KwaZulu defends decision to buy ‘essential’ R33m jet

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

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

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

KwaZulu was the best administered region of all the homelands, he said, adding that the R64m debt referred to in weekend reports was not to central government.

KwaZulu Finance Minister Dennis Madide said the R64m debt referred to in the Development Bank for capital projects.

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

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

Fourie said the TEC had the authority to request further information about the purchase if it wished. He said that the ANC's outraged response to purchase of the jet contrasted strongly with its mute response to the R64m debt in Lephata. This signalled that the ANC was using the issue as an excuse to target Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while it attempted to protect its supporter, Lephata Chief Minister Nelson Ramohile.

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

Madide said the fact that the homeland would cease to exist on April 27 did not mean that the KwaZulu government should stall its plans. "We will continue to operate until the last day we are in government," he said.
JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government yesterday defended its decision to buy a new R33-million jet four months before the homeland ceases to exist, claiming the cost had been allocated in its annual budget and the aircraft was essential to the proper administration of the region.

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

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT has not yet decided whether to bow to the Transitional Executive Council's demands for police to be sent to KwaZulu. Sources close to government said yesterday that Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Bernus Kriel, was considering the issue and no decision had been taken, Sapa-Reuters reports.

This was confirmed by Law and Order, a spokesman Craig Kotze, yesterday.

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

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

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

The demand appeared to be a direct challenge to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who refuses to recognise the council's authority. The issue is likely to be the first real test of strength between the NP government and the TEC.

The government says the TEC is an advisory body, but the council says it has executive powers over crucial areas in the run-up to the April 27 elections. The ANC yesterday rejected government's stated position that it and the TEC did not have the power to send security forces into black homelands.

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

Another area of potential friction between the TEC and KwaZulu involves the KwaZulu government's purchase of a $3m luxury jet.

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

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

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

The ANC, which has previously called on the TEC to impound the Hawk 600 jet, said the purchase was a "total abuse of taxpayers' money." It said the TEC would look into the matter at its first sitting.

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

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

BLOODSHED continues

POLICE have reported a bloody start to the new year in Natal, with 83 killings since Friday.

Most of the murders were crime-related. At least 40 people had died in faction fighting, crime and political violence during the past fortnight.

Including in the toll were two deaths at Nguta, northern Natal, where gunmen opened fire on security forces involved in an arms raid yesterday.

A seven-year-old child and a 59-year-old man were killed in the crossfire, and three security force members were injured.

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

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

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

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

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

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

He denied that KwaZulu was debt-ridden and objected "to allegations that the acquisition of the Hawker 800 was money that was "thrown into the water". He said this was an asset not only for the government of KwaZulu, but also for any future South African government.

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

The issue is likely to be the first real test of strength between the TEC and the government. — Political Staff, Sapa-Reuters
ANC, Govt headed for showdown

Sowetan 4/11/94

STRENGTH TEST Council's demand for policing a challenge:

By Donald Pressly
Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

He said any action would have to be the result of discussions between the SAP and the KwaZulu police.

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

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

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

Direct challenge

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

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

The police report said the IFP had launched a campaign to drive ANC members from some areas. It added that more violence was likely in the run-up to the elections.
First full meeting of TEC to probe alleged hit squads

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

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

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

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

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

The TEC responded by reminding Durban of his legal obligations under the TEC Act and arguing that the views of the KwaZulu government were not reflected in its appearance before the TEC.

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

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

Additional issues to be discussed include the TEC’s order to Kriel for the dispatch of SAP officers to KwaZulu, several parties’ complaints about a R21m government advertising campaign on the constitution and the new national peacekeeping force’s use of the peace dove symbol, which is opposed by the national peace committee.

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

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

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

Randfontein nine named

MARIANNE MENTEN

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

The nine are Jaco Badenhorst, Gert Diederichs, Phil Kloppers, Deon Martin, Piet Matthews, Corie Meyer, Marthinus van der Schyff, Andre Visser and Eileen Visser.

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

Inkatha divided on the elections

SILLY PADDOCK

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

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

The central committee was divided between those who wanted to take part in the elections and those who demanded the party’s 1994 conditions, as set out by the Freedom Alliance, should be met, central committee sources said.

There are also divisions in the alliance.

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

This has hampered progress in talks and made a decision on proposed amendments to the constitution by the January 24 deadline less likely.

ANC negotiations commission secretary Mohamed Valli Moosa said at the weekend that the alliance did not agree to the ANC’s demand that it commit itself to taking part in the elections. The ANC would study the alliance’s response at its national executive committee meeting on Wednesday.

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

They acknowledged, however, that “ardent” Inkatha adviser Walter Felgate had the ear and loyalty of leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
DURBAN — More than 10,000 Zulu warriors gathered at the eNyokeni palace of their king in Kwazulu at the weekend for the harvest festival — and the bare-handed capture and slaughter of a half-ton bull. Much of the chanting and rhetoric focused on the threat to Zululand posed by political changes and there were warnings from the "izibongo" (praise singer) to the outside world not to challenge Zulu might.
Kwazulu high on TEC agenda

Political Staff

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

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

According to council sources, Zulu homeland police chief Roy Druce is not expected to be present at the session to face questioning over alleged hit squads in the Kwazulu police.

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

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

Violence at East Rand townships — including the shooting on Sunday of Associated Press cameraman Abdul Sharif — will be discussed.

The Heidelberg Tavern killings will continue to simmer, with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel making demands on Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa to allow his police force to co-operate with the South African Police.

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

ULUNDU. — Entry by the South African Police into Kwa-
zulu without the formal co-op-
eration of and consultation with the Kwa-
zulu Police will be regarded as an invasion, Ink-
thu Freedom Party leader Man-
gxouthu Buthelezi has warned.

The decision was made at a Kwa-
zulu cabinet meeting, a statement by Chief Buthelezi said.

"The Kwa-
zulu government will therefore not hold itself re-
sponsible for the consequences which may ensue should such an invasion take place."

"And we will the Kwa-
zulu government be held accountable for anything that takes place outside formal arrange-
ments and co-operation with the Kwa-
zulu government."

Sapa.
Zulu king to meet FW

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

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

The KwaZulu government and the IFP are running into increasing problems with the central government and the African National Congress.

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

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

Arrangements are also to be made today to put together another three-way meeting between the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC to try resolve differences on the constitution.
Buthelezi warns over SAP action

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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

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

“The KwaZulu government will therefore not hold itself responsible for the consequences which may ensue should such an invasion take place in areas under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu police (KZP), nor will the KwaZulu government be held accountable for anything that takes place outside formal arrangements and co-operation with the KwaZulu government,” said a resolution adopted by the homeland’s Cabinet.

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

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

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

Buthelezi instructed the South African-seconded general to ignore the order because KwaZulu had not been party to deliberations leading up to the multiparty structure.

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

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

However, any deployment of the SAP in its territory “outside legislation and formal co-operation and consultation” between the two forces would be regarded as an invasion.
SAP dispatched to KwaZulu

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

The deployments took place after the TEC's December 7 resolution that the SAP "act immediately" to provide security and protect the lives and property of people in northern Natal. 12/7/94.

"We felt it was our responsibility to act immediately," TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan said.

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

Sapa reports that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that the KwaZulu government would be held accountable for anything that takes place outside formal arrangements and cooperation with the KwaZulu government.

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

In a report to the TEC, the SAP said the deploying the SAP in KwaZulu, without consulting the KwaZulu Police, would be regarded as an invasion.

The KwaZulu government will therefore not hold itself responsible for the consequences which may ensue should such an invasion take place in areas under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Police. "And nor will the KwaZulu government be held accountable for anything that takes place outside formal arrangements and cooperation with the KwaZulu government," Buthelezi said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Government negotiators at the Cape Town talks had split into two factions, he said, “one, led by Ministers (Terence) Dlomini, (Danie) Schutte and (Andre) Fourie, who tried to overcome the impasse, so that true negotiations could begin”.
IFP calls for a Zulu stayaway

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

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

He declined to elaborate.

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

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

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

Sapa.
Ignore stayaway call – IFP

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

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

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

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

Ndlovu made the initial stayaway call on Wednesday.

Transvaal leader and central committee member Thembu Khoza confirmed on Wednesday that the IFP would call on Zulus to stay away from work. — Sopa.
THE TRANSITION

The buck moves on

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

As the PM went to press the TEC’s management committee was mulling “comprehensive proposals” to end the violence on the East Rand. The issue was given added urgency by a meeting earlier in the day between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, at which they too discussed the violence.

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

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

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

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

CURRENT AFFAIRS

main in charge during the transition and simply consider TEC recommendations will be called into question.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, Ciskei leader Oupa Qqozo denied that his decision signalled a split in the Freedom Alliance.
Confusion over Zulu ‘imbizo’

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

In fact, said IFP Transvaal chairman Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, it was the indunas in the region who called for the action.

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

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

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

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

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

In a statement, IFP political director Dr Ziba Jiyane said: “The IFP dissociates itself from the statements by certain IFP members implying that the IFP has called for a worker stayaway on Monday.”
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Confusion over Zulu ‘imbizo’

Humphrey Nelma, the induna in the region who called for the action,
Nelma said the indunas’ decision was taken at a meeting held on Wednesday evening and he
accepted and asked for forgiveness for the message.
“We, as IFP, did not make the call ourselves. This
induna was directed by the arkals,” he
told journalists during a press briefing in
Brumfords yesterday afternoon.

IFP youths leaders and provincial committee chair
Mr Thembu Khosa said IFP supporters in the
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Union Buildings on Monday.
“We will be going there as Zulus and not as
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Zonoleke’s Nigerian star, Emmanuel
Tito-Okwara, arriving with
teammates at Jan
Smuts Airport for
their Super Cup
game against
compatriots Al Ahly.
The game will be
played at FNB
Stadium on Sunday.
PIC: PAT SEBOKO
Zulu king to meet FW

DURBAN. — Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini will insist on future recognition of KwaZulu when he meets President F W de Klerk in Pretoria on Monday.
The king's secretary Mr Bafana Buthelezi said the leaders would discuss "matters regarding the Zulu nation and KwaZulu".
Zulus in traditional regalia are expected to march through Pretoria when the two leaders meet.

Violence is anticipated and police will escort the marchers to and from the Pretoria railway station, a police spokesman said.
Cosatu said yesterday "vigilante elements" were planning to hijack taxis and buses to Pretoria and to violently force people to participate in the march. The IFP's Mr Thembekile Khosa accused Cosatu of trying to "distort" the issues surrounding the march. — Sapa
CORDON of razor wire and a heavy police presence are both in place at the Union Buildings

STAFF REPORTERS

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

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

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

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

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

Long queues

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

Long queues stretched at the Baragwana, Tshwane, and Joe Slovo, as commuters sought taxis to take them to Johannesburg.

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

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

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

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

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

SAP spokesman Lieutenant Dean Penns said taxis were being stopped outside hostels, mainly in Katlehong, Tokozani and Daveyton. He said passengers were assaulted and thrown out of the taxis, which were then taken into the hostels to be used as transport to Pretoria.

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

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

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

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

He said police had surrounded the Nancefield hostel, where a bus had been burnt at about 4pm.

Commuters at the Nancefield station dived for cover early today as gunmen fired from a packed train as it left the station.

Another bus was hijacked and a shopping centre in Zondi was looted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports that Cosatu said it had “disturbing information” suggesting that vigilante elements within Inkatha were planning to force people to take part in the march. (10+7)

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

"The federation felt it was its duty to report that hostel sources had warned there were plans to hijack taxis and buses and divert them to Pretoria."
50 000 to march on Pretoria

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

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

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

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

However, Professor Willem Kleynhans, a political analyst, said the meeting played clearly into IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's hands.

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

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

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

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

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

The Argus Correspondent

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

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

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

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

And more violence was feared this evening as reports filtered through of young township residents preparing to gather at stations and into taxis to launch their revenge on the returning marchers.

Police started gathering at hubs across the Reef at dawn. In Pretoria, hundreds of people from Natal and Transvaal province districts began arriving early today.

Some of the armed marchers in Pretoria shouted “Rasta! ahuma!” (Rastafarian will not die) at nervous passersby.

Hundreds of women were seen carrying large yellow baskets filled with home-brewed beer on their heads. They told their children to get grass at the Union Buildings and fed the beer to their menfolk, some of whom were seen already unconscious.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) office has been burned from the inside, which was confirmed by the Transvaal-based Mandela.

Thousands of marchers and some mistreatment and even hijacking vehicles were seen in Pretoria.

As reports of destruction spread, the police issued a warning to the marchers.

In Vosloorus on the East Rand, two men and a 12-year-old girl were murdered in a car outside the Kloofsteen factory. Another two men were shot dead nearby — apparently on their way to work.

Another man was shot dead in S Affligem and another was beaten and lashed to death in Atterville.

According to the Daventry Station Manager, they were found at his guest house.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, at least two people were reportedly murdered, two men were reportedly arrested and police and army barricades were erected.

Checkpoints were set up by young men and women from the township on the Mabola road, where residents were herded though the townships by police officers and then searched through the buildings.

Hundreds of angry commuters who were unable to get to work said they obeyed the instructions which had accompanied today’s mayday call.

Young black officers were said to have allowed the marchers to pass.

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

On the East Rand, police fired tear gas and rubber bullets at protesters.

Violence on Reef as Zulus go to greet king

FROM PAGE 1

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

Chanting “Sipho, sifaneza, amabutho!” (Chants to celebrate the king) the marchers moved through the Union Buildings while others continued to arrive.

In Johannesburg, rioting broke out with police using water cannon and tear gas to disperse crowds.

Police spokesman Deon Pretorius said the sight of people being “silenced outside hotels, marching to Pretoria, would be very exciting.” He said passengers were being searched and shovelled out of the trains, which were then taken into the heart of the city to be used on transport in Pretoria.

Hospitals on the East Rand reported that radiation was being packed.

On the Old Polokwane Road near Diepsloot station, groups of men laid stone barricades across the street. Diepsloot residents said they were expecting a stone-throwing gentleman until police arrived.

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

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

More pictures page 2.
Talks soon on Zulu monarchy

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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

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

De Klerk said last night that he had assured Zwelithini of the high regard in which he holds him and the Zulu monarchy and had told him that adequate provision could be made for the entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy in the envisaged KwaZulu-Natal provincial constitution.

Zwelithini and De Klerk expressed “deep regret” for the violence which accompanied the gathering outside the Union Buildings.

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

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

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

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

The Inkatha Freedom Party has distanced itself from the attack, which it said was carried out by Tsetsevi-linked indunas. Transnet UPD leader Mr Thamsanqa Kussa later said the attack was not a strike, but a random attack. Many angry commuters who were unable to get to work said they objected to the intimidation which had accompanied today's stayaway call.

Workers turned back
By: RDI, specialists and others were still leaving main centres on the Reef to Pretoria. Police said workers were being turned back on their way to work and their buses, taxis and private vehicles were being hijacked and burnt. Lieutenant Colonel Pieters said taxi companies were being asked to hand over the taxis, which were then taken into the bus depot to be used as transport to Pretoria.

In Soweto, hundreds of commuters lined the streets waiting for taxis to take them to work. Taxis were running, but there were fewer on the roads than usual. Transport was also disrupted in Meyerton. Traffic in Soweto was seriously disrupted, particularly around Nancefield where police closed off the entire area and removed vehicles around the Old Potchefstroom Road towards Baragwanath Hospital.

Crowds gathered outside Jeppe and Denver hostels in Johannesburg. Police warned them to disperse a crowd of armed and chanting Zulus at Jeppe Station.

By: Isaac Moleli and Sapa

A T LEAST ELEVEN PEOPLE were killed in Soweto and in the East Rand yesterday as a wave of violence and a series of shootings swept through the area.

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

A local police spokesman said that, while there were reports of violence and a series of shootings, the police were yet to confirm the number of fatalities.

The attack on the Inkatha Freedom Party by Zulus in Soweto and Daveyton was due to the party's alleged interference in local elections. Police said they were investigating the matter.

A Vosloorus Civic Association spokesman said the attack was a response to the police's alleged interference in local elections. He said the police were yet to confirm the number of fatalities.

The attack on the Inkatha Freedom Party by Zulus in Soweto and Daveyton was due to the party's alleged interference in local elections. Police said they were investigating the matter. The Inkatha Freedom Party has distanced itself from the attack, which it said was carried out by Tsetsevi-linked indunas. Transnet UPD leader Mr Thamsanqa Kussa later said the attack was not a strike, but a random attack. Many angry commuters who were unable to get to work said they objected to the intimidation which had accompanied today's stayaway call.

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Crowds gathered outside Jeppe and Denver hostels in Johannesburg. Police warned them to disperse a crowd of armed and chanting Zulus at Jeppe Station.
Bartlett backs Zulu king’s stand on new constitution

Political Staff (10) APR 18/1/94
PRETORIA.— South Africa’s new constitution could not be introduced without the agreement of the Zulu nation, Natal National Party leader George Bartlett said today.

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

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

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

“The Zulu monarchy has to be accommodated in the constitution.”

Mr Bartlett said the NP in Natal had said that after the election the Natal parliament would draft a constitution for Natal that would provide for the Zulu monarchy and for KwaZulu to be included in the name of the province.

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile IFP leader Chief Buthelezi told French foreign minister Alain Juppe yesterday that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was bent on ruling from the seat of a central dictatorship.
The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN — A Goldstone Commission sub-committee which has investigated alleged KwaZulu Police involvement in public violence and intimidation is to formulate a set of recommendations to President De Klerk.

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

In a wrap-up submission to the committee, Gilbert Marcus, representing the African National Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions and the family of slain ANC leader Reggie Hadbe, suggested all 29 homeland police stations be put under the command of the SAP.

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

Mr Marcus pointed to "rank inefficiency and ineptitude" of the KZP, saying that where effective law enforcement was absent the community would inevitably lose faith in the police force and resort to self-help.

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

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

This would mean placing experienced international and local monitors at KZP stations and on patrols.
PRETORIA. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini has warned of Zulu resistance to the April 27 election and said neither he nor his Amakhosi (chiefs) can advise their subjects to participate in the poll under the present constitution.

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

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

He said the scrapping of the name KwaZulu from the 1983 constitution “renders it so alien that we must reject it”.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“What is now being done to us is something far worse than what our British conquerors did to us. Even though there was a history of conflict between my people and your people, Mr President, not one Afrikaner leader has in all history ever attempted to do to us what has now been done to us, to completely obliterate us as a people from the face of South Africa.”

He cautioned Mr De Klerk not to be misled by political parties who claimed to have Zulu support.
PRETORIA. — Amid widespread violence on the Reef and a march on the Union Buildings by between 40,000 and 50,000 Zulus, President FW de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini agreed yesterday on urgent talks about incorporating Zulu self-determination in the interim constitution.

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

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

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

He said the scrapping of the same KwaZulu from the 1922 constitution had sent "shockwaves through the psyche of every one of our Zulu subjects and rendered it so alien that we must reject it."

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

The Zulu king criticised Mr de Klerk directly for "the hurt that you, as head of state, have inflicted on us as Zulus ... in allowing us to be humiliated in this way by people who never once conquered us in any war" (see Page 3).

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

He said he hoped the issues could be resolved through negotiation.

The Zulu king said he would issue a directive to his subjects to ensure participation in the poll under the new constitution.

Police said three people had been wounded on trains on the way to the station.

To page 2...

From Page 1
Train costs taxpayers R101 000

The Argus Correspondent

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

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

An estimated 14 people died around the country yesterday after Zulus were called upon to stay away from work in support of their king and an estimated 30 000 people gathered at the Union Buildings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It was due back in Durban early today.

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

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

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

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

But violence in townships surrounding Durban was quickly brought under control and no further incidents of violence were reported during the night in southern townships such as Umzimkulu."
Zulu march. 80 spent cartridges found.

Union buildings and surrounding areas sprayed with bullets in shooting frenzy.
Zulu march: 30 spent cartridges found

Union buildings and surrounding areas sprayed with bullets in shooting treaty
Controversy over the Zulu march on Pretoria continued yesterday amid revelations that the KwaZulu government had paid R101 000 to transport people from Durban to the Union Buildings on Monday.

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

The IFP said the United Independent Trade Unions Ad-Hoc Committee of South Africa had called for the stayaway. But several IFP-aligned officials said they knew nothing about the organisation.

Ulundi's Bureau of Communication was also in the dark about the Durban-Pretoria train allegedly laid on by the KwaZulu government for Zulus wanting to join the Union Buildings vigil.

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

This money presumably came from the KwaZulu government's R8,1 billion budget — financed by taxpayers.

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

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

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

Ulundi hired imbizo train — claim

R101 000 BILL Anger at alleged

KwaZulu misuse of taxpayers’ money:

Sowetan Correspondent

The KwaZulu government is believed to have spent R101 000 to hire a train to ferry Zulus from Durban to Pretoria.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It returned to Durban early yesterday.

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

He said the TEC had to decide to close the tap of resources to the KwaZulu government because as long as nothing was done KwaZulu would “continue to abuse taxpayers’ money.”
During faces hit squad probe

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

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

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

The three members named by the Chief Justice are Mr Justice JW Smalberger of
the Appellate Division, Mr Justice JM
Diederichs of the Natal Supreme Court and
Mr Justice PJ van der Walt of the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The TEC also appointed Mr Justice Is-
mail Mahomed and Dr Jan Heunis, an ad-
vocate at the Cape Bar.

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

The IMC will be chaired by Mr Justice
John Trengove, a retired judge. The other
members are Dr Namane Magau, former
newspaper editors Raymond Louw and
Wimpie de Klerk, Jenny Malan, Zubeida
Jaafar and Libby Lloyd.
State President FW de Klerk will decide how to accommodate the Zulu “kingdom” in a future dispensation.

Political Correspondent Thembu Molefe says Buthelezi’s hand in this latest manoeuvre cannot be ignored:

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

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

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

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

Transitional structures

Although this will have far-reaching consequences on the multiparty transitional structures already in place, De Klerk’s concession means capitulation to ethnic and separatist demands. The fact that the IFP’s ally in the Freedom Alliance, the Afrikaner Volksfront, congratulated the king on his move, also spells some danger. Will De Klerk influence decision in favour of an Afrikaner homeland eventually?

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

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

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

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

No shock.
At least nine die in KwaZulu area

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

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

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

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

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

In Mandeni, near strife-torn Sundumbili on the Natal north coast, an unidentified 35-year-old man was shot dead on Sunday.

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

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

*The bodies of four people were found in violence-torn East Rand townships overnight on Tuesday, police said. Two men were found shot-dead before dawn yesterday morning in Vosloorus and Thokoza. Police earlier recovered the bullet-riddled bodies of two others in Katlehong's Mavimbela and Maboya Streets. — Sapa*
We funded train ride — KwaZulu

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

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

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

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

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

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

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Mr Robert Mzimela said R101 000 was paid for the train to transport the Zulus in support of King Goodwill Zwelithini, who met President FW de Klerk. — Sapa
TEC turns heat on kwaZulu cop

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

During has resisted the TEC order to report on the killer commando discovered in the KZP by the Goldstone Commission and on the possible existence of other hit squads, saying he had instructions from the kwaZulu cabinet which prevented him from appearing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The TEC could make as many rulings on KwaZulu as it likes but it will not be able to implement those rulings, except by force”, he reiterated that any attempt to deploy South African security forces in KwaZulu without local permission would be viewed as an invasion.

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

Referring to bilateral talks in Johannesburg on Wednesday night, which delegates said were fruitful, Chief Buthelezi said: “I am not at all optimistic that anything concrete is going to come out of these negotiations.”

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

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

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

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

Own Correspondent

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

The court application, which is expected to take place before the end of the week, will be a test case for the TEC as it is the first time a dispute concerning the council's powers has been referred to the judicial system.

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

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

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he was serious about an IFP boycott of the April election. He said he was “prepared to suffer the consequences of my convictions.”

Opening a crucial and tension-filled IFP central committee meeting in Umlazi, Buthelezi said he was not optimistic of the last round of talks involving the Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance (FA). With the FA in bad faith, Buthelezi said that, with the IFP special congress to decide on the party’s final position on the election scheduled for the weekend, he was now more convinced that his stand was a correct one.

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

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

Constitutional Development Minister Reuven Meyer said that should a multiparty agreement be reached after tomorrow, the 1996 Constitution would be made to the Constitution. A draft amendment to the Constitution, in their January 27 resolution, was to be taken to the ANC and Constitutional Development Committee and to be finalised in February 7 in registration parties. In terms of the Interim Constitution, the ANC and Constitutional Development Committee would have to decide by May 30 whether to make the Interim Constitution permanent.

A draft amendment to the Constitution, in their January 27 resolution, was to be taken to the ANC and Constitutional Development Committee and to be finalised in February 7 in registration parties. In terms of the Interim Constitution, the ANC and Constitutional Development Committee would have to decide by May 30 whether to make the Interim Constitution permanent.
A FORMER Inkatha-aligned chief claimed this week that he was forced to undergo military training to kill Inkatha's opponents and for self-protection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Themba Molefe
Political correspondent

THE INKATHA Freedom Party stands at the crossroads and ponders the road ahead. About 8,000 IFP delegates meet in Ulundi this weekend to decide whether to participate in the April elections or not. Whatever decision the party takes will have enormous implications for Natal and KwaZulu and South Africa in general.

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

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

Severe restrictions

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

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

This group obviously is the IFP parliamentary caucus, members of which have everything to lose if they do not participate.

Did they resign from their former tricameral Parliament parties to join the IFP only to be left out? No.

The IFP MPs are Mike Tarry, Parok Cassim, Juie Meintz, Michael Abraham, Hennie Bekker, Koen van der Merwe, Dr Kisten Rajooi and Cehill Pienaar and former Natal MEC Peter Miller, Dr Ben Ngubane, Dr Frank Mdlatose, Dr Ziba Hiyase and Joe Matthews would fall into this category.

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

This is the group that falls within the group of the IFP president and comprises mainly chief and traditionalist loyal to the Zulu monarch as well as white party officials with right-wing-conservative inclinations. One such name is that of Walter Fagale.

Our correspondent reports that there are several last-minute events that will influence the IFP members’ decision. A meeting was scheduled for 2 p.m. yesterday between Joe Matthews and Dr Ben Ngubane, representing King Zwelithini and the South African Government to try to find a place in the sun for the Zulu monarch.

IFP sources said yesterday that if the 200-year Zulu monarchy was officially recognised, this would go a long way to enticing the IFP into the election.

If no formal place could be found for King Zwelithini, IFP sources said, they could not put the consequences better than Jacob Zuma, the ANC’s candidate for Natal Premier, has done. IFP sources said Zuma had told them that unless the position of the King was resolved, the ANC would not be able to campaign in Natal.

The three-way talks between the Freedom Alliance, of which the IFP is part, the Government and the ANC resumed yesterday under a cloud of pessimism on all sides.

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

By SIPHO KHUMALO

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

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

Headed “Programmes of Organising for Inkatha Freedom Party in Schools”, it is addressed to all Nongoma principals.

Problems

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

This year, says Mdlatlose, the programme should be started at the beginning of February.

The circular refers to a principals’ meeting scheduled for January 21 at Bhekuzulu.

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

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

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Dumisane Makhye said it was a “nefarious scheme to use KwaZulu-administered schools as Inkatha’s exclusive recruitment ground”.

The circular notes that copies have been sent to KwaZulu Education Minister Lionel Mabhali, the Inkatha Youth Brigade national organiser and the Nongoma circuit inspector.

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

The secretary could not be contacted.

Contrary

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

“But there are no indications that they were forced. As members of the public they have a right to decide whether they want to attend any meeting or not,” he said.
A miracle is needed, Buthelezi tells Ulundi conference

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

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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

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

It was clear yesterday that the IFP leadership regards any settlement in the talks as highly unlikely, with party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi saying it would require "almost a miracle".

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

The IFP's special general conference at the Emangeleni Masbeng youth camp on a hilltop outside Ulundi stopped short of taking the boycott decision in spite of overwhelming support for such a move from delegates.

Instead, it adopted a "watered-down" resolution which leaves the final decision in the hands of the IFP's central committee after the FA, ANC and Government talks, which resume today.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Although the final resolution did not refer directly to an election boycott, Buthelezi made it clear in yesterday's opening speech to delegates — "enthusiastic in spite of oppressive heat" — that this was how he interpreted his mandate from them.

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

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

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

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

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

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of first all-race election

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Pilgrims prepare for Holy Land trip at U.P. conference

By Lula Lam, Staff

General Conference

IFP meet to decide Spirit of Festivity as

Wartabu Wilaha Hadias dance as

Beautiful Zulu maidens dance as

News

SOWTANIA Thursday January 23 1942

SOWTANIA Friday January 23 1942

SOWTANIA Saturday January 23 1942

SOWTANIA Sunday January 23 1942

SOWTANIA Monday January 23 1942
IFP no to elections

"IFP would not be thrown into the political wilderness"

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rejected participation in the elections under the present interim constitution.

The decision, taken at a special conference at Ulundi in KwaZulu, however, leaves room for a rethink should today's negotiations with the Government, the African National Congress and Freedom Alliance produce acceptable results.

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

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

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

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

Speaking during a Press briefing after the conference, Buthelezi said it was inconceivable that a solution to South Africa's problems could be reached without the involvement of the IFP.

Responding to a question, Buthelezi said he did not believe the IFP would be thrown into a "political wilderness" following the decision. "In fact I think the opposite," he said.

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

IFP senior officials Mr Walter Fezile said 40 people had taken part in the deliberations, with about 89 percent speaking against participation.

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

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

See Page 6
Clouds of doom gather over Natal as Buthelezi presents demands to the ANC and the Government which he knows they cannot meet, says Political Editor Mathatha Tsedu:

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

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

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

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

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

Compromise

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

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

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

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

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

If they do not, which is most likely, the IFP will not take part in the elections. In that case, according to senior IFP officials Sowetan spoke to, the following scenario may unfold:

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

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

Resistance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And so, the clouds of doom gather over Natal or KwaZulu, and, effectively, also the Witwatersrand.
KwaZulu to train 1,000

Durban. – Another 1,000 people are to be trained at the KwaZulu government's Mieba camp at Umfolozi to serve in community self-protection units.

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

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

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

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

There is concern in Natal and KwaZulu about the programme. In response, the Inkatha Freedom Party has opposed to Umhlanga we Sizwe openly training in Durban townships.
A picture of Zulu state

By Mathatha Tsechu, Political Editor

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

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

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

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

He said such a state would not depend on the outcome of the elections but would be declared prior to the elections.
PRETORIA. — KwaZulu's refusal to co-operate with the Transitional Executive Council will be tested in the Supreme Court this week following the TEC's announcement yesterday that legal papers would be served on the territory's police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During.

TEC chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said KwaZulu Police Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government are the second and third respondents in the urgent civil case. This is the first time a dispute over the TEC's jurisdiction has been referred to the judicial system for arbitration.

The TEC first requested Gen During's presence in December last year following a report from Mr Justice Richard Goldstone in which it was stated that Gen During had information about the possible operation of hit squads. Gen During has refused to heed the TEC's request, saying in faxed messages that the KwaZulu government rejects the TEC's authority.
TEC acts against During

PRETORIA.—The Transitional Executive Council has authorised its lawyers to serve notice to KwaZulu Police Commissioner Hey During to appear before the council.

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

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

By CARMEL RICKARD

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

In an out-of-court settlement on Friday, it was agreed that the KwaZulu commissioner of police would appear before the TEC on Tuesday.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The agreement represents a major climb-down for Ulundi, whose officials have repeatedly called the validity of the TEC and its orders into question.
It's still wait and see for Inkatha and elections

INEKATHA will decide on whether it will contest the April elections only after negotiations with the government and the ANC have failed, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Inkatha had set four amendments to the interim constitution which had to be accepted before the party would contest the elections, he said at the Lebowa funeral of murdered Inkatha member Mabulenyawe Madiba - Sapa
During to testify on hit squad

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

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

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

(SEE)
KwaZulu Police chief to face TEC

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The spotlight at today’s TEC meeting will fall on the appearance of KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Durruthy. The TEC had — on the instruction of KwaZulu Chief Minister and Law and Order Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — given the TEC a cold shoulder since December.

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

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

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

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

It is expected that Durruthy’s participation in the TEC will be finalized at today’s meeting.

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

Durruthy negotiator Mickey Webb said on Sunday that the homeland had signed the TEC application on January 26, but had informed the council that it first wanted to test in its Supreme Court whether the law allowed it to join.

Webb said his government had decided to forgo the court case, but that anyblacks, including those who felt their rights were impaired after the government had joined the TEC and bring such a court application.

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

Today’s meeting is likely to address the issuing of licences to radio stations by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte as well as problems at the National Peace Keeping Force’s training camp in the OFC.
DURBAN. — KwaZulu Police (KZP) commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During is to appear before the TEC today to divulge information about alleged KZP hit squads.

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

It is unclear whether he will appear in his private capacity or as head of the KZP. — Sapa
ok at peace force  Accused in the Maringa case convicted

Indiscipline
tops agenda

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

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

T he activities of armed formations in the run-up to the April election will dominate debate in the Transitional Executive Council sitting today.

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

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

The council will also receive a report from the defence sub-council on indiscipline among the ranks of the Bloemfontein-based 4 000-strong National Peacekeeping Force. (104)

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

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

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

Guard is guilty of murder

By Isaac Moledi

FORMER security guard Jacobus van Schalkwyk was yesterday found guilty in the Rand Supreme Court of murdering Turffontein student Miss Pinky Maringa last year.

Van Schalkwyk (29), of Rustenburg, was also found guilty of attempting to rape her.

Sentence will be passed today. Maringa was found dead on the premises of AECI at Modderfontein on New Year’s Day last year.

Mr Justice R Marais dismissed Van Schalkwyk’s evidence as lies and as inadequate.

Although the judge said it was difficult to prove that Van Schalkwyk had intentionally killed Maringa, he however should have known that hitting her on the head could lead to her death.

The judge said the State could also not prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Van Schalkwyk had raped Maringa, despite the fact that semen was found on her torn panties.

A doctor’s report earlier stated that there was no evidence of penetration in Maringa’s vagina.

Van Schalkwyk said that the semen was found on the panties because while Maringa lay injured after “falling from the bakkie”, he masturbated and tore off the panties to wipe off his penis.

Cosatu challenges defiant farmers

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions will seek an urgent meeting with the Independent Election Commission to discuss a ban imposed by farmers on free political activity.

Cosatu said it had received reports that farmers were “using dirty tricks to coerce workers into voting for the National Party”.

A Cosatu spokesman said farmers in the Free State, Eastern Cape and Eastern Transvaal had confiscated identity documents from farm workers because they suspected they would vote for the African National Congress.

“If the farmers are not stopped, they will effectively deny access by as many as four million voters to the voter education and views of political parties.”

"These actions by some farmers, supported by the agricultural unions, are a flagrant violation of the spirit and the letter in terms of which the IEC was established," Cosatu said.

Cosatu also challenged State President FW de Klerk to urge the farmers to allow voter education agencies, political parties and trade unions unrestricted access to farm workers.
KwaZulu police chief faces TEC ‘grilling’

PRETORIA — The appearance of KwaZulu police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy during before the TEC today would mark a symbolic and legal victory for the TEC in its quest to wield authority over the homeland, a TEC source said yesterday.

After two months of ignored requests, during will appear before the TEC to give evidence on the possible existence of hit squads in the KwaZulu police force.

A TEC media liaison officer said: “During would be ‘grilling’ rather than humiliated.”

During agreed to appear before the TEC after an out-of-court settlement between the TEC and KwaZulu on Friday.

SAPA reports that during’s lawyer Patrick Falconer said: “During would not appear before the TEC in his private capacity and not as KwaZulu police commissioner. In this way KwaZulu would not appear to be recognising the TEC, he claimed.”

The encouragement of free political activity in Bophuthatswana is also on today’s TEC agenda.

Other matters on the agenda include: the budget, the shambolic state of the national peacekeeping force, and an update on the East Rand peace and reconstruction plan.

TEC delegates are also expected to voice their disapproval of Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte’s decision to grant temporary broadcasting licences to 15 radio stations.

TEC DP representative Colin Eglin has warned earlier that he would call on the TEC to scrap Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Amendments to the Internal Security Act, as well as several other Acts, are being considered by the TEC and order subcouncil in relation to the Abolition of Restriction on Free Political Activities Act.

Our Political Staff reports that a Ciskei government spokesman said yesterday that Ciskei had applied for TEC membership for the second time.

A TEC source said its application would be considered by the TEC today. The application had been rejected last week as Ciskei had not carried out the conditions for TEC membership.

These were that the “Kempton Park” Bills should be passed in homeland territories. They include the Electoral Act, the Independent Media Commission Act, Independent Electoral Commission Act and Independent Broadcasting Authority Act.

These had been passed by the Ciskei council of state last week and the path was finally open to joining the TEC, the source said.

DP demands Kotze’s dismissal

THE DP has called for the dismissal of Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze after what it called his “savage and unwarranted” attack on ANC president Nelson Mandela during a radio interview yesterday.

Kotze was interviewed on the ministry’s response to a threat by Mandela that force could be used to counter right-wing attacks on the ANC.

DP federal council chairman Ken Andrew said it was inappropriate for a public servant to involve himself in political controversy.

“What makes this worse, however, is that by using inflammatory language, Kotze is endangering the lives of policemen by setting them up as enemies of the ANC,” he said.

Andrew said the DP would instruct its representative on the TEC’s subcouncil on law and order, Peter Gathrow, to raise the issue as a matter of urgency.

Kotze described the accusation that he was endangering the lives of policemen as laughable.
No hit squads in KZP, says general

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

Legations of the existence of a hit squad in the KwaZulu police were dismissed as speculation, whisperings and gossip by its commissioner yesterday.

Summoned to a grilling by the Transitional Executive Council in Pretoria, Lieutenant-General Roy Durand said he had personally requested the SA police, as a neutral party, to probe the rumours.

He said the probe arose from complaints by members of the public who were, however, afterwards unwilling to come forward with further information.

Neither the Goldstone Commission nor the SA police, subsequent to the investigations, had provided him with credible evidence implicating anyone in so-called "hit squad activities".

There were "engineered" moves to lodge complaints against the KZP "just to put us in a bad light", he said.

The general was previously prevented by KwaZulu police minister and chief minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, from attending a TEC hearing. Nevertheless he said he was prepared to co-operate with the TEC in further investigations.

Arising from the SAP probe, he said three KwaZulu policemen had been arrested in connection with the killing of four people at Isikhashini on June 20 last year. They had been remanded.

While these three had been trained in Caprivi by the SADF in 1986, he would not discriminate against any of these trainees in the force.

The TEC yesterday admitted there were teething problems in the National Peace Keeping Force. In a statement the TEC said it had to be remembered that the process of establishing the force "is a first for all concerned".

The TEC said the problems in the force, which would be deployed in townships in the last four weeks of the election campaign, would be receiving "the necessary urgent attention".

Ciskei was accepted as a full member of the TEC yesterday.

The TEC yesterday rapped the knuckles of Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte for issuing 15 radio licences without its permission.

Our telephone number: (011) 474-0128

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaasen and Joe Thloele. Newsdesk, sub-editing and headlines by Mike Tsiong and Siphe Shabangu. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.
KwaZulu
general
finally
faces TEC

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The KwaZulu Police includes members trained by the SADF in
1986 in the Caprivi Strip, says
KZP Commissioner Lieutenant-
General Roy During (10F)

However, there was no evidence to link these KZP mem-
bers to alleged hit squad activ-
ities, he said yesterday while
appearing in his "personal ca-
pacity" before the TEC to supply
information on the Goldstone
Commission's finding that a hit
squad comprising KZP members
had killed several people.

His appearance followed an
out-of-court settlement reached
on Friday after the TEC took
legal steps against him for re-
peatedly refusing to accede to
the council's request to give evi-
dence on the matter.

During said it could be a co-
incidence that the three KZP
members arrested in connection
with hit squad activities had re-
ceived SADF training in the Cap-
riví. Two civilians were also ar-
rested, he said.

During said he would not dis-
criminate against other KZP
members trained in the Caprivi.

In his presentation to the
TEC, During said a hit squad,
"taken in the present context,
would appear to be a slang term
for an organised group within
the KZP, whose aim is the mur-
dering of political opponents
of the KwaZulu government, and
who do so on the instructions or
with the tacit connivance of the
KZP higher command and/or
KwaZulu politicians".

There were no further indica-
tions of any other such group-
ing, he said.

During added that he would
make available KZP members'
personnel files if he received the
necessary permission from Kwa-
Zulu Law and Order Minister
Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
Hit squads link probed

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA. — KwaZulu police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During was questioned closely by TEC delegates last night on the possible connection between hit squads and the secret SADF training of 200 Inkatha supporters in Caprivi in 1986.

