also meant to say that the IFP believes that its political ambitions should be achieved through a democratic expression on the part of the electorate.

The operative word is "negotiations". The IFP has thus far displayed few signs that it is prepared to negotiate. During the entire four months or so of its participation in the multi-party negotiations, it did little negotiating.

Professor Roger Fisher, the Harvard-based internationally recognised fundi on negotiations, emphasises that some of the most essential principles of negotiations are:
- A negotiator should, in his or her mind, always separate his/her party's positions from the real interests behind those positions;
- A negotiator should always seek to understand the real interests of the party on the opposite side of the table;
- Negotiators from both sides of the table should jointly develop options which satisfy as many of the real interests of each side as possible. These options invariably tend to be quite different from each party's initial positions, but may well go a long way towards meeting their real concerns. A willingness to explore options goes to the very root of negotiations.

Dr Ngubane says: "We are also demanding the recognition of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal as one of the founding blocks of the new federation."

This is the tenor of the approach the IFP adopted during its stay at the World Trade Centre. There is no element of negotiation in it.

The IFP constitution, like the proposals of all other parties, was placed before the technical committee (a committee unanimously appointed by all parties, including the IFP). On the basis of the various competing proposals, the committee drew up options for all of us to consider. There is no other way to negotiate!

Dr Ngubane says the IFP walkout was due to its failure to "ensure (that) the cause of federalism and constitutional guarantees triumph over authoritarian and centralistic hidden agendas".

The point needs to be made that there is nothing inherently democratic or undemocratic about federalism. The US and India are no more democratic than France or the UK. In fact, Verwoerdian federalism which gave rise to the four "autonomous" republics, the TBVC states, only gave rise to corrupt and incompetent dictators.

The IFP seeks to achieve the "triumph over authoritarianism" by insisting the constitution of KwaZulu/Natal be recognised. This constitution was adopted by the one-party KwaZulu Legislative Assembly without any public debate! Not authoritarian?

The US is held up by the IFP as the ideal, successful federal system. New York Law School Professor Stephen Ellmann, in an article in the SA Journal on Human Rights, said if this constitution was to become law, "It would devalue the central government of a future South Africa" and ignore judgments about the proper scope of national government power in the US constitution. He goes on to say: This constitution's 'federalism' was rejected by the US two centuries ago — and for good reason.

The IFP has walked out, it claims, in the name of "federalism and constitutional guarantees". The draft constitution presently under discussion at the multi-party negotiations provides for no less than 27 entrenched constitutional principles which provide for every conceivable guarantee to ensure that the constitutional assembly drafts a truly democratic constitution. Ten of these principles deal with states, provinces, and regions. These provide for, not only original, but also exclusive powers for regions. And not even a 100 percent majority would be entitled to amend them.

Dr Ngubane says that "under the draft an extremely limited range of powers are considered for the regions, which are far less than those presently exercised by the self-governing territories."

Another gross distortion of the facts! The truth is that the draft provides for 27 powers for the regions — 15 of which are exclusive regional powers.

If the IFP is serious about real constitutional guarantees then it should return to negotiations because the guarantees are all in place. It is high time the IFP accepts that no constitution — certainly no democratic constitution can guarantee political power for the IFP in KwaZulu/Natal. For that it would have to convince the people and subject itself to the will of the electorate.

Another major criticism the IFP has of the draft constitution is that it "gives a 51 percent majority of the constitutional assembly the final say over what our destiny is going to be".

The draft constitution provides for a series of deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

A number of parties at the World Trade Centre have raised concerns about this approach and the matter is now being negotiated.

But, for the IFP to object to the adoption process suggested in the draft constitution is simply strange. According to the IFP, the constitution for KwaZulu/Natal will "come into force the day of (the constitution's) ratification by the law-making approving this constitution with at least 51 percent of the votes validly cast!" This means a 51 percent vote to adopt a constitution which is not the product of multi-party negotiations and, my information tells me, not even a product of substantial debate within the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. The IFP criticism rings hollow.

Dr Ngubane concludes by saying: "There have been no real concessions from the ANC/SACP alliance for the cause of federalism and pluralism in our country."

Dr Ngubane himself knows that the statement is untrue. He will not be able to make such a statement in the presence of ANC negotiators with a straight face.

I challenge Dr Ngubane to name a single "real concession" made by the IFP.

- Mr Moosa is secretary of the ANC negotiation commission and member of the National Executive Council.
Inkatha and Kwazulu out

By THEMBA KHUMALO and SAPA

WE'RE out, declared Inkatha yesterday, saying the organisation would not return to constitutional talks until issues which triggered the party's walkout were set aside.

Compromises and far-reaching concessions by the 23 negotiating parties at the the World Trade Centre this week were apparently not good enough to lure Inkatha and KwaZulu delegates back to the negotiating table.

Not even the acceptance by the parties of a recommendation by the technical committee on constitutional issues that there was a need for regional governments with constitutionally entrenched regional powers impressed the erstwhile KwaZulu and Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi has rejected the current draft constitutional proposals by the technical committee as a product of connivance between the government and the ANC. He and his colleagues will settle for nothing less than an autonomous KwaZulu with its own head of state.

"As a condition of our returning to the negotiation process it must be ensured that the decisions to which we objected and which were taken without our participation are set aside," Inkatha said yesterday in a resolution taken at the central committee meeting in Ulangi.

The committee also called for the halting of the current negotiations, saying the talks could not guarantee democracy.

"The process of negotiations as presently conceived and conducted cannot be salvaged, nor can true federalism, freedom and democracy for all be guaranteed in our country unless the present course of negotiations is arrested and reshaped to very different purposes and objectives."

The committee said these objectives were the establishment of a federal republic of South Africa under a final constitution and prior to the next elections.

Inkatha said the holding of the elections, which negotiators have set for April 27 next year, should only be held once a full and final constitution had been adopted.

Inkatha said draft constitutions produced at the World Trade Centre without its participation had confirmed the party's view that the negotiation process was leading the country to disaster.

"We are more than ever confirmed in our original opinion that the negotiation process is... rushing the country to a constitutional and political disaster."
IFP vows to stay out of the talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

INKATHA painted itself further into a corner at the weekend by vowing not to return to multi-party negotiations until plans for a constituent assembly (CA) were scrapped.

The Azanian People’s Organisation also said it would no longer attend talks or take part in the elections. The demand places Inkatha on a collision course with most parties at the negotiations — including the ANC, the government and the PAC — as an elected CA, or constitution-writing body, lies at the heart of agreements reached at the World Trade Centre.

The government will meet an Inkatha delegation this morning in a bid to end the deadlock. A government spokesman said last night the meeting would also be used “to get clarification” on a series of hardline resolutions adopted by the central committee of Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend.

The resolutions, which rejected multi-party negotiations “as they are presently conceived and conducted”, said the current process was “rushing the country to a constitutional and political disaster”.

Senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate emphasised that his party would not return to the negotiating table if the CA was allowed to write the final constitution.

Inkatha wants an election to be held only after the 26 parties have agreed on a final constitution.

However, the government and the ANC said yesterday there could be no climbdown on the CA issue.

Government sources said there was no question of postponing next month’s session of Parliament, which will pass legislation for a multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Transfer

Inkatha sources said the party was not in a hurry and would continue pressing other parties, particularly the government, for further concessions on federalism and the right of the KwaZulu/Natal region to decide its own future.

Meanwhile, Azapo announced in Durban at the weekend that it would take part only in democratic elections aimed at the transfer of power from “a white minority to a black majority”.

Azapo also ruled out participation in the current constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre because “the talks lacked political purpose”.
Inkatha leaves little room for manoeuvre

THE Inkatha Freedom Party appeared to have left itself little room to return to negotiations after taking an inflexible stand at the weekend on its condition for returning to talks.

Senior negotiator Walter Felgate said yesterday the party would not return as long as there was any possibility of an election for a constitutional assembly.

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said Inkatha might not return at all if it adhered to this position because all the other parties had agreed to a two-phase process in which a constitutional assembly would be elected. He said this part of the process was not up for change.

"That was the compromise as far back as Cope and we will go ahead with it; otherwise parties will go back to their original positions and we must go back to the very beginning, wiping out the three years of negotiations," he said.

Felgate said Inkatha had appealed to the negotiating council to "forgo its democratic right" by not opposing the court action, allowing the invalidation of the council's decisions to become a "court order." The negotiating process for a constitution could then start again.

"If there is any sanity in this process and they are serious about not wanting to go ahead without us, the council will not oppose it. But if we lose the action we will not just return, we will use all the other democratic options open to us, which could include measures such as mass action."

At its weekend central committee meeting, Inkatha rejected any elected constitution-making body, the second draft constitu-
tion and said the negotiating process was based on incorrect premises.

Felgate said Inkatha would oppose an elected constitutional assembly and would not return as long as it was a possibility. "We know we will be able to mobilise at least half of the electorate as well as international support to put pressure on the process and prevent this happening."

He called on government and the ANC to try to adhere to the August 30 deadline for agreeing to draft legislation and wrapping up the constitution. "Let's see if they can enforce that constitution without us. Let's see how far they get," he said, adding that the only option was to renegotiate all the decisions Inkatha opposed.

Schoeman said it was obvious Inkatha was not interested in a negotiated settlement. Members' arguments were invalid and they did not seem to appreciate the need for compromise. "If all parties acted like them we would get nowhere."

Inkatha argued that it wanted a federal structure, but did not seem to understand that the second constitutional draft was a clear basis for a federal system. "Maybe they were considering plain," he said.

It was "nonsensical" for Inkatha to argue that an elected constitutional assembly would be able to write a final constitution without constraint. There were already 27 constitutional principles that even the entire elected body could not change.

Felgate rejected suggestions that Inkatha was trying to get other Concerned South Africans Group members to leave the talks for an alternative negotiating forum.

BILLY Paddock
IFP refuses to rejoin talks

**Soweto** 16/9/82

THE Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend said it was staying out of constitutional talks until crucial decisions taken by negotiators without its approval are set aside. The IFP has launched a court application to set aside decisions including the setting of the date for the first non-racial elections.

"As a condition of our returning to the negotiation process it must be ensured that the decisions to which we objected and which were taken without our participation are set aside," the IFP said in a resolution taken at a meeting of its central committee in Umdu.

The IFP's decision-making body also called for the halting of the current negotiations, saying the talks could not guarantee freedom and democracy.

"We condemn and deplore the continuation of the negotiation process in spite of the absence of the IFP, and the disregard of the fundamental objections of the IFP," it said.

It also said its objection to the use of the sufficient consensus principle in reaching agreements at the constitutional talks should be resolved before its negotiators take their seats at the talks.

"The process of negotiations as presently conceived and conducted cannot be salvaged, nor can true federalism, freedom and democracy for all be guaranteed in our country unless the present course of negotiations is arrested and reshaped to very different purposes and objectives."

The committee said these objectives were the establishment of a federal republic of South Africa under a final constitution and prior to the next elections. The IFP said the holding of the elections, which negotiators have set for April 27 next year, should only be held once a full and final constitution had been adopted. — **Sapo.**
Bilateral talks fail to woo IFP

JOHANNESBURG. — An April 27 election could not be achieved, Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said yesterday.

A meeting between government and Inkatha officials yesterday failed to make any headway in getting Inkatha back to the talks.

Inkatha would not return to the talks while plans for a constituent assembly went ahead, Mr Felgate said.

Without Inkatha's support they would have difficulty implementing their decisions as Inkatha, not having taken part in the talks, would not consider itself bound by decisions taken in its absence.

A senior planning committee member at the negotiations yesterday said his committee had begun to address matters such as the resolution giving the go-ahead for the two-phase process.

Inkatha warns of difficulty

They were trying to find a way "to build bridges and give comfort to those parties who had a problem with this".

Mr Felgate said the only way Inkatha would rejoin the process was if the resolution was altered to allow a single-phase process to be explored alongside the two-phase process.

The IFP want the constitution to be finalised by the forum.

Mr Felgate identified three issues negotiators would have to "revise" for the IFP to return to the World Trade Centre:

1) The decision to set an election date before a new constitution was finalised;
2) Instructions to the technical committee on constitutional issues, including the one to draw up the interim constitution;
3) Sufficient consensus.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, speaking in Johannesburg, said it was the responsibility of all parties to persuade those who have pulled out of the multi-party negotiations to return.

In Pretoria yesterday, President F W de Klerk said reform remained "more or less" on schedule to usher in a new government next year.

In an apparent reference to the IFP's refusal to return to the talks, he said not every setback should be interpreted as a failure. — Sapa, Own Correspondent
Church killings suspect in court
CAPE TOWN — A 17-year-old Khayelitsha youth detained in connection with the St James' Church killings in Kenilworth, Cape Town, was denied bail when he appeared briefly in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The youth, a Standard 8 pupil, was not asked to plead. He wore leg irons and there was a heavy police presence.

Eleven people died and more than 50 were injured when four gunmen sprayed the church congregation with automatic fire on the night of July 25.

The prosecutor told the court he had applied to the attorney-general for an order prohibiting bail.

He asked that the matter be post-poned to August 50, which would give the attorney-general the 14 days allowed him to reach a decision on bail.

Magistrate J D van Zyl granted the requested postponement.

The youth's lawyer said his client was being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Police said the youth was not — as had been reported by international news services — a member of the PAC's student wing.

Our Cape Town correspondent reported PAC Khayelitsha Site B branch chairman Gideon Mhla has been released from police custody after he was detained for questioning in connection with the killings.

Mhla was detained on August 7 and released on Sunday, SAP spokesman Capt John Sterrenberg said.

Sterrenberg declined to give further details of Mhla's detention or release. — Sapa

Council changes on track — Delport
PLANS to install multiracial councils before the end of the year were going ahead, Local Government Minister Bertus Delport said yesterday.

He also denied weekend reports that government was backing down on the issue following right-wing pressure.

The reports had created a "completely incorrect perception" that government wanted to scrap the plan. Although legislation to enact the plan into law would be delayed, it did not mean government was retreating.

He said agreement was reached at last week's meeting of the local government negotiating forum management committee — at which all parties on the forum were present — on new plans for delaying the plan.

Negotiators had hoped to have legislation tabled in October to integrate black and white councils.

Civic Association of Johannesburg general secretary Cas Covadia said yesterday delays to legislation demonstrated government's unwillingness to relinquish power, Sapa reports.

Delport was allowing democracy to be sacrificed at the altar of groupings that would refuse to give up power.

SA National Civic Organisation general secretary Dan Molokeng said government and the Transvaal Municipal Association's attempts to "deter and stall" local government changes showed their commitment to white minority rule and repression.

On Sunday the PWV region said it would insist that interim joint black and white councils be in place by November.

ANC PWV local government head Mathole Motshekga said: "We cannot allow ourselves to be blackmailed by the racist position of some of the rural conservative town councils who are refusing to sit together with black people in one council."

The Afrikaner Volksfront warned yesterday its mobilisation would continue until government declared that joint non-racial local authorities would not be considered during September's parliamentary session. Volksfront secretary-general Koos Bischoff said such a move would immediately give the ANC control over all local authorities.

The organisation also began a house-to-house distribution of 30,000 pamphlets in Durban yesterday to oppose the planned reform of local government in the city, spokesman Duncan du Bois confirmed.

DP spokesman Jasper Walsh yesterday blamed right-wing elements and the local government negotiating forum for the slow pace of local government talks.

Inkatha slams Roelf as talks stalemate
A MEETING between government and the Inkatha Freedom Party failed to make any headway yesterday in getting Inkatha back to the talks. After the meeting, Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate attacked Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

"He has no understanding of Inkatha and its politics, nor does he have an understanding of ANC politics. In short he and government do not understand black politics and therefore they keep getting everything wrong," he said.

He was adamant his party would reject retrospective negotiations if a two-phased approach, in which a constitutional assembly would be elected, was still on the table.

If the process continued without Inkatha the chances of a "bloodbath" would increase dramatically. "However, we are trying everything to avoid this bloodbath."

"However, Inkatha has collapsed its three different negotiating teams into one "super team" to continue separate bilateral meetings with the ANC and government. Felgate said his party rejected any joint meetings with the ANC and government.

However, a senior planning committee member said yesterday the committee had begun addressing outstanding matters, such as the controversial resolution giving the go-ahead for the two-phase process.

He said they were trying to find a way to "build bridges and give comfort to those parties who had a problem with this". But the committee had not yet got round to working out mechanisms to address this.

"I think there is a very real probability of us resolving the deadlock and overcoming the strong objections of Inkatha," he said.

Felgate said the only way Inkatha would rejoin the process was if the resolution was altered to allow a so-called single phase process to be explored alongside the two-phase.

This would mean that a constitution be finalised in this negotiating council and not by an elected body. "But then the issue of sufficient consensus also has to be changed to suit our interpretation of it."

However, Inkatha could not return before the court case, challenging the sufficient consensus decisions of the negotiating council, was concluded.

It is understood Inkatha believes draft legislation being prepared by the negotiating council has reached an advanced stage and there are too few working days left before the month-end for it to substantially influence this legislation.

The implication of Inkatha's position is that it will not participate in interministerial structures, including the transitional executive council, making it difficult to implement legislation designed to level the playing fields prior to the election.

Felgate said: "The problem is that they are going ahead and trying to implement legislation which we reject..."

However, he said it was a measure of how far negotiations had progressed that the two sides were talking to each other at all.

"This is where there is a greater possibility of achieving a breakthrough," he said.

Billy Paddock
Talks face more walkout threats

SOUTH Africa's negotiation process, already under pressure to meet important target dates, is facing more walkouts.

Last night the three senior leaders of the Concerned South Africans Group met at the talks - the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie - met in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, to discuss their continued participation.

Also present with the organisations' respective leaders was the Conservative Party's Dr. Bartil Hartzenberg.

Ciskei sources have indicated that they could be out of the talks by Friday. A spokesman in Bisho confirmed that Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Qozo was in Mmabatho last night for the meeting.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Mr. Ephraim Keikolele said he was unaware of any plans to walk out.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Mr. Andries Beyers said the organisation was waiting for the issue of self-determination to be debated later this week before deciding on its position.

President FW de Klerk said in Cape Town yesterday that the Government "will not and cannot accept that major parties like the IFP" continued to stay out of talks.

ANC general secretary Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said the withdrawal of Ciskei parties would not put the negotiating process under pressure.
Rethink on walkout threat

Cosag 3 to stay in talks

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

South Africa's negotiating process was last night spared more walkouts. (Photo)

A marathon meeting of the three remaining Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members at the talks -- the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie -- in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, agreed to stay in "for now".

Also present at the meeting was Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen.

Yesterday Ciskei sources had indicated that its negotiators could be out of the talks by Friday. A spokesman in Bishop confirmed that Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was in Mmabatho last night for the meeting. (Photo)

The other Cosag members -- the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the CP -- walked out of talks on July 25.

President De Klerk said in Cape Town yesterday the Government could not accept that "major parties like the IFP" continued to stay out.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the withdrawal of Cosag parties would not put the negotiating process under pressure.

He denied that the process was running behind schedule. The only delay might be caused by the Interim Constitution. Draft legislation would clearly not be ready for the September session of Parliament but would be ready for a later special session this year.
Mandela 'trying to halt IFP recognition'

LUSAKA — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela of trying to prevent the IFP from achieving international recognition.

In a televised debate, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela threatened to walk out of an OAU meeting when it was suggested the IFP be accorded the same observer status as the ANC.

Mr Mandela reacted with a similar threat when Inkatha made a similar proposal at a meeting of the heads of the frontline states, he said.

Chief Buthelezi is on his first visit here under the new Zambian government. — Saps-AFP
‘Uganda arms MK’

Lusaka — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused Uganda of fuelling political violence in South Africa by training the armed wing of the ANC.

Speaking at the Lusaka Press Club, the KwaZulu leader accused Organisation of African Unity members of supplying arms to the ANC.

“Uganda has betrayed the aspirations of many South Africans by supplying arms to ANC cadres at a time of negotiations. Uganda is training thousands of ANC cadres to kill our people,” Buthelezi said.

He called on the OAU to disarm the ANC’s armed wing, the Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The chief appealed to the press to give a clear perspective of events in South Africa.

He said the IFP had been accused of opposing the setting of next April’s election date because “of our disdain for democracy and insistence that an unelected council should write the constitution. That is slanderous propaganda.”

He said the IFP insisted that any future elections must take into account the diversity of South African society.

Buthelezi is in Zambia on a two-day visit to consult with the government. — Sapa-APP.
ANC suppresses our status — IFP

LUSAKA — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused his African National Congress counterpart, Mr Nelson Mandela, of trying to prevent the IFP from achieving international recognition.

In a television debate on Monday in Lusaka, Zambia, Buthelezi said Mandela had threatened to walk out of an Organisation of African Unity meeting when it was suggested that the IFP be accorded the same observer status as the ANC.

Similar threat
The ANC leader reacted with a similar threat when the IFP made a similar proposal at a meeting of the heads of the Frontline States, Buthelezi said.

"The ANC is not the IFP's enemy but unfortunately the ANC appears to think we are their enemy, which is very sad indeed. We have got to work together to end the violence because there can be no democratic change without peace," he said.

Buthelezi also commented on the multiparty peace talks, defending his support for the inclusion of all political parties. "I have been criticised for advocating the inclusion of the rightist Conservative Party in the talks."

"I believe in all-inclusive talks because they affect all South Africans and will continue to urge all who feel marginalised to oppose exclusive talks," he said. Buthelezi said it was saddening to note that some people who had demonised him in the past for talking to various white factions were now holding "bush meetings and making pacts that impact terribly on the South African people."

"I do not even have FW de Klerk's telephone number as other leaders do," he said, referring to the South African president.

Buthelezi's visit, during which he will hold talks with the government of President Frederick Chiluba, was the first to Zambia under the Movement for Multiparty Democracy government. — Sapa-AFP.
Cosag decides to stay in talks

BOPHUTHATSWANA, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie decided at an urgent meeting in Mmabatho last night to remain in multiparty talks.

The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members have been caught in a tug-of-war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the negotiating forum. Their leaders, excluding Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is in Zambia, decided it was worth staying in talks while their views were being taken into account.

However, Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said after the meeting that key issues had to be resolved to bridge the differences over the role of an elected constituent assembly. The constitution had to be comprehensive and the constitutional principles needed to be "flushed out and made a lot clearer", and a constitutional court needed to be more clearly defined.

The deadlock-breaking mechanism was unacceptable especially if the interim constitution was in force for only a few months.

Cosag would not be able to remain in talks if the constituent assembly was able to rewrite the constitution, Cronje said.

Earlier yesterday there were indica-

BILLY PADDOCK

tions that Ciskei would bow to pressure from Inkatha and walk out of talks today.

On Monday Ciskei chief negotiator Micky Webb asked the planning committee to suspend negotiations while parties met in an attempt to resolve differences over regional powers and functions in the draft constitution. This was refused but the committee decided that parallel discussions should take place.

It is understood that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer made a last-ditch effort yesterday to persuade Ciskei military leader Cosa Gozo not to pull out. According to a source, Meyer put forward a proposal which, if accepted, would mean that Gozo could not withdraw this week. It was speculated that Meyer had asked Gozo to wait for the third draft constitution, scheduled to be sent to parties on Friday.

Last night Cronje said he was confident that the negotiators would find a way of addressing the problems and "giving comfort to those parties that want to leave the process and those that had already left".

To Page 2

Cosag

But it is understood that he has come under pressure from Buthelezi not to break ranks so as to give Cosag more leverage.

Cronje and Webb are represented on key committees and argue that Cosag can fight in the council, while Inkatha tries to force concessions from outside.

Meanwhile, negotiators indicated yesterday that if the TBVC states did not reincorporate and join the transitional executive council (TEC), they could face severe fiscal pressure.

During the debate on the TEC, the ANC alliance, government and the NP made it clear that all fiscal transfers and customs union agreements would come under review and renegotiation.

The committee drafting the legislation has not made proposals in this regard yet.

It was instructed to finalise proposals under the finance subcouncil.

Bophuthatswana gets 83% of its revenue from fiscal transfers, customs union agreements and exemptions from excise duties. Transkei 71%, Ciskei 76% and Venda 77%.

Bophuthatswana argued that the fiscal transfers, which represented 23% of its revenue, were old and not necessarily taxpayers' money. It also argued that more than 25% of its revenue was tied up in customs union agreements.

However, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said there was a need for transparency. All state expenditure had to become under the TEC's scrutiny.

The debate was postponed to next week.

See Page 8
IFP not vital at table — FW

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk last night suggested for the first time that constitutional negotiations could be completed without the Inkatha Freedom Party rejoining the talks table.

But he insisted he was not contemplating a "go-it-alone" option. All major players "must support the final result and the first new constitution".

He appears to be contemplating a process in which negotiations continue at Kemet Park's World Trade Centre while simultaneous and intensive bilateral discussions with the IFP are held.

The President also:

- Indicated there was "no possibility" the Government would accede to the salary demands of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union.

- Rejected suggestions that Afrikaans would not be an official language.

- Called on the ANC to take action against those — such as ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba — who used inflammatory language.

On the possibility that Afrikaans could be dropped as an official language, he said its status was "non-negotiable".

He would be "looking for foreign investment" on his eight-day visit to Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay and Argentina.

► FW dashes teachers' pleas — Page 3
LUSAKA - Zambia promised yesterday to probe charges by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the ANC still used Zambia as a conduit for uMkhonto weSizwe members trained in Uganda.

Information Minister Mr Remmy Mushota made the pledge at the end of Chief Buthelezi’s three-day visit to Lusaka, former headquarters of the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi told a news conference yesterday that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela “has it in his power to stop his army from slaughtering thousands of my supporters.” — Sapa-AFP
Rumours of anti-Inkatha referendum

By Christella Terreblianche

RUMOURS persist that the National Party (NP) government is seriously debating the possibility of a referendum on a package of constitutional principles to call the Inkatha Freedom Party’s (IFP) bluff.

The debate is apparently continuing despite denials by the government’s chief negotiators.

The possibility resurfaced this week after the IFP’s central committee meeting this weekend, where it resolved not to return to the negotiating table at the World Trade Centre. It walked out in disagreement when the first draft interim constitution was tabled.

The IFP insists that it will only agree to strong powers for a federal state dispensation and an election on constitutional principles.

It has also instituted court action to get the agreement on the election date nullified.

An effort by the government on Monday to break the deadlock at a bilateral meeting with the IFP failed to lure the party and its hardline leader, chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, back to the negotiating table.

Political commentators see the IFP’s stand as part of a retreat from the polls because it fears a humiliating defeat.

"It is becoming evident that Buthelezi sees white rightwing support, especially in Natal, as his only hope to score at the polls and is now competing with the government for support," says University of Stellenbosch political analyst Professor Willie Esterhuysen.

"The big question now is, what is the government going to do. If it gives in to the pressure and compromise to get the IFP back to the drawing board, it will become the political hostage of the party."

Mr Keith Gottschalk, of the University of the Western Cape’s political studies department, agrees.

"There is an unspoken factor in negotiations that should also be taken in account.

"The more parties taking part in the talks, the more legitimate it is seen to be. If one or two parties withdraw, the less legitimate the talks become."

It is precisely this possible legitimacy crisis that has prompted the idea of a referendum on a package of principles. It is reasoned that if the principles negotiated thus far at the talks can be tested nationally, it will probably get a 60 to 70 "yes".

This would give the negotiators the legitimacy they might be losing in the face of the IFP’s brinkmanship.

"This could pull the carpet out under the feet of both Ulundi and the generals," another political commentator observed.
IFP says no to 'two-tables'

JOHANNESBURG

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rejected a "two-table" approach to negotiations suggested by President F W de Klerk as a way to resolve an impasse in multi-party talks.

Mr de Klerk, for the first time on Wednesday, said democracy talks could be completed without Inkatha.

He hinted at a process in which talks would continue at the World Trade Centre without Inkatha, which walked out on July 2, while intensive bilateral discussions be held with the party so as to include its input.

"One option can be that agreements are negotiated in a process that is not necessarily concentrated around one table," he said.

But Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Félaghe dismissed the option in a radio interview yesterday, saying that Inkatha "is not going to help implement decisions we did not agree with and from which we are excluded."

Mr Félaghe said bilateral should be used to explore ways to make it possible for Inkatha to return to the talks, rather than how to keep it away.

Inkatha withdrew from the World Trade Centre after negotiators, through the process of sufficient consensus, set next April 27, as the date for South Africa's first non-racial elections.

Inkatha wants federalism embodied in a new constitution before elections are held. — Sapa-AFP
IFP’s not inside – but on top

By boycotting the Kempton Park talks, Inkatha is exerting more influence than ever, reports Chris Louw

The Inkatha Freedom Party may not be at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, but it is having a greater impact on decisions taken at the constitutional talks than most parties present.

At a press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Wednesday, President FW de Klerk said one option of drawing the IFP into the negotiations would be “not to concentrate (the talks) around one table”.

This in effect suggested a continuation of a process that is already in progress, namely that the IFP indirectly takes part in the talks through bilateral and sub-committees. Various sub-committees have been established specifically for this purpose.

In a recent interview, National Party negotiator Leon Wessels explained the dynamics of the process: “The talks have gained a momentum of their own. Nobody can stop them. They have, through various technical and ad hoc committees, taken on different shapes in order to bring political solutions. This means that neither Inkatha nor the rightwing is isolated from the process.”

IFP sources maintain that they have faced more concessions from the negotiators by their absence than through almost two years of talks.

Senior Inkatha negotiator Walter Pelgate has admitted that his party followed a strategy of “deliberate ambiguity” about their bottom line. The aim is to squeeze as many concessions as possible from, specifically, the ANC.

Although the negotiations are going ahead in the IFP’s absence, it has become clear from private discussions with other negotiators that an element of uncertainty has crept in. Recently ANC spokesmen had little doubt that the IFP would be back shortly. Two weeks have come and gone, and still the only sign of the party is when Pelgate comes to collect documents or national executive member Suzanne Vos is seen having lunch in the World Trade Centre restaurant.

Some delegations — including the Labour Party — are beginning to feel that the process must continue without any further concessions to Inkatha.

It is clear, however, that the government has no plans to exclude the IFP. At this week’s press conference, De Klerk said he did not agree that the IFP should be sidelined or ignored. “All major parties must support the final results of the talks and the first constitution.”

For this to happen “intensified bilateral discussions” with the IFP were necessary. The road of getting to a solution was less important, De Klerk said, than the goal — “a new constitution that must have the support of all concerned”.

Commenting on De Klerk’s statement, Stellenbosch political analyst Jamie Cugno said the IFP’s real problem was that they were closer to the ANC in terms of the “founding coalition” for a new dispensation, but needed the IFP for an “election coalition” once the rules of the new political game had been established.

“The result is that De Klerk cannot tell the IFP to get lost. They now need the ANC to give legitimacy to the new constitution, but during the elections they will move much closer to the IFP in the hope that together they will make some impact in Natal. Therefore they cannot afford to drive away the IFP from the founding coalition.”

The effect of this was that the IFP had succeeded in forcing through substantial concessions as far as regional powers are concerned.

The question, however, remains when — and if — they will rejoin the process, and how they will be allowed by the other parties to save face. The answer will only become clear once the IFP’s real agenda is known.
IFP may return to talks table

INKATHA'S leader spells out his position in an exclusive interview with The Star

**BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**

**POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT**

Ulundi — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi says President de Klerk will not allow his organisation out of multiparty talks — and suggested the Inkatha Freedom Party intends returning to the Negotiating Forum.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister also indicated yesterday that his relationship of trust with De Klerk had eroded.

"He has shifted from some of the positions which ... we held with him, and that, as far as trust is concerned, is bound to change it (the relationship)," he said.

On De Klerk's "two tables" suggestion that the IFP could engage in intensive bilateral discussions while multiparty negotiations continued, Buthelezi said: "There is no way we are going to allow him to allow us out of multilateral (talks) by substituting bilateral talks, which everyone has with them.

"It seems there is a wish that we should walk out for good and I don't think it augurs well for the future of South Africa to want us out of there, if you take into account the constituency we represent, and the size of it".

Buthelezi remains sharply critical of aspects of the existing Negotiating Forum, including its composition and the basis on which decisions are taken.

He said his party was prepared to make compromises in negotiations in a spirit of give-and-take, but was unbending on the need for a strong federal dispensation.

Would he maintain a peaceful approach if a system be disagreed with was imposed?

"For all the 65 years I have been alive, my people have been oppressed. Did I take up arms? Nobody knows I am committed to peace."

But he added that "as a servant of my people, any option of my people will be my option too."

In a speech prepared for delivery at a Maritzburg rally yesterday, Buthelezi predicted civil war in South Africa, Supt reports. He accused the NP of betraying its white supporters to the ANC in return for a few more years in power.
Election will lead to war — Buthelezi

MARITZBURG — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday predicted civil war and restated his conditions for Inkatha's return to multiparty talks.

"I have never suggested that I am myself planning any such civil war but . . . in circumstances it seems inevitable," Buthelezi said at an Inkatha rally.

"Unless we can make the ANC and the government rethink their position, we will not rejoin negotiations," he said proposals for an elected constituent assembly were unacceptable and insisted that other delegations should accept his plan for a federation of ethnic states.

Acknowledging for the first time that Buthelezi might not return to the talks, President F W de Klerk told a news conference on Wednesday that the transition to democracy could be mapped without Inkatha at the table.

He said government would intensify bilateral negotiations with Inkatha and urged other major players to do the same. But Inkatha negotiator Walter Polgate rejected de Klerk's olive branch yesterday, saying the "two-table approach" was unacceptable.

"I see (de Klerk) as completely trapped by commitments reached in bilateral talks with the ANC," he said.

Buthelezi said Inkatha would boycott negotiations until key decisions backed by at least 19 of the 26 parties were reversed.

"The ANC can make as many so-called concessions as they like, but until they drop their insistence that a constituent assembly will have the final say on the writing of our final constitution, we will not return to multiparty talks.

"We are not prepared to accept responsibility for the civil war which we know will be the consequence of allowing a constituent assembly to write our constitution," Buthelezi said.

Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday told the Transport and General Workers' Union's national congress in Johannesburg SA faced the very real danger of the right wing opposing a democratic government.

The ANC was going to speak to the right wing to get it to join negotiations.

The mistake countries such as Angola and Mozambique had made after independence was fighting instead of negotiating with the opposition, Mandela said.

However, liberation would happen without or without the right wing.

Mandela said the ANC had to find ways of addressing whites' concerns. They should not fear a "tit-for-tat" policy when the ANC came to power, he said.

He dismissed calls for the dismantling of the ANC/SACP/Contra alliance, saying those who made the calls had not been part of the struggle.

"We will fight the election together and win it together." — Sapa-Reuters.

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**Goldstone central**

A COMMITTEE of the Goldstone commission has heard evidence suggesting that the immediate cause of taxi violence in the Western Cape is the immediate cessation of apartheid laws on urbanisation.

Among other issues, the committee heard about the role of the Transnet, a lack of law enforcement, and the absence of facilities for taxi drivers.

Political rivalry and affiliated causes of taxi violence, the committee found.

The committee's final report was released yesterday, after it had heard testimony on taxi violence.

The authorities' failure to enforce apartheid laws, to provide taxi transportation facilities on a daily basis, was dismissed by the committee.

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**Election course for PAC**

SIMON BARBER

THE PAC is to receive US government-funded election training, including advice on fundraising, "message development" and media relations, it was disclosed in Washington yesterday.

The support is to be provided by the National Democratic Institute and Republican Institute (IRI), subgroups of the National Endowment for Democracy, said IRI official Edward Stewart.

The National Democratic Institute and IRI have already sent two four-person teams to advise the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party respectively, using money provided by the US Agency for International Development which has established a $10m transitional assistance fund to support election preparation, violence mitigation and related initiatives.

One of the criteria is that parties receiving support must have "renounced violence".

The groups had "received assurances" from the PAC's national secretariat that the organisation met this condition, Stewart said. The US embassy in Pretoria "agrees".

Training had been offered to Azapo, and there were plans to make it available to homeland parties as well.
Inkatha role vital for peace

No settlement likely without them, say experts

WHETHER political leaders like it or not, they will have to find ways of accommodating Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in a political settlement. Without him, the chances of a peaceful settlement are remote.

This is the message coming through from some political analysts as the IFP’s withdrawal from democracy talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, continues. The Inkatha factor is said to be more important for peace than many realise.

At the same time leaders across the spectrum—including Chief Buthelezi—are being warned to refrain from destabilising South Africa’s crisis of violence by indulging in political games or war talk.

These and other warnings against high-risk politics come in the wake of President F W de Klerk’s suggestion this week that constitutional negotiations could be completed without the IFP and others at the talks table.

He insisted, however, that he was not contemplating a “go-it-alone” option, and that the IFP and all major players “must support the final result and the first new constitution”.

Meanwhile Chief Buthelezi vowed at a rally in Pietermaritzburg this week that Inkatha would not return to the multi-party talks until the ANC dropped its insistence on a constituent assembly writing the new constitution for South Africa.

He repeated previous claims that a civil war would result from a constituent assembly writing the constitution.

Is any lasting settlement possible without Inkatha?

Researcher Steven Friedman, director of the Centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg, told Weekend Argus that in the absence of Inkatha, it would be very difficult to achieve a peaceful settlement.

One reason for the high risk was that Inkatha’s role—along with others—from the current violence.

Mr Friedman said that while it would be “foolish and irresponsible” to lay blame for the violence on any party, it was clear the IFP was one of the parties whose members were engaged in violence. If Inkatha were to be excluded from a settlement, there would be a clear risk of continuing involvement in violence by IFP members.

Another more worrying high-risk factor was the possibility of an alliance between the IFP and militant elements of white rightwing movements. There were signs both from Cosag and from opinion polls that such an alliance was possible. It could not be ruled out and, therefore, had to be taken seriously.

The basic risk then of excluding the IFP from a settlement was one of continuing instability arising from the IFP’s rejection of whatever agreement was reached and of an IFP alliance with other more militant forces.

However, this did not mean the IFP would have a permanent veto on a settlement.

“One can envisage a time—and hopefully it will not come—when the costs of not going ahead without Inkatha becomes so high that the ANC and the government would have no option but to go ahead,” Mr Friedman said.

This could happen if the IFP refused to bend in any way or to make concessions to other negotiating parties.

He said the IFP was a major player in the negotiations. “The key question, however, is whether the IFP harbours a realistic assessment of what it can achieve. If it, too, hasn’t learned the lesson, it may force a reluctant NP to choose between it and the ANC, the NP will choose the ANC.”

Critics of Inkatha argue that the IFP is relatively weak—with its support base confined mainly to Natal—and that it is, therefore, expendable as a political force. Some say bluntly the negotiations should proceed without the IFP if it persists with its current “boycott”.

How strong is Inkatha?

A perception arising from opinion polls is that Inkatha is relatively weak compared to the level of support received by major players such as the ANC and the NP countrywide.

However, this perception has been disputed by the IFP on the grounds that opinion polls have not given a true reflection of voter support for the IFP and that the movement has grown considerably in recent months, especially among whites.

The IFP claims that in June alone it gained 150 000 new members, and applications continue to stream in at a rate of up to 40 000 a month.

Mr Mike Tarr, former Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg North who defected to the IFP, told Weekend Argus he was convinced the IFP was indispensable for a peaceful settlement.
INKATHA yesterday reiterated its rejection of the two-phase formula for writing the country's constitution.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said allowing an elected constituent assembly to write the final constitution for SA "would be a disaster."

Buthelezi, together with Inkatha's national chairman Frank Mdlalose, the party's chief negotiator, Joe Mathews and the KwaZulu government's chief spokesman at the World Trade Centre, Ben Ngubane, were among several top Inkatha and KwaZulu officials who held a boerbraad (conference) with the media at Ithala Game Reserve outside Vryheid in Northern Natal.

Buthelezi said Inkatha was vehemently opposed to a constituent assembly becoming the constitution-making body "not so much because we think that our number of votes under those circumstances were too small".

"Inkatha thinks that, after a constituent assembly of the type planned and after the adoption of the constitution following the process which is now taking place, we will not have a united South Africa."

According to Buthelezi, the ANC does not want a constituent assembly to serve as the democratic means of drafting the constitution. He says the ANC wants the constituent assembly because it wants to dominate in the writing of a constitution.

The Inkatha leader said a constitution drafted by one party would not have the loyalty of all South Africans and would lack legitimacy.

He said for a new constitution to work, it would have to be drawn up on the basis of consensus.

Buthelezi said Inkatha would return to the talks once the question of who writes the new constitution had been resolved. He said on this issue he was sticking to his guns.

On whether the party would return to the talks if their court application to overturn the sufficient consensus clause was overruled, the Inkatha leadership said they would not prejudge the case. Buthelezi said: "We will wait and see.

Following two days of talks with the media, it looks like there has been a hardening of attitudes on the part of Inkatha and expectations by government and National Party spokesmen that they will soon return to the talks could well be premature."
Buthelezi threatens to boycott elections

INKATHA would boycott any election for a constituent assembly to finalise a new constitution for South Africa, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"There is no way that ... as president of Inkatha, I am prepared to fight elections over who is going to write the constitution. I am just not prepared to do that because it is a disaster for our country," he said.

Speaking at an Inkatha press briefing at the State House in Pretoria, Mr. Buthelezi said a final decision on whether to take part in next year's April 27 elections would be taken at a special conference later this year.

Inkinga has set a target of getting 400,000 members by the end of the year. The party's national council was to discuss the implementation of this plan.

Tears at the West End

FADE OF ANGUISH ... ACT 10 000m champion

Tears at the West End

By MARTIN O'BRIEN

She pulled up the night when she staggered to the 400m final at the world athletics championships here.

There was nothing to show for her misery, but she was allowed for...
NP not worried by IFP’s threat

Sowetan

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government is taking a dim view of Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s weekend threat to boycott elections for a constituent assembly — but is not overly concerned.

IFP and KwaZulu government spokesmen, while differing somewhat in tone on the issue, have been careful to point out that there is no final decision as yet on the party’s attitude.

Political observers, who noted Buthelezi’s history of principled opposition to boycotts, yesterday took the view that while Buthelezi was “hanging tough” in the process leading up to elections, there was little he could do to avoid an election. To do so would cost him more black support than white.

A Government informant described Buthelezi’s threat, made at the Itala Game Reserve on Saturday, as “cheap politicking”.

“Talks about civil war or non-participation are ridiculous threats. There is no justification for this as long as the door of the negotiation process is standing wide open.

“The IFP can return to the talks tomorrow and they will be welcomed by all. There is no need to resort to such threats outside the negotiating council. The IFP has until now offered no valid reason for its self-exclusion from negotiations.”

IFP spokesman Mr Walter Felgate reiterated the IFP’s opposition to a two-stage transition that involved a constituent assembly being able to “rewrite completely” what the negotiators had decided.

It was on this basis that Buthelezi was rejecting an election.

“Anyway, non-participation is hypothetical because we don’t believe the election will take place,” Felgate said.

Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew said Buthelezi’s threat not to take part in elections was a publicity-seeking method of attempting to negotiate by way of threats and ultimatums.

He said the latest Inkatha ultimatum made no useful contribution to a give-and-take process of negotiation.
Despite its withdrawal from the constitutional negotiations, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party continues to cast a shadow on proceedings at the World Trade Centre. Chris Whitfield spoke to Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi

Buthelezi on talks, FW, the way ahead

On President de Klerk's "two tables" talks proposal in which the IFP would be engaged in bilateral discussions with the World Trade Organisation, de Klerk does not believe the IFP would be engaged in bilateral discussions with the IFP or the SWAPO government. There is no way in which we are going to allow him to blossom as an out of the multilateral talks by something that can be taken into account by everyone else in the talks. We've seen before that we are walking out of (multilateral negotiations) for good. A government wouldn't be following on the agenda.

It seems there is a wish that we should wait for any ... I don't think it is any well for the future of South Africa to wait us out of there, if you take into account the constituency we represent, and the size of it.

In an alternative pro-constitutional negotiating forum branching off from some concern South African Group (COSA) members.

Who's idea is that? I'll have to be aware of what this alternative forum is because I don't know anything about it.

On the way ahead in talks.

My policy is that it is the central committee that decides these matters. It is not for me to allow the leader to say it will be like this or like that. I consult my constituency more than any other leader in South Africa. I never consult the executive committee or the central committee.

On how "self-determination" for Zulus and the IFP.

You are aware of the Buthelezi Constitution. Are you aware of the KwaZulu National Assembly? Zulus are a nation just like Lesotho or Swaziland — what is so wrong about that? We are a sovereign nation. We did not go into the Union of South Africa on our own volition. It was through the barrel of a gun.

We have said we want to be an independent sovereign nation, which would be our prerogative. We wanted to. I don't think anyone could force us if we wanted that.

History has made us South Africans and we have a right to determine our future, to remain South African on the terms that we think our self-determination will be met. In that, we would be South Africans and not be a sovereign nation within a federal framework. Even in relation to this region we have never seen a Zulu ethnicity separate from the Indians or whites or coloureds, we have never said that.

On whether the sufficient consensus court hearing brought by the KwaZulu Government could go on for months.

And what if it does?

On the strength of the IFP.

Of course, people are putting the IFP in public favour. (Natal NEC) Peter Miller recently. Members of Parliament, I mean, it's nothing new. My political is known and has been known for decades. It's better to ask the people who join what attracts them.

On a peacekeeping force including Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

You are a South African, are you happy with it? It is a politically motivated military force.

Can I generally ask you whether you would be happy to be proceeded by people who are trained to kill people for political reasons and to keep a revolution, especially when they are still engaged in killing our fellow citizens?

The idea of a peacekeeping force is not something anybody should be against. I have nothing against the concept.

If the ANC were to choose people or prepare people (outside IFP) who should be trained I have nothing against that.

On whether the KwaZulu Police should be part of a peacekeeping force.

Are you trying to equate the KwaZulu Police with Umkhonto?

The KwaZulu Police is a government institution set up to maintain law and order. I would like to know what your police force with life. A few weeks ago, Justice Minister Komani (now Justice Minister Komani, who was the head of the army, and I said to them under no circumstances could I speak in any situation on your behalf because the police are still killing people.

On whether the KwaZulu/Natal constitution is the "bottom line" for what we want for the region.

We could not have adopted it if we didn't want. We have officially accepted it in the KwaZulu legislative assembly, which is legislatively constructed.

On the second draft of the constitution.

The policy of the IFP was that we requested a full constitution in front of us and then we could talk about it. But not down and draft. I mean, in this case it is not even my opinion, some very prominent journalists in this country have been fairly to oppose this.

At my age, I don't have much patience. A federation is a federation, a woman is either pregnant or she is not pregnant, you can't be a little pregnant.

The draft did not meet IFP requirements for federations because there are constitutional powers — everything can be overturned by the central government.

On the IFP's Conga connection.

Look, man, we have not been oppressed by the Cape except that (the late Dr Arthur) Evers' idea perhaps was Deputy Minister of Education at the time of the Soweto unrest. But, they are not oppressed.

At any age, I have actually suffered under the IFP Government. And some of the Ministers in this Government, including Messeko, have actually turned in the apartheid regimes that have oppressed me. The point is that the IFP represents quite a sizeable proportion of the population and a constitution can be threatened either by a majority or a minority.

On his relationship with Dr Klerk.

Mr de Klerk always says there are misunderstandings, when there are no misunderstandings.

He is the one who has shifted from positions he has held. I have not shifted from my position. He is still a leader of state and I accord him all the respect for that.

I have never descended to a position where I have lowered him down or insulted him. He has shifted from some of these positions ... we held together, with that is bound to change as far as trust is concerned. Even though he says we are still close together, I don't see how.

On whether the IFP would contest the April 18 elections.

That wouldn't be a decision of the party. I'm quite prepared to contest the elections, if that is the decision of the party. I'm prepared to contest the elections, if that is what the country wants me to do.

On whether he was prepared to compromise in negotiations.

Any negotiations (involves) give and take.

On federalism.

I am not prepared. We have suffered here. We have been undermined here in KwaZulu/Natal, with the entire white people in this region as well. I am not prepared to subject my people to that again.

We are talking about people here who in July 1999 brought the white country to a standstill saying KwaZulu must be dismantled.

If each people was in power in the centre can you imagine, when there is already ethnic cleansing in the eastern Transvaal, people are being killed for being Zulus. Why is it that people do not apply themselves to these very ugly dimensions of the problem?

On charges that he is a spoiler.

It's like saying I am a heater and then saying I must comment about it. Really, it is the biggest insult to me. My own organization regards me as the father of negotiations. When that word (negotiations) was a swear word I said it was the only solution for South Africa.

On his election prospects.

I am confident. I have a huge constituency, so how could I not have constituencies. But I cannot make predictions.
War warning by Buthelezi

ITALA Game Reserve, Natal
— IFP supporters would have to decide whether to resort to arms should the government and ANC proceed with the current negotiation process, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday.

And at Dundee yesterday Chief Buthelezi said the NP should be warned that the grudges borne by some ANC members could be translated into a Nuremberg trial of the party’s leadership.

Addressing a 3 000-strong crowd at the Dundee airfield, he said the NP had broken all its promises and now intended only to ensure the political survival of its leadership.

If the NP believed it was going to share power with the ANC in the future, it should look to history.

Danger seen in ANC-NP negotiations

In Russia the Communist Party had exterminated the Mensheviks, while in Angola the MPLA turned on the FNLA and Unita.

Judging by the “rantings” of the likes of ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba, Mrs Winnie Mandela and ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala, the NP was in for a rude awakening.

“If the ANC refuses to silence these warmongers now, what chance is there of them doing so after an election in which they have been swept to power?”

The IFP objected to President F W de Klerk making secret deals with the ANC which were “ruining the country’s chances of standing up to their greed . . . let alone securing for ourselves a federal system of government”.

Accusing the ANC of talking peace while wreaking havoc in the townships, he said they were preaching racialism while their armed cadres had set about the ethnic cleansing of the Zulu people on the East Rand.

At the Saturday meeting Chief Buthelezi again warned that the present negotiation route would lead to civil war or worse.

What the government and the ANC were doing was going to result in a very explosive situation in which civil war or worse might in fact break out, he repeated.—Sapa
Inkatha option could be way back to talks

Durban — Inkatha negotiators are still searching for the formula to take them back to the multiparty table.

While obviously avoiding the word “compromise”, negotiator Joe Matthews signalled that one option acceptable to the IFP could be an elected Constituent Assembly which assumed the role of writing the constitution exclusively and took its decisions by consensus.

Speaking at an IFP “bosberaad” for political correspondents at the weekend, Matthews made this statement in the presence of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and was not repudiated for his remarks.

While Buthelezi has repeatedly stated the IFP rejects elections for a Constituent Assembly (CA) and that the constitution writing body should not be an elected one, this has always been in reference to the present plan emerging at the World Trade Centre in which an elected body would be put into power a CA which is both the constitution-writing body and parliament.

Wearing two hats this body will both write the future supreme constitution and assume the normal functions of passing legislation and running the country as an arm of government.

Matthews said the IFP favoured the Bretton Woods model in which experts were locked away together for the purposes of achieving consensus on the constitution.

However, “I’d have no problem if an elected Constituent Assembly was a Constituent Assembly only and that it took its decisions by consensus”.

With that formulation on offer “we’d be back at the World Trade Centre”, he said.

His words were reflected in conversations with other IFP and KwaZulu government negotiators over the weekend who strongly suggested that they were looking for the route back and to this end would continue their bilateral discussions with Government and the ANC.

However, they acknowledge that whatever formula is found, it cannot be seen to be a 150-degree turn on strong statements made by Buthelezi in opposition to the present negotiation forum.

Buthelezi himself said that the IFP would not contest April 27 elections for a CA but in the next breath qualified this saying that the final decision on participation would be taken by a general conference of the party which he would call, especially to address this issue.

He equally rejected the Transitional Executive Authority’s body which is being designed as the multiparty guide and watchdog of the process in the run-up to the elections.

Asked whether the IFP would respect TEC legislation presently being formulated at multiparty talks, he said: “Do you think anyone has the right to impose anything on us? The conflict in South Africa so far has been about unilateral impositions on black people.”

Buthelezi also stuck to his guns on the subject of civil war saying that he was not encouraging this but making a prediction.
TWGU throws its weight behind ANC

'TFP at loggerheads'

The Inkatha Freedom Party is facing a political showdown in its ranks over whether or not it should contest the April 27 election.

So-called "doves", or moderates, claim they are in the majority and are determined to return to democracy talks soon and contest the country's first non-racial election.