Three alleged hit squad members recently arrested by police were all members of the Caprivi 200.

General During, who appeared before the TEC for the first time yesterday, said rumours and gossip about hit squads were "riebe" when he was appointed in 1982, but few facts had since emerged from investigations.

He said while Caprivi trainees were still holding posts within the KwaZulu police, no record of numbers had been kept. Neither were applicants questioned on whether they had received training in Caprivi.

"Discriminatory steps against the Caprivi trainees will not be taken by me," he said.
During says SADF trained some police

But evidence of role in hit squad not found

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu Police has within its ranks members trained by the South African Defence Force in 1986 in the Caprivi Strip, according to KZP Commissioner Roy During.

But there was no evidence to link these KZP members with alleged hit-squad activities, he said.

Lieutenant-General During yesterday appeared in his “personal capacity” before the Transitional Executive Council to testify on the Goldstone Commission’s finding that a KZP hit squad had killed several people.

He appeared in terms of an out-of-court settlement reached on Friday after the TEC took legal steps against him for repeatedly refusing its request.

General During said it could be a coincidence that the three KZP members arrested in connection with the hit-squad activities had been trained by the SADF in the Caprivi. Two civilians were also arrested, he said.

He would not “discriminate” against other KZP members who had also been trained in the Caprivi.

General During said a hit squad “taken in the present context, would appear to be slang for an organised group within the KZP, whose aim is murdering political opponents of the KwaZulu government, and who do so acting on the instructions of or with the tacit connivance of the KZP higher command, and/or KwaZulu politicians”.

Replying to a question from lawyer Fink Haysom, General During said he would make available KZP members’ personnel files if given permission to from KwaZulu Law and Order Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Professor Haysom forms part of a special TEC task group established in December to investigate the existence of hit squads in Natal.

And in reply to a question from Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, General During said he had raised questions about the training in the Caprivi, but “nothing sinister” had been reported to him.

He said it was often difficult to investigate “rumours” about KZP members’ involvement in violence because witnesses feared for their own safety.

The first concrete evidence of KZP involvement came from Constable B M Ngubane of Esikhawini, who told the Goldstone Commission last year of his and other KZP members’ involvement in hit-squad activities.

In June last year a former KZP policeman and two KZP members were arrested.

General During undertook to co-operate with the TEC and is expected to appear again.

(News by E Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
During grilled on hit squads

PRETORIA — KwaZulu police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During was grilled by TEC delegates last night on possible links between hit squads and the secret SADF training of 200 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in Caprivi in 1988.

Three alleged hit squad members recently arrested by police had been among the Caprivi 200.

During said rumors about hit squads were “rife” when he was appointed in 1992, but few facts had emerged from investigations.

While Caprivi trainees still held KwaZulu police posts, no record of numbers had been kept.

During said all allegations, rumors and gossip had been thoroughly checked.

Dockets which implied hit squad activities had been passed on to the SAP.

He agreed to make the Caprivi trainees’ files available to the TEC, subject to the agreement of the KwaZulu government and attorney-general.

A Goldstone commission report last year concluded that “although certain Caprivi trainees may be involved in violence, there is no evidence to suggest that such involvement was a direct result of the training”.

I erred in granting licences — Schutte

PRETORIA — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte admitted to the TEC this week that he had erred in granting temporary broadcast licences to 15 radio stations.

ANC TEC representative Moe Maharaj said Schutte had told the TEC’s management committee on Monday that he had been under “extreme pressure” to make a decision on the issue and had acted “too fast”.

TEC delegates had criticized Schutte for not approaching them before deciding to issue the temporary licences.

Maharaj said the ANC was concerned that Schutte had reinforced public perceptions that government was weak-kneed in its approach to right-wing defiance.

Radio Pretoria, which had refused to obey a Supreme Court order closing the station, had been allowed to break the law “and get away with it”, he said.

The TEC agreed at its full session last night that Schutte should refer any new licence applications to the council.

After “rapping Schutte’s knuckles”, the TEC also decided to press ahead with the creation of the independent broadcasting authority. It was hoped the authority would be in place by early March, Maharaj said.

A shortlist of nominations to the authority would be submitted to the TEC by the management committee on Tuesday next week. The public would then be given two weeks to make representations and comments concerning the people appearing on the shortlist.

According to an agreement signed by the 15 radio stations granted temporary licences last week, broadcasts would stop two days before the formal establishment of the authority.

Maharaj said many of the parties represented on the TEC had expressed great disquiet about Schutte’s handling of the issue.

Certain sectors of the broadcasting industry were unhappy with the process and others had withdrawn, while some had not even been invited to the consultations hosted by Schutte last week.

Schutte had acted incorrectly and had not complied with the TEC Act, Maharaj said.

ADRIAN HADLAND
Zulu king demands sovereign state

King Goodwill Zwelithini has strengthened the IFP's hand with a call for the restoration of the Zulu kingdom. Ann Eveleth and Farouk Chothia report

In a significant hardening of his position, Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini has demanded the "complete restoration of the Zulu kingdom" in talks with President FW de Klerk.

Sources close to the hush-hush encounters say the king has called for a sovereign Zulu state according to pre-1838 boundaries. This would encompass all of Natal, including kwaZulu, and would stretch from the Drakensberg mountains to the sea and from Mozambique to the Umzimkulu River in the south.

The demand runs directly contrary to speculation that the monarch would adopt a less political role with the imminent demise of the kwaZulu homeland, in a bid to secure his position under a new dispensation.

With the failure this week of the trilateral talks between the government, ANC and Freedom Alliance to reach agreement on outstanding constitutional issues, the king has lost interest in remaining part of the new South Africa, the sources say.

Arguing that the new dispensation would herald not only a new government, but a new state as well, one source noted: "Before conquest by Britain, the Zulus were a sovereign nation. Now that the British are no longer ruling South Africa, we are not obliged to remain part of it."

Conspicuously absent from last week's pow-pow between Zwelithini and De Klerk was kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Buthelezi has clearly begun a strategic retreat from the political frontline - in the hope that an anti-election call from his nephew will have wider appeal among Zulus.

By raising the spectre of a UDF-style campaign to boycott elections with the backing of a royal decree, Zwelithini has sharpened the battle for his allegiance.

"The ANC has been unable to place its deputy secretary general, Jacob Zuma, at the top of its Natal electoral list in part to ensure a victory over the king, whom ANC president Nelson Mandela last year lauded as "the king of all South Africans". But efforts by Zuma have so far failed to produce a Mandela-Zwelithini indaba."

Instead, when Zwelithini decided to enter the heart of the debate, he arranged for a private meeting with De Klerk.

Sources say De Klerk went further than Zuma's promise to seek a constitutional position for the monarch by hinting that a post-election arrangement could secure him the constitutional monarchy of South Africa. Zwelithini is said to have baulked at the suggestion.

"Zwelithini looks over the border at Swaziland and Lesotho and says: 'They were far smaller than the Zulus in my grandfather's time and now they have sovereign kingdoms. Why should I settle for second best?'"

Among Zwelithini's representatives in the talks are IFP chief executive officer Joe Matthews and Prince Odiqdon Zulu. The government is represented by Constitutional Development minister Roelf Meyer and his Foreign Affairs colleague, Pik Botha.

In the clearest reflection that Zwelithini's demands have created a dilemma for the ANC and government alike, Meyer said this week in an SABC interview that the king's demands were tantamount to a call for secession. He declined to give details.

A few hours later, Mandela responded by calling upon the king to meet him rather than De Klerk, who would not be in power after elections.

ANC sources this week claimed the king had already agreed to meet a delegation of its Natal leaders, but that Zuma's absence on an overseas visit had delayed the encounter.

Given the probability that the IFP will, together with its allies, boycott the coming election, the king's move to centre stage is a shrewd strategy.

Inkatha leader Buthelezi and his negotiators have exhausted their options for obtaining concessions from the government and the ANC.

Now, faced with the task of orchestrating an effective boycott, the party is playing its trump card, observers say.

The exclusion of the word "kwaZulu" from the interim constitution has strengthened Buthelezi's argument that the ANC and the government cannot be trusted with the fate of the Zulu nation, sources say.

It is unclear how Zwelithini has plans to rule such a kingdom, but it is likely that Buthelezi would retain his position as the "traditional prime minister to the Zulu monarch."
The general in the hot seat hints at hit squads

Chris Louw

FRESH evidence of the existence of a hit squad within the kwaZulu Police responsible for the killings of political opponents came to light during a Transitional Executive Council interview with KZP commissioner Roy during this week.

Drilled mercilessly by TEC members, Lieutenant General During admitted that policemen implicated in hit squad activities almost to a man underwent secret training by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivit in 1986. The Caprivti training was first revealed in The Weekly Mail in 1990.

In one case a kwaZulu policeman who was a Caprivit trainee, was found — after he was killed — to have owned a Porsche, a Mercedes coupe and a house in Durban North worth half a million rand.

Despite being implicated in 21 murders, the policeman — identified as Mvuyane — was kept on the KZP payroll for over a year. Nothing has since been done by the KZP to investigate the link between the hit squad and Mvuyane's activities and the source of his revenue, the TEC hearing disclosed.

A reluctance by the kwaZulu authorities to investigate the connection between the Caprivit training and the existence of the hit squad was apparent during the questioning of the KZP chief.

During insisted that he would not "discriminate" against KZP members trained in the Caprivit. He also said he knew nothing about the nature of the training and had no plans to find out about it.

"To launch an independent investigation would have been practically useless," During said. "You just get into a can of worms and you get nowhere at all."

He also made startling admissions of the intimidation of kwaZulu policemen, to the extent that they refused to testify about colleagues' involvement in political murders.

Several detectives in the

Investigator Fink Haysom

Esikhawini area, where 26 civilians were injured and 29 killed between November 1992 and February 1993, had asked for transfers because they feared for their lives.

Explaining why nothing was done by the KZP to root out the hit squad, During — who earlier had refused to appear — admitted that "a number of crimes in which the complicity of members of the KZP was suspected" had come to light before the issue was investigated by the Goldstone Commission.

He maintained that despite widespread rumours and sporadic acts of violence involving the killing of civilians, "no concrete information was received regarding the possible involvement of policemen". KwaZulu policemen were reluctant to talk "as they feared for their own safety."

A member of a task force appointed to investigate allegations of hit squads, Fink Haysom, related various instances where the KZP refused to co-operate with the South African Police in arresting Caprivit-trained KZP members implicated in hit squad activities.

In some cases the KZP denied having records of people sought by the SAP. Haysom mentioned two recorded instances where arrested persons were found to have been KZP members despite denials.

During maintained that these incidents happened "long before my time."

The decision by the TEC to call During to answer questions about the existence of a hit squad within the KZP followed a report by the Goldstone Commission published on December 6 last year. The existence of the hit squads was first suggested by the Report.

The Goldstone report states that evidence "establishes the high probability that a hit squad of five KZP policemen has been responsible during 1992 and 1993 for the murder of no less than nine people, including leaders and members of the ANC."

Much of the report was based on evidence by a former kwaZulu policeman, Constable BG Mkhize.

During refused to provide the TEC with information, arguing that the kwaZulu government was not consulted on the establishment of the TEC — despite the fact that the TEC is authorised in terms of an Act to investigate issues that may negatively influence free and fair political activity in the run-up to elections.

The TEC brought an urgent application in the Durban Supreme Court to compel During to attend. He finally capitulated on February 4 and appeared before the TEC in his "private capacity."

Haysom confronted During with allegations of how efforts by the SAP to apprehend hit squad members had been frustrated by the KZP.

"Vela Mchunu was a Caprivit trainee who was sought in connection with a serious offence relating to hit squad activities. The KZP said they had no record of him as a member, and yet he was later arrested as a member. Cyril Ngema was also sought in regard to hit squad activities... The SAP was also informed that he was no longer in the police force. He was duly arrested within the police force."

According to Haysom, the Goldstone Commission reported two other similar incidents.
KwaZulu minister gets two salaries

When a district surgeon was appointed kwaZulu's minister of health he ensured that he would still be paid for his former job, reports Farouk Chothia

A SENIOR kwaZulu government minister, Dr Ben Ngubane, earns about R70 000 a year for a job he barely performs. Ngubane, the kwaZulu Minister of Health and the Inkatha Freedom Party's top negotiator in constitutional talks, receives a monthly salary for being a district surgeon in Empangeni, Northern Natal. He also receives a separate ministerial salary.

The kwaZulu Department of Health expected Ngubane to resign as a district surgeon when he was appointed minister in 1992, but he personally intervened to ensure that he continued drawing the salary.

In a frank interview, Ngubane said that when he took up his ministerial post he had kept his medical practice in Empangeni because, if he ever had to leave politics, he could return to it.

Ngubane said he had "hired out" his practice to two other doctors, one his son-in-law, who also serve as district surgeons.

"Ngubane, who has been a district surgeon since 1975, helps them 'when I have time'."

"It's not a question of me being a district surgeon (but rather of) keeping it in my practice. I didn't think it was immoral," he said.

Ngubane headed the kwaZulu government delegation to the World Trade Centre talks and was the IFP's chief representative in subsequent bilateral talks with the ANC and government.

The Mail & Guardian has in its possession a document marked "kwaZulu government service — payroll listing for surgeons" which shows that for the month of June 1992 Ngubane earned a gross salary of R5 712. After deductions of R1 471,92 his net salary was R4 240.08.

In August, Ngubane's salary increased to a gross figure of R6 240, which after deductions fell to R4 546,32 net.

Ngubane said the was "dispersed to people working in my practice". But a copy of a First National Bank cheque shows his salary is deposited in his account.

Another document — an "Authority Docket" — informed the chief accountant that Ngubane would resign as district surgeon on January 1 1992. The docket bears a Department of Health stamp dated October 8 1991.

But another "Authority Docket" — apparently written after Ngubane had become minister, as it bears a stamp of January 27 — advises the chief accountant to cancel the previous docket and to "kindly reinstate" Ngubane. He admitted he had made the reinstatement request.
ANC’s 200 civil servants

Senior ANC members are being trained to take over key positions in the civil service, writes Mduzzi ka Harvey

The African National Congress has earmarked some of its most senior members for top civil service positions after the elections. Two hundred cadres are presently being trained world-wide to take over key positions in the country’s white male-dominated public service.

Among the top candidates are leading members of the ANC’s Civil Service Unit, which is chaired by constitutional affairs chief Zola Skweyiya. The prospective departmental directors have wide-ranging experience in diplomatic and administrative work. Many have headed the organisation’s missions abroad.

Those expected to be catapulted to the top are the so-called pilot group, trained in the United Kingdom, in 1992 after ANC president Nelson Mandela asked the British for help in redressing the current imbalances in the civil service. Among the pilot group members who could become Pretoria mandarins are:

- Josiah Jele (63) — A member of the ANC’s national executive, he headed the organisation’s international department in exile and was the chief of the ANC mission to the World Peace Council in Finland. He later worked at ANC headquarters in Lusaka in a number of senior positions. He is the CSU’s head of prisons and correctional services.
- Sipho Mabizela (61) — Like Mungalo, he was an NEC member until 1991. In charge of ANC structures in Swaziland before heading the organisation’s missions in Zimbabwe and Tanzania, he currently works in the department of international affairs, where he is responsible for research and development.
- Eddie Funde (50) — Before his appointment as chief of the ANC mission in Australia, he headed the organisation’s youth structures. He is now the secretary of the Civil Service Unit.

According to Funde, the ongoing long-term training programmes are aimed at creating a pool of competent and committed public servants. “We want to make our civil service representative of society as a whole. This process will continue even after the elections, with many more people being trained.”

Training has been offered or is taking place in the United States, Britain, Canada, Botswana and locally. But some candidates for senior government positions will not be going on any courses because it is felt that they are sufficiently qualified already.

Among them are:
- Professor Aaron Motsoaledi, an academic at the University of Zululand who lectures in public administration.
- Professor Sibusiso Nkomo, head of the Canadian International Development and Resource Centre in Johannesburg.
- Job Mogoro, a lecturer in public administration at the University of Western Cape.
- Mamathu Netshane, who works for Matla Trust.
- Manala Manzini, who heads the policy department of Nelson Mandela’s office.
- Lucy Nkomo, from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- Itumeleng Mokata, from the Department of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand.

“Responding to fears that many incumbents will be removed from their posts to accommodate the trainees, Funde said: ‘Even the present legislation provides for people to be moved from one department to another if it is in the interests of the civil service.”

He was optimistic the problem would balance itself naturally, as “eight percent of staff leave the civil service annually.”
**Kwazulu police chief uneasy at hit-squad probe**

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

DO YOU obey the law, or do you obey your immediate boss? This question by the ANC's Mac Maharaj palpably unsettled Kwazulu police commissioner Roy During this week as he replied to allegations of hit squads operated by the homeland's security forces.

"I'm a law-abiding citizen," he replied after a moment's hesitation.

With that answer, he explained why he had decided to appear before the Transitional Executive Council on Tuesday.

He was testifying, he said, in his personal capacity. His "immediate boss" — Kwazulu Police Minister and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — has spent almost two months resisting efforts by the TEC to force the commissioner to appear.

He read a seven-page document prepared by him in December and which he had shelved on the instructions of the Kwazulu government.

Rumours had prompted an investigation which had led to the arrest of three Esikhawini policemen for hit-squad activity, he said.

The first question came from Transkei representative Zon Tlou. He asked: Was it not cause for suspicion that the Esikhawini three had all received special government-sponsored training in the Caprivi Strip in 1986?

"It may just be coincidence that all three policemen already arrested were Caprivi trainees. I am not in a position to say a definite yes," Lieutenant-General During replied. Yes, there were other Caprivi trainees serving in the KZP, he admitted.
DURBAN. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini hinted strongly at secession today, saying he was preparing to promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu and Natal to establish an autonomous monarchy.

King Zwelithini said in a memorandum to be delivered to President F.W. De Klerk here later today that with the adoption of the national interim constitution, and after failed negotiations to amend it, "a situation has emerged which brings back into existence the Kingdom of KwaZulu and its full sovereignty".

He added: "I am preparing myself to promulgate the constitution of KwaZulu and Natal, which will establish a monarchy modelled after the best examples of democratic and pluralistic monarchies in the world.

The new constitution was "not the constitution of the Zulu nation, which will neither now, nor at any time in the future be bound by this constitution". — Sapa.
Government has three days to respond to monarchy 'as per 1834'

Zulu kingdom call

GOVERNMENT and the world are against any balkanisation of South Africa – De Klerk

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban – President de Klerk has three days to come up with a way to stop King Goodwill Zwelithini from rolling back the historical clock and declaring KwaZulu an independent kingdom.

King Goodwill told de Klerk in their three-hour meeting at the Durban City Hall yesterday that the kingdom and the land he was asking for were ‘something that belongs to me, belongs to my people, no one else’.

He said: ‘I am preparing myself to promulgate the constitution of KwaZulu and Natal which will establish a monarchy modelled after the best examples of democratic and pluralist monarchies in the world. It is within my powers as king and sovereign to issue and promulgate such a constitution to enshrine in KwaZulu/Natal’s kingdom and freedom, pluralism and prosperity for all its citizens for centuries to come.’

King Goodwill would not be drawn on when he would take this step.

He is claiming ‘exclusive and independent sovereignty over our traditional territory as per 1834 boundaries’.

De Klerk undertook to consult his Cabinet and report back to King Goodwill on Thursday on ‘specific proposals’ made by the king.

Frightened

One man was killed and another injured when a volley of gunshots was fired outside the city hall from a huge crowd of the king’s supporters, estimated by police to be 50,000.

The shooting frightened the crowd confined between police cordons and razor wire. The king interrupted his meeting with de Klerk to placate the crowd.

Early on, at a rally at King’s Park Stadium, shots were fired in the air when residents from Tokose on the east Rand arrived wearing Inkatha Freedom Party colours and were...

Demand for a Zulu kingdom

Addressing his subjects... I am only claiming what belonged to the Zulu nation, said King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday.
KING DIES IN REFUSAL TO SHIFT

on sovereignty

Refusal to shift
Zulu King's Pomposhelle
ANC emissary to discuss Zulu demands with king

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC yesterday described Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for the restoration of the status of the Zulu kingdom as it was before colonialism as a negation of the course of history. However, it said it was willing to send an emissary to Zwelithini to discuss the matter with him.

In its official response to Zwelithini's demand in Durban on Monday, the ANC said the king's call negated not only the course of history, but also the struggle for democracy.

"The issue of the monarchy in Natal, as in other provinces, can best be addressed within the framework of democratic provincial constitutions."

"The democratically elected Natal provincial legislature will have the responsibility of determining the role of the monarchy to the best interests of the people of Natal," the ANC said.

In Pretoria yesterday, President de Klerk warned that all State agencies would be mobilised against any threat to the April election.

"Anything is possible, theoretically, but we are determined not to allow such a situation to develop."

Mike Tarr, IFP central committee member and former DP MP, has come out in favour of a referendum in Natal to determine how many people in the provinces support Zwelithini's demands for the restitution of a pre-1834 KwaZulu kingdom."
ANC’s 'no' to king’s demand

By Mathatha Tsedu and Sapa

The African National Congress yesterday shot down the demand by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for a Zulu state.

This comes as the country holds its collective breath in anticipation of State President Mr FW de Klerk’s reply to the demand tomorrow.

The demand, made by the Zulu king at a meeting with De Klerk in Durban on Monday, amounts to a secession from South Africa.

It has raised political temperatures and fears that violence may erupt in the run-up to April elections.

Political organisations reacted sharply and differently to the move, with the ANC rejecting the demand outright; and the Conservative Party supporting it.

Shooting down the demand, ANC Southern Natal regional secretary Mr Sibusi Ndebele said Zwelithini had singled out IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as “God’s gift to the Zulu people”, which was an “inconceivable position” since royalty was not supposed to be politically aligned.

“The majority of the king’s subjects do not belong to the IFP. The Zulu nation is not a single, monolithic bloc united in its support for a partisan political policy,” he said.

He charged that Buthelezi had used the king for party political purposes.

However, in a statement from Johannesburg, the ANC extended a hand and said it was willing to send an emissary to see Zwelithini immediately to discuss his fears.

The CP said Zwelithini’s demand was a “justifiable claim giving expression to the aspirations of his people.”

Afrikaner’s demand justifiable

CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg added that the Afrikaner nation’s demand for freedom and self-determination in its own republic was also a justifiable claim which needed to be addressed.

De Klerk said yesterday a negotiated solution with Zwelithini and the far right was still possible before the election date, but would require them to move from their fixed positions on certain issues.

He told a Press conference in Pretoria that parties had at most a week to reach agreements which would pave the way for their participation in the April elections.

Asked whether the election could be postponed, De Klerk said: “Anything is possible but we are very determined not to allow such a situation to develop.”

(Report by MTsedu, 61 Commando Rd, Industria West, Johannesburg, and G Ardé, 330 West Street, Durban.)
In the footsteps of Shaka...

Zulu claim to Natal based on ‘mightiest kingdom’ is suspect, say historians

ANTON FERREIRA of Sapa-Reuters reports from Johannesburg.

KING Goodwill Zwelithini’s claim to an independent monarchy in Natal based on the kingdom founded by the Zulu warrior hero Shaka in the 19th century is open to dispute, according to historians.

King Goodwill and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief ministers of KwaZulu, demanded of President De Klerk on Monday that present-day Natal including KwaZulu be hived off from the post-apartheid South Africa.

“...a lot of people have family histories and they know what really happened,” Mary de Haas, an anthropologist at the University of Natal in Durban, said. “They would certainly dispute the king’s version.”

Along with right-wing Afrikaners seeking a white homeland, the king and Chief Buthelezi have rejected the interim constitution and plan to boycott the election in April.

They said in their submission to Mr De Klerk that the Zulu kingdom had existed since its creation by Shaka, who reigned for 12 years before his assassination in 1828.

“There was a great period of history in which our great founding father King Shaka... founded the mightiest kingdom and enervate the whole of southern and central Africa had ever seen,” Chief Buthelezi said.

But Ms de Haas said the Zulu kingdom fell apart after the death of Shaka. While it existed, its core was in the northern half of what is now Natal.

“...to say the kingdom encompasses all of the province is a weak historical claim,” she said.

An authority on Shaka at the University of the Witwatersrand, Carolyn Hamilton, said the Zulu kingdom disintegrated in civil wars after a decisive defeat by British troops in 1879.

“There is no evidence to suggest that in the kingdom’s lifetime a broad identity as Zulu ever developed,” she said. “The kingdom was not as commonly thought, a cohesive and united polity.”

She said it was only in the 1920s, when blacks in Natal began to feel the effects of the white-dominated political and economic order, that a broad Zulu identity took root.

“Large numbers of Africans in Natal and Zululand became receptive to the idea that they needed to draw closer together to protect their own interests,” she said.

In the past decade, there has been a high level of violence between Zulus supporting Inkatha Freedom Party and those backing the African National Congress, the party tipped to win the April election.

Natal was the site of the outbreak of hostilities 10 years ago between Inkatha and the ANC. Since then about 10,000 blacks have died in political violence throughout the country.

Ms Hamilton said the memory of Shaka was invoked by those who wanted to mobilise Zulus along ethnic lines because he symbolised the creation of order out of chaos.

Ms de Haas, in a recent academic paper written with fellow-researcher Paulinus Zulu, said Chief Buthelezi’s plans for a highly autonomous Zulu state were unrealistic.

“While Natal is ethnically homogeneous, rifts in political culture are so serious that it has become the Lebanon of South Africa,” their paper said.
Indemnity considered for witnesses

THE TEC will consider granting indemnity to people who are prepared to give evidence on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

TEC executive committee member, Zam Titus, of Transkei, said several people had indicated that they would be prepared to give evidence on the hit squads if they were granted indemnity.

The TEC will make a recommendation next week on the steps needed. The matter will also be discussed with the Goldstone commission.

Meanwhile, a task group appointed by the TEC is preparing a report on the alleged hit squads. — Sapa.

Report by L. Ncube, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Joh.
‘Shaka card’ not credible

Star 17/12/94

LOOPOLES abound in King Zwelithini’s Natal land claim, reports Anton Ferreira

King Goodwill Zwelithini’s claim to an independent monarchy in Natal based on the kingdom founded there by the Zulu warrior hero Shaka in the 19th century is open to dispute, according to historians.

King Goodwill and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, demanded of President de Klerk on Monday that present-day Natal, including KwaZulu, be hived off from the post-apartheid South Africa.

“A lot of people have family histories and they know what really happened,” Mary de Haas, an anthropologist at the University of Natal, in Durban, said on Tuesday. “They would certainly dispute the king’s version.”

The king and Buthelezi argued in their submission to De Klerk that the Zulu kingdom had existed since its creation by Shaka, who reigned for 12 years before his assassination in 1828.

But De Haas said the Zulu kingdom fell apart after the death of Shaka. While it existed, its core remained in the northern half of what is now Natal. “To say the kingdom encompasses all of the province is a weak historical claim,” she said.

An authority on Shaka at Wits University, Carolyn Hamilton, said the kingdom disintegrated in civil wars following a decisive defeat by British troops in 1879.

Broad identity

Hamilton said it was only in the 1920s, when blacks in Natal began to feel the effects of the white-dominated political and economic order, that a broad Zulu identity took root. “Large numbers of Africans in Natal and Zululand became receptive to the idea that they needed to draw closer together.”

In the past decade, there has been a high level of violence between Zulus supporting the IFP and those backing the ANC.

Natal was the site of the outbreak of hostilities 10 years ago between Inkatha and the ANC. Since then about 16,000 blacks have died in political violence countrywide.

Hamilton said the memory of Shaka was invoked by those who wanted to mobilise Zulus along ethnic lines because he symbolised the creation of order out of chaos.

De Haas, in a paper written with fellow-researcher Paulus Zulu, said plans for a highly autonomous Zulu state were unrealistic. “Rifts in political culture are so serious it has become the Lebanon of South Africa,” the paper said.—Sapa-Keulemans 17/12/94.
Couched in King Goodwill Zwelethini's demand for a sovereign kingdom is a clear message that the Inkatha Freedom Party is not interested in going to the polls; in fact, through the king Chief Buthelezi is demanding that Natal be delivered to him on a platter, writes Sowetan Durban correspondent Ido Lekota:

For, couched in the king's demand is a clear message that the IFP is not interested in going to the polls.

Through the king, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is demanding that Natal be delivered to him on a platter without going through the process of an election.

Buthelezi has used Zulu "nationalism" and thousands of belligerent Zulus to back up his demand.

The message that the forthcoming election was no more an issue also came through various speakers, including Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza and a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Blessed Gwala.

The two addressed the 60,000-strong crowd waiting outside the Durban city hall for the king to give them a report-back on his talks with De Klerk.

The speakers essentially said the Zulus had no reason to vote on April 27 because they already have their king and the land.

"Only people who have nothing will go and vote on April 27," they said.

In having the king demand an independent Zulu monarchy, the IFP (Chief Buthelezi) has in fact shifted their goal posts (hopefully) without facing the wrath of being called spoilers.

IFP chief negotiator Bon Ngubane confirmed this yesterday at a conference in Cape Town, saying his party's demand no longer centred on federalism but on Zulu nationalism.

This in fact is an indication that the IFP has withdrawn from the race of national politics and is fighting to retain Natal, its only stronghold — without an election.

The king, on the other hand, has threatened to use his position and proclaim an independent Zulu monarchy, a move which even President De Klerk perceives as secessionist.

Responding to the king's demand on Monday, De Klerk said little attention should be given to the uniqueness of different people's needs for self-determination, secession was not a viable option.

Currently, most concern is what would happen if the king's demand is met and he goes ahead with his proclamation.

Firstly, especially in Natal, the level of violence will rise as such a proclamation would eventually be a test of political strength between those who ascribe to the notion of an independent Zulu monarchy and those who call for a nonracial united South Africa.

Already the ANC has expressed its rejection of the king's intended proclamation.

Signs of the level of political intolerance already existing were seen when some of the marchers in Durban ripped off ANC posters in the city.

An unbelievable sight was when a group of armed men violently attacked a poster with a picture of ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela, stabbing the picture, trampling on it and spitting while calling the ANC leaders "mocking" — a dog.

Nationally the implication can be read from Tuesday's announcement by the IFP youth brigade to launch a nationwide anti-TEE campaign "until our demand for a Zulu kingdom is met".

The level of support for the IFP in Johannesburg and Vlakホール has also threatened the heart of the country's industrial concerns.

Already, the East Rand is stuck in a rut as the vicious circle of violence goes on and on. The decision by the king would exacerbate the situation in such areas and undermine all ongoing efforts to stabilise the situation.

All these point to an escalation of tension, hardly the recipe for free and fair elections.

However, also of interest is the fact that Chief Buthelezi might be banking on the Natal English business to buck him in case of a secession.

"For ages the English-speaking Natalians have regarded their province as the last outpost of the British empire and resented control by the Afrikaner National Party," said one observer.

(Report by Ido Lekota, 16 Osborne Street, Greyville, Durban)
Buthelezi opposed to KwaZulu break

END OF ROAD IFP not willing to make further concessions:

“...there is no way I am going to subject my people to being under-funded on a punitive basis by a central government.”

Deliver.

He had always believed there could only be one South Africa but he had failed to deliver through demands for federalism and he doubted that the new demands, as put forward recently by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, were reversible.

“Now we’ve come to the end of the road, there’s nothing I can say to the king.”

Asked how far the IFP had moved from its original position, Buthelezi described the question as ANC propaganda which had met with “great success”.

Buthelezi lambasted the media for ignoring IFP statements and arguments and giving “excessive attention to propaganda from the Government”.

“Why had the public not been informed that all proposals for federalism had been barred from discussion at the multiparty negotiations forum?”

(Michael Morris and John Yeld, Press Gallery, CT.)
I don’t want to secede

BY SHAUN JOHNSON and MICHAEL MORRIS

Cape Town — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he does not want secession and that he accepts that ballot boxes can legally be set up in KwaZulu for the April election, even if his Inkatha Freedom Party and the homeland government continue to stick to their proclaimed boycott of the historic election.

But the KwaZulu chief minister and IFP president left no doubt that unless his party’s bottom lines were met by the government and the ANC, there would be fierce resistance to the election.

He was addressing an international media conference shortly after a major address to the general assembly of the International Press Institute yesterday.

Asked whether his declared intention to boycott would not lead to intensified violence, he said: “I think my stand might

Defiant Buthelezi states objection to secession

From Page 1

avoid worse violence, if it means we sort out the problem now rather than leave it until after the election, as happened in Angola. We do not want an election, then a bloodbath.”

While this stance suggested that the IFP had not yet given up all hope of a last-minute accommodation which could draw it into the transitional process, Buthelezi made clear the seriousness of the deadlock and his determination not to soften his hardline position.

Pressed to reveal Inkatha’s precise plans to convince voters to stay away in the event of a boycott of the April election, he said bluntly: “I am not prepared to discuss that here.”

However, he stressed that he would not consider it his responsibility to control supporters “given the position that they are in now”. But he added: “I have no intention of getting into any civil war.”

He disclosed that KwaZulu’s Legislative Assembly would meet on March 17 to discuss the implications of the post-election repeal of legislation which underpins its very existence.

The removal of this legislation could strip KwaZulu of its physical and financial powers.

Buthelezi said he was not in favour of secession, but indicated that, as prime minister to King Goodwill Zwelithini, his
Is this where the Zulus are headed?

If so, they must be made to realise how disastrous the consequences would be.

**Reasonable as** the constitutional demands of Mngosuthu Buthelezi may be, Inkatha's withdrawal from the election process and King Goodwill Zwelithini's threat to promulgate an independent constitution for Natal/KwaZulu — however "independent" may be defined — remind one of an ominous precedent in the only sub-Saharan state whose size and prosperity in any way match SA's — Nigeria and Biafra's UDI in 1967.

History, it has been said, is the science consisting entirely of special cases. Amen. But the comparison between Biafra in 1967 and KwaZulu in 1994 is so close that only a political idiot can misread the warning. Inkatha stands uncannily in the same position as the powerful Ibo minority in the Nigeria of the Sixties.

Nigerian democratic federal constitution, negotiated with much care before independence in 1960, was derailed by a military coup led mostly by Ibo officers. The coup generated much hostility among non-Ibo peoples, especially Muslim northerners. Coup leader General Ironsi was in turn overthrown and murdered by Muslim-led military men.

The Ibos by this time felt themselves victimised and persecuted within Nigeria, despite being one of its two most sophisticated ethnic groups. The discovery of oil in their south-eastern coastal homeland may well have further promoted their national aspirations.

The Ibos' eventual response to the failure of their political ambitions within Nigeria was to announce independence, calling their state Biafra. But hopes of international recognition and protection were idle. The army of the rest of Nigeria promptly invaded Biafra. After a war involving the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians by hunger and massacre, Ibo independence was crushed and Nigeria's unity restored.

It is vital to understand how the Biafran conflict was seen by sub-Saharan Africa. At independence, the leaders of black Africa arrived at an important understanding: to preserve the often perverse and irrational borders bequeathed by the colonial powers. Perverse and irrational, because those borders were only a consequence of the late 19th and early 20th Century partition of Africa. More often than not, they cut across linguistic boundaries. Most African states were, and are, a miscellany of tribal groupings rather than homogeneous ethnic states like most in western Europe.

African politicians feared that any concessions to demands from individual linguistic groupings for separate statehood would cause such fragmentation of the post-independence political structures that all hope of bringing sub-Saharan Africa into modern industrial life would be lost. This fear was anything but irrational.

Its influence is powerfully visible in the approach of the ANC to any move that might remotely signal the fragmentation of SA. Correctly, it perceived and still perceives the Nationalist policy of establishing independent homelands in this context, as well as in the further context of racial exclusion.

That the ANC also wants a centralised constitution to give it the power to impose radical economic policies is also plausible, but not so relevant.

Let us examine the dark resentments and feelings of Buthelezi and Inkatha which have brought them to their present pass as political near-outcasts and even outright separatists. They have — as forcibly as possible — to be referred to the tragic Biafran precedent and the fate of the Ibos — like the Zulus, a proud people who resented what they saw as domination by outsiders.

Can anyone doubt that the Ibos would have avoided enormous suffering and loss of life if they had not rebelled? What's more, they would have achieved a more powerful position within Nigeria than they did as defeated rebels dragged back into the fold — like the defeated southern states after the US Civil War.

Inkatha, Buthelezi and the King must be told that they cannot hope for mercy from an ANC-dominated government — or support from the international community — if they embark on this reckless course.

This is for the historical reasons set out above as well as for others — such as the ANC's feeling that Buthelezi became a puppet of the Nationalist in undermining leadership of KwaZulu. That this judgment may be unfair is not relevant.

To extend the argument — even if a future government did not make war on an independent KwaZulu, its exclusion from the rand monetary area and the imposition of tariffs (not to mention the end to central government subventions) would break its economy sooner rather than later.

If this analysis is faulty and the ultimate threat is not a Zulu UDI, then Inkatha's spoiling tactics have been to be regarded as petulant sulking in its tent and worse than useless into the bargain. Opinion polls — to the extent that they can be relied upon — indicate that Inkatha is already paying a heavy if not lethal electoral price for these tactics.

Loss of support has been heightened by shrewd ANC electoral tactics. Inkatha's indicated overall support has dropped from around 10% to 5% among all voters. There is no reason to suppose that this trend has run its course, though one must assume that it will remain far less damaging to Inkatha among conservative Zulus within KwaZulu itself than in the cities.

Inkatha should consider more closely how its irrational political course is handing overwhelming electoral power to its perceived arch-enemy, the ANC. If Inkatha yet decides to contest the election as a democratic party, it might be able even at this 11th hour to deliver an extra 5% or more of votes to an anti-ANC alliance.

This bloc could well deprive the ANC of the right to dictate the terms of the final constitution. In these circumstances, any action more self-defeating than to boycott the election is hard to imagine.

It is not difficult to imagine Buthelezi's bitterness at being effectively sidelined at national level. But he ought to be capable of enough political detachment to understand that in politics the race is not always to the swift and the battle to the strong, but that time and chance happen to all men.

There can be more greatness and personal heroism in renunciation than in stubborn egotism. This is the choice that confronts him. If he could bring himself to the right choice, the people of SA would be ever grateful. He would become an important member of the future anti-ANC political alliance, while his party's votes in the constituent assembly will play a vital role in restraining the ANC's hunger for centralised power.

If he pursues the Biafran option to the bitter end, he will face loss of all political respect, as well as condemnation for recklessness and folly in his stewardship of his conservative Zulu following, whose suffering could match the Ibos'. Moreover, he and the King stand the risk of ending up as political refugees — the price of total miscalculation.
INKATHA/KWAZULU

Rallying around the king

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's trump card was always going to be his king and he played him this week with dramatic effect. However, it is debatable whether this will be the trick he needs to achieve his ambitions of Kwazulu sovereignty.

Buthelezi seems to have moved his political campaign beyond the realms of mere federalism into the sometimes murky world of sheer ethnic mobilisation.

Together with the boycott of April's general election by Inkatha and its Freedom Alliance partners, this suggests the process of arriving at a post-election constitution could be as much a parliamentary as an extraparliamentary affair. On the other hand, should alliance leaders press ahead with plans to disrupt the election, some, like UCT's Robert Schrire, suggest that strong action — possibly the incarceration of the ring leaders — should be seriously considered (see page 53). Then again others, like Finance Minister Derek Keys, are confident President F W de Klerk's "political genius" will find a way to break the impasse.

Political observers are at odds over the implications and repercussions of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's "memorandum" which demands that De Klerk must "give the Zulu nation, as defined in 1834 (embracing the whole of Natal), the opportunity to become free again and choose its own destiny."

Ask if he should not be discussing his demands with the ANC, Zwelithini replied simply that he was talking to the Head of State.

One thing it does establish is that the Zulu monarch is no longer above politics. He is down from the fence right in the heart of the Inkatha camp and placing his destiny in the hands of his uncle and adviser, Buthelezi.

There has been some speculation that Buthelezi's main hold over the king is financial. Monday's events tend to dispel that. It was also thought that the ANC's selection of its deputy secretary-general, Jacob Zuma (who has stressed the importance of the monarchy in the region's politics) as its Natal prime minister-designate, might divide the king and Buthelezi. If that was the strategy, the plan never worked.

Natal University's Sandy Johnston believes Zwelithini's demands and his siding with Inkatha are a sad and backward step plunging the negotiating process back to a hardline position when Inkatha and the Kwazulu government launched their draft confederal constitution. "The difference this time is that it tries to put the authority and prestige of the monarchy behind it," says Johnston.

De Klerk, however, after his four-hour meeting with Zwelithini in Durban (his third this year to discuss the future of the monarchy) was adamant that the king's demands do not amount to secession and are negotiable.

Stellenbosch Africa studies specialist Willie Breytenbach concurs: "Linking greater autonomy for the whole of Natal and the monarchy puts it outside the realms of possible secession." The political significance of Monday's meeting, he adds, is that it signifies a shift by Buthelezi from his original, focused federal design for a new SA, to embracing ethnic mobilisation.

"Zwelithini's and Buthelezi's appearance on platforms with similar agendas means Inkatha in future will be even more ethnically orientated. Ethnic mobilisation, as seen in Afrikaner nationalism, is a growing international phenomenon, so what is happening in Natal is not inconsistent with political trends," says Breytenbach.

He doubts, though, that the issue of Zulu sovereignty will be resolved before the election; it will join the growing list of post-election problems that will make the ANC government's task an unenviable one. The list includes the Afrikaner volksraad issue, militant black youth, possible opposition from the labour front where there is growing debate about the formation of a workers' party, and meeting the high expectations of ANC supporters.

"It would be foolish of the ANC to think that because the alliance partners excluded themselves from the election, this meant they should be excluded from the final design of the constitution," says Breytenbach.

Johnston reckons Zwelithini's endorsement of the Inkatha cause illustrates the party's ambivalence and ambiguity. One aspect of its appeal is its deep attachment to Zulu tradition — often resorted to in times of stress. Others relate to issues such as free enterprise and federalism which appeal to a broader audience. "Their strategy seems to oscillate between the traditional core of Zulu followers and the broader spectrum of anti-ANC opinion. Just how compatible they are is difficult to gauge," says Johnston.

The king's stand combined with other rightwing defiance sends a message to the new dispensation that it faces a hard task. Johnston says both sides want their own way at minimal cost.

"The trouble is they don't greatly respect their opponents' capabilities, but are, at the same time, unsure of their own ability to press home advantage. The Freedom Alliance thinks the new dispensation may collapse under its own contradictions if enough menace is applied, but is unsure of its own ability to fight a war." Government and the ANC believe the alliance is bluffing and doesn't really want to fight, but they are also conscious of the fragility of their own power," he says.

The result is a strange stalemate with negotiations stumbling on and almost crowding out the election campaign.
KwaZulu Minister quits party politics

Umlandi — Senior Kwa-
Zulu Cabinet Minister
and top Inkatha Freedom
Party official Chief Simon
Gumede has resigned
from active party politics
and has left the KwaZulu
capital of Umlandi.

He was Minister of
Works and deputy secre-
tary-general of the IFP.
He was also a member of
the KwaZulu Legislative
Assembly and the IFP
central committee as well
as president of the Fe-
derated Council of Indigene-
ous Rulers of South
Africa.

Gumede's name ap-
ppeared on a pamphlet
listing 21 alleged ANC ac-
tivists in the KwaZulu
administration. Nongoma
College registrar Thabiso
Ngubane, whose name
also appeared on the list,
was shot dead at the
weekend.

Gumede said his deci-
sion had not been in-
fuenced by the pamphlet.
He had instead decided
to serve his Gumede clan
in the Ubonbo area in
northern Zululand and
would remain a member
of the IFP.

KwaZulu Chief Minis-
ter Mangosuthu Buthele-
zi said it was sheer coin-
cidence that Gumede's
resignation had come at
the time of the pam-
phlet's distribution. He
had not suspected Gu-
mede of being disloyal. —
Sapa.
Election spoiler gets testy

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI: “I and the IFP . . . will oppose . . . the proposed election and we will do so with every available democratic means at our disposal.”

In Ulundi a siege mentality has set in

In the early hours of Thursday, telephones attached to fix machines in newspaper offices were being activated every few minutes by reporters, gathering reports of a break-in at the KwaZulu Natal offices of the Natal Press Association. The attack, involving two men armed with a sub-machine gun and an assault rifle, was directed against the newspaper's printing press and the offices of the Natal Mercury, a rival newspaper. The attack was reported to have caused damage to the printing press and the offices were temporarily closed. The attack was attributed to political tension in the region, with the IFP and the ANC accused of being behind the attack.

There was little doubt that Mandela had become increasingly isolated. The ANC had been forced to seek other alliances to support its election campaign, and this had led to a breakdown in relations with the IFP, which had earlier supported the ANC's election plans. The IFP had refused to support the ANC, citing a lack of transparency in the party's decision-making process. The situation was exacerbated by a series of assassinations and attempted assassinations of political leaders, including that of the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The attack on the Natal Press Association was seen as a symbol of the growing political tension in the region.

In Ulundi a siege mentality has set in. The town was under siege, with the police and the military patrolling the streets. The local community was living in fear, with reports of local militias patrolling the streets and looting shops.

There was little doubt that Buthelezi had become increasingly isolated. In a previous interview, he had expressed his concern about the growing political tension in the region, and had called for a return to peaceful coexistence. However, the situation had deteriorated, with attacks on political leaders and the press.

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IFP chief threatens to quit over death list

By RYAN CRESSWELL

FORMER top Inkatha official and senior KwaZulu Minister Chief Simon Gumede has threatened to resign from the party if he discovers a death list containing his name was an inside job.

The 60-year-old former Minister of Works, Inkatha central committee member and deputy secretary-general has already resigned from active party politics and left Ulundi.

Mr Gumede was a staunch supporter of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for 25 years and was considered one of his most trusted colleagues. He often accompanied the IFP leader on overseas trips.

Speaking from his fortified home in Ulusaba, Zululand, Mr Gumede said he would resign from the party if it was proved a death list naming more than 20 IFP leaders as ANC supporters was an "inside job," as he suspected.

Last weekend, one of the men on the list, Nongoma College registrar Thabiso Nkuna, was shot dead.

Said Mr Gumede: "If it is ever proved the pamphlet was an inside job it would confirm that all I was doing was a waste of time and that I have never had any connection with any party, except Inkatha."

It has been claimed the ANC had written the pamphlet but the organisation has vigorously distanced itself from the document.

"I want to tell the central committee it would be very surprising if the ANC was so naive as to publicise the names of people who have infiltrated another organisation," said Mr Gumede.

The former president of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa said he told Chief Buthelezi early in the month that he intended to resign from active politics so he could take better care of his "tribe".

"I do not know whether my detractors found out about the resignation then placed me on the list to hamper my leaving," he said.

Mr Gumede is known to be staunchly pro-elections, but he said he would resign well before he was certain the IFP would boycott the poll.

"People here have never had a chief who left the land. Everybody knew I would resign one day to look after the affairs of my people."

Mr Gumede has a reputation for caring about the people who live in his chieftaincy. He has watched over the construction of new tribal offices, a large community centre and a new school in his area.

He would not say whether his retirement from active politics was permanent and he was wary about discussing claims that some IFP leaders could be preparing to form a breakaway party.

Mr Gumede first drew attention in Ulundi as a young man in the 70s. In the early 70s, he became a member of the Ulundi territorial authority. He quickly proved his worth and, in 1983, he was given the difficult post of KwaZulu Minister of Works.

He was also one of the first blacks appointed to the controlling body of the Natal Parks Board. Much of the land in northern Zululand that has become part of reserves belonging to the Parks Board and private concerns was once ruled by his late father, Chief Masajeni Gumede.
Where X means year
By SIRKO KHMULLO

TARGTED. KWAZULU MINISTER BOWS OUT

CITY PRESS EDITION 20/11/94
Seccion — the chances are negligible

By Patrick Laurence

A NEW AND potentially explosive word has entered South Africa's political vocabulary: seccion — a word often associated with civil war.

The nomenclature has helped to popularise the word by threatening to disentangle a dozen ethnic文化的 words. The Afrikaner word is one that can be translated as the Afrikaner nationalism has become a movement to嘟嘟对 the multiparty Transitional Executive Authority and as the embryonic parliament of the Volk. 

Political leadership

The headed Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, is leading the Zulu — or, more accurately, those who accept his political leadership — to the same end. He has given notice to President FW de Klerk of his intention to proclaim the annexation of the former Zulu kingdom.

"I am the king of the Zulu nation, claim exclusive and independent sovereignty over our territory, as per 1834 boundaries," he has told De Klerk.

The white nations of Afrikaners and Britons are now challenging their sovereignty over the land of South Africa. Under different circumstances, I take the position that the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is revocable.

The Bophuthatswana government, the third member of the dissenting Freedom Alliance, has taken a similar approach, naming, of course, identical position. It sees Bophuthatswana's independence granted under the disputed apartheid system — as the restoration to Twana people of the sovereignty they lost when the Cape was annexed to the Cape in 1805.

Preferred option

Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana is loath to surrender its independence by agreeing to reversion to the South African government. Its preferred option is to retain the status quo by winning a quorum of independence from the people's demands to political power, the African National Congress and its allies.

Bophuthatswana seeks, to put it differently, to secure recognition of its sovereignty from South Africa in 1997, from the perspective of the ANC-led government of national unity.

The chances of seccion by consent, whether by Afrikaners, Zulus or Twana, appear remote. The ANC is too firmly committed to a united South Africa to risk alienating what apartheid put aside for its 1970s and 1980s, for the sanction of any form.

It will not be content to be dismissed as the governors of constitutional principles in the interior constitute not be re

"I am the king of the Zulu nation, claim exclusive and independent sovereignty over our territory as per 1834 boundaries."

"Demography is pertinent to the quest for an Afrikaner volksstaat. There is no region of any size in South Africa where Afrikaners are in a majority."


Seccion — the chances are negligible

"I am the king of the Zulu nation, claim exclusive and independent sovereignty over our territory as per 1834 boundaries."

"Demography is pertinent to the quest for an Afrikaner volksstaat. There is no region of any size in South Africa where Afrikaners are in a majority."
Boycott likely by strained Alliance

POLITICAL STAFF

The Freedom Alliance is expected to boycott today's meeting of the Negotiating Council, called to give the nod to compromises designed to draw dissenting parties into a political settlement.

However, there is continuing speculation that the FA is under increasing strain in the face of a determined initiative by the Government and the ANC to forge an inclusive political settlement.

There are indications that Bophuthatswana and some segments of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) may eventually become part of a settlement which would see them contest the April election.

There was also speculation this morning that Bophuthatswana might send a delegation to observe proceedings at the World Trade Centre today.

Bophuthatswana and the AVF met ANC representatives for talks at the weekend.

There are, meanwhile, persistent rumours of dissenion within the Inkatha Freedom Party following the surprise resignation of KwaZulu NDR minister Nosiel Simon Gumede on Friday. A leading London newspaper has claimed that King Goodwill Zwelithini is poised to switch his allegiance to the ANC.

The Sunday Independent said that in spite of his demand last week for "exclusive and independent sovereignty" over KwaZulu, the king was still "merging" with the ANC in the new dispensation.

All the FA members indicated last night that they would not attend the Negotiating Council meeting today, although it is believed some may send observers.

The FA is to hold an executive meeting today.

* From Page 1 *

At another crucial meeting today, Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje will meet Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. It is then that many observers believe a deal leading to Bophuthatswana's involvement in the transition could be brokered.

The ANC, the AVF and Bophuthatswana met for behind-the-scenes talks at the weekend. Discussions centred on the initiative announced by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday that the possibility of a negotiated settlement still existed.

Last night IFP negotiator Walter Feglute was pessimistic about a settlement, saying the ANC initiative did not meet key FA demands.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday left the door open for further negotiations and concessions by the ANC. Speaking at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park after a meeting of the ANC-aligned Patriotic Front, he said that even once the new proposals had been adopted by the Negotiating Council, "further negotiations will still happen".

(Report by C. Whitefield, S. Waugh, M. Sparks and J. Rambau, 47 Lower Street, Johannesburg)
Mood on ground very ugly and could get worse

Struggle goes on - Buthelezi

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu says he is not dismayed by the prospect of losing office by staying out of the April election.

Interviewed at Ulundi, he said he would continue the political struggle using his traditional power base as chief adviser to King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"My leadership was not built up by the homelands policy. I'll be part of the struggle — my king, myself and my people."

He was not prepared to speculate as to tactics. But he said the outlook was bleak.

The mood of people on the ground was ugly — "I've never known it like this before" — and it could get worse and become difficult to control.

He said he was not responsible for keeping the IFP out of the election — it had been forced on him by the Government and the ANC, which refused to con-

Buthelezi...not worried if he loses office.

troll federation as an option.

The logical next phase was the king's demand for the restoration of the Zulu sovereignty of 1834.

"When they rejected the federal option and could not accept our amendments, I was disarmed in my relationship with the king."

"There was nothing I could say to him. I had not delivered on self-rule."

He said it was pointless to participate in elections for a non-federal dispensation, something he had worked for 20 years.

The Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba had been rejected.

And the IFP's contribution to constitutional negotiations had been rejected.

"In 1910 the whites were fooled. They were bluffed by Smita that they were going to get a federation, but in the end there was no federation.

"We're not prepared to walk that road."

"I can understand that whites are concerned at us staying out of elections but they have to appreciate that for my people it is nothing new."

"We never had the vote before. Nothing much has changed."

I don't know why the Government and the ANC reject federalism. It is a democratic way to protect the interests of regions and minorities."

"What's wrong with the system in countries like the United States, Germany, Canada and Australia?"

He denied being a secessionist. "I refused to take independence because although we went into Union kicking and screaming, history has made us South Africans. We don't want to be deprived of that."

"The king's stand had been forced by events, he said. It was now out of his own hands as chief minister."

Asked whether it was feasible for elections to be held in Natal/KwaZulu without IFP participation, and whether a subsequent government could be effective, Buthelezi declined to speculate. "That is their problem, not mine."

(Report by G R Luccott, 19 Osborne St, Durban)
for federal state will not be in vain;

NOT DISMAYED 20 years work

Butthezile: struggle goes on

Somwula 22/12/94

Sowetan Correspondent

News government ANC to blame for LF position SADF sells equipment

Mokale's case put off

In brief

News

According to Charged

The case against

Mokale's

somewhat to be helped in the current situation. The ANC has not been able to...
De Klerk and king make no progress

The terseness of the statement suggests that no progress has been made in talks.

It now appears doubtful whether a compromise can be found on Zwelithini's demand for an sovereign Zulu kingdom, with the Zulu delegation expressing little or no confidence in the constitutional process.

The three-hour talks were attended by government Ministers and senior officials, while the king's delegation included Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Meanwhile, Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said this week's amendment

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Talks fail

De Klerk's meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Freedom Alliance expressing doubts about additional constitutional concessions.

In a short statement after the Zwelithini-De Klerk meeting, the parties agreed to set up a joint working committee to hold further talks. They again discussed the need to ensure proper recognition and constitutional accommodation for the Zulu king and the KwaZulu kingdom.

The two sides agreed to extend the joint working group's mandate to consider all aspects of the question urgently and report back as soon as possible.

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"We've given them virtually everything they've wanted, except for a volksraad and an independent Zulu state. Those they must win in the forthcoming elections."

He said the ANC would never shut the door on further negotiations. "We are ready to engage them if they want to."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the constitutional amendment package adopted at the World Trade Centre on Monday addressed all the concerns raised by the alliance.

"There is now nothing to keep them from participating in the elections. For the sake of our country's future we can only hope that reason will now prevail."

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ANC negotiator Penwell Maduna said...
Zulu king plans own constitution

KING Goodwill Zwelethini looks set to promulgate a constitution for a sovereign Zulu kingdom next month following the total collapse of negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC.

But last night senior government and Inkatha negotiators began a desperate two-day round of negotiations aimed at drawing the IFP into the elections and warding off a civil war.

Top of the agenda at the meeting being held at a secret venue outside Cape Town is King Goodwill's call for a sovereign KwaZulu/Natal.

It is understood that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently told the government that the IFP would participate in the elections if the interim constitution could be amended to accommodate King Goodwill's request, something which President PW de Klerk said last week was realisable.

The leader of the government delegation, Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte, said last night: "Both sides are approaching this meeting with great earnestness because we realise that this may be one of the last opportunities to change the interim constitution before Parliament meets on Monday."

However, other sources close to the tri-lateral negotiations involving the ANC, the government and the Freedom Alliance said there was now virtually no chance of an all-inclusive agreement on the interim constitution.

"The Alliance is coming apart and its now virtually a case of each party going it alone in negotiations," one senior source said last night.

The IFP has pulled out of negotiations after the ANC's proposed amendments were accepted by the Negotiating Council earlier this week.

However, the IFP's 16 MPs will attend the special tricameral joint sitting in Cape Town on Monday in a last bid to reach a settlement.

The ANC still appears to be desperately trying to arrange a meeting between its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the king to discuss the protection of tradition in the new constitution.

And Mr Mandela's long-awaited royal audience is still on the cards, according to ANC spokesman Mr Jacob Zuma.

However, IFP sources say that the king was "insulted" at the idea of "asking Mandela for his own land back."

The IFP has hastily rejected a right-wing Afrikaner offer to fight alongside "the Zulus."

It has also denied claims by the Orde Boerevolk that right-wingers are training Zulus at camps in northern Natal.

— Own Correspondent, Political Correspondent.
Election fears for KwaZulu

The breakdown in talks between President F.W. de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini over an independent Zulu kingdom has sparked concerns that conducting elections will be extremely difficult in KwaZulu/Natal.

Government, the ANC, the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) are urgently trying to find ways of ensuring that election meetings and elections will be able to be held in the region.

Violence is expected to increase prior to the elections and government and the ANC have accepted that the Inkatha Freedom Party will boycott the polls.

The TEC's management committee could not find a solution on Tuesday, but a committee source said: "We were all acutely aware of the need to do something urgently to stabilise the situation."

An IEC source said it was "struggling to establish our elections infrastructure in the region and be confident that elections will be able to be conducted freely".

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that IEC head Judge Johann Kriegler said yesterday his commission was planning to organise debates between political parties in "no-go" areas. (10-7)

The ANC and Inkatha said they would welcome such a move and would give it their full support.

Meanwhile, Home Affairs Minister

To Page 2.

KwaZulu

Danie Schutte headed a government delegation meeting Zwelithini's emissaries in Cape Town last night. The discussions will continue today.

Zwelithini told De Klerk on Tuesday that he was not dependent on multiparty approval for the recognition of a sovereign Zulu kingdom. He was "simply claiming it".

But the ANC said the king's aspirations would never be met.

Sapa reports that ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said: "There is no way we are going to restore the boundaries of the 19th century or return to political structures of the 19th century. It's not going to happen. That is a non-starter."

He said an end to violence, in which more than 14,000 people have died since February 1999, was essential for free and fair elections.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance said that, as a result of the changes to the interim constitution, SA now had a better and improved product.

Chairman Rowan Cronje said no decision had been made to boycott the elections. The alliance would assess the whole package before making a decision.

"However, in the end the individual members of the alliance will make their own decisions whether to boycott or contest the coming elections in view of the latest proposals," he said.

An ANC source said a further round of talks with Bophuthatswana was planned for this week "but unfortunately we have nothing arranged with the Afrikaner Volksfront or Inkatha".

Report by W. Padcock and J. Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and F. Sugar, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

See Page 14.
Another Israeli Rav #4
To Stay Off
Creativity needed

TIM COHEN

1974

24/14/1959

157

Another Israeli Rav #4
To Stay Off
Creativity needed

TIM COHEN

1974

24/14/1959
Coming up for the crunch

Zulus will decide for civil war or ersatz federalism

KwaZulu’s Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is at the crossroads. His choice of direction in the next 10 days could determine SA’s destiny for years to come.

He must decide whether to continue his intransigence in the hope that it will win further federal constitutional concessions — but risk what could amount to civil war. Or he could return to negotiations in the hope of getting more mileage and enhancing what is left of his popular political image.

If he chooses the talks, his chances of gaining concessions are small and probably limited. He will not have achieved the federal constitution he wants but he will be able to rest assured that the constitution envisaged will have federal intimations that could be annulled over the next five years into material regional autonomy. Not everything, but something.

Moreover, by re-entering negotiations and taking part in the election, he would be in a position to regain some of the moral high ground he occupied in the past, whence he may again find himself able to play a pivotal role in SA’s future.

The concessions don’t meet all the demands made by Buthelezi and his Freedom Alliance partners in the so-called yellow paper presented to government and the ANC in December. But they concede some of the key principles underlying the demands and as such provide at least the basis for further negotiation.

If Buthelezi and a significant element of the alliance can now re-engage government and the ANC, the election on a federal platform and use whatever muscle they may have in a new parliament to strengthen the federal elements in the final constitution, history may yet judge them as heroes of the struggle for democracy in SA.

Any other course will inevitably lead to a confrontation. And that could be a gamble. It is true that intransigence has paid off. But the trick is to judge when the ANC-Nat league will become so exhausted of patience that it cries enough and digs in its heels. Buthelezi is the only man on the Freedom Alliance side capable of that judgment.

Notwithstanding the initial rejection of the concessions by Buthelezi and the alliance’s Rowan Cronje, they represent a significant departure from previous government-ANC positions. In addition, efforts to draw the alliance into discussion of the proposals by the multiparty negotiating council in Kemptown Park this week indicate a genuine desire to settle with the alliance before the election.

The concessions (see Current Affairs) were approved by the negotiating council and will be endorsed by a special session of parliament next week. They provide for: a double ballot; additional powers for provinces; a 20-member council to be chosen after the election to investigate the possible establishment of a volksraad; an additional constitutional principle guaranteeing the right to self-determination; and guarantees that provincial powers granted in the interim constitution will not be changed substantially in the final one.

The Electoral Act will also be changed to allow parties that did not register for the election by the February 13 cut-off date to do so by March 17.

Some of the concessions are similar in essence to proposed amendments to the interim constitution tabled in parliament in December by Inkatha MP Jurie Mentz but rejected by government. Mentz, a member of Inkatha’s head committee, says that if the latest package covers the issues of sufficient powers for provinces, the authority to raise taxes, a double ballot and the permanence of provincial powers, it could be a basis for further negotiation.

“In my view, the outstanding problems can be resolved within the next 10 days,” he suggests.

Buthelezi is the key player in this game. Alliance leaders’ claims of massive support are untested and probably unfounded. Most Batswana do not support Lucas Mangope and most Afrikaners do not insist on an apartheid-based volksraad. Only Buthelezi, with 2.5m paid-up Inkatha members, has a proven following of any real significance.

The rest of the alliance, except for racist fanatics, will undoubtedly follow his lead. And though recalcitrant and imperious, too often irascible, careless of friendship and contemptuous of support, he has done more for federalism in this country than any other politician. He has certainly withstood the siren voices of the appeasers.

Even DP negotiator Colin Eglin, who believes the new package is well worth Buthelezi’s serious consideration, says that while the latest concessions will not make the constitution federal “in the true sense of the word,” it is a further step towards federalism. “I am surprised the ANC has gone this far.”

Eglin says he is now less apprehensive about the transition. “The package adds credibility to the negotiation process. The alliance had created a perception that the process was rushed and one-sided. The concessions show that the allegation is not correct. They are a pragmatic and generous compromise that will lower the political temperature and lessen the threat of confrontation.”

Cape Town University’s David Welsh agrees that the concessions give the constitution “federal potential.” But will they attract the alliance back to the process? Maybe some elements will be do so, says Welsh. “Neither the alliance nor its components are in any sense monolithic blocks. There seems to be enough in the concessions to draw in people like General Constand Viljoen, (Inkatha’s) Joe Mathews and Frank Mdlalose, but they may not be able to persuade others to come in.”

But Welsh has reservations about Buthelezi, especially his willingness to rejoin the process. “I believe he has decided that under no circumstances will he participate in the election. Twiddling constitutional knobs will therefore have little effect on his attitude. The same goes for the Afrikaner Volksfront hardliners.”

SA Chamber of Business parliamentary lobbyist Peter Duminy says Socab is willing to move towards a federal structure. The organisation believes a federal system will create certainty about the foundations of future economic activity and bring government closer to the people. “We like to think these proposals improve the situation.”
But the disposition that has won these concessions does not necessarily endear Buthelezi to liberal democrats, especially those who have little understanding of or sympathy for free enterprise, Christian values and political consistency.

Buthelezi will not opt out. He is determined that KwaZulu should remain part of SA, despite King Goodwill Zwelithini's threats of secession. Nevertheless, he is apparently determined not to be sucked into a new political structure that regulates his region to the same Cinderella status it suffered under successive Nat administrations.

Indeed, his fears are not unfounded. The KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration commissioned consultancy Deloitte & Touche to probe the extent to which the region received a less-than-proportional share of public funding relative to its population and tax contribution - as well as the negative impact of such underfunding.

The conclusion, published at the end of 1992, was that prolonged gross underfunding had severely impaired the region's ability to provide for its population, especially the poor. The consultants pointed out, for example, that though Natal/KwaZulu is relatively underdeveloped with a virtually equal population, it receives government consumption spending of less than 33% of the PWV. And it pays 17.4% of total SA taxes, which is consistently more than the region's share of gross domestic product.

Natal University economist Giuseppe Lenta points out that though government is a net contributor to economic growth, per capita expenditure in 1989, for example, was nearly 50% lower than that for the national average - R381 for the region, against R589 nationally.

"This suggests," says Lenta, "that taxation flows out of the region relative to central government expenditure (excluding government grants to KwaZulu)."

That is not to say Natal doesn't have a sound economy which Buthelezi, or whoever takes over after April 27, will want to build on. Durban regional Chamber of Business economist Barry Poulson points out the gross national product of Natal, with 7.5m people, is R85m a year, compared with R85m for 90m in SADCC countries (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland and Tanzania).

He says inherent strengths of the region include infrastructure, transport (road, rail, oil pipeline), electricity, water (net exporters), education and communication. The industries have sophisticated professional and technical support systems. A sound agricultural sector includes sugar, livestock (cattle and poultry), forestry, and tropical fruit (providing 16% of the nation's commercially sold agricultural production from 8% of the land mass). The two main ports serve the Transvaal and PWV. Industries account for

24% of SA's manufacturing output and the potential for tourism is said to be tremendous.

So the argument follows that, given reasonable autonomy and an economy more committed to the market than that of Pretoria, the region could attract investors, especially foreign ones.

Durban regional Chamber of Business chairman John Dickson says that, though apolitical, the chamber strongly supports constitutionally entrenched federalism in which people have a say in developing objectives in their regions.

He says devolved power under a federal system promotes economic efficiency. "There is no doubt that, with people directly involved in a region, resulting shorter lines of communication to decision-makers, benefits of good planning and increased administrative efficiency promote far better use of available resources. And local knowledge improves the likelihood of identifying the correct economic development priorities," says Dickson.

However, he points out that regional autonomy is meaningless unless it has a reasonable degree of financial independence. This requires two-tier taxation, on federal and regional levels, to avoid central government dominance.

Another complication is Zwelithini's decision to enter into the political fray as a free agent. He bluntly demanded of President F W de Klerk at their meeting in Durban last week an independent Zulu kingdom.

Though his nation was conquered by the whites, the king argues, its sovereignty was never eliminated. Now that whites are relinquishing their sovereignty, it is only logical that it reverts to the Zulu nation as defined in 1834 (embracing all of Natal) -- a position he claims is supported by the international law of decolonisation. In short, Zwelithini says there's no way he will accept the current constitution or be ruled by a unitary state.

But ANC southern Natal secretary Shbu Ndebele points out that reverting to 19th century status would eliminate private property ownership since all land would be owned by the crown. Allocations would depend on the benevolence of the monarch.

With international affairs expert Sara Pienaar says countries fear nothing more than secession. "Civil war would be inevitable and they are the hardest wars, once started, to end. One need look no further than Bosnia, Angola and Mozambique for proof of their capacity to endure, inflict human suffering and result in economic devastation."

Natal University Economic Research Unit director Gavin Maasdorp says that though there's little doubt as to Pretoria's ability to quell a Natal/KwaZulu rebellion, significant and prolonged force might be needed to maintain law and order in the region. He says that even if an independent kingdom resulted from a long conflict with Pretoria, "relations would be sour to the point where Natal was virtually on its own -- probably outside the customs union and common monetary area."

This would imply considerable dislocation of the area's economy, infrastructure and social fabric. It would take a long time to rebuild Natal/KwaZulu and regain the confidence of investors.

"Nevertheless, the region could survive at least at the level of countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe."

That's not what Buthelezi really wants. But the relatively robust economy, as home-lands go, and strategic deep water ports could provide him with some bargaining chips that might pay off.

The next 10 days will be exceptionally tense, not least so for Buthelezi. Our guess is that there is too much at stake for him to go for all or nothing. For we believe the shrewdness of his political judgment will outweigh the volatility of his often unfortunate public persona.
Urgent talks between Zulu king, government to continue

WHILE "urgent" talks were scheduled to continue today between the government and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, and tomorrow between the members of the Freedom Alliance, preparations rolled ahead for the holding of next week's session of Parliament and for the holding of the election.

A Bill setting out the concessions to the Freedom Alliance which the government and the African National Congress have made was published last night, and a parliamentary standing committee is due to review them shortly. Parliament will meet on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday to vote on the concessions.

Yesterday the Independent Electoral Commission announced that it was having 850 million ballot papers printed in England to cater for roughly 22.7-million potential voters.

The papers, which would fill ten jumbo jets, will be flown into South Africa under stringent security and be transported to warehouses under surveillance.

IEC commissioner Advocate Zac Jacob, addressing a Press briefing yesterday where voting procedure was announced, said the ballot paper order was about double the number necessary for voters (each voter gets two ballot papers) to accommodate distribution problems which may arise and ensure there are enough if the voting population exceeds 22-million.

Voting procedure entails the following:

- Voters will have their identification checked at the doors of polling stations where party voting agents will also conduct ID checks.
- The voter will have both hands studied under ultra-violet lights.
- The voter's knuckles will then be dipped in an invisible but UV-sensitive marking fluid which will wear off in about a week.
- The voter will hand his identity document or temporary voter card to an official who will mark it and then a ballot paper will be given to the voter with the ID document. The voter will then go to one of the voting compartments and vote in secret before placing the ballot paper into a ballot box for the national assembly election.

The voter then moves to another table where his ID is checked again before a second ballot paper, this time for the provincial legislature, is folded and handed to the voter.

The voter then votes again in secret and casts the ballot in a box marked for the provincial legislature election.

IEC looks at Bop

THE IEC was addressing the issue of free political activity in Bophuthatswana and aimed to ensure that all citizens of that area would be allowed to vote in April, it said yesterday.

The IEC was responding to a Lawyers for Human Rights statement this week that the organisation was not satisfied with the IEC response to the Bophuthatswana situation.

15 electoral officers

A LIST of 15 provincial electoral officers for the April poll was released at the World Trade Centre by the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday.

Officers appointed so far are: Mary Burton and P J Schoeman for Cape Town (Western Cape); Mr I L Lindi and Mr D C I van Schalkwyk in Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape); Steve Kahanovitz and Mr S J Jonker in Kimberley (Northern Cape); Tebbani Jali and Mr J V Grobler in Durban (Natal); Mr F J Fourie in Bloemfontein (OF5); in Pietersburg (Northern Transvaal) a Mr Ma-

Mandela's peace call

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his call for an end to political violence and has emphasised the importance of free and fair elections.

Speaking in Kimberley, Mr Mandela was greeted by an exuberant crowd of about 400 ANC supporters at the Kimberley Provincial Hospital today.

Mr Mandela was welcomed to the hospital by the medical superintendent, Chris Engelbrecht.

Referring to the violence which erupted after the National Party roadshow in Kimberley on Wednesday night, Mr Mandela said he wanted free and fair elections and asked ANC supporters not to disrupt meetings but to act with a sense of responsibility as future leaders of the country.

'We will beat the National Party hands down,' he said.

IFP 'breakthrough'

JOHANNESBURG. - Inkatsha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the latest proposal on the position of the Zulu king in a future constitutional dispensation -- as put forward by the government yesterday -- could be accepted as "a basis" for further discussions and negotiations on the issue.

The proposals arose out of two days of discussions between a South African government delegation and emissaries from King Goodwill Zwelithini and a delegation from the IFP.

Phama funeral

TRANSKEI is to witness one of its biggest funerals tomorrow when Sabelo Phama (Gqwetha), the commander of the Pan Africanist Congress's armed wing Apal, is laid to rest in the village of Baziya, outside Umtata.

(Copied by H & S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)
TEC approves R33m plane for KwaZulu

Johannesburg - The finance
Cape Times, Friday, February 25, 1994

The Executive Council of the Transvaal has been given the green light to proceed with the purchase of a new transport aircraft for KwaZulu.

The Council, in a meeting held last week, decided to allocate R33 million for the purchase of a new transport aircraft for KwaZulu.

The Council was advised by the Executive Council of the Transvaal on the benefits of the new transport aircraft for KwaZulu.

The new transport aircraft will be a Cessna 406, a twin-engine, high-speed, light aircraft that can carry up to 12 passengers.

The Council was also advised that the new transport aircraft will be used for a variety of purposes, including transporting officials, medical teams, and equipment to remote areas.

The purchase of the new transport aircraft is expected to cost R33 million.

The Council was advised that the purchase of the new transport aircraft will be financed through a combination of government funds and donations from private sources.

The Council was also advised that the purchase of the new transport aircraft will be subject to further approval by the province's audit committee.
KwaZulu public service plans for new SA

THE KwaZulu public service was "going full steam ahead" making arrangements for incorporation into the regional and national bureaucracy despite politicians' threat to boycott the elections.

Thembinkosi Memela, assistant secretary in the Chief Minister's department, said yesterday KwaZulu's public service was holding meetings with the Commission for Administration in Pretoria.

Asked how this fitted in with the Inkatha Freedom Party's threatened boycott of the elections, he said: "Things are a bit fluid right now, but the fact that there is a special relationship between Inkatha and the KwaZulu government does not matter."

"Whether it is the PAC, the ANC or the NP that will rule KwaZulu/Natal, it must not affect the public servants. Their job is just to provide good welfare and services to the people in the region," Memela said.

"We have been planning and preparing for a rationalised public service as part of the greater SA and we are moving full steam ahead with these plans."

After a meeting with the commission, KwaZulu's public servants were notified last week that "their jobs are safe." It was explained that "some members may be taken into a rationalised KwaZulu/Natal administration, while others may be moved to the national administration."

Memela was aware that some public servants might be moved because of their relationship with Inkatha. "But this always happens when politicians are changed at the top and is part of being a democracy."

He hoped there would be a peaceful resolution to the impasse "fairly soon within the next few days."

Inkatha was opposed to secession. "And along, in the Buthelezi commission and the joint KwaZulu/Natal Indaba we have advocated a coherent region."

Report by W. Paddock, "Nc., 11 Dynamic St. Jhb.

See Pages 6 and 10
By SIPHO KHUMALO

A FORMER KwaZulu Minister of Works told City Press this week that a pamphlet accusing him of being an ANC operative was "inside work" by his Inkatha colleagues and he would resign from Inkatha if his suspicions turned out to be true.

Chief Simon Hlumeni Gumede, who recently resigned all positions he had held in KwaZulu, but retained his Inkatha membership, said in an interview with City Press that he had "greeted with shock" the news that he had been "linked to the ANC by forged ANC pamphlets" distributed in KwaZulu.

Commitment

"If it were to be proved beyond reasonable doubt that the people who put my name on the alleged ANC list were Inkatha members... who know of my commitment to Inkatha all these years... I would resign from Inkatha," said Gumede.

City Press visited Gumede at his Umhlanga home to find him busy tending his herd of cattle.

"I greeted my being falsely linked to the ANC with shock because members of the Inkatha central committee know that I have never had any contacts with the ANC. "I also told the central committee it would be utter stupidity and naive for any party to divulge names of its secret operatives. "The ANC has never even made overtures to me," he said.

Gumede added that since the distribution of a controversial pamphlet some of his colleagues have been claiming that they had seen him with MK members at his home.

"This makes it clear to me that this is an inside job. But it also surprises me how the MK members could possibly visit me because both at my Umhlanga home and here there are police who provide secur-

ACCUSE!... Chief Gumede says a pamphlet linking him to the ANC is a forgery.

When City Press was at Gumede's home African Christian Democratic Party officials were present, trying to convince him to join their party.

"There have been many coming here with the exception of PAC and ANC. But now I am out of party politics and back to local politics. "A chief will always return back to his people," he said.

He said he now saw his primary role was to give guidance to his people during the crucial transitional period.
JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have called for a moratorium on elections in KwaZulu/Natal as a possible way through the impasse over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's demand for an independent Zulu kingdom.

The proposal that has been put to the government and which was tabled at the joint parliamentary standing committee on Friday by Inkatha called for the region to be left out of this election.

The proposal is that the whole of KwaZulu/Natal should not take part in April's election but rather that it be governed by an administrator while negotiations take place with all parties to draft a regional constitution.

In this constitution, provision would then be made for the position of the Zulu king and a Zulu kingdom. Once this regional constitution had been finalised elections would be held in KwaZulu/Natal.

However, both Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman and ANC negotiator Mr Joe Slovo yesterday reacted unfavourably to this proposal.

Mr Schoeman said other parties were wanting to contest the election. Mr Slovo described the idea as "a very doubtful starter".

President FW de Klerk said yesterday he continued to hold out some hope that ongoing talks between the government and Inkatha on the status of King Goodwill, as well as Mr Nelson Mandela's planned meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow, would "even at this late hour deliver some constructive developments."

Mr De Klerk also held out an olive branch to AVF leader General Constand Viljoen after an angry exchange of letters towards the end of last week saying his door remained open and that Gen Viljoen was welcome to meet with him today.

Mr De Klerk said he still had "some hope" that the flurry of "last gasp" efforts to draw Freedom Alliance parties into the election would bear fruit. — Own Correspondent, Political Correspondent.
No more concessions — Gwala

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC had made enough concessions to Inkatha and the Freedom Alliance and there would never be a sovereign Zulu kingdom or a volksstamm in Natal, ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala warned yesterday.

He was speaking at a mass funeral for 14 of the young members of an ANC voter education team slaughtered near Creighton in southern Natal last week.

The coffins, covered in ANC flags, were arranged on a hillside close to the house where the victims, aged 13 to 26, were shot as they slept.

Three IFP members have been arrested in connection with the dawn attack.

"We have made enough concessions," Mr Gwala said.

"Some say they want a (Zulu) kingdom with a monarch who can appoint ministers. Such a thing will never happen."

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu urged restraint and said such acts would never stop the ANC delivering the final blow for freedom in the elections.
Call to delay poll in KwaZulu/Natal

BILLY PADDOCK

KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have called for a moratorium on elections in KwaZulu/Natal as a possible way through the impasse over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for an independent Zulu kingdom.

The proposal, put to government and tabled at the joint parliamentary standing committee on Friday, cannot be finalised until April elections are called for the region. It should be governed by an administrator while negotiations take place on a regional constitution. In this constitution, provision would be made for the position of the Zulu king and a Zulu kingdom. Once this regional constitution had been finalised, elections would be held in KwaZulu/Natal.

However, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman and ANC negotiator Joe Slovo rejected the proposal. Schoeman said 11 parties were expected to contest the election. Slovo described the idea as "a very doubtful starter."

Meanwhile, a KwaZulu/Inkatha source told The Times yesterday that Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte had misrepresented Inkatha leader Maqubule Mntambo's position on Friday by saying that Buthelezi saw government proposals as a basis for further talks and that this represented a breakthrough.

Report by B. Paddock, Tshwane.
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called for a Zulu kingdom separate from the rest of South Africa.

He said the KwaZulu government could not be held responsible for the Zulu nation's anger if elections proceeded without this demand being met.

Addressing a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus meeting in Umlazi, Buthelezi said: "We need to separate the kingdom of KwaZulu from the rest of South Africa. If this can be done through a constitutional principle in the 1993 constitution, then we will entertain constitutional amendments to this effect."

Buthelezi made no mention of his talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Tuesday at which he agreed to consider registering the IFP for South Africa's first all-race elections in April.
Inkatha will not quit peace bodies, says Vos

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has backed down on plans to pull out of all Transvaal peace structures.

"There is no question of Inkatha pulling out of the national peace accord structures in the Transvaal or anywhere else in SA," Inkatha representative on the national peace secretariat Suzanne Vos said yesterday, Sapa reports.

Her statement contradicted the one made by Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndluvu on Wednesday.

Ndluvu said Inkatha was pulling out of the peace structures because they had been hijacked by the ANC.

He also said the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat was doing nothing because hundreds of Inkatha members and supporters had been killed in political violence in Thokoza and Phola Park on the East Rand.

Vos said Ndluvu was expressing real problems experienced by Inkatha in relation to various peace committees.

Many Inkatha members who had been working in the peace structures in the past year had been killed or injured in attacks, she said.