They claim senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate, described as a "hawk" or hardliner who has the ear of IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, stands virtually alone in his "uncompromising" position on negotiations and steering Inkatha away from the April election.

Senior IFP sources said at the weekend at a "hunting and fishing" with the media at the Itala Game Reserve near Vryheid that it was "high time these matters were aired publicly".

"It is no mistake that Walter Felgate is not here," a source said. "He was not invited."

The so-called moderates include the leader of the IFP team at the talks, Mr Joe Matthews, the head of the KwaZulu delegation, Dr Ben Ngubane, and IFP newcomers Mr Peter Miller, former Natal MEC, and Mr Mike Tarr MP, formerly of the Democratic Party.

The "doves" hope that Dr Ziba Jiyane, recently appointed as IFP national spokesman and director of communications, will eventually "replace" Felgate as a leading IFP spokesman.

The moderates claim warnings by the IFP that South Africa would degenerate into "civil war or worse" if the African National Congress and the Government implement their two-phase negotiations plan are penned by Felgate.

"The reality is that the IFP will never take up arms and go to the bush," a senior source said at the weekend, adding that the only option was to contest the April 27 election.

"History has shown that any party which does not participate in an election ends up sidelined." — Sapa.
Inkatha ‘not bound by law’

NEGOTIATORS at multi-party talks will finalise legislation to govern the run-up to April’s elections in the next 10 days but trouble looms as the Inkatha Freedom Party has vowed that it will not abide by any laws to be implemented in KwaZulu.

Inkatha senior negotiator Walter Falgate said that as Inkatha had not been part of the agreements on this legislation, it was not bound by its terms and would not be forced to implement it.

As part of its campaign to prevent the April 27 elections for a constitutional assembly, the KwaZulu government has gone to court tomorrow to try to have declared null and void all negotiated agreements reached by the sufficient consensus mechanism.

Among the points before the court are the setting of the election date for April 27 and the resolution instructing the technical committee drafting the interim constitution to pursue a two-phase process — electing a constitutional assembly to draft the final constitution.

BILLY PADDOCK

Inkatha 28/8/93

As The Independent 28/8/93

Inkatha, on transitional arrangements including a new executive council, independent electoral commission, media commission, broadcasting authority and Bill of Rights. Consensus on an interim constitution could be reached by the end of September, he said.

This week, the government will continue its meetings with a new “super team” Inkatha has assembled from the three it used previously. Between Inkatha and the ANC, the meeting was to provide a mechanism for Inkatha and the ANC to determine whether they have a common ground on which to proceed.

However, Sapa reports that the same question a week ago was to have been answered by 200 Inkatha supporters who have been engaged in discussions with the ANC. Among the issues discussed is the question of who should govern the region and the ANC proceeded with the current negotiation process. He would not say whether Inkatha would join forces with the right wing in taking up arms against a future government. “I don’t make the decisions,” he said, noting that this would be up to his supporters.

He stressed that he was totally opposed to violence, but “my people’s options are my options.”

He said if Inkatha’s return to democracy in the immediate future was not secured soon, it planned to hold a special conference before the end of the year to decide whether to participate in the April 27 election.

He refused to be drawn on what Inkatha would do if the election went ahead without Inkatha’s participation. “We will cross that bridge when we get there.”

He rejected an election for a constitutional assembly and demanded that the current negotiating forum draft the final constitution before elections. This constitution should be put to a referendum and a further legitimising mechanism. He denied that Inkatha’s opposition to a constitutional assembly was based on the fear that its share of votes would be too small.

Speaking in Durban yesterday, Buthelezi said that in June alone, Inkatha had signed up more than 130 000 new members from across the spectrum. Inkatha was receiving about 40 000 membership applications a month, he said.
KwaZulu may opt for sovereign status

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has hinted at an independent KwaZulu, much like the sovereign states of Swaziland and Lesotho.

In an interview with Sowetan's sister paper, The Star, Buthelezi said that while a sovereign KwaZulu was not an immediate objective it remained the prerogative of the Zulu people.

"Zulus are a nation just like Lesotho or Swaziland...what is so strange about that?" he asked.

"We did not go into the Union of South Africa of our own volition. It was through the barrel of a gun. We have not said we want to be an independent sovereign nation, which would be our prerogative if we wanted to.

"I don't think anyone could force us if we wanted that," Buthelezi said.

Buthelezi said "the way ahead" would be determined by the IFP collectively and not by himself.

He said he was not opposed to a peacekeeping force but was against the inclusion of Umkhonto we Sizwe members in such a corps.

He suggested that MK members were "people who were trained to kill people for political reasons and to brew a revolution" and could, therefore, not be entrusted with protecting the lives of people.

He said there was no comparison between the KwaZulu police and MK.

"The KwaZulu police is a government institution set up to maintain law and order."

About his links with Cosatu, Buthelezi said black people had never been oppressed by the Conservative Party — one of the vital components of the group.

It was the National Party, of which De Klerk had always been a member, which was the oppressor.

He said that he was not too close to De Klerk and that there was no misunderstanding between them.

"He is the one who has shifted from positions he has held. I have not shifted from my positions..."

"I have never descended to a position where I dressed him down or insulted him. He has shifted from some of the positions we held together with him and that is bound to change as far as trust is concerned.

"Even though he says we are still close together I don't see how."

He said the IFP was not prepared to move on the issue of federalism.

"We have suffered here in KwaZulu-Natal, not only black people, white people in this region as well. I am not prepared to subject my people to that ever again."

He said the ruling National Party had turned its back on its traditional supporters and was seeking only to entrench its present leadership in a new political order through "deals" struck with the ANC.

"If the South African Government thinks that the ANC will willingly share power with them, or anyone else for that matter, they are in for a rude awakening..."

"There is every reason to believe that the grudges harboured by some members of the ANC will be translated into the Nuremberg Trial of the National Party leadership," he said.
The Inkatha Freedom Party will not return to multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre before the KwaZulu government's court application over the decision-making principle of sufficient consensus has been finalised, according to IFP chief executive officer and key negotiator Joe Matthews.

— Political Correspondent
Court challenge to talks 'weeks away'

PRETORIA. — The KwaZulu court-challenge to the "sufficient consensus" decision-making mechanism at the multi-party talks will not be heard for at least two weeks.

This was said yesterday by Mr Gerhard Painter, instructing attorney for the KwaZulu authority, which is also challenging the election date of April 27, 1994, agreed on by way of sufficient consensus at the negotiating forum.

Mr Tefo Raditapoole, attorney for the rotating chairmen of the multi-party talks, estimated the KwaZulu application could only be heard in three weeks' time.

Mr Raditapoole said reports that the application would have been heard today were incorrect.

The KwaZulu government had filed an urgent application on July 22. It withdrew this application on August 6, and on the same day, filed a similar application.

The respondents at the multi-party Negotiating Council are required to file their affidavits by September 6, Mr Raditapoole said.

Thereafter the KwaZulu government had 10 court days to file their replying papers. A date for the hearing would be set subject to the availability of judges and courts.

Top Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate declined to comment yesterday, saying the case was sub-judice.

However, an IFP source, a member of the central committee, said the postponement could be "in everyone's interest" as the sufficient consensus obstacle could still be overcome in bilateral talks. — Sapa, Own Correspondent
New party discussed
TIM COHEN

The creation of a new broad-based party consisting of groups that supported federalism was under discussion, Afrikaner Volksunie secretary Schalk Burger said yesterday.

Burger predicted such a party would win a substantial number of seats — many more than the NP could.

"If the NP were to decide against being part of such a group, it could find itself crushed between the opposing forces," Burger said.

Two options for the new party were being considered, Burger said.

One option would be to create a new party out of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) and possibly the CP, although it supported federalism.

The second option would be to create a party out of the Afrikaner Volksfront, under the leadership of the organisation's director General Constand Viljoen. This option was more likely to incorporate the CP.

Appeal for calm after hostel killings

LAW and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh said yesterday he feared retaliation after the killing of 12 people at a Germiston factory hostel on Sunday, and warned this could precipitate further violence.

After visiting the Scaw Metals hostel yesterday, he appealed to residents to remain calm and not retaliate.

He also said police had offered a R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the attackers.

Police spokesman Sgt Michelle Erasmus said another 14 bodies were found at the weekend — 13 in the Katlehong/Thokoza area, taking the East Rand death toll to 26 over this period.

On Sunday a gunman fired at members of the Tsomo Burial Society outside the Scaw Metals hostel, killing 10 people.

The attackers then went through the complex, killing two more. Twenty people were also injured.

In a separate incident, four men died after a drive-by shooting near Jeppe hostel in Johannesburg on Sunday. Senior Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Humphrey Ndlouvu said the victims were all Inkatha members.

Meanwhile, the NP has condemned ANC president Nelson Mandela’s statement that government has neither the will nor the desire to end the country’s violence.

Reactions to the hostel killings, Mandela said: "It is clear the government has either lost control of the security forces or elements in the security forces are doing what the government wants them to do."

NP spokesman Martinus van Schalkwyk said Mandela should look truth in the eye and take up the role which the Goldstone commission should play in stopping the violence.

In Natal at least 16 people were killed at the weekend, police and monitors said.

At least six people were killed in political clashes in Sowubambili township, near Mandini, since Saturday, according to the Human Rights Commission.

Two people were killed in Greytown, police said, while another was killed in the Tugela Ferry area.

Two people died when a gunman opened fire on a vehicle in Mbabane, Eswatini.

A man was shot dead in Umlazi’s Zwelithini informal settlement on Sunday.

The body of a man was also found in KwaMashu’s E Section on Friday night, police said. Another man was also shot dead in KwaMashu on Sunday. — Sapa-AP.

Inkatha dissenters oppose talks boycott

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A tightly knit group in the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee is opposed to the formal strategy of boycotting talks and has singled out senior negotiator Walter Felgate as the person responsible.

It is understood that the group, which includes parliamentarians who recently joined Inkatha such as Mike Tarr and Peter Miller, claims Felgate has the ear of party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and together the two are running the party along the lines of a feudal system.

The group has also set up an Inkatha information centre to wrest control from Felgate over public statements.

In an interview yesterday, Felgate rejected claims that Inkatha was feudal or that he was the main proponent of boycotting the talks.

He said he espoused the party line as determined by central committee resolutions, and argued that if those who disagreed with the resolutions did not oppose them at the central committee meeting, they could blame only themselves.

He rejected out of hand the suggestion that people were afraid to openly oppose any position adopted by Buthelezi.

If he were mandated by the central committee to return to talks, he would abide by its ruling.

However, before Inkatha returned the issue of sufficient consensus had to be resolved adequately, and the decisions on setting an election date and giving the committee drafting the constitution the go-ahead to proceed in its present course had to be reviewed.

He was adamant that Inkatha would not accept an elected constituent assembly.
ANC slams govt, IFP for land deal
CT 24/8/93 Own Correspondent

DURBAN.—The ANC yesterday slammed the government for agreeing to consolidate almost 500,000 ha of land presently in Natal into KwaZulu, and warned of strong action if the transfer goes ahead.

Under agreements between Ulundi and Pretoria, some of the land will be transferred to the KwaZulu Finance and Development Corporation, while other portions will go to tribal authorities.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC was "very unhappy" about the "unilateral transfer of land" when negotiators were trying to integrate all areas into regions in a united South Africa.

He charged that Ulundi would dispense much of the land to IFP-supporting tribal leaders.

KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has demanded the "return" of the land as Zulu territory.

Pretoria has insisted on retaining responsibility for policing and education in the affected land.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Land Affairs confirmed the deal but said other "role players" had to be consulted before transfers proceeded.
We don't want joint SAP-MK force - IFP

The IFP yesterday accused the ANC of using "third force" allegations as a smokescreen for further attacks against ANC defectors.

Addressing a police/community workshop in Benoni, IFP central committee member Themba Khoza said that by implying the "third force" was behind the violence, the ANC was able to divert attention from its own actions by ascribing the guilt to others.

"Our supporters know that Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres are being recruited with constancy, that they are being sent abroad for training and that once they return to South Africa they embark on attacks against us."

The IFP was against joint black SAP-MK policing of the townships.

"We shudder to think what this would lead to," he said. — Sapa.
Are the frontline states taking out an insurance policy by honouring Chief Buthelezi or are they trying to stop a civil war from erupting in South Africa?

Mathatha Tsedu reports:

FACE TO FACE ... Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Buthelezi.

It was also possible that the frontline states, bearing the white Right Wing (including the Nats) in mind and the possibility of realignment with Buthelezi, see Buthelezi as a possible force — post-elections — and were therefore preparing themselves for that possibility.

"They just do not want to put all their eggs in one basket which is based on an ANC government taking over," the analyst said.

He said Buthelezi could stop elections in KwaZulu, while the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, were they to withdraw from Kempton Park as the IFP has done, could do the same.

This would mean that any election held could not be said to be national, free as well as fair, thus negating the entire process at the World Trade Centre.

Buthelezi may, however, also be playing along so that at a convenient time, he would announce his re-entry into the talks, citing persuasion by eminent African brothers as a reason.

But, whatever the reason for the sudden change, Buthelezi is basking in his newfound glory of African brotherhood, a glory that he had tried for in 1973 but was rudely awakened to the reality of his position in bantustan politics.

It is a position that, thanks seemingly to the violence that Inkatha has been linked to, no longer seems to make a difference.

Just stop the war, seems to be the overriding sentiment.
IFP lukewarm about election alliance

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is unenthusiastic about the formation of a national federal alliance being discussed by members of the Concerned South Africans Group with an eye to the April 27 elections.

"We're not particularly enamoured with the idea of an alliance," said IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdaliase yesterday.

"We're doing our work in consultation with those who feel the same way (that is, who support federalism) but an alliance can only be formed when there's lots in common and when it's obviously advantageous."

Ciskei chief negotiator Mr Mickey Webb said an alliance among those who supported a federal option had always been a possibility. "It's exciting and we will pursue it strongly," he said yesterday. "There has been amazing public support."

He said the proposed voting system in the third draft of the constitution, which has not attracted widespread support at the multiparty table, virtually demanded an alliance.

The latest recommendations from the technical committee on constitutional issues is for a single voting system in which parties which do not contest the national elections may pledge their support for parties which do and the votes cast in favour of the smaller party may be counted in favour of the National Party which it supports.

Mr Rowan Cronje, chief negotiator for the Bophuthatswana government, said discussions about an alliance were "very informal at this stage".
Teachers targetted

Sowetan Correspondent

The Pan Africanist Students' Organisation yesterday threatened to target striking teachers whose children attend school in white suburbs.

Paso accused members of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union of not caring for black children.

It said the teachers went on strike knowing full well their children won't be affected as they would be "comfortable and receiving education in private and previously white schools".

"If they (the teachers) abandon the African child, then their children must also suffer," Paso assistant general secretary Mr George Mpya said.

Mpya said Paso was in principle not against black children attending school in "white" areas. He said, however, that the organisation had serious problems when parents of those children neglected children attending school in the townships.

Paso also called on Sadtu to suspend the strike and urged teachers to resume their duties.

It also accused teachers of using the strike as an excuse to prepare for their own examinations, sacrificing the future of more than two million pupils.

In East London, Paso's Border region issued a stern warning to Sadtu members: "Get your children out of private schools or else..."

Paso Border region chairman Mr Mandisa Malange gave Sadtu members until today to remove their children from white schools.

Plea to end war talk

Sowetan Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress and Inkhata Freedom Party women have joined forces in a bid for peace and have vowed to send joint delegations to their leaders to get them to stop the war talk.

This follows a successful meeting on Wednesday between the ANC Southern Natal Women's League and the IFP Women's Brigade in Durban.

The women have agreed jointly to implement a peace programme in the region.

This will include joint rallies, ongoing bilateral meetings, meetings with other women's groups, reconstruction programmes, including food programmes, encouraging their members to meet each other at grassroots level and support for both the agreements between Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi on June 23 and that of the ANC Youth League and the IFP Youth Brigade early this month.

The ANCWL and IFPWB plan to hold a meeting of Durban women at the Durban City Hall next month.

In a joint statement after their five-hour meeting, the two organisations said that as women, they found they had more in common than that which divided them: "We have come from a history of confrontation which we want to steer away from."

The ANC delegation was led by Dr Nkosazana Zuma and the IFP by its national president, Mrs Faith Gasa.

Israel kicks out
Negotiators battle time

Chris Louw

TIME was running out for South Africa's negotiators this week as they tried to finalise four pieces of draft legislation in time for the special sitting of parliament on September 13.

The draft legislation aims to "level the playing fields" in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

It includes Bills establishing the transitional executive council (TEC) and six sub-councils, the independent electoral commission, the independent media commission and the independent broadcasting authority.

The legislation is being drawn up by technical committees on the instructions of the negotiating council and must be passed by parliament before it becomes law.

The agenda for yesterday and Monday was changed to give negotiators more time to complete discussion of the draft legislation. This meant that further talks on the third redraft of the constitution were shelved until next Wednesday.

Tough arguments can be expected once the draft constitution is tabled.

Last Monday National Party negotiator Dawie de Villiers urged the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party delegations to return to the talks to contribute to discussion on an executive authority for the transition.

The draft constitution proposed that South Africa should have a president and a vice-president during the transition. This is widely seen as an effort to create a job for President FW de Klerk in a government of national unity, serving under Nelson Mandela as president.

The Pan Africanist Congress immediately rejected this, branding it as a "bosberaad deal" between the government and the ANC. "It's unnecessary to protect minorities in this way," said the PAC's Benny Alexander.

Suggestion that an executive were raised in the 11th report of the technical committee on constitutional issues, released on Tuesday together with the third draft transitional constitution.

The report proposes that the president, after being elected, withdraw as a member of the 400-member national assembly, or lower house "to play a unifying role".

"If the president withdraws from parliament, a prime minister could provide the link between parliament and the executive," it says.

A vice-president could then "alleviate the heavy responsibilities of the president".

The report suggests that the vice-president be chosen from a party other than the president's to "play a unifying role during the transitional period".

It also suggests that the powers and functions of the president and vice-president be structured in such a way as to avoid conflict.

A prime minister would then be the principal representative of the government in ordinary parliamentary business, and accountable to parliament in that capacity.

Creating divisions ... IFP negotiator Walter Felnate

IFP tension over Felnate

Chris Louw

Mike Tarr has been fighting the Conservative Party in parliament since its inception 10 years ago. Earlier this year he crossed the floor from the Democratic Party to the Inkatha Freedom Party - and now finds himself in alliance with his former foes.

The IFP's close friendship with conservative Afrikaner groupings in the Concerned South African's Group (Cosag) is creating serious tensions within the Zulu-based party.

While Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is drawn into an ever closer relationship with parties favouring highly autonomous federal states in a future South Africa, whites who recently joined the party are increasingly embarrassed at being identified with the extremist white right.

During a conference last week at Ilala Game Reserve in Natal, arranged by the IFP to improve relationships with the media, divisions within the organisation became obvious.

"I find it very hard to accept that I am now on the same side as those white racists," one del-
Botswana police 'want IFP man'  

Own Correspondent  

JOHANNESBURG. — Top Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Mr. Joe Matthews is still wanted in Botswana on eight-year-old embezzlement charges, according to Botswana police.  

Botswana CID chief Mr. Tymon Khato said Mr. Matthews's case had been revived after he appeared on Botswana television.  

Mr. Matthews, a lawyer, allegedly skipped bail and fled Botswana in 1985 when charged with stealing 120,000 pula (then about R130,000) in clients' funds.  

Mr. Khato said the 1985 warrant for Mr. Matthews's arrest was still valid. Police were aware he was in South Africa and were investigating. He said Botswana could apply for Mr. Matthews's extradition.  

Mr. Matthews has refused to comment, but IFP spokesman Mr. Arthur Konigkramer said yesterday the issue had been settled "a long time ago". He refused to explain how this had been done.  

A former Botswana assistant attorney-general, Mr. Matthews allegedly committed the crimes while in private-practice.  

On one count against him, Mr. Matthews was charged with stealing 116,000 pula on June 6, 1984. It had been entrusted to him by a firm of attorneys to be sent to a Mr. Derek Brink, according to Mmegi, a Botswana newspaper.
No return to talks by CP, IFR

ULUNDUL—The Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government are unlikely to return to negotiations.

CP leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg said this yesterday after talks here with KwaZulu Leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

He said multi-party negotiations were "headed for disaster."

Revolution

Co-leader of the Volksfront General Constand Viljoen said Afrikaners and Zulus were concerned about the direction in which the negotiations were heading.

The Volksfront has expressed support for the national peace initiative planned for next month.

However, Gen. Viljoen said it would be only moral support.

He blamed instability on an ANC, and, SAP "revolution," and said the peace initiative was only addressing the symptoms of the problem. — Sapa
Exploits on the outside

Whether the IFP will rejoin multiparty talks and contest the April 27 general election remain in question after the party's press briefing in the northern Natal bush at the weekend. But, even though president Mangosuthu Buthelezi retains his hard line on these issues, it emerged that a growing lobby within the IFP fears staying away from the talks and the election could marginalise Inkatha. (JKB)

The lobby apparently seeks to oust hardliner Walter Felgate from his influential position on the central committee.

Yet Buthelezi, who seems unlikely to sack Felgate, makes it clear that conditions for a return to talks remain unchanged. The issue

Poll preparation

Buthelezi claims that of the many constitutions written since World War 2, only Namibia's and India's were drafted by constituent assemblies. Though a special general conference of the IFP will make the final decision on whether to contest an election, the party is likely to follow his advice, he says.

Nevertheless, Buthelezi stresses that the IFP is gearing up for an election. He says it has formed an election committee and will be ready if SA goes to the polls in April. Its weekend press party might have been aimed in part at improving relations with the media before it starts campaigning in earnest.

Some observers say the IFP has succeeded with obstructionist strategies and will continue to extract concessions from the negotiating council in this way. The question is: how long will it be before the council draws a line or the IFP's tactics backfire?

One advantage of staying out is that the IFP sees vote-winning potential among blacks and whites by alleging the ANC and government are in cahoots. It probably also suspects it can win more federal autonomy, even though the ANC has indicated it will make no further concessions on the issue. IFP chief negotiator Joe Matthews says no real concessions on regionalism have been made in the constitutional drafts tabled at Kempton Park.

Return in doubt

There is no doubt that the party's absence from the talks and other negotiators' reluctance to take firm decisions without the IFP casts doubt on the likelihood of an April election. Typically, Buthelezi is refusing to be drawn on his next move. And the IFP won't say whether it will return to multiparty talks if the case on sufficient consensus goes against it.

Much depends on whether Buthelezi continues to favour the views of Felgate in the central executive or starts to align himself with those who favour a more flexible approach.

Government — and the ANC — wants to bring Buthelezi back to the negotiating table through continued bilateral talks "for as long as there is any indication of a chance of the IFP's return," a government spokesman says.
Now Inkatha woos the Press

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party, this week won a major coup in the communication war. Sound, rather cordial relations with the Press, major political players will attest, are more crucial now as South Africa enters its high noon.

Indeed the IFP is one of those parties which have joined the scramble "to be understood".

During the past weekend the IFP hosted a bosbierad with South African political correspondents in the tranquillity of the Itala Game reserve outside Vryheid in Natal.

There were no telephones, no television, newspapers or papers — just the IFP journalists and the wildlife.

From Friday until Sunday the journalists and politicians engaged in what IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose described as "knowing each other better as politicians, as news reporters, as people who contribute to the shaping of the future of our beloved South Africa ... in short, let us know each other, warts and all!"

Indeed, we all got on with the get-to-know-each-other business in earnest.

To the media, the IFP has been synonymous with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is to the public a hardliner known for his one-man war with the Press at large. Hopefully, this was buried at the bush retreat.

The Kingpins were all there: president Buthelezi; Mdlalose; chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews; Dr Ben Ngubane; newcomers and MPs Mr...
DURBAN — The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet in Durban today in another bilateral meeting aimed at facilitating the IFP’s return to constitutional negotiations.

A statement from Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said he and his deputy Lampie Fick would meet IFP negotiator Walter Folgate and KwaZulu government official Ben Ngubane.

“Discussions will be held regarding the IFP’s return to the negotiation process and the structuring of bilateral talks” between the Government and the IFP,” said Schutte. Draft Bills on broadcasting and the media would also be discussed, he added.

Folgate, however, in an interview stressed the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilateral: “What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track, and the way forward.” — Sapa.
Another bid to woo IFP

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A statement from Home Affairs Minister Dame Schutte said he and deputy Limpopo Fick would meet IFP negotiator Walter Pelegite and KwaZulu government official Ben Ngubane this morning.

"Discussions will be held regarding the IFP's return to the negotiation process and the structuring of bilateral talks between the government and the IFP," said Mr. Schutte.


However, Mr. Pelgiate stressed in an interview that the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in the previous negotiations. "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track and the way forward..."

The IFP and KwaZulu government pulled out of constitutional negotiations last month over the issue of "sufficient consensus". The IFP wants this decision-making process revised and has instituted Supreme Court action to apply for this.

Mr. Pelegite was adamant yesterday that bilateral talks with the government "in no way are parallel discussions on what is taking place at the World Trade Centre".

"We're talking about putting the negotiation process back on track, not to iron out World Trade Centre problems," he said.

IFP president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last week also rejected a "two-tables" approach to negotiations, following a suggestion by Deputy President F W de Klerk.

Asked if today's meeting could result in the IFP's return to talks, Mr. Pelegite said only Inkatha's central committee could authorize such a move.

It also comes as the IFP's Youth Brigade meets in Ulundi for its annual conference.

"Mr. Buthelezi will deliver an opening address this morning, while IFP leaders Frank Mdlalose and Joe Matthews will speak on the party's stance towards negotiations. - Sapa"
Govt, IFP in talks today

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A statement from Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte said he and his deputy Mr Lampie Fick will meet IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate and KwaZulu government official Mr Ben Ngubane this morning.

Draft bills on the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Independent Electoral Commission, and the Independent Media Commission will also be discussed, said Mr Schutte.

But Mr Felgate stressed the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilaterals: "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track and the way forward." — Sapa
**Buthelezi's 'no' to poll**

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he will seriously consider his position as Inkatha leader should the party decide to contest the April poll.

Speaking in Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi also said the new South Africa would not be created through the current negotiations.

Buthelezi said Inkatha may call a conference later this year to take a decision on elections. While he would abide by its outcome, "I will seriously consider my position as leader of Inkatha after I have heard that verdict." - Sapa
Durban — Relations between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk hit rock bottom yesterday with Buthelezi telling more than 5 000 IFP supporters in Umlazi that his respect for the National Party leader had "diminished".

Buthelezi was responding to criticism by De Klerk in Buenos Aires, Argentina, that the IFP leader continued with threats about a civil war while he should be at the World Trade Centre.

De Klerk said continuing references by Buthelezi to civil war increased the possibility of its taking place.

"I am deeply concerned about the attitude reflected in the latest speeches by Chief Buthelezi," he told a press conference on Saturday before leaving for South Africa. "I know he is against it, but constant mention of it brings it to the fore that possibility."

He acknowledged that there was a "worst-case scenario" and "things can go wrong". But the way to prevent such developments was to enter into agreements taking into account the fears and aspirations of all people and parties in South Africa.

In spite of de Klerk's hard line, he stressed; "I have held the view and still believe that the IFP should be party to agreements reached."

Addressing the closing session of the IFP Youth Brigade annual congress yesterday, Buthelezi said; "Mr de Klerk's attempt to placate the media which is demonising me as a spoiler has diminished my respect for him as a leader."

The IFP leader also said De Klerk's criticism was an indication of his lack of respect for black lives, especially of IFP members, lost in the ongoing violence.

"If Mr de Klerk was concerned about the lives of black people and if he held the lives of IFP members so sacred, he would not talk like that because the civil war I am talking about started nine years ago where our members are killed."
Inkatha youths back negotations boycott

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The IFP Youth Brigade has endorsed its parent body's decision to walk out of multiparty negotiations until the party's demands are met, and has warned against proceeding with elections for a constituent assembly.

In its resolution passed by its 18th annual conference at the weekend, the Youth Brigade rejected a two-phase transitional process, describing it as a ploy by the NP and the ANC and its allies to delay liberation "in order to accommodate secret power-sharing deals".

It also called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to take disciplinary action against ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, whose "inflammatory statements" allegedly contributed to violence.

The Youth Brigade also called on the National Peace Secretariat to show its seriousness about peace by taking steps to disarm the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and all private armies.
IFP refuses to rejoin talks

INKATHA is to remain outside negotiations at the World Trade Centre but will continue seeking a return to constitutional talks and is hard at work preparing for elections—despite its objections to the April poll.

This emerged at the weekend during the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade's annual conference in Ulundi and after another round of bilateral talks in Durban between the IFP and the KwaZulu and the South African governments.

IFP chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews told the Ulundi conference yesterday his party was in the throes of preparing for elections and was "ready to govern South Africa".

He said reports of Inkatha boycotting elections were "disinformation".

The IFP was to hold a special conference soon at which it would decide whether or not it would contest the April 27 election, he said. — Sapa
IFP mobilises on local govt

MARITZBURG.  Inkatha Freedom Party plans to launch a special caucus to determine local government issues in Natal.

Former MEC for local government, Mr Peter Miller, who will help set up the forum, said yesterday there was "enormous grassroots support" in formal local government structures in Natal for the IFP and its stand on federal regional government, but this support was not properly organised.

He added that the IFP rejected solutions imposed upon it by structures such as the Local Government Negotiating Forum in Johannesburg and would become a powerful lobby.
Battered Natalians await election with trepidation

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE in Durban

When people speak of Natal violence they ascribe it to a lack of tolerance on the part of the Zulus. I often wonder where that idea came from. Zulu people do not have a history of discriminating against those who are not one of them. In fact, many non-Zulu people were educated in Natal schools. They will tell you of the hospitality of the Zulu people. For every five blacks walking along Durban streets, two will be Xhosa or Sotho. When the government does not want trade unions to come here because it wants workers to continue exploiting us. That is why whites around here are voting for Inkatha; they know their privileged status will be protected by Inkatha. Look at the towns where the ANC is in control. The trade unions fight for the workers.

However, the maid in my hotel does not agree. She is a widow living in KwaMashu and has five adult children: "I was lucky that, when my husband died, the township was no longer under the council. If it was, I would have been evicted from my house and put in a two-roomed house. Or, worst still, I would have been repatriated to the homelands." When Buthelezi took over he put an end to widows being kicked out of their homes."

She is neither Inkatha nor ANC. She admires Buthelezi but does not like Inkatha. She also does not like the ANC youths, to whom she refers as the "comrades." She thinks everyone from Johannesburg is ANC. She thought that I was, simply because I was from Johannesburg and because I had lots of reading material in my room. She finds it hard. There are people in KwaZulu who do not support any political party.

When the community is looking for helplessly and fearfully, when one raises the question of elections, one finds that the people have become cynical and threatened by the event. It is as though they sense that, once again, they are going to be robbed of democracy. They are disillusioned. The want to participate in the process but the situation puts them in a dangerous spot. They end up expressing anger and hostility, displaying symptoms of distancing themselves from the event. It is as though the whole exercise will be for Thee and not for Us.

Mathiane is a freelance journalist currently based in Durban. She will be hosting a Capital Radio talk show.
Support for calm from IFP

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

SUPPORT for bringing peace to the Western Cape has come from the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But support for the campaign, which begins on Thursday, has come with a challenge to the ANC/SACP alliance to commit itself to ending violence.

This, according to the IFP (Western Cape), should be done by publicly repudiating statements and dissociating the movement from slogans such as "Kill the Boer," "Burn the Freedom Flag.

"The IFP said it had always stood for peace and would continue to do so in spite of the deaths of more than 200 office-bearers of the National Peace Committee in the country this month."

Mayor-elect, Clive Kogan, has invited the people of Cape Town to join him at St Mary's Cathedral in Roeland Street on Thursday at 1pm to join hands in prayer for peace."
Rejoin talks, Kohl tells IFP

BONN. — German chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl yesterday called on Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take an active role in the negotiation process.

They met at Dr Kohl's invitation.

Dr Kohl said a broad consensus between political parties could only be reached through participation.

The meeting focused on present and future developments as well as efforts to secure a political solution for the internal conflict in the country.

Mr Buthelezi explained the Inkatha Freedom Party's position regarding the multi-party negotiations. — Sapa
Beuthin gets
25 years in jail

SUSAN RUSSELL

GARY Beuthin was a "danger and menace to society" a Rand Supreme Court judge said when he sentenced the former boncancer to an effective 25 years' imprisonment in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Beuthin, 29, was sentenced to a total of 35 years' imprisonment for attempted murder, kidnapping, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, robbery with aggravating circumstances and attempted extortion.

He was sentenced to a R 100 fine or 150 days in prison on four counts of theft and one of pilfering.

Beuthin viciously assaulted and kidnapped 35-year-old Jill Reeves from her Melrose flat on May 10 last year after she had left him stranded at a nightclub and driven home in his car without his consent.

Beuthin was also convicted of robbery with aggravating circumstances for assaulting one of Reeves' neighbours, James O'Riordan, and stealing his motor car.

He used O'Riordan's car to drive Reeves to Natal where he held her for 12 days before giving himself up to police on May 22 last year.

Judge M J Strydom accepted Beuthin's guarantee that none of the crimes had been premeditated.

Beuthin indicated he wished to have a copy of the judgment and evidence in mitigation of sentence in order to prepare for his appeal.

Agreed legislation could be delayed — Meyer

BLOEMFONTEIN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday certain legislation agreed at the World Trade Centre would not necessarily come into effect until agreement was reached on the transitional constitution.

Meyer, addressing the congress, adopted a more guarded stance than in the past on the planned legislation on the independent electoral and media commissions, which was agreed at Kempten Park yesterday.

Agreement could be reached on the interim broadcasting authority this week, and it was possible legislation could also be presented on the proposed transitional executive committee (TEC) during the short session of Parliament this month.

Meyer said implementation of the proposed legislation could be postponed until agreement was reached on the constitution.

He told about 200 NP delegates government would not leave the World Trade Centre negotiating council until agreement was reached on the new constitution, and it would not make sense for the proposed legislation to come into effect until the constitution was agreed.

Afterwards Meyer clarified his statement by saying the ultimate decision on when the legislation would come into effect would be taken by the negotiating council, although government would be arguing that implementation of some of the legislation should not be immediate.

FW, Buthelezi to meet soon

BLOEMFONTEIN — President F W de Klerk announced yesterday that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet for extended discussions soon to patch up their differences.

De Klerk told about 800 NP supporters at the party's Free State congress that he knew there was concern about the relationship between the NP and Inkatha, saying the NP would continue to adopt a constructive approach.

"We would like to co-operate on matters on which we agree and wish to continue talking about those on which we differ," he said.

"The NP recognises Inkatha as an important role player. It has to be party to agreements."

De Klerk said he and Buthelezi had agreed that both sides would be assisted by complete teams of senior advisers and negotiators.

"The date of the meeting had still to be determined."

As De Klerk entered, NP members waved national peace accord flags in support of the national peace month, and some shouted "Viva F W."

De Klerk said the NP was the only party able to "counter the reality of the ANC effectively."

He said the ANC remained a "dangerous and unreliable party."

There was an enormous gulf between the sometimes fine utterances of ANC leaders and actions of its members on the ground. "Talk of peace and justice covers up acts of violence and intimidation on the ground."

De Klerk also took swipes at the CP, which he said was "lottering."

The party's leader Ferdi Hartzenberg did not inspire confidence and was fast losing support within his own party, he said.

Sapa reports that De Klerk said at the opening of the congress that the unrest and violence of today was not the fruits of NP reform but the aftermath of the bitterness and strife of the past.

"They are the growing pains of the abuse of newly found freedom. We dare not allow ourselves to be brought off course by our irritations and frustrations with these abuses."

"The challenge facing us is to keep taking the lead in establishing and ensuring a truly democratic culture of tolerance."

The old SA was on an inevitable road to disaster and there was no alternative to the process of reform.
viewed it as a defence against misrule by the ANC.
For its part the ANC had made its commitment to federalism out of a need to broker a "second-best" political settlement, said Southall.
He conceded that remarkable progress would
Peace before talks — IFP

BONN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would return to multi-party talks, on South Africa's political future when violence he claimed was provoked by the ANC ends.

Chief Buthelezi, invited the international media to visit KwaZulu.

"We need you to highlight the ethnic cleansing of the Zulu people by the armed wing of ANC," he said.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking during a three-day visit to Germany during which he held talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. Mr. Kohl urged Chief Buthelezi to return to the talks. — SAPA.
Ulundi at the weekend, that having a constituent assembly foisted upon SA is a "recipe for civil war," drew a sharp rebuke from President FW de Klerk, who mooted the possibility of a referendum to break the negotiating deadlock.

The referendum proposal could be a lifeboat for the NP — a convenient diversion to avoid its having to fight an election when it appears to be losing support, partly to the right but more significantly to the IFP.

Markinor's Mari Harris says polls show growing secondary support among whites for the IFP. However, she adds that this is not necessarily at the expense of the Nats.

Frost, on the other hand, believes the growing popularity of the IFP among whites is substantially at the NP's expense. The more the IFP succeeds in winning NP voters, he says, the more precarious the NP's position becomes in an election. He says a poor showing by the NP at the polls would probably mean the end of the party. "One could speculate that that could make an election less likely and a referendum with a facile question more probable," he maintains.

Commentators widely deduce that Buthelezi's threat to resign is a mere ploy intended to galvanise support behind him. He must be unhappy with recent public speculation about a palace revolution to oust high-ranking party hardliner Walter Faglate. The anti-Faglate lobby believes it inconceivable that the party won't contest an election — and they're probably right — though the FM was told that the differences within the party are over strategy rather than policy.

But if the unthinkable were to happen, and Buthelezi did disappear from the political scene, the most likely candidate to replace him would seem to be KwaZulu Health Minister Ben Ngubane who is perceived as young, bright and charismatic. Another possibility is Ziba Jiyane, who recently rejoined the IFP from the PAC as information chief, though his prospects to assume the party leadership are said to be better in the longer term. IFP national chairman Frank Mdli- lose, though highly respected, is considered the party's elder statesman rather than a serious contender for its leadership. Joe Matthews is probably not a serious contender, though the party would probably deny this, because he is not Zulu.

Most commentators believe it's inconceivable for the IFP to contest an election without Buthelezi leading it, and he knows it. His resignation in the election runup would be as crippling as the IFP boycotting the polls. Apart from the disruption of a sudden leadership change, Buthelezi is probably the one person who appeals to traditional and modern constituencies, black and white.

One thus has to assume that even if an election is based on the establishment of a constituent assembly, the IFP will participate provided the election will also duly elect a government. The IFP would hope to emerge with enough support either to scrap constitutional drafts or to become a feasible opposition force in subsequent polls.

INKATHA FM 3/9/93

Who will blink first?

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's suggestion that he might reconsider his position as leader if the party opts to fight the proposed April 27 general election sounds like the sort of rhetoric politicians frequently live to regret. Certainly, Rhodesia's Ian Smith and former President PW Botha must reflect with embarrassment on comments such as "never in a thousand years" and "over my dead body.

Buthelezi's words, however, were probably more carefully chosen with the intention of nudging the erring party faithful back into line and to re-emphasise his tough stance on conditions for participating in an election.

Natal University head of politics Mervyn Frost believes it is highly unlikely that Buthelezi would resign now. "It strikes me as bluff," he says. Moreover, there is no heir apparent.

The issue of whether the party will take part in an election is more complex, says Frost, pointing to the contradictory statements emerging from the IFP. "When I put the pieces together, their plan is not to fight an election on the terms laid out, but, if a new deal is cut, they will participate," he predicts.

Based on that, Buthelezi's remarks must be seen as part of his strategy of political brinkmanship, which seems to be paying dividends for the IFP. His comments to the IFP Youth Brigade annual congress in
Sensible alternative

The so-called concessions on regionalism proposed by the KwaZulu/Natal administration to the status of running the fire brigade.

That's how IFP chief negotiator Joe Matthews contemptuously interprets what others claim are major concessions on regionalism made by the negotiators in a bid to entice the recalcitrant IFP back to the table.

According to Matthews, the only concessions on regionalism granted in the KwaZulu Natal constitutional revisions amount to allocating to the regions responsibility for horse racing, language policy, town planning and firefighting.

He is convinced the ANC is determined not to allow any decentralised powers which exceed existing provincial structures. And that, according to IFP specialist on local government Peter Miller, is a far cry from the minimum requirements to qualify as a federal state.

There is, says Miller, a whole degradation from strong to weak federalism. However, the three basic requirements for federation include: the entrenched right of each federal state to exist, a right which cannot be withdrawn without the express consent of the federal state itself; the right to autonomy and exclusive power over certain agreed functions; and the right to representation in a central government.

The IFP maintains that its 33-page draft constitution, presented for discussion at the multiparty negotiations, would be equally applicable if SA opted to remain a unitary state.

But it claims its submission has been ignored.

On the controversial issue of State powers, the IFP suggests the replacement of the existing provinces and national states with states based on more logical economic territorial, cultural and linguistic factors. State legislatures would be elected on the basis of proportional representation and should be headed by a state premier and a governor representing central government.

The IFP says it would like provision made for state and local police operating under the jurisdiction of state governments. At a national level, the IFP would like to see a division of responsibility, with the president, assisted by the security council, taking charge of the armed forces and the prime minister having the national police portfolio.

Clearly this is a well-thought-out document with none of the rabid confederal qualities with which it has been labelled. On the contrary, it leaves the powers to be vested in the state open to discussion.

It does, however, set out the framework which will allow for the creation of either weak or powerful federalism and as a constitutional document is clearly worth being drawn into the debate.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists that his advocacy of a finalised federal constitution prior to going to the polls is directed towards the national interest rather than a bid to further his own, or his party's political ambitions.

Though he appeals for this to be accepted at face value, it has to be treated with the same critical scrutiny as similar claims by his political opponents.

But it also means he and his party should not be ignored.
COPENHAGEN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisted yesterday that he was not ready to return to South Africa's democracy forum and that any decision to resume the talks would be made by his party.

"The question is not a question of convincing Buthelezi, but a question of democracy," he told a press conference. "I am not a dictator. The decision to come back has to be taken by the party not by myself."

Chief Buthelezi indicated that Inkatha was preparing for the elections but did not clearly state that the party would take part.

Danish Foreign Minister Mr Niels Helvig Petersen called on the IFP leader to return to the negotiating forum "for the good of South Africa". He said, the absence of Inkatha "could hold back or even seriously undermine all progress towards the creation of a democratic and multi-racial society." — Sapa/AFP
Rejoin talks
UK to tell IFP

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is heading for his third rebuff when he meets Britain’s Foreign Secretary tomorrow in the final stages of a European tour which has seen him under intense pressure to return to multi-party talks.

Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd is expected to join his German and Danish counterparts in urging the Inkatha leader to take part in multi-party negotiations.

Foreign office spokesman Ian Kydd said he could not anticipate what Mr Hurd would tell Chief Buthelezi, but Britain had in the past given full support for the process leading to an election next year.

In Copenhagen on Friday, Chief Buthelezi insisted he was not ready to return to the World Trade Centre talks and that any decision would be made by his party.

This followed calls by both the Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helvig Petersen and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that he return to the talks.

Declaring that he was neither a “dictator” nor a “separatist”, Chief Buthelezi said that “the question is not a question of convincing Buthelezi but a question of democracy.”

Chief Buthelezi indicated that Inkatha was preparing for the elections, but did not clearly state the party would take part. Decisions would be made at the party congress towards the end of 1993.

Mr Petersen, who met Chief Buthelezi with Co-operation Minister Helle Degn, called on him to return to the negotiating forum “for the good of South Africa”, stressing his “extremely important role” in the political process.

“The absence of Inkatha could hold back or even seriously undermine all progress towards the creation of a democratic and

ANC wi
MK, plec

By BRIAN SOKUTU

IN a bid to boost the morale of the Umkhonto we Sizwe ANC’s National Working Com
soon undertake a “total restruc
ture” of the armed wing’s military

In a speech ending the national conference at Kangap
day, ANC secretary-general, Thabo Mbeki, also criticized the R10 billion social welfare fund initiated by former president, Nelson Mandela, and ANC members to support contributions from R1.2 billion.
Inkatha wants 'Vaal Monster' inquest

By ELIAS MALULEKE

INKATHA is to launch a campaign in a bid to reopen the inquest into the death in detention of "Vaal Monster" Victor Kheswa. The Free State attorney-general decided this week not to go ahead with the inquest.

INKATHA national spokesman Ed Tillet said Inkatha's Johannesburg branch would take up the matter with the Ministers of Law and Order and Justice.

Tillet reiterated on Friday that the A-G's decision was "a cover-up to protect the police who are responsible for his death."

Tillet said Inkatha would also demand the suspension of Sergeant Gerhardtus "Pedro" Peen, who has been linked to the deaths of both Kheswa and Daniel Mabote, who were in his custody. Claims have also been made by Inkatha's Vaal region organisations and some of Kheswa's gang members that he was killed and "muzzled" by the police because he allegedly knew too much.

Allegations have it that Kheswa conspired with the police in the past to launch his attacks in the Vaal Triangle.

Kheswa died mysteriously in the hands of the police minutes after he was arrested.

His death was followed three weeks later by that of his alleged lieutenant, Daniel Mabote, who allegedly jumped out of the window of a speeding police car.

Police claim that the A-G's decision "vindicated" the police from blame.
Rejoin talks, UK to tell IFP

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"The absence of Inkatha could hold back or even seriously undermine all progress towards the creation of a democratic and multiracial society," Mr Petersen said.

Earlier in Bonn, Chief Buthelezi said he would return to multi-party talks when violence ended.

He invited the international media to visit Zululand because "we need you to highlight the ethnic cleansing of the Zulu people by the armed wing of the ANC. We want you to report on the systematic slaughter of IFP supporters and on the horror of having 310 of our leaders assassinated."

Mr Kohl asked Chief Buthelezi to return to the multi-party talks, saying that only "participation and co-operation" could lead to "a wide consensus of all important political parties."

Chief Buthelezi is scheduled to address an international press conference in London tomorrow.

Additional reporting by Sapa-AFP
JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk is to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday, September 16, in an attempt to find a way around the impasse in talks.

It is understood that this is not a make-or-break meeting and others are expected to flow from it.

President De Klerk would like Inkatha to return to the talks but government negotiators have acknowledged it is unlikely to do so.

However, there is a strong belief that Chief Buthelezi can be accommodated through talks behind closed doors with his negotiators.
Ex-Nat councillor joins the IFP

M WEST RAND BUREAU

The former chairman of the Roodepoort City Council's management committee, who resigned from the council and the National Party last month, has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Dave Treleven made the announcement at an IFP meeting in Middelburg.

Treleven will represent the IFP at the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

He said today that he would probably have remained apolitical had it not been for the critical times the country was facing. "I felt duty bound to play a role and looked at various parties when I resigned from the National Party," Treleven said.

He added that the IFP was the only party in which he felt really at home. "I completely adopt Dr Mabona's Buthlent's policy in refusing to join the armed struggle and his anti-sanctions stance," he said.

Treleven said the support for the National Party in Roodepoort was "dwindling fast" and that support for the IFP was "substantial" and growing among whites.
Top Nat quits to join IFP

FORMER chairman of the Roodepoort City Council's management committee Mr Dave Tuleven has left the National Party to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, chief co-ordinator of the IFP, Nেnimе Bekker said yesterday.

Tuleven announced this at an IFP meeting in Muldersdrift. Welcoming the move, Bekker said Tuleven would become one of the pivotal figures in the local government team.
De Klerk to meet Buthelezi next week

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi next Thursday, September 16, in an attempt to find ways around the impasse in constitutional talks.

It is understood this is not regarded as a make-or-break meeting and others are expected to flow from it.

De Klerk would like to see Inkatha back at the Kempton Park talks, but government negotiators agree this is unlikely to happen. However, there is a strong belief that Buthelezi can be "accommodated through talks behind closed doors."

A senior government negotiator said last week it was believed De Klerk could find ways around Inkatha's boycott, so that they were party to negotiations although absent from the table.

He said the three draft Bills passed by negotiators last week had all been approved by Inkatha the previous weekend.

Following that meeting, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte conveyed Inkatha's requirements to the ANC and its allies.

These were then written into the Bills in an "acceptable form".

One of the mechanisms could be to provide "guarantees around the constitution that will make it acceptable and non-threatening to Inkatha."

De Klerk wants to persuade Buthelezi he cannot afford to stay out of the April elections and will also take a strong position against Buthelezi's repeated warnings of a bloodbath and civil war.

It is understood that the court action brought by KwaZulu against the negotiating council, challenging the setting of the election date by sufficient consensus, could come before court this week.

Today the negotiators will attempt to finalize the fourth draft Bill to go to Parliament next week for the first stage of the transition — the Transitional Executive.

FW-Buthelezi

Council (TEC) Bill.

Debate is expected to be tough, and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are expected to oppose it.

Concerned South African Group sources said yesterday they were against the TEC.

"We will not participate or agree to it being implemented in our territories. Anyway, it is a big waste of money and re-

sources," said Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje.

CP leader Fornel Hartzenberg said at the weekend that the party would regard the installation of a TEC as a declaration of war.

Cronje denied a Sunday Times report that there would be an election pact between the NP and Bophuthatswana.
Buthélezi hopes meeting with FW will bring progress

JOHANNESBURG.—Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has confirmed that he will meet President de Klerk on Thursday next week, saying he hoped the meeting would take the negotiation process forward.

"We could address the present difficulties in negotiations and discuss the process forward. We want an all-inclusive process," the Inkatha Freedom Party president said in Johannesburg on his return from a tour of European capitals.

On his party's absence from the constitutional talks, Chief Buthelezi said he would return to the table once the African National Congress's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe was disbanded and violence ceased.

"Also, we want a full constitution, not in dribs and drabs, as well as dealing with this gimmick called sufficient consensus. The whole process is faulty."

The question of the disbanding of MK was necessary as a precursor to ending the violence. — Sapa
Buthelezi rejects talks plea

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has refused to bow to new Commonwealth pressure to return to the negotiations.

After talks here with Chief Buthelezi, Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku expressed "grave concern" about escalating violence and said the path of negotiations remained the only lasting solution.

But within hours, Chief Buthelezi told a news conference that he would not "damn a future democracy by returning to the World Trade Centre to do what the government and the ANC/SACP alliance are doing, as (the) notion of sufficient consensus has made the presence of our delegations there absolutely irrelevant".
Buthelezi: ‘I won’t take orders’

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDÓN. — Fresh from the urgings of Danish, German and Commonwealth leaders to return to democracy talks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared here yesterday that he would “not be given marching orders by people outside South Africa.”

Speaking at a press conference, he denied his week-long European trip was an attempt to solicit support for Inkatha.

“I was invited by them and explained our point of view and where we stand,” he said.

When it was suggested to him that British Foreign Secretary Mr. Douglas Hurd’s office said last night that the 50-minute meeting centred on violence and the state of negotiations, with Mr. Hurd expressing “hopes for a successful outcome and for peace and an end to violence.”

At the press conference Chief Buthelezi said that if the Supreme Court ruled against Inkatha on their “insufficient consensus” application, the IFP’s central committee would decide on their next step.

Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, said in a statement that he had urged Chief Buthelezi to return to the negotiating table and play “full and positive part in helping to shape the new South Africa.”
Negotiations process a 'civil war prescription'

Buthelezi 'no' to talks

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi — with only days remaining to his critical meeting with President de Klerk — has bluntly rejected a return to the talks table.

Buthelezi's meeting with De Klerk has been pencilled in for Thursday next week, but sources in both camps said yesterday this had not been finalised.

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu government's Supreme Court application to have certain negotiations decisions — including the holding of an election on April 27 — overturned is set to go ahead on Thursday.

Buthelezi repeated his charge that the process being followed toward the writing of a final constitution was a "prescription for civil war".

"I talk about the dangers of civil war because the conflict is such that we already have a low-intensity civil war in which thousands of people have died," he elaborated on "fatal flaws" in the present World Trade Centre negotiations:

The way in which the Negotiating Council "utilised the vague notion of sufficient consensus" to give effect to decisions in accordance with the Record of Understanding signed by De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela in September last year.

The way in which the SA Government and NP delegations at talks "repeatedly left us stranded when they never threw their weight behind valid IFP objections to decisions being made".

The way in which the Government and the NP had gone ahead with the ANC and SACP to continue negotiations without us, as though we were not necessary in the process of establishing a democracy.

The Negotiating Council's aims, which had to be rejected: the two-phased process — negotiators finalising an interim constitution and the interim government, then writing a final constitution — and the election of an interim government as a constitution-making body.
Buthelezi rejects Commonwealth plea

LONDON — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yester-
day rejected an appeal from the Commonwealth to return to multi-
party talks on SA’s future, but said he
would have no objection to a summit
of the country’s leaders.

Buthelezi, speaking in London with
Commonwealth secretary-general
Emeka Anyaoku at his side, said a
decision on whether Inkatha returned
to the talks it had quit in June was “a
matter for my co-called”, Sapa-
Reuter reports.

At a news conference later, Buthe-
lezi had a more forthright response.
“I cannot be given marching orders
by people outside SA,” he said.

Buthelezi, on a stopover in London
after a week-long tour of Germany
and Denmark, said this would be his
message if British Foreign Secretary
Douglas Hurd made a similar request

for Inkatha to rejoin the talks at a
meeting later yesterday.

Anyaoku, a former Nigerian diplo-
demat, said he had stressed to Buthelezi
the importance of maintaining the
momentum in SA’s progress towards
a nonracial, democratic future.

Commonwealth officials said An-
yaoku had urged Buthelezi to rejoin
the multilateral talks but had not
succeeded.

“The Commonwealth overwhel-
mingly urges that those constitutional
talks should proceed and that vio-
ence should be curbed,” said one of
Anyaoku’s aides.

Buthelezi, said on several oc-
casions in London that his party had
remained in bilateral talks with the
SA government and the ANC.

He said he would meet President
F W de Klerk on September 15 in
Cape Town for a full day of talks and
would have “no objection” to a sum-
mit of SA leaders to move the peace
process forward.

Buthelezi said he would raise the
idea with De Klerk next week. “If we
can’t meet in SA... It might be posi-
tive to meet here or in Geneva,” he
told the news conference.

Buthelezi reiterated his objections
to the peace process and said Inkatha
would decide at a “special general
conference” later this year whether
to rejoin the talks and take part in the
April 1994 elections.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports Bu-
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public platform with Nelson Mandela
to mark the anniversary of the
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pen. It will be an important psycho-
logical step,” Buthelezi said.
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Buthelezi, speaking in London with Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku at his side, said a decision on whether Inkatha returned to the talks it had quit in June was "a matter for my constituents," Sapa-Reuters reports. (12)

At a news conference later, Buthelezi had a more forthright response. "I cannot be given marching orders by people outside SA," he said.

Buthelezi, on a stopover in London after a week-long tour of Germany and Denmark, said this would be his message if British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd made a similar request for Inkatha to rejoin the talks at a meeting later yesterday.

Anyaoku, a former Nigerian diplomat, said he had stressed to Buthelezi the importance of maintaining the momentum in SA's progress towards a nonracial, democratic future.

Commonwealth officials said Anyaoku had urged Buthelezi to rejoin the multilateral talks but had not succeeded.

"The Commonwealth overwhelmingly urges that those constitutional talks should proceed and that violence should be curbed," said one of Anyaoku's aides.

Buthelezi, said on several occasions in London that his party had remained in bilateral talks with the SA government and the ANC.

He said he would meet President FW de Klerk on September 16 in Cape Town for a full day of talks and would have "no objection" to a summit of SA leaders to move the peace process forward.

Buthelezi said he would raise the idea with De Klerk next week. "If we can't meet in SA... it might be possible to meet here or in Geneva," he told the news conference.

Buthelezi reiterated his objections to the peace process and said Inkatha would decide at a "special general conference" later this year whether to rejoin the talks and take part in the April 1994 elections.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports Buthelezi said he wanted to appear on a public platform with Nelson Mandela to mark the anniversary of the national peace accord on September 14, but Natal's ANC leader Harry Gwala opposed the move. "I don't see a way forward if this does not happen. It will be an important psychological step," Buthelezi said.
Church, IFP to meet

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Council of Churches and church leaders are to meet Inkatha Freedom Party representatives and hostel residents tomorrow in an attempt to resolve the conflict on the East Rand. ARG 8/1/93
IFP appeals to police

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday called on the South African Police to protect taxi passengers along main routes in the Wembezi/Escoir area in the Natal Midlands.

The appeals come after five people were killed in an attack on a minibus taxi on Saturday. (Southern Correspondents and Sapa)
Buthelezi: SA in civil war now

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was already engaged in a civil war that would intensify if tensions were raised, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

After meetings in Europe with the foreign ministers of Denmark, Germany and Britain, Chief Buthelezi said although he had faced some pressure to lead Inkatha back to multi-party talks, he had merely stated his preconditions for a return.

Chief Buthelezi, who will meet President F W de Klerk next Thursday, said he was surprised that people still spoke about a civil war as if it were hypothetical.

Only the disbandment of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe would prevent its escalation, he said. He named his preconditions for a return to the talks as an adjustment to the "sufficient consensus" principle and a full constitution written at the talks.

Chief Buthelezi said he hoped his meeting with Mr De Klerk would take the negotiations process forward.

"We want an all-inclusive process," he said.

The encounter between the two leaders may be given fresh impetus by a Supreme Court ruling tomorrow on the issue of "sufficient consensus."
Civil war has already started, says Buthelezi

SA was already engaged in a civil war, which would intensify if tensions were raised, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on his arrival in SA yesterday.

Although he had faced some pressure to lead Inkatha back to multiparty talks, he had merely stated his preconditions for a return, he said at Jan Smuts airport after meeting the foreign ministers of Denmark, Germany and the UK.

Buthelezi confirmed that he would meet President F W de Klerk on September 16.

"We could address the present difficulties in negotiations and discuss the process forward. We want an all-inclusive process," he said.

Buthelezi said he was surprised people still spoke about a civil war as if it was hypothetical.

There is a civil war. If people don’t care about the lives of members of Inkatha and Zulu ... and members of the ANC who have been killed in strife, and you still talk of it hypothetically as something that might still happen, I’m really surprised where you think you’re living, because we are living in SA," Buthelezi said.

"There are a lot of people who have been killed in strife, including people I have known, and the fact that we are living in South Africa is a matter of concern," he added.

Buthelezi has been critical of the government’s handling of the situation, saying it has failed to address the roots of the conflict.

"We need to address the underlying causes of the conflict, not just the symptoms," he said.

Buthelezi has called for the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to address the past atrocities.

However, the government has so far been reluctant to set up the commission, saying it would need more time to consider the issue.

Buthelezi has also called for the release of political prisoners and the end of violence.

"We need to end the violence and ensure that political prisoners are released," he said.

Buthelezi has been a vocal critic of the government’s handling of the situation, saying it has failed to address the underlying causes of the conflict.

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"We need to end the violence and ensure that political prisoners are released," he said.
Kwazulu court action hits snag

□ Seems to have no legal foundation — Transvaal Judge President

The KwaZulu government's court application to have decisions taken at the multiparty negotiating council annulled seemed to have no legal foundation, Judge President of the Transvaal Mr Justice Eloff said today.

The application, brought against the co-chairmen of the negotiating council, M.J. Mahlangu and Pravin Gordhan, started before a full bench of the Supreme Court in Pretoria today.

Mr Justice Eloff, presiding with Mr Justice Van der Walt and Mr Justice Plewman, ordered a short adjournment 40 minutes after the start of proceedings at the request of Louis Visser, Sc, counsel for the KwaZulu government.

Interrupting Mr Visser after 20 minutes' opening argument, Mr Justice Eloff said he had "fundamental difficulties" in establishing whether the court had any jurisdiction over the matter.
Buthelezi keeps IFP out of talks

CALLS for IFP to return to negotiations after losing its Supreme Court action have been rejected.

It was then ruled that the KwaZulu government had needed to "satisfy the court that there was a binding contract with reciprocal rights and obligations". Only then could it bring such a case.

Mr Justice van der Walt commented during the proceedings that any ruling had to be part of a process which binds a party to a result and told Louis Visser, SC, and Piet van der Bijl, SC, appearing for KwaZulu, that there "may be a strong moral argument but does the applicant have a legal one?"

Visser had told the court that the phrase "sufficient consensus", as it appears in the standing rules of procedure, was "quantitatively and qualitatively ambiguous to the extent that it cannot serve as a proper guideline for the exercise of discretion as to whether consensus exists or does not".

He denied KwaZulu wanted to "derail what is happening at Kempton Park. This is a final desperate attempt to get it (the talks) back on line".

Earlier, Wim Trengrove SC, for the multi-party Negotiating Council, argued that the parties were "bound in honour but not in law" and described the KwaZulu application as "fatally flawed".

KwaZulu chief negotiator and Minister of Health Dr Ben Ngubane indicated immediately after the hearing that an appeal may not be lodged in view of comments made by the judges.

Pravin Gordhan and M J Mahlangu, the respondents and negotiations' chairmen, urged KwaZulu and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to take their seats at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

"This court judgment should in our view be morally binding on KwaZulu and the IFP".

And ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The time has arrived for the IFP to return to negotiations."

The National Party said the ruling was a clear indication that KwaZulu should return to the World Trade Centre.

Buthelezi said the court action was "just one of the options we could explore in our present predicament".

"We never said the issue of returning to the talks hinged solely on the outcome of the case. So the decision does not affect the KwaZulu government's position one way or another."

No point in going back to Kempton Park
KwaZulu loses court case

PRETORIA. — The KwaZulu government's call on the Transvaal Supreme Court to set aside decisions made by sufficient consensus at multi-party negotiations was dismissed with costs yesterday.

"We are back to square one," said KwaZulu negotiator Mr Ben Ngubane following the decision of a full bench of the Transvaal Supreme Court that it had no jurisdiction to review the decision-making process at Kempton Park.

Mr Ngubane said the ruling made a summit meeting of political leaders "an absolute necessity".

Delivering judgment, Transvaal Judge President Mr Justice C P Eloff said the court could only review decisions made by statutory bodies or contractual agreements.

The rules of procedure agreed upon by multi-party negotiators did not constitute a contract.
FW, Buthelezi
in major talks

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Inkatha Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi will hold their full nego-
tiating teams today to try
to forge an understand-
ing they hope will take
them out of the negotia-
tions impasse.

Mr De Klerk's Tuynhuys staff confirmed yes-
terday that he had
nailed his diary for a
full day of talks that, if
previous meetings are
any guide, could run late
into the night.

Their main objective
is to clear the way for
Inkatha's return to the
World Trade Centre ne-
gotiations which it has
boycotted since July 2 in
objection to "sufficient
consensus" decisions,
particularly on the April
27 elections.

Tuynhuys sources said
Mr De Klerk was being
"very pragmatic" about
the cabinet-to-cabinet
meeting. — Sapa, Polit-
cal Staff (1/2)
Inkatha threat to prevent election

Own Correspondent
Johannesburg. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday threatened widespread mass action and disruption to ensure that the elections scheduled for April next year do not take place.

"We will stop it," Inkatha central committee member and senior negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said. "We will make it impossible for an election to take place by embarking on a campaign of mass action, street action and disruption."

Should the government and the ANC go ahead with the elections without Inkatha there would be civil war, he said.

The government and the ANC immediately warned that Mr Felgate's statement was "irresponsible and outrageous" and called for "Inkatha's lieutenants to keep out of the way and allow the leaders to discuss issues in a serious and constructive manner."

"Ability to mobilise"

A government source said the government would be wanting to hear firsthand from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday, when he meets President F W de Klerk, whether he endorsed Mr Felgate's statement. If he did, this would be dealt with by Mr De Klerk.

Mr Felgate said: "We have the ability to mobilise half the country's electorate to oppose the holding of the elections."

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said he would seek to encourage Chief Buthelezi to return to talks and endorse the bills passed by the negotiators.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said Mr Felgate's statement was "absolutely outrageous".

The majority of South Africans would not allow Inkatha to disrupt the elections.

An ANC negotiator said the "full might of the TEC and the joint forces would ensure peace and prevent intimidation"

"We will have the full and legitimate power to crush any parties fomenting violence," he said.
Tensions build in IFP after lost court move on consensus

Tensions are building up in the Inkhatha Freedom Party between hardliners threatening civil war and more moderate members who are "tremendously concerned" about the IFP's present course.

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. - Tensions are building up in the Inkhatha Freedom Party between hardliners threatening civil war and more moderate members who are "tremendously concerned" about the IFP's present course.

The ruling yesterday by the Supreme Court in Pretoria on the issue of sufficient consensus at the World Trade Centre negotiations puts even more pressure on next week's summit between President De Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Cape Town.

This could be the last chance to get the IFP and KwaZulu government back to the multiparty table.

Delegations from the government and the IFP met in Durban today to set the agenda for the summit. The government was represented by Natal National Party leader George Bordlief, provincial NP chairman Danie Schutte and Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers. The IFP was represented by Walter Felgate and Ben Ngubane.

Soon after the KwaZulu government lost its court application to have decisions made by sufficient consensus set aside, Mr Felgate warned of civil war if the government and the African National Congress went ahead with the April 27 election without the IFP. Mr Felgate threatened IFP mass action to disrupt the election.

But his statement has caused "tremendous concern" in some sections of the IFP. More moderate members have no wish for a civil war and believe that the IFP needs immediately to drop this fiery rhetoric and its boycott of the multiparty talks.

IFP members who want to go back to the talks are looking to their negotiating partners to make an offer that the party cannot refuse.

A showdown between the hardliners led by Mr Felgate and more moderate IFP members could come at the next IFP central committee meeting on October 2. Chief Buthelezi has warned that he will resign as leader if IFP members go against him.

IFP officials were defiant today in spite of losing the court case.

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP would not go back to the talks. National chairman Frank Mdlalose insisted KwaZulu had lost on a technicality, because the court said it did not have jurisdiction to hear the case and did not rule on whether sufficient consensus had been applied correctly or not in the multiparty talks.

The Supreme Court dismissed the KwaZulu case with costs. Legal sources have said the action could cost South African taxpayers about R40 000.

Dr Mdlalose said that at this point: "We are not in the April 27 election."

The IFP is meeting the Xhosa Nationalist Party in Port Elizabeth today.

Juri Mentz, IFP MP for Vryheid, said the party's MPs would attend next week's parliamentary session.

Meanwhile the ANC said the IFP was morally bound to return to negotiations immediately, having lost the court case.

The ANC called on IFP negotiators "to state unambiguously whether they share Mr Felgate's views."
Inkatha threatens to halt general elections

BILLY PADDOCK

Government and the ANC immediately warned that Felgate's statement was "irresponsible and outrageous" and called for "Inkatha's Lieutenants to keep out of the way and allow the leaders to discuss issues in a serious and constructive manner."

A government source said government wanted to hear from Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi himself, when he met President F W de Klerk on Thursday, whether he endorsed Felgate's statement.

"Statements like this just before such a vital meeting are just not helpful," the source said. (118)

Felgate said Inkatha would not abide by the transitional executive council (TEC) because it "is the weapon of the ANC to carry on its political vendetta of annihilating KwaZulu and Inkatha."

And it would not accept an election for a constitutional assembly. The central committee and Buthelezi had clearly stated that Inkatha would not participate in an election to endorse and legitimise it.

"We have the ability to mobilise half the country's electorate to oppose the holding of the elections," Felgate said.

A spokesman for de Klerk said he viewed...
in election date being set
once held at the York Trade Centre in April in protest at
The way out war France...
SA Contract not signed

Jackson did

IFP at Crossroads

Top party members plot to sideline Harcliner Feliate
Yesterday IFP members Peter Miller and Mike Tarr also publicly opposed statements reportedly made by Fagate.

Reliable sources told Saturday Star the next few days would be critical to Fagate’s career.

They said major players in the organisation including such figures as IFP “chief executive and chief negotiator” Joe Matthews and KwaZulu Natal Minister Dr Ben Ngubane — were voicing fears that Fagate was losing patience with Fagate.

One source said the anti-Fagate group was pushing Fagate towards resigning rather than returning to negotiations and believed the time for a showdown had arrived. It is understood there has been considerable dissatisfaction with Fagate’s handling of the IFP’s talks strategy.

A source said various scenarios were being considered which would probably lead to a direct confrontation with Fagate.

Critical to the success of these determined to see his role severely diminished or even ended will be the attitude of Buthelezi, who has loyal-ly defended Fagate in the past.

The final straw for many in the group opposing Fagate came yesterday after it was reportedly threatened that the IFP would launch a mass action campaign to ensure that the scheduled April 27 election did not take place, and again warned of civil war.

The reported comments followed the dismissal by the National Party of the IFP as an illegal organisation.

The National Party has not taken any action against the IFP, which is still a legal party.

First indications of anger in IFP ranks at Fagate’s comments came yesterday morning when Peter Millard of the Natal MEC who defected from the National Party to the IFP, said: “I will certainly not be part of the campaign of mass action and disruption that is advocated by Walter Fagate.”

Pietermaritzburg North MP Mike Tarr, who left the Democratic Party to join the IFP earlier this year, pointedly commented that preparations for the IFP to fight an election were going ahead.

“The IFP has got an election team. We are putting structures in place and have embarked on a fundraising campaign,” he said.

However, the source said anti-Fagate feelings were running considerably higher in some sections of the organisation. One said the powerful group that was bitter with Fagate was “very keen to find ways of getting back to negotiations”.

The IFP and KwaZulu government delegations absented themselves from the World Trade Centre talks on July 2.

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Saturday Star September 11 1993

FROM PAGE 1

There are indications of growing divisions in the IFP over the talks boycott and whether it should take part in elections.

A senior politician with close IFP connections said yesterday that two distinct camps had emerged.

One, with Fagate at its centre, would like to see the IFP stay out of talks and then boycott elections. The source believed Buthelezi inclined towards this option.

“The other leaders would prefer that the IFP returned to the talks and took part in the election.”

The latter group was generally made up of negotiators who had “formed some sort of working relationship with the ANC and National Party in negotiations.”

He said this group had difficulty in raising their concerns in Ulundi “because it would bring them into direct conflict”.

A major concern of younger party members was that a decision to stay out of elections would jeopardise or destroy their political futures.

Asked for his assessment of Fagate’s agenda, the source said: “He might be aware that in a future dispensation he could not have any role. That may be why he seems so destructive.”

Saturday Star was unable to contact Fagate for comment yesterday.

Other senior IFP officials were yesterday locked in a meeting with Government negotiators to thrash out an agenda for Thursday’s crucial bilateral discussion between Buthelezi and President de Klerk.
We're not obliged to return to talks, say IFP after court defeat

DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

LEADING Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Joe Matthews said yesterday the KwaZulu government's court setback did not mean the IFP or KwaZulu were in retreat or now were "morally obliged" to return to the talks.

On the contrary, they remained opposed to the sufficient consensus decision-making mechanism which KwaZulu challenged unsuccessufully in court yesterday and to decisions on legislation reached in this manner.

"It's one thing to be defeated democratically and quite another for a device like sufficient consensus to be used," said Mr Matthews. "But, the culture of negotiations will continue."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who reacted to the court decision saying he saw "no point" in returning to multiparty talks, was still expected to meet President De Klerk in Cape Town on Thursday, although Mr Matthews warned that expectations should not be raised.

"He will not be pressured," said Mr Matthews of his party leader, whom the IFP and KwaZulu revere as the "father of negotiations."

And, in a further reflection of the IFP position that negotiations will continue in spite of the apparent impasse, party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday he hoped to arrange another bilateral meeting with the African National Congress after the government/KwaZulu summit.

"There must be one," he said, although he had no dates or commitments yet.

Mr Matthews said the key question facing groups like the ANC and the government which had been supporting the negotiating process at the World Trade Centre and making decisions in that forum was how to impose those decisions on parties which had not taken part.

"The history of South Africa is one of imposition and why people think imposition will be accepted now I don't know."

The KwaZulu government was fundamentally opposed to the Transitional Executive Council and rejected what it interpreted as this body's veto power over decisions taken by any government in South Africa.

Mr Matthews expected this concern to be high on the agenda of talks between Chief Buthelezi and Mr De Klerk.

Asked whether Chief Buthelezi was not becoming dangerously isolated, particularly following his overseas trip recently during which several Western governments expressed impatience with the talks boycotters, Mr Matthews said he had always been isolated.

"He's been isolated all his life, but that's a journalistic phrase meaning that the man has a different point of view. He's not a politician. He's more than that. He's a statesman and he deals in truth."

Mr Matthews feared the truth was that South Africa was not on the path to a pluralistic democracy.

Meanwhile, parties to the World Trade Centre process have interpreted the defeat of the KwaZulu court challenge as proof positive that the IFP and KwaZulu had to return to the table and were "morally obliged" to do so.
The IEF boycott erupts as IFP draws | eruptions

Over poll boycott, IFP draws | eruptions

By RAY HARTLY

The simmering conflict

The simmering conflict
Move to woo IFP and AVF to talks

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

The government is to continue intensive discussions this week with the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Inkatha Freedom Party to draw them back into negotiations, Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer said today.

The government was determined to ensure the process was as inclusive as possible, to give it legitimacy, and to avoid the need to call a referendum.

Mr Meyer told a Foreign Correspondents' Association breakfast in Cape Town today: "Our approach is to try to ensure that the result we are looking for - agreement on the constitution - will have the broadest possible support among all South Africans. We are committed to that approach."

If this was not possible, a referendum would be one of several options to legitimise the constitution.

"It is premature to speculate. Our objective is to ensure that this constitution is accepted on such an inclusive basis that no further legitimising of the process will be necessary...and that can be attained if we have the support of all the parties. "If we cannot achieve this, we will have to sit down and consider all options."

The government's discussions with the AVF - which kicked off with two days of talks last week - were to continue this week.

The AVF's major concerns were:

- Self-determination;
- Differentiated citizen rights for regions;
- Regional boundaries for a state or region "they would regard as satisfying their needs"; and
- Specific powers and functions for that region.
Discontent simmers over Inkatha hardliner

Inkatha Freedom Party hardliner Walter Feglale will find his privileged position as right-hand man to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi under fire from moderates in the party this week.

Sources inside the IFP have indicated to The Star that Feglale's continuing opposition to negotiations has given rise to simmering discontent.

The anger boiled over after statements allegedly made by Feglale that the IFP would launch a mass action campaign to ensure the April 27 election would not take place, and his'again warned of civil war.

Opposition to his privileged position came ahead of a crucial meeting between Buthelezi and President de Klerk scheduled for this week.

Reliable sources told The Star that the next few days would be critical to Feglale's career.

They said major players in the organisation — including such figures as chief negotiator Joe Matthews and KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane — were among those who had run out of patience with Feglale.

Unprecedented

One said the group was pursuing ways of returning to negotiations.

Party leader Frank Mdalirose took the unprecedented step of rebuking Feglale on national television on Friday over the civil war remarks.

But Inkatha officials have meanwhile downplayed reports that moderates were plotting a reduction of Feglale's influence on Buthelezi.

Former DP MP Mike Tarr, now an Inkatha central committee member, said he rejected Feglale's suggestion that Inkatha should embark on mass action to disrupt the election. But he added there was not a plot to dast Feglale.

This conflicts with information a source gave The Star on Friday that “various scenarios” were being considered, which would probably lead to a confrontation with Feglale.

Critical to the success of those determined to see his role severely diminished will be his attitude of Buthelezi, who has loyally defended Feglale in the past.
De Klerk feels wooing Buthelezi is ‘crucial’

President FW de Klerk is reviewing Thursday’s meeting with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi “as absolutely crucial” to wooing him back into the negotiations process from the “brink of secession,” a senior government source said yesterday.

It is understood De Klerk, who will be assisted by top Ministers from Natal and the negotiators, will try to do this by disclosing submissions to the technical committee drafting the fourth draft constitution, where government joins Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group in demanding from the ANC more concessions on regionalism.

He referred to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer’s statement at the Transvaal NP congress on Saturday that government would be tabling submissions for even greater regional powers, which must be binding on the elected constitutional assembly.

A constitutional court must be established to ensure that these powers are protected and not circumvented by “a clever lawyer using interpretative arguments”.

Meyer also said the deadlock-breaking mechanism demanded by the ANC would have to be amended.

This should be no problem as the ANC has privately conceded that it has to be changed and it is understood it is prepared to revert to a two-thirds majority with the explicit agreement from regions concerned on changing any issues materially affecting them.

The hope is that through the interim constitution being as complete and coherent as possible, the elected constitutional assembly would not change much materially. This could go a long way to meeting Inkatha’s demand that a non-elected body draft the constitution.

Meyer said the interim constitution needed Inkatha’s agreement to be successfully implemented.

The source said De Klerk could not regularly have “summit-level” meetings as they lose their effect.

De Klerk would also be raising the issue of Inkatha disrupting elections, as stated by senior central committee member Walter Felgate, last week. The source said despite the fact that national chairman Frank Mdlalose repudiated Felgate’s statement as not reflecting the view of Inkatha’s congress, Felgate had the ear of Buthelezi and was articulating the leader’s views.

Buthelezi’s rejection of the Transitional Executive Council Bill at the weekend directly challenged government “to dare to take him on”.

Should the constitution be acceptable to Inkatha, it would also probably accept the TEC, possibly with amendments to it being made in the October Parliamentary session.

Meanwhile, Parliament convenes today for two weeks to pass the four draft Bills adopted by the negotiating council. These are the Independent Electoral Commission Bill, the Media Commission Bill, the Broadcasting Authority Bill and the TEC Bill.

The CP is expected to try to delay matters in the standing committees and also to use Parliamentary debate on the Bills for maximum political publicity gain. But they are not expected to be able to alter them or get Parliament to reject them. The CP and Inkatha’s two MPs will oppose the TEC.

Negotiators last week decided to appoint a team of members to monitor for the passage of the Bills through Parliament to ensure they were not tampered with or changed in any material way.

While Parliament is sitting, negotiators will be trying to iron out difficulties between parties on the draft constitution.
Referendum in the pipeline

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A REFERENDUM could be called to "legitimise the process" if all methods to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosas allies back to multiparty negotiations fail.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town yesterday that this was, however, one of the options that were being considered.

He added that the option was nowhere near being the first choice.

He said the Government wanted the process to be as inclusive as possible and that the results of negotiations had to be acceptable to parties and people across the entire spectrum of South African society. In this regard, he said, the Government was involved in high-level and "intensive discussions" with parties like the Afrikaner Volksfront - the umbrella body to which the Conservative Party subscribes. The Government was also preparing to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party on Thursday to try and convince him to return to negotiations.

He said the objective was to ensure that the IFP and the homeland administrations of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei were "part of the solution" in South Africa.

The Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments as well as Conservative Party-controlled city councils have threatened to scuttle the election of April 27.

Asked whether the Government would consider a referendum to test the acceptability of the process, Meyer would not speculate but said: "It might be necessary at some stage to consider how we legitimise this process and then various options might come into the picture."
Sweden lifts SA trade sanctions

Staff Reporter

SWEDEN has lifted its six-year-old trade embargo against South Africa — coinciding with Mr. Nelson Mandela's announcement that the ANC would call for the lifting of the world's remaining sanctions as soon as Parliament passes the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

Sweden's other sanction, an investment ban, is linked to an interim government being established in South Africa.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Mitchells Plain yesterday, said legislation to establish a TEC would enable the "democratic movement led by the ANC" to announce the lifting of sanctions. "We are very concerned about our economy and we want to see growth."

Mandela wants food to end — Page 2

Meyer warns IFP of referendum option

Political Staff

A REFERENDUM could be held on an interim constitution if the Inkatha Freedom Party did not return to talks within six weeks, Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Boef Meyer suggested yesterday.

"Addressing the Cape Town press club, Mr. Meyer said the government was looking at various options to resolve the negotiations impasse caused by the IFP and CP's boycott of negotiations."

"The government was considering a mechanism to "legitimise the process", he said. This is interpreted as a phoney dialogue and means that the warning to IFP negotiators prior to discussions between them and the government on Thursday.

IFP spokesman Mr. Ziba Giyane rejected the suggestion of a referendum, saying it could never be a panacea to resolve a volatile political process.

"A referendum should only be held after consensus was reached by all key players on a constitution, he said. "We are not making a constitution for the majority of the people, but for all the people. The fact that the majority supports a particular constitution would prove nothing," he said.

Mr. Meyer said it was still "technically possible" to ensure that the election takes place on April 27.
IFP warns of 'tiny chink' for return to talks

Political Staff (11B) Arg 14/9/92

PRETORIA. - The meeting between President de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday has not been imperilled by a KwaZulu cabinet statement that there is no going back to multiparty talks.

But there is only a "tiny chink" open still in the door through which the IFP and KwaZulu must pass to return to this forum, IFP national chairman Frank Mdhlaloze said today.

"There isn't enough reason for us to go back just now."

But efforts to find a common path would continue and the talks boycotters would demand the "right to have our voice heard."

Dr Mdhlaloze said KwaZulu had hoped to find "relief of a sort" through its legal challenge of the decision-making mechanism of sufficient consensus used in negotiations.

"This hasn't happened. The judges washed their hands of the matter like Pontius Pilate."

But sufficient consensus was not the only concern. Dr Mdhlaloze said his party still wanted to see an alternative constitution put on the table for discussion and negotiation.

The IFP viewed the present draft as a constitution for a unitary state and wanted to see the federal alternative put for consideration.

"We're still seeking ways to solve the problem, but as time goes on the doorway (to a return) gets smaller and smaller," said Dr Mdhlaloze.

"There is only a tiny chink left now."

He ruled out the possibility of a deal between the IFP and the government on Thursday similar to the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC reached almost a year ago in a process which marked the beginning of the alienation of the IFP.

"The two parties went into hiding and came out with agreements that had impact on other parties not at those talks. We reject that," said Dr Mdhlaloze.

Dr Mdhlaloze said there was as yet no date for the next bilateral meeting with the ANC but "there will be one."
ANC urges Buthelezi to return

Shudders over war talk

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The African National Congress Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has called on KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the multi-party negotiating table and "make his contribution to the building of a new South Africa."

Mr Gwala, who has often been called the organisation's "man of war," made a call for peace amid high tension between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in several Midlands areas, especially in Wembezi, Estcourt.

He said the "overwhelming majority" of IFP supporters, like those of the ANC, had nothing to gain from violence and further loss of life. "We believe that both the IFP and the ANC have more to gain in solving their disagreements in a peaceful manner, rather than through violent confrontation."

"The talk of civil war makes every responsible person in South Africa shudder to imagine what this all entails."

"We have seen Bosnia, Somalia and Angola, and we would not like a repeat of this in South Africa. Our land has suffered enough to yearn for peace and an amicable settlement to our problems."

He criticised the IFP's adviser WalterFelgate for his talk of civil war.

Mr Gwala's call for peace was made shortly before another statement was issued by the ANC claiming that its members in the Ixopo area were being "brutally murdered on a daily basis."

The statement said: "The attacks seem to be well planned and executed by well-trained assassins." It said ANC members were again attacked at Nqinuwa at the weekend: "Three members of the Sharpham family were killed in a dawn raid by gunmen armed with G-3 rifles. Goats, cattle and sheep were killed, a house and a car were burned. Two houses belonging to ANC members were set alight in an earlier attack on Saturday."
Inkatha asks for Indian aid

Political Reporters

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has asked the Indian government for financial aid. This follows news that the Indian government had promised R50 million to the ANC as aid for the coming elections. This was "regrettable", said the IFP.

IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane said if reports of such assistance were true, the conclusion that India had decided to ignore other equally needy organisations was unavoidable.

"We want to believe that the Indian government desires to play a constructive role in South Africa. But a policy of partisan support for only one of the organisations is contrary to the constructive, impartial stand of the international community in relation to South Africa."

The IFP warned that partisan support could exacerbate the conflict in South Africa by encouraging the favoured party "erroneously to believe that even prior to elections, it is the sole and authentic representative of the people of South Africa."

Dr Jiyane said friendly countries should support democracy by pursuing the policy of impartiality. "We urge India to extend similar assistance to the IFP. That would significantly enhance our high regard for India's principled stand against apartheid."
Compromise wins the day

The Argus Correspondent
MARITZBURG. — Security force leaders defined "a very dangerous situation" in Estcourt when they made important concessions to pacify a gathering of thousands of angry supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The most important of the concessions was to agree to withdraw the "coloured" S African Infantry Unit from the troubled Wembezi township.

This had been demanded by the IFP supporters — an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 who had gathered in protest and had marched through the town to the local police station, where they handed over a list of demands.

Their anger was directed largely at the 3 SAI, who they blamed for the deaths of two of their number at the weekend.

The IFP protesters were met at the police station by Regional Commissioner of Police Wynand van der Merwe and the officer commanding Group 9, Jan Hougard.

Colonel Hougard said last night that a compromise was obviously called for in the circumstances. This compromise was arrived at with the agreement that the IFP would "withdraw its impis".

"It was a very dangerous situation," said Colonel Hougard, who praised General van der Merwe for the diplomatic way he had handled the crisis.

It had been agreed by General Van der Merwe, with his support, that there should be a "tactical withdrawal" of 3 SAI.

"They were immediately replaced by a new unit in the area, one that has already been deployed there."

He said General van der Merwe had agreed that some men of the KwaZulu Police should be stationed in the area, as requested by the IFP. This meant that KwaZulu Police, South African Police and Defence Force personnel would be deployed in the area in future.
FW bid to get Buthelezi back on board

□ ‘Stumbling blocks’ identified on eve of crucial meeting in Cape Town

Political Staff
PRESSDENT De Klerk says he will leave “no stone unturned” in his efforts to get Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi back to the negotiations process when the leaders hold their crucial meeting in Cape Town tomorrow.

The president said “stumbling blocks” had been identified and he believed they could be removed.

A government source said yesterday that Mr De Klerk would present “concrete and reasonable proposals” to Chief Buthelezi, which, it was hoped, might tempt the KwaZulu chief minister to drop his boycott of the talks.

But the source denied widespread speculation that negotiations from the government and Inkatha had struck a deal in recent bilateral meetings which would be completed by the leaders.

It is understood the proposed meeting of leaders to thrash out problems in the process will be high on the agenda.

Mr De Klerk, speaking after meeting Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, said he was looking forward to the meeting and would be approaching it in a “constructive manner”.

But sources in both the government and IFP camps have been at pains not to build up expectations about the meeting.

They said it should be seen as the first step in a process which could normalise relations between the organisations.

The leaders will be accompanied by 10-man delegations. The meeting is scheduled to last most of tomorrow.

Mr De Klerk dismissed suggestions that his cabinet and the National Party caucus were divided over negotiations.

“I don’t have a right winger in my cabinet,” Mr De Klerk said in response to media questions yesterday. There was a “good spirit” in both the cabinet and the caucus.

“We don’t have Gwanas and Mokabas in our party,” he said — a reference to the African National Congress’s Natal Midlands and Youth League leaders.

Mr De Klerk, talking at a photo session after meeting Mr Skubiszewski, said suggestions by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the “rightwing” in his cabinet was a threat to negotiations were “politicking and wishful thinking”.

He said a National Party caucus meeting on Monday had been “wonderful”.

His style on such occasions, where fundamental issues were now being discussed, was to be open and to “allow debate to go on”.

“A good spirit and sound cohesion prevails in both the cabinet and the caucus, which will manifest themselves in elections,” he said.
Tension as IFP protests

TENSIONS ran high at Estcourt in Natal yesterday when about 4,000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters staged a protest to air their grievances.

A strong police contingent, supported by soldiers, kept watch on the protesters and shops in the town centre closed.
Buthelezi meeting with FW is still on

Sowetan Correspondent

The meeting between State President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow has not been imperilled by a KwaZulu Cabinet statement that there is no going back to multiparty talks.

But there is only a "tiny chink" still open in the door through which the IFP and KwaZulu must pass to return to this forum, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Sufficient reason

"There isn't sufficient reason for us to go back just now."

However, efforts to find a common path would continue and the talks boycotters would demand the right "to have our voices heard."

De Klerk said yesterday he looked forward to meeting Buthelezi as the IFP had to be part of a constitutional solution.

De Klerk said he intended approaching the talks in a constructive manner.

Stumbling blocks keeping the IFP out of multiparty negotiations could be removed through direct discussions with the IFP, as well as multilateral meetings.

De Klerk said he would leave no stone unturned to secure the IFP's involvement. "I regard it as important that the IFP is part of a solution."

The two leaders meet in Cape Town tomorrow morning with their respective delegations.

Mdlalose said KwaZulu had hoped to find "relief of a sort" through its legal challenge of the decision-making mechanism of sufficient consensus used in negotiations.

"This hasn't happened. The judges washed their hands of the matter like Pontius Pilate."

"Sufficient consensus" was not the only concern, however. Mdlalose said his party still wanted to see an alternative constitution put on the table for discussion and negotiation.

The IFP viewed the present draft as a constitution for a unitary state and wanted to see the federal alternative put forward for consideration.

Seeking ways

"We're still seeking ways to solve the problem, but as time goes on the doorway (to a return) gets smaller and smaller," he said. "There is only a tiny chink left now."

He ruled out the possibility of a deal between the IFP and Government similar to the Recedit of Understanding between the Government and ANC last year in a process which marked the beginning of the alienation of the IFP.
THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday urged India to give it the same financial support it planned to give the African National Congress.

The IFP's request for assistance follows India's reported promise to give R50 million to the ANC to prepare for all-race elections next year. The IFP said if the reports were true, the conclusion that India had decided to ignore other equally needy organisations such as the IFP became undeniable. — Sapa.
FW will be told of 'plot' to murder IFP leaders

Political Staff

DETAILED evidence of an alleged plot to eliminate the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal/KwaZulu will be put to President de Klerk today.

The evidence is in a report prepared by IFP officials and will be presented by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Mr de Klerk at their summit at Tshwane.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said the evidence included a report on the assassination of the IFP's chairman in KwaZulu, Ethelbert Malinga, who was ambushed at 7.30am yesterday.

He was shot from the side of the road by a large group of men—possibly 30 to 40.

Mr Tillett claimed the killing was part of a campaign by the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe to eliminate the IFP leadership.

The ANC's deputy chairman in the Natal Midlands, Blake Ndlamini, strongly denied the claim and said it was part of the IFP's attempt to discredit the ANC.
Political Correspondent

INKATHA leader Mangósuthú Buthelezi and his 10-strong delegation meeting President De Klerk and senior cabinet ministers at Tuynhuys today were "hoping to be heard", IFP negotiator Frank Mdlalose said.

Speaking soon after Chief Buthelezi's cavalcade swept into the Tuynhuys court for the 10am meeting, Dr Mdlalose would not be drawn on the substance of the talks, but said: "We are hoping to find each other.

"We are hoping to achieve the simple issue of being heard and hearing what the other person has to say."

Asked whether the IFP would be back at Rempton Park — the venue of multiparty talks — on Monday, he quipped: "By the way, where is that?"

Chief Buthelezi went straight into the cabinet room meeting.

His delegation included Dr Mdlalose, Ben Ngubane, Joe Matthews and Walter Fegate.

Across the table Mr De Klerk's 11-strong delegation included Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Chief negotiator Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Natal party leader George Bartlett.
FW in make-or-break bid to woo Buthelezi

Sowetan Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will today launch a make-or-break effort to convince Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join the Government in its quest for a federal dispensation for South Africa.

Speaking during his parliamentary question time yesterday, De Klerk hinted at the Government's approach to the critical meeting when he said: "Those who believe in federalism must find ways of cooperating more closely in regard to our common goals."

Government sources said De Klerk had cleared his diary for the whole of today to accommodate what will obviously be intensive discussions with Buthelezi and his nine-man delegation at Tshwane.

De Klerk will also be joined by a high-powered delegation of Ministers involved both directly and indirectly in the negotiation process.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is also regarding the meeting as highly important, with one of its members saying yesterday: "It is absolutely vital because of hardening attitudes in the IFP."

He said there was growing militancy among IFP members in both KwaZulu and on the Reef.

De Klerk said the Government had identified "what can be defined as the main obstacles which Chief Buthelezi sees from his side with regard to participation in the negotiation process."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"We will be trying in a constructive spirit to see how we can remove those obstacles."

He pointed out that "in many instances" there was fundamental agreement between the Government and IFP on values and basic principles, including their approach to the economy and federalism.
DURBAN.—An Inkatha Freedom Party leader in the Natal Midlands was shot and killed in an ambush in the Ixopo district yesterday. His driver was hacked to death nearby.

SAP spokesman Capt Henry Bitham said Mr Ethelbert Malinga, 84, was killed in an ambush on the Webbstown Road at 8 am. About 100 metres away, Mr Malinga's driver, Mr Bungani Mtahle, 42, was found hacked to death in a taxi.

Mr Malinga had been looking for Mr Mhha when he was ambushed and his vehicle overturned.

Violence also flared again in Ladysmith's Inkwenkwezi Township on Tuesday, leaving one person dead and five injured, police said yesterday.

In Thekoza on the East Rand at least three people were killed in continuing violence on Tuesday, police said yesterday.

The body of a man with bullet wounds was found in Maboga Street, Everest Section, at 6 am and the body of another man at No Two Hostel at 3.40 pm.

A woman was found dead with a head wound at Unit F, Extension Two, at 5.15 pm, police said.

The identities of the three and the motives of the killings are not known.

In neighbouring Kutshong, a house and nine squatter shacks were burnt down between 8 pm and 4.10 am, police said. — Sapa
Govt, Inkatha bid to escape impasse

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will field their full negotiating teams today to try for an understanding they hope will take them out of the negotiations impasse.

- De Klerk's Tswaluay staff confirmed yesterday that he had cleared his diary for a full day of talks. Their main objective was to clear the way for Inkatha's return to the World Trade Centre negotiations which it has boycotted since July 2 in objection to "sufficient consensus" decisions, particularly on the April 27 elections.

The meeting is a cabinet-to-cabinet summit between the SA and KwaZulu governments. The SA delegation is expected to include the NP and government fulltime negotiators, Ministers Davie de Villiers, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels.

Other Ministers expected to be in the team include Natal NP leader George Bartlett, Law and Order's Hermus Kriel and Justice's Kobie Coetzee. At least five KwaZulu Ministers, including chief Inkatha and KwaZulu negotiators Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane, are expected at the talks, as is Inkatha's "stonewaller", Walter Felgate.

Tsuyhuays sources said De Klerk was not approaching the meeting as being a make-or-break issue. "If he cannot achieve what he wants, he feels they will just have to meet again, and again." Although there is some pessimism in both camps, several options are seen as keys which may unlock the problem.

The central problem, as Inkatha Insiders see it, stems from last September's Record of Understanding between the ANC and government in which the ultimate writing of the constitution would be left in the hands of an elected constituent assembly/constitution-making body. Inkatha wanted the constitution agreed to and entrenched after bottom-up multiparty negotiations followed by elections.

Inkatha wanted considerable powers for regions to secure the Natal/KwaZulu region's borders and political autonomy in strong federalist terms.

The one door still left open by Buthelezi is Inkatha's assurance that it is still prepared to consider the final product of negotiations, including a new constitution, as a package. One key is to tailor a final negotiated package through ongoing bilaterals with the absent parties in such a way as to ensure ultimate acceptance at a multiparty negotiating plenary.

Arranging such a meeting of leaders has already been mooted by ANC president Nelson Mandela. — Sapa.
**IFP is not going back**

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party would not return to the multiparty talks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after his high-level meeting with President FW de Klerk in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference afterwards, Buthelezi said the summit did not even discuss the matter.

"No real progress was made towards bringing the IFP back to the negotiations table, nor towards accepting the election date that has been set by the negotiating council," Buthelezi said.

Most of yesterday's discussion, Buthelezi said, centred on the "civil war and ethnic cleansing" going on in Johannesburg and on the East Rand.

"From the very word go, the talks were blunt, very frank," Buthelezi said. He said no attempt was made "to skirt the issues".

A joint statement released after the meeting gave no further indication of the IFP's return to negotiations. It only mentioned that the two sides had agreed that they would further pursue some of the gains that had been made in the negotiations process.

The statement did, however, indicate a serious attempt to revitalise the dormant alliance between the two parties.

De Klerk said yesterday's discussions were totally issue-driven.

"There has never been animosity, on a personal level, ever, in the relationship between myself and the Chief Minister and that in itself formed a sound foundation for today's discussions," he said.

De Klerk said the IFP's full participation in the negotiations process would be discussed in future bilateral meetings.

**Misunderstandings**

"There is light at the end of the tunnel that somehow or another the inclusivity must be achieved (and this means) that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government should be part of agreements reached," De Klerk said.

The two parties have also agreed that "divisive disagreements and misunderstandings should be avoided".

A joint committee to address the issue of violence has been established.

It was reported that the IFP was to present Government with a "death list" of Inkatha leaders that had allegedly been drawn up by the ANC.
No early return to talks for Buthelezi

In it he said: "If I had not already undertaken to meet you today, I would see no point in seeing you as it seems to be a waste of time."

But he said that probably the only reason for his being at Tuyuhuyu was to reconsider what was happening at the negotiations.

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African Government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here."

He hit out at De Klerk and his negotiators for "leaving me out" and continuing with talks.

De Klerk also met Afrikaners Volksfront leader General Constant Viljoen and Conservative Party leader Perde Hartzenberg yesterday morning. It is understood the meeting focused on the issue of self-determination.

Leader's agree to IP

Buthelezi declare uneasy truce after eight hours of talks
Govt fails to woo Inkatha back to talks

CAPE TOWN — Government failed to woo the Inkatha Freedom Party back to talks yesterday during marathon, top-level discussions at Tuyushuys.

At a joint news conference President F.W. de Klerk tried to put on a brave face, expressing the hope that the eight-hour meeting would be the beginning of a new period of constructive co-operation between the parties.

But Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party had no plans to return to multiparty negotiations and its participation in the transitional executive council was not even on the agenda.

In a joint statement after the meeting, which included leading members of government and Inkatha, the parties said they would set up two committees to discuss violence and the "reasons for the current impasse in negotiations." The committees are expected to meet within a week.

But, said Buthelezi, "no progress" was made as far as Inkatha's return to talks was concerned. "We have not made any decision on going back. It is not possible at present."

He also ruled out Inkatha's participation in the transitional executive council and the general election, saying decisions on these matters had been made in his absence. "We will not be bound by things decided in our absence."

Both sides agreed to strive towards common objectives on the constitution regarding a constitutional state, a constitutional court, universal fundamental rights, comprehensive constitutional principles and regions' powers, functions and boundaries.

"The two parties agreed that they would further pursue some of the gains already made in bilateral negotiations through further intensive consultation and discussions."

"In this way they would also determine the reasons for the present impasse in the negotiation process which had led to a lack of inclusivity, as well as the need to address the necessity for full participation in finalising the constitution."

Sources said this statement indicated government's belief that Inkatha could not be drawn back into negotiations at this stage. But it intended laying the groundwork for its inclusion later.

However, this means Inkatha will not be party to important negotiations on an interim constitution.

Buthelezi described the talks as "very blunt and frank." De Klerk said they had been "very good," and had been conducted in a positive and constructive spirit with no "shying away from issues and no cutting of corners."

He said the basis had been laid for finding solutions to some problems.

"There is light at the end of the tunnel."

The tone of the talks was set by Buthelezi's opening remarks, which he concluded by warning that if the IFP went ahead with the ANC/SACP alliance and forced the results of their negotiations on Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, it alone "would be responsible before the people of SA and in the judgment of history for the drastic consequences which will be produced."
Back from the brink

De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi will keep on talking

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A BRUISING showdown between the government and Inkatha was averted last night, after a marathon bargaining session between President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi brought the torturing talks process back from the brink.

After the IFP leader opened the long-awaited meeting with a stinging rebuke of the government, the two leaders emerged from their eight-hour encounter with an agreement to set up two committees to continue discussions on constitutional obstacles and violence.

They are expected to start meetings within the next week aimed at further narrowing the gap between the two sides, whose relations have been marked by acrimony and distrust in recent months.

But Mr de Klerk's 11-member negotiating team failed in its goal of wooing Inkatha back to multi-party negotiations and did not extract a commitment from Inkatha to participate in elections planned for next April.

In addition, no agreement was reached on an Inkatha proposal to convene a constitutional convention of political leaders in South Africa to review the negotiation process.
Top German lawyer to advise Buthelezi

Farouk Chothia

The German government will send a top constitutional lawyer to South Africa in the next few weeks to advise the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) on constitutional issues.

The German government's decision underlines the growing concern in the international community at the IFP's refusal to return to the World Trade Centre, and its continual threats of civil war.

Observers believe it may also be an attempt to counter the influence that conservative United States lawyer Mario Ambrosetti has on IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

African National Congress and government negotiators have often blamed Ambrosetti for the IFP's rejection of compromises tabled at the World Trade Centre, particularly on the draft constitution.

In an interview, a spokesman for the German embassy in Pretoria, Michael Schmunk, said: "We want to contribute to stabilising a future democracy. We don't want the country to break up."

Schmunk said German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel had offered Buthelezi the services of a constitutional expert at their recent meeting in Bonn. "Chief Buthelezi accepted it (the offer) right on the spot," said Schmunk.

Schmunk added that Buthelezi would choose the constitutional lawyer he wanted, although the lawyer would be paid by Bonn. He would arrive in South Africa "in a couple of weeks".

"It might be a professor; it might be a high-ranking civil servant," Schmunk added.

Schmunk said the constitutional lawyer would give Buthelezi "independent and neutral" advice on the draft constitution emerging from the World Trade Centre.
Extra meeting for govt, IFP

THE government and the IFP will hold a further meeting next weekend in an attempt to build on the initial progress made at Thursday's eight-hour marathon session at the Tuynhuys.

On Thursday President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed to create two committees — one to look at the negotiations impasse and the other at the question of violence.

Government sources disclosed yesterday that the chances of persuading Chief Buthelezi and the IFP to return to the World Trade Centre are almost nil and some other forum will need to be developed to keep the IFP within the negotiating framework.

It is understood the government is hoping to play the role of go-between, liaising between the talks at the World Trade Centre and the bilateral forum consisting of the NP, and IFP, operating what would amount to a "negotiating shuttle service".
The rural vote will hold sway!

By SEKOLA SELLO

The campaign for the hearts and minds of black voters in preparation for next year's elections has not yet started in earnest. It is the votes, about 14.5 million in all, that will decide which political party dominates the often mooted government of national unity (GNU).

Although it is still early days, the National Party has already let it be known that it intends winning a substantial slice of this vote in order to become the majority party in the GNU.

Expectations of winning support among blacks run contrary to two conventional wisdoms. The first being that given its massive support in the black communities in particular, the ANC is seen as the obvious government in waiting.

In the second place and more importantly, it is argued that a party which introduced apartheid had no hope of winning any substantial black support.

NP leaders and functionaries dismiss the idea that the ANC will be the major party and also pooh-pooh claims that the NP are still stigmatised by apartheid.

They argue that most analysts agree they will perform better than the ANC in the coloured and Indian communities.

They also point out that while Mandela has attracted a large number of people at his recent rallies among coloured people in the Cape, these potential voters come largely from the main cities.

Contacting the Nats are reports that in the Cape Flats apathy reigns as a large number of supporters of the former UDF are no longer politically active.

Such is the confidence of the Nats that at their recent provincial congresses in Natal, the Free State and Transvaal, the party was in an upbeat mood.

Observers say the party did not resemble an outgoing government at these congresses. Party leaders were always quick to point at the new black and coloured members as proof that they were being accepted outside the traditional white community.

The new Nats were also in high spirits and dismissed any claims that they were aboard a sinking ship. Their occasional shots of "Viva Marikana, Viva the National Party" added vibrancy to the proceedings.

While the party showed a brave face at these congresses, there are whispers that tensions are running deep between supporters of NP leader FW de Klerk and the hardliners led by Minister of Law and Order Henris Kriel.

The fact that no defections have taken place so far amid widespread rumours that they were imminent, show the cohesion of the party. But for how long this unity will hold remains to be seen.

According to NP insiders, they hope to attract blacks by projecting an image of a party with sound economic policies and the ability to deliver much-needed jobs and social services like housing.

But another way, they will try and project the ANC as a party that is going to drive away potential investors by implementing failed socialist policies, because of the ANC's alliance with the SAPC.

Trying to win over blacks will be a gargantuan task. To achieve this, the NP would need, among other strategies, to recruit blacks with high standing in their communities in order to sell NP policies.

So far the "catches" that the party has made are largely unknown quantities. One of these "catches", former exile David Chenevange, has seemingly politically correct credentials. Ex PAC man and guerrilla. But no one knows much about him.

Another, John Mavuso, invoked his membership of the ANC before it was banned. However, he is likely to be remembered for his links with the government on the Transvaal MEC for housing.