"While the leadership of Inkatha understands and appreciates the problems experienced by Mr Ndluvu, we are nevertheless fully committed to serving national peace accord structures to the best of our ability," Vos said.

"He was clearly expressing his frustration," a meeting would be held between the Inkatha leadership and the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat in a bid to resolve the problems and achieve more constructive Inkatha participation in the peace structures, Vos added.

The secretariat has called on Inkatha to support its claims with evidence.

WILSON ZWANE reports Vos also suggested that the peace accord structure could be revitalised if participating political organisations seconded senior officials to it full-time.

The national peace committee's task group would meet today to discuss, among other issues, Inkatha's threat to withdraw from the peace structures, media spokesman Val Pauquet said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said he was trying to contact Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to seek direction on how to allay members' misgivings about taking part in peace structures in Natal.

He said it was becoming increasingly clear that members in the province did not want to take part in the structures, a stance that was against party policy.

Buthelezi said on Tuesday, after his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela, that efforts would be stepped up to encourage members to support and take part in peace accord structures and other peace initiatives.

Our Durban correspondent reports the strife-torn Mgendwa area in Umbumbulu received a welcome boost for peace on Wednesday when ANC and Inkatha local leaders agreed at a meeting to form a joint peace committee to end violence in the community.

The parties also agreed that ANC supporters who fled Mgendwa at the height of violence about four years ago should return.
Policeman under witness protection

Sowetan Correspondent

A KWAZULU policeman and his family have been put in a witness protection programme by the Goldstone Commission following his chilling claims regarding a Natal massacre last year.

Lieutenant Westleigh Mbata told London’s Observer newspaper that a cover-up by senior KwaZulu officials had followed his investigations into the Nqunu massacre of 11 ANC followers in November last year.

The newspaper conveyed his information to the Goldstone Commission on Friday and he and his family were immediately put into its witness protection programme.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said that an “intensive” investigation was being conducted by the commission’s Natal investigation team, who were interviewing Mbata.

Mbata told the Observer that he had arrested two men shortly after the massacre of 11 friends and relatives of Chief Elphus Molefe, an ANC supporter.

The men confessed to the killings and named another five men who had been involved in the massacre.

But Mbata was put on “sick leave” shortly after he approached his commanding officer for permission to track down the other suspects in Johannesburg.

He has not returned to work since, the Observer said.
'AWB is training Inkatha'  
City Press 13/3/90  
By SIPHO KININALO

AN AWB member who pitched up to pledge solidarity with Inkatha-aligned Zulus at a march this week revealed that the AWB was training Zulus in guerrilla warfare tactics throughout Natal.

AWB Southern Natal commander Morten Christie joined about 5,000 Inkatha-aligned Zulus who marched through Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast to press home demands for the recognition of a Zulu kingdom.

"We are offering Zulus an even better training than the ANC. The tables are going to turn against them (the ANC) now. We will give them the hiding of their lives," said Christie.
DURBAN — The KwaZulu government was warned that “its days were numbered” during the ANC’s rally in Umlazi yesterday.

Three people were believed killed as almost 15,000 supporters heeded the stayaway call in a show of strength to protest against the Inkatha Freedom Party’s blockade of an ANC rally on Sunday. Yesterday’s rally was called after an ANC election meeting planned for the King Zwelithini Stadium on Sunday had to be called off when Inkatha-aligned hostel residents took over the stadium.

ANC members marched to the magistrate’s court building yesterday where a memorandum criticizing the security forces for failing to remove the Inkatha supporters from the stadium was handed to Umlazi chief magistrate Louis Radyn.

ANC leaders took turns to issue ultimatums that the days of the KwaZulu government were numbered as the election date drew nearer.

Leaders warned that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would suffer the same fate as the ousted Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope.

Earlier, police prevented about 300 armed Inkatha supporters from approaching the ANC marchers.

After the marchers handed a memorandum to Radyn they were fired upon by another group. Police used teargas and fired shots to separate the two groups.

KwaZulu Police district commissioner Brig Alwyn Burger confirmed one woman was shot dead in the township early yesterday. Violence monitor Stephanie Miller told reporters two people were killed in a squatter settlement on Umlazi’s outskirts.

Businesses south of Durban were hard hit by the march with as much as 85% of the workforce not reporting for work in some firms. Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said the ANC was using the occupation of the stadium as a scapegoat to justify disruption and sabotage.

SAPA reports that in Umzimkhulu near Empangeni on Natal’s north coast, at least six people were killed and seven injured yesterday when gunmen sprayed commuters with gunfire, police said.

Tillet said as many as 20 people had been killed. — Sapa-Reuters.
INKATHA Fun 18/3/94

No bopping at Ulundi

It's all eyes on Ulundi after the swift, unsubtle dumping of Bophuthatswana's nominal independence. While Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party's anti-election stance might seem more exposed and isolated than ever, it is improbable that their stronghold, KwaZulu, will be anything like easy a pushover.

True, last week's events left a depleted Inkatha-led Freedom Alliance. Since its establishment, those who have departed include Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and General Constand Viljoen.

Of those remaining, Lucas Mangope is a stateless president and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg's position is being undermined by pockets of his party (particularly in Natal) openly committing themselves to election participation.

There are even suggestions that senior pro-election members of Inkatha might defect to other parties.

Inkatha names like Ben Ngubane or Ziba Jiyane would be a tremendous coup for the DP or Nats.

Inkatha central committee hardliner Walter Felgate says the alliance must now reassess its position, hence Monday's Kimberley meeting of alliance leaders. "We must obviously examine the position of the alliance and whether it disbands or carries on and under what circumstances," says Felgate.

though Viljoen attended the Kimberley meeting, it was apparently specifically to seek Inkatha's support for his new Freedom Front's participation in the election.

Felgate, however, scoffs at any suggestion that Inkatha might use Viljoen's front as a backdoor to participation next month. "We are opposed to the election and are telling our supporters not to vote. We won't encourage any other party."

Election date

He is equally derisory about ANC insistence that the election date is carved in stone. "If timetables are more important than the country's future, democracy and the question of an all-inclusive settlement (still hanging in the balance), then the election cannot be postponed. But it is nonsense to suggest a postponement will trigger a wave of violence and bloodshed. Precisely the opposite. The current strife is being fed by an election being forced on people who refuse to accept the constitution."

Brave though his words may be, a big concern of the alliance must be whether there is any chance of a repetition of the Bophuthatswana overthrow in KwaZulu.

Mangope's contention that SA "kicked" Bophuthatswana's independence may carry some weight with sympathisers but it is irrelevant. It was, after all, SA that propped up his rule in the first place. Secondly, the de facto situation is that government and the Transitional Executive Council now control the homeland. Besides, in President F W de Klerk's words, SA politics isn't for sissies — his government has never balked at the morality of using force openly or covertly for its own ends, and the TEC's acquiescence in the Bop saga suggests little change for future administrations.

Nevertheless, De Klerk is quick to dispel accusations by Buthelezi that the NP and ANC are now jointly preparing a strategy to remove his administration and depose King Goodwill Zwelithini as the biggest remaining obstacles to the April 27 election.

Cosatu's Neil Coleman says, however, that there are similar organic conditions between the situation of public servants in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, and that if Inkatha makes it difficult for parties to operate freely in the region in the election run-up, it will be courting a revolt — adding fuel to speculation that the civil servant's revolt which precipitated Bop's end was not triggered spontaneously by pension payout concerns, but was skillfully orchestrated by the ANC.

Felgate dismisses any spontaneity in the Bop uprising or that there is potential for a copycat revolution in KwaZulu. "The ANC campaigned to destabilise Bop for a long time. It seized on pensions as an issue even though they are guaranteed and everyone knows it. There is no danger of the same happening in KwaZulu because it is not Bophuthatswana."

Coleman's threat could soon be put to the test if Sunday's events are anything to go by. inkatha-aligned hostel dwellers occupied Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium, south of Durban, preventing an ANC election rally and precipitated a confrontation in which five people were killed. By Tuesday the ANC had retaliated by barricading Umlazi.

Felgate, however, stresses that the Umlazi incident was not planned by the Inkatha leadership. "It is the kind of thing that will happen, people on the ground are saying no to the election and that must be taken into account. Furthermore, the IEC is announcing steps to assist election participants to hold free and open meetings. By the same token there must be the same respect for our democratic right to campaign against going to the polls."

It seems probable that if Inkatha stays out of the elections, it is unlikely to be a revolution in the homeland that undermines its power base, but the poaching of its supporters and office bearers by other predator; parties keen to cash in on the organisation's substantial power base in Natal.
THE immanuel mission statement

ANC Fleets assassination plot

Meeting

Meeting With Mandela's

King called off
ANC-IFP tensions reach a new high

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Ulundi — Tensions between the ANC and IFP appear to be at an all-time high following the calling off of today’s meeting between Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini amid fears for the ANC leader’s life.

The meeting was to have been held partly in front of the king’s subjects in Ulundi, apparently giving rise to fears that Mandela might have become the victim of an assassination plot.

In a letter to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said his organisation had received reports that an attempt will be made on our president’s life if he visits Ulundi.

Mbeki said although IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mulhé has given ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma assurances that additional security measures would be taken to protect Mandela, the organisation felt it would be unsafe for the ANC leader to travel to Ulundi.

The security problem was exacerbated by the format of the meeting, about which the ANC had not been informed.

"It is only fair to indicate that our own expectation was that the president would be afforded an opportunity to discuss with the king in a closed meeting, to enable them to discuss — in depth — legal and constitutional matters of concern to the king.

"The president remains very concerned that he should pay his respects to His Majesty the king. He is also very interested to hear and understand the concerns of His Majesty, so that he and the ANC can do what is possible to address these concerns," Mbeki said.

He requested Buthelezi to use his “good offices” to communicate the ANC’s regret to Zwelithini and assure him of Mandela’s continuing wish to meet him.

The postponement of the long-awaited meeting — Mandela’s first with Zwelithini since his release from prison four years ago — coincided with new moves by President de Klerk to woo Buthelezi into a constitutional settlement.

Speaking during his election roadshow in the PWV yesterday, de Klerk revealed he had
Buthelezi beats the drum ever harder

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Ulundi — About 100 km from the KwaZulu capital, a solitary National Party election poster, bearing President de Klerk's face, hangs crookedly on a telephone pole alongside the main road.

It appears to be the only physical evidence anywhere near Ulundi that the country's first ever nonracial election is only weeks away. At first glance it seems to be business as usual when you arrive in the tiny, dusty capital deep in rural KwaZulu.

At the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, however, it became evident yesterday that emotions are extremely high and the election is foremost in many minds. Young men in skins and bearing shields spelt out the names "Mandela" and "De Klerk" as they stamped their feet and chanted their songs outside the building, encouraged by ululating women.

Incongruously they were led by a man in a suit and tie, carrying a spear and shield.

Inside the circular Assembly building, KwaZulu Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi opened this year's sitting — surely the last ever of this administration — with probably his toughest speech yet. He indicated that the election date would have to be switched if the IFP was to take part.

President de Klerk was accused of "double-crossing and deceit" in his handling of negotiations. The Government had betrayed KwaZulu, he added.

Buthelezi warned that the conflict between the ANC and IFP had for some time been in danger of being turned into a conflict which could only be ended in a fight right to the finish. The Government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was pushing the conflict to a point of no return.

Most chilling of all was his prediction that "racist or Bophuthatswana-type action" against those opposing the elections would "spawn a struggle for liberation from ANC-National Party oppression which will have no parallel in Africa."

Leaving the building it was difficult to escape the conclusion that a line had been crossed; that KwaZulu was heading almost certainly for a brutal explosion. Only the faintest glimmer of hope remains.
ANC-IFP tensions at all-time high

Presented Buthelezi with yet another proposal which could lead to "a form of participation" by the IFP in the election. However, Government sources - including Public Enterprises Minister Dr Denis de Villiers - warned it was now almost impossible to accommodate this. Buthelezi warned yesterday that the Government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was "rapidly pushing the conflict to a point of no return".

Addressing the opening of this year's sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly - probably the last ever - he said that if this point was passed, democracy and peace would be reached only after "a fight to the finish".

Buthelezi warned that the deployment of troops in KwaZulu could lead to "a cauldron in the region".

Accusing "agitators" of attempting a Bophuthatswana-style destabilisation of the KwaZulu government, Buthelezi moved swiftly to reassure the territory's civil servants that their jobs and pensions were safe.

He appeared to suggest the ANC was behind the plan. There have been reports recently of concern among KwaZulu civil servants over job security and their pensions.

In another development, Zulu king yesterday said he would not encourage his people to vote in next month's election "under the current constitution", but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott.

(47 Sud St, Johannesburg)
Bop over this won't happen in Kwazulu

In his piece titled "Why this will not happen in Wakasulu," Zwane Ziyambo calls for an end to corruption in the province. He argues that the current situation is unacceptable and that drastic action is needed to address the issues.

Ziyambo highlights that corruption is not just a problem in Kwazulu, but a nationwide issue. He suggests that the government must take a tough stance against corruption and that everyone, from the top to the bottom, must be held accountable.

The author also emphasizes the importance of transparency and accountability in the management of public funds. He believes that this will help to build trust between the government and its citizens.

Ziyambo further suggests that the media should play a more active role in shining a light on corruption and that citizens should be encouraged to report any instances of wrongdoing.

Overall, the piece calls for a strong and united effort to tackle corruption in Kwazulu and to ensure that the province thrives under honest, transparent leadership.
Deontant 'freedom by Zulu king

KwaZulu declared an independent kingdom

MARTIN CHALLENGER, Political Stff

DURBAN. — Zulu paramount King Goodwill Zwelethini today carried out his threat and proclaimed a sovereign kingdom in KwaZulu.

The king addressed several thousand people in Ulundi who had gathered to listen to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Pangs about Mr Mandela’s safety prompted the ANC to postpone the meeting.

King Goodwill said: “I call on you, my father’s people, and the Zulu nation to bring to reality the realisation of our dream. The call for our freedom can no longer be delayed. Freedom is never granted; sovereignty is never granted.

“Either it exists and is recognised, or it does not exist. We the Zulu nation convene today on the battle ground which subjected the freedom of our forefathers. We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it at all costs.

“I, King Goodwill Zwelethini, salute today my historical role and responsibility to declare my commitment to the freedom and sovereignty of the Zulu nation and to assert the sovereignty of my father’s people over their ancestral territory.

“I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty.

“The road ahead is not going to be an easy one, but I know that you, my father’s people and the Zulu nation will meet with courage, determination and pride the challenge that history has put on all of us,” King Goodwill said.

His dynamic move comes in the wake of the withdrawal of the Inkatha Freedom Party from the multi-party talks. They have rejected the idea of a Homeland/Franchise Combination.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned as far back as October that ascension was an option for KwaZulu.

“King Goodwill said he was sorry Mr Mandela did not come to Ulundi today. He scoffed at assassination scares.”

He said he wanted to know from Mr Mandela: “Why is it that it comes so naturally to so many spokesmen of the ANC to insult me?”

Of discussions with President de Klerk, King Goodwill said: “Mr De Klerk had rejected the idea of helping him restore the Kingdom of the Zulu. Instead at their meeting on February 22, Mr De Klerk made it clear that if my people took a stand against participation in the election because he had failed to do something about the issue of the monarchy and the Kingdom of KwaZulu, he would send security forces into KwaZulu Natal.”

ON THE CHARGE: An action study of all-rounder Brian McMillan, on his way to his half-century for South Africa on the second day of the second cricket test against Australia at Newlands today.

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
Thousands of Zulu subjects are expected to mass in Ulundi today even though the long-awaited meeting between King Goodwill Zwelithini and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has been cancelled.

Meanwhile, marquees were erected outside the traditional Assembly buildings in preparation for what was expected to be the final session of the homeland’s parliament yesterday — which will almost certainly cease to exist after the April poll.

Observers said KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was yesterday not likely to drop any bombshell announcements about contesting elections as the Independent Electoral Commission had made it clear that it was too late to register and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) chairman Dr Frank Malalose said on Wednesday that his party would not contest the April poll.

Buthelezi is known to follow his opening speech with an address stretching over days — and which last year earned an entry in the Guinness Book of Records for its length.

On the whole, a free and fair election looks like an impossible dream for thousands of black people in Natal, trapped in a never-ending nightmare of blood.

Violent monitors and other analysts say political storms clouds are building fast before polling next month.

They fear an upsurge of killing and intimidation that will make a free vote impossible over large parts of the province, where 25 percent of all South Africans live.

Election boycott

More than 10 000 people have died in 10 years of warfare in Natal between Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party and Mandela’s African National Congress. An Inkatha election boycott will make things worse, regional experts say.

The aborted meeting between Mandela and the Zulu monarch would have been in the wake of the toppling of the Bophuthatswana government — precipitated by a civil servants’ strike. The KwaZulu government has, however, assured its 84 000 civil servants that they will be absorbed into a new administration and their salaries and pensions are secure, whether or not the ruling IFP contests elections.

It is the major reason for avoiding a repetition of the Bophuthatswana in KwaZulu that the summit would focus on reaching an acceptable solution to the log jam. But important is that the ANC leader believes it is Zwelithini who can sway a decision for the best.

Inkatha is refusing to take part in the April 26-28 poll, which is expected to produce an ANC-dominated government, unless its demands for virtual regional autonomy are met and is advocating international mediation.

Behind the smiles in Ulundi today the Zulu nation remains divided by a never-ending nightmare in blood while prospects for a free and fair election diminish, write Themba Molefe and Sapa: 107

Sworn affidavit

A concerned Inkatha official, who cannot be named for fear of reprisal, told a human rights group in a sworn affidavit that one powerful chief had told a clan gathering “there will be no voting in KwaZulu” — the Zulu homeland created by apartheid and ruled by Buthelezi. He added that Inkatha loyalists would be given guns “to be used against people who vote.”

The Inkatha Institute’s Woods said ANC thugs mark wavers’ doors with ink blots and stoll down streets rattling matchboxes in a sinister reminder of a favoured method of dispatching political enemies with burning tyres around their necks.

A sad-eyed woman at a hospital in Natal’s hauntingly lovely but hellish “killing fields” says Inkatha warriors killed her 14-year-old son two nights earlier, sliced off the top of his head and scooped out his brains. A priest says similar tales are recounted by many refugees. Mythology has it that vital parts of youths and enemies impart strength to their killers.

Violence monitors say they have reports of white neo-Nazis training Inkatha fighters on farms and equipping them with weapons that are flooding into the province by sea and road.

The ANC, which poll show is followed by at least half the Zulu people, has vowed to resist any attempt to deny blacks their first vote.

Report by T. Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Johannesburg.

Johannesburg and Rodney Pinder, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.
King will not call a boycott

ULUNDI - Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini said he would not encourage his people to vote in the April election under the current constitution, but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott.

He said it was "foolishness" to believe there could be a free and fair election in KwaZulu "when the election is being foisted on people without their approval". Stopping short of calling for a boycott, he said: "I will not encourage my people to enter the elections, enter the polling booths and destroy the kingdom." - Sapa
Tension high as king urges UDI

CHRIS WHITFIELD and VENILLA YOGANATHAN
ULUNDI — Clouds of confrontation have begun to gather over KwaZulu with King Goodwill Zwelithini suggesting yesterday that the region is on the point of a unilateral declaration of independence.

It is evident that the atmosphere in the territory is extremely tense, and addresses by leaders have taken an increasingly belligerent tone in recent days.

Speaking here yesterday at the imbizo — gathering of the king’s subjects — which was to have been addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the Zulu king also urged Zulus to defend their freedom and sovereignty “at all costs”.

He added that such sovereignty would be denied by an election under the interim Constitution.

Meanwhile, the ANC announced that it would embark on rolling mass action to prove to the world that it had the majority support of Zulus in Natal, ANC spokesman Dumisane Makhyane said yesterday.

Reacting to Zwelithini’s proclamation, Makhyane said: “We will organise events and marches that will clearly show that Zulus want to take part in the election.

“We warn everybody that our people, especially Zulus, are sick and tired of people abusing their history and their title.

“If the king is used by any political party to retain an apartheid structure such as the KwaZulu bantustan, then it is a sad day for the Zulu kingdom, because it will precipitate the demise of the kingdom,” he said.

Makhyane also warned that if the king decided to secede KwaZulu-Natal from the rest of the country, a mass uprising against such a decree would be sparked.

He said while the ANC did not believe in ethnicity, it might become important for the organisation to prove that Zulus wanted to take part in the election and were nature enough to do so.

After the rally, volleys of gunshots were heard through Ulundi as the crowd dispersed. The firing was apparently directed into the air by what an Inkatha Freedom Party official described as civilians armed with AK-47s and other arms. One youth was apparently wounded in the hand.

Mandela has cancelled his appearance at an ANC festival at the University of Zululand in Empangeni today following assassination threats.

IFP Empangeni leader Mizi Blessed Gwala, speaking at the imbizo, had called on the crowd to attend the festival. The king — whom KwaZulu officials claimed was offended by Mandela’s absence — said he hoped there was no substance in the assassination allegation. “It would be rank foolishness for anyone to attempt to do such a thing. A thing like that would literally burn this country to...
ULUNDI. — The ANC has threatened mass action in KwaZulu following King Goodwill Zwelethini’s decision to declare a sovereign kingdom.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday assured King Goodwill of the support of more than eight million Zulus for his decision.

Chief Buthelezi was addressing more than 10,000 people here.

But the ANC said it would embark on “rolling mass action” to prove it has the support of most Zulus in Natal.

ANC spokesman Mr Dumisane Makhaye said: “We will organise events and marches that clearly show that Zulus want to take part in the elections.”

Mr Makhaye also warned that should the king decide to secede he would spark a mass uprising.

Earlier King Goodwill proclaimed: “KwaZulu a sovereign kingdom and called on all his subjects to defend it “at all costs”.

A KwaZulu government source said he thought the declaration was a hint that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly may promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal at its present sitting.

Chief Buthelezi said the king would not have had to declare a sovereign kingdom if multi-party negotiations had delivered a federal dispensation.

In his address outside the assembly building, King Goodwill said: “I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfill their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty against anyone in Southern Africa who dares to challenge it.”

He said elections under the present constitution would deny the Zulu nation its claim to sovereignty and self-determination.

He alleged that President F W de Klerk’s “contingency plans” for the Natal/KwaZulu region entailed the deployment of security forces “to clamp down on my people should they choose not to participate in the elections.”

He said recent discussions between himself and Mr de Klerk had made little progress. The SA government had denied sovereignty to the Zulu nation.

He alleged Mr de Klerk had threatened to deploy his security forces if Zulus did not vote in the April poll.

“I protest for the betrayals that the Zulu nation has suffered from President De Klerk again and again.”

Natal Democratic Party leader Mr Roger Burrows said secession by KwaZulu was unattainable, unfeasible and unjustified. — Own Correspondent, Sapa
Chief accused of poll threat

JOHANNESBURG. — A Zulu chief stands accused of threatening death to anyone who dares to vote in KwaZulu in defiance of an Inkatha election boycott, human rights monitors say.

An sworn affidavit by an Inkatha member who says he was disturbed by the chief's behaviour, has been handed to the Independent Electoral Commission for investigation.

The affidavit alleges Chief Calalahkulo Khawula, deputy IFP floor manager in the KwaZulu parliament, told a meeting of Inkatha followers in Port Shepstone on February 11: "There will be no voting in KwaZulu."

He promised some Inkatha members "will be given firearms to be used against people who will vote," declared the statement by the party member, who said he attended the meeting.

In addition, Chief Khawula said no taxi or buses would run in the region during the April 26 to 29 period.

Chief Khawula could not be reached for comment. Inkatha spokesman Mr Ziba Jiyani dismissed the allegations as lies. — Sapa-Reuters
ashes, I hope that is no more than a scare story," he said.

However, the king was blunt in his attack on the ANC and the Government. He said the holding of an election under the 1993 Constitution "is an immediate denial of our claim for sovereignty and self-determination".

Although he stopped short of a call to arms, the king's comments appear to amount to a warning the election should be rescheduled. In a hardline speech he also said that "we are today proclaiming before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our government will to defend it at all cost."

A KwaZulu government source said that although that declaration had no legal force, he saw it as a hint that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly may promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal during its present sitting.

Turning to his demand for sovereignty, for Natal/KwaZulu, Zwelihle said: "The Zulu nation is now left with the responsibility of finding the strength and the resources to bring about the restoration of our kingdom and to achieve our national self-determination in a free and independent country."

On Thursday, Buthelezi had warned that moving troops into the region could spark conflict. Yesterday Buthelezi, talking to journalists, said he was not optimistic over a new initiative to bring the IFP into elections.

(Star, 1918942)
Confusion, fear at Zulu king’s sovereignty call

By RYAN CRESSWELL

STATEMENTS by King Goodwill Zwelithini regarding Zulu sovereignty have triggered confusion and alarm in Natal — and brought threats of war from the ANC.

On Friday, in a prepared speech, the king said: "We, the Zulu nation, convene today on the battleground which subjugated the freedom of our forefathers. We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it at all costs."

Later in his speech he said: "I call on all Zulus to fulfill their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty against anyone in South Africa who dares to challenge it."

Yesterday, KwaZulu spokesman T.C Memela said the king "claimed sovereignty" over the area which used to be controlled by the Zulus last century but did not "declare independence."

"He was saying that KwaZulu has powers which cannot be denied. It was a statement of intent indicating that he is prepared to carry on with the kingdom of KwaZulu."

"The exact extent of the sovereignty he was talking about will only become clear...once the issue has moved through formal channels," Mr. Memela said.

Although the statements are open to interpretation, they brought strong reactions from ANC leaders in Natal who said KwaZulu independence would be "suppressed."

Mr Dumisane Makhyane, ANC southern Natal spokesman, said any Unilateral Declaration of Independence "would have to be suppressed by the people, violently if necessary."

"If it means war, we will go to war," said Mr Makhyane.

ANC Natal Midlands spokesman Dr Blades Nzimande said the party would hold a provincial meeting to discuss strategies if sovereignty was declared.

"We will bring Natal to a standstill if we have to," Dr Nzimande said.

The Organisation of African Unity ad-hoc committee said attempts by the king to declare a sovereign Zulu state pose a serious threat to peace and stability.

The committee called on the South African government and all political leaders to safeguard the "unity and territorial integrity of South Africa."

Meanwhile, the Sonke cultural festival, which was to have been addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, ended yesterday without violence at Empangeni, Natal.

"Everything is quiet and people have left the stadium. There is no trouble," said a security officer at the University of Zululand.

The festival was to have been the highlight of Mr Mandela’s trip to Natal this week, but the tense security situation in northern Natal forced the ANC leader to cancel the final leg of his Natal tour.
Buthelezi faces more flak

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

EVIDENCE of collusion between Inkatha officials and senior SAP members in providing arms for armed war, and cover-ups in KwaZulu police atrocities, will precipitate a head-to-head confrontation between the Transitional Executive Council and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Buthelezi, who is also chief of the KwaZulu police, is advocating a boycott of next month's elections, making it difficult for free polling to be held in Natal.

TEC sources said yesterday it was unlikely the TEC would take action against the KwaZulu police until a task team of international police had given its opinion on the evidence supplied by the Goldstone commission.

The TEC did not want to allow Mr Buthelezi to whip up emotions, sparking further violence, by taking immediate action against the KwaZulu police and administration, said one source.

The TEC would rather wait until pressure had built up against Mr Buthelezi, whose isolation from his former allies would be exacerbated by the role of Inkatha officials and his police in violence.

An intensified voter education programme is set to be introduced in Natal and further political gatherings will be held there to test political tolerance.

Pressure on Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to distance himself from Mr Buthelezi's administration is also likely to increase.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said this week the time had come for the youth and civil service of KwaZulu, and members of Mr Buthelezi's government, to make it clear they were unhappy with his stance on the elections.

"Buthelezi must learn the lesson of Bophuthatswana. The same forces that expressed their dissatisfaction with Mangosuthu are present in KwaZulu," Mr Slovo said.

A planned meeting between King Zwelithini and ANC president Nelson Mandela this week in Umdoni was postponed after Mr Buthelezi insisted it be held in public, and organised a gathering of Zulu impos to take place in front of the venue.

"One suspects he may well have done this to sabotage the meeting," Mr Slovo said.

Sources said Mr Mandela planned to inform the king his livelihood would be guaranteed by a future ANC government.
ANC: ANCs Zwellini, a few after he proclaims Zulu

Sonteru

ANC declares Zwellini a few after he proclaims Zulu.

10/10/2014

ANC delegates Zwellini a few after he proclaims Zulu.
Inkatha rejects latest bid to bring its into election

IFP plans poll protest

Star 21 Aug 94

By Chris Whitfield

The Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected President de Klerk's latest bid to bring it into the election and has instead begun planning a campaign of opposition.

The party's National Executive Committee has decided to go ahead with its election strategy and to contest the election without any agreement with the ANC.

Spokesman Dr. Mzilikazi ka Qabanga said the party had decided to continue with its campaign of opposition and to contest the election without any agreement with the ANC.

He said the party had been urged by President de Klerk to make a decision whether to contest the election before the end of the month.

The party had decided to contest the election as a separate entity and to form its own political party.

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TEC set to issue its own report

KZP to come under intensive scrutiny

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The KwaZulu Police can now expect to come under intensive scrutiny following the release of the Goldstone Third Force report.

The report, made public by President de Klerk and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Friday, contains chilling testimony suggesting the existence of one or more hit squads in the KZP. The report strongly implies that investigations undertaken so far have been wholly inadequate.

The Star understands that, independently, the Transitional Executive Council is due to release a report tomorrow on these alleged hit squads. This report is the result of an investigation by a specially appointed task group which begun its work in December.

The Goldstone Commission’s report said there was also evidence indicating the involvement of members of SAP security police in hit squad activities as KZP Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Durr had told the TEC last month.

The judge said he was “unhappy with the apparent lack of progress” and asked the two police officers appointed by Du Preez, to meet him in Johannesburg. One of the police officers, a Captain Scholtz, informed the meeting that he had about 100 dockets relevant to the KZP hit squad investigation.

At about the end of November or beginning of December 1988 it was made clear to both Major van Aswegen and Scholtz by Du Preez that they were not to continue with any further investigations.

Judge Goldstone said in the report that the blocking of the investigation by Du Preez was in direct contradiction with the decision reached at the meeting with De Klerk.

“According to Captain Scholtz there is convincing evidence that elements in the KZP have been and are still involved in hit squad activities in Natal and also in the Transvaal.”

‘Terrorists must be punished’

King William’s Town - The ANC would ensure that those guilty of fomenting violence were brought to book no matter what political positions they held, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Speaking at an ANC rally, he said the Goldstone report had identified senior police officers as having been involved in a campaign of violence and death.

“I am certain that the ANC is going to pursue this matter no matter how high it reaches.

“It doesn’t matter how high people are, it does not matter how big their titles, it doesn’t matter where they are within the politics of South Africa. The terror must be punished.”

Mbeki said the commission’s report gave the lie to the belief that what had been happening in South Africa was black-on-black violence.

“What is Goldstone saying? It’s not black-on-black violence. It’s a police who are speeding up, people who have been arrested, and the state which has been killing our people, who want to maintain apartheid (who are responsible).

“It was the violence of the apartheid system against our people. It was a violence carried out over many decades to ensure that our oppression continued,” he said. — Sapa.
ANC-SACP accused of plot against KwaZulu

Political Staff
DURBAN. — Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he has uncovered a plot by the African National Congress and South African Communist Party to bring down the KwaZulu government through mass action and destabilisation of the KwaZulu Civil Service.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has given Mr Justice Richard Goldstone a document, obtained by an informant, allegedly outlining the ANC/SACP plans. The IFP asked Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the plot.

In a statement the IFP said: "The document reveals sinister ANC/SACP plans to secretly orchestrate enabling instability in KwaZulu, leading to Transitional Executive Council and military intervention, while publicly downplaying the actual and direct involvement of the ANC/SACP."

The document confirmed IFP intelligence reports that there were about 2,000 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe deployed in self-defence units around Natal, working with members of the Transkei Defence Force, and several thousand informally trained self-defence unit members.

If implemented, the plans would plunge KwaZulu Natal into full-scale civil war, the IFP warned.

The IFP's informant said the document was "produced by senior members of the SACP/ANC alliance."

Immediate proposals in the document called for people in KwaZulu to create conditions which would lead to military intervention in KwaZulu and the direct involvement of the TEC.

Dr. Buthelezi has publicly disclosed the document and urged that the SADF units that proved themselves in Operation Uthando should be deployed in strategic areas of Natal. The South African Police in Natal "may well prove unreliable in any such TEC initiative" and the SAP/Parks leadership in Natal must be firmly subordinated to the TEC."

Extra Special Taste
Mandela: Talks on KwaZulu productive

Johannesburg — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has said he has held "productive" talks with President De Klerk and officials of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) on the volatile situation in Natal.

The IEC said it would meet separately in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, with Zulu leaders, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini, who proclaimed Natal's "sovereignty" last week.

"It was a very productive meeting," Mr Mandela said of his talks with President De Klerk and the IEC. "We see eye-to-eye on all major national issues."

The ANC president was addressing a crowd of 60,000 gathered at Sharpeville, south of Johannesburg, to mark the 34th anniversary of the police shooting of 69 black demonstrators.

The talks focused on how to achieve a free and fair election on April 26 to 28 in the Zulu stronghold of Natal in the face of opposition to the vote by King Goodwill and the IFP, Mr Mandela said.

"Progress was made in the "frank and cordial" talks," the IEC said in a separate statement, and "special consideration was given to the Natal-KwaZulu area."

King Goodwill's announcement and Chief Buthelezi's repeated threats to resist the vote have raised concern over the future of the election in the region. — Sapa-AFP.
The struggle for "freedom" may just have begun for Inkatha Freedom Party-controlled KwaZulu.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, emphasised that the resistance of "the people" was aimed at achieving the total liberation of blacks. 

"My policy has always been to exercise the right to self-determination within the context of a federal South Africa."

He said he had done so through the Buthelezi Commission and KwaZulu-Natal Indaba in which he proposed alternatives to achieving an inclusive state and constitutional settlement for the country.

"At the Multiparty Negotiating Council we failed to deliver that. The king (King Goodwill Zwelithini Bhekuzulu) stands up to say ... our people have been driven through the barrel of the gun to accept the Union (of South Africa in 1910), now his right to protect the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is being questioned. My colleagues and I have now failed to deliver a federal state to him."

"I can understand His Majesty's anxiety. He has made it clear to State President FW de Klerk that he wanted this issue sorted out before the election, but that has been ignored and this problem is going on and on. Clearly, if I put myself in his shoes, I can understand why he wants to shake someone into some kind of action to try and meet his concerns."

"From the very beginning I stayed out of Codesa because they wanted the king out. I remained outside as a protest because I could not ignore a section of my people left out of the process."

Buthelezi said he felt betrayed in his pursuit for the liberation of blacks by people who persistently refused to listen to him and take heed of his contribution to ending the constitutional logjam in the country.

"I am a little down on this because I have been too open and honest. However, my politics has always been in the context of one South Africa, but at the same time at the Kempton Park talks even our constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal was not tabled. A draft constitution we presented for a federal South Africa was never even considered for tabling."

"There was a lot of boasting from certain quarters that we had been left out and missed the train," Buthelezi said.

On whether the KwaZulu government wanted to secede, Buthelezi said: "Secession has never been one of our options. If it is forced on my people I will be very sad because we, the subjects of the king, with other black and white people, are entitled to the spoils of the sweat of their brows which produces the wonderful economy of this country.

The resolve of the Zulu people to exercise their right to self-determination has never been stronger, says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Political correspondent Themba Molefe reports on an interview with the IFP leader:

"I wouldn't want to be a distant cousin. "The collusion at the World Trade Centre is open for anyone to see. I mean, I am not responsible for how things have gone in the past and no longer in control of what is going on now (with the rejection of the present transitional make-up and April poll)."

What about Buthelezi as one of the leaders on whose shoulders rests the hope for peace and the attainment of lasting democracy?

He said: "That's why there is now going to be international mediation which is a joint effort of the IFP and African National Congress. Through that we might get an all-inclusive solution."

Buthelezi also bemoans what he calls parallelism in multiparty negotiations when the process moves with desperate speed even though there are those left outside.

What is the way forward then, for the IFP-KwaZulu government — pre and post-April 27?

"I really don't know what will happen but I suppose the writers of the present constitution will divide KwaZulu among themselves, without us."

"There is nothing traumatic about that. For 80 years we had been ruled by other people by force. The same pattern is emerging. Mr de Klerk says he has contingency plans. The ANC on the other hand, has big plans to destabilise and smash us..."

"We, however, do not have any contingency plans but to resist as black people and in a nonviolent way to achieve our freedom as those who win in April will take over our country, including the kingdom of KwaZulu."
INkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he could not imagine the April 27 election being conducted smoothly without the participation of KwaZulu’s people.

Addressing the sixth session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Buthelezi said: “I cannot see that a large number of the people of KwaZulu-Natal will be willing participants in the election.”

He accused the Government and the African National Congress of using the power of the State to shake the country and seize power at the polls.

“They have the laws which were made to assist them, and the security forces which they are reconstituting to apply the laws in their favour,” he said.

He said KwaZulu took a stand against the Interim Constitution because its grassroot constituency had demanded it.

**Concern**

“There is a vast Zulu concern about the future governance of KwaZulu-Natal, which they see as the kingdom of KwaZulu.

“I warn that should the ANC attempt to destabilise the KwaZulu government, as it destabilised Bophuthatswana and has threatened destabilisation against the Ciskei, a conflict of awesome proportions will be unleashed to the tragic detriment of South Africa and the democratic process.”

Buthelezi said his rejection of the Interim Constitution, the Transitional Executive Council and other transitional mechanisms carried with it a powerful conviction that Zulus would not be robbed of their right to self-determination. — Sapa.
The Inkhata Freedom Party Constitution for Independent State within South Africa

By Thomas Mollele

Political Correspondent

Tuesday March 22 1994 SOWETAN
The constitution
KwaZulu adopted

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

On December 1, 1992, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly adopted a constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal after concluding that negotiations for a democratic order in South Africa were being delayed.

Although this was seen as opting for secession as being more confederalist than federalist, the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party insisted the state would be within a federal Republic of South Africa.

It further resolved that the new constitution would have to be ratified and empowered by the South African Government and further proposed that it be forwarded for approval to the Joint Executive Authority and be put to a referendum.

These are the provisions of the constitution for the state of KwaZulu-Natal which reflect the IFP’s outlook:

- Fundamental Principles: It states that all political power is inherent in the people and that government shall respect and encourage the right of the people to organise and regulate their interests autonomously.
- Relationship with the (federal) Republic of South Africa: The state will be a sovereign member of and recognise its obligations towards South Africa and other “member states” of the federation.

Sovereignty of the state

“The sovereignty of the state of KwaZulu-Natal as asserted under this constitution is indivisible, inalienable and untransferable”.
- Territory: The KwaZulu-Natal government will negotiate with the Government and other states in federal South Africa to increase its territory so as “to include areas which are historically, culturally and socio-economically strictly connected to KwaZulu-Natal”. This will include territorial waters.
- State’s Unity: The state and regions will promote decentralisation of their powers and delegation to local government.
- Citizenship: All South African citizens residing in Natal or KwaZulu will be citizens of the state.

Legally domiciled

The KwaZulu-Natal general assembly will grant citizenship in special cases, including those legally domiciled in the area for longer than six months.
- Language: Official languages will be English, Zulu and Afrikaans.
- Federal law: All statutes and regulations adopted by South Africa and regional law will be effective in the state as long as they are consistent with its constitution.
- Traditional and customary law: The state of KwaZulu-Natal will recognise and protect such laws which are consistent with the constitution.
- Fundamental rights: These rights will be protected both in their individual and collective exercise.
- Freedom of communication and media: All are promised freedom of expression and all forms of censorship will be prohibited.

“The media have the duty to rectify all erroneous information … which damages the reputation of others.” Freedom of religion is guaranteed.
- Economy: Free enterprise — The state will recognise and protect the right to freedom of economic initiative and help small businesses and provide other incentives to encourage access to economic opportunities.
- Private property: The right to private property ownership is guaranteed. However, limitations on the use of private property may be imposed to satisfy social, environmental and collective needs.

The right to add up to one’s own property by contract or inheritance will be protected subject to taxation.
- Public enterprise: No enterprise will be acquired by the state or regions either as a monopoly or as a free competition enterprise.

All monopolies, practices and agreements restraining trade and free market competition will be prohibited.
- Agriculture: The state will encourage agriculture, the socially just and responsible use, distribution of land and access of citizens to land ownership.
- Right to education: The law will determine the period and minimum education requirements for compulsory education. The state will support aspirations to higher education by means of scholarships and promote the highest standards in excellence.