The party also has a baggage of people with controversial backgrounds like John Gogoya, the former president of the Federal Independent Democratic Association.

This phantom political party applied unsuccessfully to join the Multi-Party Negotiating Council.

For the Nats to provide a strong challenge to the ANC and PAC for black votes, people like Gogoya and Mavuso could prove costly.

Tricking people to attend NP rallies by offering them food, as happened in the northern Transvaal recently, will not do much to help the NP cause.

The rural communities are going to play a crucial role in the coming elections. Unlike their urban counterparts, they are not solidly behind the ANC, PAC or Azapo formations.

It is in the rural areas that parties such as Inkatha and other homeland-based parties are strongest. Though most surveys indicate Inkatha's declining popularity, none of these surveys have been conducted in rural KwaZulu.

Inkatha has a strong infrastructure in these areas and with most chiefs reportedly behind the party, they cannot be taken lightly. Most importantly, the fact that elections are only seven months away does not give parties like the ANC and PAC enough time to canvass in the rural areas.

By forging an alliance (formal or loose) with Inkatha and other homeland-based parties, the Nats will be provided with the only realistic wave of making inroads into the black vote.

Inkatha's claims of a deal between the ANC and the government for joint rule might not be unfounded, but this is not likely to stand in the way of a possible alliance between Umfolozi and Pretoria.

Inkatha and the NP have a lot in common. They are both supporters of strong federal government and both also advocate a free-market economy.

Verwoerd must be smiling at the prospects of his creations (the homelands) continuing to serve the Nats so well.
I

Buthelezi demanded nothing less than the scrapping of the present multiparty negotiations and agreements reached in that process, notably the holding of South Africa's first all-inclusive elections on April 27.

By so doing, he put De Klerk in a tight corner: while he is eager to accommodate Buthelezi and in the process keep his own National Party together, the concessions the chief now asks are simply not his to give.

Vehicles

But back to the "preliminary remarks". Buthelezi sees those as vehicles for him to put his own concerns and priorities upfront, thereby ensuring the things he holds dear are discussed in the meetings.

His interlocutors, however, see them differently. ANC president Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, foreign leaders and ambassadors based here have often found themselves vehemently criticised and chided in Buthelezi's "preliminary remarks" before meetings with him.

Depending on the outcome of the meeting, such statements are sometimes not released to the press. And so the fact that Buthelezi found it necessary to release his preliminary statement on Thursday, only about an hour before the end of the meeting, was the first signal that not all had gone well at Tuynhuys.

Clearly, Buthelezi is unhappy about what he sees as the Government's collusion with the ANC at the expense of his party, and he said so to De Klerk. He is upset that negotiations have gone on without the IFP and KwaZulu while they were halted following the ANC's withdrawal from Cedelex 2 last year, and he said so.

He accused Government negotiators of not understanding "black politics"; accuses the Government of having moved away from policies it once shared with the IFP, accused Pretoria of not taking seriously what he says, said the agreed-upon transitional executive council could take actions which "could crash the financial operation and institutional autonomy of the KwaZulu government"; and that his government would not implement agreements reached in the Negotiating Council.

He is also resentful about the international credit going to the Government and the ANC for progress in negotiations, and condemns "the smiling, the receiving of (awards) and boosings that the talks were still within the time-frames that were agreed upon between the Government and the ANC/SACP alliance".

Then he dropped the bombshell:

"Negotiations must be halted and a national constitutional convention be called "to review the negotiations mess we are in".

He told De Klerk and members of his Cabinet: "We must now pause and reconsider what is happening in negotiations. That is probably the only reason for my being here today."

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African Government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here."

Blackmail

Increasingly isolated here and abroad, Buthelezi then resorted to emotional blackmail and the kind of threats he has recently been making: he would resign as IFP leader if the party's general conference decided against his wish to return to negotiations, and Pretoria would be responsible for "the dramatic consequences" if it did not heed his calls.

But if Buthelezi is such a democrat, why would he resign and not abide by the decision of the majority of IFP members if they voted in favour of co-operation with other parties and organisations? His threats are hardly necessary.

Political observers know, and some of his top Cabinet Ministers privately agree, that he is the driving force behind the IFP and that that party's general conference and the IFP's central committee often endorse whatever he wants. He need not fear that they might go against him.

Buthelezi has now dared public opinion here and in the international community to do their damndest.

"No amount of pressure from within or from the international community will have any effect on me. I cannot be pressurised into persuading the people of this region (Natal-KwaZulu) to commit suicide," he said.

From a man who used to be sensitive to gentle proddings from Washington DC, London and Bonn, this is very worrisome.

South Africans should not be fooled by De Klerk's smiles at the end of the summit, the joint committee agreed upon and the undertakings to meet again. No progress was registered at what sources described as an acrimonious meeting.

It is now important for De Klerk to consider the options open to him to give legitimacy to agreements reached in negotiations, and calling a national and all-inclusive referendum might be the answer.
The political parties in South Africa are echoing the fragmentation found in the nation. All have dissident groups which may pull out after the elections, argues Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien.

The only two parties likely to make it to the elections in April next year relatively unscathed are the ANC and Azapo. Beyond that lies great uncertainty for all.

uncertainty of democracy.

Across the floor, in the National Party, there is dissent. It is widely believed that if another whites-only poll of any sort were called today, the National Party would lose to the Conservative Party.

Its traditional support base is almost completely eroded and it is trying hard to build up black support. On another level, there is a serious attempt by far-rightists in the NP to seek closer links with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Labour Party has announced that it would contest the election under the banner and leadership of the ANC that it is the Hendrikse dynasty actually makes it to April 27.

Barrel of a gun

Most of the LP Members of Parliament have either already joined the ANC or are on the verge of doing so.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrikse, has already said that he would not be available for re-election as party leader at the end of the year when the party meets for its annual congress.

The Conservative Party is dead on its feet and has declared that its opponents are the barrel of a gun and the Afrikaner volksunie’s founders all resigned from the party over the past weeks.

The parties in the Indian House of Delegates are incensed at the process.

Jay Naidoo.

week that the present leader Dr Zac de Beer was falling out of fashion with the liberals and that attempts have been made to replace the old man with the Member of Parliament for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon.

Leon, who is a fine academic and an extremely erudite man, is given to tempestuous ranting and is becoming increasingly reactionary. His speeches in Parliament, one can be forgiven to feel, are more for effect than for any other use.

Yet, Leon is probably what the DP feels it needs as the country lies bare, exposed to the
There was no progress last week in government-KwaZulu Natal-Political Corruption. Knizev

Swazimba

satisfy Chief Buthelezi.

Nothing anybody does will
Indian party joins Inkatha

DURBAN. — The Indian Reform Party yesterday merged with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Speaking in Phoenix, a predominantly Indian suburb, where he was also opening an IFP branch, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party wanted Indians to contribute to the rebuilding of the Natal-NkwaZulu region and South Africa as a whole.

Their entrepreneurial skills and business acumen were valued.
IFP and ANC youth meet

DURBAN. -- Youth leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party met here on Saturday for a second round of peace talks.

But the meeting deadlocked and both sides agreed to meet again on Wednesday.

The IFP Youth Brigade had demanded an apology for a remark by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a "puppet".

The ANC's regional youth league had taken exception to an IFP Youth Brigade resolution which called umkhonto we Sizwe a "killing machine". — Sapa
Looking at Inkatha Freedom Party

By Mzimasi Ngudi

THIS week we look at the Inkatha Freedom Party. Following is an abridged historical account from the book Political Organisations in South Africa A-Z. Published in 1991 the book does not deal with later developments like IFP's membership of the Concerned South Africans Group, the Inkatha gate scandal, Bambata battle, and so on.

At present IFP is out of the talks and has rejected the Transitional Executive Council which is expected to be in place by October.

Two weeks ago, Inkatha lost a Supreme Court application to have a decision at the multi-party talks overturned after Transvaal Judge-President Mr Justice CF Eloff said the court could not rule on the issue of sufficient consensus.

Inkatha is in alliance with the right-wing political parties opposed to multiparty talks. At the first, Inkatha emerged as a cultural movement in KwaZulu established by the Zulu King, Solomon ka Dinuzulu, in 1928.

The cultural movement grew to a halt after a few years of its existence. The cultural movement was revived in March 1975, renaming it Inkatha Yenzuko leko YeZulu.

Shortly after its inception in September 1977, Inkatha had more than 120,000 signed-up members.

Over the years membership has grown steadily, and in 1985 the one million mark was reached. By the end of the 80s there were more than 1.5 million signed-up members, of which the youth brigade numbered 600,000 and the women's brigade numbered 500,000. In some circles, however, these figures are disputed.

Membership is open to all blacks over 18, giving Inkatha a broader base than would have been the case had it been a purely Zulu nationalist movement. (During the 80s this policy was broadened to include whites - it is maintained that 100,000 whites are already members of IFP).

Financially, the organisation is exceptionally strong. Besides membership fees, it also receives money from the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung of Germany.

The Stiftung finances the Inkatha Institute, a research office of the organisation and has a permanent representative in Natal. The Institute also donated a large sum of money to help establish the youth wing. Inkatha devotes itself to organising the youth, arranging youth programmes on a large scale.

The Inkatha youth brigades has in recent years assumed a paramilitary character. Members wear uniforms and take part in activities like marching. They receive training in a wide variety of practical courses and are educated in politics.

The organisation denies that it is paramilitaristic and says the so-called Youth Service Corps is used for social reconstruction.

Inkatha's economic policy is based on a free-market system. The requirement that the redistribution of the national wealth should be acknowledged.

Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders have often rejected disinvestment and sanctions as mechanisms of change, declaring that black workers would suffer most under an effective sanctions campaign.

Inkatha's pro-capitalist viewpoint has won it widespread support of the Zulu business community. But the organisation has been very successful in overcoming the problem of potential class distinctions and has managed to win the support of a large section of the working class.

Concern about the possibility that large numbers of Zulu workers might join the progressive Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and its successor, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), led to the establishment of Inkatha's own trade union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), on May Day 1986.

There is, however, doubt about Uwusa's popularity among the workers. Though it is alleged to have 150,000 signed-up members, it has enjoyed little support among workers outside Natal.

In line with its policy of non-ethnicity, Inkatha also tried to make an impact on national politics by becoming involved in the South African Black Alliance (SABA), a loose association formed in 1978 between the Labour Party, the Reform Party, the Inyandiza National Movement of KaNgwane and, for a period, QwaQwa's Dikwankweta Party.

After the Labour Party's decision at Esthove in 1983 to participate in the tripartite parliamentary system SABA was disbanded.

Inkatha's relationship with other black organisations, including exiled and local groups within the country, has been tense. Inkatha took over the ANC symbols, the green, gold and black colours and Nkosikazi Sitelezi (Afrika, in an effort to demonstrate its viability as successor to and sister organisation of the ANC.

During 1978 and 1979 there was a remarkably close relationship between the ANC and Inkatha (as a university student Buthelezi was a member of the ANC). Subsequently the relationship between the two organisations rapidly deteriorated. By 1986 it was one of open antagonism.

The breach probably occurred as a result of Buthelezi's strong opposition to the school boycotts in Natal, his rejection of the ANC's position on sanctions and its use of violence.
INNATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi showed no softening of his anti-negotiations stance at the launch of an IFP branch at Durban's largest Indian township, Phoenix, yesterday.

He asked Indians to join forces with the IFP against the African National Congress and the National Party and promised to honour Indians' right to property and Voorheid.

Buthelezi also warned of a civil war unless demands for federalism were delivered at the KwaZulu Natal negotiations.

In his second address to the Indian community in Natal, Buthelezi called on them to join forces with the IFP to stop the ANC and their "new-found allies."
ANC 'yes' to visits
Political Staff [14.1.84]
JOHANNESBURG
Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and to welcome him to ANC headquarters here, according to church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two.

In a statement after their meeting with Mr Mandela yesterday, clerics said the ANC leader also indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Chief Buthelezi.
The end of white rule

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE final nail will be driven into the coffin of white domination in South Africa tomorrow when Parliament is expected to pass legislation for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The TEC Bill and proposals for the creation of an Independent Media Commission and Electoral Commission will be voted on soon after 3pm and are expected to sail through Parliament.

The National Party majority in all three Houses, the Democratic Party, Labour Party and a smattering of Indian parties will vote for the Bill while the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party Members of Parliament will oppose them.

The IFP has said it would support the Bills for the Electoral Commission and Media Commission as well as that for the Independent Broadcast Authority but that it would oppose the TEC legislation.

Concession
It is understood that the IFP was holding out for a concession on "constitutional matters" as a quid pro quo before it gives its support for the TEC Bill.

The thinking in the IFP is that the other three Bills were "good Bills" and that they were necessary if an election was to be held.

"An election will be held at some point anyway," an Inkatha source said yesterday.

The draft legislation for the Independent Broadcast Authority (IBA) was tabled in Parliament yesterday completing the quartet of laws agreed on in the Negotiating Council and nailed together by the relevant technical committee.

The IBA allows for the opening of new radio and television stations in opposition to the South African Broadcasting Corporation. It also provides for the monitoring of broadcasts and regulates political advertising and coverage aimed at ensuring equitable treatment for political parties.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi.

He also said he would welcome Buthelezi to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, according to the church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two leaders. In a statement after their meeting with Mandela yesterday, Methodist Church Presiding Bishop Dr Stanley Mogobi and the Church of the Province of Southern Africa's Bishop Michael Nuttall said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Buthelezi."
Inkatha gets its sixth MP

Political Staff

The Inkatha Freedom Party gained its sixth MP yesterday when former House of Delegates education minister, Mr. Kisten Rajoo, officially announced his membership.

Dr. Rajoo, elected MP for Meresbank for Solidarity in 1989, was minister of education and culture until the party lost control of the Indian House last year. Although he joined the National Party he failed to regain his portfolio.
Thokoza tense after IFP tour

JOHANNESBURG. — Thokoza and Katlehong were tense yesterday after Inkatha leaders abruptly ended a tour of East Rand hostels as the township's residents protested against their presence.

The ANC's Mr Joe Modise and Mr Ronnie Kasrils visited the area yesterday to investigate the massacre of 18 people on the old Heidelberg/Klip River road on Tuesday night.

Mr Modise told about 200 people at the Thokoza Stadium that white policemen should get out of the townships as they were conniving with Inkatha.

His visit came just hours after the IFP tour was ended when township youths threatened violence.

Earlier Inkatha officials, peace monitors and journalists were warned by police to leave Katlehong, where scores of youths barricaded the main street.

DURBAN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela must finalise details for joint rallies in violent areas as a matter of urgency.

Mr Mandela endorsed the church-brokered plan earlier this week.

"In view of the hideous conflicts, ongoing deaths and intense suffering in the Transvaal and in KwaZulu/Natal in particular, it is my view that Mr Mandela and I should prioritise visiting these areas together without delay," Chief Buthelezi said yesterday.

He said they should visit the East Rand and then Estcourt and Ixopo in Natal. — Sapa

River Road massacre and six died in an attack on a minibus.

In Natal, a man was shot dead and three others were wounded in an ambush at Eshowe in Zululand on Tuesday.
Negotiators prepare to settle the constitution

MULTIPARTY negotiators would get down to the next and most crucial phase of discussions — finalising the constitution — on Tuesday, talks administrator Theuns Eloff announced yesterday.

In the meantime parties would hold more behind-the-scenes discussions.

Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party would meet on Sunday and Monday in their first meeting to follow up the summit last week between President F W de Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At that meeting it was decided to form two joint committees to try to resolve the constitutional impasse and to deal with continuing violence.

Government will again try to woo Inkatha back into negotiations at the weekend, although sources say government holds out little hope of this.

Instead it is hoping to get a commitment that if negotiators accept its submissions on regionalism, Inkatha will also accept them and Buthelezi will endorse the draft constitution at a meeting of leaders by the end of October.

Sapa reports it is understood that neither De Klerk nor Buthelezi will attend the weekend talks, but senior KwaZulu negotiator and Inkatha central committee member Ben Ngubane will return from Washington to head the KwaZulu delegation.

An Inkatha spokesman said the talks would take place at a venue outside Pretoria.

The spokesman said KwaZulu central committee member and Inkatha hardliner Walter Pelgat was also in Washington but would return with Ngubane in time for the meeting.

Government's submissions on regionalism are not yet finalised and will probably be submitted to a negotiations technical committee only next week.

The planning committee at the World Trade Centre will meet early next week to assess the progress of discussions between various parties.

It will also look into the implementation of the transitional executive council, the independent electoral commission, the independent broadcasting authority and the independent media commission.
INKATHA FM 24/1/93

Weighing the options

(118)

...telling how far Inkatha president
Bu Buthelezi will go in pursuit of
the risks losing a great deal if

his tough attitude backfires.

Possibly the biggest risk is that Pretoria
could, ultimately, simply cancel KwaZulu's
self-governing status if the party remains
intransigent. It's hard to believe that Bu-
thelezi would then consider the military option
(against the might of the SADF), though
some of his lieutenants have warned that a
civil war could be unleashed in the event of
the April 27 general election going ahead.

Mass action is another option that has
been raised by Inkatha, which potentially could
undermine the election being held in Natal if
not elsewhere.

Reincorporating KwaZulu into SA would,
observes Natal University political scientist
Ian Phillips, be much simpler than in the
case of the independent TBVC homelands
because of the bilateral treaties which estab-
lished the latter.

Centre for African Studies director Eu-
gen Nyati maintains that KwaZulu and all
the homelands should already have been
reincorporated, "President DF de Klerk
hasn't lifted a finger against Inkatha, but
that's not because he can't; it's because he
simply doesn't have the political will. In fact,
some people believe he has over-indulged
Buthelezi and given Inkatha the courage to
continue pushing his luck."

Another reason for government's inaction,
says Nyati, is that there is division in the
Cabinet over where the Nats' best interests
lie. "There are still some Cabinet members
who believe a grand alliance between the
Nats, Inkatha and the homeland leaders
could factor the ANC out of power."

However, the political implications of
reincorporation would be harder to handle
than the legal niceties, even if reincorp-
oration is the last resort against Buthelezi.

For all that, reincorporation would appear
to be a risk that Buthelezi doesn't want
to take. For this reason it would seem likely
that his movement will participate in the
Transitional Executive Council (TEC),
though Inkatha MPs gave mixed signals on
this question on the first day of parliament's
debate on the TEC.

Phillips believes one option Buthelezi
might pursue would be to allow the KwaZulu
government to return to the multiparty talks,
but to keep Inkatha out. "In that way he will
have a foot in the TEC while, as Inkatha
leader, still be able to keep what he thinks is
the moral high ground."

Another route, suggests Theo Venter of
Potchefstroom's Institute for Future Studies,
could be for Inkatha's interests to be con-
voyed to the TEC via bilateral meetings
between the party and government.

The other big puzzle is whether Buthelezi
will lead his party into the April 27 election.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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Inkatha believe a constitution should be
agreed before elections rather than leaving
the drafting to an elected constituent assembly.

Though Buthelezi has said that the deci-
sion on participation will be made by party
members at a special congress, it seems im-
probable that Inkatha will boycott the poll
because to do so would probably sideline it
during the crucial constitution-making
phase.

Complete abstention from the transition
process, including the poll, would, says
Venter, be tantamount to Buthelezi's taking
the Savimbi option. "And that would be in
total contrast to the three fundamentals
which Buthelezi says he stands for: democracy,
free enterprise and federalism. Opting
out would destroy any chance of achieving
these. In all probability, his hard-ball game
now is simply a means of squeezing out every
possible concession before rejoining the pro-
cess."

But there could be more to the Inkatha
strategy than winning concessions at Kemp-
ton Park. It could also be about consolidating
his Natal/KwaZulu power base in the run-
up to the election.

Phillips believes Inkatha realises that, in
order to achieve its political ambitions, it is
essential to hang on to its KwaZulu seat.
"Inkatha intends contesting the election and
it is manoeuvring to gain greater control over
the election process in Natal than it would
otherwise have if it were fettered by full
participation in TEC structures. That, I
think, is Buthelezi's gamble."

One route Phillips feels the party might
take is to try to have a combination of the
KwaZulu government and the Natal/Kwa-
Zulu Joint Executive Authority installed as
the region's transitional executive.

"KwaZulu has a majority in the authority
so that would install Buthelezi as a transi-
tional authority in charge of the election
process. Under these circumstances the In-
dependent Election Commission might not
have a look in," he explains.

Nyati, however, believes that Inkatha's
options depend less on strategies hatched in
Ulundi than on whether government can
make its mind up about where to draw the
line against Inkatha. "Government and the
ANC have bent over backwards to accom-
modate the party and it is difficult to see
what other concessions can be given without
debating and undermining the integrity of the
negotiating process," he says.

Though De Klerk failed in his marathon
meeting with Buthelezi last week to convince
the Inkatha boss to rejoin multiparty talks,
the good news was their commitment to
continue with bilateral discussions and set up
two committees—one on violence, the other
to explore "reasons for the current impasse
in the negotiations."
Talks: IFP not out forever

DURBAN. — The IFP has not permanently withdrawn from multi-party talks, its national spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said yesterday.

The IFP was engaged in bilateral talks with both the government and the ANC in a bid to unlock the impasse which had resulted in their withdrawal from talks, Dr Jiyane said.

The IFP had a clear standpoint: that a new constitution should be drawn up before elections, and that South Africa should be a federal state, he said. — Sapa
GET READY TO FIGHT — KING

DURBAN. — Zulus should stand together to fight against a strategically orchestrated plan to “wipe us off the face of the earth”, King Goodwill Zwe- lithini told 3 000 Zulus at a Shaka rally yesterday.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a separate speech to the crowd at Ensingwini, said patriotic Zulus must be prepared to fight to rule themselves, and not allow the TEC to govern KwaZulu.

The king alleged there were open threats to dethrone him, dismantle the KwaZulu government and forcefully remove the leadership of Chief Buthelezi.

He said violence had rocketed since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and was mainly focused on Zulus.

He also blamed the uncontrollable levels of violence in the country on “revolutionary forces”, which he said had infiltrated communities and brainwashed children into defying authority.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi said there would be no peace in South Africa if Zulus were not allowed self-rule.

The TEC did not include the KwaZulu government nor the IFP and allowing it to rule KwaZulu was akin to “allowing foreigners to rule us”, said Chief Buthelezi.

“We must be prepared to fight for our freedom and the right to rule over ourselves.”

• The outcome of a two-day bilateral meeting starting tomorrow between the central and KwaZulu governments will help decide the course of next week’s multi-party talks.

A source close to the process said yesterday that, except for the report on local government, the agenda for debate had not yet been finalised. “They want to see what comes out of the bilateral, among other things.”

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will lead the state delegation at the bilateral, to be held outside Pretoria.

After a planning committee meeting at Kempton Park yesterday, Mr Meyer confirmed that the government would be handing in its submission on regional powers only next week, but denied it had been delayed because of the bilateral.

Also speaking after the planning committee meeting, ANC secretary-general and chief ANC negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said things were “going according to plan”.

Negotiators next week would attempt to get the process to pick up speed with regard to constitutional issues.

Ciskeian chief negotiator Mr Micky Webb, whose party has often been accused with its allies of stalling talks, was also looking forward to a “useful” week.
Buthelezi image taking a dive?

By THEMBIKHUMALO
Political Reporter

Pretoria should take steps to urgently reconstitute KwaZulu into SA by bringing schools, hospitals, pension administration and other homeland government services under central control to avert further erosion of human rights in that homeland.

This is the assertion in a September report from Africa Watch, a New York-based international human rights watchdog. The report launched a stinging attack on KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the role played by his KwaZulu Police and the SAP in violence in Natal and KwaZulu.

The authors based their document on interviews with individuals in Natal and KwaZulu, the Legal Resources Centre and the Human Rights Commission, the Pretoria-based association for Christian Social Awareness and Mary de Haas of the University of Nelspruit.

It is probably the most damaging report on Buthelezi’s image here and abroad after an unauthorised biography, Gathu Buthelezi – The Chief, with a double agenda by the late “comrade Mzala” of the ANC.

The report says Buthelezi became a “favored representative of black South Africans in the US” during the Reagan Administration, which, because of his communist-capitalist relations, had open opposition to the armed struggle, presented him as a moderate black leader.

Buthelezi’s international stature raised, the report points out. Further, the report claims, Buthelezi’s welcome to the US has been more recent of late amid concerns of alleged Inkatha links with the South African police.

Despite a new Assistant Secretary of State George Shultz’s calling Buthelezi during a visit to June, the Clinton Administration is continuing the trend of putting Buthelezi on ice.

The report also said the Clinton Administration further requested the departure of Inkatha and the Congress of South Africa from multi-party talks in July this year, and urged them to return to the negotiating table.

Subsequently, Buthelezi accused the US of interfering in SA’s affairs and of supporting the ANC, because of its support for the negotiation process, the report added.

It accused Buthelezi of having been supported by conservative governments in western Europe as well as the US during the first seven months of this year.

Subsequently, Buthelezi accused the US of interfering in SA’s affairs and supporting the ANC, because of its support for the negotiation process, the report added.

Hesitantly, Buthelezi accused the US of interfering in SA’s affairs and supporting the ANC, because of its support for the negotiation process, the report added.

It accused Buthelezi of having been supported by conservative governments in western Europe as well as the US during the first seven months of this year.

But with all the changes in SA, Buthelezi’s international status is waning, the report points out. Further, the report claims, Buthelezi’s welcome to the US has been more recent of late amid concerns of alleged Inkatha links with the South African police.

The report said, Buthelezi visited London and had high-level meetings with the British government, including the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, with the absence of Inkatha leader, who visited a few days later.

The British Ambassador to SA came to London for Buthelezi’s visit and failed to attend the funeral of ANC-led, the report said.

Buthelezi, the report says, was also among those who hosted Buthelezi, the report said.

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Buthelezi, the report says, was also among those who hosted Buthelezi, the report said.

“Much of the Natal province, both inside and outside the borders of KwaZulu, is gripped by what is known as a law-abiding civil war between Inkatha and the ANC. Both sides have committed atrocities in support of their causes, for which they should be held accountable,” the report said.

In some cases, however, there have been clashes between Inkatha and KZP police. The 20 people who died in the filth in the first seven months of this year, were KZP members, the report said.

The report recommends that the KZP be brought under command and that Pretoria should ensure that the police force adheres to the standards agreed under the National Peace Accord.

It further recommends that SAP officers are authorized to investigate matters within KZP jurisdiction where there is evidence that the KZP is not conducting a proper investigation.
Buthelezi: Just try to stop us

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, speaking at a Shaka Day rally in Umlazi yesterday, dared anyone to stop him forming armed units to protect Zulus.

At the same meeting, Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini accused the multi-party negotiating forum of plotting to obliterate KwaZulu and urged his subjects to fight against the Transitional Executive Council.

Responding yesterday to the call, law and order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said his department "deplored" anything that would perpetuate a climate of conflict.

"Capt Kotze said yesterday that instead of going for the military option, politicians should look at the underlying causes of the conflict.

IFP to go ahead with armed units

This applied equally to the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi repeated his plea for Zulus to contribute R5 to fund the "legal" units.

"If anybody tries to stop us by force, then so be it," he said to tumultuous applause from a crowd of some 10 000.

"We are not setting up a Zulu army... we intend doing this legally and openly, and without getting anyone's permission." Chief Buthelezi justified the formation of protective units, saying there were various illegal armies in South Africa, including the ANC's umkhonto we Sizwe.

"So what I'm proposing is the least we can do" to stem the tide of Zulu killings, which he said was akin to ethnic cleansing in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi appealed to his supporters to pay R5 immediately to fund the establishment of the units.

He suggested at a rally on Saturday that these units might be deployed on the Reef. "I promise I will send these units up to protect you," he said.

King Goodwill said the KwaZulu government had pulled out of constitutional negotiations with his full support, as these talks would exclude Zulu self-determination.

Attempts to impose TEC rule on KwaZulu would fail, as Zulus would fight against subjugation.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa
Fight against TEC, chief urges Zulus

Durban — Inkhata Freedom Party leader Chief Mangena and Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini strongly rejected the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) at the weekend, and called on Zulus to fight against its implementation in KwaZulu.

Buthelezi asked his supporters to help establish armed protection units to defend Zulus, and urged Zulus to contribute R6 each towards forming the units.

He said the protection units were justified as other “illegal” armies were tolerated, and dared anyone to try to prevent him from establishing them.

Addressing three separate Shaka commemoration rallies in Natal, the two leaders said Zulus would not allow “foreigners” to govern them.

The attack by Buthelezi and Zwelithini on the TEC contrasted starkly with statements by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, who addressed thousands of people at a “rival” weekend festival in KwaXimba, near Cato Ridge.

He appealed to all South Africans to accept the TEC Bill as signalling the irreversibility of the transition to democracy. — Sapa.
NEWS Warning of 'takeover' of KwaZulu • Cosag urge

Buthelezi: resist TEC

INKATHA CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI yesterday repeated
his rejection of the Transitional Executive Council and said Zu-
as must prepare to resist TEC rule in KwaZulu.

"If we allow the TEC to take over the
running of KwaZulu then we are in
effect allowing others to rule over us.
Time and again I have said that I will
never allow this to happen," he said.
The Inkatha Freedom Party leader
was addressing about 5 000 people at
the King Zwelithini stadium in Umlazi
as part of Shaka Day festivities. He
again claimed there was a campaign to
annihilate the Zulu nation. This cam-
paign was taking place through killings
and by negotiators at the World Trade
Centre in Kompton Park. (11B)

"At the heart of the latest constitu-
tional proposals now tabled at negotia-
tions, is the aim to destroy KwaZulu as
a political force before elections take
place next year," he charged.

He further claimed the TEC was un-
derdeveloped and was dominated by the
African National Congress and its allied
civic organisations. "No one must un-
derestimate our determination to rule
over ourselves. No one must underesti-
mate our resolve to remain free from
foreign rule. "If our enemies insist on
subjugating us like the British and as the
National Party tried to do, then we will
resist." - Sapa
Talks race resumes

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa’s political agenda is taken up again at the World Trade Centre tomorrow after two weeks when another race begins to finalise a draft transitional constitution for promulgation in November.

The multiparty negotiations process resumes after being held back for the 14-day special sitting of Parliament in Cape Town where four pieces of draft legislation, including the Transitional Executive Council Bill, were approved.

The Bills were adopted by sufficient consensus of the negotiating council earlier this month in preparation for elections next April 27.

On the other hand, the Pan Africanist Congress said it would “dig our heels in” and continue to oppose the TEC and interim constitution at the talks.

Plans are that Parliament will sit again for three weeks from November 8 with a finished draft interim constitution high on its agenda, giving negotiators at least four weeks to reach agreement.

Secret venue

Also, the week kicked off with a high-powered bilateral meeting at a secret Pretoria venue between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government which began yesterday. Discussions are expected to end about noon today.

The IFP is led by its chief executive officer, Mr Joe Matthews, and the Government by its chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer.

The meeting is a sequel to a summit between State President PW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Tshinyuyi on September 16 aimed at getting the IFP back to the talks.

It is believed a compromise agreement with Pretoria might be struck with the IFP which would also benefit the restless Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments at the talks, as well as the Afrikaner Volksfront on the outside.

To this group compromise means those regional powers which may no wish be allowed to draft their own constitutions prior to the April 27 elections.

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said: “Our position is firmly against entrenched regions. We will continue to fight for a broadly mandated constituent assembly, unflattered by prior agreement. The parties involved in the talks have no such mandate.”
Inkatha rejects report that calls it undemocratic

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected a report by US-based Africa Watch that accused it and the KwaZulu government of being undemocratic and oppressive.

Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said the report was based on selectively chosen media allegations. Findings were also based on "so-called independent violence and human rights monitors who were, in fact, unequivocally aligned to one political grouping," Jiyane said.

He said nameless witnesses were quoted, and allegations used from what were referred to only as "non-aligned organisations".

Other sources included two books which were bitterly hostile to Inkatha. One of these was a "defamatory book" entitled Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda, which had been removed from SA bookshelves after Inkatha had threatened legal action.

Jiyane said the report ignored "well-documented ANC violence" and said nothing about an ongoing assassination campaign against Inkatha leaders.

Africa Watch, which describes itself as a human rights agency, said in its study released last week that freedom of expression and free political activity were routinely denied in KwaZulu.

The report recommended that the SA government establish interim authorities over homelands until elections for a constituent assembly were held, and that it investigate the KwaZulu Police.

AWB sends out 'call-ups'

CAPE TOWN — The AWB has sent "call-ups" to western Cape people who it thinks may want to take part in training camps.

Those who cannot attend are asked to explain in writing. Those invited are asked to report with guns and uniforms.

AWB spokesman Nico Prinsloo emphasized that attendance was voluntary.

Own Correspondent

Another AWB member in Farow is reported to have said that commando members could use the firearms issued to them by the SADF. Prinsloo denied this.

SADF spokesman Cdt Brian du Toit said any commando member using an SADF weapon at an AWB camp would be liable to prosecution.
Govt, IFP meet on constitution

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party continue talks on constitutional issues today.

The two-day meeting in Pretoria is a continuation of discussions between President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi two weeks ago.

The teams will be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane. Discussion is expected to focus on the draft interim constitution and its federal character.

The talks form part of the Government's strategy to continue negotiations with the IFP parallel to those at the Negotiating Council.

The council will resume meeting tomorrow after a 14-day recess.

The focus in Kempton Park will be on the draft interim constitution and a new electoral Act.

Negotiators will have to complete these two pieces of draft legislation within a month to allow enough time for them to be passed in the November session of Parliament.
Buthelezi’s private army call slammed by NP, DP

PRETORIA. - The National Party has censured Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for calling on his supporters to establish armed defence units, describing it as “dangerous emotional politicking”.

“It will not solve the problem but rather lay the basis for a civil war,” NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said in a statement.

Addressing a Shaka Day commemoration rally on Sunday, Chief Buthelezi asked his supporters to help establish armed protection units to defend Zulus and urged them to contribute R5 each towards forming the units.

He said the protection units were justified as other “illegal” armies were tolerated, and dared anyone to try to prevent him from establishing them.

"Chief Buthelezi’s proposal may reflect many people’s belief that violence be answered with violence. However, the destructive result of this will be an exhausting civil war."

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the NP deplored Chief Buthelezi’s “dangerous emotional politicking, instead of (him) trying to find lasting solutions”.

Democratic Party defence spokesman General Bob Rogers said: “The formation of yet another private army, legal or illegal, can only increase the level of conflict."

“It would be more constructive if Chief Buthelezi agreed to contribute personnel to a national peace-keeping force in the short term, and in the long term for Zulus to join the new defence force in large numbers.”

SAPA.
Zulu arms plan draws fire

PRETORIA — The ANC yesterday called on Zulus not to donate money for the formation of Zulu protection units, and the Law and Order Ministry called the idea "deplorable." NP spokesman Martinus van Schalkwyk also warned that Zulu protection units would not protect Zulus, who were "often the targets of violence," but would instead lay the foundations for civil war.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Inkatha's plan to set up "legal" defence units would contribute to violence in SA. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Butlereli called on all Zulus at the weekend to donate R5 each towards the setting up of defence units to counter "an onslaught against Zulus."

Kotze said it was high time politicians stopped attempting to treat the symptoms of violence and negotiated ways to resolve the causes of the violence.

Van Schalkwyk said Butlereli's proposals might confirm the idea many people held that violence had to be countered by violence. "In the long term the result would be nothing other than civil war. It is a pity Butlereli turns to emotional politics instead of looking for permanent solutions," he said.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the DP said yesterday that Butlereli's call for Zulu armed units came at a very time when all South Africans should be redoubling their efforts to bring about peace and understanding.

DP defence spokesman Bob Rogers said such an army would only increase conflict in SA. "It would be more constructive if Chief Butlereli agreed to contribute personnel to the formation of the national peacekeeping force in the short term."

Sapa reports from Durban that the ANC in Natal has urged Zulus not to heed Butlereli's call to finance "Zulu protection units," claiming they are aimed at strengthening Inkatha's "reign of terror."

ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande said Inkatha represented only a small minority of Zulus. By making his call Butlereli had exposed himself to be against the liberation of the African people, he said. The call on Zulus to arm themselves was irresponsible and reckless.

Nzimande also called on the regional dispute resolution committee and peace monitors to monitor and receive complaints about forced payment. Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said at the weekend that Zulus in the Transvaal welcomed the protection unit initiative and were keen to donate the money.
Call for
IFP army
slammed

Johannesburg — In-
katha's self-protection
units would be founded
under strict discipline
and, in terms of the
National Peace Accord,
its Transvaal co-ordi-
nator, Mr. Hennie Bekker,
said yesterday.

Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi asked sup-
pporters at the weekend
to help finance armed
protection units.

The proposals drew
sharp criticism from the
ANC yesterday. It urged
Zulus not to "hijack the
call" which was aimed at
strengthening the IFP's
"reign of terror.

The National Party fol-
lowed suit, saying it was
a recipe for civil war.

The ANC's criticism
was ironic, Mr. Bekker
said. It had resisted all
calls to disband Mkhonzo
weziswe, or its
self-defence units,
which were responsible
for destabilization; and
the "callous, killing of
people of different per-
suasion." — Sapa, Politi-
cal Staff.
Mandela hits out at IFP leader but praises Viljoen

Buthelezi’s call to arms is ‘a declaration of war’

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela says Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has “declared war” by calling on Zulus to arm themselves and prepare to fight.

Discussing threats to the negotiation process, Mr Mandela contrasted Chief Buthelezi’s attitude with that of Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen, whom he praised as “a responsible man”.

Mr Mandela was speaking at a news conference after meeting the board of the South African Free Election Fund (SAFE).

Asked if there was any chance of getting Chief Buthelezi back into negotiations, he detailed the extensive foreign and domestic effort that had been made to do just this.

In spite of its failure so far, the ANC would continue to talk to Chief Buthelezi to try to persuade him to come back, he said.

“Now he has declared war and has called on Zulus to arm themselves to fight. I hope wiser counsel will warn him of the dangers.”

Mr Mandela was asked whether the ANC’s talks with General Viljoen held out any hope of bringing Chief Buthelezi back into negotiations since both leaders seek a constitution with a high degree of regional autonomy.

Mr Mandela said he would not like to speak on behalf of Chief Buthelezi. “All I want to say is that he is danger of being hopelessly isolated.”

By contrast, Mr Mandela said his impression in talks with General Viljoen was that he was a “responsible man who understands that violence is neither in the interests of the country, nor of whites, nor of Afrikaners.”

“I think he is trying to bring his people back to the negotiation table.”
Mandela and Buthelezi plan joint tour

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to visit violence-torn areas in Natal and on the East Rand together soon, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki announced yesterday.

Mbeki headed an ANC delegation in talks with Buthelezi in the KwaZulu capital of Umlazi yesterday.

He said arrangements for the leaders' visits had been finalised and dates would be announced when Mandela returned from the US.

Buthelezi welcomed the proposed visits, saying he was certain his and Mandela's joint appearances would do much to reduce violence.

The meeting followed an agreement between Mandela and Buthelezi to tour embattled areas in a bid to stem the violence.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, who facilitated the meeting, said the delegations had also discussed the continuation of talks on constitutional issues.

See Page 2
ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday launched a scathing attack on Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he accused of having “declared war” by calling on Zulus to arm themselves.

Speaking at a press conference after meeting the board of the South African Free Election Fund in New York, Mandela contrasted Buthelezi’s attitude with that of Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constant Viljoen, whom he called “a responsible man”.

Mandela detailed extensive foreign and domestic efforts made to draw Buthelezi back into negotiations, and said the ANC would continue to talk to the IFP leader. "Now he has declared war and has called on Zulus to arm themselves to fight. I hope wiser counsel will warn him of the dangers," he said.

The ANC leader’s criticism of Buthelezi came on the same day the organisation’s national chairman Thabo Mbeki and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma held talks with the KwaZulu Chief Minister in Umhlanga to finalise arrangements for Mandela and Buthelezi to address joint rallies in war-torn areas.

IFP national communications director Dr Ziba Jiyane today told The Star the planned joint rallies would go ahead despite Mandela’s latest criticism of Buthelezi.

He said it was strange that Mandela would not concede that Buthelezi’s call was merely meant to arm Zulus with self-defence in the face of unrelenting attacks from the ANC’s Umkhonto weSizwe.
‘Progress’ in Zulu talks

PRETORIA — Progress had been made in the bilateral talks between the government and a KwaZulu delegation which continued here yesterday, a government spokesman said.

The talks, intended to woo the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party back to the multi-party negotiations, continued in Durban today.

Constitutional discussions were “constructive and progress had been made”, he said. — Sapa
Four killed in station attack

Three Die in ANC Election Taboo

ANC's Voting Campaign

Teachers' Body to Join ANCs Voting Campaign

President's Call for Peace

Police on Strike in Pretoria

More than 200 police officers on strike in Pretoria

JOHANNESBURG: The Pretoria Strike Committee said yesterday that the police strike, now in its second week, was a landmark in the struggle for the rights of the black policeman. The committee said that the strike was not only a protest against the police commissioner, but also a protest against the government.

JOHANNESBURG: The SANDF announced yesterday that it had arrested 200 police officers for mutiny and sabotage.

JOHANNESBURG: The police strike continued today with more than 200 officers on strike in Pretoria. The strike was called by the Pretoria Strike Committee after the police commissioner refused to meet with the committee.

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC announced yesterday that it had won the election in the township of Soweto.

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC's campaign for the election has been marked by violence and intimidation.

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Keys urges investors to return

Own Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys appealed here to the international financial community yesterday to return to South Africa with the same zeal that characterised its flight from the country during the sanctions years.

In his statement to the IMF, Mr Keys described foreign funding as "a crucial element" in any future South African economic strategy.

He also promised sound economic policies in a new South Africa and underlined the "co-operative spirit and sense of financial responsibility" that already existed in the country.

Nats most favoured by coloureds

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party is most favoured by coloured people and Asians, securing a 46% and 39% vote respectively, a Markinor research group has found in a Gallup poll.

The ANC came second, mustering 16% of the coloured vote and 17% from Asians.

In a similar survey whites gave the NP a 43% first-choice vote and blacks three percent, while the ANC got two percent of the white and 62% of the black vote. — Sapa

‘Progress’ in Zulu talks

PRETORIA. — Progress had been made in the bilateral talks between the government and a KwaZulu delegation which continued here yesterday, a government spokesman said.

The talks, intended to woo the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party back to the multi-party negotiations, continue in Durban today.

Constitutional discussions were "constructive and progress had been made" he said. — Sapa
IFP warns govt it will 'resist'

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday warned the government not to "go it alone" with the ANC-alliance and cut negotiations short.

The IFP warned:
- Any attempt at imposing a constitutional arrangement prior to agreement of all major parties would be "vehemently resisted"; and
- Called for an urgent summit of leaders.

The IFP statement came after the ANC and the government made their "final offer" to the Freedom Alliance.

Mr Carl Werth, Natal CP leader, said the "offer" would be considered.

The Freedom Alliance which includes the IFP has been given six days to consider the offer.

Regarding the breakdown in talks between the government and the Freedom Alliance, President F W de Klerk said he could not see how the alliance could turn down the government's offer of a meeting.

An IFP spokesman said many parties were still concerned that the two stage process of the multi-party talks will open possibilities for parties to renege.
The battle for the Zulus

Both the ANC and Inkatha held events to mark the 165th anniversary of Shaka’s death, but the views expressed were very different, reports Farouk Chothia

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LAD in impeccably traditional animal skins and fur, the amabutho engage in mock-battle, knocking their sticks against shields, falling to the ground, reemerging, rising to their feet, bending their backs and positioning themselves for an attack. In a voice filled with passion, ‘people’s poet’ bheki ngcobo addressed the crowd to a frenzy as he invoked the memories of the Battle of Isandlwana where Zulu warriors defeated the British colonial army in 1879.

Arms, ankles, necks and hips swathed in beads, bare-breasted women swirl their bodies in rhythmic beat to the shrill cries of the thou-

sands who have gathered.

The site: a dusty patch of land in rural Ima-

xamba, between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The occasion: the first major African National Congress cultural festival to mark the 165th anniversary of the death of the founder of the Zulu nation, King Shaka.

Firing the first salvo in its election cam-

paign—bound inextricably to its effort to reclaim Zulu culture from the Inkatha Freedom Party—the ANC broadened the occasion to fos-

ter harmony among South African ethnic groups.

On the platform with ANC-aligned Zulu
chiefs were traditional leaders from as far afield as the Transkei and the Eastern Cape. After a praise poet donned a feather cap and sang in his honour, the ANC-aligned traditional leader of Imbumbhume, chief Zibuso Mshaba, declared: "Tribeism is a thing of the past. We have come to bury it. We are here not to honour only Shaka — but to also honour other African heroes like Hlupheka, Selshubankhu, Moshoshok and Cetshwayo.

Flamboyantly Shizu King Goodwill Zwelithini, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was also fighting for the soul of Shaka. He traveled to Shaka’s grave site in Stanger, as well as in Mthunzi in Northern Natal and Umlazi, near Durban.

As the sea of people rose to chant: "Shenga!" in his honour, Buthelezi invoked images of far-

away Bosebo by stoking the tribal embers and beating the war drums.

"We, the people of Zulu, the Zulu are the ones that are going to tell us who to rule over us — this is no patriotic Zulu can ever allow," said Buthelezi.

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ounter-attack in Imbumbhume, the 33-

Year-old Ntshane said: "The present generation should deal with the leaders that were involved in the Isandlwana battle. The ANC should also take the lead in repairing the damages caused.

In an interview, ANC Natal Midlands deputy

president Blade Ntshane said: "Buthelezi had been asking other leaders to play the role of a行業’s."

"We are convinced that we were (Zwelithini) to do that, the leaders of other traditional leaders in this region would be lightened and the violence would abate," said Ntshane, adding: "The great places of traditional leaders and the palaces of the king should once again be places of refuge and safety for everybody.

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Zwelithini, ANC Natal Midlands treasurer

"Ntshane and others want to revive the prestige of the monarchy as a symbol and a source of unity. We believe that the closest assistant of the king (currently Buthelezi) should be non-secretary and above party politics," said Ntshane.

He added that the IFP leader was wrong to claim that the king’s “prime minister” had trad-

itionally come from the Buthelezi. "Prime minister of Shaka, Diphong and Mzondi was not a Buthelezi. It was only with Cetshwayo that Buthelezi’s grandfather became prime minister," Ntshane said.

As a pan to the political game of the ANC and IFP, Zwelithini sent confusing signals, mixing calls for peace and unity with threats of war.

In one voice, he accused the multi-party negotiation forum of attempting to stifle the Zulu nation and warned: “These attempts will fail.” But he also pleaded for unity, saying: “Let Zulu unity and power spread across the length and breadth of Africa to conquer fear and injustice,” he said.

Reaching out to Zwelithini, the ANC has invit-

ed him to another cultural festival in Durban next month. Traditional leaders from through-

out Southern Africa—including King Mswati of Swaziland and King Mshweni of Lesotho—have been invited to attend.

But with his future uncertainty linked to Buthelezi through the control of some strata and family ties, Buthelezi is said to be seeking other leaders. Zweni-

thini is unlikely to accept this offer.

An additional factor is his suspicions of the ANC which Buthelezi alleged acted at the weekend by delivering that he and the IFP had stood by the monarch when the ANC recruited traditional leaders as hostages of apartheid.

With Zwelithini unable to break away from the IFP and remains a non-partisan role the unity Shaka forged and the sacred Isandlwana legacy will — an heraldry symbolising the might and strength of the Zulu nation — may remain fractured until a new king sits on the throne in Nqushu.
MK moles who infiltrated the SADF

A former captain in the SADF Permanent Force tells how he spied for Umkhonto weSizwe, writes Stephen Laufer

 DETAILS of Umkhonto weSizwe's infiltration of moles into the South African Defence Force are emerging for the first time.

The Mail & Guardian has spoken to the most senior MK mole — a former permanent force captain and graduate of the SADF's elite Military Academy at Saldanha Bay who was rising rapidly through the ranks during the mid-1980s.

And Ronnie Kasrils, the man who for years ran MK's moles inside the SADF, this week lifted the veil on "a sensitive operation which gave Cuban, Angolan and African National Congress forces eyes and ears" inside the apartheid military establishment.

Kasrils spoke for the first time of "about a dozen Permanent Force officers" who were also MK intelligence operatives, and about the "roughly 100" Citizen Soldier soldiers who regularly supplied information on their units. As young white men, they were in the unique position of being able to penetrate to the heart of the South African military establishment.

Kasrils was MK's military intelligence chief from its inception in 1983, working out of poky flats in London and large Lusaka houses rented on the pretext that he and his group were agricultural researchers.

MK's most successful plant graduated from the Military Academy in 1987, his sights set on senior command. Completion of the academy course is regarded as an officer's ticket to rapid promotion, with many graduates eventually becoming brigadiers and generals. By the time he left the force, this MK mole was due for promotion to major.

For years, he passed on military training manuals, internal telephone directories, sketches of military bases and other SADF documents to which he had easy access. He is sceptical as to the importance of this material, but Kasrils says it and similar documents obtained by other MK moles was central to understanding what the SADF was up to.

"With time we had their telex directory which listed every unit and, by detailing shared lines for encrypted messages, pointed to key organisational relationships between units. And we got our hands on the operator's manual for SADF military intelligence's computer system."

But the prize, says Kasrils, was the SADF's battle order, which revealed where units had been, where they were at any given time and where they had been. "This, and information on South African weapons development, served our allies as much or more than it did us," he said.

Like most of MK's shadow men, the Saldanha graduate — who has asked to remain anonymous for reasons of personal safety — found life lonely in the SADF.

In 1985, he was asked to take a holiday in Britain, where he met "Khumalo" and "Bilt" — Kasrils and his chief analyst. A month of lectures and discussions on political issues was interspersed with counter-surveillance training — endless walks around London learning to look over his shoulder.

On his return to South Africa, the Saldanha man was ordered to cease contact — he was to be a sleeper, to be reactivated at a later date, when he had reached senior rank. Nobody knew of that stage, said Kasrils, how long the conflict would continue.

"Our intelligence capability was expanding all the time," asserts Kasrils. "We had PF people in Mozambique, in the key Far Northern Command, who knew the border patrol system. They added us in infiltrating MK members and in identifying military targets in the region."

This intelligence work allowed MK to reduce its casualty figures from a high of 200 annually in the mid-1980s to around 60 by 1989, despite rising numbers of infiltrations, says Kasrils.

The SADF's Eastern Transvaal command, with its headquarters in Nelspruit, was also infiltrated. It was key to military operations on the Swazi and Mozambiquan borders.

MK Intelligence's exploits are featured in Kasrils' new book, Armed and Dangerous, to be published next month.

The organisation had its greatest victory in 1987, he believes, when it was able to give MPLA and Cuban forces in Angola advance warning of a major South African incursion into Angola. The invading forces met their nemesis in Cuito Canevale.

"Our Citizen Force network had instructions to inform us whenever they received callups," recalled Kasrils, "and we knew from reading official literature put out by the SADF that they were planning a major exercise at the army battle school at Lohatla in the northern Cape."

Putting two and two together, and comparing the SADF's preparations for the Lohatla exercise with an earlier Angolan incursion, Kasrils' analysts were sure an invasion was imminent. The Angolans and Cubans were informed, and were able to engage — and ultimately beat — the SADF.

Kasrils remains convinced the SADF had many more men deployed at Cuito than billed to the public. "They claimed to have sent 3000 soldiers into the field, but our analysis shows they had up to 10000 men there."

Communications between MK intelligence headquarters and the SADF moles were generally unsophisticated, relying on couriers and a simple telephone answering system.

"We had answering machines at numbers in England, and whenever a British soldier called up, he'd phone and say a code name, leaving a message for Auntie Agatha or someone about when he was coming to tea. We knew the date meant his call-up date, and could thereby work out which units were being mobilised. Because these cadres were from across the country, we always knew where there were large-scale CF deployments."

None of MK's Permanent Force officers were recruited while serving. Having joined the illegal underground as students or immediately after completing their national service, they were encouraged to make a career in the SADF, in the hope that, with time, they would rise to senior and influential rank.

 Asked whether some of the moles are still serving, Kasrils grins. "Let's leave that out. Let's keep them guessing."

Ronnie Kasrils ... Greatest victory was Cuito Canevale
In a sea of black faces, only the odd Sandtonian resplendent in leather and denim, a woman in an ANC tracksuit top and the grey-haired couple who brought their carefully groomedoodle along to the meeting, could be spotted.

If its AGM is anything to go by, most of the branch’s 750 members are domestic workers; gardeners and other black workers in the area. Bright yellow voters’ manuals in Tswana — “Re Lokote Rer” — and Afrikaans — “Die Regerings Reger” — and ANC constitutions in all languages were handed out.

Perhaps there were no English manuals because Sandton’s property owners got their IDs years before and have been “Making their-X for freedom” for many decades.

But despite its unexpected membership, the meeting was classic northern suburbs stuff: from the tea (served in ceramic cups) to the variety of cakes (black forest and cream) and the sandwiches (delicate numbers filled with cucumbers and tuna and wreathed in lettuce leaves). This and the majority white branch executive showed you were in Sandton and not Soweto.

The guest speaker, national executive committee member Tokyo Sexwane, who had obviously been expecting an audience of a lighter hue, steamed ahead like a zealot, missionary. determined to remodel the few convertible.

The branch carefully chose a speaker whom northern suburb housewives had voted the most sedent in the land. And he did not let them down. In poetic fashion, with gentle modulations of tone and much gesturing, Sexwane implored: “You can’t leave the country which has made you what you are.”

He rambled on about “economic patriotism”, and said that “when you are here in Sandton, it is difficult to understand the pain of a country that must change.

“I speak about wealth creation before wealth distribution,” and “we are not married to nationalism, we are married to solving the problems of the country.”

He further reassured his audiences’ fears about radical restructuring in the form of pool taxes and the like.

“The budget is lean and the family silver has been stolen. We won’t have houses and schooling as soon as Mandela is in government. It is not the first, second or third budget that will address all problems.”

Perhaps he did not notice that even as he spoke, the numbers of those he addressed dwindled even further. The more polite waited until he finished and then left, not even waiting to vote in the branch’s elections. (Incidentally, a white person, Alex Anderson, was voted chairman almost unanimously by the black audience, who seemed to know him well.)

How many heard Sexwane’s message in English? Sexwane silenced his interpreter early in the meeting, saying: “You’re saying things I didn’t, so I prefer to translate myself.”

A five-minute translation sufficed for the ANC’s Sandton branch’s black members.

One hopes he didn’t leave out the bit about the first, second or third budgets and the best line from his speech: “Every darkness will be followed by day.”
The competition for the control of the region is at its height, with both American and European powers vying for dominance. The countries are engaged in a strategic military buildup, with numerous alliances and military exercises being conducted in the region.

In the midst of this tension, efforts are being made to maintain peace and stabilize the region. International organizations and mediators are working to mediate conflicts and promote dialogue between the countries involved.

The situation is complex and delicate, requiring careful consideration and diplomatic skill to navigate. The future of the region is uncertain, and the stakes are high.

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The above is an excerpt from a diplomatic report discussing the strategic situation in the Northwest Region. The full report can be accessed through the diplomatic archives.
All Biko needs is ‘one honest cop’

Stephen Laufer

SIXTEEN years after Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko’s death, one of the lawyers for the family has said that for justice to be done it would take just one policeman or doctor who knew the truth to break ranks.

Calls for the inquest to be reopened started this week by the Azanian People’s Organisation, which plans to hold rallies to back its demands next weekend. But Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has not been formally asked for a re-examination of the case, said his spokesman, Werner Krull.

The law makes it virtually impossible to reopen an inquest unless new evidence is presented, explained George Bizos, one of the advocates who represented the family at the initial judicial hearing into the death.

Fresh facts could come from one of the security branch officers involved in Biko’s interrogation, or from one of the district surgeons called to examine him.

But time is beginning to run out on possible criminal prosecutions, warned Bizos, because the most likely charge of culpable homicide has a statute of limitations of 20 years, leaving just four years to investigate and bring charges.

“ar first prize would go to someone who would be prepared to step forward and speak the truth, possibly in exchange for indemnity,” suggested Bizos. “Someone must be prepared to break the conspiracy of silence and put the others in the dock, if we are to know what happened.”

And as if hinting that he might yet want to become that prize winner, one of the district surgeons called by the police to examine Biko, Dr Iver Lang, self-critically told the Mail & Guardian this week that “things might have been different had we had the opportunity of hospitalising the patient when we wanted to hospitalise him”.

Lang and his colleague, Dr Tucker, were severely criticised by the Medical and Dental Council for their failure to assist Biko adequately. They were also taken to task for authorising his removal by police from Pretoria to Pretoria by road, despite his very visible state of extreme physical distress.

Bizos believes that they know what had happened to the BC leader. “With Biko semi-conscious, the police had a grave problem on their hands which only the district surgeons could deal with. It is reasonable to assume that the SAP trusted the doctors, and that they would have told them exactly what had happened.”

Biko’s journey to Pretoria, authorised by the district surgeons, was to be his final agony. Brain-damaged and incontinent, he did not survive the hours shackled in the back of a bumpy Land Rover.

Yet after weeks of detailed forensic and other evidence, Magistrate Prins, who presided over the original inquest, found in a brief ruling that no blame could be apportioned for Biko’s death.

Bizos believes that Prins erred. “No reasonable court could come to that conclusion. Although Prins was probably not acting in bad faith, I am sure that he was influenced by the surrounding circumstances, as judicial minds usually are. Those circumstances would have defined criticism of the security forces as unpatriotic.”

But the evidence of police culpability was overwhelming, he believes. “Medical experts like Neville Proctor and Jonathan Gluckman presented evidence which proved the police version of events leading up to Biko’s death was wrong.”

The evidence, which was not contradicted by the state during the inquest, showed that a blow to Biko’s head had smashed his brain against the back of the skull, inducing unconsciousness for at least half an hour. “But the police claimed that he had banged his head against a wall before getting up and fighting them for several minutes — a physical impossibility, given the nature of the injury,” said Bizos.

A general rule of law would have required the magistrate to find against the police, believes Bizos. “If a false version of events is tendered — and this was clear to the magistrate — the court should draw the worst inference as to the truthfulness of the witness.”

But with the inquest ruling as it stands, the police involved in the Biko case may well go scot free. They include Colonel Deon Niewoudt, recently accused in the Gonnie inquest of involvement in the deaths of police colleagues in an attempt to frame the African National Congress, and Colonel Harold Snyman, now peacefully retired.

Said Bizos: “At a minimum, charges relating to defeating the ends of justice should be possible.”

Graves desecrated for scrap metal

Mduduzi ka Harvey

“STEALING from the dead to feed the living” is on the rise at cemeteries and crematoriums in and around Johannesburg. Hunger and recession are undermining respect for the dead.

Flowers are being stolen from graves, to be resold to other mourners at a cheaper price. They are also being transferred from one grave to another for cash.

Metal ornaments, vases, monuments and marble artefacts are specially in demand. Some grave robbers go to the extent of stealing aluminium grave markers and selling them to scrap metal dealers.

There is also a rise in vandalism, with tombstones being toppled, especially at the Newclare, Johannesburg, cemetery. At least 12 cases are reported weekly.

Marius Labuschagne, the Johannesburg council’s manager of planning and control, who deals with the Bramfontein, Brixton and West Park cemeteries, said the problem was at its worst during the school holidays. Labuschagne said arrests had been made at West Park and that stolen vases had been recovered from bags hidden in the cemetery.
What's ailing MK's muscleman?

Mduudzi ka Harvey

HAS Mawusile Piliso, former head of intelligence and security for the African National Congress, been transferred to a low-level regional job for his own health — or for the health of the organisation?

Implicated in August by the Molonariyane Commission into human rights abuses in ANC camps, Piliso relinquished his post as head of Human Resource Development at ANC headquarters at the end of last year. He now serves on the Unita Namibia executive committee, amid rumours that he is very ill.

Piliso was the most senior Unikhoitio weSizwe recruiting and training officer in Angola in the late 1970s, in charge of collecting intelligence, screening ANC recruits, and allocating them to different departments. He was also responsible for the establishment of military camps there. At the notorious Camp 52, or Quadro, built in 1978, he was responsible for monitoring the incarceration of inmates and their grievances and reporting them to the ANC's executive.

Piliso told the commission that the ANC believed most enemy agents were forced to infiltrate the ANC to avoid imprisonment or some other serious threat.

Piliso was responsible for stepping up ANC security in 1976 after a boast by then minister of police, Jimmy Kruger, that "of every 10 who cross the border to join the ANC, five are mine."
MK training 'is legal' 21/10/92

Farouk Chothia

UMKHONTO wesizwe is training its cadres inside the country in preparation for a national peace-keeping force — and the South African Police does not intend clamping down on them.

In a statement late last week, MK southern Natal commander Mandla Sithole said the training was being conducted in “broad daylight” in Durban’s black townships — but that no cadres were being trained in the use of weapons. He said the training was confined to “drill, training, marching, basic physical fitness and military education”.

SAP representative Major Hamilton Ngidi said that if the training was not in the “use of weapons of war”, then MK was acting within the law. Before Sithole’s admission, Inkatha national chairman Frank Msilahose told a Durban press conference that the organisation had “captured on video part of a massive MK training operation”.

“The video footage shows a group of approximately 300 people marching and drilling along the main street in kwaMasabu (which falls under kwaZulu),” said Msilahose.

The kwaZulu Police are not known to have arrested anyone in connection with the training. According to local press reports, Msilahose criticised the South African government for not stopping the training, saying that it was its responsibility to satisfy the security needs of all its citizens. KwaZulu was not an independent country and it needed to be provided with adequate security.

In an interview, Sithole said: “Training is taking place in almost every township. It started about three months ago. Comrades are flooding in.” He added that since the issue became public, the South African Police (SAP) has been “haunting” cadres, waiting them up at night and questioning them about their activities.

Sithole said that once the transitional executive council comes into place, he expects MK to be given access to SAP’s bases. “They will be used as assembly points,” said Sithole.
Bodyguards can't get gun licences

Pamela Dube

AFRICAN National Congress Youth League leader Peter Mokaba and his security aides are still being denied firearm licences — despite the recent disclosure of an assassination plot against him.

The same applies to the entire Pan Africanist Congress leadership. In recent weeks shots have been fired at the house of PAC president Clarence Maketu and at the car of his bodyguards.

The ANC says it complained about Mokaba’s case to President PW de Klerk, but has received no answer.

Mokaba and the PAC say that when the issue is raised with the police, they are offered police protection instead. Neither wants this.

Says Mokaba: “I don't see how I can be protected by my own enemies — the police. What I want is to be able to protect myself from them and have my bodyguards armed.”

A PAC security representative says that since this year his department has been in constant contact with John Vorster Square police station over firearm permits.

“Every time we contact them, we are told 'Pretoria is still looking into the matter.' Even president Clarence Maketu himself does not have a licence. How do they expect us to protect ourselves from the enemy when we are unarmed?”

He says because of the refusal to grant permits, some of the PAC leadership had registered their guns with the Transkei police, and had been given 30-day import/export licences by the South African authorities.

“Most have expired, and our guns have been seized by the SAP. Currently some of our leaders — Jaki Seroke, Enoch Zulu and Maxwell Nemadzivhani — are on trial because of that.”

Mokaba has recently been targeted by rightwing elements and the PAC say their president’s life “is under threat from both the enemy and the Watchdogs (a militant PAC youth faction). There have been attempts on his life and some of our leaders in the last few weeks”.

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa says his organisation has been struggling for three years to secure gun licences for the bodyguards of ANC leaders. "They always find a reason not to. This is dangerous for our leaders."

According to Mamoepa, that it has taken a year for Tokyo Sexwale, the leader of the ANC's PWV region, to obtain a licence. "We are currently fighting to get permits for his bodyguards."

South African Police media liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen says the original application from Sexwale "was mislaid, and when inquiries regarding his licence were made, he was requested to furnish a duplicate application."

"Within a week of receipt of the second application, a firearm license was issued to Mr Sexwale."

According to Barkhuizen, it is not the policy of the SAP to furnish reasons for the refusal of a firearm "unless the applicant submits a written request."

Applications for firearms licences are "considered on merit."

"It implies that the applicant must be fit in all respects and competent to possess a firearm and that just grounds for the possession of the specific firearm exists."

“Further factors ... are whether the applicant has previous convictions which indicate that he has a tendency towards violence.”

Mokaba feels the ANC is also to blame. "The ANC is not doing enough to pressure the police on the matter. They should battle to give its people protection."
IFP chief defects to Contralesa

Farouk Chothia

An Inkatha-aligned chief in the Natal Midlands has defected to the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Chief Nkosiyawwa Gcumlisa appeared at an African National Congress cultural festival at kwaKimba, in the Natal Midlands, at the weekend, becoming the latest IFP-aligned chief to move over to Contralesa.

In an interview, Gcumlisa indicated that a close affinity for firebrand ANC Natal Midlands chairman Xery Gwala lay behind his defection. "Gwala was born in Swayimane, and I am from Swayimane," Gcumlisa said, adding: "My people are ANC members and we are not fighting any organisation. His respect for Gwala is ironic: the IFP has always portrayed him as a "loose cannon" who wants to destroy the chieflancy.

Gcumlisa's defection indicates that the ANC has launched a concerted effort to win over chiefs in the run-up to elections, as traditional leaders wield enormous influence over their subjects. Said ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande: "We believe the IFP is undermining the chiefs, who now have to take orders from warlords."

However, Contralesa's Natal membership is still small, with only a handful of chiefs having openly identified themselves with the organisation. Most still pay their allegiance to the kwaZulu government.
14 IFP leaders killed

The murder of kwaThema branch chairman Samuel Motha this week is part of an orchestrated campaign to assassinate IFP leaders, the organisation claims.

Ferial Haffajee and Stephen Laufer report

THIS WEEK'S dawn slaying of the Inkatha Freedom Party's kwaThema branch chairman Samuel Motha brings to 300 the number of IFP office-bearers killed since the National Peace Accord was signed in 1991.

Since July this year, 14 Inkatha officials have been killed. "These are planned assassinations," charged the organisation's Suzanne Vos. She said the assassins were "highly skilled" and that the assassinations had been "well-orchestrated".

Inkatha spokesman Ed Titil said the assassination campaign was directed at educated, literate Inkatha members who wield influence in their communities. The obvious strategy is to create a power vacuum which would facilitate penetration of the communities by the African National Congress.

IFP Transvaal leader Humphrey Ndlovu claimed that Motha's death was part of a campaign by Umhloni to get rid of Transvaal leaders of the organisation.

Titil said attacks were carried out professionally. "The attackers carry out reconnaissance of their targets, post gunmen at all entrances to a property, and often catch our people in deliberate crossfire."

One of the more insidious effects of the assassination campaign, said Titil, was that Inkatha members were increasingly reluctant to hold office within the organisation. "Taking a high profile position means exposing yourself and becoming a visible target."

Motha was killed at dawn on Wednesday. He was shot on his bicycle a few streets from his home while on his way to work. His wife, Noma Motha, found his body when she went to investigate the shots the night before his murder, Motha told his two brothers that he believed he would be killed.

Motha's death follows that of Absalom Shozi, the chairman of the organisation's KwaMhlong branch. He was killed while inspecting the remains of his house which was set alight while he was in Natal. Shozi's body was stolen from a mortuary and has yet not been recovered.

"We will not allow ourselves to be driven into extinction," said Titil. "That is why there has been a phenomenal response to Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi's call last weekend for R5 contributions to the formation of self defence units."

Titil was unable to say how much had been donated by Thursday, but said money was "being collected at all kwaZulu magistrate's courts, which are also distribution centres for pensions".

According to the IFP, the following branch chairmen in Natal and Transvaal have been killed since July this year: Petrus Boy Masinya, shot on July 3; Bonginkosi Sithole, shot on July 6; Japan Motho, shot on July 14; Thulani Klawula, shot on July 16; Morofo Ngobeni, hacked to death on July 25; Absalom Shozi, burnt to death on July 25; Simon Mtshukho, shot on August 7; Elias Diadia, shot on August 24; Ethelbert Malinga, shot on September 15; and Motha, shot on September 29.

Other officials killed in Natal and Transvaal include deputy branch secretary Patrick Khanyile, shot on July 4; deputy branch treasurer Wilson Lombo, shot on August 1; Youth Brigade chairman Sihlelo Khumalo, shot on August 3; and branch organiser Simon Maddela, shot on August 17.
Buthelezi wants a stronger Cosag

Farouk Choliha

KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) "exists only in name" and must be restructured to become an effective opponent of the government and the African National Congress.

Buthelezi's frank admission is likely to increase tensions within the group, as he envisages a situation which would give him effective control over it.

Addressing Cosag leaders in Durban last Sunday, Buthelezi suggested each of the Cosag parties should enter into separate bilateral talks with the South African government — but that the KwaZulu government should be represented in each delegation.

In what appeared to be an attempt to bolster his influence, Buthelezi told the Cosag leaders to consider including the Inkatha Freedom Party "in some or all of the proposed meetings".

Calling on Cosag leaders to set aside their differences on federalism and confederalism, Buthelezi said bilateral talks would keep up pressure on the government and the ANC to "abandon what they are doing" at the World Trade Centre.

But he cautioned: "We must not oppose the government in such a way that it is forcefully driven into the hands of the ANC."

He said Cosag became "divided and damaged" when the IFP, KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party walked out of multiparty negotiations earlier this year while Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) remained at the talks.

"If you read one of the documents of the ANC, you can see that there was a well-considered strategy to divide us and that they started about having succeeded in doing so," Buthelezi said.

Cosag now "exists only in name" and "maybe it has already outlived its usefulness — I don't know. It is not possible to simply put Cosag back on track and to send it thundering off to a new future."

In a second proposal to inject new life into Cosag, he suggested the formation of a "small working group" which would focus on ways to "terminate the World Trade Centre process before it reaches the stage of a final plenary."

He said the "working group" could propose a meeting of South African leaders to set up a constitutional convention as a forerunner to elections for a new government.
The sudden silence of volatile Willmer

Farouk Chothia

BRITISH-born Natal rightwinger Brendan Willmer says he has evidence that Umkhonto weSizwe is planning a "holocaust" against Inkatha by deploying 4 000 cadres to assassinate Inkatha Freedom Party leaders next January. But he refuses to present it to the Goldstone Commission.

Willmer's concern about MK's alleged "Operation Mbohoko" could land him in hot water. A commission spokesman said it was considering whether to prosecute him under the Prevention of Violence and Public Intimidation Act which carries a maximum fine of R4 000 or a prison sentence of up to 12 months.

Willmer said this week that he would stick to his position, "regardless of the consequences".

The founder in March this year of the Natal Freedom Campaign -- which will campaign for federalism -- the 48-year-old Willmer was reportedly linked to his youth to the British National Front and the Nazi-leaning British National Youth.

Denying that he was a Nazi -- press reports also claimed at the time that he once idolised Hitler -- Willmer said he "regretted" his past and had "publicly apologised" to the Jewish community.

"I'm now a friend of Israel," he said, adding: "Some mature and grow with evolution. Others remain stuck in a time warp. I hope I've grown."

Willmer's decision to return to the political landscape after a decade's absence indicates that the white rightwing is rallying behind the IFP in Natal in an attempt to oppose the African National Congress. Addressing about 80 supporters in the Durban City Hall last weekend, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Tienie Groenewald called on his followers to back the IFP.

At a public meeting last month and in a fax blitz to a wide spectrum of people, Willmer claimed that MK was planning to destroy the IFP in an operation involving 4 000 fighters beginning in the new year -- charges that the ANC has denied. At the request of the Goldstone Commission Willmer gave evidence in camera on October 4 but refused to appear again last Friday. He said he had promised to protect the identity of his source, who came from the "intelligence" community.

Willmer said the commission's investigations would not be hampered by his non-co-operation as "sections of the state security establishment" were also aware of "Operation Mbohoko".

The first Natal chairman of the Conservative Party and founder of the rightwing Civic Action League, Willmer returned to Britain in 1984 after immigration authorities refused to give him a residence permit for South Africa. After returning a few years later, Willmer was given South African citizenship last December and regards South Africa as his "motherland". He sees the ANC as "the puppet of the Communists Party".

IFP spokesman Zita Jyane spurned Willmer's newfound sympathies for the IFP, saying: "He's a person with a chequered history. We don't have any tea with the NFC. There could be members working with him but they do so as individuals."
PONGOLA. — Democracy is within South Africa's grasp but it is threatened by a capitulating government and the failure of the security forces to resist a revolutionary takeover, said KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at a rally here on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi accused the government of bowing to the ANC and said it did not have the "guts" to govern a transition to democracy. And President F.W. de Klerk had lost the will to rule a few years ago.

It was running after the ANC, he said, desperately hoping to take part in an ANC government in the future as its junior partner.

Calling for self-determination for KwaZulu/Natal, Chief Buthelezi urged "the establishment of a regional building block here in which Zulus and their Indian and white compatriots can show their democratic worth."

— Sapa
Thousands in IFP anti-Popcru march

JOHANNESBURG.—Thousands of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched through the centre of the city here on Saturday to protest against the activities of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru), which the IFP says are subversive and dangerous.

In a memorandum handed to Johi Vorster Square police station commander Brigadier Hansie Khoze by IFP Witwatersrand leader Mr Thembekile Khoza, the IFP expressed its "outrage" at Popcru's activities.

The march was marred by a number of incidents, including intimidation of journalists and the assault of at least one pedestrian, who was hit on the forehead with a knobkerrie.

A heavy security force presence was maintained throughout the march.—Sapa
Govt, ANC under fire

A CAPITULATING government and the failure of the security forces to resist a revolutionary takeover is threatening democracy in South Africa, according to KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at a rally in the southeastern Transvaal town of Pongola on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi accused the government of bowing to the African National Congress and said it did not have the "guts" to govern a transition to democracy.

It was running after the ANC, he said, desperately hoping to take part in a future ANC government as its junior partner.

And President FW de Klerk lost the will a few years ago to rule as the "de facto and de jure" president of South Africa, he said.

Chief Buthelezi also charged that when Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer took over from retired Dr Gerrit Viljoen as the Government's chief negotiator, there had been a steady retreat "from democratic bulwarks".

"We were actually betrayed. The betrayal by the National Party found its extreme expression in the signing of the Record of Understanding by Mr (FW) de Klerk," he said.

"When, in the plenary session of CODESA I, Mr De Klerk made his astonishing announcement of his acceptance of a two-phase process, we were all dumbfounded.

"We know the ANC. We came out of the old ANC. I was steeped in the political lore of the ANC."
Buthlezi role "imperative"

LONDON — It is imperative that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi be included in the peace process in South Africa, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Douglas Hurd told parliament yesterday.

Mr Hurd said: "We are saying to him, you must join the peace process and we are saying to others: he cannot be safely left out. He feels that occasionally he has been isolated."

Mr Simon Hughes had offered the government to try to ensure Chief Buthelezi's participation in the April 27 election.
The extension this week of the talks deadline is clear evidence of a willingness by both government and the ANC to accommodate the Freedom Alliance.

The extension of the deadline by a week to November 12, and the various constitutional proposals put forward jointly by government and the ANC at the multiparty talks over the past few days, indicate how important the two parties regard the Alliance's inclusion in the transitional process.

The Alliance comprises Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), CP and the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. The extra week provides the Alliance with an opportunity to participate in the final phase of negotiations on the interim constitution.

Additional attractions to draw the Alliance back into the talks include joint proposals this week by government and the ANC that:

☐ The interim government elected in April should rule for five years, and not just until the constituent assembly has finalised a permanent constitution;

☐ That parties winning more than 20% of the vote should be allowed to nominate the two proposed executive vice-presidents;

☐ That provincial governments should be given a considerable degree of autonomy; and

☐ That a fairly conservative approach to local government reform should be adopted.

Alliance spokesman and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje says the Alliance was initially worried that the two days of talks would simply be a PR exercise, but had been convinced by government that it was possible to accommodate the group's views. He adds that government and the Alliance are not too far apart and he believes agreement is possible if government is committed to finding a solution.

However, senior negotiators in both the ANC and government camps now believe they have given as much as they can and want compromises and suggestions from the Alliance. For example, government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer has insisted that the AVF must table its own proposals at this week's talks.

It is understood that while government is not expecting all Alliance members to return to the talks, it hopes there is sufficient dis-agreement for the Alliance to split. Those most likely to return to the World Trade Centre are the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, but the AVF, CP and Inkatha are by far the most important members and will be the most difficult to convince that they should be part of the process.

Government and the ANC believe they have gone far enough to accommodate the federalist aspirations of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — as long as he is prepared to compromise as well. Proposals for strong provincial governments could also sat-}

militant white conservatives are reportedly well armed and fairly well trained for small skirmishes and terrorism. But they are not considered to be a long-term threat because of their logistical inability to sustain concerted armed resistance.

In addition, most whites still enjoy relative peace and security and have a good standard of living. Right-wing morale would probably crack quite quickly under the rigours of a terrorist campaign, particularly if a new government can show that the fears on which their resistance is based are unfounded.

The Right wing may also be hoping in vain for support from within the SADF and SAP. Armed action by conservatives is unlikely to be tolerated by the security establishment. Jackie Cilliers, co-director of the independent Midrand-based Institute for Defence Policy, believes a showdown between the security forces and the Right wing is inevitable. "The Right wing is continually pushing the limits of the law and can't continue. It's in the interests of the security forces to be seen to act impartially." He believes the command structures in the SADF in particular will remain loyal to government. The rebellion, if it happens, will be among the rural-based commandos, but even then insurrection is unlikely to be widespread. (Current Affairs October 29).

**THE CABINET**

**Good old Pik**

Public criticism by Foreign Minister Pik Botha of government's performance over the past few months may have ruffled the feathers of a few Cabinet colleagues but his comments undoubtedly won back many disillusioned Nat supporters.

In response to questions at a Nat information meeting in Sandton last week, Botha admitted that government had botched a whole range of recent actions, including the Umtata raid, the petrol price increase, the appointment of the SABC board and the Walvis Bay issue. He apologised for some of the harm done.

The admissions and apologies were widely interpreted as a political blunder. But some commentators even suggested that they were grounds for legal action against government.

But Botha has been in politics far too long to make such basic errors. It is more likely
Four days to bring Right on board

Final countdown

For Peace talks

Constitutional talks are set to go down to the wire this week. The dissenting Freedom Alliance (FA) parties on board a peace settlement with only four days left to get the dissidents on board. It seems increasingly unlikely that Chris Wiltfied and Esther Waugh, who suggested it was an FA agreement that it would negotiate with the ANC, have met for bilateral discussions last week. But a surprise development - the Afrikaner Volksfront appears to break ranks from the ANC after the ANC met with the FA party on the peace process at the World Trade Centre. The party will be part of an agreement with the ANC, which also wants to hold a meeting with the ANC on the future of the peace process.

Surprise

It was initially thought that the ANC would not be able to meet with the FA party on the peace process. However, it was later announced that the ANC and the FA party would meet on the peace process.

In a joint statement, the ANC and the FA party announced that they had met and agreed to work towards accommodating the party process at the World Trade Centre. This is a surprise as it was initially thought that the ANC would not be able to meet with the FA party on the peace process.
Eyes on Freedom Alliance as talks deadline looms

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

South Africans face a nail-biting week as the country waits to see whether a negotiated settlement will be endorsed by the Freedom Alliance (FA) — or what its reaction will be if talks are concluded without it.

It appears increasingly unlikely that FA members will come on board before Thursday evening’s talks deadline — which could be extended by a day or two.

Suicidal

Acting Bophuthatswana President Thate Molawana warned yesterday that if the ANC and its allies insisted on sticking to the “suicidal deadline, then they and they alone must be held responsible for the consequences of their actions”.

But there was confusion over a communiqué issued by the Preferential Trade Area summit in Uganda, in which it applauded a decision by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in the election.

A copy of Buthelezi’s address to the Kampala summit on Saturday — faxed to The Star — makes no reference to this.

IFP sources said yesterday that they knew of no such decision.

Buthelezi, who met Egypt’s President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo yesterday, said a free election could not be held while violence continued, Sapa-APP reports.

Buthelezi said he had discussed with Mubarak the reasons why the IFP was opposed to negotiations.

As the talks deadline approaches, the Government meets FA members today in a last-ditch effort to convince them that the draft Interim Constitution accommodates their aspirations.

The Government and the ANC are understood to have taken a decision to press ahead with or without the FA, but a senior Government negotiator said yesterday: “We are still going to try our utmost…”

Wisdom

ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend that the election would go ahead with or without the right wing, and that the ANC would not make any more concessions to federalism.

He hoped that “wise men in the Freedom Alliance” would realise the wisdom of rejoining multi-party negotiations.

The ANC’s executive will meet tomorrow and the Cabinet will gather in Pretoria.

These meetings are likely to consider the next steps if the FA does not become part of an agreement.
Buthelezi: No SA poll in violence

CAIRO. - Free elections cannot be held in South Africa so long as a wave of violence grips the country, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi, who met Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, said he discussed the reasons why the IFP opposed negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi arrived in Cairo late on Saturday at the invitation of Mr Mubarak, who holds the rotating presidency of the Organisation of African Unity.

Mr Mubarak stressed the importance of closing African ranks, notably during this very delicate period for South Africa.

Egyptian officials said Chief Buthelezi's visit was in line with Cairo's efforts to bring together the opposing resistance movements ahead of the elections, in reference to the long-standing dispute between the ANC and IFP. — Sapa-APP
KwaZulu defence
training confirmed

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu legislative assembly has confirmed the existence of a training camp for self-protection units and has slammed as "irresponsible" speculation in the press on the location of the camp as this could "endanger the lives of trainees".

Assembly secretary Mr Robert Mrimela said in a statement about 500 men drawn from Natal-KwaZulu and Transvaal were undergoing training "in terms of the national peace accord".

He said the "privately funded training programme" was announced last month because of the "increasing attacks on rural communities and the state's failure to stem the attacks".

"It is irresponsible for the press to reveal the venue," said Mr Mrimela. "There has already been one attack on us and we appeal to the press not to endanger the lives of our trainees by speculating about the training venue."
IFP meets displaced Alex families

BY ANNA COX

The Inkatha Freedom Party met displaced Alexandra families last night to extend a hand of friendship and to welcome them back to the "Beirut area".

The Beirut area is a stretch of land between the hostels and greater Alexandra which was vacated when violence broke out between the IFP and the ANC in March 1992.

Some 3 500 families were forced to move out of the area, which became a buffer zone between the parties, and have since then been living in squall overcrowded conditions in church halls, municipal offices and recreation centres.

The houses were looted and vandalised and today only the shells remain.

Because consensus could not be reached between the political parties about the reconstruction work, the residents have been living in make-shift accommodation for the past 18 months.

Transvaal IFP regional organiser Thembu Khoza, who called last night's meeting, said that people's lives had been badly affected by the violence and it was of utmost importance to get them back into their homes.

"These people have been living abnormal lives in shocking overcrowded conditions and leaders cannot sit with clear consciences while they continue living with this prolonged suffering," he said.

Jeremiah Meduna, general secretary of the Displaced Co-ordinating Committee, has been living in the Alexandra municipal offices. He said his life was "miserable".

Most displaced people were not politically aligned but had been caught in a political web.

Last week, the Development Task Group, which consists of Randburg officials, political parties, civic organisations and community-based organisations, decided to move the bulldozers in to demolish the old homes.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has provided R3.5 million for the work. The construction of new houses is expected to start in January.
Youths train for war in Natal

Our mission was to find the training camp "somewhere near the western side of the Umfolozi Game Reserve".

We arrived at night and, under cover of darkness, spent a fruitless evening searching for evidence. Only the sounds of nocturnal wildlife filled the air. There was nothing sinister - just darkness and stars.

Early on Friday we headed for the western gate of the reserve to continue our mission. Were we on a wild goose chase? Perhaps the camp was a figment of someone's imagination.

Suddenly, the quiet of the wilderness was shattered by the sound of gunfire. Like a battle in progress it seemed to be coming from the southwestern corner of the reserve. There was little doubt that we were now close to the camp.

Heading in the direction of the noise we discovered that the gunfire was coming from a desolate area not more than a kilometre from the game reserve's gate.

We discovered that the camp shares a fence with the reserve and is situated in a rugged area covered with dense bush.

Access to the camp is down a dirt track marked by two stone pillars hardly 50 m from the western gate of the reserve. The dirt road leads to a guard post manned by at least 15 youths in blue overalls armed with automatic rifles.

Several of the youths could be seen lurking in the bushes around the guard post.

Our requests to proceed into the camp were refused by the youths, who claimed the area was private property. They also refused to tell us who was being trained inside and what for, but they did confirm that they were not members of the KwaZulu Police.

While leaving the area we saw a white minibus with an NO registration full of young men entering the gates leading to the camp.

IFP sources revealed that the area where the camp was discovered is in an area controlled by a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Magenda Mlaho.

Reports have so far revealed that at least 500 youths are being trained by white instructors in the camp. Training includes the use of firearms, man-to-man combat and military drills.

IFP sources revealed that the camp has been in operation for at least three months now and the training there had nothing to do with the recent call by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for Zulus to pay R5 a head to set up self-defence units.

The R5, according to sources, was being used to train 400 youths at an undisclosed venue.

The revelation about the Umfolozi military camp has drawn sharp criticism from both the ANC and the National Party. The Goldstone Commission is to be called upon by the NP to investigate the camp.

Residents at Gezinsla near Eshowe have reported the presence of men in their area who were believed to have been trained at another KwaZulu military camp.

Already they have been supposedly linked to the deaths of at least eight ANC supporters.

ANC spokesman for northern Natal, Semen Mchunu, has expressed deep concern about the "military-style training" going on in Natal, which he said was similar to the Afrikaner Volksfront "amazing weapons for civil war in other provinces".

KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Velaphi Ndlovu has said KwaZulu has the right to train young people for self-defence units in terms of the National Peace Accord.
Buthelezi tells UN of civil-war fears

BY MIKE LITTLEJOHN

New York — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi again raised the spectre of civil war in South Africa in an address to a United Nations General Assembly committee yesterday, calling for a federalist solution to the country's political problems.

He asserted that South Africa now faced the "most difficult part of the transition".

Buthelezi called for a federal system where each distinct region was given the right to govern itself.

Charging that negotiations had been shrouded in secrecy, he alleged that there were secret deals between the Government and the ANC.

The two parties, he said, seemed determined to have exclusive and total control — "something which I consider quite dangerous".

He warned that the "tendency in negotiations towards acceptance of any solution that left the main problems for later discussion" was a recipe for disaster.

"I have again and again warned that if things go wrong in South Africa they will go very wrong," declared Buthelezi.
Buthelezi's warning on civil war

The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi again raised the spectre of civil war in South Africa in an address to a United Nations General Assembly committee, during which he called for a federalist solution to the country's problems.

In remarks delivered at his customary rapid clip! — which must have presented problems for the UN interpreters — he asserted that South Africa now faced the "most difficult part of the transition."

He warned that the tendency in negotiations towards accepting "any solution" that left the main problems for later discussion was a recipe for disaster.

"I have again and again warned that if things go wrong in South Africa they will go very wrong," he said.

He said that more people had died in South Africa already than during the Vietnam war and unless negotiations succeeded there could be an explosion of violence that could take decades to heal.

Chief Buthelezi appeared before the committee on de-colonisation.
focus on violence

The massacre of 10 ANC youths in Natal last weekend and the murder of an IFP leader's son, have focused attention on tensions between the two organisations.

Joint rallies, a constant item of agreement in statements by the two leaders, are no longer happening than they were before their very first meeting in January 1991, according to representatives of the two organisations.

Finger pointing and counter accusations of a lack of interest characterised the responses by both organisations this week when the Sowetan made inquiries about why the rallies have not taken place.

Meanwhile, the slaughter is continuing with over 9000 people killed in just over three years. And politicians fiddle while villages and townships burn.

But all is not lost, it seems. The convenors of the last summit between Mandela and Buthelezi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Stanley Mogoba, were yesterday huddled in a church leaders' meeting in Johannesburg where the issue of violence and the joint rallies were to feature high on the agenda.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told Sowetan his organisation had done all it could to get the rallies going but "they have not happened because the other side is not keen".

Niehaus said the ANC may still pursue the idea of joint rallies but this was not on top of their agenda right now.

"We are prepared any time. The delay in the rallies materialising is not the ANC's fault. We even sent Thabo Mbeki (national chairman) to Ulundi but so far nothing has come of the whole thing.

"We are committed to the idea and our president, Mandela, has publicly stated that we are ready to do these rallies. But I cannot say that it is one of the priority items on our agenda right now, not with the reluctance on the other side," Niehaus said.

IFP central committee member and spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos rejected Niehaus' statements and said when Mbeki met with Buthelezi in Ulundi more than a month ago, the IFP had handed him dates on which the rallies could take place.

"They have not responded and if Niehaus says it is the IFP that is delaying the process, he is at the very least not telling the truth," Vos said.

"The idea of joint rallies came from Chief Minister Buthelezi and it would be unthinkable that we would be the one letting the idea die," Vos said.

The rallies were decided upon at the first face-to-face meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi in Durban. Nothing came of the resolution.

At the second summit in Johannesburg on June 23 this year, the two leaders reiterated their commitment to the process of joint rallies, but again, four and half months later, the rallies have not materialised.

The call was based on a finding that violence between supporters of the two organisations in Natal and on the Reef was due to political intolerance.

The summit by the leaders, and the rallies, would serve to show supporters that differences in political belief were not synonymous with war. So the thinking went.

Many poured cold water on the idea, saying the violence was a complex phenomenon which could not be turned off at the point of a joint rally.

Head of the Centre for African Studies Mr Eugene Nyathi, speaking on the eve of the June summit, said: "I have a feeling both parties recognise very little will be achieved although they must see the public relations value of attending."

"With 33 people killed on the eve of the summit, it was probably inevitable that the two leaders should reiterate the joint rally strategy."

In the meantime, on the East Rand alone, an average of 30 people are killed each weekend, about seven bodies picked up randomly daily in one of the country's least publicised

Questions are being asked why joint rallies agreed to by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi 34 months ago have not taken place. Investigations editor Mathatha Tsedu inquires:

All smiles ... but when will the tension between Mandela's ANC and Buthelezi's IFP be a thing of the past?

In Natal, the polarisation has intensified, with declared IFP villages and ANC villages. The massacre of the ten youths on Sunday at the homestead of Chief Alpheus Molefe, followed an attempt by the ANC to hold a rally in the area, an IFP stronghold.

The IFP, on the other hand, has lost leaders at the hands of gunmen who it alleges are members of the ANC's military wing. Umkhonto we Sizwe.

On Saturday night, IFP Transvaal leader Mr Vital Mvelase lost his son at the hands of gunmen who shot him dead at his Ladysmith home. Mvelase's other son, Francis, was killed and nacleaced in March this year.

IFP Transvaal co-ordinator Mr Henk Bekker said in response to the latest Mvelase killing that it could have "serious repercussions for the peace process."

It is an observation that many would agree with.

Joint rallies would serve to dampen the war psychosis and introduce an element of peace and tolerance.
**Step up struggle — Jaap**

PRETORIA — The Freedom Alliance should terminate talks with the NP and ANC and intensify the struggle outside the negotiations forum, HIP leader Jaap Marais said yesterday.

He urged the alliance to reject the constitutional proposals put forward at multiparty talks.

His call followed President F W de Klerk's statement on Tuesday that a "boomersand" and other talks between government and the Freedom Alliance might have laid the basis for an agreement.

"Mr De Klerk has realised that the NP is rejected by Afrikanders and other whites, therefore he is anxious to include his white opponents in the final phase of his and the ANC/SA Communist Party's constitutional schemes, which will lead to a transfer of power to the ANC/SACP," Marais said.

De Klerk also wanted to involve Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Zululand so they, with whites, could be subjected to ANC/SACP rule.

Marais said whites should unite and demand a white election to thrash the De Klerk administration and pull SA away from the precipice. — Sapa.

**Buthelezi says ANC seeks one-party state**

NEW YORK — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged on Tuesday that the ANC, with the acquiescence of the country's government, was seeking to establish a one-party state.

"The SA government and the ANC envisage the formation of a transitional government structure which will usurp the functions of the present government for the benefit of the ANC," he said.

Appearing as a petitioner before the General Assembly's special political and decolonisation committee, Buthelezi said the NP was "looking for political survival under a possible ANC/SACP majority through establishment of a short-lived government of national unity."

But such an arrangement would prove ineffective. Not only would the NP suffer from its own lack of foresight, he said, "but the future security of every citizen of this country would be placed at unnecessary risk."

The ANC/SACP alliance is fighting for the full takeover of the central apartheid structure, merely changing NP policy for its own policy, he said.

"SA would then once again be victim to the dictates of an all-powerful, one-party state," he said.

Buthelezi said the SA government had "bargained away the autonomy of constitutional structures capable of protecting freedom, democracy and pluralism for all citizens of SA. This was a costly price to pay for a few more years of government control during the period of transition."

Earlier the ANC's Trevor Manuel called on the SA government to end the current violence.

All key political players should become partners in the effort to mould a new SA. — Sapa-Reuters.
JOHANNESBURG — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party will not take part in the elections and will reject any decisions that the multi-party negotiating council might "dictate" upon it.

"Chief" Buthelezi asked yesterday what form the resistance would take, said that would be decided by his party and the Freedom Alliance.

He said Inkatha would not participate in next year's elections unless his demands were met. To suggest he was not prepared to stand in elections was "rubbish, but first things must be done first!"

Talking at Jan Smuts airport on his return from New York, Chief Buthelezi reiterated that the IFP would take part in the election only after a final constitution had been agreed upon.

The holding of elections in KwaZulu would not, however, be prevented, he said.

His statement came as President F.W. de Klerk said in Uplington that if the Freedom Alliance was prepared to be reasonable and realistic, there was no longer any reason for its members not to fall in with South Africa's new constitution.

Addressing a National Party rally, he said most of the problems the alliance had put on the table would be satisfactorily solved, through agreements to be concluded soon.

Chief Buthelezi said he had not been subjected to any pressure from UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to rejoin multi-party talks.

He said his party would not be returning to Kempton Park. However, talks between the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha is a member, and the government would continue. — Own Correspondent, Sapa
INKATHA 12/11/93
The thief of time

Will Inkatha take part in the election? One central executive committee member says no. Another gives assurances that Natal will not be allowed to fall into other hands by default. But the organisation is going ahead with plans announced earlier this year to gear up for an election, whether or not it is held on April 27. As one commentator put it, “it’s like mobilising troops when there is no war on. Nothing is more demoralising.”

Contradicting that, Zimbabwe’s national news agency reported applause for party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s announcement, at the Preferential Trade Area summit in Uganda, that Inkatha would participate in the election. That statement has not been confirmed though.

Adding credence to the report, Inkatha election strategist Peter Miller promises that the group from Natal will not fall into other hands by default. He says election and campaign preparations are well underway. Arthur Konikramer, publisher of Zulu newspaper Ilanga, has already been appointed campaign manager.

The ambiguous stance suggests this is part of a brinkmanship exercise to squeeze the last drop of regional concessions from the multiparty negotiations. But hard-won con-

— in the townships.

But, according to Inkatha’s Peter Miller, the camp was never a clandestine operation and claims to the contrary are nothing but “blatant propagandist nonsense. It was never either deliberately concealed or publicised and its establishment conforms to the terms of the National Peace Accord,” he says.

According to a spokesman for the accord, chapter five of the agreement allows for the establishment of self-protection units, but not private armies. However, since no complaint has been lodged, this operation has not been investigated.

Miller adds that, far from being a major military threat or sinister assault force, the aim of the training (which has been in progress for about three weeks) is defensive-oriented and aimed at training people to protect their own communities and individuals vulnerable to political violence. The recruits, he says, essentially being trained in self-protection techniques and small-arms fire.

“Remember that just short of 300 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated since the signing of the Peace Accord and nearly 1,000 card-carrying members have also been murdered. It amazes us in Inkatha that people expect us to meekly accept being killed. No reasonable person can refuse those communities the right to take steps to defend themselves.”

Miller adds that the training is not being run under the auspices of either Inkatha or the KwaZulu government. Nor is it linked in any way to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s plan to raise an army, paid for by a R525/week levy, for the protection of vulnerable individuals and communities.

The Umfolozi facility, says Miller, is a private initiative taken by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and certain tribal leaders. “It is being done so in their personal capacities, not on behalf of either government or party. They have selected the people to be trained and are funding it through private sources themselves.”

TRADESTIAL LEADERS

Culture clash

While negotiators at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park battled this week to cobble together an interim constitution before Friday’s deadline, a potentially powerful group of traditional leaders waited for acknowled-
The failure of government and the ANC to draw the Freedom Alliance into the mad dash towards this week's deadline for finalising the interim constitution may be far less serious than it seems. Analysts believe the alliance took a strategic decision some time ago not to return to the talks, except in the highly unlikely event of its demands being met.

This view is supported by the early withdrawal of Inkatha negotiators Frank Mdloze and Ben Ngubane from important bilateral talks with government last week, so that they could accompany leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on a foreign visit. Inkatha is a senior partner in the alliance.

Buthelezi's action in leaving SA at such a crucial time in the bilateral negotiation process was interpreted as an indication that he had no intention of returning to the World Trade Centre before today's deadline.

A similar stance appears to have been taken by other alliance partners who, it is understood, made little effort to soften hard-line positions during last-ditch talks with government this week.

Freedom Alliance leaders apparently decided that their input in the final stage of negotiations would have virtually no impact on the interim constitution. Participation could in fact have backfired by bolstering the credibility of government and the ANC, while undermining alliance support if — as was likely — it was unable to force acceptance of its main demands.

By not endorsing the interim constitution, the alliance’s future options are open. It can either participate in April's general election or campaign for a boycott. A boycott would have been hypocritical had the alliance been part of the process.

The more pressing problem facing government and the ANC this week was lack of time to finalise nagging details of the interim constitution, such as the electoral law and rights concerning strikes and lock outs. Discussions in the National Manpower Commission over the right of employers to lock out strikers deadlocked this week. The issue — the only outstanding matter over which Cosatu has threatened a national strike — has been referred to the negotiators at Kempton Park.

Negotiators took a break from public discussion on Tuesday to give parties a chance to brief their leaders on final decisions that needed to be made this week. As the FM went to press the Cabinet was meeting in a special session in Pretoria, after which President F W de Klerk was due to address a press conference on government's latest view of recent developments.

The Freedom Alliance chairman, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, says that if the alliance is not part of the agreement on the interim constitution it will not take part in the elections.

Earlier this week negotiators believed the interim constitution would be ready for endorsement on Thursday, but were preparing to push the deadline to Saturday if necessary to finalise "outstanding matters."

A plenary session of the negotiating parties, including their leaders, is scheduled for Tuesday, at which the package of agreements on the Transitional Executive Council and interim constitution is to be given the go-ahead.

De Witt Schutte, a political research specialist with the Human Sciences Research Council, has little doubt that the interim constitution will be "forced through" within the next few days, leading to an important phase in the transitional process. He believes the Freedom Alliance's absence from the World Trade Centre is not particularly important. "Nothing the alliance could have said or done would have changed the pace or direction of the process." Participation might also have exerted considerable pressure on the alliance, whose constituent parties have widely divergent views on key issues.

Schutte believes political dynamics may change significantly following the adoption of the interim constitution. Possibilities include a narrowing of the ideological gap between the NP and the alliance, and even a formal coalition to oppose the ANC in the new election and in the constituent assembly.

He does not foresee the alliance boycotting the election because boycotts are generally unsuccessful strategies.

The possibility of an anti-ANC coalition was given more weight at the weekend when the results of an opinion poll suggested that the ANC would win 57% of the vote next year, compared to 15% for the NP, 9% for the IFP, 4% each for the CP and DP, 5% for the PAC and 3% for regional parties.

Peter Vale, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, says the alliance's absence from the negotiations tends to be viewed either as a precursor to an horrific civil conflict, or as being largely irrelevant because of the alliance's general lack of support. He backs the latter view.

Buthelezi's international allies appear to be abandoning him and the white Right is being restrained by Afrikaner Volk Front leader Constand Viljoen.

Vale says, while conspiracies between government and the alliance can't be ruled out, the latter appears to be an extremely divisive force within the NP, with some senior Ministers wanting nothing to do with the alliance.

Meanwhile, in a tough speech at the weekend, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned right-wingers "and their black surrogates" that they would be crushed if they tried to prevent the election taking place. He told a rally in Transkei that people who believed they could prevent next year's election were "living in a fool's paradise."

REGIONS

Cape solidarity

The political minefield facing an interim government over boundaries for new provinces has again been highlighted. There is growing opposition to a proposal to hack off a slice of the west coast from the greater western Cape and include it in a northern Cape region to be governed from Kimberley.

The proposal is part of a nine-region package presented to negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last month by the Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation of Regions. Final decisions were side-stepped and effectively left to the constituent assembly and interim government to be elected next year.

West coast communities have rejected the suggestion that all areas north of Piketberg, about 100 km from Cape Town, should be included in a massive northern Cape province. The 230 000-strong population of the region, which stretches 300 km up the west coast to Vanrhynsdorp on the Namibian border, identifies strongly with the greater west coast tradition.
IFP is united, says Mdlalose

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Inkatha Freedom Party would not return to multiparty negotiations until there was "respect for proper negotiations", IFP chief negotiator Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference addressed by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on their return from the United States, both Mdlalose and Buthelezi denied there was a split within the IFP, with Mdlalose categorically saying his party would not return to the talks.

"There is no split whatsoever in the IFP, and there is no question of (us) going back to the negotiations chamber until there is respect for proper negotiations," said Mdlalose.

However, Buthelezi would not commit himself either way, only saying negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, Government and ANC were still continuing.

He would not comment on whether there was a split within the FA.

Buthelezi reiterated his view that the Interim Constitution did not adequately provide for federalism, and took swipes at both President de Klerk and the Democratic Party for saying federalism was guaranteed.
Buthelezi rejects US appeal

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the negotiating parties at Kempton Park have put new pressure on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the negotiating council.

Mr. Christopher asked Chief Buthelezi to return to talks, while at the council the IFP's political opponents have given themselves powers to scrap laws in KwaZulu that restrict political activity.

But Chief Buthelezi is refusing to judge. He met Freedom Alliance allies last night and negotiators from the alliance meet today.

Chief Buthelezi spoke at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after returning from overseas.

He said US Assistant Secretary of State George Moose had given him a letter from Mr. Christopher.

"The letter talked about my track record as an opponent of apartheid and made the suggestion that I return to the mainstream talks."

But Chief Buthelezi rejected this idea and also rejected the settlement at Kempton Park as not being federal. He was non-committal about taking part in the election.

"Chief Buthelezi will consult his legal advisers and the KwaZulu cabinet about the decision by the negotiating parties at Kempton Park that laws which impede free political activity should be repealed."

The negotiating parties are to give the Transitional Executive Council power to recommend that the State President change laws formulated in any of the six self-governing territories — or by the central government — that impede free political activity.
Multiparty decisions will be resisted, says Buthelezi

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday his party would resist any decisions which the multiparty negotiating council would "foist" upon it and it would not take part in the election.

Buthelezi asked what form that resistance would take, said that would be decided by his party and the Freedom Alliance.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his arrival from New York, Buthelezi said he had not been subjected to any pressure from UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to rejoin multiparty talks.

Buthelezi said Inkatha would not participate in next year's elections unless his demands were met. To suggest he was not prepared to stand in elections was "rubbish, but first things must be done first".

He reiterated his organisation's position that it would take part in the election only after a final constitution had been agreed upon. The holding of elections in KwaZulu would not, however, be prevented, he said.

Asked whether claims that it was a sign of ill-respect for negotiations on his part to go overseas when they were at a crucial stage, Buthelezi said such claims were "propagandising" his visits.

He said he could not possibly have been expected to turn down an invitation to address - for the first time - the Preferential Trade Area conference in Kampala, Uganda.

Buthelezi said he was not fazed by the progress of talks at the World Trade Centre. "I am a person who has, perhaps, perfected the art of waiting," he said.

He said his party would not be returning to Kempton Park. However, talks between the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha is a member, and government would continue.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdhlala said Inkatha would not return to multiparty talks unless respect for "proper negotiations" was shown.

Asked about an agreement at the multiparty talks that self-governing states should cease to exist, Buthelezi said he would have to consult his legal advisers before commenting.

Inkatha is to report back to the alliance. Alliance members will meet government today for further talks.

On polls which suggested that Inkatha's support did not exceed 16%, Buthelezi said he did not dispute them as he was not "a guru on polls".