Equal access to education

Both private and public schools will ensure open and equal access to educational opportunities. Parents will be entitled to participate in the administration of schools.
- Right to work: Everyone will have the right to access any job opportunity for which he or she is qualified. The state will promote the employment of its citizens and no one’s job will be terminated for political reasons or constitutionally protected rights.

All workers will be entitled to social security, pensions, invalidity and unemployment benefits as determined by law.

Freedom of assembly is guaranteed.

(T Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg.)
TEC report links Inkatha to hit squads

PRETORIA — KwaZulu Police members, Inkatha Freedom Party office bearers and government officials within Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office were implicated in hit squad activities, says a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) task group report.

After receiving the report yesterday, the TEC mandated its management committee last night to "take whatever steps may be necessary" to ensure free and fair elections in Natal/KwaZulu.

The task group, investigating hit squad activity in Natal, recommended that the KwaZulu government's authority to run its own police force be revoked.

In its preliminary report to the TEC the group said hit squad activity in the province, particularly in the KwaZulu Police's area of jurisdiction, was "rife".

"Several hit squads" were operational and deaths caused by them represented a "significant proportion" of those killed in political violence in the region. Immediate steps were necessary "to curb this activity which has now reached crisis proportions."

The report said documents at Buthelezi's office should be examined, all relevant dockets in the hands of the KwaZulu Police should be handed over to an independent investigation team and a senior SAP detective and international observer should be placed at each KwaZulu Police station.

Investigations indicated the KwaZulu Police was implicated in hit squad activity in several areas throughout the North Coast, in the greater Durban area and in the Midlands, the report said.

The evidence and information in some cases suggested that "resources or directives appear to emanate from certain officials in Umhlanga, allegedly located at the IFP head office and at the Department of the Chief Minister."

KwaZulu

Gordhan also said a political decision had to be taken to stop senior members of the SAP from interfering in the duties of local SAP officials. An example was the weekend occupation of a KwaMashu stadium by "the Zulus," which prevented the ANC from holding a rally there.

He said local SAP members "secured" the stadium on Friday when they locked the gates and put up razor wire, only to be instructed later by a senior policeman to withdraw the security measures.

The full force of the TEC plan for KwaZulu was expected to be officially unveiled only once the "political process" initiated by the IEC had been completed, Gordhan said. "A series of TEC initiated steps will, however, have to start as soon as possible," he said, referring to today's TEC meeting.

The TEC is due to release a report today on alleged hit squads in KwaZulu. The report is the result of an investigation by a TEC task group appointed in December.

Gordhan said he expected the report to "point fingers" at the KwaZulu government, which controls the KwaZulu Police.

Report by D Greyer, Tsh. 11 Degree St. Job.
in KwaZulu
take control
TEC bid to

Kriegler seeks election pledges

THE Pretoria Executive Council

From Page 1
ANC vows mass action campaign in KwaZulu Natal

The ANC and the National Party, together with other groups at the multiparty talks, have spent months in talks aimed at building a constitutional house in which everyone can live. But, argues Richard Dowden, they may have to add a door by which groups wishing to leave can do so.

Zulu call strikes Africa chord

Star 23/3/94

King Goodwill... may be more in touch than not.

Zaire, Kenya, and Angola, to have produced corrupt tyrants that served self-purporting "allies".

One-party states went out, and within four years 34 out of 51 states in sub-Saharan Africa had introduced multiparty systems. But elections are underdone major political change. Three of those that did not change were already undergoing multiparty democracies.

This出局 of democracy at least rid the continent of some tyrants, and even the tyrants who survived had to submit to

It has also allowed Africans to say what they felt and, criticize their governments. Political prisoners were freed and a flood of independent newspapers appeared in Malawi, Ghana, Zambia and Mozambique, among others. These elections were almost all peaceful and produced turnouts that often reached more than 60 percent.

Zulu nationalism may be backward and cowardly looking, but it is a common theme in Africa these days, and it would be a rash politician who tried to take it on by force and plunged ahead with an election which marginalized people with that view. It may even be necessary to offer regions the option of seceding altogether.

The ANC and the National Party have spent hours in political argy-bargy, trying to build a house in which everyone can live, but they may have to add a door by which the continent, in its current state, is already underdone major political change. Three of those that did not change were already undergoing multiparty democracies.

This出局 of democracy at least rid the continent of some tyrants, and even the tyrants who survived had to submit to

In Zaire, the former president, Mobutu Sese Seko, who had been in power for 30 years, was overthrown and a multiparty government was set up. In Kenya, the former president, Daniel arap Moi, was overthrown and a multiparty government was set up. In Tanzania, the former president, Julius Nyerere, was overthrown and a multiparty government was set up.

The ANC has also faced opposition from the IFP, a nationalist party that seeks to retain the Zulu language and culture as the official language of the country. The IFP has been accused of being a rural-based movement that seeks to retain the traditional way of life of the Zulu people.

The ANC has also faced opposition from the IFP, a nationalist party that seeks to retain the Zulu language and culture as the official language of the country. The IFP has been accused of being a rural-based movement that seeks to retain the traditional way of life of the Zulu people.
Ulundi crisis deepens

De Klerk said contingency plans were in place if violence erupted in KwaZulu, but dismissed suggestions that there was a plan to destabilise the region.

KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has warned that if the contingency plans amount to armed action against those opposing the election it would spawn a "struggle for liberation" with no parallel in Africa.

Last night it was reported from Durban that hundreds of residents from townships in the area were fleeing their homes. Fighting in the tense KwaMashu township was reported to be spreading to neighbouring areas.

Yesterday Cosatu claimed in a statement that the "low-intensity civil war in Natal has flared up into an open war of terror against the democratic forces".

"Plans"

Earlier yesterday the IFP asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate alleged ANC plans to make KwaZulu ungovernable and to prepare the territory for South African military intervention.

On Monday Buthelezi said: "What was planned for Bophuthatswana is now being planned for KwaZulu."

He was referring to "plans" to disrupt the KwaZulu civil service. The Ulundi administration has reassured people of job and pension security.

However, teachers in Durban's Umzimkulu township are expected to march today to demand that their pensions be paid out. Another protest is being planned for tomorrow.

The tension in Ulundi increased yesterday as KwaZulu/Natal appeared set for a sharp rise in the vicious strife sweeping the region.

Developments suggesting that the simmering crisis in the province could be coming to a head include:

» A decision by the Transitional Executive Council to get tough on KwaZulu and take steps — in tandem with the Independent Electoral Commission — to ensure that a free and fair election takes place in the region. (10)

» More political violence in townships across the province. An estimated 60 people have died since Friday.

» A blunt comment by President de Klerk that the "point of no return" had been reached with the IFP, apparently ruling out any chance of its participation in the election.

» Cosatu's announcement of KwaZulu civil service protests to demand that their pensions be paid out.

» The IFP's release of the Goldstone Commission of a document it claims reveals an ANC/SACP plot to destabilise the province.

To Page 3
Revoke KwaZulu
Police Authority

ANC's mass action to go ahead!
NEWS Hundreds flee Natal homes ● Kriegler mission described as ‘make or break move’

TEC acts on Natal

By Mathatha Tseru
Political Editor

The days of power may be numbered for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The management committee of the Transitional Executive Council was mandated yesterday to take whatever steps necessary to ensure free and fair elections in Natal.

The TEC passed the resolution after being presented with a report alleging KwaZulu government and KwaZulu Police complicity in hit squad activity.

The report, compiled by attorneys Pink Haysom and Howard Varney and the SAP’s Col Ivor Human, recommended the KZP be brought under South African Police jurisdiction ahead of the April 27 election.

Although the TEC decided on no specific or immediate steps, the report’s conclusions will help inform management committee members of the steps believed to be necessary to ensure a free and fair election in Natal.

Meanwhile, President FW de Klerk, speaking during his election campaign in Port Elizabeth, said the government has an effective contingency plan in place to counter any further violence in Natal.

Without wanting to pre-empt a meeting tomorrow between EEC chairperson Mr Justice Johan Kriegler, the IFP and King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr De Klerk said it was up to responsible leaders to control their supporters so that free political process in the region can be guaranteed.

Send troops to Natal

This confirms information from Government sources who told Sowetan yesterday that a decision had been taken to send troops to Natal to quell the rising tide of unrest there. Buthelezi’s fate now hangs on the report that Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler brings back from his visit to the territorial today.

A Government source described the Kriegler mission as a make-or-break move: “The situation in Natal is very grave and unless defused immediately, it may scuttle everything that so many people have worked so hard for.”

Buthelezi, the source said, could only save himself by allowing free and fair election campaigns in KwaZulu through calling off the campaign that is blocking election rallies of the African National Congress. This is thought unlikely, as Buthelezi has said he has no control over the people concerned.

Kriegler will today meet Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini and later address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in what is seen as a last-ditch attempt to stop all-out war in Natal.

The sources said Kriegler was mandated by State President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela on Monday to give Buthelezi a last option before the Transitional Executive Council and the Government take “draconian action”, possibly an army takeover.
Jeers in KwaZulu as fair poll urged

By Patrick Laurence

Umgabasa — Mr Justice Johann Krieger, the chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), was repeatedly jeered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday when he appealed for co-operation in the task of making a free and fair election possible.

He had barely begun his reply to speeches by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini when Legislative Assembly members broke out in derisive laughter and jeers.

Buthelezi had to intervene and appeal to the members to give Krieger a fair hearing. His intervention helped for a while only.

Earlier Buthelezi had offered the IEC conditional cooperation or, from a different perspective, partial resistance.

Government school buildings would be made available but not community school buildings. Similarly, government buildings would be made available provided they were not needed for "essential services".

In a statement which drew thunderous applause, Buthelezi set the conditions for cooperation from civil servants.

Those who wished to volun-

Krieger jeered in KwaZulu Assembly

From Page 1

Peer to man polling stations would be allowed to do so, provided that they were not involved in "essential services", the danger to them was spelt out and they were made aware that the KwaZulu government would not accept any liability for anything that happened to them.

In his speech Zwelithini said, after restating his determination to establish a sovereign Zulu kingdom: "I cannot advise my people that the correct thing for them to do is to vote in the forthcoming election."

His statement was loudly applauded.

The ANC accused Buthelezi yesterday of trying to plunge KwaZulu/Natal into a bloodbath, and said he had "to be stopped in his tracks", Katzen Nyatsumba reports.

Addressing a press briefing in Johannesburg, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Hadebe and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said it was now time the TEC took decisive action to ensure free political activity in the province.

This, said Hadebe, would have to include a TEC/SAC Government takeover of the administration of the KwaZulu government.

The public display of dangerous arms at Zwelithini's meeting in Ulundi last week indicated clearly that there was a breakdown of law and order in the homeland.

Zuma said that although the ANC did not want to prescribe to the TEC, action which could be taken could include the cutting off of funds to Buthelezi's government.

The two leaders confirmed they would lead a protest march to the C.R. Swart Police Station in Durban tomorrow to demand a climate of free political activity in KwaZulu/Natal.

Hadebe said that would mark the beginning of the ANC's rolling mass action to show that the overwhelming majority of Zulus wanted to vote in next month's election.
Ciskei turmoil stops FW visit; violence flares in KwaZulu

As violence flared in KwaZulu and Natal, the turmoil in Ciskei kept President De Klerk from visiting the homeland during an election sweep through the Border area.

His tour was partially successful, drawing 4 500 supporters in East London, King William's Town and Queenstown.

But at Queenstown about 6 000 ANC supporters overwhelmed the NP crowd which numbered only a few hundred.

President De Klerk said it would have been irresponsible of him to have toured Ciskei, even though he was headquartered in Bisho.

The ANC and the Natal Indian Congress's Pravin Gordhan have vehemently denied any knowledge of a plot to destabilise KwaZulu and make it ungovernable so that South Africa would intervene militarily.

Reacting to the IFP's request this week that the Goldstone Commission investigate an alleged ANC-SACP plan to render KwaZulu ungovernable, Mr Gordhan and the ANC said this was an attempt by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party to deflect attention from reports of alleged hijacked activities in KwaZulu.

Mr Gordhan said he had not "had sight of the document" as alleged by IFP central committee member Sizakele Vos, and said the attempt to connect him with the "cocooned document with suspect origins (was) a regrettable but transparent" effort to smear him personally.

Thirty-one prisoners remained on hunger strike at Fort Glamorgan prison in East London despite a decision by the Transitional Executive Council to grant all prisoners the vote in the election.

A spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services, Colonel Barry Eksteen, said 40 prisoners who had embarked on a hunger strike in Cradock had also not suspended their strike.

More than 900 prisoners at Fort Glamorgan went on hunger strike on Tuesday, after responding to a call by the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights for mass action supporting their demand to vote.

Colonel Eksteen was unable to say why the remaining prisoners were still refusing food.

- An IFP organiser in Natal's Ixopo region, Dumisani Khuzwayo, has appeared briefly in the Ixopo Magistrate's Court.

Mr Khuzwayo's appearance was in connection with the massacre of 14 people at Maholhe in the Creighton area in southern Natal last month.

The victims were said to be election canvassers, mainly young people preparing for an ANC voter education programme.

- A Krugersdorp man described in the Rand Daily Mail how he was assaulted by Afrikaner Weerstands beweging members at a bogus roadblock near Randfontein last year.

Abel Sebokodzi was testifying at the trial of seven men who face four charges of murder, six counts of attempted murder, two charges of malicious damage to property, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Four people, including an 11-year-old boy, died in the shooting incident on the Krugersdorp-Venterdorp road on December 12.

- Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa has criticised the call-up of part-time South African Defence Force members for the election and called for the mobilisation of all forces, including those of the TBVC homelands, Umkentso we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The NP would be even smaller proportionately in the new parliament than the Democratic Party was after the 1989 general election, DP national chairman Ken Andrew said last night.

(Compiled by H I Robertson, 125 St George's Mall, Cape Town)
Krieglgr grilled by angry KwaZulu officials

IEC chairman calls for co-operation in poll

ULUNDUL — Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Krieglgr was grilled for four hours by angry KwaZulu government officials opposed to the election, but a number of concessions were made to the IEC.

Judge Krieglgr was repeatedly booted while trying to explain to cabinet ministers and civil servants what the IEC’s mission was and the problems it was facing in KwaZulu.

He was met with roars of disapproval when he invited the KwaZulu government and its people to “join us in making the election work”.

His invitation for KwaZulu to nominate representatives to a liaison committee focusing on elections was also met with rowdy rejection.

He tried to encourage the cabinet to “get on with building the future”, but was drowned out by disapproving cries.

“I thank some of you for your courtesy,” he concluded.

Earlier King Goodwill Zwelithini repeated that he could not recommend that his subjects vote.

Derivative laughter followed when Judge Krieglgr noted that the King had not said “it would be incorrect for his people to vote. He said he could not advise them to vote. Mark those words.”

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was forced to intervene more than once to call for order.

King Goodwill walked out of the chamber while cabinet ministers and senior government officials were putting grievances and questions.

Judge Krieglgr was told that the IEC was sent to KwaZulu by the “ANC-dominated” Transitional Executive Council, and was perceived as illegitimate by the Zulu people.

More than one speaker warned against deploying Defence Force troops against the KwaZulu government, saying Zulus were prepared to lay down their lives for their freedom.

Deputy Education Minister Prince Vincent Zulu expressed concern about events in Bophuthatswana, noting that the topping of Lucas Mangope’s government had followed a visit to the homeland by the IEC.

“Is this another prelude to the destruction of KwaZulu?” he asked.

IPF negotiator Ben Ngubane told the IEC delegation it had “become bedmates with a horrible force” (the TEC).

Although appearing irate at times during the session, Judge Krieglgr told reporters as he left that he was satisfied with some issues while it was necessary for further meetings on others.

On a question whether he was hopeful for elections in KwaZulu, he replied: “I would like to think about that overnight.”

Chief Buthelezi said conditionally agreed to allow the IEC to prepare for the elections.

In terms of the IEC operating in the territory, the KwaZulu cabinet had resolved, among other things that:

• Government buildings would be made available for election purposes on a selective basis. This excluded buildings used for essential services.

• Community based institutions and tribal authority buildings could be used only if those communities or tribal authorities gave their blessing.

• Damage to KwaZulu government property during the election would be the responsibility of the IEC.

• The KwaZulu Police and the SA Police would man polling stations jointly. — Sapa.

(News by C Donkin, 128 West Street, Durban)
Kriegler jeered by KLA

Sowetan Correspondent

Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, was repeatedly jeered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly when he appealed for co-operation to make a free and fair election possible.

He had barely begun his reply to speeches by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini when KLA members broke out in derisive laughter and jeers.

Buthelezi had to intervene and appeal to the members to give Kriegler a fair hearing. His intervention helped for a while only.

In his speech Zwelithini said after restating his determination to establish a sovereign Zulu kingdom: “I cannot advise my people that the correct thing for them to do is to vote in the forthcoming elections.” He was loudly applauded.

Kriegler said the IEC had not received the necessary co-operation in KwaZulu to organise a free and fair election, one in which those who wanted to vote would have the same rights as those who wished to abstain.

Earlier Buthelezi had offered the IEC partial co-operation or, from a different perspective, partial resistance.

| Government school buildings would be made available but not community school buildings.
| Buthelezi was loudly applauded when he set conditions for co-operation from civil servants.
| Those who wished to volunteer to man polling stations would be allowed to do so, provided they were not involved in “essential services”, the danger to them was spelt out and they were made aware that the KwaZulu government would not accept any liability for anything that happened to them.

(47 Sauer St, JHB)
Tension grows

All eyes on KwaZulu document

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

POLITICAL tension continues to build up in Natal this week, on the eve of tomorrow’s launch by the African National Congress of its mass action in the province.

And at the root of the action now is the document that the Inkatha Freedom Party released on Tuesday, alleging that the ANC had devised a plan to destabilise the KwaZulu area in preparation for a seizure of power there à la Bophuthatswana.

The IFP has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the matter, and has also fingered Transitional Executive Council co-chairman and ANC leader Mr Pravin Gordhan as a man who can throw more light on the origins of the document.

The ANC, usually swift to respond to issues, has refused to comment on the authenticity of the document, entitled “Prepare the Anvil for the Coming Hammer: Towards a Programme of Action in Natal”.

The IFP’s argument is that a campaign is being orchestrated by the ANC to destabilise KwaZulu and to make this look like a spontaneous reaction of people fed up with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s rule.

The document, whether genuine or forged, makes interesting reading. Some of the points are:

- “Sufficient consensus now exists within the TEC for using maximum firmness for dealing with threats to a democratic transition. But we must first create conditions, primarily through mass action, heightened public awareness and work amongst KwaZulu civil servants for decisive state intervention in the bantustan.”
- “There exists a need for accelerated implementation of a strategy which has as its objective the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan”.

Proposals made include:

- Parts of Natal should be declared disaster areas.
- Firm subordination of SAP leadership in Natal as they “may well prove unreliable” in TEC actions.
- “Effective presence” of Umkhonto we Sizwe members to counter the training and deployment of over 5000 IFP trained MK members. MK has 2000 members in Natal deployed in “self-defence capacity” while “several thousands informally trained SDU members” are available as well as disposition of the TDF (Transkei Defence Force)."

- The TEC needs to assume payment of salaries of chiefs to remove “an important instrument of special control” from Buthelezi and the IFP.
- "Most critical of all is work amongst the KwaZulu civil service and efforts to win over the Zulu king. In this regard (Jacob) Zuma’s diplomacy should be understood as a means to an end — the destruction of Buthelezi’s political and social base.

Tribal consciousness

“Apart from Zuma’s sympathy for the incarnations and institutions of tribal consciousness, he may confuse the means as an end in itself. Approaches to the king therefore must be carefully considered and assessed and continuously orientated within the purposeful strategic framework of the liberation movement”.

- Civil servants should be persuaded that “job security and their pensions can only be secured by a people’s government and not by tribal despots of Buthelezi’s mould”.
- “Even though the KwaZulu police have functioned as Buthelezi’s private army, members were siding with the liberation movement. In this crisis Buthelezi cannot take the loyalty of the KZP for granted”.
- Combined mass action would produce “a situation of ungovernability”.
- “It is important however for this crunch moment to have an appearance of spontaneity and popular support. Direct ANC involvement must be played down.”
- “Comrades within the TEC have made it clear that in conditions of growing instability or ungovernability, and partial or general uprising, or organised resistance to the imperatives of a new democratic order, that, as in Bop, decisive military steps will be taken.”

So far, the TEC has already asked for action to be taken, a motion that was tabled by Gordhan. What now for KwaZulu?

(Report by Mathatha Tsedu, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)
NATAL

The toughest nut

The past 14 days must have rankled among the loneliest in the political career of KwaZulu's resident chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Not only did his anti-April 27 general election alliance crumble before him, he has also come to believe, with probable justification, that his KwaZulu stronghold is now the primary target for destabilisation, and possibly overthrow in a South African version of the domino effect.

First Ciskei bowed to the pressure and joined the election process, then Bophuthatswana was unceremoniously absorbed into SA when president Lucas Mangope refused to join the party. Now it's make or break for the toughest nut - KwaZulu.

In fact the assault has already begun with Umlazi teachers, members of the African Democratic Teachers' Union and Cosatu members of the civil service threatening chaos unless their demands for pension security and the right to free political activity in KwaZulu are met.

It seems, therefore, less than coincidental that quite apart from letters of reassurance to civil servants from the KwaZulu government, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini declared what was initially interpreted as KwaZulu UDI - though later denied - last Friday.

Trump card

While the good king may have been gazing with ill-disguised envy at the powers enjoyed by his neighbour, Swaziland's King Mswati, his statement was more likely to have been one of several measures taken by Buthelezi (who undoubtedly calls the shots with the king) and the KwaZulu government to bolster the homeland to carry the expected destabilisation onslaught.

Buthelezi justifiably sees Zwelithini as a trump card in retaining influence among the Zulus... a card he's clearly willing to play as often as needs be.

Zwelithini's speech was delivered to Zulus outside the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building at Ulundi, gathered to witness the aborted meeting between the king and ANC president Nelson Mandela. It was undoubtedly a bid to go on the offensive and spread the message that democracy and April elections have no place in KwaZulu... a message underlined by two consecutive weekends in which armed crowds prevented ANC political meetings at townships near Durban.

The initial shock at Zwelithini's statement was rapidly replaced by confusion, as it became clear that the monarch was not talking about secession or unilateral independence. Zwelithini claimed there had been little progress in discussions with President F W de Klerk on the role of the Zulu monarchy in SA, adding that government had denied sovereignty to the Zulu nation and would not restore a sovereign KwaZulu kingdom.

And he claimed that De Klerk's 'contingency plans' for the Natal/KwaZulu region entailed the deployment of security forces "to clamp down on my people should they choose not to participate in the elections."

He exhorted all Zulus to unite and defend their freedom, saying provisions under the present constitution would deny the Zulu nation its claim to sovereignty and self-determination. "I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the Kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfill their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty to anyone who dares challenge it."

 Elections under the interim constitution were a denial of the claim to sovereignty and self-determination, he said. "Under the terms of a final proposal of the South African Government, the Zulu nation and the Kingdom of KwaZulu are left at the mercy of the unitary state established by the 1993 constitution. We have reached the end of a road and are faced with the harsh reality that government cannot and will not facilitate the restoration of the sovereign kingdom of KwaZulu."

Zulus, he claimed, faced an historical dilemma of either succumbing and forever relinquishing their sovereignty or taking it upon themselves to reclaim their birthright.

But a declaration of independence or secession are unlikely. KwaZulu, with the exception of the consolidated region north of the Tugela River, is extensively fragmented. It is highly dependent on central government for funding - one estimate is that KwaZulu receives more than 75% of its revenue from central treasury (considerably more than Bophuthatswana).

The suggestion, therefore, is that Buthelezi and the king cannot go it alone. Government could simply "switch off the lights and water."

What then is the objective?

It is becoming increasingly clear that Buthelezi would settle for a delayed election in KwaZulu/Natal. Not only would it be a victory for the Inkatha cause, but it will also allow for the completion of international mediation - agreed to at the Buthelezi/Mandela Durban summit. The feeling in Inkatha circles is even if the mediation goes against them, Inkatha will have lost nothing - but if mediators find any fault with the transitional constitution, Inkatha's intransigence in sup-
The Government is poised for a security crackdown in KwaZulu-Natal as the death toll in the violence sweeping the province continues to spiral amid massive tension over the next month's election.

The first step being considered after a series of meetings yesterday includes mass deployment of troops in the province. This could take place after the weekend.

President de Klerk said after a meeting on the issue with ANC president Nelson Mandela last night that he would be seeking urgent talks with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. De Klerk added that his main task would be to prevent "painful action" being taken in his (Buthelezi's) territory.

After their meeting, both Mandela and De Klerk declined to disclose details of the plans they had discussed, but de Klerk stressed that they did not include the topping of the KwaZulu government.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler—who had attended part of the Mandela-De Klerk talks—said last night that free elections would not be possible in Natal unless "appropriate political and governmental action" was taken to obtain the co-operation of the KwaZulu government.

"In order for the IEC to conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to be established in that province as a matter of urgency."

The developments came amid tension over a march planned by Cosatu through central Durban later today to demand free and fair political activity in the province. The organisers told The Star yesterday that they expected a crowd of 50,000.

1,000 policemen

There have been claims that "Zulu loyalists" plan to disrupt the march, which marks the launch of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign in Natal.

By early today, more than 1,000 policemen lined the route of the planned march from Currie's Fountain to central Durban. There was no evidence this morning of any Zulus in the march area.
NATIONWIDE

Danger in Kwazulu While Ciskei, Lebowa are calm

POLITICS

SECURITY officials and former high-ranking military officers have warned of the potential for unrest in the region following the recent elections. The fears are compounded by the ongoing economic challenges and unemployment rates.

The TAC has called for a nationwide boycott of the election, stating that it is a tool of government propaganda and a means to suppress the political opposition. The organization has called on its supporters to remain calm and peaceful.

South Africa is set to vote in the upcoming elections, with the ANC in power and facing criticism for its handling of the economy and corruption scandals.

The ANC has been in power since 1994, but its support has been declining, particularly in rural areas like Kwazulu and Lebowa, where unemployment and poverty rates are high.

The opposition has called for a fair and free election, but theANC has been accused of rigging the system to ensure its victory.

The election is expected to be closely contested, with the ANC, the Democratic Alliance, and the Economic Freedom Fighters among the main contenders.

Regardless of the outcome, the country faces challenges in addressing its social and economic problems.
RELENTLESS pressure is building on the KwaZulu administration to distance itself from the Inkatha Freedom Party in the run-up to the elections.

The Transitional Executive Council's strategy of isolating the KwaZulu administration from the IFP first became clear at Tuesday's TEC meeting and was confirmed by the report of a TEC task force which probed allegations of hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

The TEC called on 'government departments and civil service components to ... co-operate as a means of ensuring their own futures in the implementation of the constitution for the transitional period'.

It also called on the KwaZulu government, the Natal Provincial Administration and all other administrations' to co-operate with the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African government in realising the right of all citizens to vote.

Civil servants' uncertainty about their financial future is the soft underbelly of the IFP, which for years has used patronage to maintain its hegemony. The KwaZulu government will cease to exist after the November elections, depriving Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of financial control of his domain.

Fear among civil servants about their financial future has toppled the governments of both Bophuthatswana and Ciskei and sparked an insurrection in Lebowa.

At least 5 000 KwaZulu civil servants marched on Umhlanga on Thursday to demand pension payments before the elections — afraid they would lose these under an ANC-dominated government.

The TEC task force found evidence that KwaZulu government employees were implicated in hit squad activities against political opponents.

"The evidence and information in some cases suggest that resources or directives appear to emanate from certain officials in Umhlanga, allegedly located at the IFP head office and at the department of the Chief Minister (Buthelezi)."

The task force found the KwaZulu Police "inept in investigating cases against suspects in its own force".

Information suggested the involvement of the highest echelons of the KZP in frustrating investigations into such activity by the South African Police and even by certain diligent investigators in the KZP.

The apprehension of suspects sought by police was deliberately obstructed. In some cases KZP assassins received salaries while any knowledge of their whereabouts was officially denied.

Haseem, Varney and Human recommend that all KZP dockets should be immediately transferred to a hand-picked team of investigators and lawyers, assisted by recognised international policemen. The team, headed "by a respected individual" should have full access to dockets and exhibits held by the police and the attorney-general.

It recommends that all "Caprivi trainees" — KZP members trained by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi in 1986 and suspected of hit squad activity — be relieved of active duty before the election and transferred to a single venue, "as far as possible free from political violence".

Firearms of all Caprivi trainees should be sent for ballistic testing and all KZP weapons should be audited.
Dark line crossed in KwaZulu

who has just returned from the xen-tron area, reports on a region under siege.

the KwaZulu/Natal region has turned into a tinderbox over the last two weeks as

the political situation continues to escalate.
KwaZulu gears up for guerrilla war

A KwaZulu commander is training the 'five rand
brigade' in Vietnam-style tactics to defeat an ANC
government, reports
Chris McGreal

THE commander of the KwaZulu Self Protection Unit, for-
mer intelligence officer Philip
Powell, openly admits the
5,000-strong brigade is being pre-
pared for the day the Inkatha-con-
trolled KwaZulu authority is stripped
of its power — and resistance to an
ANC-led government goes under-
ground.

Although supposedly training for
self-defence, the KwaZulu Police
(KZP) is teaching the self-protection
outfits to handle automatic weapons and
ambush vehicles. The regional com-
mander of the Afrikaner Wrestands-
bewering, Morton Christie, has also
been helping to train the unit at the
KwaMthethwa camp.

This week, Powell warned that for
the South African Defence Force to
launch a military operation against
Umlazi would be "a very great strategic
error" and provide Inkatha supporters
with a valuable rallying point.

Detractors call the unit the "five
rand brigade", deriving it either as a
cheap outfit, a rabble army — or a
lethal force preparing to make Natal
ungovernable. Its backers say the KZP
each KwaZulu resident was
courageous to donate to the brigade
whose 5,000 men and women are
being trained to defend their villages
from the politically motivated slaugh-
ter engulfing Natal — is confirmation
of popular opposition in the homeland
and last month's elections.

The overthrow of the Bophuthats-
wana government has made some
Inkatha leaders fear the SADF will
be turned on Umlazi, even though Lucas
Mampepe was deposed in a popular
revolt to which the military came too
late. Powell argues that seizing Umlazi
would achieve very little.

"For the SADF and government to
launch a military operation against
Umlazi would be a very great strategic
error. There's nothing here, but they
would give us a very great rallying
point," he says. ANC sources agree.

The next government does not
need the military to bring the KwaZulu
administration to a grinding halt. By
severing Pretoria's enormous subsidy
it would cut funds to what amounts
to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's private
army, the KZP. That, Powell argues, is
when resistance will be necessary.

"I don't think we should make the
government think they can
get away with what they did to us.
They don't have the handcuffs
necessary for this area. Their
army may have been trained by the
Army, but the result would be a low-intensity guer-
illa war," he says. "Inkatha leaders willing to
press ahead with a violent campaign
aren't realism. It's bad luck that can be won
by mass participation in the elections, not
by the shape of the new constitution
and the next vote. We fight this election,
we're concerned about what we're
fighting for," says Powell.

Armed, ready and waiting ... KwaZulu supporters armed with AK-47s wait in Ulundi to hear King Goodwill Zwelethini speak
The Razor's Edge

(07) April 25/3/44

IN a popular Durban bar a woman shouts over the noise: "Everybody's just lying for today. That's why there are so many people getting divorced here.

She counts out on her fingers the names of friends or colleagues who have recently left their spouses.

The bar is frequented almost exclusively by whites and around her well-dressed and apparently affluent young people are drinking steadily.

Many of Natal's whites - impatient before the new forces unleashed in the violent province - appear to have slipped into a state of resignation. They get on with their lives as best they can.

In Umzimkulu, just under three hours' drive from Durban, there is a totally different mood, a sense that a fundamental juncture in the region's history is about to be reached. The torpor is replaced by a cracking tension.

Taking a run in the small Kwazulu capital I follow a dirt road along the railway line out of the town. A man in his mid-twenties approaches down a hill on a bicycle. As he gets closer he stands up on his pedals and with one hand lifts up a stick with an enormous knob on the end, as if to strike me. I jump out of his reach and, amid a stream of words shouted at the man, recognize only one: "Bezlule!" (KILI).

His aggression is reflected elsewhere. At an Umzimkulu hotel later that day a large white man ducks behind a pillar in the courtyard as rifle shots crackle in the background.

The King's impato - or gathering of his subjects - has just finished and volleys are being fired, presumably into the air, as the crowd disperses. Earlier a squad of people had arrived at the venue of the gathering - which was to have been addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela - bearing a banner saying, "KwaZulu/Natal, Buthelezi dracienian or Botshwatswana-type action against those opposing elections will save a struggle for liberation from ANC-Nationalist Party oppression which will have no parallel in Africa."

On Friday it was the turn of King Goodwill Zwelethini to nail his colours to the mast.

Without directly referring to a boycott of the poll, the King made it clear he would not call on his supporters to vote. He linked the denial of Zulu sovereignty - an election under interim Constitution - to action to defend that sovereignty.

At the weekend blood started to flow in Durban's townships. By mid-week it was evident that the propagandists on both sides of the conflict were both painting the other side as the aggressor. The IPF claimed to have uncovered an ANC plot to destabilise KwaZulu. Cosatu responded with an allegation that the war against "democratic forces" had been intensified at the weekend.

The KwaZulu/Natal region has turned into a tinderbox as the watershed election date draws near. Political correspondent Chris Whitfield, who has just returned from there, reports on a region under siege.

Simultaneously, and perhaps most significantly, it became evident that the last door for IPF entrance into the elections was slamming shut. President de Klerk bluntly suggested that the point of no return had been reached, seemingly ruling out any chance of IPF participation in the historic poll.

He had been responding to questions on his snubbed last-minute efforts to get the IPF into the process.

It can be relatively safely assumed that the election will now go ahead without the Inkatha Freedom party and without the sanction of the Zulu King. The prospects of it being "free and fair" in KwaZulu/Natal - whatever the Independent Electoral Committee may decide - must be water thin.

The outstanding issue is the question of what plans the Umzimkulu leadership having failed to stabilise the transition and secure the amendments to the Interim Constitution it requires - now has for their region.

A senior KwaZulu Cabinet Minister dismissed recently repeated threats of secession, suggesting these were part of the political brinkmanship of recent months. Asked what would happen to the Legislative Assembly on April 25, he threw up his hands and said: "I really don't know."

Buthelezi's trusted adviser, Walter Polgate, talks darkly about resistance politics. But he gets impatient when you ask him what that means.

Perhaps the people gathered before the King at the imbizo provided a hint at what lies ahead. Stretched around the crowd of several thousand on the lawns of the Legislative Assembly was a cord of men in khaki overalls. They were trainees from the Mlaba camp, near Umzimkulu, where an estimated 5,000 members have been in military training - albeit brief - to form self defence units.

Driving out of Umzimkulu's tense atmosphere it was difficult not to draw the conclusion that a line had been crossed. That the hard-faced men from Mlaba and the impis in the crowd who later fired their guns into the air were about to become, literally, front-line soldiers.

The grisly death toll in KwaZulu/Natal since the weekend suggests it may already be happening.
De Klerk and Mandela hold urgent talks

Kwanza Crisis
Hopes of an election fade

Sowetan Correspondent

Hopes of an election in KwaZulu have waned following Wednesday’s meeting between Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

The IEC in Natal went into an urgent meeting yesterday morning and sources said the Buthelezi-Kriegler meeting had “just not come close enough to addressing the situation in KwaZulu”.

IEC sources added that their doubts remained despite an announcement by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that government buildings could be used as voting stations.

In another move aimed at drawing Buthelezi into the electoral process, former US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger and former British Secretary of State Lord Carrington have agreed to mediate in the constitutional dispute between the ANC and IFP if all three main parties in SA agreed to mediation and if the terms of reference gave some promise of success.

IEC hopes, however, have dimmed following the hostile reception accorded to its chairman, Justice Kriegler, at Umhlanga on Wednesday.

The judge was repeatedly jeered in the KLA when he appealed for co-operation to make a free and fair election possible.

The ANC, meanwhile, has urged a TEC-Government takeover of the administration of the KwaZulu government to ensure free political activity in the province on the eve of ANC mass action plans to show support for the election.

Cutting off of funds

ANC candidate premier for Natal, Mr Jacob Zuma, and ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe, said although the ANC did not want to prescribe to the TEC, actions which could be taken against KwaZulu included the cutting off of funds to Buthelezi’s administration.

The two leaders confirmed they would lead a protest march to CR Swart police station in Durban today to demand the creation of a climate of free political activity in KwaZulu-Natal.

(V Aangamala, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.)
CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH
KWAZULU Chief Minis-
ter Mangosuthu Buthele-
zi meets President de
Klerk this weekend for
talks that will weigh
heavily on contingency
planning for strife-torn
KwaZulu/Natal.

The discussions come
amid increasing Govern-
ment speculation that an
election in the region
could be postponed.
However, ANC sources
have indicated that they
are not prepared to con-
template this.

The Independent Elec-
torial Commission (IEC)
has announced that it is
going ahead with prepa-
trations for an election in
the province on April 27.

**Steps**

SACP chairman and
Transitional Executive
Council (TEC) delegate
Joe Slovo said yesterday
there was "no possibil-
ity" of postponing the
election in KwaZulu/
Natal.

The TEC would have to
consider what steps it
could take to ensure that
the election was free and
fair in the region.

A well-placed Govern-
ment source said that if
the situation in the re-
region got "des-pair-
ous" enough, this could be
an option, rather than
having the entire election
coloured by problems in
KwaZulu/Natal.

The Inkatha Freedom
Party's central commit-
tee earlier rejected a pro-
aposal by De Klerk that ballot
papers for the region be
reprinted to include the
party's name.

De Klerk and ANC lead-
er Nelson Mandela met on
Thursday after it became
clear that steps would at
most certainly have to be
taken to ensure free vot-
ing in the province.

The two apparently dis-
agreed on the need to
send administrators in to
take over the KwaZulu
government.

Sources have indicated
that a large troop deploys-
ment is planned for trou-
ble spots in the province
next week and that future
options might include de-
laying a state of emer-
gency in the region.

Zimbabwe's Ziana
news agency reported
that the military wings of
the ANC and PAC had
ruled out military inter-
vention, saying the situa-
tion had to be resolved
politically.

**Thrust**

Umkhonto we Sizwe
chief of staff Siphiwe
Nyenzi and PAC Political
Commissioner Danilo Romeo
said they did not foresee
the situation deteriorating
to such an extent that it
would warrant military in-
tervention.

It has been speculated
that special voting provi-
sions could be extended to
KwaZulu/Natal to allow
voters who fear going to
election stations an oppor-
tunity to cast their ballots.

The toughest decision
for De Klerk will be act-
ing against the KwaZulu
administration. This will
be the central thrust of his
discussions with Buthelezi
at an undisclosed venue
this weekend.

De Klerk said on Thurs-
day that his main task in
meeting Buthelezi would be
to "prevent painful action
being taken in his
territory".

A source said De Klerk
would "read the riot act"

KwaZulu Legislative
Assembly that free election-
ending would not be possible
in the province unless
"appropriate political and
governmental action" was
taken to obtain the co-
operation of the homeland's
government.

"To conduct free and
equal elections in Kwa-
Zulu/Natal the requisite de-
gree of stability and co-
operation has to be estab-
lished in the province as
a matter of urgency,"
Krieger said.

It is understood that
KwaZulu King Goodwill
Zwelithini has yet to reply to a
letter from Mandela pro-
posing that they meet.
Chief Warns

on 'invasion'

send in Army to

Independent

rugby

1971

on

Chief

Durban — With the TEC likely to call this week for the deployment of troops in KwaZulu, Minister of Home Affairs, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned that such moves would be seen as an invasion.

'The TEC have to decide whether they want a situation in the region where the police and the army are being deployed,' Mr Buthelezi said.

The ANC, however, will demand that the police and army be deployed to ensure that the election is free from police interference and violence.

On Saturday night, Chief Buthelezi met with ANC leaders in KwaZulu to discuss the situation.

The meeting was attended by ANC leaders, including President Jacob Zuma, who was in Durban to address the ANC's national executive committee.

Zuma, who was in Durban to address the ANC's national executive committee, said that the ANC was determined to ensure that the election was free from violence.

He also said that the ANC was prepared to deploy the army if necessary to ensure the security of the election.