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana Local Government Minister Hendrick Tsho yesterday dismissed claims that the government had lost its political grip on negotiations.

Sanco to investigate development agencies
IFP 'getting set for polls'

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is preparing to go to the polls next year but will not contest elections for a constitution-making body, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

"The IFP is preparing itself and gearing itself to be able to take part in national democratic elections for a new government sometime in 1994," Dr Mdlalose said.

"The IFP is not interested in elections for a constitution-making body," he stressed.

His statements came amid confusing signals from the IFP on its stance on elections. — Sapa
INkatha chief criticises FW de Klerk • Dismissal of 85 workers challenged

Union goes to court

By Ike Motsapi

The National Union of Leather Workers is challenging the dismissal of 85 of its members by a Johannesburg company in the Industrial Court. Mr Phillip Basson, organising secretary of the NULW's Johannesburg branch, said 85 workers at Transvaal Hide and Skin Producers, City Deep, were dismissed without valid reasons on August 13.

Mr Uze Fourie, human resources manager of the company, confirmed that the matter had been referred to court by the union.

Fourie said the workers were dismissed when they went on a wage strike while talks over the matter were still continuing.

FA, Govt 'poles apart'

There were still "very complex differences" between the Government and the Freedom Alliance and it would be a "miracle" if they managed to reconcile them, KwaZulu-Natal Chief Minister Mangatho Buthelezi said on Saturday night.

"It will really be a miracle if we find any rapprochement with the South African Government. They have stated repeatedly to us that whatever is agreed upon, has to get the green light from the ANC-SACP Alliance," he told a Greek Chamber of Commerce and Industries Man of the Year award ceremony in Sandton, Johannesburg.

He said he was astonished about President FW de Klerk's announcement that most of the alliance's problems had been solved in talks.

Buthelezi also launched a scathing attack on De Klerk, saying he had lost respect for the President.

Stung by De Klerk's reported references this week to "builders and breakers" of democracy, Buthelezi said that had he not been a "builder" he would not have advocated non-violence.

"And if I was a breaker I would have urged my people to take up arms and engage themselves in the armed struggle." — Sapa.
de Klerk: Dismissal of 85 workers challenged

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THERE were still "very complex differences" between the Government and the Freedom Alliance and it would be a miracle if they managed to reconcile them, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday night.

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"And if I was a breaker I would have urged my people to take up arms and engage themselves in the armed struggle." — Sapa.
"Miracle" if agreement reached - IFP

STAFF REPORTER

Despite ongoing talks between the Freedom Alliance and the Government, any coming together between the two groups was unlikely, according to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at the Greek Chamber of Commerce Man of the Year Awards on Saturday, Buthelezi said: "It will really be a miracle if we find any approach with the South African Government. They have stated repeatedly to us that whatever is agreed upon has to get the green light from the ANC/SACP alliance.

He said that under the proposed dispensation, the regions would have "less powers than the KwaZulu government enjoys at present.

"Nothing has lowered my respect for President de Klerk more than these sleight-of-hand politics when he tells the world that the constitution coming out of Kempton Park gives us a federation," Buthelezi said.

"I am afraid I find that the future for me does not appear very clear since I can see no peace in these circumstances," he said.
Johannesburg:—ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, had no right to criticise the KwaZulu government’s training of self-protection units, the ANC had failed to control its own self-defence units, the IFP said.

IFP, Transvaal, chief co-ordinator, Mr Hennie Bekker said the training of the units needed to be put in perspective in the light of the killing of more than 3,000 IFP members.

—Sapa
Solution will be a miracle

JOHANNESBURG. It would be a "miracle" if the government and the Freedom Alliance resolved their differences, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend. He told a Greek Chamber of Commerce and Industries function here he was astonished at President F.W. de Klerk's announcement this week that most of the alliance's problems had been solved in bilateral talks. — Sapa
Mandela 'under attack'

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had no right to criticise the KwaZulu government's training of self-protection units, while the ANC continued training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and failed to control its own self-defence units.

Inkatha Freedom Party official Mr Honnie Bekker said the training of (Inkatha) units needed to be put in perspective in the light of the killing of more than 3 000 IFP members and 350 IFP leaders since 1987.

Bekker said: "Mr Mandela dares to make remarks about these units in spite of the continued training of ANC MK units in foreign countries."

"Now that the KwaZulu government and Inkatha wanted to protect the lives and security of its followers, the ANC leadership has the temerity to criticise our self-defence action while it acknowledges that some of the ANC's self-defence units were totally out of control."

The IFP official was reacting to Mandela's criticism of the training of 600 IFP recruits who, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly says, underwent paramilitary training to protect communities threatened by political violence.

The recruits, dressed in loose blue overalls, marched and sang gospel songs at their passing-out parade at the Mlaba training camp in Umfolozi last Friday.

Sapa.
First TVI batch to attend camp

IFP men leave for ‘protection’ course

BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT
CRIME REPORTER

A large group of Reef IFP members left for Natal yesterday to receive training at the organisation’s newly formed protection-unit camps.

IFP Transvaal political director Themba Khoza said the group was the first batch from the Transvaal to attend the course “to be held in the Umfolozi area” north of Durban.

Police said about 150 men had left for the course yesterday, but Khoza could not confirm the figure. He said the men were all from the PWV region.

“The people who were taken were actually requested by their chiefs from their respective areas in Natal,” said Khoza.

The course was “a couple of weeks long”.

Khoza said he did not know exactly where the men would be trained or what training they would receive.

All he would say was that they would be trained to “protect their respective communities”.

Asked whether there would be more similar courses, Khoza said: “I would love to see many more. Since this training started in Natal, the attacks on Zulu chiefs and headmen have dropped. It would be good to train anything that is a male.”

Before leaving for Natal yesterday, the men met senior Transvaal IFP officials at the organisation’s Kerker Street offices in Johannesburg.

The press was not allowed in.

A photographer of The Star said he was threatened outside the offices as the armed men alighted from buses.

In the presence of Transvaal IFP deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlou, the men threatened to kill him and told him to “go to Mandela”, he said.

Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pienko said police were called to the scene when a woman, suffering from shock after seeing the armed men, had a convulsion outside the IFP offices.
LADIES OF THE 21 parties in multiparty negotiations met at the World Trade Centre today to put the final seal of approval on a new transitional constitution for South Africa.

In spite of what earlier seemed irreconcilable obstacles, especially as the talks reached a crescendo this week, major agreements were reached on Monday and yesterday - both inside and outside the World Trade Centre.

Significantly, leaders of the likes of Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk will today ratify a package of transitional legislation to be sent to Parliament on Monday.

Specific agreements have been reached on the Electoral Bill, demarcation of regions, constitutional courts, traditional leaders and land ownership.

Outstanding issues apparently concluded between the African National Congress and the Government on Monday included: a deadlock-breaking mechanism for drawing up a final constitution; specified percentages for Cabinet decisions; regional constitutions; the police; and the draft Electoral Bill.

- Electoral Bill: A multiparty interim elections committee has been agreed upon to facilitate logistical planning for the elections, prior to the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission. The Freedom Alliance - in spite of its boycott of negotiations - has asked that it be allowed to nominate three members to the interim elections committee.

In its representation, the FA said it had "agreed" to nominate three members, but warned that "this is not an endorsement of the (Electoral Act or the elections).

The FA made several other inputs on details pertaining to elections, including the number of voting days, and voters’ cards.

Another matter on the draft Electoral Bill, concerning the way in which the list of parties will be presented on ballot papers, was agreed to by the council.

One matter concerning the Electoral Bill which the council still has to consider is whether voters should be required to record one vote for the regional party of their choice and one for the national assembly.

The technical committee on the Electoral Bill explained this meant that the first name on the list would be drawn out of a hat, to be followed in alphabetical order by the rest of the parties.

People imprisoned for violent crimes will be among the convicts not allowed to vote in South Africa’s first democratic election, it was agreed.

Murderers, rapists, kidnapers and people imprisoned for robbery, fraud or bribery were among those ruled unworthy of franchise.

- Regions: The negotiating council on Monday agreed to the regional borders for South Africa’s transition period, but based their approval on a series of post-election referendums for those areas still in dispute.

The agreement entailed acceptance, for the purposes of the scheduled April election, of the nine-region map already proposed by the demarcation special committee, coupled with separate counting of ballots in controversial areas, to facilitate these referendums.

- The nine regions as demarcated on the present map are Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Western Cape, Northwest, PFW, Eastern Transvaal, Orange Free State, Northern Transvaal and Kwazulu-Natal.

Central to the committee’s proposal was an apparent trade-off between the Government and the ANC on the Eastern and Northern Cape regions.

The proposal on these regions called for votes in the Eastern Cape, which on the provisional map incorporates Transkei and Ciskei and the old Eastern Province, to be counted in two blocs.

A 60 percent majority would be able to decide by referendum if the people of this region wanted to split into two regions as favoured by the Government.

Generally, the sensitive issue of TBVC residents and their part in the scheduled election is also still outstanding. The council debated the Bill again yesterday.

Mandela and De Klerk yesterday met to finalise agreements before the plenary session. This meeting dealt with, among other things, the issues of what percentage will be required for decisions taken in a new multiparty cabinet, and deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On the issue of executive decision-making, the ANC is still proposing an ordinary majority of members of the multiparty Cabinet, while the National Party is asking for a two-thirds majority.

- Police. Agreement is understood to provide for a national and nine provincial police forces. Each provincial police force will reportedly have its own commissioner of police, who will be responsible to a regional police minister.

- On Constitutional Courts the Democratic Party was still to decide yesterday on taking action after objecting to political appointments to the courts as agreed by consensus in the talks. The court has to uphold South Africa’s new constitution, including the Bill of Rights.

It was also agreed that those who lost their land which was taken from them since 1913 would be compensated.

The Freedom Alliance - in spite of its boycott of negotiations - has asked that it be allowed to nominate three members to the interim elections committee.
ANC killing us at the rate of one every six days — IFP

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party charged today that its leaders were being assassinated at the rate of one every six days as a result of ANC "death squad" activity.

National IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane, expressing his party's "deep concern", said that ever since the ANC signed an agreement in 1990 with the government "to legalise Umkhonto we Sizwe's training, thousands of trained killers have been let loose upon hapless communities throughout the country".

"Safe in the knowledge that Pretoria has been browbeaten into submission, ANC hit squad activity has intensified dramatically. In the past few months alone, the IFP estimates at least 5,000 recruits have been sent to Uganda and Transkei for training. On the streets of Durban's townships thousands more are receiving training with AK-47s."

Dr Jiyane said the strategy was abundantly clear:

"These savage killers even stoop so low as to don the garb of the supposed enemy — the regime — to kill our people, as recent massacres of our people attest.

"Our leaders are being assassinated at the rate of one every six days, in an attempt to emasculate the IFP's structures and leadership on the ground." — Sapa.
The Indian rupee has weakened 10% against the dollar since the so-called 'cold war' started. This is because the rupee is now seen as a speculative asset that will be allowed to fluctuate more freely. The government has been under pressure to intervene in the market, but has so far resisted doing so, fearing it could lead to a financial crisis. Some economists believe that a devaluation of the rupee could help to stabilise the economy, but others warn that it could have a negative impact on exports and inflation.
IFP 'wooed every way we know'

EMPANGeni — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela says the ANC has exhausted all avenues in trying to bring Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi back to the transition process.

"We've done everything heaven knows to get him back to negotiations. If you have a plan we'd like to hear it," he said last night.

The ANC president was fielding questions, most of which concerned the IFP's non-participation in the constitutional process, from a mixed race audience in Empangeni town hall.

He said he had made 11 attempts to draw Chief Buthelezi back to multi-party talks, but said it had been impossible to change the Inkatha leader's attitude.

"What more can you expect us to do?" he asked.

In an apparent swipe at Chief Buthelezi, the ANC leader said while most major political organisations were talking peace and negotiation, others were "training for civil war".

There could be no military solution to the wave of fighting sweeping the country. "The solution is to talk peace," — Sapa.
seems to have forgotten its own self-protection units.

A visit to the training camp — strategically located on land owned by KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) member Nkosil Mtanda Mthida — makes it clear that though conditions are primitive and the operation is run on a shoestring, the camp is what it claims to be. The location, according to camp commander Philip Powell, who is a former security policeman and Inkatha stalwart, was chosen because of its proximity to a clinic and the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi.

Powell maintains that the 600 recruits aged between 18 and 68 are trained over five weeks and equipped to protect local communities threatened by violence. But how they will be used, he concedes, is up to the people who sent them — the sponsors of the operation who are members of the KLA and certain traditional leaders — aided and abetted by the homeland government which provided equipment and training instructors drawn from the KwaZulu Police.

Powell denies any right-wing paramilitary participation in the project and explains that training is similar to that which security companies provide for armed guards — weapon training, anticipating and repelling attacks and ambushes and how to think and react correctly under fire. He says that the new trainees should promote, not endanger peace since would-be attackers will be more reluctant to attack well-organised and defended communities.

The flipside is that the training facility will pour more partisan people trained to kill into highly charged communities. Evidence of just how high tensions are running comes from a Human Rights Commission report that Natal had its highest ever monthly death toll from political violence with 215 fatalities in October.

Self-protection in this light seems important, particularly in view of controversy over the role of the security forces. In this regard the Goldstone Commission’s timing seems impeccable in deciding to hold a preliminary inquiry into a number of issues related to and including self-protection units.

If the inquiry becomes a full-fledged investigation, Judge Richard Goldstone will be better placed than most to sift through the bluster and propaganda from all sides to establish where, whether and when self-protection units are what they claim, or if they are in reality evildoing weapons to eliminate political opponents.

Goldstone has promised to look into issues such as security force protection, the desirability and training of community-based self-protection units and even the relevance of the National Peace Accord in this regard.

But perhaps most important, assuming the inquiry proceeds, is that Goldstone will look at the regulation of these units and how they can be made accountable, along with auditing their membership and arms. If he succeeds it will doubtless be a giant blow for peace. At this stage, however, his task seems all but impossible.
Buthelezi may contest elections

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IFP leader says he is guided by his constituency:

Reconciliation:

Buthelezi claimed the IFP, "the most underrepresented political party in the country", had more to gain from an election than any other party.

"Elections will do us more good than any other party. We want an election now under a final democratic constitution."

He said the African National Congress and the Government were hoping that, by following the constituent assembly route, they would establish a transitional process that would entrench centralised power for the future government.

The constitutional process implied that issues of national importance would be resolved by the Government and the ANC alone, "irrespective of the fact that the outcome of their decisions will have reverberations which extend far beyond their interests," said Buthelezi.

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If the ANC and the Government were allowed to succeed, the chances of peace and reconciliation would be negligible.

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Don't pay R20 to IFP fund — call

ANC STATEMENT  Buthelezi's party accused of preparing for war:

The ANC yesterday called on South Africans not to pay their "hard-earned R20" to the Inkatha Freedom Party's Solidarity Fund, accusing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party of preparing for war. (16)

In a statement yesterday, ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said like the R5 "demanded" by Buthelezi about a month ago for the formation of self-protection units, the Solidarity Fund was aimed at "creating more training camps for the death squads that have caused havoc in our communities".

"The Fund is aimed at prolonging the lifespan of the KwaZulu bantustan and therefore prolonging corruption and misery of all our people. Any cent donated to this fund means a day more of misery, death and destruction," Makhaye said.

The ANC, he said, was already aware that in areas like Mpumalanga outside Hammanskraal large sums of money were forcibly taken from pensioners. The people had to report such incidents to democratic structures and expose them in the media.

Meanwhile, ANC officials in Natal have taken special security precautions for ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit following the IFP's call on supporters to attend his meetings.

IFP regional secretary Blessed Gwala issued a statement this week calling on IFP members to attend Mandela's people's forums and question him on violence and other issues.

ANC regional secretary Senzo Mchunu told Sapa he had been in touch with Gwala over the statement and he had also taken special security measures to prevent possible confrontation.

He said IFP supporters were among those who had received special invitations to a people's forum in Empangeni on Thursday night. Gwala had misinterpreted this gesture as an invitation to all IFP supporters, he claimed.

Meetings had been held with the South African and KwaZulu police to ensure Mandela's visit on Thursday went off smoothly, said Mchunu.

Of particular concern was an afternoon meeting in Mandini's Shindubili township which has been affected by political violence over the past few months.
Road open to blacks rule

Achievements of democracy require new symbols, meaningful for world.
Private ‘dissent’ may split the IFP

IT'S "high noon" for the Inkatha Freedom Party — and observers believe a split may be imminent between the hardliners and those who want a more pragmatic approach to the elections in April.

Although no one in the IFP would go on record about any imminent division, some Inkatha sources have conceded privately that there is apparently a growing trepidation among some IFP members that if they contest the elections aligned to the right wing they may be "doomed".

Addressing a meeting in the Empangeni town hall last night, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the ANC had exhausted all avenues in trying to bring IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the transition.

World leaders and top South African businessmen have also failed to woo him back to the talks. Chief Buthelezi, would not say yesterday if the IFP would be taking part in the elections, but said a special congress of the party would be held to discuss the matter.

The IFP's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlatlose, told a press conference in Durban last week the party was "actively moving ahead to ensure a high level of organisation to meet the challenges of transition to a new South Africa in which the IFP will play a key role".

Mr Kobus Jordaan, spokesman for the Democratic Party, said it was time for a lot of introspection within Inkatha.

● Members of the Freedom Alliance are scheduled to meet members of the South African government in Pretoria today.

● R33m jet for KwaZulu — Page 2
Zulus will resist, says Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Zulu people would meet the present draft constitution, when it became law, with "determined resistance", the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

And in Durban the IFP rejected with "absolute disgust" the ANC govt decision to permit only a single ballot paper at next year's elections.

IFP political director Mr Peter Miller said the effect was to prejudice parties that tended to have a regional power base rather than a national power base.

The action was "collusion" to prejudice smaller parties, and to prevent political expression in regions."
Parading the slogan 'Your problem is my problem', Nelson Mandela launches the ANC’s election campaign in Natal.

Farouk Chothia reports

Kicking off the African National Congress election campaign with a whirlwind tour of Natal, Nelson Mandela unmasked a few of the faces he will wear as he fights for the hearts and minds of South Africa’s 21 million voters.

In a schedule which saw the helicopter-borne ANC president address 13 public meetings in three days, he addressed a wide range of persons — from the loving father who knelt little children to a toy-toting积极响应，他用这些例子说明如何将政治变为行动的工具。

As a young trump majorette gasped him at a rally in Nkhotakota township in Greytown, Mandela kissed her on the cheek, before making her look up to see him. To the 1,000-strong crowd he sent a clear message; he was a father who loved his children.

It was a shrewd move to counter a possible election strategy of the National Party, which would project President PW de Klerk as the torchbearer of strong family values.

One striking feature of Mandela’s campaign trail was the vicious attacks he launched on De Klerk from every public platform, taking South Africa back to the pre-1990 era when the battle lines were clearly drawn.

He even reverted to the rhetoric of the 1980s: far from being a ‘man of integrity’ — Mandela’s phrase when he described De Klerk as a negotiating partner — the state president was a ‘man who does not care about the lives’.

So damaging were the attacks on De Klerk and his senior NP leaders — Rolf Meyer, George Bartlett and Dawie de Villiers — that a joint statement accusing Mandela of depopulating “racial polarisation” in South Africa.

In buoyant mood at a rally in hoppa, a sharp-tongued Mandela said: “On April 27, we’ll bury the NP together with its black surrogates. We’ve lost the last time we ever heard of them.”

While stressing that he was still committed to a government of national unity, he delivered a back-handed swipe at De Klerk by indirectly linking him to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. “If De Klerk or his black surrogates are able to get five percent of the total vote, then De Klerk will serve in government”, he said.

Mandela even made a pitch for the support of members of the South Africa Police, reaching out to a force which will play a crucial role in ensuring that ANC supporters in volatile Natal are protected when they go to the polls.

While repeatedly demanding the withdrawal of the internal Stability Unit from black townships, he shook hands with NUM leaders in hoppa. Thrilled, one Indian policeman remarked: “He is a classic leader.”

The police force, armed in civilian service were established to defend white minority rule and repress demonstrators by blacks as a declaration of war on white supremacy, he said. The police and the army were not competent to defend democracy.

As faces reddened, he offered an olive branch: “(But) we are aware there are many policemen who are fighting the past — they must be part of the transformation process. We will use these policemen as we recognise the police force. The doors are wide open.”

With the theme “Your problem is my problem. Your solution is my solution”, Mandela staged question and answer sessions with potential voters wherever he went.

Both blacks and whites raised questions about the economy and violence. But these reflected their differing visions: blacks wanted to know how they would escape poverty, while whites seemed more concerned about nationalisation and higher taxes.

In the black squatter settlement of Isandla, community leaders told the ANC leader: “We have no homes, no roads, no electricity, no water, no sewage, no creches, no clinics, no security, no good transport.”

Mandela blamed the NP and promised a reconstruction programme. But he cautioned: “Nobody should have exaggerated expectations. We’ll try to deliver the goods if voted into office.”

In Greytown, white businessmen raised concerns that the ANC was not fully committed to a market economy. Dismissing the argument, Mandela said: “More than 90 percent of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are owned by five big conglomerates. Where is the free market to that?”

Indians complained about the draft constitution’s failure to recognise as official their vernacular languages, including Gujarati and Hindi. Disastrously, Mandela admitted that this was a “serious omission” for which he had no explanation. He promised that the ANC would address it.

Another sensitive issue arising from the white agenda was the ANC’s alliance with the South African Communist Party — indicating that whites have either accepted it as fait accompli or no longer see the SAP as a threat.

Aware that the issue could drive away potential voters, the ANC appears to have decided to downplay it. Significantly, neither the party’s flag nor its slogans were displayed prominently on Mandela’s tour — in sharp contrast to the days when its flag was hoisted alongside the ANC’s and chants of “Viva ANC!” were followed by chants of “Viva SAP!”.

Said an ANC leader: “We want people to focus on the ANC, its flag and its logo. That is what is going to be on the ballot paper.”

Mandela’s decision to kick off his “people’s forum” campaign in Natal signals the importance of the region in the ANC’s bid to win the national elections.

With thePHY region, Natal has the highest voter population — 23 percent — and is the only province where the ANC faces a serious challenge from both the IFP and the NP.

To secure the rural vote, the ANC once more tried to recapture Zulu culture from Inkatha. In the rolling hills of Swaziland, a regiment of Zulu warriors escorted Mandela to the platform, handing him a shield and stick. Later, the warriors brought a bull to the platform, as a gift for him. Filled with emotion at the gesture, Mandela promised he would return after April 27 to wear the bull and celebrate the ANC’s victory.

Mandela the man to the ANC’s trump card, and one must have been some worries about his ability to stay the election count. At times he looked tired, slightly bloated and having difficulty rising to his feet.

But in a tribute to his amazing energy at 75, he bounced back, finishing his tour by toy-toying with The Young Lions of Pietermaritzburg at a mass rally at the city hall.
Buthelezi blusters as IFP gets ready

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is still rejecting the April 27 poll but the IFP is moving into election gear, writes Farouk Chothia.

Who is the most principled and consistent leader? —mixed crowd of whites and blacks replied in one loud voice.

“Who represents integrity, religious and family values?” —Shenge!

“Who is the fearless champion of federalism?” —Shenge!

“Who is the champion of non-violence, negotiations and decency?” —Shenge!

Introducing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (whose clan name is Shenge) with these words to a 1,000-strong crowd at the Durban city hall on Monday evening, Inkatha Freedom Party national political director Ziba Jyane signalled that the IFP was moving into election gear — and unveiled some of the central themes around which it will contest elections.

Of all the parties, it appears that the IFP will place the strongest emphasis on family values in a bid to win votes.

Unlike the ANC and the National Party, the IFP has made “the family” the central theme in its logo unveiled in newspaper advertisements last weekend.

The logo also signals that the IFP intends to project itself as a modern party, the perfect nuclear family: a mother in high-heeled shoes and a short skirt walks with husband and two children into the new era, following the rays of the sun.

The emphasis on modernism is significant: it suggests that the IFP sees its future constituency as urban-based, rather than in the dwindling rural population. Traditional Zulu culture, on which the IFP has traditionally relied for its support, does not feature at all in the logo.

And with the family shaded in both black and white, the logo suggests that the IFP is attempting to woo voters across the racial spectrum.

In another sign that the IFP is gearing up for elections, IFP media spokesman Ed Tillett pitched for white support in his address at the city hall, urging them not to vote for the NP and Democratic Party, as this would merely split the anti-ANC vote.

He said the “fundamental weakness” of the NP and the DP was their failure to build a constituency among blacks, who would determine the outcome of elections. “The IFP can and will deliver the black vote — of that there is no doubt,” added Tillett.

Significantly, Buthelezi did not pursue the election theme in his address, focusing rather on rejecting the interim constitution and the April 27 poll.

This reflected a rift within the IFP between Buthelezi and his close confidant, Walter Foigt, and party moderates such as former DP MP Mike Tall, kwazulu government chief negotiator Ben Ngubane and IFP chief executive officer Joe Matthews.

Throwing the gauntlet down to the moderates, Buthelezi said the IFP planned to hold a special general conference where he would seek a mandate for his rejectionist stance.

In a clear warning to the moderates, Buthelezi charged: “Those who will be with me will be with me and those who move to oppose me will be against me. That will be their prerogative. All I want is clarity on who is with me. I am confident that I will be getting the mandate I am looking for.”

In what appeared to be a bid to rally support, Buthelezi threatened for the third time this year to resign as IFP president if the conference voted against his position. “I have said to the past this may well be a time ...for me to reconsider my own position,” he said.

Aware that his verbal salvos are alienating potential funders of an election campaign, Buthelezi seems to be
taking no chance with his measured words: the phrase “civil war” featured only once in his eight-page speech.

Against this backdrop, it appears that Buthelezi has repeatedly threatened civil war in the past to extract concessions from the ANC and the NP before they finalised the interim constitution.

In his city hall address, Buthelezi spoke of “peaceful civil resistance and possible disobedience” in a campaign for “democracy, real freedom and justice”.

But he also made a veiled threat to take up arms: “In life, there are things people must struggle for with all they have. These are things where people should not be afraid even to pay the supreme price with their lives. I am convinced such a battle has begun in South Africa.”

Elections, however, did get a small mention in Buthelezi’s speech. He said the IFP was preparing “full blast to contest the poll — though it would not be for a constituent assembly.”

Observers believe that Buthelezi is deliberately sending out confused signals, hoping to extract last-minute concessions from the NP and ANC.

At the same time, the kwaZulu leader hopes to win further support among white voters, paving the way for the IFP to emerge ahead of the NP in the elections. This would make him — and not FW de Klerk — the deputy-president. In fact, the main target of his attacks was the NP, rather than his long-time opponent, the ANC.
IFP may fight election without Buthelezi

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's continued rejection of the April 27 poll is causing tensions within his party. IFP leaders are considering fighting the election without him, reports Farouk Ghotia.

Leading figures in the Inkatha Freedom Party are thinking the unthinkable. They are not ruling out the possibility of contesting next April's election without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But they insist this eventuality — the political equivalent of Hamlet without the prince — is unlikely to happen.

Speculation has been fuelled by two developments this week. At an IFP rally in Durban on Monday, Buthelezi warned he would resign as president if a planned special IFP conference voted down his re-election stance on elections. It was the third time he has made this threat this year.

And in Washington, Buthelezi's former close associate and post-Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said he thought the IFP leader might soon retire from public life and leave his party to fight elections without him.

Dhlomo, who quit his Inkatha post in 1990 and now heads the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, reportedly said it was not in Buthelezi's nature to participate in a process he had so vehemently opposed. At the same time, many rising IFP leaders were keen to fight the elections, and tensions were simmering in the organisation.

In an interview, IFP national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said he expected the IFP to survive even if Buthelezi stepped down as its leader at a special general conference to be held either next month or early next year. However, for this to happen, Buthelezi would have to give the party his blessing.

Jiyane said that while he respected Dhlomo's view, as he had "knowledge" of Buthelezi, he did not agree with his assessment.

It was unlikely that the special general conference of the IFP would go against Buthelezi's wish to boycott the April poll.

"Chief Buthelezi is very popular in the IFP. Nobody can conceivably challenge his leadership," Jiyane added.

Observers believe that IFP moderates, who want the IFP to fight the election, may attempt to strengthen their hand through internal elections for a new central committee.

Buthelezi may be preparing quietly to make his exit from political life," said Dhlomo.

There is little prospect, however, of IFP moderates seeking to oust Buthelezi. Besides his overwhelming personal hold on the party machine, the IFP's support among both rural blacks and whites in Natal largely depends on him.

Observers believe that possible successors to Buthelezi are IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose, or kwazulu government chief negotiator Ben Ngubane. Jiyane — a former coded leader of the Pan Africanist Congress — stands an outside chance.

Since he joined the party early this year, he has had a meteoric rise in the IFP, being his constitutional adviser at the World Trade Centre Talks and later appointed as its media spokesman and national political director.

He also serves on the IFP election commission.

IFP moderates are keeping their options open with some even considering the possibility of breaking away from the IFP to form a new party with disaffected Nats.
... While others get ready for war

Stephen Lafore, Jan Tulliard, Faniuk Chothia, Estelle Randell

A LONG-STANDING feud between Inkatha leader Chief Mungo-

suthu Buthelezi and a local chief in northern Natal forms the back-

drop to last weekend's bloody assault in Ngutsu which left at least 12 people dead and several wounded, including a three-year-old child, the chief, Elias Moleke, and one of his sons.

The Ngutsu killings come as violence monitors reported an upsurge in politi-

cally motivated deaths in Natal and the existence of at least one Inkatha military training camp. In the week ending last Tuesday, the death toll in the province was higher than in the PWV area for the first time in four months. At 215, October's death rate was the highest in over three years, reported the Human Rights Commis-

sion.

Moleke is a Zulu whose forefathers were granted land in the Ngutsu area by the British in 1879 for assisting them in their wars against the Zulus. But it is his own political affiliations which have incurred Buthelezi's wrath: he has aligned himself with the African National Congress and Col-

traleza and was suspended without pay by Umzini after visiting the ANC in exile in 1988.

Speaking from his hospital bed, Moleke told the Mail & Guardian he had stopped attending meetings of the kwazulu legislative assembly shortly before his suspension. "I did not want to join Inkatha."

Sunday's killing spree came after local organizers cancelled a meeting with Youth League leader Peter Moke-

ba and Winnie Mandela on the advice of ANC intelligence, who said they had information that the gathering was to be attacked by Inkatha cadres.

Human rights workers active in the area also reported being told to stay out over the weekend by the kwazi.Zulu police because "something was going to happen."

But Inkatha spokesman Zizile Gwala "rejected with contempt" ANC claims that his organization had been responsible for the massacre, saying the use of A4774 proved their innocence. A4774 assault rifles are rarely available in the illegal South African weapons market and have frequently been seized during police raids on Inkatha-led hostels.

Moleke said he believed that the attack was politically motivated, and mem-

bers in his area had received threatening phone calls, and it was well known that the youth in his area use his house for meetings. His father had recently been summarily detained by anam-

neted by another local chief, General Ngcobo, said Moleke. They were carrying spears and other traditional weapons and they were singing a song about people who break away not being welcome in kwazulu. I reported the incident to the magistrate."

The Goldstone Commission is investigating Sunday's attack.

The upsurge in political violence in Natal appears to signal the emergence of a two-pronged strategy in Ulundi: to hold Rhoda Dwina's James Sartini, both Inkatha principals, simultaneously for elections and for the plan for a R16 million Inkatha election fundraising drive (see companion story) and revelations of military training suggest that Buthelezi is going into practice a plan designed to be announced at both hawks and doves within his camp.

But he has been in righting cir-

cles for months about clandestine training for Inkatha organized by the Rhodesian Volkfront, and using the "blackmail" of former SAP and SADF informers as blackmail. This week, APF headquarters denied any involvement or knowledge of military training.

Inkatha training base exposed

From Page 2

Dexter says Inkatha has the numbers—up to three million potential soldiers—and the APF the ability to procure military hardware.

Further information gleaned from normally reliable sighting sources in a series of interviews suggests that:

- Former 32 battalion officers associated with the APF—who are known to the Mail & Guardian and who have recently been seen in Natal, hundreds of kilometres from their usual stamping ground—have been moulding traditional Zulu Impis into conventional infantry units over the past several months.

- The Volksfront generals, including Constant Vrijen and Tienie Groenewald, pay regular visits to the training camps.
A second secret pact between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in the Transvaal has been called off after intervention from Ulundi.

The IFP was this week preparing to sign a "non-aggression pact" with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in Vereeniging. But Natal spokesman Ziba Jiyane told the Mail & Guardian that Transvaal leader Themba Khoza had been instructed "to tell the people in Vereeniging not to go ahead with it.

"It is official IFP policy not to enter into any kind of agreement or deals with the AWB," Jiyane said: "We cannot allow this to proceed."

IFP supremo have once before had to rein in their Transvaal region, when they scotched a planned non-aggression pact between Terre'Blanche and Musa Myeni.

Apparently organised by the local branch of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the signing of the treaty is due to take place tomorrow and is to be signed by Terre'Blanche and Mzwazi Twala of the IFP. Apart from Twala and Terre'Blanche, speakers at the event are scheduled to include Volksfront strategist and member of the AVF directorate Dene Groenewald.

Earlier this week Volksfront regional secretary in Vereeniging Bill Moorcroft waxed lyrical about the event: "Everything will be there," he enthused. "The AWB commandos, the brass bands, the horses ... we are only leaving the aeroplanes at home."

In an invitation to rightwing groups this week, Moorcroft called on all interest groups to attend and support the event.

Referring to the invitation to it as a "non-aggression pact (nie-aansluisverdrag)" he this week described the proposed deal as being more a "pact of solidarity."

The pact signed by Myeni and Terre'Blanche in March last year caused severe embarrassment in senior IFP circles.

Central committee member Walter-Felgile immediately reacted by stating that the IFP did not support the pact and that Myeni had acted "out of mandate."

Myeni also repudiated reports of a formal pact by terming these "deliberate mischief-making."

He said the planned deal had merely covered the principles of peaceful co-existence and the peaceful resolution of disputes at local level.
IFP moderates plan elections...

Inkatha moderates are preparing to contest the elections despite threats of a boycott from more hardline members of the organisation, report Farouk Chothia and Chris Louw.

Raising R10-million, unveiling a party logo to capture the dawn of a new era, ditching the white nightgown, forming a new black alliance under the name African National Congress (ANC) — these are some of the plans of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) election strategists as they gear up for elections.

The strategies reflect the thinking of Inkatha moderates, who are extremely anxious that the IFP should participate in the April poll. On the other side of the rift are IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his close confidant, Walter Felgate.

Felgate has repeatedly threatened a boycott of elections, but there are signs that even he is beginning to accept the inevitable. During the weekend last week, he made it clear that the government only had to “give a little more” for the IFP to reconsider its stance. A boycott could precipitate severe internal conflict and an exodus from the IFP, particularly by defectors from other parties such as former DP MP Mike Tarr. Said one source: “The moderates don’t know whether Felgate is serious or holding out for more concessions from the ANC and government. Clarity will come soon.”

The moderates were this week buoyantly preparing to take on the ANC and NP in elections, even though the election will be a federal government, rather than a constitutional assembly. Said one IFP leader: “We’ll continue fighting for federalism through parliament. It took Belgium 20 years to achieve a fully federated federal state.”

Cape Town organiser Malcolm Bagley has told the Mail & Guardian the IFP is recruiting new members specifically with an eye to elections.

And recently, the managing director of the IFP-owned Ilanga newspaper, Arthur Koningkramer, resigned to become manager of the IFP’s election campaign. Insiders consider him ideal for the job. “He’s a good organiser, a decisive decision-maker, and a meticulous planner,” said a source.

IFP sources said this week the organisation would shortly unveil a party logo, and that it would portray the IFP as a national, rather than Zulu party.

After extensive research among potential voters, the election commission had narrowed the choice of a logo down to three and the central committee was likely to make a final choice in the next few weeks.

“The dawn of a new era will be the central theme. The logo will also reflect all the people of South Africa — through how this will be done is still being debated.” The source added that the election campaign would cost about R10-million, but that because of its ambivalent stance on elections, the IFP was finding it difficult to raise money.

The key players in the IFP election campaign are all moderates — and many are 1993 recruits. They include:

● Chief executive officer Joe Matthews, chairman of the election commission.

A former senior figure in the ANC/SACP alliance, Matthews is seen as a “brilliant intellect” who will be able to read the ANC’s election game-plan.

A long-standing friend of Buthelezi, Inka Mars, is seen as playing a key role in raising election funds through her connections with local business and links with potential funders in Europe. She travelled with Buthelezi during his recent European tour.

The only Indian in the election commission, Farouk Cassim, has been establishing contacts with potential Middle Eastern funders. Articulate, he is likely to feature prominently on public platforms.

He has been focusing on strategy to win support among Indian voters.

Former DP MP Mike Tarr is held in high esteem by IFP moderates for touting Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte in the Pietermaritzburg North seat in the last general election.

Sacked by president FW de Klerk as Natal MEC shortly before he joined the IFP earlier this year, Peter Miller is asserting himself in the IFP — and pushing hard for participation in next April’s elections.

An intellectual, Ziba Jaryan is one of the top strategists in the election commission. As former director of the Pan Africanist Congress’ publicity department, he will also concentrate on the IFP’s propaganda campaign for the elections.

The kwaZulu government’s chief negotiator, Ben Ngubane, also serves on the election commission. IFP moderates believe he is a polished politician who needs to have a higher profile in the run-up to elections, having been sidelined for too long by Buthelezi and Felgate.
IFP will resist constitution

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Interim Constitution adopted by the plenary session at the World Trade Centre this week will be met with "determined resistance", Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared yesterday.

"He and the Zulu people could not be expected to "be faithful and diligent" in assisting with the implementation of the Interim Constitution and the transition phase, he said.

"The Interim document's silence on the positions of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Zulu nation compounded the problem.

"Leveelling the political playing fields," he said, "did not necessitate the destruction of the identity of a people (or) the elimination of self-determination for the Zulus.

"The Zulu people, and blacks across the country, were faced with white minority oppression... and we met (this) with resistance.

"What we learnt in the struggle against apartheid we will employ in our struggle against a constitution which, if left to run its course, could only produce grave consequences for all of us," said Buthelezi.

"But we were not consulting our colleagues in the IFP/KwaZulu government about the party's next moves.

Buthelezi said President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela would in the end know that the best they could do together would result in furnishing the image of De Klerk and incurring the anger of a large percentage of South Africans.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance will continue to hold talks with the Government and ANC.

Parliament begins its three-week short session on Monday.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais rejected the Interim Constitution.

The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) will hold a press conference today to announce its response to the World Trade Centre package.

However, unconfirmed reports said the AVF and the ANC began two-day top-level talks yesterday to seek agreement on an Afrikaner homeland.

Sapa reports that in Bisho yesterday, the Ciskei government warned it would not be easy to rescind a "status of independent homeland..."

"Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda will be reincorporated into South Africa once Parliament enacts Negotiating Council recommendations during the short session," Sapa.
Buthelezi gives warning of 'determined resistance'

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi pledged to meet the new constitution with "determined resistance" while he and other Freedom Alliance members pondered their futures yesterday.

Buthelezi said he would call a special general conference of Inkatha to decide what the organisation's next step should be. He would also consult the KwaZulu government and its legislative assembly.

"What we learnt in the struggle against apartheid we will employ in our struggle against a constitution, which, if left to run its course, could only produce grave consequences for all of us," he said.

Buthelezi suggested he might disrupt the implementation of the new constitution, saying: "Nobody should expect us to be faithful and diligent in assisting (its implementation)."

Buthelezi reiterated his statement that he would not consider himself bound by the decisions made at the World Trade Centre, since he had been excluded "by the behind-the-scenes manipulations of the government and the ANC/SACP alliance".

Freedom Alliance negotiators are scheduled to meet government in Pretoria today.

One of the key members of the alliance, the Afrikaner Volksfront, affirmed its commitment to helping the transition "in any way we can".

Commonwealth members had much to offer in "meeting the challenge of pluralism".

De Klerk said he welcomed the help of the Commonwealth before and during the elections. More observers were needed.

The country also needed the expertise of Commonwealth members for the electoral commission.

De Klerk said he was encouraged by the Commonwealth's "constructive approach" during the transition.

Anyaoku arrived on Wednesday to attend the multiparty plenary session at the World Trade Centre and to discuss Commonwealth assistance to SA.

He said he had met ANC president Nelson Mandela, and planned to meet other leaders.

Anyaoku reports that NP media director Martinus van Schalkwyk said Viljoen's war threat on Wednesday and statement that right-wingers should undergo military training were dangerous and groundless.

Van Schalkwyk rejected the "wild" allegation that half the population had been ignored in drafting the constitution.

Home Affairs launches R3.5m voters' ID awareness campaign

PRETORIA - The launch of an awareness campaign aimed at encouraging potential voters to acquire IDs ahead of the election was announced yesterday by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte.

The campaign, which will cost the department about R3.5m, would include newspaper, TV and radio advertisements as well as the distribution of 21,000 T-shirts, he said.

About 2,350 outdoor advertising boards would be erected in rural areas, and further notices and flyers would be placed in 1,500 buses, Schutte told a media conference.

The campaign was aimed particularly at the 13% of the population who do not yet have IDs but who were eligible to vote.

"After this campaign, and other actions, nobody will be able to say they were not able to vote on April 27 because they could not get an ID."

The acceptance by the negotiating council's plenary session yesterday of the Interim Electoral Act meant the time was ripe for an intensification of the awareness campaign, Schutte said.

"Everything now is moving ahead towards the election."

Schutte estimated that more than 80% of SA's population who were eligible to vote were now in possession of the relevant documents.

These included the old reference books and identity cards as well as permanent residence permits.

The agreement by the department earlier this month that photographs for IDs would be provided free of charge had resulted in a very positive influence on the number of applications, Schutte added.

Thousands will not vote, says HSRC

GERALD REILLY

The fear of violence and intimidation as well as rural illiteracy could keep tens of thousands of voters away from the polls on April 27.

A recent HSRC survey showed that 23% of respondents in the northern Cape, KwaZulu and Free State, 22% in the eastern Transvaal and 36% in Natal had decided not to vote.

HSRC constitutional analysis centre head Bertus de Villiers said a large proportion of the electorate was already intimidated because of escalating violence.

More than 50% of eligible voters - most in rural areas - were politically naive, believing their votes would not remain secret.

New peace day set for January 1

JOHANNES NQOBOS

BUSINESS and labour organisations yesterday declared January 1 Peace Day and pledged to create a million T-shirts for the occasion.

This follows the success of the September 2 peace day, when thousands of South Africans demanded more peace paraphernalia.

Speaking at COSATU headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday, National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gilliibuy said the task of business and labour was to promote peace.

He said the T-shirts were an ideal way for people to show they supported the idea of peace in SA.

SA Cotton, Textile, Workers' Union assistant general secretary Ebrahim Patel said the manufacture of the T-shirts at textile factories would create jobs for the unemployed.

"The idea of manufacturing local peace T-shirts stems from workers who want to contribute towards peace in our country," said Patel.

The T-shirts will be available at 2,000 Pick n Pay, Checkers, Shikari, OK, Edgars, Selies House, Pep Stores, Ackermans, Smart Centre, Woolworths, Foschini, Markhams, American Swiss, Hyperama, Truworths and Jet outlets countrywide.

They will cost R10 and will depict a dove with an olive branch in its beak.
Freedom Alliance may not last the course
Inkatha predicts corrupt ANC reign

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE corruption in the governments of Kwandebele and Lebowa disclosed this week gives voters a glimpse of future ANC rule, according to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane said yesterday the Kwandebele and Lebowa governments were members of the ANC-led Patriotic Front. The people of South Africa could judge for themselves how other parties measured up when it came to integrity in government.

The De Meyer and Parson reports indicated “theft, kickbacks, fraud, maladministration, tax evasion, tender irregularities, needless expenditures and chaotic administrative control” in virtually every department of these two governments.

It was reasonable for South Africans to judge the ANC-led Patriotic Front by the performance of those in it who already administered governments. Voters should not be misled by pie-in-the-sky promises made by organisations that had not even “delivered a toilet to any community”, he said.

The IFP, on the other hand, “proudly” reminded South Africans that the KwaZulu government had been declared “the cleanest of all the homeland administrations”.

Despite being underfunded because it refused independence, the KwaZulu government’s “record of delivery speaks for itself.”
Buthelezi keeps all doors open

By Ryland Fisher

As political pundits throughout the country joined the guessing game over his possible participation in South Africa's first non-racial elections next year, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi employed the age-old trick of politicians — using many words to say as little as possible.

In an interview on Friday, he criticised the "unilateral imposition" of the draft constitution by the government, the ANC and their allies.

However, he did not rule out participation in the elections, saying he would "draw on the collective wisdom of his party members before making a decision.

"We are holding a central committee meeting next Sunday and I will ask them to call an early general conference of the party next month. I will get my next step from that. I can't predict what will happen," he said.

Mr Buthelezi refused to say whether he felt he should take part in the elections, saying he always consulted his voters.

He was as evasive on how far he was prepared to go in resisting the draft constitution. "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it," he said.

Mr Buthelezi also lashed out at his political rivals, claiming ANC president Nelson Mandela hated him and that his confidence in President F.W. de Klerk had been shattered.

Asked if he felt opposition to the elections could lead to violence, he said: "There is a civil war in this country and, quite clearly, if tensions go up, that will escalate.

"But I've never myself said I wanted any civil war. I've never believed in taking up arms."

He was "not personally interested in an election where you decide the issue of who is going to write the constitution."

"I thought there'd be a constitution agreed upon, even if you referred it to a referendum, and then you'd have an election."

"Those are my personal views. But the issue is too important to be decided just on the basis of my feelings."

He denied there was a split in the IFP over possible participation in the elections, saying the issue had been debated in several central committee meetings.

"If the IFP should have a special general conference, probably in a month's time... then we'll see what the majority view is."

He predicted "very tough times ahead for the Zulu people" if central government funds were cut off.

"KwaZulu is part of South Africa and the people of KwaZulu are taxpayers. Money was allocated from the national fiscus for school, clinics and pensioners. The money belonged to the Zulu people, Mr Buthelezi said.

He claimed the KwaZulu/Natal region was underfunded by the government.

"That's why I feel so strongly about the constitution which has been passed, which is a unitary system constitution, which meant that with the hatred I can see from Mr Mandela's utterances, quite clearly if his party wins, the Zulu people will suffer even worse as far as the allocation of funds is concerned."

Mr Buthelezi said Zulus wanted to be part of South Africa but "We would like to manage our own affairs at regional level and we would like to know what our king's status is."

"The fact of the matter is that the king is not accommodated and the Zulu people are being obliterated from the map."

Mr Buthelezi, who said he had "loved Mr Mandela all my life" denied political parties other than the IFP faced restrictions when campaigning in KwaZulu.

"Which party has ever complained? Only the ANC has made propaganda about it. Yet, here, Mr Mandela is campaigning, he is going all over the place and I have never said that he should not be free to campaign here."

WILL HE OR WON'T HE... KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his Ulundi office  Picture: HORACE POTTER
Inkatha plays guessing game on April 27 election plans

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is continuing to keep voters guessing if it is to take part in the April 27 election.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi will launch the IFP’s Umgeli North branch at the Durban City Hall tonight. According to a statement, branch convener Ed Tillett said the election battle in Natal would be a two-way contest between the African National Congress and the IFP.

Parties whose support bases were not substantially rooted in the black majority would be marginalised “in the forthcoming elections”, Mr Tillett predicted.

Mr Tillett’s talk of “the forthcoming elections” has to be seen with the IFP’s elaborate advertising campaign in Sunday newspapers.

Chief Buthelezi has linked this with a rejection of the April 27 poll. However, in the same statement, branch convener Ed Tillett said the election battle in Natal would be a two-way contest between the African National Congress and the IFP.

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Johan Steenkamp, information officer of the NP in Natal, predicted today that the IFP would take part in the April 27 poll. The IFP’s choice was between taking part in the election, or being marginalised, Dr Steenkamp said.

He predicted that the IFP campaign would be a negative anti-NP and anti-ANC campaign, portraying them as partners who had been taken for a ride by the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, the bureaucratic wheel continues to turn against the KwaZulu government, which ceases to exist on April 28 next year, being overtaken by the provincial government of Natal/KwaZulu. The multi-party talks have given Howard Varney of the Durban Legal Resources Centre the task of drafting legislation that will abolish KwaZulu laws that are seen to be discriminatory.
NEWS Mandela ends tow

IFP boss' tough stance

THE Freedom Alliance would be radicalised if the Government and African National Congress failed to recognise the movement, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday.

Addressing an IFP rally in Pretoria, he said no government would be able to prevail against the force and political strength of the FA — the second strongest political force in the country.

Buthelezi said he did not want the FA to be radicalised, "but if that is what is going to be, then let it be."

IFP supporters heard traditional weapons danced and sung through the streets of Pretoria to attend the rally at the rugby fields of Berea Club. Buthelezi said there would not be peace and democracy in the country if the ANC/SA Communist Party and the Government were allowed to proceed with their plans to totally dominate South Africa.

Civil war

"There will only be a polarised South Africa, helpless before escalating violence, with civil war bearing down on it."

The Government and ANC/SACP could still turn back from this path.

"If they do not hear my call for freedom and justice and democracy, I will fight them every inch of the way forward until I have diverted them from destroying South Africa."

Buthelezi warned that the ANC/SACP would dump the Government in the political trash cans in which it was going to dump the present draft constitution."

Buthelezi said he had been targeted for total destruction, and he was only alive because his police had uncovered these plots to kill him and found the caches of arms and ammunition."

""
Inkatha launches campaign

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has launched a massive publicity campaign despite its president Mangosutha Buthelezi insisting he will not lead it into elections for a constitution-making body.

In full-page newspaper advertisements, Inkatha appealed to the public to "join the crusade" and declared itself to be "a power for good".

And according to the language Buthelezi and Inkatha spokesmen have been using lately, it would appear that Inkatha is under increasing pressure to rejoin the mainstream political process.

This could be clarified by the KwaZulu chief minister at a public meeting in Durban's City Hall tonight.

At a rally in Pretoria on Saturday Buthelezi, although rejecting the constitution endorsed by negotiators at the World Trade Centre, said the Freedom Alliance would "come second if an election were to be held tomorrow".

However, he said the alliance did not have to enter an election to prove its support and would demonstrate its power by fighting the "treachery in negotiations".

Buthelezi told the crowd: "I will not make the illegitimate constitution legitimate by participating in an election under it." He repeated earlier promises to hold a special general conference of Inkatha to decide on poll participation.
New Act will result in greater civil litigation

THE Occupational Health and Safety Act, due to come into operation on January 1, would result in increased civil litigation, Webber Wentzel labour lawyer Gasant Orrie said.

Speaking at a conference last week, Orrie warned of maximum fines of up to R100,000, two years' imprisonment or both if an employer was found to have been negligent, resulting in a death or injury.

"Apart from providing and maintaining safe systems of work, plant and machinery, an employer is required to provide such information, instructions, training and supervision as may be necessary to ensure, as far as is reasonably practical, the health and safety at work of his employees," he said.

Employers also had to take all the necessary measures to ensure that the requirements of the Act were complied with by any person on the premises where machinery was being used.

He said it might be necessary for employers to stipulate any breach of these requirements as a disciplinary offence.

Employers should also consider making employees' functions and duties clearer in job descriptions so as to encompass safety standards. These should be communicated to all employees.

On the issue of non-employees directly affected by an operation, Orrie said companies faced possible criminal prosecution for failure to ensure their safety.

This now fell under a statutory duty of care. Previously, a claimant had to show that the employer owed a duty of care.

Employees were given statutory duties in terms of the new Act, including being obliged to take reasonable care of their personal health and safety, he said.

In the event of an accident, Orrie said employers should arrange for trained, competent and property designated employees to inspect the scene as soon as possible after it occurred.

He emphasised the need for employers to keep proper records and to have properly trained and qualified health and safety officers. "It will become more difficult for industrial relations officers and managers to act as health and safety officers."

A further cost complication was that until the amended Workmen's Compensation Act was promulgated in April 1994, high-earning employees would be able to sue employers for damages arising from neglect in regard to workplace health and safety issues.

A ceremony on Friday, the National Occupational Safety Association honoured Consul Ltd and Telephone Manufacturers of SA for achieving three million work-hours without a disabling injury.