The meeting was attended by ANC leaders, including President Jacob Zuma, who was in Durban to address the ANC's national executive committee.
\textbf{Mother of all rallies’}

Some supporters raised banners making derogatory statements about Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, and people responded in loud agreement to Jay Naidoo’s declaration: “Natal is part of South Africa. In five weeks there will be no more bantustan. We are marching to the new South Africa.”

Most stores covered their windows with heavy wrought iron security gates.

“We expected chaos, especially after rumours that the IPP were going to march at the same time,” said one retailer.

The saving grace, according to businessmen, was the strong, armed police presence and the quick-thinking action of marshals who prevented the chanting from running out of control.

“The razor wire kept people in check and stopped them from moving off the designated route,” said a store manager.

Durban Regional Chamber of Business chief executive officer Geoff Tyler said the advance planning and consultation with all the parties involved had paid off.

“Obviously there was a loss in business, which won’t be made up, but at least retailers can open up shop as normal tomorrow and not pick up the pieces, as has happened in the past.”

The ANC described the march as the “mother of all rallies”, claiming 300 000 participants. “The rally put all the pressure on the Zulus to accept the April 27 elections. The people proved that the ANC called the shots in Natal,” said Southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye.

Ed Tillett, from the IFP Information Centre, described the march as “a spectacular failure for the ANC”. He claimed that the ANC had based its “import” from the Transkei to bolster and reinforce their sadly-depleted numbers.

\textbf{MARCHING FOR PEACE:} Tens of thousands of African National Congress supporters made their way down West Street in the Durban city centre yesterday. Police estimated the crowd at 60 000 while the ANC claimed 200 000 people had turned up.
on the Line at Talks
Future of KwaZulu

CHRIS WHITTLE

The Immediate Prime of
Www.amrican نهاية

CHRIS WHITTLE
ANC urges to KwaZulu
Send troops

TC Report, Sunday Picture
The coffins of five of the victims of unrest in Bophuthatswana are lined up during a funeral service attended by thousands of mourners at Montshiwa Stadium on Saturday. More than 60 people were killed in the homeland.

PIC: SELO MOTESPE

KwaZulu simmers

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

The KwaZulu Natal region remained a tinderbox over the weekend — despite several high-profile peace initiatives. In one incident, the home of African National Congress regional premier candidate Mr Jacob Zuma was burned by a mob on Saturday night in Nkandla, in northern Natal.

Anti-ANC pamphlets calling for the overthrow of Zuma’s Goodwill Zwelithini were thrown in the area. Zuma said yesterday that Zulus were also urged not to vote in the April 27 election.

This follows a series of meetings between the Government, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party outlining with President F.W. de Klerk’s discussion with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday in an effort to reduce the tension and ensure free and fair elections in his territory.

This came after a meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Klerk last week.

Violence, however, continued to wreak havoc in the province with at least 12 people reported dead since Friday.

Pressure to force the Government and the Transitional Executive Council to take decisive action in the province increased, with 10 000 ANC supporters marching in Pretoria today — but it is likely to take cognisance of the ANC threat of “unprecedented” rolling mass action if free and fair elections are not assured.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said in Cape Town after a Natal campaign visit that the campaign would be accelerated until their demand was met.

Troops had to be deployed “to protect innocent people against moving bands of armed killers”, Ramaphosa, a member of the TEC management committee, said.

The TEC, however, faces the dilemma that ANC offers for massive deployment of SA Defence Force and National Peace Keeping Force troops were immediately rejected by Buthelezi in a move to avoid sparking tension.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer’s call for the postponement of the election, however, is unlikely to be favourably considered — which is privately interpreted in ANC circles as granting Buthelezi with a victory over the democratic process.

Violence monitor Mary de Haas, meanwhile, told Sapo there were unconfirmed reports of another 100 deaths concentrated in northern Natal.

The KwaZulu Police confirmed four deaths in areas administered by the KwaZulu government.
TEC calls for 'emergency' in KwaZulu

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday vowed to fight the ANC "to the finish" unless the elections were postponed — as the Transitional Executive Council recommended emergency measures in KwaZulu/Natal.

A state of emergency encompassing the whole of Natal and KwaZulu would be proclaimed by the President within the next few days, the TEC agreed.

The declaration, accompanied by the incremental deployment of SADF troops, was intended to halt the escalation of violence in the region as well as ensure free and fair elections next month.

However, a government spokesman warned against hasty action, saying the TEC "should rather wait for the outcome of the summit meeting between leaders that is definitely taking place next week".

The meeting between President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, had been due to start today. It was postponed at the king's request and will now take place next week. This came after a flurry of telephone calls between the leaders yesterday following Monday's mayhem in Johannesburg.

In an uncompromising statement Buthelezi referred to the killings outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters as the "Shell House massacre", paralleled only by previous action at Sharpeville.

A list of Shell House massacre shows that we have entered a final struggle to the finish, between the ANC and the Zulu nation, unless there is an extension of the voting date deadline to enable a negotiated settlement regarding the question of Zulu sovereignty to be worked out before elections take place," he said.

Buthelezi said he could not stand before his king and report that as chief minister and Inkatha leader he had taken no action other than calling for an inquiry.

He had reports "of Zulus massing at hostels in Johannesburg and Zulus travelling up to Johannesburg to stand by their comrades". If the elected leaders of these people did not take action, "there is no saying what the people will do in taking the law into their own hands", he warned.

What has taken place in KwaZulu and Transvaal as far as "are only precursors of what will yet come", he said. April 27 would be declared a "national Zulu day of mourning for those who died for freedom".

The government spokesman said government had hoped the leaders could meet this week. De Klerk was "extremely concerned" and would make every endeavour possible to bring the major two protagonists to some sort of agreement to prevent further violence so that free and fair elections could proceed.

However, achieving this depended on leaders' ability to control their supporters, an end to calls for mass action, and no "further rash and inflammatory statements about war... An agreement at the summit meeting would prevent the necessity for the action envisaged by the TEC, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The elections will proceed and the ANC will take whatever steps necessary to prevent a war." The ANC had taken note of Buthelezi's hardline statement.

In his letter to De Klerk, Zwelithini referred to Monday's events, saying "the slaughter of the innocent will reverberate around Zulu society for a long time".

It would be inappropriate to hold discussions before the Zulu bereaved had buried their dead and there should be a moratorium on negotiations "until such time as the fierce anger has abated somewhat".

He suggested the meeting take place after the Easter weekend.

An Independent Electoral Commissioner spokesman said the organisation was legally bound to make preparations for the election in Natal and Buthelezi's comments did not alter that responsibility.

TEC said it was "convinced and determined" that the elections would take place as planned "throughout South Africa".

Government TEC delegate Robb Moiler said the decision was not aimed at any organisation or political grouping but to "ensure everyone who wants to vote is allowed this right". The state of emergency formed part of a "package" that would allow negotiations to continue. TEC joint executive secretary Mac Maharaj said regulations for the state of emergency were being drafted in conjunction with the TEC's law and order subcouncil. While the proclamation would fall under the Public Safety Act, the new regulations would allow for political activities and campaigning to continue.

No indication of the numbers of troops to be despatched to Natal was given, although Maharaj said deployments had begun already. The security forces' special powers would be reviewed by government, the TEC and the ANC.

ANC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa said the steps had been taken to prevent Natal sliding into a "bottomless abyss of death and destruction".

Reported by Tim Cohen, Adrian Hadland and David Greive, 30/3/94.
TEC resolves to take strong action in KwaZulu/Natal

Buthelezi’s warning

GRAND summit between South Africa’s ‘big four’ has been postponed at Zulu king’s insistence

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and CHRIS WHITFIELD

With a crackdown on political violence sweeping KwaZulu/Natal imminent, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of a “final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation” if the election is not postponed.

The Transitional Executive Council last night authorised tough security action — including intensified security operations and the declaration of an effective state of emergency — in KwaZulu/Natal to ensure that next month’s election does go ahead in the strife-torn province.

The focus for action against the violence had shifted to the TEC after today’s scheduled summit — which would have brought King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk together for the first time — was postponed. This was done at the king’s insistence and the meeting might now take place sometime next week.

Buthelezi’s ‘final struggle’

From Page 1

Rest areas, possibly across the entire province. The measures would be designed not to interfere with normal electioneering in the weeks that lie ahead.

In another ‘step bound to increase the stakes as the country heads towards a new dispensation he cannot stomach, Buthelezi yesterday also called for April 27 — one of the three scheduled election days — to be a “national Zulu day of mourning” for those who died in the Johannesburg carnage on Monday. Buthelezi placed the blame for this violence squarely on the ANC, and moved to rally Zulus behind the king.

The ANC yesterday said the bloodbath in Johannesburg was the inevitable outcome of the IEF’s “insane” determination to suppress the election.

The events in the city appeared to have hardened ANC attitudes towards shifting the election date — spokesmen were adamant yesterday it would not happen — while Government sources indicated that they believed it was now critical to get the election over with.

The TEC said it was “convinced and determined” that the election would go ahead throughout the country on the days agreed upon.

A Government spokesman last night announced the postponement of the summit scheduled for today. Chief among the Zulu king’s reasons for delaying the meeting was the need to bury the dead from Monday’s killings. He also cited the fact that it was a “sick week”.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler has said that a free and fair election might be possible in Natal.

A task group had been formed after a meeting between IEC members and representatives of the KwaZulu and South African governments. It would report back on April 5.

Fear in the city . . . anxious passers-by wait for the all-clear from police after an attack on the ANC headquarters in Plein Street, Johannesburg, sent them scurrying for cover yesterday.

The TEC, in a signal to those intent on disrupting the election in Natal, last night resolved that “intensified security operations” were now necessary to secure the safety of those who wanted to exercise their right to vote in the country’s first all-race election. These would be undertaken in co-operation with the SA Government and the security forces.

Other steps — to be implemented “as soon as may be necessary” — would include a declaration of a state of emergency or proclamation of un-
TEC to get tough with KwaZulu

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council yesterday authorised tough security action, including declaring a state of emergency, in KwaZulu/Natal to ensure that next month's election went ahead as scheduled even in that strife-torn province.

The TEC, whose meeting came a day after the Zulu march which ended tragically in Johannesburg on Monday, sent a strong message to those intent on disrupting the election in Natal.

It said "intensified security action" was now necessary to secure the safety of those who wanted to exercise their right to vote in the country's first all-race election.

This action, to be implemented soon, will include a declaration of a state of emergency or proclamation of unrest areas, either throughout or in some parts of the province. However, this was not to interfere with normal political electioneering in the weeks that lay ahead.

The Government, the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission would constantly review the recommended use of special security powers.

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" the election would go ahead throughout the country on the days agreed upon.

Various speakers on the council floor expressed grave disappointment with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's decision to ask for a postponement of today's crucial meeting which would have included President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They strongly appealed to Zwelithini to reconsider his decision and attend the meeting.

In another development, the TEC's sub-committee which investigated allegations of "hit-squad" activities within the KwaZulu police yesterday recommended that its second interim report be submitted to a team which will probe these allegations further.

See page 8.
Election problems in the second most populous region in SA

By Violence hits Politics

Kwazulu-Natal

March 30, 1994 SOWETAN

Forced to move to a new place.

Nacional Democratic Party.

ANC and IFP.

ANC candidates for the Premiership of Natal Jacob Zuma (right) campaign.

ANC, Democratic Party and UDF candidates for the Premiership of Natal Jacob Zuma (right) campaign.
State of emergency expected

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

A state of emergency is likely to be imposed on most or all of KwaZulu/Natal today — and President de Klerk has accused Mangosuthu Buthelezi of making a declaration of war.

The emergency is expected to outlaw all forms of political activity that might contain a potential for violence.

The dramatic crackdown, which has already been condemned by the IFP and the KwaZulu government, might be accompanied by the deployment of additional troops in the province to back those sent in recently.

Last night de Klerk added fuel to speculation on such a move when he told an election meeting at Eersterus, Pretoria, that a recent comment by KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi amounted to a declaration of war.

He appeared to be referring to Buthelezi's warning of a "final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulus" if the election was not postponed.

De Klerk left the meeting soon after 8 pm, apologising to supporters for having to cut short the visit but saying he had to "work on the problems in KwaZulu/Natal".

Both the Government and the TEC's law and order sub-council were understood to be hard at work yesterday putting the finishing touches to the "creative" state of emergency.

It would give more powers to the security forces and target violence in the strife-torn province without impeding free political activity or affecting the press.

However, it is also understood the option of declaring several unrest areas across KwaZulu/Natal had not been ruled out late last night.

The IFP, which was scathing in its criticism of the police for their failure to raid ANC headquarters in Johannesburg following Monday's shootings in the city, threatened yesterday to unleash mass action of its own, with details expected to be announced by the party's

From Page 1

KwaZulu/Natal emergency on the cards

youth brigade today.

The IFP told a Johannesburg press conference that information reaching it said the ANC planned to have some of its Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres dress up as traffic officers to ambush Zulus and IFP members travelling home for the Easter weekend.

The ANC has vigorously denied the allegation.

Commenting on the impending state of emergency, KwaZulu Deputy Works Minister Velaphi Ntlouvu said the move would create more problems in the region instead of ending violence.

Ndlovu said the intention was clearly not to create a climate for free political activity, but rather to topple the KwaZulu government. Peace structures had to be used to end violence in KwaZulu/Natal, he said.

Buthelezi has indicated that an influx of troops into his territory might be seen as an invasion.

The Afrikaner Volksfront also blasted the Government and the TEC, saying the declaration of a state of emergency in the area would be final proof that negotiations had failed and that the election should be cancelled.

However, the ANC and the DP — both represented in the TEC, which authorised the decision on Tuesday — welcomed the move, with the DP saying its support depended on international mediation beginning as soon as possible.

De Klerk was expected to announce the state of emergency at a press conference last night, but it was postponed until 9 am this morning.

A source said the legal documentation surrounding the imposition of a state of emergency was still being prepared late last night.

The weekly Cabinet meeting in Pretoria sat late into the evening yesterday and is understood to have concentrated largely on the threat to the election of violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

De Klerk hoped the summit would be held "early next week" but observers increasingly believe it will not come off at all.

(07 June 1994, Johannesburg)
Mediators seem ready to give up, says Meyer

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — International mediation on South Africa's constitutional impasse seem to be admitting failure. Constitutional Development minister Roelf Meyer said today.

Mr Meyer said after meeting mediator Henry Kissinger that the Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress had been unable to resolve their differences over the inclusion of a possible postponement of the election date in the terms of reference.

Mr Meyer said he could not speak for the mediators, who were due to give a Press conference later today, but it seemed to him that the "unfortunate position" was that mediation was off.

He rejected suggestions that the government had been a central cause of the breakdown. He said the ANC had taken the position that mediation and the election date should not be linked, while the IFP felt mediation should be completed before an election could be held.

These differences could apparently not be resolved in spite of a series of meetings this morning to rescue the mediation process.

Today's talks followed last night's break- down in talks between the ANC, the government and the IFP over the mediators' terms of reference.

The mediators, headed by former United States secretary of state Dr Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, met delegations from the three organisations last night.

This morning they met at their Johannesburg hotel, apparently to decide on whether to abandon their mission. Their spokesman said later the seven men were still meeting and were in constant contact with the ANC, IFP and the government.

They had not yet decided to return home.

The spokesman also disclosed that the mediators were not being paid for their efforts and had not asked to be paid. They were donating their time for the sake of peace and democracy in South Africa.

But their efforts appeared doomed last night after the IFP, the ANC and the government negotiations broke down after five hours without reaching agreement on what the mediators would address.

The IFP was arranging a central committee meeting on the issue in Ulundi today.

(Poll: With only 13 days to go before polling day, a pastiche of contesting posters confronts voters throughout the city.)
A MEMORANDUM bluntly stating that free elections in KwaZulu/Natal were impossible without direct political intervention was the primary catalyst for the eventual declaration of this week’s state of emergency there.

The confidential three-page memorandum, with 10 pages of supporting documentation, was presented by independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Krieger to President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Pretoria on March 24.

An edited version was released to the media the same day. The state of emergency was declared on March 31.

Appended to the original document — a copy of which has been seen by WeekendStar — was a nine-point memorandum from the IEC to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, setting out the guarantees the IEC wanted from Ulundi regarding co-operation in allowing the election to take place in KwaZulu/Natal.

It was the reaction to this memorandum by Buthelezi that King Goodwill Zwelithini, several KwaZulu Ministers and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that led the IEC to give its own ultimatum to de Klerk the following day.

**List of demands**

1. The memorandum to Buthelezi dated March 23, the IEC proposed that in order to “execute its mandate of conducting an election within the territory of KwaZulu”, it requested that Buthelezi “cause instructions to be given forthwith that”:
   - The KwaZulu Department of Education make schools available for use as polling stations.
   - Principals give telephone technicians access to their schools.
   - KwaZulu government buildings, including tribal authority and magistrates’ offices, be made available for election purposes.
   - The KwaZulu Department of the Interior cooperate with the IEC on matters including the issuing of identity documents and seconding staff.
   - The KwaZulu Department of Justice make facilities available for the IEC Adjudication Secretariat.
   - Amakhosi and other KwaZulu officials and authorities assist the IEC and observer groups.
   - The KwaZulu departments of Health and of Pensions and Welfare cooperate with the IEC in facilitating special votes.
   - The KwaZulu Police provide security for IEC staff and secure the election process, as well as participate fully with other groups in security planning.

**‘Operation Access’**

The IEC memorandum to Buthelezi also proposed the establishment of a working committee, and informed the KwaZulu authorities that the IEC intended to launch “Operation Access” in the region soon.

The response of the KwaZulu authorities to the IEC’s delegation was subsequently described in the IEC’s document to De Klerk and Mandela as “stage-managed to humiliate the IEC”.

Describing the atmosphere as “confrontational and aggressive”, the IEC concluded that the requisite assurances sought from the KwaZulu authorities had not been given.

In the final paragraph of the confidential memorandum presented to De Klerk and Mandela, the IEC stated: “In order for the IEC to conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal, the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to be established in the province as a matter of urgency.

“How that is to be achieved is not for the IEC to determine. Nor will it be in a position to advise whether substantially free and fair elections can be conducted in KwaZulu/Natal unless and until such stability and co-operation have been achieved.”

(Times, 16 April 1994)

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**Shaun Johnson**

**Esther Waugh**

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**EC’s report clinched it**
De Klerk shown chilling intelligence reports

Why FW cracked down in Natal

SADF has hands full in fight to silence the guns

CHRIS WHITFIELD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CHILLING intelligence reports predicting a sharp increase in KwaZulu/Natal violence hit hard at the election approach. Here President de Klerk to declare a state of emergency in the region, according to government sources.

The reports — some of which are said to have referred to a final death toll of 300 deaths prior to the vote — came shortly after the Independent Electoral Commission's blunt statement calling for political interventions to stop violence. (See report on Page 2.)

One source described the intelligence reports presented to De Klerk as "high-risk" and said they had indicated a massive potential for increased violence as the election approached. The sources declined to comment on whether specific campaigns of violence were planned.

"They believe the worst threat is to stability in the areas and which which violence was expected to break out and spread to other, more stable areas."

US backs tough moves

WASHINGTON — The United States has supported SADF's South Africa's tough measures against political and ethnic violence and bloodshed in the region, escalating violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

"While the United States appreciates South Africa's actions, we hope that these efforts will help bring about a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflict," State Department spokesman Mike McCurry said yesterday.

See Pages 2 and 3, and Undercurrent Affairs and Editorial on Page 8.

Troops began to arrive in KwaZulu/Natal yesterday as security chiefs gathered to plot how to protect the state of emergency regulations proclaimed by de Klerk.

"The situation is critical. We need to mobilize all available forces to ensure the safety of the population," the state of emergency declaration.

There was an immediate indication from the KwaZulu government that they have been taken to directly influence the continued training of Inkatha "self-defence units" and the carrying of "challengers" weapons in public. But there were no reports of any clashes.

HEAVY BRIGADE: SADF armour rolls through KwaMashu, near Durban, after the state of emergency was declared.

PHOTOGRAPH: KEN COSTERBOSCH
Buthelenzi will attend summit

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus: Political Staff

Supporters of the Inkhata Freedom Party are hoping a miracle will save the party at next week's planned summit. But they are preparing to leave the party if the meeting fails or is abandoned.

Prominent IFP members said this week they believed IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had dropped the IFP as a political vehicle and was now promoting the Zulu monarchy as his future source of power.

Chief Buthelezi, meanwhile, has confirmed that he will attend the summit and has expressed hope that it will find solutions "otherwise I wouldn't be going".

However, in an interview outside a church near the KwaZulu capital Ulundi, where he attended a Good Friday service, the IFP president said if the summit went ahead it would take place in a "sour atmosphere" following Thursday's declaration of a state of emergency in Natal-KwaZulu.

The summit will be between President De Klerk, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi has described the emergency and the increased SA Defence Force deployment as an "invasion".

The clearly distressed IFP leader said on the Agenda TV programme that he told Mr De Klerk it was "embarrassing" for him to have declared the state of emergency before the summit. Chief Buthelezi said it was comparable to "someone holding down a woman for someone to rape".

Government sources told Weekend Argus that as far as Mr De Klerk was concerned, the summit was still going ahead although a date had not been finalised.

They said one avenue to be explored at this week's planned summit was whether the IFP would be prepared to stand for the KwaZulu-Natal provincial election only.

The sources said this was still possible as the provincial ballot papers had a much shorter printing run than the national ballot. Another possibility was that the Electoral Act could be amended to postpone the elections in KwaZulu-Natal if Chief Buthelezi agreed to take part.

IFP insiders said the one slender hope they held for next week was that the summit would go well and the IFP and ANC would finalise an agreement on international mediation.
Natal heaves sigh of relief yesterday as the SADF poured into flashpoints and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi tentatively agreed to participate in next week’s summit meeting.

GREG KNOWLER, Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — An uneasy calm has fallen over townships here since the declaration of a State of Emergency with violence monitors describing it as “spookily quiet, but very tense.”

This is in stark contrast to the huge bloodletting in these townships during the past 12 days which left more than 110 people dead.

Yesterday, southern Natal African National Congress unrest monitor Roy Amsler said: “It’s the quietest two or three days we’ve had. We heard there were plans to launch a major attack on KwaMashu residents, but the inside word is that people are scared of a reaction from the South African Defence Force.”

On the emergency regulations, he commented: “So far, it’s working.”

The KwaZulu capital of Umlazi was also quiet with most residents and government officials enjoying the Easter holiday.

A contributing factor to the drop-off in violence could be King Goodwill Zwelithini’s call for peace over the Easter weekend. This has been supported by both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

ANC spokesman Zibbo Mkhize said anyone defying the king’s call for unity and reconciliation was not only a threat to Zulu stability, but to democracy. “The land, self-determination and dignity of the king are no longer things to fight and die for in this time of history. Negotiations and discussions are going to win the day and not guns,” he said.

An IFP spokesman said his organisation had always been committed to peace and “we would support a truce.”

On Thursday night, there were two deaths in Umlazi while a taxi was ambushed and a passenger shot dead in the Nongoma area in northern Natal early yesterday, another person was shot dead in Nongoma on Thursday.

Government moves to re-establish law and order in the region are getting into top gear. Minister of Justice and Defence Koebo Coetzee yesterday appointed South African Police Regional Commissioner of Natal Lieutenant-General W H...
Boycott would suit ANC

Inkatha's decision to boycott the April elections will hand overall control of KwaZulu/Natal to the ANC, according to the latest Sunday Times Pulse of the People poll.

The poll, conducted by Markinor in the first two weeks of March, shows that the ANC can expect to receive 49.7 percent of the votes for the provincial parliament, followed by the National Party with 25.3 percent and the Democratic Party with 8.0 percent.

But the outcome would have been very different had Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi not decided to boycott the elections.

According to the poll, overall support for the IFP running the province has risen from 18.7 percent in November last year when the previous Pulse of the People poll was conducted to 27.5 percent.

In the same period support for the ANC running the province dropped from 49.9 percent to 31.9 percent.

The rise in support cannot be attributed to the role played by Chief Buthelezi — the poll shows he has gone from unpopular to deeply unpopular among the majority of voters.

Nor can it be attributed to a belief among voters that Inkatha is best equipped to deal with the major problems confronting the country: Big majorities of voters think the ANC and then the NP are best equipped to deal with a range of issues from providing better education to attracting foreign investment.

Inkatha has also lost white and Indian supporters but gained among blacks largely at the expense of the ANC.

Given the above, the only conceivable explanation for the rise in Inkatha support is the entry of the Zulu king into the political arena. It has paid off handsomely — which prompts the question as to why, with this trump card on his side, Chief Buthelezi didn't contest the poll.

As it is, up to half of Inkatha's supporters are likely to heed their party's boycott call. They will be joined by many other Natal/KwaZulu residents who told pollsters they would not cast a ballot because of the violence in the province.

The indicated stayaways by these two groups of voters point to a low poll in the province which works in favour of the ANC.

Although it has the backing of less than a third of the voters in the province, they are committed supporters who are determined to cast their ballots. As a result Markinor has estimated that the ANC's share of the final vote will rise to 49.7 percent. With this vote the ANC will get 41 seats — in terms of the complicated formula for allocating seats — giving it an absolute majority in the province.

According to the poll about 190 000 Inkatha supporters will vote for the NP in the election. This means that, though overall only 14 percent of KwaZulu/Natal voters want the NP to run the province, on April 27 the NP is likely to get the backing of just over a quarter of all willing and able voters.

Overall support for the DP to run the province rose marginally from 2.5 percent in November to 2.8 percent in March. In addition about 64 000 IFP supporters indicated they would vote for the DP, giving it the support of eight percent of willing and able voters.

The expected low poll will also favour the PAC and the African Christian Democratic Party, giving them just enough votes to qualify for seats in the KwaZulu/Natal provincial parliament.
The crisis summit between President de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party head Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini will take place on Friday, the Government and the ANC confirmed yesterday.

The Star understands that the meeting will be held in Pretoria.

It is believed that De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi agreed, on the date during a meeting of the Zowen Christian Church at Moria, near Pietersburg, yesterday.

The meeting — seen by observers as the last chance to avoid wholesale confrontation over the election in KwaZulu/Natal — was put off last week after the deaths during a march in Johannesburg to show support for the Zulu king.

On Thursday De Klerk declared a state of emergency for the whole of KwaZulu/Natal, saying it was being imposed to prevent a further slide towards violence and anarchy in the province.

IPF sources told The Star yesterday that the three-day-old state of emergency — under which at least 40 people, including women and children, died at the weekend — was a major impediment to the success of the meeting. Another hurdle was the ANC's continuing plans for rolling mass action in the region.

Further bloodshed is feared following reports from KwaZulu of a planned mass stay away tomorrow to protest against the deaths of marchers in Johannesburg last Monday.

A senior IFP central committee source told The Star that the IFP would, in preliminary meetings with the Government before the summit, request that the state of emergency be set aside.

"I could not understand why the Government could not wait for a few days, at least until after the summit, before imposing the state of emergency. The problem now is not only the proclamation but also how it is implemented," the source said.

He said it would be unfortunate if the summit and international mediation, which was also expected to start this week, took place under a state of emergency.

Separately, the ANC has raised serious doubts about the effectiveness of the state of emergency after 13 of the organisation's supporters died in separate attacks in Port Shepstone and Esquett on Saturday.

The ANC's subregion offices in Umlazi, outside Durban, were shot at, allegedly by people using KwaZulu Police (KZP) vehicles.

The organisation said it was urgent that the powers of the state of emergency in relation to the KZP be clarified and

MEETING between leaders seen as last chance to avoid terrible confrontation in KwaZulu/Natal in run-up to election

Leaders set date for crisis summit

From Page 1

fully implemented. "It is crucial that the KZP should not be allowed to continue its reign of terror and intimidation," the ANC said.

The ANC said that during the Umlazi shootings, the South African Defence Force was nowhere in sight.

"The organisation expressed concern that during this incident and in further experiences on the ground in Natal, the SADF was nowhere to be seen."

"This raises serious concerns about the lines of communication with the SADF. For the state of emergency to be effective it is crucial that the SADF must be accessible at all times through an independent channel of communication, and that complaints and emergency calls do not need to be channelled through the SAP, which has very little credibility and is actually part of the problem in Natal," the ANC's statement said.

In an earlier statement ANC president Nelson Mandela said the KZP would be confined to barracks. He was later reported as saying that he hoped the emergency could be lifted as soon as possible if the summit bore fruit.

The ANC has appealed to the authorities, including the Transitional Executive Council, to ensure the effective implementation of the state of emergency in Natal.

The SADF has said the KZP would continue its normal policing duties and its members were not confined to barracks under the emergency regulations, but there were uncertainties about the KZP that needed to be clarified by the Ministers of Justice and of Defence.

Colonel Fram Verhees of the SADF's Natal Command said at the weekend that the KZP was, at this stage, not restricted by the proclamation.

The Star was unable to contact SADF spokesmen last night for further clarification.
Eskom backs out of arms "deal"

ESKOM was considering destroying 1000 semi-automatic rifles it nearly sold to the KwaZulu Police, a spokesman for the electricity supplier said yesterday.

On March 24 the Eskom Board stopped the sale of the LM-4 rifles to Johannesburg arms dealer Mr Ivan Garb, when it was discovered that he had secured a permit to export the weapons to KwaZulu for sale to the KZP.

On Friday Eskom notified the police and the Goldstone Commission and now the three parties, together with a Johannesburg auditing firm, are to investigate the issue.

Eskom spokesman Mr Kevin Morgan said yesterday the rifles were surplus weapons for Eskom's Protective Services, following the reduction of security at power installations, and Mr Garb had "approached us to buy the weapons".

However, the Eskom Board stopped the sale when it became apparent the weapons would not be sold overseas. — Staff Reporter, Sapa
IF P. involved
Plan to get
Delay
Gun buying by KwaZulu ‘not sinister’

ARMS SALE Two security men suspended from duty by Eskom:

South African Press Association

KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy

During says there is nothing “clandestine” or “sinister”
about his force’s attempt to

buy guns from Eskom.

In a statement at the weekend, he
described the deal as an “ordinary,
above-board business transaction”, and

rejected any insinuation it was clandes-
tine.

Two Eskom Protective Services em-
ployees were suspended on Friday pend-
ing the Goldstone Commission investi-
gation into the cancelled arms sale. The
sale had gone ahead, would have seen
1 000 automatic weapons sold to
KwaZulu.

Relieved of their duties

Eskom said the two security men had been relieved of their duties for their
“serious error of judgement”.

Eskom spokesman Mr Kevin Morgan
said on Friday night the service’s de-
partmental manager and the employee
who negotiated the arms deal had, how-
ever, acted “above board”.

He would not identify the arms dealer
other than to say the dealer was from
Johannesburg.

During did no stage did the KZP
conceal its identity as the buyer. The
KZP and the “negotiators for both par-
ties were at all times fully aware of all
the circumstances surrounding the transaction”.

Destined for KZP

During said Eskom was aware the arms
were destined for the KZP because a
signed letter from himself accompanied
the required export permit for the weap-
on to be sent to a self-governing terri-
tory.

The deal was done through an “au-
thorised weapons dealer”, he said:

Eskom had been paid for the arms, and
although the KZP considered the
company’s cancellation of the deal a
breach of contract, the force had ac-
cepted this, During said.

He said representations made by sen-
ior Eskom officials, to the effect that
they regarded the matter as politically
sensitive, had resulted in the KZP call-
ing off the deal.
The Argus Correspondent

60 000 to brandish traditional weapons in a march of defiance today

Majör Zuliu test

Off the emergency
their first major test today when about 60 000 Inkatha Freedom Party members are expected to march through the streets of Empangeni, 200km north of here, brandishing traditional weapons in defiance of the measures.

This comes as the death toll in KwaZulu-Natal has reached about 64 since the emergency steps were announced last week by President de Klerk.

Political developments in KwaZulu-Natal in the next few days will go a long way to shaping the climate for Friday's summit meeting between President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Goodwill and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In terms of the measures announced by Mr De Klerk, people are prohibited from carrying in public any of 35 listed weapons, including assegais, firearms, knobkerries, spears, knives and sharp-pointed sticks.

The IFP habitually carry these weapons to political gatherings, insisting they are traditional weapons, and there has been no indication from the IFP that they plan to do otherwise tomorrow in Empangeni.

Lawyers acting for the police were studying the emergency regulations today to determine exactly what the police's new powers and duties were, and also what the legal position was on carrying traditional weapons.

If the police try to disarm the IFP marchers, police will probably search their buses before they reach the assembly point. To return the weapons to people after the march will pose a major administrative problem for the police.

These steps would annoy the IFP. But if the police allow 60 000 IFP members to march carrying traditional weapons, they would annoy the ANC.

Meanwhile, Zulu chiefs in the Natal Midlands are planning a stayaway tomorrow in sympathy for the Zulus who died in Johannesburg last week.

Friday's summit of leaders takes place amid speculation that the election will be postponed, or at least the election for the KwaZulu-Natal parliament would be put back.

Government sources said today that any delays would have to have the blessing of the ANC and it was unlikely that the ANC would agree to any delays.

The summit will focus on accommodating the Zulu monarchy in the constitution, addressing the calls for Zulu self-determination and ensuring that the IFP take part in the election.

*See page 4.*
POLICE investigate contravention of emergency regulations as marchers carry traditional weapons

POLITICAL STAFF

With only three weeks before South Africans cast their vote, a joint committee consisting of the Independent Electoral Commission, KwaZulu and the SA-Government has concluded that elections would be impossible in KwaZulu under present conditions.

Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said in a statement last night he had reported the working committee's conclusion to President de Klerk, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

An ANC spokesman last night said Mandela would respond to the working committee's report when he addressed students at the University of Durban/Westville today.

Releasing the report, Kriegler said: "The IEC has indicated that in the light of the report, political measures were required. As such measures fell outside its brief, the IEC, as in the past, did not make any proposals."

He said the IEC was nevertheless continuing with its planning of elections in the province as a whole, and envisaged providing the optimal level of voting facilities possible in those areas unaffected by the political climate.

He said the effect of the recently proclaimed state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal could not be gauged as yet, but the IEC anticipated it would "significantly contribute to the performance of its mandate".

Kriegler said the working group — set up on March 28 — consisted of heads of rela-
Spears of Natal... IFP supporters march through Emangeni yesterday. Many carried traditional weapons such as knobkerries and spears, which were banned under state of emergency regulations.

Picture: Ken Costelloe

KwaZulu
Kwazulu poll will take place — IEC

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has drawn up detailed plans to allow KwaZulu's three million voters to cast ballots despite the violent climate and a lack of cooperation from Ulundi.

"We have no option but to run an election in KwaZulu — and we have the capability to do so," IEC member Gay McDougall said yesterday.

She and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke spent two days touring four of the province's five sub-provincial regions this week. Anticipating security problems and resigned to little, if any, official cooperation from KwaZulu officials, the commissioners outlined plans that would ensure even those in the "no-go" areas in the north could vote if they wished to do so.

This included shifting polling stations to borders with South Africa, increasing the size of voting stations in predominantly white, relatively safe areas and bringing in mobile and temporary voting stations. Only about 800 polling stations are now expected to be set up in KwaZulu Natal's 51 voting districts, although 1,000 to 1,200 were originally planned.

The IEC is to liaise closely with the security forces, who will concentrate on keeping the main roads to these voting stations open.

It "may have to factor in" transporting voters to polling stations, said Mr Moseneke.

The exact siting of KwaZulu Natal's polling stations will be made known on Wednesday.

If violence decreases as a result of the imposition of the State of Emergency, the polling stations may be moved closer to where they are needed.

Already the IEC believes it will be possible to set up polling stations in parts of notoriously unstable KwaMashu and Umbuzo, near Durban.

The IEC aims to provide polling stations not more than 10km from voters throughout the country.

This was not possible in the Zulu heartland around Empangeni, where Mr Moseneke identified several "problem children", including Nongoma — where the royal kraal is situated — and Mahlabatini, the district surrounding the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi.

ANC guard held after shooting

Sunday Times Reporters

It was almost a case of the ANC shooting itself in the foot — unfortunately, it was a passer-by who took the bullet.

The ANC had feared Third Force agents would disrupt events commemorating the death of Chris Hani, but yesterday one of its own men was held by police after a shooting outside a service in Hillbrow, Johannesburg.

The ANC security guard had been standing at the entrance of the Summit Club, a residential hotel where the memorial service was being held. He held back a large crowd.

A man working at a cafe nearby said he had been told by police that the shot had been fired "by accident,"

Mr Bradley Clark, head of security at the Summit Club, said ANC guards had claimed the shot came from the top of the building.

"But it definitely came from inside the red vehicle," he added.

While there were unconfirmed reports of other shots being fired after the incident, no other injuries were reported.

See Page 7
KwaZulu death toll over 90

THE death toll in KwaZulu-Natal has risen to more than 90 since last week's declaration of a state of emergency.

Police yesterday reported the killing of 33 people — 22 in two separate incidents.

At least 12 people were killed in an attack at KwaMashu men's hostel on Sunday. Most of the victims were shot.

Also on Sunday, 10 people were shot dead in Ndwedwe, north of Durban.

On Monday night in Potweni, south of Durban, four young men, believed to be ANC supporters, were woken up, taken outside and shot at point-blank range.

KwaZulu police also reported the death of a man in Esikhawini on the North Coast on Sunday night. His body was badly decomposed and was found about 6:30pm.

Two men were killed after a "kangaroo court" on Saturday, Maritzburg police said. They were tied to a chair and set alight at Maphumulo, near Greytown.

Six people were shot dead in attacks on a packed minibus and another vehicle in Nongoma, northern Natal, yesterday morning.

A KwaZulu Police spokesman said the attacks appeared to be linked to a local taxi feud over taxi routes.

Two burnt bodies were found in Kekela and Phola Park yesterday. — Own Correspondent, Sapa
KwaZulu poll doubt

Elections impossible, says IEC

JOHANNESBURG. — Elections cannot be held in KwaZulu in the current political climate — this is the unanimous conclusion reached by a joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African and KwaZulu governments.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said in a statement yesterday he had reported the working committee’s conclusion to President F W de Klerk, the Transitional Executive Council, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, a decision to postpone the election would be a political decision, so Friday’s leaders’ summit would be of critical importance, an IEC spokesman, Mrs Ima van der Linde, said.

Judge Kriegler said: “The IEC has indicated that in the light of the report, political measures were required. As such, the IEC, as in the past, did not make any proposals. The IEC is necessarily continuing with its planning of elections in the provinces as a whole and for the province in the event that political measures are possible in those areas unaffected by the political climate in KwaZulu.”

He said the effect of the recently proclaimed state of emergency in KwaZulu-Natal could not be gauged yet, but the IEC expected it would “significantly contribute to the performance of its mandate”.

An in-depth study was under way and would be followed by an inspection in late July by the IEC commissions later this week. They would report to the full commission on Saturday.

Mr Justice Kriegler said the working group, set up on March 29, consisted of heads of relevant KwaZulu government departments, representatives of the South African Department of Home Affairs, the SA Police and the IEC.

The IEC last night said it would be impossible to postpone the election only in one province and the entire general election should be re-scheduled.

President de Klerk, who is known to favour the postponement of the polls at least in Natal, Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and Zuma King Goodwill

IEF MEDIATION POSTPONED

Zwelethu is to meet on Friday to discuss holding free and fair elections and the rising tide of political violence — especially in KwaZulu.

The IEC’s chief negotiator, Dr Ben Ngubane, said the IEC announcement was a significant development and IFP MP Mr Farazek Caxim said it was now clear the entire election should be postponed.

Democrat Party national president candidate Mr Roger Bowers said the summit should critically examine the possibility of postponing the election nationally subject to certain conditions.

These were that the IEC, the KwaZulu government and the king should agree to move into transitional structures, that the military and police should be unified under SAPF command as under the state of emergency and that international mediators must be completed in two months.

Both the IFP and NP have rejected a postponement of the poll only in the province.

While the ANC has repeatedly opposed a postponement of the polls, with ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala saying earlier that a minority in Natal could not hold back the will of the majority, pressure is now expected to build on the ANC to change its stance.

Judge Kriegler said the working committee gave the following as the reasons for its assessment that an election was not possible in KwaZulu:

- “The high level of political intolerance and fear, as well as large-scale intimidation, which have led to the current state of emergency.
- The KwaZulu civil service and tribal structures are unable to assist fully the process for a free and fair election.
- Owing to time constraints, the IEC will not be able to follow the procedure and process required to conduct elections and ensure the voting stations work.
- The SA Police and the KwaZulu Police do not foresee that they will be in a position in the present political climate to adequately secure that the elections are free and fair.
- ANC national president candidate Mr Jacob Zuma said yesterday that the elections had to go ahead on schedule or the country could slip into chaos.
- A legitimate government had to be secured as soon as possible so that it could effectively deal with the country’s problems.”