Azapo will not take part in election

HARRARD The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will not take part in SA's first non-racial election in April next year, Ziana news agency said.

The parties are holding a two-day consultative talks in Harare.

Azapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa yesterday labelled the "sell-out settlement" the adoption of an interim constitution by negotiators last week.

He said Azapo and the BCMA would launch a campaign to persuade South Africans not to vote in the election.

"We hold the opinion that a sellout settlement is in place in SA and that sham elections are going to be held to legitimise the continuation of white rule."

"We will try to convince our people not to sell their birthright and freedom by casting votes that will put them in perpetual slavery," he said.

Literate blacks in SA were ill-informed about the implications of the choices they would make in April.

"Azapo will explain why the elections cannot be supported and why the Kempston Park package cannot satisfy the interests of blacks in the country."

Azapo and BCMA demanded "total freedom" that enhanced the status of the oppressed, he said. Mabasa also predicted violence would escalate in the wake of the elections.

Inkatha launches campaign

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Buthelezi told the crowd: "I will not make the illegitimate constitution legitimate by participating in an election under it."

He repeated earlier promises to hold a special general conference of Inkatha to decide on poll participation.
Buthelezi threatens to quit

MICHAEL MORRIS and MARTIN CHALLENGER
Political Staff

FREEDOM Alliance negotiators meet the government for make-or-break talks today after a threat by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to quit if the IFP opts to fight the election under the interim constitution.

Chief Buthelezi’s threat is being interpreted as an unambiguous signal that the IFP will not contest the election unless it succeeds in securing further concessions on regional powers.

IFP sources said the party would never survive as a political force without Chief Buthelezi.

The government remains committed to bringing the Freedom Alliance “on board” and intense discussions are expected today. Sources said the key to agreement was a strengthening of regional powers.

Speaking in parliament yesterday, President De Klerk said agreements reached “in the next week or so” could still be written into the draft negotiated constitution, with the blessing of the multiparty forum.

“Given a genuine willingness and sense of urgency on the part of the Freedom Alliance ... (it) remains possible” to include them in the process. The government was prepared with the Alliance to “look at what more may be done”.

Mr De Klerk added last night: “It is up to the Alliance to articulate what specifically more it wants, within the framework of federalism. We are then prepared to go back to the Negotiating Council, if we are convinced their demands are attainable and reasonable.”

Today’s talks between the government and the Alliance are expected to focus on documents exchanged last week which explored possible areas of agreement between the Alliance and the negotiation process.

These documents are understood to contain a long list of clauses or conditions which the Alliance wants to insert in the draft constitution.

See page 17
Buthelezi hints at IFP rifts

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night that he was aware of rifts developing in his party over the new constitution endorsed by negotiators last week.

Addressing a packed city hall here, he repeated his warning that he could resign his leadership if an IFP special general conference decided to contest the April elections.

Chief Buthelezi said he will not lead the IFP into an election under the present draft constitution and has urged his supporters to fight a "fatal flaw constitution".

But his party would continue to prepare for elections in April because "there will be elections next year once we have reached true multi-party consensus".

The IFP has consistently said it will not fight the April elections before a final constitution is drawn up, but is planning to contest elections "sometime next year".

Chief Buthelezi hinted that the

**Warns he could quit leadership**

IFP could embark on a civil disobedience campaign to protest against the current transition process and supporters "should not be afraid to pay the supreme sacrifice".

The IFP's new Umgeni north branch, which boasts members in Durban North, Umhlanga, Phoenix and Newlands east and west, was launched at the meeting which began with entertainment by a troupe of Indian dancers.

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP remained committed to a speedy negotiated settlement but was "in a mood to fight for democracy, real freedom and justice".

"With your support I feel certain that we will win that fight through peaceful resistance and possible civil disobedience. In life there are things that people must struggle for with all they have."

“These are things where people should not be afraid even to pay the supreme sacrifice with their lives. I am convinced such a battle has begun in South Africa...”

In a speech in which he dashed out at the media for conducting a "calculated and concerted campaign" against him, Chief Buthelezi said he would seek a mandate from an IFP special conference to proceed with the "second phase" of the struggle.

"I will be calling a special general meeting of the IFP... I have said in the past there may well be a time after such a conference for me to reconsider my own position. I now repeat that statement."

In what appeared to be the first subtle confirmation of divisions in the organisation he said: "Those who will be with me, will be with me — and those who move to oppose me, will be against me."

"All I want is clarity to know who is with me. I am confident that I am likely to get the mandate I will be looking for." — Own Correspondent, Sapa
SA ‘held to ransom’

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was “holding South Africa to ransom” by refusing to state whether or not the IFP would contest the April 27 election, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

He forecast that “the IFP would go into the election with or without Buthelezi”. His statement came as former IFP general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo, predicted that IFP Chief Buthelezi would retire from public life rather than lead his party into next year’s elections.

Speaking at a lunch hosted by Idasa Dr Dhlomo said, however, it was unlikely Chief Buthelezi would take up arms against a new government.

Dr Boraine drew an analogy between what happened to Mr P.W. Botha and what might happen to Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Botha had left a gap when he relinquished the role of leader of the NP and those in the NP leadership critical of him “took the gap”. Within months, the former State President was ousted from office.

“South Africa is bigger than any of its leaders but all three are important if we are going to have peace,” said Dr Boraine.

Dr Boraine posed the question: “If the IFP does particularly badly in the election and loses in KwaZulu/Natal, will they accept the result?”
"Tensions simmering within IFP"

Buthelezi ‘may quit public life’

BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

Washington — Inkhatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s old confidante Dr Oscar Dlomo believes Buthelezi may soon retire from public life, leaving the IFP to fight the April elections without him.

Former IFP secretary-general and KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dlomo said yesterday that it was not in Buthelezi’s nature either to take part in a process he had so vehemently opposed or to ‘be a freedom fighter against democracy because there are aspects of the constitution he does not like’.

Dlomo — who resigned his IFP and KwaZulu offices in 1990 and is now executive director of the Institute for Multifaction Democracy — said he believed Buthelezi would consider retirement more seriously if he was given the assurance that he would be left in peace and accorded recognition as one of the leaders who had played his part in the liberation struggle of the 70s and 80s.

Dlomo was speaking at the Aspen Institute/Carnegie Endowment South Africa Forum.

He said that tensions were already simmering within the IFP over the elections. Many up-and-coming young IFP leaders expected to play a role in the post-apartheid South Africa, which would be impossible if the IFP did not contest the elections.

He believed the IFP would take part — possibly without Buthelezi who had indicated that if the party decided to go in, he would have to ‘consider’ his options.

"For Buthelezi to participate in the TEC and Government of National Unity after his determined opposition to every aspect of the transitional arrangements, would be a humiliating climb-down which, as I know him, he would find hard to swallow."

"Through his consistent stand against the process, he may be preparing quietly to make his exit from political life," Dlomo said.

IT WAS not in the nature of Buthelezi to take part in something he had so vehemently opposed, or be a freedom fighter, former confidante says

...
**Buthelezi ‘may quit public life’**

SIMON BARRER

WASHINGTON — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi might retire from public life rather than lead his party into next year's elections, former Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo predicted here yesterday.

Dhlomo, who now heads the Institute for Multifactional Democracy in Durban, thought it would be out of character for Buthelezi to take up arms against the interim constitution or a new government. At the same time, his objections to the new order were so deep-seated that he would face a “change-over” difficult.

Dhlomo interpreted Buthelezi’s talk of retirement in a Washington Post interview last weekend as an indication that he was “quietly preparing for an exit”.

Dhlomo was cautious noting that it had been receiving campaign training from the International Republican Institute. There were “diminishing tensions” in the party’s ranks over Buthelezi’s rejection stance.

Dhlomo thought the way Buthelezi talked about his party into elections was if he received a strong appeal from his supporters, but even that might not change his mind.

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**White homeland lacks much allure**

NEARLY half the supporters of the Afrikaner Volksfront would not want to live in a white homeland, Markinor deputy MD Chris Woessner said yesterday.

However, a Markinor survey conducted among 1,000 whites this month indicated about half a million whites favoured such a homeland — 15% of the support coming from Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

“With what is especially surprising is that about half the Volksfront supporters would not part of a white homeland. In fact, only six out of 10 are in favour of the concept itself and only slightly more than half (54%) consider it a viable proposition,” Woessner said.

Many whites are concerned about the lack of support from the Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Viljoen and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, refused to comment last night.

Volkfront media spokesman Stephen Manlier said there would be no comment until the Volkfront had studied the results of the survey and had the opportunity to question her (Woessner) about her methodology and other details.

The survey indicated that 22% of whites were in favour of the homeland, with 22% believing it was a viable option. But only 14% of whites would be prepared to pack their bags and move to such a white homeland.

People in the lower income (less than R2,000 a month) and education (Standard 8) groups were the most enthusiastic, with most enthusiasm coming from 16- to 24-year-olds.

Support for the white homeland was strongest among Volkfront supporters (43%), with the CP trailing by 18%. All Volkfront supporters (12%) supported the idea, beating NP supporters with 11%.

All people polled who said they supported the ANC rejected moving to a white homeland.

Support for moving to a white homeland was fairly equally distributed between the Free State (25%) and Transvaal outside the PNP area (20%). The least support, 5%, came from the Port Elizabeth-East London-Cape Town area.

The Saps reports members of the whites-only SA Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union are going to approach a car manufacturer to work overtime without pay to provide Volkfront leader Gen Viljoen with a car.

This follows a Volkfront head office request on Tuesday that regional leaders should approach motor dealers who support its cause to supply two cars, one of which should serve as a VIP car.

Nel and Steel general manager Nic Collier said yesterday that one of the union's branches had offered its services and the unnamed mover would be approached. The union is a Volkfront member.

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**Mandela wrong on land, says SADF**

THE SADF yesterday denied an allegation by ANC president Nelson Mandela that it was the country’s richest landowner and said much of the land it had used of was suitable only for conservation.

Mandela said on Tuesday a new government would repossess land ownership inequalities by — among other things — using vacant tracts owned by the SADF.

The SADF said yesterday it did not own land. Land was allocated to it by the Public Works Department and as soon as the SADF did not have its use, it gave the land back.

The SADF said at present, it had the use of 600,000 ha of land, 0.5% of the land in SA. “Of this, 500,000 ha is undeveloped and is used for training areas, shooting ranges and buffer zones around airstrips and ammunition depots.”

A Public Works spokesman said if any of its “clients” handed back land, the department disposed of it along normal market lines. That is, it sold it in the public auction market.

Elaborating on Mandela’s remark, ANC agricultural spokesman Derek Hanekom said the SADF land would not be appropriated as it was state-owned.

It would, instead, be used as part of a new government’s redistribution programme, Hanekom said.
Now for the hard part

The gulf between government and the Freedom Alliance on how to shape a new constitution is far wider than believed by optimists. There seems little hope that differences will be resolved on the basis of current bilateral negotiations.

Another round of talks was under way in Cape Town as the FM went to press, but neither side expected much progress. However, it was likely that the door would be left open for further discussion.

How to deal with the Alliance is becoming a major problem for both government and the ANC. It may in fact be easier for President F W de Klerk to convince the ANC of the need for a referendum to break the deadlock than to get the Alliance back on board before April 27.

The Alliance comprises a rightwing grouping under the banner of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Inkatha and the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. De Klerk is understood to be increasingly disturbed by repeated claims by the CP that he has left Afrikaners in the lurch and that the Alliance has more backing than the groups represented at the multiparty talks.

In parliament this week, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg taunted De Klerk by suggesting that the Alliance was "at least" the second most popular political grouping after the ANC. And, at a public meeting in Durban this week, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed the Alliance represented more than half the country's population. He warned that if the Nats and the ANC ignored "the majority of SA's population" the country was "heading for an abyss."

But these calculations of support appear to assume that all Zulus and Afrikaners back the Alliance.

The parliamentary debate on the negotiation process illustrated the extent of the gap between government and the Alliance. They could not even agree on the basic constitutional concept that underlies their differences — though there should not be surprise at this.

De Klerk was apparently under the impression that the basis of current negotiations was the acceptance of federalism as a point of departure. He said this was confirmed to him by Alliance leaders twice last week. If this were not the basis of talks, negotiations would be "senseless." The issue for discussion was how to strengthen the federal concept.

But speaking immediately afterwards, Hartzenberg strongly rejected De Klerk's interpretation of the CP's position, which he said was confederalist and not federalist as envisaged by the interim constitution. In a confederal system, the CP's envisaged volksstaat would in effect be an independent country that would have an arm's-length relationship with neighbouring states.

The interim constitution agreed to by the multiparty negotiators provides for a federation, in which not all the powers of the constituent members will be exclusive of central government. Hartzenberg said this was a union rather than a federation — and he has a strong theoretical case.

At the Durban meeting, Buthelezi also indicated support for federalism. He said the interim constitution was fatally flawed. However, he was preparing to contest the general election next year in the belief that "true multiparty consensus" would be achieved by then. But the chances of this happening appear slim. The dispute between government and Inkatha goes beyond the interpretation of federalism. Buthelezi is also opposed to a two-phase transition and wants multiparty negotiators rather than an elected constituent assembly to draw up the final constitution.

He was prepared to continue talking to government "in the hope that sense will in the end prevail ... Our arguments to the government will be that the only way we are going to achieve peace and stability is for SA's negotiators to draw up a final constitution before elections next year. We have a fight to put up against a fatally flawed constitution."

If agreement was not reached, Buthelezi Centre would not be changed. He said it was up to the Alliance to provide further specific details of its demands within a federal framework.

"We are then prepared to go back to the negotiating council if we are convinced their demands are attainable and reasonable."

During the parliamentary debate De Klerk tried to split the Alliance by suggesting that Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei should not associate with the CP if that party rejected federalism and nonracialism. He urged Alliance partners — particularly Inkatha — to "have the courage to dissociate themselves unequivocally from the CP." If they did not, the Alliance would be branded as the "apex of opportunism ... It is simply not good enough that the Freedom Alliance presents itself as a political entity when that suits it while glossing over the fundamental conflicts of policy within its ranks."

De Klerk said it was still possible to bring them on board "given a genuine willingness and sense of urgency on the part of the Freedom Alliance." He said agreements reached within the next week or two could still be endorsed by both the negotiating council of the multiparty forum and parliament. "We believe that we have already made constructive proposals and are prepared to look together with the Alliance at what more can be done."

But it was clear from the CP's attitude that agreement is a long way off. The party is simply not prepared to consider at this stage the sort of nonracial framework within a federal system that government insists is a basic condition for participation in the election. The party was unmoved by De Klerk's claim that the new constitution provides an effective balance of power between the provinces and central government. Instead, Hartzenberg and colleague Fanie Jacobs warned government of Afrikaner resistance if military action were taken against Alliance partners who refused to accept the interim constitution.

De Klerk is not in favour of using force — which does not mean that the use of force can be ruled out. If the war talk of some elements in the Alliance turns out to be more than bluff, it is by no means unthinkable that the Defence Force will be called in to preserve the union and restore stability within it.

FRANCIS MAIL • NOVEMBER • 26 • 1993 • 45
Armed wing sowing voter terror — IFP

The African National Congress' armed wing has embarked on an operation to intimidate voters and sow terror in Natal's communities to ensure victory at next year's elections, the Inkatha Freedom Party claimed yesterday.

It said Umkhonto we Sizwe would intensify its 'Operation Sunrise' early next year with the aim of 'forcing the broad electorate into submission'.

The IFP had submitted a "highly confidential document" to the Government, outlining the alleged covert operation.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi also referred to the alleged operation recently, claiming MK is out to eliminate Inkatha office bearers.

The ANC in southern Natal slammed the claims yesterday as an attempt to create political ground for attacks on its members and its soldiers.

"It is an attempt to explain away the training of IFP death squads and their preparations for a civil war to hold South Africa to ransom," said regional media officer Mr Dumisani Makhaye.

He said the MK "operation" existed only in the "poisoned and small minds of the most reactionary and violent sections of the apartheid security forces".

The ANC believed the IFP's information was coming from elements in the security forces which had infiltrated the IFP.

IFP national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said the information had come from "our intelligence sources who operate in the ANC".

The IFP says large-scale MK training is taking place to ensure the ANC's army is well represented in the joint peace-keeping force and in future security forces.

Confidential document sent to Government:

But, a small group of highly trained MK cadres will remain outside the peace force and the integrated security forces. This will be MK's "Special Operations Unit" the IFP claimed.

"This elite squad of professionals will be involved only in major offensive operations such as assassinations of key opponents, sabotage of crucial 'enemy' installations and attacks against any hostile military forces."

Other IFP allegations include surveillance by MK of the rightwing and attacks to counter threats from this grouping. The IFP further alleges that KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana are being targeted and political opponents in these territories will be "eliminated." — Sapa.
AWB and IFP to conclude a pact

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The AWB and Inkatha Freedom Party are expected to meet tomorrow in Vereeniging to conclude a "solidarity" pact, in terms of which "an attack on the Zulus will be an attack on the AWB".

AWB spokesman Mr Johan Thompson said the agreement would be between the East Rand and Vaal regions of the two organisations.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was expected to attend the meeting.

Inkatha's Transvaal deputy chairman, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said Inkatha's Vereeniging branch had arranged the meeting.

Mr Thompson said the AWB was providing military-style training to Inkatha members in the Transvaal:

"We train them only in the use of firearms. We don't give them firearms," he said.

SAPA reports that Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gozo said in Bisho that he had an agreement with Mr Terre'Blanche that the AWB would defend Ciskei if the South African government turned against it.
D-day looms for
Buthelezi with IFP crisis vote

Weekend Argus Correspondent

TOMORROW is D-Day for Inkatha president
Mandla Buthelezi.

The central committee of the Inkatha Free
Movement meets in Ulundi to decide whether
Chief Buthelezi has already placed his leader
ship on the line by announcing that he would re
tire from politics if his party opted to partici
pate in a poll under a constitution which he
believed was seriously flawed.

The decision will be a watershed for the par
ty, which has vigorously campaigned — with
Chief Buthelezi crossing the length and breadth
of the country — against the constitution since
the party left multi-party negotiations in early
July.

However, Inkatha insiders say there is in
creasing pressure on the party to participate in
the poll despite widespread agreement within
the rank and file with the chief minister’s reser
vations about the limited powers of regions and
constitutional deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

One source said it would be foolish not to
participate as it would throw the party into the
political wilderness.

Inkatha Pietermaritzburg North MP Mike Tatt
said if a decision to participate was taken, it
would be done on the proviso that the party
won concessions when the Freedom Alliance
met the government on Monday.
Inkatha meets to decide on election participation

THE central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party meets in Ulundi tomorrow to decide whether to participate in the April 27 elections.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has already placed his leadership on the line by announcing that he would retire from politics if his party opted to participate in a poll under a constitution which he believed was seriously flawed.

The decision will be a watershed for the party which has vigorously campaigned — with Buthelezi crossing the length and breadth of the country — against the constitution since the party left multiparty negotiations in early July.

However, Inkatha insiders say there is increasing pressure on the party to participate in the elections despite widespread agreement within the rank-and-file with Buthelezi's reservations about the limited powers of regions and constitutional deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

DONALD PRESSLY

One source said it would be foolish not to participate as it would throw the party into the political wilderness.

It is understood that the central committee will be presented with two options — to take a final decision on the poll or defer the decision to a special general congress.

Concessions

However, Inkatha Maritzburg North MP Mike Tarr said if a decision to participate was taken, it would be done on the proviso that the party won concessions when the Freedom Alliance met the Government on Monday.

Inkatha election strategist Peter Miller confirmed it was unlikely that decisions would be made that would pre-empt Monday's talks.

This would constitute a face-saving measure for Buthelezi, one source pointed out, adding: "There's a fine dividing line between Dr Buthelezi's rejection of a constituent assembly and a parliament with restricted powers to change the constitution."

Another outcome of tomorrow's meeting would be to defer the poll decision to another central committee meeting if there are serious disagreements on the way forward.

One source emphasised that if Inkatha agreed to enter the poll at the weekend it would remove a bargaining chip when the alliance met the Government in Pretoria on Monday. The special congress is an option which will be taken only if there are serious divisions over participation in a poll, as there would be logical problems in calling all the party's branches together before January next year, he said.
INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday his time as leader of the IFP might be over.

On the eve of a meeting of the party's central committee to discuss participation in the election, he told supporters at a rally in Vryheid he was despondent.

He said: "I have never had illusions that I am indispensable or irreplaceable. If this is the time for someone else to be at the helm of the IFP leadership, so be it."

Former IFP general secretary Oscar Didomato reportedly said in Washington this week he thought Chief Buthelezi might retire soon.

— Sapa-APP (IBS)
BROTHERS BLOOD

against ANC Histigads

ANC and the Communal Areas

by Moses Maimane

Inkatha and the Afrikaner
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Rightwing march: Call on IEP

JOHANNESBURG.—The African National Congress has called on the Inkatha Freedom Party to distance itself from the IEP (Wan) Triangle branch's public association with the rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at the weekend in Vereeniging.

About 500 IEP supporters carried AWB flags as they marched with AWB supporters on Saturday. The two parties then signed a "non-aggression pact."
Primary trigger behind violence

Buthelezi stands firm on elections

INKAHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi stood firm at the weekend on his rejection of next year’s April election and again predicted that South Africa would be plunged into civil war.

Buthelezi also repeated that he would not lead his party into constituent assembly elections, saying he had never had illusions that he was indispensable and IFP supporters would have to decide on his leadership.

He told about 4,000 supporters at Vryheid in KwaZulu-Natal that federalism was the only way to ensure peace in South Africa. “It is our only chance of saving our country from the civil war which is otherwise sure to come.”

He said the IFP was not calling for civil war, but cautioned:

“There is no saying what our followers will do when they realise that they have been betrayed by the National Party and the African National Congress.”

And Boiputhotswana leader Chief Lucas Mapogo at the weekend supported Buthelezi and also warned of possible civil strife in South Africa should the constitutional dispensation agreed to at multiparty talks be implemented.

Addressing the Boiputhotswana Defence Force’s 14th annual parade at Odi Stadium near Mahopane, Mapogo reiterated his stance of non-participation in next year’s April 27 election under the proposed dispensation.

He maintained that the Freedom Alliance was supported by “many millions” saying “authoritative and impartial polls indicated that should the Freedom Alliance decide to participate in elections, it would inflict a crushing defeat on the National Party at the ballot box.” — Sapa.
POLITICS Heads will roll, says party spokesman

IFP rejects pact signed with AWB

By Sowetan Reporter and Sapa-AFP

THE INKATHA FREEDOM Party national leadership yesterday distanced itself from a non-aggression pact signed between its Vereeniging branch and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on Saturday.

"The alleged pact is irregular and does not carry the sanction of the central committee or the national leadership who are the only bodies with the authority to enter into such arrangements," the IFP central committee said in a resolution after an all-day meeting at Ulundi in KwaZulu.

The committee said it had instructed its Transvaal leadership to investigate and report back on the matter.

AWB and IFP members marched through Vereeniging in the Vaal Triangle on Saturday before signing the pact, which promised that both sides "will at all times give support to each other in the event of aggression by the African National Congress and its ally the South African Communist Party.

Television footage of the event made headline news around the world.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche labelled the pact "historic" and said the IFP and AWB would fight together against an ANC government.

While distancing itself from the pact, the IFP central committee noted, however, that "communities who are being subjected to a systematic and organised campaign of assassination and murder are sometimes driven to seek security and protection from whatever source is available".

Earlier the IFP had been thrown into disarray after the Vaal region ignored instructions from Ulundi to cancel a joint march with the AWB.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said heads would roll following the march and the pact.

The AWB and the IFP joined forces in a march in Vereeniging — the first such march featuring both white extremists and supporters of a conservative black party.

The procession was a contrasting affair with uniformed and armed AWB troops marching in formation and spear-carrying IFP supporters doing the traditional black iye-iye dance.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, on horseback, led about 300 AWB supporters while behind them came about 200 IFP supporters singing and chanting.

During the march, young IFP supporters were seen carrying the swastika-style AWB flag.
ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party central committee yesterday called for six conditions which it said must be met in dealing with the division of power between regional and central government. An April 27 election is to be held to a special party conference to give all regional states a voice in the interim constitution to which all parties have committed themselves in the spirit of the 1996 conference.

The conditions include acceptance of an alliance clause in the constitution which could be passed after negotiations on it are completed. "The principle of self-determination of a people has been adopted," the party declared.

The IFP and its Freedom Alliance said they would accept "as a fact" that the partners have rejected recognition of a "plural society" and "prefer" the two-thirds majority over the "specified majorities" for the regional and central governments. The alliance declared that the amendment of the new constitution is due to meet "political and administrative" and the abandonment of the deadlock-breaking mechanisms. — Sapa
AWB pact proves headache for IFP

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party national leadership yesterday distanced itself from a non-aggression pact signed between its Vereeniging branch and the Afrikaans Weerstandsbeweging on Saturday.

The IFP central committee said after an all-day meeting at Ulundi that the pact was "irregular and does not carry the sanction of the central committee or the national leadership".

The committee said it had instructed its Transvaal leadership to investigate and report back on the matter.

Television footage of the AWB and IFP march through Vereeniging made news round the world. — Sapa
Inkatha, AWB defence pact ‘disconcerting’

The signing of a defence pact between the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Inkatha Freedom Party was very disconcerting, Natal MP and Democratic Party spokesman on regional development Robus Jordaan said today.

He said it appeared that at grassroots level the IFP was taking Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s war talk literally.

“The signing of the pact between Eugene Terre’Blanche and IFP leader Joza Twala in Vereeniging yesterday is extremely disconcerting.

“In spite of instructions from a senior IFP official not to proceed with the pact, the local IFP leadership went ahead.

“A party which claims in full-page adverts that it stands for integrity and freedom must translate those slogans into deeds.” — Sapa
Today's

IFP leadership rejects AWB pact

Leadership rejects AWB pact

Leader tries to put halt to Soweto crime

IFP leadership rejects AWB pact

Leader tries to put halt to Soweto crime

IFP leadership rejects AWB pact

Leader tries to put halt to Soweto crime
Crunch week ahead for SA

Sources within the FA said yesterday it had been engaged in negotiations with the Government over the past few days over these proposals, but had not yet made any decisions.

Also yesterday, after an all-day meeting at Ulundi, the central committee of the IFP refused to take part in the April elections, saying it was not a party to the TEC Act signed by President De Klerk last week.

"In order to take part in elections, the committee said, key issues had to be resolved. These include the division of power between the states and federal government as well as funding arrangements.

It said De Klerk's signing of the TEC Act was "in breach of a solemn undertaking by the State President that there would be no implementation of any aspect of the transition until a constitution and all the attending Bills had been approved as a package".

"The central committee considers that this alone would justify the IFP refusing to par- ticipate in the elections scheduled for April 27," it said.

An IFP spokesman told Sapa that the committee meeting had decided that a special general conference would be held to con- sider the IFP's way forward, but no date had been set.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned at the weekend that he would resign if his party decided to contest the elections, sparking speculation that a pro-elections group might split from the IFP and form a new political party.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope has warned of possible civil strife in South Africa should the constitutional dispensation agreed to at multiparty talks be implemented. Speaking on Saturday near Mahopane, he said the alliance was supported by "many millions".

To Page 3
Parties blast IFP for consorting with AWB

Row over 'defence pact' snowballs

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Cape Town — The dispute over the signing of a “defence pact” between the Inkatha Freedom Party and Afrikaner Weerstands beweging in Vereeniging continued to snowball yesterday.

It has become evident over the past two days that the pact could prove to be an election liability for the IFP, with opposition parties already blasting the party for consorting with the right-wing extremists.

Yesterday the National Party's media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the IFP had "painted itself into a corner" by being part of the Freedom Alliance, which includes the AWB.

"All that has now happened is that senior officials of the IFP have taken the alliance on national level to its logical consequence on regional level," said Van Schalkwyk.

Democratic Party Umlaasga MP Kobus Jordaan described the deal — which he said included the "establishment of subversive underground structures" — as extremely disconcerting.

"Despite the instructions of senior IFP official Dr Ziba Jiyane not to proceed with the pact, the local IFP leadership went ahead," said Jordaan.

"It appears that at a grassroots level the IFP is taking Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's word-lack and being in bed with the Freedom Alliance literally," the DP MP added.

The IFP central committee has already moved to distance itself from the pact, saying after a meeting on Sunday that it was "irregular and does not carry the sanction of the central committee or the national leadership."

The ANC yesterday welcomed the central committee's decision to repudiate the pact, but called on the IFP to take disciplinary action against erring members.

"We believe that the Vereeniging branch signed the pact because of the confusing signals, particularly the repeated calls for civil war, that the IFP national leadership has been sending their members,” the ANC said.

"As a result, the IFP national leadership must bear full responsibility,” it said.
POLITICS

Tough Ulundi talks for Freedom Alliance hawks

Political Staff

FREEDOM Alliance leaders and their negotiators gather in Ulundi today for a meeting expected to set the political climate for the next few months.

The alliance negotiators will arrive for the 2pm meeting fresh from a series of talks with government counterparts in which efforts have been made to close the gap between the organisations.

There have been indications from alliance sources that considerable progress has been made on key issues, but the success of these talks now depends on ratification by alliance leaders.

Although negotiators have been encouraged by progress in recent talks, they point out that in the past such progress has been dashed when certain leaders dug their heels.

There is concern over the recent attitude of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and pessimism over the prospect of getting him aboard a settlement.

The alliance has rejected the negotiated interim constitution talks and said it would not contest an election without changes.

Given developments in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through parliament during the present sitting — now apparently due to run to December 22 — today’s meeting will almost certainly amount to the final opportunity for the alliance to join a political settlement.

An alliance negotiator said yesterday that negotiating teams had almost reached agreement on the clause in the interim constitution on regional powers.

Another sub-committee was close to resolving differences on taxation powers.

A critical alliance demand is for a two-ballot voting system, with one vote for the national legislature and another for provincial parliaments. The existing agreement is for one ballot paper.

An alliance negotiator said yesterday that he was “bullish” about progress in bilateral talks with the government.

This follows speculation of divisions in the alliance and the extraordinary announcement by the Afrikaner Volksfront, an alliance member, that it would form an alternative government for Afrikaners.
Pessimism about Buthelezi coming aboard

FA meets in Ulundi today

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Freedom Alliance (FA) leaders and their negotiators will gather in Ulundi today for a meeting expected to set the political climate for the next few months.

The FA negotiators will arrive for the 2 pm meeting fresh from a series of talks with Government counterparts in which efforts have been made to close the gap between the organisations.

There have been indications from FA sources that considerable progress has been made on key issues, but the success of these talks now depends on their ratification by the FA leaders.

Although Government negotiators have been encouraged by the progress in recent talks, they point out that in the past such progress has been dashed when certain FA leaders dug their heels.

There is particular concern over the recent attitude of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and considerable pessimism over the prospect of getting him aboard a settlement.

The FA has rejected the negotiated Interim Constitution from the World Trade Centre talks and said it would not contest an election unless changes were made.

Given developments in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through Parliament during the current sitting — now apparently due to run to December 22 — today’s meeting will almost certainly amount to the final opportunity for the FA to come on board a political settlement.

Before the resumption of talks with the Government, an FA negotiator stressed yesterday morning that all elements of the FA were in on the talks and party to agreements.

This follows speculation of divisions in the FA and the extraordinary announcement by alliance member the African National Congress that it would be forming an alternative government for Africans.

The FA source described today’s meeting of FA negotiators with leaders as critical: “We are going to present to them the latest negotiated position and they are going to have to make a decision.”

The decision will be conveyed to the Government at another meeting of negotiators tomorrow.

It is understood that the FA might delay making a public announcement on its intentions until well into the new year.

There is continuing speculation that the FA intends to contest elections on a national basis as an alliance with the individual parties contesting provincial polls.
Lost in the translation

The AWB and IFP may have a common cause but their languages are very different, writes Jan Taaljard.

MANY TWALA was a worried man. Looking decidedly uncomfortable on the microphone stage stop a flatbed truck, he was slowly moving his head to and fro. No, no, no, he seemed to be muttering.

The object of his silently expressed chagrin was merely transacting away in Zulu, interpreting freely as he went along: "We are called upon to form our squads with the AWB and self-protection units in our fight against the ANC."

Poor Mr Twala, regional organiser of the IFP in the Veld Triangle. Not only was his national leadership distancing itself from the pamphlet with the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, but now the translator was taking liberties.

Twala had merely said that the unity between the IFP and the AWB should be built up "on the ground, above the ground and even underground". And now the translator was saying what he thought was meant by underground.

The regional organiser turned his painful expression away, lifting his eyes above the assembled gathering of AWB and IFP members sitting in neatly segregated groups on the grass in front of the Vereeniging Civic Centre.

Floating on the fringes was a group of the camouflage-clad whites milling forlornly underneath the two multi-band flags in shades of pastel. They belonged to the White Liberation Army, military arm of the Springbokkommando. They do not believe that black people have souls.

Ah, but there was one person on the stage enjoying himself immensely. Smileing amply from behind his mask out the die-hard Lions of the Western Transvaal himself, Eugene Terre'Blanche well-known attender of court cases and signatory of non-aggression pacts.

A little while later he was to put his feelings into nauseating hollows of belligerence: "The Boer and the Zulu have now decided that we will fight to the last drop of blood. We are not here to enter into an election pact, but to mould a military force!"

This seemed to perk the translator up considerably after he had just been suitably boosted by Twala. Grabbing his ear at the end of a lengthy, traditional song of praise to Zulu, he translated for the benefit of the AWB faithful who had been sitting in wide-eyed amazement: "That is a song of praise for the king. It is a signal that we are going for a war."

"The faithful cheered. Terre'Blanche positively gloomed, even wearily."

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Alliance must join talks - Mandela

High noon for FA over TEC

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — South Africa will know today whether the Freedom Alliance will finally become part of a constitutional process leading to next year's general election.

FA negotiators, armed with fresh mandates from the FA's summit in Ulundi yesterday, will meet their Government counterparts today in a last-ditch attempt to reach agreement before the launch of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in four days' time.

After their meeting last night, FA leaders were tight-lipped about the line they might take today's negotiations, except to say they would demand "a more federal state". Spokesman Rowan Cronje reiterated the FA's rejection of the draft Interim Constitution and the planned establishment of the TEC.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the FA would do everything in its power to ensure that its objectives were achieved in a peaceful manner.

Before yesterday's meeting, Cronje had said FA and Government negotiators were

LAST-DITCH attempt to come to an agreement before launch of council on Tuesday

Close to agreement on clause 118 of the Interim Constitution — the section that deals with the powers and functions to be allocated to regions.

Given the mounting pressure to get the Interim Constitution through the current sitting of Parliament — expected to end on December 22 — it now seems increasingly unlikely that an agreement can be reached with the FA in time.

However, should progress be made today and endorsed by the FA within the next few days, the new agreement could be included in the Interim Constitution before it is voted on by Parliament.

Earlier yesterday, Government spokesman Dave Steward said there was "cautious optimism that the two sides are getting closer together".

The Ulundi meeting, called to thrash out a fresh response to Government constitutional proposals, was attended by Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Fatti Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront head General Constand Viljoen.

Issues on which the negotiating teams are reported to be close to agreement include the powers of taxation to be ceded to the provinces.

Increasing the pressure yesterday on the FA to make a decision, was news that work has begun on preparing the Interim Constitution for tabling in Parliament.

The opening of debate on the document is scheduled for Tuesday, but this appears to be somewhat ambitious. It is believed that the current sitting of Parliament will end only on December 22 — by which time the Interim Constitution will have been passed — and it is unlikely that amendments could be made after that date.

Meanwhile, speaking in Rustenburg last night, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC was still committed to persuading the right wing to join negotiations, but it would not tolerate rightwingers remaining outside the process and threatening civil war.
Buthelezi raps IFP pro-election leaders

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised statements by "certain" IFP central committee members which gave the impression the party had watered down its demands with a view to participating in the April 27 election.

"Buthelezi was apparently reacting to a remark in the House of Assembly yesterday by IFP MP for Vryheid, Jurie Mentz, that Inkatha would take part in the election.

"At present the party's position is that we are not participating in an election for a constituent assembly. This is the position until the general conference decides otherwise," the IFP leader said. — Sapa.
IFP's Mentz: 'We don't want war'

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would "take part" in April 27 elections, Mr Jurie Mentz (IFP Vryheid) said yesterday, but IFP leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said it would not.

Speaking in the special debate on the Transitional Executive Council, Mr Mentz said the IFP did not want war.

"Just be reasonable - give us our bottom line," he said.

After January, Mr Mentz said, Parliament would be finished and the TEC would then govern South Africa. "We say this is a coup d'etat."

To an interjection, he said: "We are going to take part in the election. I assure you."

But Chief Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at certain IFP central committee members for "undermining the purpose" of an IFP extraordinary general conference next month.

Chief Buthelezi said in a statement he was puzzled by utterances by certain IFP central committee members which gave the impression the IFP had watered down its demands to accommodate the IFP's participation in elections.

The extraordinary general conference of the IFP had been called to decide on this issue, Chief Buthelezi said.

"At present the party's position is that we are not participating in an election for a constituent assembly. This is the position until the general conference decides otherwise."

Another IFP statement issued yesterday by Mr Farouk Cassim, secretary of the IFP's parliamentary caucus, said the IFP stood by its November 28 central committee decision to exhaust all avenues of negotiation before deciding whether to contest elections - Sapa.
Zulu king: Alliance missed opportunities

DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said yesterday that the conservative Freedom Alliance, by abandoning the democratic process, had made peace difficult to achieve.

King Goodwill, who has previously strongly aligned himself with Inkatha Freedom Party, a key alliance member, said the alliance had missed opportunities to negotiate an acceptable constitutional settlement.

"The fact that we have not achieved an all inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa that much more difficult," he said in a speech to government public relations staff.

King Goodwill said that democracy negotiations had been marred by the failure of the different parties to get to grips with each other's policies.
ANC praises Zulu king on his speech

By MARLAN PADAYACHEE

THE ANC yesterday welcomed Zula King Goodwill Zwelithini's criticism on Friday night of the parties that had pulled out of the World Trade Centre talks. ANC Natal Midlands executive committee member Blade Nzimande said the king's statements would not shatter IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claim to speak on behalf of the Zulu nation.

The king's speech at a banquet for the KwaZulu government's public relations staff in Durban fell short of publicly criticising the Freedom Alliance - of which the Zulu-based IFP is a key member - but the monarch was unhappy the parties had broken away from the talks.

"Although walk-outs express a form of communication, it is one that South Africa can do without," the king told his audience.

"While those aggrieved parties certainly had their own views as to why they embarked upon such a drastic course, the fact that we have not achieved an all-inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa that much more difficult," the king said.

Dr Ntshangase commended King Zwelithini for siding with progress, saying it was important that the king had risen above party politics and treated all political organisations equally, reports Sapa.

"His statements give us hope that he can play the unifying role he is supposed to, and contribute to building democracy in South Africa. "Even more important is that his statements underline the fact that the Freedom Alliance is a group of spoilers. We're glad the king is realising that now," Dr Nzimande said.

The Zulu king has been criticised for appearing on IFP platforms with Chief Buthelezi and for propounding the IFP's political line in many of his public speeches.

Also reacting, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said his organisation was encouraged by the king's "sobering words".

Mr Radebe said the king's wisdom had prevailed in a difficult period, adding that the king's statements in support of negotiations indicated the crucial role he could play in bringing all parties to the negotiation table.

A spokesman for the IFP said: "The king is genuinely unhappy about the impasse. But certain commentators have mischievously interpreted that as an attack on the Freedom Alliance."

The spokesman said Chief Buthelezi could not be reached for comment.
By SIPHO KHUMALO and Sapa

ZULU King Zweithini's criticism of the Freedom Alliance would shatter Inkatha leader Magonzutsu Buthelezi's claim to speak on behalf of the Zulu nation, ANC Midlands executive committee member Blade Nzimande said yesterday.

The king's censure of the alliance for walking out of the multiparty talks could also indicate emerging tension between the monarch and Buthelezi - a development which could have serious political repercussions for Inkatha.

The king said on Friday that SA could do without walkouts from negotiations, thereby impeding the peace process.

Nzimande, commending the king for commitment to progress, said it was important that he stood above party politics and treated all political organisations equally.

The Zulu king has been criticised for appearing on Inkatha platforms with Buthelezi and for propounding Inkatha's political line in his speeches.

The king's statements on Friday night were the first in which he publicly opposed the Freedom Alliance, of which Inkatha is a major partner.

And, ANC southern Natai chairman Jeff Radebe said his organisation was encouraged by "the sobering words of his majesty the king".

Radebe added that the king's stand would certainly go some way in unifying people.

This development comes in the wake of what seems to be divisions within Inkatha over participation in the coming elections.

The Inkatha president also found himself at loggerheads with his own central committee this week.

Two senior Inkatha leaders said they would contest the April 27 elections, resulting in Buthelezi wrapping them in their knuckles.

Inkatha CEO Joe Matthews said last week that the organisation has spent some R2-million on advertisements for the election.

Buthelezi's close confidante, Walter Falgate, declined to comment.

Meanwhile, ANC deputy general secretary Jacob Zuma described the king's comments as appropriate and urged all parties to take guidance from it.

Rumour has it that the king has been pressurised by the royal family to be non-partisan.
FA stumbling block

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Conser-
vative Party chief Dr Fordy Hartzenberg
are believed to be the main obstacles to
a constitutional agreement with the
Freedom Alliance.
Sources close to both the South Afri-
can and Bophuthatswana governments
said the problem could be solved only if
Buthelezi would ease up on his demand
for the federal option.

The sources said that except for the
Conservative Party and Inkatha, all the
other members of the FA wanted to take
part in the Transitional Executive Coun-
cil which sits in Cape Town tomorrow
to conclude constitutional negotiations in
preparation for next year’s elections.

These developments follow optimistic
comments from the Government and
the FA last week and edged closer to
each other on constitutional matters.

On the other hand, Hartzenberg, who
is also Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader,
has been said to be holding out on the
demand for the Afrikaner Volksraad as
FA members believe negotiations with
the Government and the African Na-
tional Congress were bringing a solu-
tion around the rightwing problem.

Buthelezi’s problems were com-

Test of will

Buthelezi has undertaken to test the will
of KwaZulu/Natal about fighting the
elections. He would do this through a
special conference of the IPF next
month.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council
moves from Kempton Park to Cape
Town today in preparation for the instal-
lution of the TEC tomorrow.

Crucial debate on the final draft of the
interim constitution begins on Thursday
or Friday and it is hoped that the test of
the package of the Kempton Park agree-
ments would be enacted before Christ-
mas.

The Bills to be approved and passed
by Parliament are the Electoral Act,
Local Government Bill and the Consti-
stitution itself.
DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's weekend criticism of boycott politics has sparked hectic speculation over the Inkatha Freedom Party's election strategy.

Some politicians believe it will force IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into participating in the April 27 poll, but others think the king's speech was vague enough to leave him more room to manoeuvre.

Chief Buthelezi could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Attempts to obtain the king's comment on interpretations of his remarks as being a major setback for Chief Buthelezi were unsuccessful.

In his speech to public relations staff of the SA and homeland governments in Durban on Friday, King Goodwill criticised all parties for their failure to reach an all-inclusive political settlement.

It was clear from the day constitutional negotiations started that an inclusive settlement was vital, he said.

"Yet as the talks lingered on, the talks became less and less representative. In so doing our constitutional transition unfortunately began to resemble more and more the follies of the past."

His somewhat startling dressing down of political parties has drawn praise, particularly from the ANC.

At the same time it is seen to put massive pressure on Chief Buthelezi to have the IFP enter the election, or risk estrangement from the Zulu king — in whose name, too, he has been fighting for greater autonomy for Natal/KwaZulu.

ANC sources said the king's comments had established his neutrality.

The timing of the king's remarks are significant as it is possible that Chief Buthelezi's role as the king's paymaster may be usurped by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) which begins sitting tomorrow.

In terms of the TEC bill, the council will have the power to make recommendations on matters of material concern to traditional leaders and "approve changes in the remuneration of traditional leaders."
Zulu King's views might spur IFP

BY PAUL BELL

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's unhappiness at the boycott of the constitutional process by "aggrieved parties" may be the shock which the Inkatha Freedom Party requires to reconsider its position rapidly and to take part in the April 27 election, insiders believe.

The king's views, expressed at a banquet on Saturday, came on the eve of a Freedom Alliance decision to attend a trilateral meeting with the Government and the ANC.

It is understood the king fears that the IFP's continued resistance to the constitutional and elections package agreed to by the Negotiating Council could be leading him and his kingdom up a cul-de-sac.

The king told a KwaZulu government publicity staff banquet in Durban that while "aggrieved parties certainly had their own views on why they embarked on such a drastic course", their withdrawal had made the achievement of peace "that much more difficult".

His message is believed to have contained an implicit warning to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that if Buthelezi was tempted to withdraw to his last line of defence — the support of the Zulu nation — he might not be able to rely on it.
King invites ‘threatened’ Zulus to pray

King Goodwill Zwelithini has invited Zulus to a prayer meeting at Isandlwana next Thursday, the Day of the Vow.

In a statement issued on the king’s behalf, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the king felt Isandlwana was the right venue and December 16 an appropriate date.

The occasion would have a bitter-sweet meaning for Zulus. It was at Isandlwana that Zulu impis triumphed over British soldiers. But it was on this day, a century earlier, that the Boers routed Zulu Impis.

Buthelezi said the king had called for the meeting to pray for “the Zulu nation; which is under threat on account of violence, and his kingdom, which he feels is under threat”. Zulus unable to attend the prayer meeting were asked to pray together at noon on that day.

Asked whether cattle would be slaughtered at the meeting to appease ancestral spirits, the king’s office said: “Wait until December 16.” Traditionally, Zulus slaughter animals as sacrifices to call for divine intervention.

In another development, the king denied that he had criticised political parties, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, for walking out of multiparty talks.

Zwelithini said nowhere in his weekend speech, in which he lamented the withdrawal of certain political parties from the multiparty negotiations, had he referred to Inkatha or the Freedom Alliance.
ZULU King Goodwill Zwelethini has bluntly rejected suggestions that recent comments by him were intended as criticism of the Inkatha Freedom Party or Freedom Alliance.

In a rare Press statement issued yesterday the king said: "In no way whatsoever did I intend criticising any political party for withdrawing from negotiations, as has been reported in the Press."

On Friday the king had, during an address to a Songusa Public Relations Institute dinner, referred to parties who had walked out of talks.

"Although walkouts express a form of communication, it is one that South Africa can do without," he said, a comment that was widely interpreted as criticism of the IFP and its FA allies.

"While those aggrieved parties certainly had their own views as to why they embarked upon such a drastic course, the fact that we have not achieved an all-inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa much more difficult," he added.

Yesterday he rounded on media interpretations of his comments, saying they were distorted and taken out of context.

He was "in no way" passing judgment on the decision of certain parties to walk out of talks.

King Zwelethini said "no portion of my speech contained any apportionment of blame of any specific political parties".

He charged that the speech had been deliberately distorted by the media for the purpose of "clobbering those parties and organisations who are, in fact, being clobbered daily by the media anyway". — Sowetan Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.—Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has become the focus of negotiations get the Freedom Alliance back into the political process.

Alliance leaders travelled to Ulundi and visiting British Minister of Overseas Development Baroness Lynda Chalker said she would try to persuade Chief Buthelezi to take part in the elections.

After meeting President F W de Klerk, Baroness Chalker said she would try to persuade Chief Buthelezi when they meet in Ulundi tomorrow that Inkatha’s participation was essential.

“If people do not participate in an election, they cannot complain about what they get after such an election,” she said.

Mr De Klerk said the door would remain open for Inkatha’s participation until lists for the elections were published.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha parliamentary caucus said it had committed itself to argue for Inkatha’s participation in the elections, provided major obstacles to a free and fair election were overcome.

It disputed ANC and government allegations that Inkatha was not serious about negotiating a political settlement, but conceded it had tried to stall negotiations by “filibustering”.

The caucus said contacts between all parties were continuing.

However, the deadlock between the Freedom Alliance and government and the ANC remains unresolved, with all sides saying the ball is in the others’ court. Alliance leaders are to meet on Friday to consider their response to Monday’s “aborted” meeting with government and the ANC. They went to Ulundi yesterday for urgent talks with Chief Buthelezi.

The Alliance said it was concerned about the conflicting positions adopted by the ANC and government and which it said lay behind the failure of Monday’s meeting.

The government delegation had indicated that an Alliance commitment to take part was contingent on agreement being reached on unresolved issues.

The ANC had been adamant that a commitment would be required from the Alliance, irrespective of the outcome of negotiations, and this was “unacceptable.”
Chalker in bid to persuade Buthelezi

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday became the focus of negotiations to get the Freedom Alliance back into the political process, with alliance leaders travelling to Ulundi and visiting British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker saying she would try to persuade him to take part in the elections.

After meeting President F W de Klerk, Chalker said she would tell Buthelezi at a meeting in Ulundi tomorrow that Inkatha's participation was essential. She would not be trying to tell him what to do, but would "ask him questions and point out that a government of national unity would be stronger, with Inkatha's participation".

"If people do not participate in an election, they cannot complain about what they get after such an election," she said.

De Klerk said the door would remain open for Inkatha's participation until tests for the election were published.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that US Commerce Secretary Brown yesterday sounded a note of sympathy for the Inkatha leader. Brown, who spent 90 minutes with Buthelezi during his trade mission to South Africa last week, said Buthelezi's constituency was "significant" and he was "obviously in great personal pain now. He is concerned about the future of those he represents in this new nonracial democratic society".

Brown also predicted that Buthelezi and the Freedom Alliance would take part in the elections as a matter of realpolitik.

Meanwhile the Inkatha parliamentary caucus announced that it had committed itself to argue for Inkatha's participation in the elections, providing major obstacles to a free and fair election were met.

It disputed ANC and government allegations that Inkatha was not serious about negotiating a political settlement, but admitted it had attempted to stall national negotiations by "filibustering".

Nominate House of Delegates MP Farok Coolsaet said "there was a phase where we did participate in filibustering, but that stage is over now. The caucuses said contacts between all parties were continuing."

However the deadlock between the Freedom Alliance and government and the ANC remained unresolved with both sides saying the ball was in the other's court. Alliance leaders will meet today to consider their response to Monday's "aborted" meeting with government and the ANC. They went to Ulundi yesterday for urgent talks with Buthelezi.

B/COPY

Buthelezi

B/COPY

The cancellation of Monday's meeting was neither the alliance's fault nor its responsibility. The meeting did not take place because the government and ANC delegations had refused to proceed with negotiations unless the alliance "unconditionally committed itself to participation in the transitional process, irrespective of the outcome of such negotiations."

The alliance said it was concerned about the conflicting positions adopted by the ANC and government. The government delegation had indicated that an alliance commitment to participate in the process was contingent on agreement over outstanding issues being reached. The ANC had been adamant that a commitment would be required from the alliance, irrespective of the outcome of negotiations, and this was "completely unacceptable."
Cape Town — The Inkatha Freedom Party's parliamentary caucus has committed itself to argue for the IFP's participation in the April 27 election, it said in a statement yesterday.

The caucus said it would present its case for participation, provided major obstacles to a free and fair election were removed, and this included the constitutional issue and the extent of violence in the country, the IFP special congress would, on balance, recognise the progress made and react accordingly.

It was a matter of the utmost deep regret that the proposed trilateral meeting on Monday had been scuppered by the Government and ANC on Monday, the caucus decided to hold a press conference at Parliament yesterday to put its version of events.

Following a deadlock in negotiations between the Freedom Alliance — of which the IFP is a major player — and the Government and ANC on Monday, the caucus decided to hold a press conference at Parliament yesterday to put its version of events.

The seven-member caucus released a statement saying the current demand of the Government and ANC-SACP that the IFP should "commit yourself before we even begin to talk to you" was a bullying tactic inconsistent with the spirit of bonafide negotiations.

The statement said: "We insist on the Government, ANC and SACP delegations dropping their unreasonable prior conditions so that the remaining key problems can be satisfactorily resolved without further delay or obstacles."

"The IFP remains committed to negotiations as the only viable route to a peaceful and lasting solution."

If the major obstacles to a free and fair election were removed, and this included the constitutional issue and the extent of violence in the country, the IFP special congress would, on balance, recognise the progress made and react accordingly.