ANC president Mr Clarence Maketu said his party would not oppose a postponement of the April elections, provided it was applied throughout the country. — Our Correspondent and Saps
The elections must go ahead'

The government and the African National Congress were adamant today that the elections in KwaZulu must go ahead — in spite of the contention that the poll is impossible in the present political climate.

Spokesmen said the pre-elections uncertainty could not be allowed to continue and people who used violence and caused unrest could not be permitted to have their way.

Hopes of a solution now rest on Friday’s crucial meeting between President de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zula King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The report and recommendations of a joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African and KwaZulu governments — that the elections cannot be held in KwaZulu without the present uncertainties — will be one of the main issues for discussion at the meeting.

The IFP insists political changes were required in KwaZulu, but these fell outside its brief.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Jakob Krieger said today that if he felt the political climate in KwaZulu should be changed, he had no doubt the IFP would have challenged the decision of the joint working committee.

The IFP, however, was satisfied with the report of the working committee.

Government spokesman Carl Niehaus, deputy-minister in the office of the president, said the report of the working committee was an extremely important matter and would be studied carefully before it was presented on Friday's meeting.

If the elections were postponed, the tremendous uncertainty and tension between various political groups would continue.

Some elements could not bear the impression that if they ceased violence and uncertainty, they would get their way.

There was no evidence that a decision on the elections could be taken on Saturday.

On the March: Defying the state of emergency ban on carrying cultural weapons, 30,000 Inkatha supporters take to the streets of Empangeni to call for the election to be delayed.

Natal violence toll: 88 die in six days

DURBAN — At least 88 people have been confirmed killed in the past six days as violence continues to spread through the politically charged Natal-KwaZulu region in spite of the declaration of a state of emergency.

The toll could climb as reports from far-flung rural settlements reach police stations over the next few days.

Natal sworn constables and residents of the region reported 16 more deaths at the weekend in eastern Natal townships and rural areas which police have not yet confirmed.

Police reports put the toll at 80 since Thursday. An average of 12 killings a day under emergency rule.

Violence in Natal has reached unprecedented levels with 98 deaths reported last week, the highest in several years. — Sapa.
KwaZulu Poll Plan Set up for Contingency

It was too late to change the incisional constit-

Benjamin Zulfa

The Independent Electoral Commission
decision on Monday to allow the elections to proceed in the province is a welcome development. It means that the KwaZulu-Natal provincial election will take place as scheduled on 3 April. The decision follows an appeal by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to the Constitutional Court to allow the election to proceed. The IEC argued that the delay in the election would be unconstitutional and would deny the voters their right to participate in the democratic process. The Constitutional Court agreed with the IEC and ruled that the election should proceed.

The decision has been met with mixed reactions. While some欢迎 the decision, others are concerned about the security situation in the province. The KwaZulu-Natal provincial election is considered to be crucial in determining the future of the province. The election is being fought between the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA), and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The ANC is the ruling party in the province and is expected to win a majority in the election. The DA and the IFP are also expected to do well in the election. The election is being held in the wake of the recent violent protests in the province. The protests were caused by the death of a young boy in a police operation. The protests have left several people dead and hundreds of people injured.

The ANC has been accused of failing to prevent the violence. The party has been criticized for not doing enough to address the problems that have led to the violence. The DA and the IFP have also been criticized for not doing enough to prevent the violence.

The election is being held in the context of a constitutional crisis in the country. The crisis is caused by the failure of the government to implement the constitutional reforms. The crisis has caused a lot of uncertainty in the country and has led to the delay in the election.

The government has been accused of not doing enough to address the constitutional crisis. The government has been criticized for not doing enough to address the problems that have led to the violence.

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The government has been accused of not doing enough to address the constitutional crisis. The government has been criticized for not doing enough to address the problems that have led to the violence.
Big four to trash out poll issue

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

The demand by the Inkatha Freedom Party for a postponement of the elections is set to dominate tomorrow’s summit of leaders to be held at an as yet undisclosed venue.

The issue was given fresh impetus by the report of the joint committee of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the South African and KwaZulu governments which found that conditions in KwaZulu were not conducive to holding free and fair elections.

The report will form part of the agenda of the talks to be attended by Zulu King Zwelithini, State President F W de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

With violence raging in Natal and taking lives despite the state of emergency declared last Thursday, hopes for resolving the impasse were dashed yesterday as positions hardened on both the ANC and IFP sides. (10+) (11)

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC was going into the talks to seek freedom of political activity in KwaZulu and would not accede to postponing the elections.

His leader, Mandela, backed this when he told a youth rally in Durban: "There will be no postponement of elections, either in the province of Natal or nationally."

The IFP, buoyed by the IEC report, has called for national elections to be postponed, saying the resolution of political differences should precede the holding of the elections.

Government spokesman Mr Chris Pisner said their attitude had always been that the advantages of postponing the elections in part or whole far outweighed the disadvantages.
KwaZulu death toll now at 105

The death toll in KwaZulu-Natal has risen to 105 since the state of emergency was declared last Thursday.

The SANDF is deploying more troops in the region.

Mechanised units are included in the new deployment, which will raise the number of soldiers enforcing the state of emergency to about 2000.

The province remains tense this week, which has seen a further 13 killings following carnage at the weekend.

The latest deaths are the result of several unrelated incidents spread over Natal from the coast to the Midlands.

They include a shooting at Batavia Mission, near Port Shepstone, where a member of the mission was killed and several others injured.

A woman was shot dead in the Bhambayi settlement, north of Durban and a man and child killed in KwaMbonambi on the North Coast.

Three more people died in attacks in Newcastle and seven others were injured in an attack at the Mfolozi Reserve.

Three houses were burnt down in the Drycoat area of Estcourt, two petrol-bombed in Dundee and a woman was burnt to death in Isandile.

IFP supporters en route to Empangeni in two buses for the march on Tuesday were stopped, and a shotgun, ammunition and three homemade guns confiscated.

Six more people were reported dead following a shooting in Nongoma, Zululand.

According to police, gunmen opened fire on passengers in a taxi, killing four men, a woman and a baby. — Crime Staff.
Army moves in heavy guns

More than 2 000 troops ready to curb election violence

Political Staff

HUNDREDS of mechanised combat troops in Ratel armoured vehicles rumbled into KwaZulu today as the SADF sent in reinforcements to help contain the continuing political violence in the region.

An SADF spokesman said about 750 troops drawn from the Durban Light Infantry, the Natal Field Artillery and the Light Horse Regiment were part of the new deployment, bringing the SADF strength in the region to more than 2 000.

Colonel Frans Verfuss said the mechanised units in the new deployment would enable the SADF to cover wider and less accessible areas of KwaZulu and added that 2 000 troops would be sufficient for the SADF’s immediate objectives.

“If unrest does not break out simultaneously all over Natal, we will be able to make a substantial contribution to containing the violence,” he said.

According to the joint SADF-SADF security committee there was sporadic violence in KwaZulu and Natal but tensions rose ahead of tomorrow’s talks between President F. W. de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Co-Convener Zwelithini and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Police and army officials today reported a further 22 killings in Natal townships and rural settlements this week, pushing the toll to at least 124 in the first week since a state of emergency was declared.

ANC national executive committee member and IFP leader Tony Yengeni said the ANC would march into the KwaZulu capital of Umhlanga to show that it is not afraid of IFP leader Mr Buthelezi.

Mr Makazi said his organisation was becoming tired of listening to demands made by the Zulu king.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Malalane today called on Mr Mandela to distance himself from what he called inflammatory remarks by Mr Motsoo.

Dr Malalane said: “These statements are an outrage. They are inflammatory and demagogic, and are clearly designed to trigger tomorrow’s imminent meeting between police and hostel dwellers. The ANC and the government.”

In Washington, Peter O’Brien reports that Chester Crocker, key mediator of the successful 1989 Namibian-Angolan settlement, believes that international mediators Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington can help to resolve the nagging crisis in South Africa by addressing the element of distrust which has been built up.

CAR BURNS: A soldier stands near a burning car in KwaMashu, near Durban, after the army sent in hundreds more troops to stem the violence linked to the elections.

BIG GUNS: Troops of the 5th Mechanised Battalion wait for orders to move into troubled KwaZulu. More than 700 new troops will be deployed today to combat violence in the area.
Zulu king 'ready to accept headship of KwaZulu-Natal' (107CB)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini is prepared to become ceremonial head of KwaZulu-Natal and drop his demand for an independent, sovereign Zulu kingdom if this would help reach a settlement at tomorrow's leadership summit, palace sources said today.

Secrecy still surrounds the venue. Several delegates said today they would board aircraft early tomorrow not knowing where they were headed.

The summit starts with a private, two-hour meeting between King Goodwill and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. This will be their first meeting.

Afterwards, they will join IFP leaders Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk.

Palace sources and IFP leaders said today they were going into the summit looking for solutions.

The IFP would want the election date to be put back by four weeks, however, so that it could campaign.

Mr Mandela, speaking last night at the University of Durban-Westville, was adamant there would be no postponement.

Palace sources said, given certain guarantees, the king would drop his demand for a sovereign Zulu kingdom and accept ceremonial headship of KwaZulu-Natal.

(News by N M Challenor and S Miller, 16 Osborne Street, Durban)
mad megalomaniac
Be dismissed as a
Bunchezier cannot

[Image of a man with a sign that reads, "Battlement!"
and text that appears to be a mix of unrelated words and sentences.

[Text appears to be a mix of unrelated words and sentences,
including "Patient Wobble 1974"
and "Heres are certain political..."

[Image of a man in a suit holding a microphone,
with text that appears to be a mix of unrelated words and sentences,
including "Ancestral Times - Ananced Flures -
and it does not rate to be..."]
Stalemate. Still the People Mourn

"But for whom?"

Longer how much?
One more cup of coffee for the road

It's a question of where to now for troubled KwaZulu/Natal as hopes fade of enticing or coercing Inkatha into participating in the April 27 general election.

Politicians are still going through the motions of trying a last-ditch rescue but the point of no return already appears to have been passed.

Inkatha and the ANC are still trying to establish the parameters for international mediation on constitutional matters and today's talks involving Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk.

Furthermore, Buthelezi suggested over Easter that if today's talks succeed, there is still a chance that his party could rejoin the election process. Whether that is administratively possible seems unclear, sufficient to say that any logistical problems pale into insignificance compared with resolving the political question of Inkatha's election boycott.

If Inkatha doesn't rejoin the process the prospects look bleak for the region. At the time of going to press, more than 60 people had died in political strife since de Klerk declared a state of emergency in the province at the end of last week. Furthermore, violence will probably escalate rather than abate, in spite of a massive build-up of security forces in Natal, unless a political solution can be found.

At this stage Inkatha's participation on April 27 seems remote. An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman tells the FM that it is no longer even entertaining the possibility of Inkatha's participation because the commission is legally bound on the one hand to hold the election on the designated dates and, on the other, it is logistically impossible now to bring Inkatha on board.

"We regard the election dates as fixed in terms of our mandate unless or until the TEC decides on a new postponement. There are no plans to change, nor are there contingencies for doing so. The ballot papers are already in an advanced stage of being printed and, from a logistical viewpoint, it would be impossible now to accommodate Inkatha in the election,"

Cape Town University's Robert Schrire argues there are two issues. The first is whether Buthelezi can be brought on board in a rational way. Second, if he cannot, can the consequences be contained?

Schrire adds that the only way Buthelezi can save face and belatedly join the process is if regional elections are postponed. But that, he maintains, would be a worse deal for Inkatha than some avenues which it has already rejected.

"Essentially, it would mean that Buthelezi has abandoned ambitions of power in central government and is reduced to competing for the consolation prize of running for KwaZulu/Natal province — and that would doubtless result in Inkatha's support levels dwindling still further.

Buthelezi's willingness to tear up all of his past positions and accept a regional election postponement, if offered, would hinge on whether he is sufficiently demoralised by the dramatic attack on his power base and the escalating regional strife.

"Another problem is that all sides are becoming increasingly inflexible and if Inkatha abstains, it will ensure that a free and fair election campaign is meaningless."

Schrire also feels that international mediation is a nonstarter and is, in any case, unimportant. "It was designed as a fig leaf for Inkatha but has been overtaken by developments."

A further concern he expresses is that it is almost impossible to have democracy in eight regions and autocracy in the ninth.

"What would probably happen is that the bad politics in the ninth province will drive out the good and authoritarianism in Natal will destroy democracy in the other regions."

But it doesn't have to be so. It is up to the people in KwaZulu/Natal to resolve the problem, which is essentially about a Zulu civil war but is being billed as something else. "If Buthelezi and the king succeeded in turning it into a truly ethnic crusade, the prospects are enormously bleak. But the situation could be saved by diverting attention from ethnicity to a regional issue. King Goodwill Zwelithini could then become a figure of national reconciliation. If that is possible, then things will be a lot more promising."

Natal University politics lecturer Ian Phillips believes Buthelezi's bluff was called with the first set of amendments to the Electoral Act when Inkatha registered provisionally but then failed to lodge its candidates' list, thus invalidating its registration.

"That, of course, means they are not on the ballot forms either regionally or nationally. There seems just one escape route and that is to use the position on the ballot of the Freedom Front.

"If Buthelezi could reach an accommodation with front leader Constand Viljoen, they could compile lists which would incorporate the Inkatha representatives."

Phillips questions the feasibility and practicality of delaying even provincial elections either for KwaZulu/Natal or all the regions.

"The problem is that Inkatha has painted itself into a corner and is now crying: 'Help!'"
Learning for All Trust

Band is Johannesburg. Learning for All is an NGO working mainly in urban communities where schools and libraries are scarce and parents fail to provide education as many children under. We see education as a key to breaking poverty and developing communities. We are open to ideas and support from others.

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Applications with CV, rates and contact numbers of two references knowledgeable about the applicant's work over the last three years should be submitted in writing to the Band by 4 April or 4 May. The application may be submitted by manuscript or e-mail. A hard copy of the application should accompany any e-mail submission. For further information, please contact Band at Trust.

Peacemaker for how long?

From PAGE 9: There is also a training centre where women are taught various skills including tailoring, needlework, housekeeping, baking, and cooking. Shabala said he wanted to introduce new courses with funds from South Africa's Department of Manpower. "We want to train people to become plumbers, electricians and the like," said Shabala.
But with the state of the economy, would Shabala live to see his dream come true—or would he be killed? "Why should I give my life to this land when I should be going to driving? We have lived under a state of emergency for a long time. We have been targeted from the inside of the country and outside. He projects himself as a non-racist rather than a Zulu nationalist.
"I do not like someone because he is a Zulu. I like the God-loving people of all races. I am married to a Zulu woman. My Goodwill Zwelithini and I had Batho friends," Shabala said. "I lived with Japhet in Springwood before I left there. I have no business with the law.
He has been a police officer for many years and has a police officer's licence. Shabala's area is heavily armed. A lot of police are killed in this area. He has been working for the police for many years. He has a police officer's licence. Shabala's area is heavily armed. A lot of police are killed in this area. He has been working for the police for many years.
"We have taught how to defend ourselves. We have taught how to fight back," said Shabala. "We have taught how to fight back."
Emergency fails to halt the

Security forces seem to have neither the will nor the manpower to enforce the state of emergency in Natal, reports Farouk Chothia

KwaZulu Clampdown: More troops move in but death toll continues to mount..."THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN APRIL 14, 1994"

WOMEN FACING DEATH DEARLY: OVER 90 WOUNDED... 

The weekly state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal has been a spectacular failure, with the death toll still soaring and the South African Police and South African Defence Force largely failing to implement the regulations. There are clear signs that the focus of attacks has shifted from the urban areas previously targeted by the ANC forces to remote rural settlements beyond their range.

The ANC, a prime mover behind President Pieter Botha's redeployment, accused him this week of putting politics before strategy and of his inability to make decisive action against Inkatha Freedom Party supporters. Implementation of the state of emergency in this province has been shorn of its content, the IFP leader said, adding that the ANC forces now move in as a threat to the ANC stronghold.

A media spokesperson at CR Swarts Square police headquarters, Mr. Mziwakhe Duma, signaled his opposition to the regulations. "I don't think anybody in their wildest dreams thought we were going to have a state of emergency. Previous emergencies haven't solved anything, and I don't think it will solve anything now," he said.

The ANC's comments were published in the Natal Witness on April 10, and the ANC said it had been informed by its military intelligence that the ANC would move in to implement the regulations.

Mourning... Mandla Khuzwayo sits in front of the bullet-ridden house of his brother Fana who was shot and injured and his wife Thandi killed in the ANC section of Inanda township

'KZP escorted the killers'

Stefanos Brumber

The women reckon about 12 people were killed by men using G3 rifles, the same as those used by the KZP. Some victims were friends and neighbours.

A mass exodus started around March 20. Inanda residents welcomed the refugees into their own homes and made other buildings available after a church leader argued that putting the refugees in tents would not give them the safety for which they had come. Mbog and Mngadi each have three children. All share a room without furniture in a shed-like structure that is otherwise used as a clinic. The Red Cross brings food once a week. "We can go on, it's not much, but they feel safe."

But as thousands of refugees near Durban know, violence is unpredictable. Across the ridge from where the refugees stay, Mandla Khuzwayo was quietly speaking of his grieve.

On Tuesday night the house in Inanda's Moscow section where his brother, Fana Khuzwayo, and sister-in-law, Thandi Mphansi, stayed came under attack. About 10-30 p.m. the attackers flushed them out by lighting a fire against the front door, then burned them with bullets from pistols and zipguns.

His brother survived in spite of bullet wounds in the head and leg, but Mphansi died in the fire which gutted the house.

Khuzwayo believes the attackers wanted to murder his brother, but were not politically inspired. They had come for him, and killed him. "They were making sure he died because they are criminals and he is not."

It was the second time they had come for his brother, Khuzwayo said. The first time he was attacked. An attack on the township, the incident was never reported to police.

Next door and down the street people went about their business as usual the day after the attack, seemingly unaffected by the tragedy. Perhaps the sight of gutted houses and bloodied bodies has become too familiar, political or not.

Elections can take place - IEC

Chris Low

CONTRARY to newspaper reports, the joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the KwaZulu and South African governments has agreed that elections in KwaZulu-Natal would be possible. Indeed, the committee states quite clearly in its report that an election can..."THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN APRIL 14, 1994"
...as bloodshed continues unabated in troubled province

Northern Natal chairman Blessed Gwala — would be charged with contravening the emergency regulations.

The dockets would be sent to the attorney general's office for expropriation proceedings, including that police want the men to take their normal course.

Differences between the ANC and government are not confined to actions on dealing with the IFP. They go to the heart of the emergency regulations who should be their prime enforcement, the SAP or the SAPF?

Though the ANC wants the SAPF to be the primary law enforcement agency, the force insists that it merely play a supplementary role to the 11,000 SAP officers.

"The main role player will be the SAP, if they meet withextra forces, they will approach the SAPF," an officer said.

"They have a fundamental problem that the ANC is the only law enforcer."

The Southern Africa correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Hettim Heidorn, believes the fundamental problem is that the ANC is the only law enforcer.

To Page 10

Peacemaker ...

But for how much longer?

Farouk Chothia

WHILE feared in ANC circles as a war monger, Thomas Mthuli Shabalala was playing the role of a peacemaker this week, trying to convince Inkatha Freedom Party hostels to turn over their members to make peace with ANC-supported residents.

His message to them was simple: "If you want to fight, right now, there is nothing that can affect the houses and the children. Only towards light that just," he told them.

As he spoke to the Mail & Guardian from his stronghold of Lindelani — a squatter settlement surrounded by ANC stronghold — the clean-shaven Shabalala said: "We are not going to set up a Joint Operation Unit monitored by police and soldiers in hostels.

"If we have the JCU on the border (between ANC and IFP territory). It will help. We want the ANC and IFP to coexist." Aged 50, the father-of-three's role of peacemaker is far removed from the image ANC supporters have of him: they see him as one of the most powerful IFP leaders in the Durban region, master-ministering attacks against them from Lindelani.

Although he has been accused of murder, he has never been convicted. In 1999, however, two of his bodyguards were found guilty of the murder of two United Democratic Front-supporting activists.

No electoral official is known to have yet set foot in Lindelani — and if they plan to do so, they might be killed. There have been claims that Shabalala has in the past issued death threats against ANC-supporting teachers and has even executed some of them.

Shabalala dismissed the charge as "blue lies" and "professional propaganda.

Despite the claims, Shabalala has at the same time built his image of peacemaker as an enabler of an IFP delegation in peace talks with the ANC at regional level and also by courting local ANC leaders such as Ubuntu buckled.

Shabalala, who lives in a shack himself, worked tirelessly to retain the loyalty of Landed shack dwellers. With funds from the Umzuku government, homes have been built, roads have been tarred and electricity and tarred water provided.

To PAGE 10

Carnage in Natal

Sheltered from the sun, but not the violence ... Mourners at an IFP memorial service in Elandskop

Stalemate. Still the people mourn

Stefaan Brummer

HUNDREDS of umbrellas unfurled under the midday sun of Elandskop, a day after Natal Midlands Inshaka Freedom Party stronghold. Under their shade the people sat in quiet mourning, there to remember Inkatha men fallen in the Johannesburg march. On Thursday there was another march further north at Empangeni and a second memorial service near Eastcourt.

All three passed peacefully without incident but the tension of old rivalry and IFP opposition to the state — emergency simmered beneath the surface.

At Eastcourt and Empangeni traditional weapons, banned under the emergency measures, were much in evidence. The security force reaction was ambigus. At the former, some weapons were reportedly confiscated — termed security force harassment by Inkatha headmen — but at the larger Empangeni gathering marchers went unchallenged.

Why expectations of strict enforcement went unfulfilled may be explained by security force reticence, but it seemed the marchers and the mourners were also holding back on too open a challenge at visible events.

The Elandskop memorial service illustrated the point. Peace Committee monitors were invited by the organizers to attend, at 12.30 when they were being under increasing threat in Natal. A few sharpened sticks and knobkerries carried by men milling about were the exception, but that was on the surface.

"There are some guns, but you'll only see them if trouble starts," said an Interim Stability Unit member on the scene.

He and his colleagues — about a dozen men — appeared less concerned about that potential for violence, preferring instead to stay in their vans under the shade of trees, folk and rock on a stereo. Even if they had wanted to act, they would have been outnumbered, Stalemate.

After the prayers and the speeches, including one by kwazulu deputy minister of works, Velaphi Nkomo, event organizer and local headman David Nemchoba slated the police presence.

"This decision was taken, no Zulu officials were present."

People were angry about the Johannesburg killings, he said, but they "won't do anything"

And the mourners got into the buses and taxis and bakkies, heading home along roads where another Inkatha man may reside as ANC area; and not far beyond it is Inkatha turf again.

The lines are clearly drawn by the scars of burns and ramshackled buildings where the IFP graffiti stops and the ANC election posters start.

Home they went into the night, where the killers continue their carnage.

The peace of the day was no more than on the surface.
The election must go ahead — but Buthelezi must still be taken seriously

The declaration of a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal may well have been necessary. Special measures were needed to stop the killing that has been destroying so many communities. But it is highly debatable whether the state of emergency can achieve its main aim, which is to ensure an election that is free and fair. On the other hand, this does not mean that the election in Natal will be declared unfree and unfair.

Much comfort has been taken from the deployment of SADF troops in Natal. At the moment, the SADF appears to have more credibility than the police, certainly among ANC supporters for whom the police can do no right. KwaZulu politicians, on the other hand, have talked of Pretoria’s army of occupation. Clearly the use of troops is not a solution but a stop-gap measure. And while the SADF may appear reasonably popular now, that could change rapidly.

Meanwhile, as long as their presence is legitimised by the Transitional Executive Council, there are certain things the soldiers can do. They can put a lid on the violence by the use of patrols, both in a deterrent and a reactive way. They can arrest people perceived to be responsible for organising and causing violence. They can ride around in armoured vehicles looking formidable; if necessary they can use violence to prevent further violence. And the emergency regulations allow them a certain latitude regarding detention without trial, as well as immunity from prosecution for actions taken in the course of duty.

What the SADF — or any security force, for that matter — cannot do is force people to feel safe about the election. The two main protagonists in the battle for Natal are the ANC and Inkatha. Over the past decade each has established its pieces of territory and no-go zones.

Readily identifying these bits of turf is difficult for locals, let alone soldiers from outside the affected communities. The boundaries tend to be informal — a stream here, a road there, a line of shackels or a field of mealies. Each area has its dominant chief, or warlord, or criminal gang leader, or committee chairman.

In some areas there are ANC supporters who are desperate to exercise their vote, but they are scared to be seen doing so because of the Inkatha boycott. In other areas there are Inkatha supporters who may wish to vote but dare not risk defying the party line — and others who do not want to vote, but may feel intimidated by ANC members into doing so.

Of course, if all parties were involved in the election, only two things would be necessary: the security forces would have to keep the streets peaceful around the polling booths; and the voters would have to be convinced that the ballot was secret. But because one party is resisting the election, the visible act of voting (or not voting) is itself an invitation to intimidation.

So sending in the SADF will not guarantee a free and fair election in Natal. In theory this has important implications for the election as a whole. More than 20% of the country’s voters live in KwaZulu/Natal. Can the election as a whole be declared valid, if such an important provincial component is so fraught with complications?

We suspect, in fact, that the election will be declared valid in Natal and, therefore, in the country as a whole. A boycott in itself is a legitimate tactic and cannot invalidate the election in Natal, even if the percentage poll is much lower than in the rest of the country. Only if there is visible and widespread intimidation is there a risk of invalidation — and the SADF presence should, on the whole, prevent this. In practice, the election in Natal is highly unlikely to be free and fair — but it will not be easy for the Independent Electoral Commission to prove this.

None of which solves the problem beyond April 27 and 28. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s objections to the interim constitution will remain; so will enough of his power base to threaten ANC rule in the province. The SADF cannot stay there forever and, in any case, it cannot pacify every village. A political solution will be needed.

Though Inkatha is not on the ballot paper, it still has several options. Buthelezi could, at the last minute, declare Inkatha available under another party’s registration; he could also retain and actively encourage tolerance of the electoral process. Both options are highly unlikely to be taken, simply because they would not fit in with Buthelezi’s hardline strategy.

The third option — to continue to oppose the election, either tacitly or violently — is much more likely. Indeed, even if major concessions are now offered by the ANC and government, it is difficult to see how Buthelezi could do anything else. It seems that only a federal constitution will be acceptable to him and even if it were granted — which is most unlikely — it is too late for him to take advantage because he is not registered for the election. A federal system conceded now would simply entrench the ANC more firmly in Natal after the election.

So just about the most that can be expected from Buthelezi at this week’s scheduled summit with the Zulu king, President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela is a promise not to be inflammatory. It is Buthelezi’s right to boycott the election, but he certainly does not have the right to prevent others from voting.

He is also in a much weaker constitutional position than Bophuthatswana’s Lucas Mangope, now deposed. At least Mangope could point to the independence given him by Pretoria, whereas Buthelezi has never been more than a regional authority within SA. As several observers have argued, it is simply unacceptable for Buthelezi to be allowed to hold to ransom the entire transition to democracy.

A low percentage poll, for whatever reason, will be used to boost Buthelezi’s claims of support for his secessionist position. After the election those claims will again have to be addressed. King Goodwill Zwelithini, who apparently commands much broader affection and respect among Zulus than Buthelezi, has complicated matters by his recent forceful entry into the fray.

So what can De Klerk and Mandela offer Buthelezi and the king at their summit meeting? Very little in terms of electoral arrangements. There is no question of the national election date being put off; this would create more problems without solving anything.

But there has been a growing call for the postponement of the election for the Natal provincial assembly. One of the supporters of this option is Stellenbosch academic Willie Breitenbach. He believes the provincial election is the crux of the issue for Inkatha, because it does not want to lose control at that
level. But Breitenbach also points out that voting by Natalians in the national parliamentary election cannot be postponed in the same way, because that would affect the national total vote (according to which seats are allocated to parties on the percentage system of proportional representation).

There is much that is seductive about Breitenbach’s argument. Last week the FM also wondered about delaying the provincial election in Natal, while letting voting go ahead everywhere else. But, on second thoughts, we believe there would be no point to this, unless Buthelezi says now that he is prepared to take part at a later date — and there is no sign that he will. Doubtless the option has already been quietly explored by negotiators. In addition, as Breitenbach himself points out, there would have to be national voting in Natal, thus raising exactly the same problems of access and intimidation.

By now De Klerk and Mandela, who have come to a fairly copy agreement about the transition in general, must be heartily tired of Buthelezi’s obstruction: their own eyes and energies, understandably, are focused on the campaign and the prizes to be had at the end of it. But they must swallow their impatience and try to find ways to address Buthelezi’s objections beyond the election, in order to buy his compliance before it takes place. They might try somehow to emulate the ANC undertaking to the Freedom Front’s Constand Viljoen, that an Afrikaner volkswaard is of some form may still be considered after the election. But if they are to make any progress, they must appreciate again where Buthelezi is coming from.

It is worth reminding ourselves that politics is about power — and that Buthelezi is accounted for none. He has been Chief Minister of Kwazulu for more than two decades, with real administrative authority over millions of Zulus. Though he flatly rejected the full independence offered by Pretoria, it is one of the ironies of the apartheid system that he gathered personal power anyway.

Buthelezi also built considerable prestige through his consistent opposition to apartheid — a stand that was appreciated for many years by ANC leaders in exile. It is only in the past decade that animosity between Inkatha and the ANC has flared, sparked originally by bitter division over how the 1983 tricameral constitution should be opposed.

Buthelezi gained the respect of businessmen for his consistent and lucidly argued opposition to economic sanctions — for which he was unjustly vilified by the ANC and churchmen. In the mid-Eighties, he also lent his weight to the Natal Indaba, the generic term for the most important constitutional proposals to emerge since Union and before Codesa (but firmly scotched by President PW Botha).

Buthelezi has been consistent and convincing in his defence of federalism — and he is right when he says that the interim constitution is not federal. Abroad, he commanded considerable respect, partly because of the principles he espoused and partly because of a lingering colonial romanticism about the Zulu warrior nation.

Yet Buthelezi has been under siege for some years from the ANC, in the territory he regarded as his own. He does not take kindly to criticism and has thus alienated commentators who might otherwise have remained sympathetic. Crucially, he seems to have been influenced by unsuitable advisers. While he cannot be blamed for lacking a broad strategy, his tactics in trying to achieve it have been questionable. Arguably, he has played hard to get just once too often. Now his dominant place in Natal politics will be taken in the new provincial assembly, at least for a time, by the ANC’s most senior Zulu, Jacob Zuma.

As a result of Buthelezi’s boycott stance, large numbers of Zulus appear to have been alienated from him but must be presumed to have accepted the mainstream of national politics. By the end of last year, few neutral observers believed that Buthelezi would command majority support in Natal. Then, as he appeared to undermine his own potential electoral base, his overseas backers began to drop away.

Buthelezi’s rigid and autocratic approach can perhaps be illustrated by looking at the history of opposition to him from within the Zulu fold. In 1972, the Umkhonto ka Shaka party was formed under one Charles Hluenga, based (as the name implies) on the central appeal of royalty. This party appears to have been suppressed, then it faded away.

In 1973, the Zulu National Party was established under Lloyd Ndaba, supported by Johannesburg businessman Ephraim Tshabalala and Patrick and Clement Zulu. "The signifnicance of the ZNP was that Patrick Zulu was secretary of the Zulu Royal National Council and the party was formed, says Breitenbach, "explicitly to do what Buthelezi now wants to do" — that is, restore the Zulu kingdom. At the time, Buthelezi dismissed the ZNP — in which King Goodwill was implicated — as "the black branch of the Nationalist Party regime." Buthelezi’s record seems to show scant tolerance of opposition politics.

It was in the late Seventies that Buthelezi invoked the idea of federalism, largely as a way to resist independence being foisted on him by Pretoria. However, "now that a federal SA has dawned, and because it is going to be an elected federalism, Buthelezi got cold feet," argues Breitenbach. "Clearly, an elected federal system will lead to Buthelezi’s demise. But if he can succeed in establishing a Zulu monarchy, then there’s a new lease of life (for him)."

Buthelezi’s lineage is of interest because it may explain why he has reacted so badly to insults on his dignity, rather than with the traditional politician’s thick skin. Apparently dismissive calls by the ANC’s Cyril Ramaphosa for a military solution in Natal were not calculated to soothe Buthelezi.

His grandfather, Mnyamana Buthelezi, was chief induna to the Zulu kings Cetewayo and Dinizulu. Mnyamana’s son, Mathole, married Princess Makoka, a daughter of Dinizulu and sister of King Solomon, in a wedding at which a record number of lobola cattle was paid. The eldest son of this marriage was Buthelezi, born in 1928 and doubly linked to royalty. His name is linked to the royal battle cry, Uzulu.

A restored Zulu monarchy, says Breitenbach, might be high on legitimacy. But it is questionable how far traditional legitimacy can be taken in a partially modernised society like SA — especially given estimates that the ANC could get majority Zulu support in an electoral fight with Inkatha. And surveys have suggested that a majority even of Inkatha supporters wish to vote.

So a return to the heyday of Zulu power in the 1830s can hardly be taken seriously. But that does not mean Buthelezi must be dismissed as irrelevant. We have little idea what offers from De Klerk and Mandela would placate or even please him, but a good start would be to persuade him that he is taken seriously as a major player — irrespective of whether he takes part in the election. Perhaps the experience and diplomatic skills of Foreign Minister Pik Botha could be used to good effect.

Meanwhile the election goes ahead. That must be made abundantly clear.
The homelands' booby traps

Artificial elites are threatened by democracy

There was never any doubt that the 10 black homelands would reintegrate with the rest of SA. Their fate was sealed in February 1980 when President FW de Klerk acknowledged that Hendrik Verwoerd's apartheid dream had become a nightmare and the course was set towards democracy.

The homeland administrations, propped up by R17bn in the current financial year from the SA Treasury, were expected to be among the least troublesome issues facing multi-party negotiators. But they have, instead, become the most serious threat to a peaceful transition. Some of them have been revealed as booby traps, legacies of the grand apartheid ideology that remain to explode in the faces of negotiators.

Though the instability which followed the overthrow of Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo seems to have been contained by SADF action and the appointment of administrators, the situation in KwaZulu is explosive.

In Lebowa, the SADF and government administrators have moved in to prevent the homeland's civil service collapsing into total chaos after it had teetered on the brink for weeks in the wake of strikes by workers demanding pension payouts and more pay.

The situation in QwaQwa on the eastern border of the Free State is also tense. The homeland's political leader, Kenneth Mopeli, alleges ANC plans to topple him too. In Venda and Transkei there have also been pay and pension disputes and public services are reportedly grinding to a halt.

KwaZulu is a special case and by far the most difficult to resolve. There seems little doubt that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, encouraged by close advisors like Walter Felgate, has sufficient support in the KwaZulu police force, the civil service and the citizenry to withstand the sort of ANC-lead popular uprising that brought down Mangope and Gqozo.

It would probably overstate the situation to suggest that an orchestrated domino effect is underway — though the ANC is making life as uncomfortable as it can for homeland leaders who do not support the organisation.

Those who do, such as Transkei's Bantu Holomisa and former Venda military strongman Gabriel Ramoshawa (now head of the National Peacekeeping Force), have been left alone or, in Holomisa's case, roped in to campaign for the organisation.

The underlying problem that made the homelands ripe for revolution is years of financial and administrative chaos. Reports of successive auditors-general have detailed varying degrees of corruption, maladministration and incompetence in all six non-independent homelands. The true situation in the TBVC states, which have their own AGs, is unclear, but is believed to be just as chaotic.

The main problem was that government simply channelled billions of rand annually into homeland coffers and had no say in how the money was used. The result has been massive wastage and rapidly declining levels of service.

Re-establishing stable administrations in the homeland areas when they become part of the provincial structures later this year will be among the biggest challenges facing the new government.

In terms of the interim constitution, the homeland administrations were to have remained in place until after the election, when they would be incorporated into the new provincial structures.

But the rejections by Mangope and Gqozo of the settlement negotiated at the World Trade Centre and their blocking of free political activity in the territories, set the scene for their overthrow. There is little doubt that the ANC has overwhelming support in both areas, so organising mass action that culminated in regional revolution was fairly simple.

The ANC, they would not have succeeded had the organisation not been well supported in the two territories.

In Lebowa the situation was different. Chief Minister Nelson Ramodieke backs the ANC and is on the organisation's list for election to parliament. There the real problem is widespread corruption and maladministration. Last year, government took over Lebowa's financial affairs and has now effectively taken control of the entire administration. Ramodieke, fighting to the last, has demanded that the TEC appoint administrators, but is likely to be ignored.

In QwaQwa, Mopeli also faces the prospect of being deposed before the election. His Inkwenkwezi Party opposes the ANC and is contesting elections for the national assembly and the Free State and PWV provincial legislatures. Though the ANC has widespread support throughout the Free State and QwaQwa, the organisation has accused Mopeli of threatening its right to campaign freely in the homeland.

There appears to be little resistance to the ANC from the administrations in Gazankulu, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele and action to overthrow the current nominal rulers seems unlikely.

Could the tension have been avoided? Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer believes so. More than a year ago in parliament, he urged De Klerk to re-incorporate the homelands as soon as possible and to use Pretoria's obvious financial leverage if necessary. But, in reply, De Klerk bitterly attacked De Beer and accused him of rejecting the need to achieve the co-operation of the territories before changing their status.

"If we act rashly, using the powers that we have, we shall destabilise those areas, we shall destabilise education and we shall destabilise the necessary services which are being rendered there. Therefore we shall not misuse those powers. We shall act responsibly because we have the interests of the people who live in those areas at heart," said De Klerk. Within a year, De Klerk and the TEC were forced to act unilaterally and without the co-operation of Mangope or Gqozo to prevent the instability he warned would occur if hasty moves were made.

De Beer regards De Klerk's failure to act last year as a strategic blunder based on the mistaken belief that he had a potential election ally in Mangope particularly, but in other homeland leaders as well. De Beer says while he has little doubt that the uprisings in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei were orchestrated by the ANC, they would not have succeeded had the organisation not been well supported in the two territories.

Peter Vale, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, says what is happening in the homelands has a parallel in eastern Europe. It shows that forcibly created political structures lead to the establishment of a
**Fear to tread**

We should not be surprised as the political temperature rises over Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's refusal to take part in the election. This confrontation has been implicit in the political process for a decade, ever since the ANC's surrogates in the United Democratic Front began making an enemy of Buthelezi. When President F W de Klerk unbanned the ANC in February 1990, the tension between Buthelezi and the ANC was always going to be the major threat to the transition and the election. (C) (F)

The other homeland leaders, whether self-governing or nominally independent, never loomed as formidable obstacles to the process. Many were insignificant because their territories were small and fragmented, or because they were so unpopular and corrupt that little effort would be required to enforce reincorporation. Most of the homeland leaders, realising this, succumbed to the process without much protest. Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana was the exception, labouring under such delusions about his own support that in the end he had to be removed from power.

The eastern Cape territories of Transkei and Ciskei were reasonably coherent geographically, but historically they spawned the leaders of the liberation struggle. Their military leaders were wise enough not to resist the inevitable.

As for the white Right, it has never had the potential for destabilisation once possessed by its fascist predecessors in World War 2 such as the Ossewa Brandwag. Whites may be nervous about the future but they are, as a group, sufficiently secure and prosperous to be prepared to take their chances under an ANC government. The reality of the armed threat posed by the far Right was finally exposed in the humiliation of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbevegweg as they swaggered into Bop to support Mangope. Their embarrassment has in turn caused further splits.

That leaves KwaZulu and Buthelezi — always a special case. Unlike most other homeland leaders, Buthelezi refused to take independence from Pretoria and constantly voiced his strong opposition to apartheid. He took personal risks in doing so, which helped to give him considerable domestic and foreign prestige. He called repeatedly for the release of Nelson Mandela, whom he regarded as a friend.

As with most other homelands, the boundaries of KwaZulu were drawn to suit white interests and so the territory is fragmented. But it is large. And the Zulus make up SA's largest single ethnic group, estimated at around 4m. They have a fierce warrior tradition, based on conquest of other black peoples and often successful resistance to British and Boer aggression. They seem loyal to a traditional monarchy.

The ANC claims that Buthelezi does not command majority support in KwaZulu/Natal, but it is clear that his support is still substantial. He might not have a trained army, but then he does not need one to make (by omission or commission) a free and fair election impossible in Natal. His tactics may be questionable, but he is right when he says that the new constitution is not federal. His own constitutional demands have not been unreasonable.