It was a matter of the utmost deep regret that the proposed trilateral meeting on Monday had been scuppered by the Government and ANC-SACP delegations "without cause or justification". It was inconceivable that they could have demanded any kind of commitment as a prior condition for the discussions to begin.

Caucus secretary Farouk Cassim said he had gained the impression from having been involved in a number of bilaterals with the Government that the two sides had often found each other, only to find days later that the decisions had been recorded differently from what had been decided.

If Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were clear in writing as to what he wanted from the IFP, it would be able to say "yes" or "no".
FA leaders to meet chief

Mbatho — The principals of the Freedom Alliance left for Umtata yesterday to hold urgent talks with IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief, Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi did not attend yesterday's alliance meeting in Mbatho, which was a follow-up to the alliance meeting on Monday with the Government and the ANC.

The tripartite talks, holding proposed concessions and refusing to agree to take part in transitional structures or the coming election, Sept.

(1/1)
Ex-CP men join IFP

By NORMAN WEST

FORMER CP member Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, yesterday crossed the floor to join the IFP.

Mr van der Merwe had been sitting as an Independent since his expulsion two years ago from the CP. He announced his move during a debate on the interim constitution.

He said his decision was in the best interests of the Afrikaner because Inkatha was the only party which was serious about federalism and alliance politics.

Mr van der Merwe launched a stinging attack on the ANC, calling it “hypocritical and power-drunk”.

Mr van der Merwe was the second CP man to join the IFP this week.

Mr Cehill Pienaar crossed over on Friday.

Mr Pienaar, who was an Independent after he left the Afrikaner Volksraad, said the IFP was the only party espousing true federalism in which groups and nations could achieve maximum autonomy and exercise this in a meaningful way.

He said the IFP and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, deserved the support of all freedom-loving South Africans who wished to see freedom and prosperity flourish in a federal South Africa.

Meanwhile, SAPA reports that, with the likelihood of a “no room at the inn” sign being put out for non-aligned MPs in the new national assembly, other members of the outgoing Parliament are scurrying to make their destinies known:

• Mr Chris de Jager, MP for Bethal, told Parliament yesterday that he was quitting politics.

• Mr Handle Christians, Ravensmead, said he was making his last speech in Parliament.

Mr de Jager, a former CP member, is resuming a law practice. Mr Christians said he would urge people to vote for the National Party.

Mr de Jager said there was no room in Parliament for those “not harnessed to caucus decisions”.

Independents were not readily heard, he said — so much so that they had been written out of the new constitution.
Inkatha slates G’stone findings

Political Staff

FINDINGS by the Goldstone Commission of the involvement of an SADF-trained KwaZulu Police (KZP) hit squad in the murder of several Natal ANC leaders were described yesterday by the IFP as a distortion — but were praised by the ANC and DP.

The IFP’s Mr Ed Tillett said while there “may be truth” in the allegations, the report diminished the credibility of the commission as it had consistently failed to take up IFP requests to probe attacks on scores of its supporters.

The report said that three KZP policemen — two of whom have been suspended and the other dismissed from the force — had been arrested and at least two more arrests were expected.

According to commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, there was “credible evidence” of the hit squad activities.

Caprivi

The facts had come to light after the SAP had been requested to probe the alleged hit squad’s activities at the request of the KZP commissioner, Lieutenant-General R During.

SAP Brigadier E du Preez, who headed the probe, found that the men had been trained by the SADF in the Caprivi in 1985.

Evidence showed that there was a “high probability” that a squad of five KZP men were behind the killings of nine people — including ANC leaders — last year and this year.

The commission considered the disclosure of the information to be in the public interest.

However, it was reported that General During said yesterday he regretted the timing of the disclosures.

General During said he had asked the SAP to investigate after receiving information that some KZP members were involved in criminal activities.

The Ministry of Law and Order’s Captain Craig Kotze said it was clear that hit-squad activity was a manifestation of the political rivalry and intolerance between the ANC and Inkatha. — Sapa

● Good cops, bad cops — Page 6
Buthelezi blames colonial action

ULUNDI - Britain had dragged Kwa-Zulu into the Union of South Africa and the territory would never again be dragged towards a destiny it had no hand in shaping, its chief minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told visiting British Overseas Development Aid Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker yesterday.

In a sharply-worded memorandum presented to the baroness during her visit to Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi criticised Britain's colonial involvement in KwaZulu.

"Britain accepted the offer of hospitality by KwaZulu in order to build up its forces and to march against its hosts. Britain conquered KwaZulu, annexed KwaZulu to Natal, and it was under British colonial rule that KwaZulu was dragged into the Union of South Africa without consultation and without so much as by your leave," said the memorandum.

"These acts of colonial subjugation, conquest in war, annexation into Natal, and KwaZulu's subsequent incorporation into the Union of South Africa have written history on the very soul of the Zulu people."

"Chief Buthelezi told the baroness he had sworn "that never again will KwaZulu be dragged towards a destiny we had no hand in shaping.""

Quoting news reports, Chief Buthelezi added: "Now I hear, Madam Minister, that you think President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have done 'more than enough' to satisfy the Freedom Alliance's demands ..."

He added he knew the baroness, like many other international observers, believed the draft constitution would give rise to a working democracy. However, the ANC had given only a verbal commitment to democracy.

"While you may believe the ANC will meet its publicly expressed commitments, we on the side of the opposition are not prepared to stake our future on verbal assurances alone."

Sapa
ULUNDI — Britain had dragged KwaZulu into the Union of SA and the territory would never again be dragged towards a destiny it had no hand in shaping. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told British Overseas Development Aid Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker yesterday.

In a sharply worded memorandum presented to Chalker during a visit to Ulundi, Buthelezi castigated Britain's colonial involvement in KwaZulu.

"Britain accepted the offer of hospitality by KwaZulu in order to build up its forces and to march against its hosts. Britain conquered KwaZulu, annexed KwaZulu to Natal, and it was under British colonial rule that KwaZulu was dragged into the Union of SA without consultation and without so much as by your leave," said the memorandum.

"These acts of colonial subjugation, conquest in war, annexation into Natal, and KwaZulu’s subsequent incorporation into the Union of SA has written history on the very soul of the Zulu people." (1)

Buthelezi told Chalker he had sworn "that never again will KwaZulu be dragged towards a destiny we had no hand in shaping.

"KwaZulu, His Majesty of the Zulu nation, and I myself as traditional prime minister to His Majesty, will have a say in what is to become of our land, culture and our heritage."

Buthelezi added: "Now I hear, Madam Minister, that you think President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have done 'more than enough' to satisfy the Freedom Alliance's demands."

Buthelezi told Chalker he doubted the politics of the SA government and the ANC "will stamp out ethnic realities and obliterate the pluralism which is ... fundamentally inherent in SA society".

Buthelezi added that he knew Chalker, like many other international observers, believed the draft constitution would give rise to a working democracy but warned that the ANC had given only a verbal commitment to democracy. "We are not prepared to stake our future on verbal assurances alone." — Sapa.
Now TEC challenges Chief Buthelezi

Sowetan Correspondent
THE Transitional Executive Council flexed its muscle for the first time yesterday, effectively challenging KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi with two resolutions that could brush aside his authority.

One of the resolutions called on the South African Police to act immediately in violence-wracked areas of Northern Natal and KwaZulu in order to restore security and protect property and lives.

African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking in the debate, said some of the areas involved fell under KwaZulu where "the KwaZulu Police have just been standing by when people's houses are being torched and people are being killed".

"The SAP has a national jurisdiction and ought to immediately protect people in that part of the world," Ramaphosa added. Another resolution demanded that KwaZulu Police commissioner Mr Roy During report directly to the TEC within three days on the Goldstone Commission's report that "hard evidence" indicated a hit squad of KZP members had killed nine people, including ANC members. Given that Buthelezi is also the KwaZulu Minister of Police, the resolution amounts to a call to circumvent his authority.

The resolution said steps would be taken once During's report was received. In only its second sitting, the TEC indicated it intended playing a significant role. It also rapidly responded to the Goldstone Commission report on the police Internal Stability Unit. It demanded that all documents of the controversial ISU be made available.

The TEC ordered that a delegation consisting of Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Ramaphosa and SAP officers give attention to the "proposal that the ISU be removed from the East Rand and Bhambayi in particular".
'Zulus dragged into SA'

Umlindi — Britain had dragged KwaZulu into the Union of South Africa and the territory would never again be dragged towards a destiny it had no hand in shaping, the self-governing territory's Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told visiting British Overseas Development Aid Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker yesterday.

In a memorandum, Buthelezi castigated Britain's colonial involvement in KwaZulu.

Britain conquered KwaZulu, annexed KwaZulu to Natal, and it was under British colonial rule that KwaZulu was dragged into the Union of South Africa without consultation and without so much as a by your leave.

"These acts of colonial subjugation have written history on the very soul of the Zulu people. Never again will KwaZulu be dragged towards a destiny we had no hand in shaping."

He said he also doubted the politics of the Government and ANC.

Buthelezi said he knew that Chalker, like many other international observers, believed the draft constitution would give rise to a working democracy but added that the ANC had given "only a verbal commitment to democracy." — Sapa.
Report aimed at 'discrediting IFP'

Ulundlu — The timing of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry report into alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads was an attempt to discredit the Inkatha Freedom Party for not taking part in the Transitional Executive Council, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a statement yesterday.

Buthelezi questioned why the KwaZulu Police were singled out by name when the report did not mention the "atrocities perpetrated by Umkonto we Sizwe and the ANC-dominated self-defence units in the townships". — Sapa.
Buthelezi accuses Goldstone

THE timing of the Goldstone Commission's inquiry report into alleged KwaZulu police hit squads was an attempt to discredit the Inkatha Freedom Party for not taking part in televised hearings. Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi said yesterday.

Responding to the report in a statement, he said the commission was helping the Government and the African National Congress to make political capital.

"For a commission which was briefed to inquire into the phenomenon of public violence and intimidation, it has come a long way to being a political body."

Buthelezi questioned why the KwaZulu police were singled out by name when the report did not mention the "atrocities perpetrated by Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC-dominated self-defence units in the townships."

"Furthermore, allegations of hit-squad activities against the KwaZulu Police have been made on other occasions and at no stage was such evidence able to stand the test of cross-examination," Buthelezi said. — Sapé.
INKATHA

More mixed signals

The name KwaZulu will not feature on maps of post-apartheid SA and that’s official, according to ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa. His statement, greeted with cheers, was made in Durban at an ANC-organised conference on small and medium business development policy.

Ramaphosa said the ANC’s southern Natal branch had proposed the deletion of the name KwaZulu — and that multiparty negotiators at Kempton Park had, after the matter was researched, accepted that the name KwaZulu has no historical significance but is a creation of apartheid. On that basis, when the country’s new regions come into being, the KwaZulu/Natal area will be known simply as Natal.

Zulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claims that the ANC is intent on destroying the Zulu nation — a claim emphasised by his invitation, on behalf of King Goodwill Zwelithini, to Zulus to attend a meeting on the Day of the Vow to “pray for the Zulu nation” at Isandhlwana, where the British forces succumbed to the Zulus in the last century.

But such is the confusion that surrounds Buthelezi and his political manoeuvring that even the king has (deliberately or inadvertently) criticised him. Hours after Ramaphosa spoke, King Goodwill told public sector PROs that the absence of several parties from the talks was an indication of the inability of parties to compromise. And, though he later stressed that his speech was not intended to point fingers, he also clearly stated: “Though walkouts express a form of communication, it is one that SA can do without.”

Pro-electionists in Inkatha — rumoured to include national chairman Frank Mdlatlose, director Joe Matthews, MP Mike Tarr and
SOME people say that Mangosuthu Buthelezi is too proud for his own good and that he deserves all the trouble that he is running into right now. More contemplative people would say that where Chief Buthelezi finds himself at the moment is a tragedy, albeit a largely self-made one.

This tragedy impacts on himself, his party, the people of Natal and KwaZulu, their future, and, indeed, the prospect of democracy in South Africa. There is no cause, really, for anybody to gloat about Chief Buthelezi's difficulties.

Five years ago, he had so much going for him. He was standing up to P.W. Botha by demanding that African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other political leaders be released from prison before constitutional negotiations could start.

He was the darling of the business world for his stand against sanctions, and feted abroad by people looking for a champion against apartheid.

The question must be asked: So what went wrong?

There are many answers. For a start, the political violence spawned by apartheid policies ensured the KwaZulu government staff and Inkatha, as the IFP then was.

Chief Buthelezi, however, should have taken a tougher public stand with IFP members who initiated political violence. He should have more actively and publicly sued for peace with the ANC.

On the negotiation front, Chief Buthelezi should not have allowed himself to land in the position where his differences with political opponents drove him out of talks. This merely gave opponents bigger sticks with which to hit him. It has proved to be poor strategy.

Chief Buthelezi should have stayed at the World Trade Centre and fought, maybe even leading from the front by being present himself.

The transitional constitution about to go through parliament would have been more sound for his input.

Under no circumstances, should Chief Buthelezi have allowed himself to get so close to the rightwing. White parties in the Freedom Alliance do not want a non-racial settlement. One has to be blind and deaf to not know that.

Some people might be tempted to ascribe his political position to his personality traits. Yes, he is stubborn, combative, confrontational, a prickly personality. South African cabinet ministers openly say he is autocratic, happy only when things are going his way.

Indeed, Chief Buthelezi has had personal clashes with, and lost, good people. Chief Buthelezi's present position can be attributed, in part, to his strong sense of Zulu history and the royal bloodline, and his own place in it.

His concern for the future of Zulu culture and its people is re-enforced by his misgivings about the degree of federalism in the transitional constitution.

Chief Buthelezi and IFP leaders are genuinely concerned about what they see Umkhonto we Sizwe doing in Natal. Insiders speak of a fear in Utundi that they may fall victim to a tribal assault under a future government.

This fear should not be minimised.

Faced with these issues, Chief Buthelezi has played bad politics. It means he is on the outside while his opponents are being feted around the world.

Almost the whole world, however, and even political opponents at home, want Chief Buthelezi in the election and in the government of national unity.

He has suffered major setbacks in the past few weeks. Former confidant Oscar Dhlomo raised questions about Chief Buthelezi's future when he said in America on November 23 that it was not in the chief's nature to take part in a process he had so vehemently opposed. Nor could he take up arms against the new constitution.

Now, everyone is asking if Chief Buthelezi is about to bow out. Word on the political street is that some people in the IFP asked Dr Dhlomo to say these things.

Their leaders were powerless to stop the IFP and ÄVBB signing a self-defence pact in Vereeniging on November 20. Political opponents have pictures of IFP members with ÄVBB flags, and are itching to use them in election campaigns.

Not one of the top 100 business people opted in a survey in early December for Chief Buthelezi to be the future state president.

The ink was hardly dry on these reports when Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Blackzulu publicly criticised the political tactics used by the Freedom Alliance on December 3. It was the first public crack in the Buthelezi king relationship for more than 12 years.

Lieutenant General Roy During, head of the KwaZulu police, told the South African police of things going wrong in his force.

The Goldstone Commission reported on December 8 that five members of the KwaZulu police, trained in the Caprivi by the SAPF seven years ago, had killed nine people in the past two years. When reports of the training were first published, Chief Buthelezi insisted they were untrue.

Diplomatically, world leaders have told Chief Buthelezi to be more positively involved in constitutional negotiations and to take part in the election.

The most recent person to tell Chief Buthelezi this was Baroness Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development.

Future problems loom. The KwaZulu government legally ceases to exist on April 28 1994. Its staff from then will be paid by the new national government and the Natal-KwaZulu province. Provision was made in the constitution for traditional chiefs to sit in at local government, provincial government and national level.

The question on everybody's lips is: Where will Chief Buthelezi be on April 28 1994?
Parliament holds key to Inkatha vote

PARTICIPATION in next year's general election by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Freedom Alliance partners could depend on Parliament, according to an IFP central committee statement issued yesterday. ([293].)

It said that, if Parliament passed the Constitutional Bill without changes, the central committee would recommend to its special general conference early next year and FA partners that they should not participate in the elections.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to conference and to its allies in the FA that there should be participation in the general elections and in the preparations leading thereto." — Sapa.
CAPE TOWN — Indications that Freedom Alliance members intended fighting next year's election emerged at the weekend.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee said yesterday it would recommend to the party's special general conference that it contest the election if "well-defined minimum conditions of Inkatha are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election".

Sources say government, the ANC and the alliance are close to agreement on these minimum conditions for greater regional powers. Alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje has said only "tactical issues" remain outstanding.

Gikele leader Brig. Copa Gqozo confirmed at the weekend that he, and possibly other alliance members, would be taking part in the transitional process.

"We will fight the elections, left, right and centre because not doing so will be a failure to provide the electorate with an alternative to the ANC-SACP alliance," said Gqozo. "Conditions of participation of ourselves and other members of the alliance will have to be found."

Senior Inkatha central committee mem-

Freedom Alliance members, convinced that the party's bottom line has already been met by government and the ANC, have mounted a concerted attempt to persuade Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in the election. "We are eager to establish a new democratic dispensation through elections at the first possible opportunity," the committee said on Saturday.

With the tabling in Parliament of the interim constitution delayed by almost a week because of CP objections, the door is still open for the alliance's demands to be met and for its members to commit themselves to the poll.

If the alliance's demands are met by government and the ANC, a special meeting of the negotiating council is likely to be called this week to redraft parts of the constitution.
Ignorant rules. The Nats are just a

Politics as usual.

Decorum goes out the window.

Socialism. 121243

Female.
IFP sets out its conditions

PARTICIPATION in the April 27 general election next year by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Freedom Alliance partners could depend on Parliament, the IFP central committee said at Umtata in KwaZulu at the weekend.

The central committee said in a statement if Parliament passed the Constitutional Bill without making changes, it would recommend to its special general conference and Freedom Alliance partners that they should not participate in next year's elections.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to the conference and its allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections and in the preparations leading thereto," it said.

The committee also criticised the Transitional Executive Council on its decisions on KwaZulu.

The TEC this week decided to send South African Police reinforcements into parts of KwaZulu and demanded the KwaZulu police commissioner gave information on alleged hit-squads within three days.

"The peremptory demand directed at the Commissioner of Police of KwaZulu to which a time limit was attached, was politically motivated and therefore maala fide and contrary to the principles of natural justice.

"It is known that before the TEC was established, prominent heads of certain political parties uttered public threats to attack the integrity of KwaZulu as soon as the TEC was established." — Sopa.
IFP against voting in polls

Political Staff
DURBAN. — The IFP central committee will advise its special general conference and its allies not to participate in the forthcoming general election next year, if Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands.

This was announced after the party's central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

The committee will "present a full and comprehensive political and constitutional report to the conference detailing the various options faced by the party".

"The IFP reiterates its conviction that the final decision on participation in transitional institutions and the proposed general elections will be taken as a special general conference of the IFP to be held early in 1994. "In the event that Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands, the central committee will recommend to the special general conference and to its allies that the peoples of South Africa should not participate in the elections," the IFP said in a statement.

The organisation said if its minimum demands were met and conditions were favourable for holding free and fair elections, the central committee would recommend to conference and to the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections.

The meeting also expressed its indignation at the recent decision taken by the Transitional Executive Council with reference to KwaZulu.

"The pre-emptory demand directed at the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police to which a time limit was attached, was politically motivated and contrary to the principles of justice," the IFP said.

The development comes just days before Parliament is set to consider the interim constitution. Political observers had expected the IFP to announce that it was now ready to participate in the elections."
THE Transitional Executive Council is set for a showdown this week with the defiant KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party after they decided at the weekend to flout the authority of the newly established multi-party body.

Both KwaZulu and the IFP central committee have forced a stand-off with the TEC by flatly rejecting its unanimously approved order for an urgent report on a hit squad in the KwaZulu Police (KZP) and the deployment of South African security forces in strife-torn Northern Natal.

With the credibility of the TEC now on the line with the first real test of its authority, parties are expected to take a firm stand when the management committee meets in Cape Town tonight and the full council goes into session tomorrow.

The National Party's representative on the TEC, Dr Dawie de Villiers, last night responded to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's defiance by saying: "We cannot allow this to go unchallenged."

While KwaZulu was not currently part of the TEC, it was part of South Africa and the TEC could obviously not stand by and allow itself to be turned into a lame duck, he added.

Dr de Villiers said it was the government's view that the TEC should be "firm but not too confrontational" in dealing with this direct challenge to its authority but acknowledged that other parties in the TEC would be "shouting for blood".

However, TEC members yesterday admitted that the body was facing a complex dilemma in tackling the recalcitrant Alliance parties boycotting the TEC on the one hand while trying to woo them back into the transitional and election processes on the other.

Alliance spokesman Mr Rowan Cronje yesterday accused the TEC of victimising anti-ANC parties in a bid to score political points.

"Bad faith"

"It is obvious that the TEC is looking for a political showdown by setting out to tackle the ANC's enemies rather than trying to ensure free and fair elections for all," he added.

In rejecting the orders issued by the TEC, the central committee of the IFP also accused the TEC of "bad faith".

IFP spokesman Mr Mike Tarr said the TEC had adopted "a calculated political strategy".

The ANC TEC representative Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the SA Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo have emphasised that the TEC will not countenance challenges to its authority by the homelands.

As TEC members this week grapple with how best to assert the authority of the new body and how to respond to calls for the police's internal stability division to be withdrawn from certain townships on the East Rand and Natal, MPs in Parliament will begin a frantic rush to dispose of a wide range of transitional legislation, including the interim constitution.
KwaZulu and TEC on collision course

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

A fierce clash is looming between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu government and the multiparty Transitional Executive Council following KwaZulu's decision to defy a TEC injunction last week.

The TEC has called on KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy During, to report by today on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a five-member hit squad - allegedly responsible for the murder over the past two years of at least nine people, including ANC members - existed within the KZP.

During and SAP Brigadier E S du Preez, who conducted the investigation into the KZP at During's request, had been requested to make available to the TEC any information at their disposal by today.

However, During told the TEC on Friday that he could not comply with its injunction because the KwaZulu government, which was not party to agreements leading to the installation of the TEC, had ordered him to ignore the order.

The looming confrontation comes amid encouraging signs at the weekend that the Freedom Alliance (FA), of which the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is part, might be close to taking its seats on the TEC, and contesting next year's April 27 elections.

Following an FA meeting in Pretoria yesterday afternoon, FA chairman Rowan Cronje said only "half an issue" remained to be resolved, while the IFP's central committee said it would recommend to the party's general conference that it should contest the elections "if well-defined minimum conditions" are met.

Another indication the alliance was moving closer to cooperation was Chief military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's confirmation at the weekend that he was planning to take part in the transition process.

TEC sources said yesterday that tough action was contemplated against KwaZulu. Observers said this might include a massive deployment of SAP and South African Defence Force personnel in Ulundi to search KZP headquarters.

Buthelezi has slammed the Goldstone Commission, dismissing its report as an attempt to gain favour with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission.
IFP angry over killing

By Joshua Raboroko

The Inkatha Freedom Party has threatened to march on the Bekkersdal Police Station on Saturday to protest against the killing of their local secretary, allegedly by members of the Azanian People's Organisation at the weekend.

The IFP said the police should immediately arrest Azapo members allegedly responsible for the killing of Mr. Robert Hlohiuka (23) at a funeral on Saturday afternoon.

Police liaison officer Major Herman Oosthuizen said Hlohiuka was stabbed to death as mourners were leaving the cemetery.

He appealed to the community to help them trace the suspects. No arrests have been made.

The regional organiser of the IFP, Mr. Aaron Gazi, said Hlohiuka was attacked and hacked with pangas.

The IFP was demanding that the police should immediately arrest the suspects by tomorrow, failing which they would march to the local police station where they would present a memorandum to the station commander.

"Failure by the police to make an early arrest will be sufficient evidence to us that the police are unfair," he said.
Ads for election hitting newspaper readers

Johannesburg. — Five months before the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media with parties buying advertising space to win the hearts and minds of the public.

Sunday newspapers yesterday carried full-page advertisements by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party has chosen the political theme of change to woo voters to its side. The message of change is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?"

"The coming election will not be about apartheid or armed struggle, it will be about future peace and stability, about progress and prosperity, about national building." The ANC also tries to position itself as a "political party with a difference", as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about their concerns, in its "Peoples Forums".

The ad emphasises popular participation and focuses on the organisation's 1990s campaigns. The campaign is "like the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) challenges the Goldstone Commission's fourth interim report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved in the killing of political opponents.

The IFP also targets the ANC campaign, which it claims is "mildly profitable".

The Press Council has reluctantly been called on to adjudicate on an IFP advert, which appeared in the Sunday Times last month, after the ANC launched a "callous and vilifying" attack on KwaZulu police involvement in the killing of political opponents.

ANC denies it aimed to 'infiltrate'

Johannesburg. — The ANC has denied allegations made in a Sunday newspaper that its national intelligence and security wing, known as NAT, aimed to infiltrate political groups and set up control of key state organs.

The question of sabotage was out of the question and the issue was that state organs needed to be transformed in order to become accountable to the democratic government and SA's people, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

NAT, which is the Security Council, is "the ANC's security department." According to the report, the ANC had been aware of the activities of NAT to the Breeder. The ANC had aimed to take control of the security agencies after elections next year, infiltrate the army and the TEC, and call on the ANC to overthrow the Goldstone Commission, because "it posed a threat to the ANC's control of the ANC's security department."

His suggestion that the ANC's security department, known as NAT, was trying to overthrow the ANC's security department.

The campaign comes just days before Parliament is set to consider the report. Political observers have expected the ANC to announce that it was no longer ready to participate in the elections.
Assassination 'conspiracy'

Johannesburg - The ANC says it has documentary evidence that a group of 12 IFP members - two of them members of the KwaZulu Police, trained in the Caprivi Strip - have conspired to assassinate three senior ANC officials during the festive season.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said the leaders targeted for assassination were its legal department head Mr. Matthew Phosa, Natal Midlands chairman Mr. Harry Gwala and Southern Natal regional secretary Mr. Sibusiso Ndebele. Police are investigating. -- Sapa
I will defy TEC – Buthelezi

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday told the multiparty Transitional Executive Council that any of its directives affecting his government would be defied.

Addressing the KwaZulu Caucus, Buthelezi said TEC directives had no legitimacy in the eyes of the KwaZulu government and would therefore be treated “with the contempt they deserve” and be strongly resisted. And he said he would be "in the frontlines of the battle" against the TEC.

He had earlier ordered KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Daring to ignore a TEC instruction to give it a report on the activities of an alleged KZP hit squad. Buthelezi said yesterday he agreed with Daring that KZP members found guilty of transgressing the law in the conduct of their duty had to be held accountable for their actions, but he did not think it fair “to tar every member of the KZP with the same brush" just because some individuals might have committed transgressions.

He added that although the official reason for the TEC’s existence was levelling the political playing field, its real intention was to destroy the KwaZulu government and IFP.

The TEC’s directives were therefore a test of KwaZulu’s authority and the enforceability of the multiparty body’s decisions. In KwaZulu, he said the ANC and its allies had failed to annihilate the IFP and the KwaZulu government on their own, and had now enlisted the support of the Government through the TEC.
King urges Zulus to defend 'what is ours'

'We will not be dragged into a new SA'

LINDWE NGAKANE
The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi have urged Zulus to be prepared to defend their right to self-determination in the face of threats from the Transitional Executive Council and the transitional constitution.

Addressing an audience of several thousand at the battle site where Zulu impi defeated British forces, the king told the Zulu nation to prepare to defend their right to self-determination against the threat of annihilation by the TEC — just as their kingdom was defended against invading British armies in 1879.

"On the 2nd of December ... the negotiators at Kempton Park decided to remove the name KwaZulu from the constitution that is now before parliament ... In other words, Zulus have no longer a place of the Zulus (KwaZulu) in South Africa," he said.

He said he had reached a stage where he could no longer remain silent about the decisions of the Negotiating Council and the TEC.

"We will not be dragged into a new South Africa that we reject."

He said Zulus had a right to self-determination for which they must prepare to fight.

"Until we have what is justly ours, and we achieve our right to self determination ... Resist, I command you, resist I implore you."

He called on all Zulus to emulate the Afrikanners, who made a covenant with God before the Battle of Blood River to give them strength to resist the second invasion of the Zulu kingdom.

"My message to you ... is that you must disperse into these hills around us today and pray to the Almighty God for strength and wisdom because there is a second invasion of KwaZulu about to begin," he said.

Throughout his speech the King drew parallels between the British invasion of Zululand in 1879 and attempts to remove KwaZulu from the new South Africa, and stressed the historical importance of his relationship with Chief Buthelezi.

Drawing shouts of anger from the crowds the King asked them if they were willing to hand over what was theirs without resistance.

Also speaking at the commemoration, Chief Buthelezi dismissed talk at negotiations of "levelling the playing fields" as an attempt to destroy KwaZulu.

He said the new constitution was an attempt to remove from the chiefs the power to determine who can hold meetings in their areas.

"If the chiefs cannot do that, then what are they there for?" he asked.

"We demand Zulu self-determination. There is no other way forward for democracy, either for us or anybody else in the country."

BATTLEBESS: A Zulu warrior chief of the IFP stands in full traditional regalia and with a semi-automatic pistol slung over his shoulder at a rally at Isandlwana yesterday.
There are indications that Inkatha may be brought into a settlement

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Parliament today began debate on the interim Constitution — the passage of which will amount to the death knell for apartheid — amid tentative indications that the Inkatha Freedom Party might be brought into a settlement.

The historic debate on the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill — the fruit of years of negotiations — will last three days and include an unusual Saturday sitting.

As the debate began this morning, plans were being made for behind-the-scenes talks between the Government and the IFP.

Senior IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane was scheduled to fly into Cape Town later today after a morning meeting in Pretoria with Freedom Alliance colleagues.

"The negotiations have until Wednesday — when Parliament will vote on the interim Constitution — to seek a solution that would bring the IFP on board.

Earlier this week the parliamentary joint committee on constitutional matters, minus the boycotting Conservative Party, passed the Bill without substantial changes.

This was done to allow the parliamentary debate to proceed, but IFP members, said yesterday they had been given assurance that certain clauses—which the IFP, in a detailed submission to the committee, had asked to be changed — could be revisited if there was progress in talks outside the debating chamber.

IFP member on the committee and MP for Vryheid Jorie Menz added that there was "so much understanding" between members of the joint committee since the CP had walked out that he was optimistic an acceptable solution could be found.

Menz's remarks appear to raise the possibility of the IFP becoming part of a political settlement without its right-wing allies in the Freedom Alliance. This would amount to a devastating blow to the right wing, reconstituted in recent months by its association with the IFP.

However, Government sources were yesterday extremely cautious, pointing out that the IFP's MPs tended to be more accommodating than other members of the party.

Some sources were bluntly sceptical of the chances of a breakthrough, saying that every opportunity for progress in the past had been dashed when draft agreements had been referred to IFP leaders.
ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday denied there was a split between it and the Conservative Party after the CP walked out of a parliamentary standing committee which was discussing the draft interim constitution.

The IFP said its MPs had been authorised to participate in the proceedings of the committee only within the limits set by the Alliance document setting out its requirements for acceptance of the Interim Constitution Bill. "Only the IFP central committee may authorise any departure from those requirements. "To infer that IFP participation in the debate is in itself cause for optimism or indicative of a split in the Freedom Alliance, is both misleading and malicious," an IFP statement said. — Sapa
Independent
MP joins IFP

Mr Cornelius Pienaar, who was a Conservative Party and then an Afrikaner Volksunie MP before becoming an an independent, has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Pienaar said in a statement yesterday the IFP was the only party espousing true federalism in which groups and nations could achieve autonomy and exercise it in a meaningful way.

"This party and Chief Minister Buthelezi, deserve the support of all freedom-loving South Africans who wish to see freedom and prosperity flourish in a federal South Africa," he said.

"I therefore today pledged my support to the IFP." — Sapa
A date with reality

The ANC faced its first real test as a government-in-waiting this week when KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi continued his defiant stand against the Transitional Executive Council (TEC)'s demands for information on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

As the FM went to press the TEC was due to meet in Cape Town to consider its options. The line taken by the ANC was expected to be decisive.

At its first working session last week the council called for a full report within three days from senior officers investigating "credible evidence" of an alleged KwaZulu Police hit squad revealed in a report by the Goldstone Commission.

It was also proposed that the SAP's Internal Stability Unit should be withdrawn from East Rand townships and the Bhambayi region of Natal. The government's Reolos Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa were mandated by the TEC to meet Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel urgently to discuss the issues, both of which were due to be debated further at this week's session.

After the TEC meeting, SA Communist Party representative Joe Slovo commented that the council's action was an indication that it was determined to assert its powers to ensure a free and fair election and would not simply be "a toy telephone."

But within hours of the decision, KwaZulu Police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Durrant was instructed by the homeland government to ignore the TEC's request for information. In a brief statement to the TEC he said: "I am directed to respond to your council's resolution as follows: "The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information."

The fourth interim report of the Goldstone Commission was based on information submitted to it by the SA Police for action by the commission. Any further information required by the TEC should accordingly be sought from either the Goldstone Commission or the SAP."

Ironically, the investigations that uncovered the alleged hit squad were initiated by Durand himself. The Goldstone Commission action the TEC was likely to take, though negotiation rather than confrontation was expected to be the first choice.

A showdown between Buthelezi and the TEC will complicate efforts to reopen negotiations with the Freedom Alliance. Though Ciskei Foreign Minister Mickey Webb was reported this week to have said the alliance was keen to continue talking, there were indications that neither Buthelezi nor the Afrikaner Volksfront partners was serious about rejoining the process.

Alliance leaders were due to meet this week to draft a new set of proposals to government but, after a meeting at the weekend, the Inkatha central committee said if the Interim Constitution Bill were approved by parliament without changes during the current session, it would recommend to a special party congress next year that Inkatha should boycott the election.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to conference and to its allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections and in the preparations leading thereto."

But there is little chance of that happening. The establishment of the TEC was a massive step forward in the transition process and leaves the alliance far behind. The multiparty negotiators are now not prepared to stop the process, which means the alliance will have to consider significant compromise if it hopes to catch up.

Meanwhile, a new Markkinop opinion poll (based on a rating of one to 10) finds that Buthelezi's popularity among blacks substantially trails that of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who rated 87 points in November (0.3 points up from May) and President FW de Klerk with 43 (also up from 41). Buthelezi's — and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen's — ratings trail far behind with an identical tally of 1.8 (down from 2.1 and 1.2 respectively).

The TEC's budget for the next months until June will be R18.5m and include R3m on salaries for administrative support staff, R3.2m for office rental, R2.7m for office furniture, R1.5m for airfares and R1.2m for transport.

The council and its seven subcouncils will work from Cape Town and the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park until their newly renovated offices in Pretoria are ready at the beginning of next year.

Deon Rudman of the Justice Department and National Peace Committee has been appointed as the TEC's executive director. His deputies are the ANC's Janet Love and Thams Elof, who headed administration at the multiparty talks.

The TEC has appointed Renosi Mokate of the Development Bank of Southern Africa to head the Independent Electoral Commission and Piet Colyn, director-general of Home Affairs, as director. They will be assisted by Yusin Mohamed and J T Madlila.

Democratic Party

Justifying a role

The Democratic Party hopes to follow up its gains made during party negotiations in shaping the interim constitution. It wants a strong enough showing in next year's election to enable it to influence the drafting of the final constitution.

The party's "Write It Right" campaign launched by leader Zach de Beer in Cape Town last week will be a key element in efforts to win support. De Beer says that while the DP will vote for the interim constitution in parliament during the current session, it believes certain aspects of the document are "seriously flawed."

The "Write it Right" campaign is aimed at rewriting the flaws which came about "thanks to National Party/ANC agreements." The campaign will focus on:

- Stronger provincial powers for real federalism;
- Two ballots to give voters the right to choose; and
Hark! The herald angels are taking an ice-cream break.

Bold last-ditch bid to win over Inkatha.

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Slava
Bold bid to woo IFP

From Page 3

IFP leader Problogel and a number of the party's senior members have been meeting with government officials in recent weeks, indicating a possible shift in the party's stance on continued negotiations with the ANC-led government. This comes after the IFP's long-standing stance has been to withdraw from negotiations until clear progress is made on constitutional reform.

However, sources suggest that the IFP may be considering a more accommodating approach, possibly in response to growing public pressure and the ANC's commitment to constitutional change. The IFP has expressed concerns about the pace of reform and the extent to which democratic principles are being upheld.

"What they ask for is very reasonable and in line with sound democratic principles," said a government official. "It would be a pity if the IFP had to depart, but if they're serious about constitutional change, they must engage with the process."
Alliance makes last-ditch bid for deal

Buthelezi fires broadside at NP and ANC

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched a blistering attack on the NP and ANC yesterday as Freedom Alliance leaders met in Cape Town in a last-minute effort to get Inkatha to take part in next year’s election.

Addressing an Inkatha youth rally near Hibernium on the Natal South Coast, Buthelezi said: "Inkatha rejects everything the ANC and SA government stand for.

He said it appeared that taking part in the election was "quite impossible" because of the intransigence of the ANC/SACP alliance, the NP and SA government, and their failure "to accommodate our demands."

He promised his supporters they would know in January whether Inkatha would take part in the election. Inkatha's special general conference in January would decide finally on the question.

"In the event that Parliament adopts the defective constitution as it stands today, I will strongly recommend to you that the people of SA should not participate in the election," Buthelezi said.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair-election, then I will recommend to the conference and to our allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections and in preparations."

Buthelezi's strongly worded speech contrasted sharply with reports yesterday that Inkatha and government were close to a deal that could lead to Inkatha taking part in the election. The deal would allow for provinces to have exclusive powers, including powers to raise taxes and to draft laws without central government interference.

Inkatha MP Faron Casim was reported as saying a deal had been reached and had been faxed to Buthelezi for approval.

Alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje said after the meeting yesterday that alliance negotiators were due to present government with legally formulated constitutional amendments last night.

Alliance negotiators, including Inkatha's Casim and Ben Nkomo, the CP's Tom Langley and Civic's Mickey Webb, spent the morning converting 13 demands into formal constitutional proposals.

The demands were announced last week in a letter to government negotiator Roelf Meyer. They included, greater scope, for regional councils, a two-ballot voting system and non-interference in the TBVC states before the election.

Cronje said that while government had been willing to discuss constitutional issues without forcing the alliance to take part in the election - which, had led to the breakdown of talks last week - the perception remained within the alliance that some government members did not want a settlement.

It government and the alliance reached an agreement, the alliance's principals - such as Buthelezi - the ANC and the negotiating council would have to ratify it.

Buthelezi

Buthelezi fires broadside at NP and ANC

Buthelezi told the rally the interim constitution is bad for SA and should be resisted. If fighting for democracy meant Inkatha would not take part in the elections, the party would show the courage and conviction to back its decision.

He said by the time of Inkatha's special conference this month it would know its options. It would then decide whether to take part in the election. If it did not take part, it would prepare voter education programmes for the 1999 election.

Buthelezi stuck to the demand for the final constitution to be written now, not after the election. Inkatha would stand by its refusal to take part in the constitutional process for as long as it was possible for a single party to write the constitution.

He said: "We reject any election date set up deliberately to put the ANC/SACP alliance in a position to do this." As long as these parties were bent on taking power for themselves, Inkatha would fight for democracy.

Buthelezi also rejected the Transitional Executive Council, which he said was an illegitimate as apartheid laws that preceded it. The TEC had been set up solely to destroy KwaZulu and not to level the playing fields before elections, as was claimed.

"Just as predicted by Inkatha, as soon as the TEC was legislated into place, the KwaZulu government was earmarked as its first target for destruction.

"We will never allow the ANC to use the TEC as a tool to destroy either Inkatha or the KwaZulu government. We are determined to do everything that is legal to fight that battle."
Buthelezi still wavering

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN. — Despite indications that negotiators were on the verge of a breakthrough in Cape Town, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisted yesterday that his party would not decide on participation in elections until January.

Addressing about 5,000 supporters at an IFP Youth Brigade rally at Mthwalume High School on the Natal South Coast, Chief Buthelezi said if Parliament adopted the "defective constitution" as it currently stood, he would recommend that the IFP should not take part in the April 27 poll.

This conference is scheduled for January 9, some time after the interim constitution will have been passed.

Chief Buthelezi would only recommend participation in the elections if the IFP's "now well defined minimum demands" were met and conditions for a free and fair election were created.

(YG) 1-20-12
'AWB not IFP friend' — chief

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party has no relationship with the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging party's leader, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche.

The Inkatha leader was reacting to reports in Sunday papers about killings by the AWB of blacks.

Speaking at Mbekweni, on the Natal South Coast, Chief Buthelezi said the fact that the AWB is part of the Freedom Alliance does not make it a friend of the IFP.

NP MP Mr Johan Steenkamp yesterday called for a thorough inquiry into the alleged right-wing war plan which includes a provision for mass graves for blacks. — Sapa-Reuters
Buthelezi wants urgent talks on use of police in Kwazulu

Political Staff

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to urgently discuss with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel the decision by the Transitional Executive Council to deploy the South African Police in Kwazulu areas.

Chief Buthelezi is deeply worried by the TEC's order. He fears that in the prevailing political climate it could prove a recipe for tragedy.

"I do not know whether they have really thought this through," Chief Buthelezi said today.

The TEC last night sent a message to police to immediately secure lives and property in Empangeni, Nqutu, Dumbe and Newcastle.

TEC delegates were responding to a police report signed by Major-General W A van der Merwe, head of the Internal Stability Division, and compiled in part by the Natal Regional Commissioner. It was seen by police Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe.

The report said the security situation in Empangeni, Nqutu, Dumbe and Newcastle was unsatisfactory. The regional commissioner said: "With the advent of the festive season large numbers of migratory workers are expected to return."

"Most are IFP supporters and fear of possible attacks on ANC supporters has been expressed."

"It is respectfully submitted that the apparent lack of confidence that the ANC has in the Kwazulu Police to effectively police and protect lives of their supporters has given rise to requests for the SAP to be deployed on a permanent basis under Kwazulu Police jurisdiction."

"In areas where the ANC has no support such a step in not necessary," the regional commissioner said.

The regional commissioner attributed the violence to "the continuing struggle for political domination by the ANC and IFP."

Chief Buthelezi said today that he did not think it was legal that the SAP "can just be told to go into our territory like that without our agreement."

He did not think the TEC had the right to make an order like this.

"It is a recipe for a tragedy. I am going to take it up with the Minister of Law and Order and with the commissioner."

Chief Buthelezi said General Van der Merwe had not hidden things from him before. General Van der Merwe had "never hesitated to ask for an appointment" to discuss issues.

"It is provocative and grossly irresponsible in the extreme because of the level of violence," he said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the TEC last night that the police report warned of "a complete destabilising of peace and law and order in Northern Natal."

Commissioner of the Kwazulu Police Lieutenant-General Roy During has been ordered to appear in person before the Transitional Executive Council to answer its questions about an alleged hit squad within his force.
Buthelezi angry over SAP decision

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described the Transitional Executive Council decision to deploy SA Police in areas of KwaZulu as "provocative and grossly irresponsible".

He intends urgently taking the matter up with Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel, he said last night.

The TEC ordered the SAP last night into areas of KwaZulu and northern Natal to protect lives and property over the festive season. The move follows the refusal of KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Durkamp to provide information demanded by the TEC on an alleged KZP hit squad, first revealed by the Goldstone Commission.

The decision to order the police into four areas in the northern Natal region — including parts of KwaZulu — was taken after a report by police on the area had been submitted to the TEC.

It was put to the TEC by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The acting head of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit, Major-General W van der Merwe, said in his report that although certain areas in northern Natal appeared to be "stable", others such as Empangeni, Nqutu, Durnbe and Newcastle were "unsatisfactory".

The Regional Commissioner in Natal, General Pierre Steyn, said in a report that there was a "tense situation in Empangeni between supporters of the ANC and IPF". Nqutu was described as "volatile", while Durnbe was "quiet but tense".

Newcastle areas policed by the KZP were "stable". Although the Madadeni/Ooswell areas of Newcastle had been IPF-orientated, the ANC "by means of the youth and criminal element ... slowly gained control of the community".
By Thembu Makole
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA HAS A NEW Constitution – the first to be jointly written by the majority of its citizens. However, emotions ran high in Parliament when Conservative Party MPs rose and defiantly sang the African national anthem Die Stem in protest against the adoption of the new interim Constitution.

After State President PW de Klerk has signed it into law, the Constitution will become effective until 1994.

"We will not recognise the Constitution, we will not take part in the interim structures and we will not recognise the result of the election," said CP leader Dr Fatti Hartzenberg, in his address.

Hartzenberg said the struggle would intensify and that revolution was inevitable.

"This is a commentator's takeover," said Hartzenberg. The word "traitor" reverberated in the CP benches as MPS attempted to disrupt the voting process on the Constitution.

During the voting, a CP MP shouted: "The traitors will press the blue button (meaning 'Yes') and the fighters will push the red button."

CP MP Mr Jan Hoos was ordered out of Parliament and left the chamber while MP Mr Leon Louw refused to withdraw a "traitor" remark and defied Speaker Mr Eri Louw's order to leave.

The division was clear as tradition was broken. National Party MPs and six CP Members were in union to sing the anthem.

Hartzenberg said the Constitution proposed feasible reincorporation of Freedom Alliance members Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, a leading component of the IFP, rejected the report of the joint committee on constitutional affairs recommending the adoption of the Constitution.

IFP MP Mr Jowie Metz said the party, however, would contest the election. The IFP proposed amendments that exclusive powers be given to provincial government and a two-ballot paper voting system. The IFP also wants its region to be known as Kwazulu/Natal.

The FA's objections to Parliament came against a backdrop of a statement by itself and the African National Congress and Government over the FA's refusal to commit itself to the outcome of the constitutional process and participate in its structure.

IFP leaders have to confirm their commitment not later than January 24 to facilitate a meeting of the multiparty negotiating council to discuss the five-member group's proposed amendment to the Constitution.

All agreements therein will be included in the interim Constitution.

Also passed yesterday were the Electoral Bill, Transfer of Waivis Bay to Namibia Bill and the Local Government Transitional Bill.

De Klerk, who addressed "the last white Parliament" yesterday, was pictured signing the new Constitution into law last night.

See Page 3.
Transnational peace structures

Inkatha threats to quit

markets. They were substantial players in...
IFP may quit peace structures

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The IFP was disenchanted with peace structures in the Transvaal and was considering withdrawing from them in the coming year, it was learnt at the weekend.

A source said the IFP felt that peace committees and foreign observers were unable to curb violence.

The IFP's Transvaal deputy chairman, Mr. Humphrey Ndlovu, has indicated he will no longer take part in anything associated with peace structures.
Buthelezi says deadlock could be broken soon

ULUNDI — The deadlock keeping the Inkatha Freedom Party out of the transitional process could be broken soon, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in his New Year's address yesterday.

Buthelezi said there were "very simple solutions which, in a matter of days, could break the deadlock," Sapa reports.

Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, which includes Inkatha, have until January 24 to reach agreement on constitutional issues which the alliance believes are too limited, such as regional powers.

"The trap and trickery and the blatant imperfections in the constitution recently and expediently passed by Parliament must be done away with," Buthelezi said. "Answers lie in the asked and tested constitutions of nations we respect and it is my plea that we avail ourselves of their collective wisdoms."

Natal administrator Con Botta said in his New Year's message that Natalians have reason to be optimistic about 1994. "After so much conflict, we must hope that the Natal of 1994 is going to become a more peaceful place in which to live," he said.

There is no doubt that the horrifying violence of the past few years has taken a huge toll."

The Organisation of African Unity has appealed to all South Africans to give peace a chance.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said in his New Year's message from Addis Ababa that Africa remained concerned at the level of violence in SA, especially as preparations for the April 27 election gained momentum.

International observer missions in SA — from the UN, the OAU and the Commonwealth — said the attention of the world would be focused on the April election and the emergence of a democratic, nonracial government.

"This transition may well be one of the most notable events of this century. SA would surely wish to look back on it with great pride as a major contribution not only to modern SA but also to the African continent and other troubled countries," they said in a joint New Year's message.

National peace secretariat chairman Antone Gildenhuys said peace would come under more strain in the first four months of 1994 than ever before. Gildenhuys yesterday appealed to all South Africans to reject violence and to demand from leaders they conduct politics in accordance with the national peace accord's code of conduct.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said in its New Year's message that 1993 would go down in history as the year in which white supremacy was legitimized by some of the oppressed. — Sapa.

Hunt for missing healer continues

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — A search continued on the top of the amphitheatre at Royal Natal National Park in the Drakensberg yesterday for a 78-year-old traditional healer who is missing after leaving a QwaQwa village on December 23 in response to a vision that he should collect three sticks from three mountains.

The Natal Parks Board and the Kwazulu Bureau of Natural Resources are helping QwaQwa authorities search for Thomas Banda, who was expected back in Namahadi village on December 25.

In another Berg drama this week a Randburg man, Jimmy Eremus, was rescued by Parks Board staff after he slipped and gashed his right shin while climbing up the Crack in the Mahal Valley area of the Royal Natal National Park with his family.

Park staff carried him down steep sections of the route by stretcher and then put him on horseback.

No bail for right-winger

SUBAH RUSSELL

FORMER AWB Wenkommando "general" Dirk Jacobsen Ackerman, currently in custody on public violence charges relating to the right-wing World Trade Centre siege, was refused bail by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday.

Ackerman, 46, is due to stand trial with 17 other AWB members in March next year for their alleged involvement in the siege on June 23.

After a tip off police arrested him at a Kroonstad resort in September.

Ackerman was initially held in terms of Section 20 of the Internal Security Act on terrorism charges, but released on R20 000 bail by a Bloemfontein court. He was later rearrested on additional charges of public violence arising out of alleged involvement in the siege.

He resigned his position as a Wenkommando general last month, but is still an AWB member.

Applying for bail this week he denied evading arrest by police investigating the siege but admitted shaving off his beard, dyeing and cutting his hair and changing the shape of his glasses.

He said he did this to evade security police whom he feared would detain him under section 29.

The state opposed bail, saying Ackerman would not stand trial if released. According to police evidence the same informer had said Ackerman intended leaving the country if granted bail.

Dismissing the application Regional Magistrate D Smith said implicit reliance could not be placed on Ackerman's insistence under oath this week that he would stand trial.

She said surrounding circumstances had to be taken into consideration. In this regard the police, before Ackerman's arrest, had been thoroughly informed about his whereabouts, that he was in disguise and armed.

The magistrate said it was clear from Ackerman's conduct that he had been evading the police.
IFP could join transition soon, says Buthelezi

Ulundi — The deadlock keeping the Inkatha Freedom Party out of the transitional process could be broken soon, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in his New Year's message.

Buthelezi said there were "very simple solutions which, in a matter of days, could break the deadlock".

The Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, which includes the IFP, have until January 24 to reach agreement on constitutional issues which the alliance believes are too limited; such as regional powers.

"The traps and trickery and the blatant imperfections in the constitution recently and expeditiously passed by Parliament must be done away with," Buthelezi said in Ulundi.

"Answers lie for all to see in the tried and tested constitutions of nations we respect and it is my plea that we avail ourselves of their collective wisdoms.

"We must not repeat the mistakes of others and suffer the miseries endured by millions around the world."

It was reported from Durban yesterday that the IFP's central committee will meet on January 3 to take a decision on the party's participation in the April 27 election.

However, that will not be the party's final position.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the central committee decision would be a recommendation and not binding on the party.

He said the recommendation would have to be canvassed among the IFP's grassroots before being accepted as the official party position.

Postponed

The IFP had planned a special general conference on January 9 for the central committee recommendation, to be ratified by members, but that meeting has now been postponed.

Tillet said the special meeting would take place after further clarity on the Government/ANC acceptance or rejection of the IFP's proposed changes in the outcome of the multi-party talks.

The general meeting will take place before January 24.
ULUNDU. — The deadlock keeping the IFP out of the transitional process could be broken soon, its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in his New Year's address yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said there were "very simple solutions which, in a matter of days, could break the deadlock".

The government, ANC and the Freedom Alliance, which includes the IFP, have until January 24 to reach agreement on constitutional issues which the alliance believes are too limited, such as regional powers.

"The traps and trickery and the blatant imperfections in the constitution recently and expeditiously passed by Parliament must be done away with," Chief Buthelezi said here.

"Answers lie for all to see in the tried and tested constitutions of nations we respect and it is my plea that we avail ourselves of their collective wisdom."

"We must not repeat the mistakes of others and suffer the miseries endured by millions around the world," he said. — Sapa