There is no easy way to prevent this gathering crisis. It is certainly not the answer to send in the SADF or to embark on rolling mass action. The army can hardly be expected to pacify every village and hillside of KwaZulu; even if it could, its presence would not induce people to vote and, after its withdrawal, the problem would remain and the violence could proliferate. All the army can do is put a temporary lid on the boiling pot. In any case, there are limits to the number of men who can be deployed.

Mass action has become a convenient weapon for the ANC, whose members are clearly tempted to employ it against Buthelezi. But the ANC leadership must think carefully about this or they will have such blood on their hands as to make a democratic election meaningless. Mass action is a blunt instrument of indiscriminate violence which, once unleashed, defies control until it has run its ghastly course and exacted a high price.

Whatever happens, the election must go ahead on schedule. Far too much symbolic passion rests on its liberating outcome. But if the regional election in Natal could be postponed, while voting for the national assembly went ahead, time would be provided for negotiation. This might help to save face: ANC supporters in Natal would not be denied the franchise, yet Buthelezi would still be in a position to negotiate.

Of course, the problems of intimidation and violence would remain — and Judge Johan Kriegler, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, has already made it clear that the conditions for a fair election do not exist in large parts of Natal.

The ANC is indisputably in a powerful position in the region. But, however unpalatable this may be to its leaders, it does not have the capacity to obliterate Buthelezi, whose power to disrupt an election now and harass well into the future may have been underestimated.

De Klerk and Mandela will have to come to terms with this, just as they came to terms reluctantly with each other. Negotiations must continue and more concessions may have to be made. Otherwise, what happens in parts of Natal could undermine the value of the entire election, disrupt the national economy and entrench a culture of violence.
BUTHELEZI AND THE ELECTION

One more cup of coffee for the road

It's a question of where to now for troubled KwaZulu/Natal as hopes fade of enticing or coercing Inkatha into participating in the April 27 general election.

Politicians are still going through the motions of trying a last-ditch rescue but the point of no return already appears to have been passed.

Inkatha and the ANC are still trying to establish the parameters for international mediation on constitutional matters and today's talks involving Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Zulu King Goodwill Zwe- lethini, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F.W de Klerk.

Furthermore, Buthelezi suggested over Easter that if today's talks succeed, there is still a chance that his party could rejoin the election process. Whether that is administratively possible seems unclear: suffice to say that any logistical problems pale into insignificance compared with resolving the political question of Inkatha's election boycott.

If Inkatha doesn't rejoin the process the prospects look bleak for the region. At the time of going to press, more than 60 people had died in political strife since De Klerk declared a state of emergency in the province at the end of last week. Furthermore, violence will probably escalate rather than abate, in spite of a massive build-up of security forces in Natal, unless a political solution can be found.

At this stage Inkatha's participation on April 27 seems remote. An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman tells the Financial Mail that it is no longer even entertaining the possibility of Inkatha's participation because the commission is legally bound on the one hand to hold the election on the designated dates and, on the other, it is logistically impossible now to bring Inkatha on board.

"We regard the election dates as fixed in terms of our mandate unless or until the TEC decides on a new permutation. There are no plans to change, nor are there contingencies for doing so. The ballot papers are already in an advanced stage of being printed and, from a logistical viewpoint, it would be impossible now to accommodate Inkatha in the election."

Cape Town University's Robert Schrire argues there are two issues. The first is whether Buthelezi can be brought on board in a rational way. Second, if he cannot, can the consequences be contained?

Schrire adds that the only way Buthelezi can save face and belatedly join the process is if regional elections are postponed. But that, he maintains, would be a worse deal for Inkatha than some avenues which it has already rejected.

"Essentially, it would mean Buthelezi has abandoned ambitions of power in central government and is reduced to competing for the consolation prize of running for KwaZulu/Natal province — and that would doubtless result in Inkatha's support levels dwindling still further."

Buthelezi's willingness to tear up all of his past positions and accept a regional election postponement, if offered, would hinge on whether he is sufficiently demoralised by the dramatic attack on his power base and the escalating regional strife.

"Another problem is that all sides are becoming increasingly inflexible and if Inkatha abstains, it will ensure that a free and fair election campaign is meaningless."

Schrire also feels that international mediation is a nonstarter and is, in any case, unimportant. "It was designed as a fig leaf for Inkatha but has been overtaken by developments."

A further concern he expresses is that it is almost impossible to have democracy in eight regions and autocracy in the ninth.

But he probably happens is that the bad politics in the ninth province will drive out the good and authoritarianism in Natal figure of national reconciliation. If that is possible, then things will be a lot more promising."

Natal University politics lecturer Ian Philip believes Buthelezi's bluff was called with the first set of amendments to the Electoral Act when Inkatha registered provisionally but then failed to lodge its candidates' list, thus invalidating its registration.

"That, of course, means they are not on the ballot forms either regionally or nationally. There seems just one escape route and that is to use the position on the ballot of the Freedom Front."

"If Buthelezi could reach an accommodation with front leader Constand Viljoen, they could compile lists which would incorporate the Inkatha representatives."

Philip questions the feasibility and practicality of delaying even provincial elections either for KwaZulu/Natal or all the regions.

"The problem is that Inkatha has painted itself into a corner and is now crying: 'Help!'"

WESTERN CAPE

Sails in the sunset

The National Party remains confident of winning the western Cape on April 27 in spite of the latest opinion poll that predicts a close finish with the ANC. The Sunday Times poll was one of the last before the publication of opinion polls became prohibited last month in terms of the Electoral Act.

The poll indicates that the NP could win 15 seats in the 42-member provincial legislature, the ANC 14, the DP five, the PAC, right-wing and "others" one each; five seats are at the mercy of undecided voters.

The results are a further boost to the NP after an HSRC survey for the Institute for Multi-party Democracy (MPD) suggested that it will win over 50% of the vote in the western Cape (Current Affairs April 1).

The ANC's fortunes in the province have slumped in the past four months in spite of hard-sell efforts by Nelson Mandela.

In what was widely seen as a desperate move last week to shore up support, Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Simon quit the SABC board to campaign actively for the ANC. His action was interpreted as a vote of no confidence in ANC regional leader Allan Boesak's ability to deliver the province. It also indicates anti-Boesak elements in the ANC who warned last year that he would be more of a liability than an asset.

In belated reaction to the strength of the NP's western Cape campaign, the ANC is accusing the Nats of "swart gevar" tactics.
Election row

The ANC pamphlet

Publications at Centre of the Rumpus

The NP comic

Tricks, dirty

Butchelizzi!

Get me out to

They're
SHINE ON SUMMER . . . Peninsular beaches were blessed with another long hot summer day yesterday, when temperatures soared to 27°C. Enjoying the sun at St James Beach were Sue Wilson and her 21-year-old son, Kyle. Cooler weather is expected today and tomorrow.
Summit fails to resolve crisis

SKUKUZA. — The four-way leadership summit in the Kruger National Park yesterday failed to find solutions to the problems.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after the summit that progress could not be made on most of the issues raised between himself, President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Though a task group was set up to pursue these unresolved issues relating to the situation in KwaZulu/Natal, Mr Mandela said: "I would like to warn that we should have no exaggerated expectations of what this task group is likely to achieve."

However, Mr De Klerk told the news conference he thought much progress had been made. "I think we have achieved today the beginning of negotiations that should have started long ago."

Ways and means would be sought to ensure that this forum of leaders would continue to operate and interact, Mr De Klerk said.

King Goodwill said he hoped the meeting would show the people at grassroots level what South Africa's leaders expected their followers to do.

Chief Buthelezi said, however, that the ANC's proposals to accommodate King Goodwill constitutionally were unacceptable. The IFP was also firmly opposed to the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

Despite the negative comments at the press conference, the four leaders' joint statement said they had agreed to make proper constitutional provision for the recognition of KwaZulu.

A follow-up meeting was likely late next week to discuss progress made by the working group and to consider "the implications arising from this".

"Urgent negotiations should take place to reach agreement on the terms of reference and the procedures to be followed," the statement said.

At the summit the ANC has offered to install King Goodwill as the constitutional monarch of KwaZulu/Natal with his own "royal council".

Mr Mandela made a final offer to the king to allow the election to go ahead peacefully.

Mr Mandela also appeared to offer Chief Buthelezi a top job in a new provincial government — proposing that the king be empowered to appoint a member of the Zulu royal family as chief adviser and assistant.

Chief Buthelezi in his proposals to the summit called for a postponement of the election and certain amendments to the interim constitution.

He said that if the proposals were agreed to, he would give "a firm and definite undertaking to participate in (the elections in the) provinces and nationally".

Mr Mandela put to the king a blueprint which sought to underpin his monarchy under South Africa's final constitution. — Sapa
Seven-hour bush summit talks - new talks set for next week

Zunj u crisis deepens
The king accused Mr De Klerk of ignoring the "hideous and despicable crime" when eight IFP members were shot dead and at least four injured outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters on March 23.

Referring to Mr Mandela's reported agreement with the SA Police that they would not enter the ANC headquarters on condition that weapons inside the building were handed over, King Zwelithini said: "You saw them being ambushed, at..."
NELSON Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini came face to face for the first time in a remote bush camp on the banks of the Sabi river, close to Skukuza in the Kruger National Park.

They met for 4½ hours — more than double the scheduled time — and early indications were that the meeting would not achieve much.

These talks were followed by a lunch of the four leaders — KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had arrived after Mr Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday morning. Then at 3.30pm the crunch four-way talks, with only the leaders present, began at Jakelsbessie, a private camp near Skukuza.

About 5 pm the leaders had been joined by their delegations, totalling about 40 people. There was no indication of how long these talks would last, save for an announcement that lightflights had been brought to the Skukuza airstrip.

Government spokesman Marius Kleynhans intimated that marathon talks were in the offfing — but said there were “no contingency plans for the meeting running on to the morning”. All four leaders had cleared their diaries for the day and night.

Seventy journalists were flown from Waterkloof air force base to Skukuza yesterday afternoon and began a bushveld vigil — denied access to the talks venue and in the hands of the government-ANC co-hosts.

The talks are pivotal to finding a solution to the impasse over KwaZulu resistance to the transition process. It is understood that the king was to be offered a deal on the entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy in return for a commitment to cooperate with the electoral process.

At the earlier meeting King Zwelithini delivered a blunt message to Mr Mandela: distance yourself from the ANC’s shooting of Zulu marchers in Johannesburg before talks continue.

According to Chief Buthelezi’s office, the king told Mr Mandela: “Until and unless you personally distance yourself from the shedding of the innocent blood of my father’s people, by means of your personal initiative leading to the conviction of those who are guilty of this crime, our dialogue will remain difficult, if not impossible.”

King Zwelithini said immediate steps were required from Mr Mandela to heal the wounds from the Shell House massacre last week. He asked that Mr Mandela make available all information related to the killings. “I ask that you do whatever is in your power as the president of the ANC to ensure that all those who plotted, organised and executed the massacre are arrested and tried for their crime.”

At the same time the ANC yesterday unveiled a detailed proposal regarding the powers and position of King Zwelithini. In a draft document, it said:

- The provincial legislature should establish by law a Royal Constabulary which, as a special unit of the KwaZulu/Natal policing authority, would be responsible for the security of the Royal House of KwaZulu, including the king.
- The provincial legislature should, after consultation with the king, decide on an appropriate name for KwaZulu/Natal.
- It would ensure the king’s position, powers, prerogatives, rights and privileges — and those of the Royal House of KwaZulu.
- The king should promote the right of all South Africans to free and peaceful political activity, as well as all other relevant rights and freedoms.
- The king should guarantee that all political parties and organisations would be unhindered in their peaceful campaigns.

The king should pledge to do everything in his power to ensure that people wanting to take part in the election could do so without hindrance.

Before discussing the ANC proposals, King Zwelithini had condemned ANC statements on the monarchy and the KwaZulu government. “The insults that many spokespeople of the ANC and, particularly the Natal leaders of the ANC, have hurled at me numerous times that I am on the payroll of the KwaZulu government, or that my prime minister Prince Mangosuthu is my paymaster, is something which is more than just offensive.”

He said the stigmatisation of his uncle, Chief KwaPhupudzengi (Chief Buthelezi) had also caused offence. “It was he who destroyed the South African government’s homeland policy, and it was his refusal to accept so-called independence that destroyed John Vorster’s and PW Botha’s dream of establishing a confederation of South African states.”

The king said he regarded the state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu as an invasion by a foreign aggressor and “rape of our national dignity and pride”.

King Zwelithini said the purpose of the summit was to discuss the sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom. He added that sovereignty could not be negotiated or conferred upon KwaZulu by anybody.

He said the kingdom would be defended by the Transvaal in the west, Mozambique and Swaziland in the north and Transkei and Lesotho in the south and southwest.

In response, the ANC said the king should have constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations across KwaZulu/Natal, including ceremonial and traditional powers specified in the provincial constitution.
End of the road for negotiations, says king

From page 1

... tackled and massacred, yet your police did not enter Shell House to arrest the perpetrators and to secure incriminating evidence."

King Zwelithini said it was clear his meetings with Mr De Klerk had not been “fruitful” and “we have reached the end of the road which we together opened on January 17, 1994.”

It was obvious that the only way in which Zulus would restore their kingdom was “through our own efforts as Zulus and as freedom fighters”. Mr De Klerk was still defending a unitary state which gave no recognition to the separateness of the Zulu kingdom and nation, he said.

The Zulu nation had endeavored to seek a peaceful and negotiated solution, but any possible freedom in the territory had been abolished by the “invasion” of the SADF and SAP to enforce the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

“I came (to the summit) because I felt it is my obligation to walk the extra mile in an effort to seek a solution to our problems. However, I feel that you, Mr President, and I have discussed all that there is to discuss and that the time for discussion has somehow run its course. I always fear that deeds speak louder than words,” King Zwelithini said.

He said the restoration of the kingdom of KwaZulu had to be resolved before an election was held in South Africa.

King Zwelithini said the key to successful negotiations lay in whether the other leaders were prepared to listen to Zulu aspirations, or whether, “like those who conquered us, you think you must trample with your feet on those just aspirations of my nation”.

The summit began at 3.30 pm and continued for several hours into the night. A large contingent of journalists was restricted to the Skukuza area and not allowed into the Jakkalsbessie camp, the venue for the talks.

The summit split into working groups to discuss proposals by Chief Buthelezi, including suggestions that the election be postponed, immediate lifting of the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal – Sapa.

(News by S Denny, 14th Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)
In the traditional 20th-century understanding, arms deal suspects are linked to Eskom's NIS project.
expected in further deliberations that would lead to another summit of the four.

The king hoped the meeting would show people on the ground what the four leaders "want from their own followers".

A flurry of submissions from the leaders earlier indicated that prospects for significant movement were limited.

Buthelezi and the king had set the tone by envisaging unbending and accusatory statements.

Mandela tabled an offer which, while recognizing the dignity and future role of the king, seemed to fall short of a major new initiative.

In his memorandum to the summit, Buthelezi said he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met. These included the postponement of the April 28 poll.

Prominent in the list of conditions was the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal and the binding inclusion in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on "regional powers and other constitutional matters."

The ANC had earlier tabled a seven-point draft agreement between itself and the king. In essence, the document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchical system, guarantee the king's "proper" regal status, clarify the king's domain over public property, and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provincial budget.

In return, the king and royal house would undertake to promote actively the rights of all South Africans to full political freedom.

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a searing attack on the ANC for the deaths which occurred outside the organization's Johannesburg headquarters.

He demanded that Mandela personally distance himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people."

He added that Mandela should personally use his influence to seek the conviction of those guilty of this "crime."

The king warned that unless Mandela did so, "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible."

The king lashed out at the emergency declaration, calling it "an invasion ... an act of foreign aggression ... a rape of our national dignity and pride."

He said he and his people would never recognize the legitimacy of actions taken under the emergency.

The king said it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present form."

Leaving a door just ajar for further dialogue and a negotiated settlement, he said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a federal state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous state" depended on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do to me and my people."

The king said, while "the kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Africa", this should never be at the expense of what he called the sovereignty of the kingdom.

Allowing again for sovereignty within the federal option, he said: "I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa. This "elbow room" should include a provincial police force and ..."
ROYAL FLUSH BEATS ANC ACE

TRY THAT FOR SIZE, KEPPLER, OLD COBBER

Kwazulu Poll Will
take place — 1EC

BY ETHEL KRAUNER

WENDY MADDEN, "Doughnut Taker" and ANC ace

SITTING 10,000 Strong

JOHN ROFLE

Tobacco Pioneer

AMERICA'S FIRST

3,000m Pay Rise

KILLED OFF, Readaptation done better and Roger Words

STIMIE 1914

REVISED EDITION COSS

ROYAL FLUSH BEATS ANC ACE

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AMERICA'S FIRST
Royal flush beats ANC age at summit

From Page 1

Evidence after the meeting, when Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC’s position that the election date was now impossible, suggested that there was no genuine desire from the IFP to reach an agreement. The meeting was cut short by Chief Buthelezi, who expressed his regret at having to suspend negotiations.

Sources say they drew up a proposal based on all areas of consensus and disagreement between the government and the ANC. After lunch, Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and the king, with their full delegations, met for the first time.

But the bone of contention was the KwaZulu delegation’s demand for reaching solutions to be put to the press and the public. The task force had been appointed to investigate the matter under discussion, and reports were due to be submitted by the leaders by next week.

However, Mr Mandela said he had no “exaggerated” expectations about the results of the task force’s work. Chief Buthelezi was described as “the master chess player” on his return early yesterday.

The IFP central committee yesterday instructed Chief Buthelezi to resume talks with Mr Mandela, even though the IFP has not been represented in the summit.

Addressing the media during a meeting of the IFP central committee yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said efforts by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to restructure the ANC had been “disappointing” and missed the point that his subjects wanted more than a symbolic gesture.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC had the means to look after itself financially. The summit may have been regarded as a failure in much of South Africa, but in Umtata, Chief Buthelezi was described as “the master chess player” on his return early yesterday.
Mother's night of terror
as two sons are executed

A HORRIFIED mother listened at the wall of her house while armed men forced two of her sons and two close friends to lie down outside and shot them in the back of their heads.

The brutal slaying of four ANC supporters took place in the troubled rural township of Malelane south of Durban on Monday night. Brothers Edmundo, 18, and Marlene Ndumane, 17, and their friends Maneli Shange, 18, and Xolile Shange, 18, had gathered at the Ndumane home to watch television when four gunmen arrived.

The mother of the Ndumane brothers, Mrs Sarah

By RYAN CRESSWELL

Ndumane, said she heard a voice ordering her to open the door.

"They said they were policemen. All the men had short guns and one of them even had a camouflage uniform. They said the boys had fired over their guns but I told them they did not own guns," she said.

Mrs Ndumane said one of the men walked in and the frightened youths climbed out a back window.

"The men caught the boys just outside and told them to lie down on the ground. Then they shot them in the back of their heads."

I am very sad about the death of my brothers. We were very close," she said.

A relative said he believed the killers were IFP supporters because one of the young men argued with an IFP member last week. He also said shortly after a massacre at nearby Mpumalanga in 1998, in which 13 people died, IFP members accused the youngsters of being involved.

ANC members for the area, Mr Lebo Mngwanzi, said the attack on the youths was probably an "IFP revenge killing".

By ZUSI NYANEN

"We do not condone violence such as this," he said.

whether the security forces will be able to stop individuals and small groups from going from home to home and killing people what to do.

"I don't think so. The army can't be in every nook and corner."

Human Rights Commission researcher Linda McLean said it appeared the state of emergency had "still not got off the ground".

She estimated that at least 100 people had been killed in political murders since March 31.

She said this was "extremely high" and, so far, matched the record killing rate last month, when the organisation reported 311 politically related deaths.

"The SADF is taking a long time to deploy, and the police do not seem to be using their full powers," she said.

On Tuesday, police launched a half-hearted attempt to confiscate traditional weapons from some members of a 10,000-strong crowd of IFP supporters who gathered in Empangeni in Zululand.

But they soon gave up rather than inflame the situation, and the IFP supporters were allowed to march through the town with their weapons.

Thousands of armed Zulus defied the restrictions on weapons when they marched through Ngquza Hill on Wednesday to protest against the emergency.

One monitor on the lower South Coast said violence was continuing unabated in the region and there did not appear to be a noticeable troop presence in the troubled areas.

The security forces face tactical problems in the divided province.

Even locals find it difficult to identify ANC and IFP turf and their exact boundaries in the province, so it will be even harder for soldiers from other regions to figure out where they are.

Each small area has a different type of local leader — either a chief, gang leader, party leader, church leader or ward leader — and the province has some extremely rugged terrain.

An SADF spokesman said the success of the emergency could not be determined because the troop's presence had not yet "been felt" on the ground.

Police spokesman Major Hani Naidoo said: "It is still too early to say whether the measures are adequate."

He said at least 100 Internal Stability Division members from the Transvaal had been deployed on the North Coast since the beginning of the emergency, and more police from other provinces may be called in at some stage.
Mandela still has hope for KwaZulu

FURTHER hopes for a settlement in KwaZulu emerged at the weekend, even as the government said emergency measures would be stepped up in the area following Friday's abortive summit.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said he would seek another meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini next week, despite the king's rejection of proposals to accommodate a Zulu monarchy after the election.

And the Inkatha Freedom Party said at the weekend meeting of its central committee that it had decided to keep the door open to further negotiation.

Inkatha negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said all parties will still "try to find common ground", and the party's political affairs chief Dr Ziba Jiyane said, while hopes had been dimmed after the summit, his party was not closing the door.

The decision to press ahead with a task group with the ANC and the government was seen as positive.

Yesterday President FW de Klerk's office was involved in delicate negotiations with the ANC and the IFP over government involvement in mediation talks between the two parties scheduled for later this week.

The task group will report back to Mr De Klerk, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, King Goodwill and Mr Mandela on Thursday.

A second leaders' summit will be held "more than likely next week", a constitutional development source said last night.

Mr Mandela announced that he would seek a meeting with the king while addressing a rally in memory of the SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani at Orlando Stadium yesterday.

Mr Mandela said after King Goodwill had rejected his proposals on Friday, he had asked him: "Do you want the same rights enjoyed by (Britain's) Queen Elizabeth?" He said the king had not answered.

Speaking in Port Elizabeth on Saturday, ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he hoped the task group could reach an acceptable compromise on the position of the Zulu monarchy by Thursday.

A government source confirmed that "securing" the elections under the emergency was now the priority.

Mr De Klerk said on Saturday that the government could not take over KwaZulu as had happened in Bophuthatswana.

ADF spokesman Major Nick Sendall confirmed yesterday that there were an estimated 3 000 troops in KwaZulu/Natal, "assisting the SAP". About 1 000 more civilian force members had been called up. — Own Correspondents, Sapa
ANC, government lose patience

Natal faces crackdown as talks fail

EMERGENCY security measures are expected to be stepped up in Kwa-Zulu/Natal in the next few days to secure the holding of the elections, after political leaders were unable to agree on free political activity at their summit meeting on Friday.

ANC and government negotiators said yesterday they had reached the end of their patience with KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, although they would continue trying to pacify King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Sources in both delegations said they were not hopeful that negotiations on the future of the Zulu king, or international mediation, would be completed before the elections in 18 days' time.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) management committee is expected at its meeting today to urge President FW de Klerk to tighten the screws on Buthelezi's KwaZulu administration.

A task group set up to deal with the demands of Zwelithini — a group representing government, the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government — will meet today, while mediation is scheduled to begin on Wednesday.

President FW de Klerk signalled after the summit meeting that he had dropped its initial opposition to international mediation, which he said could play a "reconstructive role".

However, the task group's job was made more difficult when Inkatha's central committee at the weekend rejected the ANC's proposals submitted to Zwelithini and his advisers at the summit meeting.

Meanwhile, senior ANC negotiators said they did not think international mediation would be completed before the elections. Buthelezi has insisted, however, that the elections be postponed until mediation has run its course.

ANC and Inkatha negotiators have still not agreed on the terms of reference for mediation. The two main mediators — former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington — have said they were not prepared to start work until the terms of reference had been sorted out.

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned against "exaggerated expectations" from negotiations in the short term. "Let me be frank. I cannot see a resolution before the elections," he said on Friday after the summit meeting.

"This problem can be resolved only by the government of national unity, a body which will have legislative powers.

He was confident the state of emergency, "when up to strength ... will go a long way in securing fair and free elections".

SADF spokesman Maj Nick Hendricks yesterday confirmed there were an estimated 9,000 troops in KwaZulu/Natal, "assisting the SAP". About 1,000 more citizen force members had been called up for a month's duty from Friday. "The numbers will be increased as and when the situation warrants it."

Defence and Justice Minister Koble Coetzee defended the decision to declare

Crackdown

an emergency, saying government "was left with no other option".

A government source confirmed that, in the wake of the leaders' failure to agree on free political activity, "securing" the elections under the emergency was now the priority. "Negotiating, especially at this late stage, has limited power. If we rely solely on negotiations the elections won't take place."

One ANC official said a hold had been put on the full deployment of forces in expectation that Friday's summit meeting would be successful.

Both the king and Buthelezi refused to give guarantees that the election would be conducted freely in the province, one ANC source claimed. "The only recourse we now have in ensuring that elections go ahead is to intensify the emergency and reassure people that their votes will be secret, that they will not be intimidated about going to voting stations, and to increase the presence of security forces around voting sites."

However, the Independent Electoral

Commission (IEC) reiterated at the weekend, following a two-day fact-finding tour by two of its commissioners, that the elections would go ahead in the region. The IEC had drawn up detailed plans to allow the estimated 3-million voters in KwaZulu to cast ballots.

The IEC could also proceed this week to entrench in the constitution the ANC's proposal on the Zulu monarch even though it had been rejected.

Gavin Du Venable reports that the IEC's information department said ballot slips for the election could not be changed even if a settlement was reached.

Speculation that the ballot papers, which are being printed in the UK, could be changed to accommodate Inkatha was not true, a spokesman said. "Inkatha affectively excluded itself from the ballot two weeks ago, and it is highly unlikely the papers will be changed now."

Picture: Page 3

Comment: Page 6
LAST-DITCH attempts to stop low-key war in KwaZulu/Natal escalating out of control

BY HELEN GRANGE
CHRIS WHITFIELD
and NORMAN CHANDLER

KwaZulu could face an intensified security crackdown if last-minute talks this week fail to produce a breakthrough in the electoral impasse.

There are widespread fears that violence in KwaZulu/Natal might soar if the special working group set up to provide the summit sequel with fresh initiatives fails.

Yesterday there was deep pessimism in both Government and ANC circles over prospects for a breakthrough.

"Even if we manage to reach agreement in the working group — which is possible — it appears that it will be blocked by the IFP leadership," said a senior Government source.

They pointed out that encouraging progress in talks between the King and Mandela on Friday had been reversed after he consulted the full IFP delegation.

With the failure of the four-way Skiza summit, it is understood that security action will be considerably intensified if tensions in the province continue to lead to bloodshed.

KwaZulu politicians acknowledge that the next four days will be crucial to the territory and the Zulu monarchy.

They fear that if their demands are not met, the low-key civil war now raging in the region could escalate out of control.

The situation in the territory was generally quiet yesterday. South African troops had not been mobilised by nightfall at their temporary base at the Eshowe showgrounds. It is understood that mobilisation could begin by Thursday, depending on the success of the task force discussions.

Yesterday Ulundi was abnormally quiet, according to local residents. The local hotel had only three guests, and normal Saturday trade at the bar and restaurant was non-existent.

With hopes of an ANC-IFP constitutional resolution still but shattered by Friday's inconclusive summit, attention is also focusing on getting as many KwaZulu/Natal voters as possible to the polls.

Big chiefs forgo the peace pipe — Page 11

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, speaking in Cradock yesterday, said it was estimated about 60 per cent of Natal's inhabitants would be able to participate freely in the election.

But IFP supporters, especially north of the Tugela, were actively intimidating people not to take part in the election, he said.

Meyer warned that if the election was postponed, the future of the country would be determined by radical elements of the Left and Right, and that a Bosnia-style situation would develop.

None of the arguments that were now being brought up by the IFP were new and there were no solutions for them, he added.

The IFP warned its central committee meeting on Saturday that KwaZulu citizens would resist the state of emergency, and demanded its immediate lifting.

In resolutions addressing the reasons for rejecting the

To Page 2
IEC outlines KwaZulu poll measures

BY JASPER MORTIMER

Elections will be held in KwaZulu despite the violence and lack of co-operation from local authorities, Independent Electoral Commission members Illegang Moseneke and Gay McDougall said at the weekend.

At a press conference, the commissioners outlined measures the IEC would be taking to overcome the difficulties.

These included using SANDF troops to guard routes to polling stations; mobile polling stations; and increasing the number of polling stations on the periphery of areas where intimidation was pervasive.

McDougall said that on their two-day tour of KwaZulu last week, the commissioners had gained a "clear sense of the desire to vote" among the homeland's estimated 3 million eligible voters.

A very high percentage of KwaZulu's people already had ID documents or temporary voter cards, she added.

A working group of representatives of the IEC and the South African and KwaZulu governments reported last week that free and fair elections could not be held in KwaZulu because of resistance from local authorities and intimidation.

Moseneke, the IEC vice-chairman, said he could not refute the report, but pointed out it did not cover the whole of KwaZulu. He made clear he believed the difficulties were not insurmountable.

The most difficult areas were those around Durban, such as Umbumbulu and KwaMashu, where there were constant clashes between IFP and ANC supporters. Equally difficult were areas such as Msinga, Mahlabantli and Nongoma in the heart of Zululand. Here the influence of the KwaZulu authorities was strong and there were no white-owned farms to provide polling stations on the periphery.

Other areas such as Nqutu were inaccessible owing to deep valleys and few roads.

The Star asked which was the bigger obstacle: the violence or the local authorities' refusal to co-operate.

"Both are substantial obstacles," McDougall replied. "But...we can actually compensate for the non-co-operation. The issue that is more substantial, and that we are less equipped to deal adequately with, will be intimidation and violence."

(47 Star St, Johannesburg)
A working group has the Herculean task of forging a tenuous chasm which emerged from the Skukuza summit. Failure could be another period of dangerous inconclusivity, writes Political C

**Big chiefs forgo the vote**

LATE on Friday night President de Klerk tried to put a positive spin on the day's talks that had just been completed between himself, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But it was evident from the language of aides that preceedings had gone far from smoothly. One described the meeting bluntly, as a “stuff-up”, another said he was amazed the talks had survived through the day after it became evident that there was very little chance of bridging differences.

The words of Mandela and Buthelezi at a late night press conference at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park reinforced the suggestion of a yawning gap.

As midnight approached, Mandela reacted sharply to a statement issued jointly by Buthelezi and the king: “the statement

“The IFP wanted the date of the election postponed. We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever.”

Nelson Mandela

delay demand: “We have emphatically reject-

"One can’t really say in one breath that you have a free and fair election and then in the next breath say that you approve of the state of emergency."

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and executive action.

“...the ANC labelled a seven-point “draft agreement” between itself and the king. In essence the detailed document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchy, guarantee it the “proper” royal status, clarify the king’s domain over public property and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provincial budget.

In addition, the agreement allowed for the king to be crowned “in such a manner as may be agreed with him”, reaffirmed his right to install all chiefs in the province and his powers determined by Zulu custom and tradition.

The constitution would provide for the king to open the provincial legislature each year. The premier of the KwaZulu-Natal province would be required to regularly report to and brief the king on all legislative

“...we believe a... like to enjoy. There is no view which we expect we will be silent on right of his majesty to... indigenous law. When... us we indicated that we address this question.”

GOVERNMENT PROP:" President de Klerk put it which he later said... the ANC’s submission... mandates. It envisaged the constitution of the king’s that of an executive... the kingdom of KwaZulu.

...able to do so without... Mandela said after the out of our way... we believe a... like to enjoy. There is no view which we expect we will be silent on right of his majesty to... indigenous law. When... us we indicated that we address this question.”

"...we believe a... like to enjoy. There is no view which we expect we will be silent on right of his majesty to... indigenous law. When... us we indicated that we address this question.”

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"...we believe a... like to enjoy. There is no view which we expect we will be silent on right of his majesty to... indigenous law. When... us we indicated that we address this question.”
Ask of forging a tenuous bridge over the political summit. Failure could plunge the country into chaos, writes Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield.

To the peace pipe

"There is already a discernible broad consensus... on the burning issue of the accommodation and full recognition of the monarchy of the Zulu kingdom."

F W de Klerk

The council would consist of 80 members, at least half made up of traditional leaders. The copy of the declaration obtained by The Star made no reference to the composition of the executive.

The king, his executive and the council would "have jurisdiction over the land which is subject to the traditional land tenancy system or subject to the powers of a traditional leader and over all Zulu subjects".

The king, executive and council would have legislative and executive powers on:
- Indigenous law and customs and local government affairs in the relevant areas of the kingdom of KwaZulu
- Traditions, indigenous law and customs relating to the Zulu subjects and
- Other assigned or delegated matters.

De Klerk said later: "We have made specific proposals; we have specifically dealt with the two issues (outstanding from the ANC proposal). I am confident on this issue, which is an issue of major importance to the Zulu nation, that we have made progress."

THE KING'S SUBMISSION

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a scathing attack on the ANC for the deaths which occurred outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters in the recent city centre bloodybath.

He demanded that Mandela personally disavow himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people" and added that the ANC president should personally use his influence to seek the correction of these guilty of this "crimes". The king warned that unless Mandela did this "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible.

De Klerk added that it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1983 constitution in its present form."

He said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a federal state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous" could depend on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do to me and my people". The king said that while the "kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Africa", this could never be at the expense of what he called "the sovereignty of the kingdom".

"I and my people would like to have just a single room within a greater South Africa," said the king. This "single room" should include a provincial police force and militia as well as a recognition of the Zulu monarchy above the institutions of chieftainship.

BUTHELEZI'S MEMORANDUM

In his submission to the summit, Buthelezi said he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met - these included the postponement of the election.

"It is... a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1983 Constitution in its present form."

King Goodwill Zwelithini

Also prominent in the list of conditions was the "impossible" of the state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu, and the binding clause in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on regional powers and other constitutional matters.

Other demands were:
- Recognition of the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu in the interim constitution as well as "the KwaZulu Natal provincial constitution";
- That provincial constitutions, as well as the powers and functions of provinces in the interim constitution be "enshrined";
- That the results of international mediation be incorporated in the interim Constitution.

Buthelezi insisted that "facilitate" participation in elections and the resolution of constitutional disputes, the election be postponed and that parties be given another chance to register.
In this week's issue, the Zulu King seriously...
TEC to tighten state of emergency in KwaZulu

THE Transitional Executive Council has announced that it will tighten state of emergency regulations in KwaZulu-Natal.

The TEC also said that talks held with the Independent Electoral Commission about extending the voting period in the territory by a few days.

TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan said the possibility of an extended voting period was being considered.

As mediators arrived in South Africa, the TEC said it could not leave it "to the good-will of the KwaZulu government" to co-operate with the IEC's electoral machinery.

The TEC distributed a draft agreement, drawn up by the KwaZulu-Natal working committees, which would be sent to the owners of possible election facilities to cover IEC use of those facilities.

South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo introduced a draft resolution which would remove the discretion of the KwaZulu authorities to make available or deny facilities such as schools as voting stations.

The TEC also announced yesterday that it was finalising provisions to grant indemnity to those prepared to testify about hit squad activities in the country. The indemnity would be given after prior consultation with the relevant Attorney-General and only be applicable until the new cabinet has been appointed.

The draft provisions proposed that the indemnity be granted by a judge.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will take up arms if the elections proceed without it, Transvaal IFP official Humfrey Ndlovu told Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency yesterday.

He claimed that the IFP had the capacity to survive a civil war against the SAPF.

Business community is bankrupting SA, says PAC

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan African Congress has accused sectors of the South African business community of deliberately spearheading moves to bankrupt the economy.

"Sectors of the business community are in the forefront of bankrupting the economy through unlawful exodus of capital schemes," PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said.

"The fact that our net capital reserves are being depleted at an alarming rate is a cause of concern."

He said the main method of removing capital from the country was fictitious business deals involving fraudulent over- and under-invoicing. — Sapa.

SP swearing-in day to be holiday

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The day the new State President is sworn in at the Union Buildings will be declared a public holiday.

The Transitional Executive Council has also agreed that 800 soldiers will line the streets on that day. It was decided that 130 members of each armed formation taking part in the integration process would form part of the group.

The Joint Military Command Council will decide between two uniform options.

The TEC sub-council on defence proposed that the integration of all armed formations should be completed by March 31, 1998. All units will be under the command of the National Defence Force by August 1 this year, and by April 1, 1996, all forces will operate under "common doctrine".

The defence sub-council also approved three categories of medals to be awarded to National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) members.

The peacekeeping service medal will be awarded to all members who serve for at least 30 days.

The peacekeeping medal for valour (silver) will be awarded for "exceptional bravery during peacekeeping operations while in great life-endangering circumstances."

The peacekeeping medal for valour (bronze) will be awarded for deeds of bravery during peacekeeping operations while in life-endangering circumstances.
Mediator is put in the picture at outset

JOHANNESBURG. — Henry Kissinger came to South Africa to mediate between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party but his first taste of violence was a scrap between foreign photographers.

The former United States secretary of state looked shocked as two photographers sitting under the podium at Jan Smuts Airport, where he was launching an international mediation effort, pummelled and shoved each other to get the best shot.

Meanwhile, a potential skirmish was brewing in the television camp several rows back, where cameramen were fuming over having their view blocked.

"Photographers down, get down you people," screamed a cameraman, shaking his fist with fury. "Get out of our way."

To add to the bewilderment of Dr Kissinger and his six foreign colleagues, weary from jet lag and long flights, dozens of telephers by journalists repeatedly beamed loudly with fresh press alerts.

Foreign journalists have descended on South Africa in droves in the run-up to the election.

At least 3,000 cameramen, reporters and freelance photographers expected for the watershed poll, with hundreds more technicians and camera crew following in their wake.

Their numbers are in addition to the thousands of international observers coming to ensure that the poll is free and fair.

Hotels in Johannesburg and Durban are packed. Cellular telephone companies and firms selling bullet-proof vests report brisk business.

Some car rental firms say they have run out of vehicles. Sapa-Reuters.

SA worth the trouble of mediation, says Kissinger

Bid to break KwaZulu election deadlock starts today

Political Staff

THE long-awaited international mediation aimed at resolving the KwaZulu election impasse begins today.

The mediators charged with the responsibility of seeking a constitutional common ground between the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government arrived yesterday.

They were welcomed at a function in Johannesburg last night, where the parties' leaders expressed the hope that the process would succeed.

Mediation spokesmen, former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, told the gathering, which was attended by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC Natal premier Jacob Zuma, that South Africa was worth the trouble.

"This is a country that's suffered like few others; been divided like few others. It's worth the effort."

Dr Kissinger said that if anybody had told him when he was 18 years old that he would be in South Africa, he would have thought the person was crazy.

He said he had previously met ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela was "one of the great figures of the epoch... I imagine how passionately Mr Buthelezi criticised the government and the institutions of that time".

With a nod also to Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha who attended the conference on behalf of the government, Mr Kissinger praised the "truly heroic effort by the chief actors to overcome their memories, their suffering and doubts".

Initially involving primarily the two parties, the mediation, the terms of reference have not been made public, now includes the government.

First mediated by the IFP and its allies in the Freedom Alliance, international mediation was decided upon when a series of intensive tripartite talks involving the government, the ANC and the IFP and KwaZulu government failed to reach a constitutional settlement which would secure the IFP's acceptance of the negotiated package of agreements, primarily the Interim Constitution.

Mediators subsequently agreed upon after much wrangling are Dr Kissinger, former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, Mr Justice H K Bhagwati of India, Mr Justice A Leon Higginbotham of the US, Mr Justice Antonio La Pergola of Italy and Professor Jean Antoine Lapointe of Canada and Professor Paul Kevenhorst of Germany.

The IFP has been steadfast in its demand that this month's election be postponed, but the ANC and the government have been equally insistent that the election will go ahead as scheduled.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the Transitional Executive Council in Pretoria yesterday that the election date would not be subject to the mediation.

"The IFP seems to be getting into the mediation process in the hope that the process will result in the date of elections being postponed."

"The election date is sacrosanct. Not even the mediation process can tamper with it," Ramaphosa said.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday expressed guarded optimism that the mediation would resolve the constitutional deadlock.

But if the mediation fails, the ANC would continue to hold talks with all involved.

At the function last night, Chief Buthelezi said it was essential that any constitutional agreement reached through mediation was "translated into amendments to the interim constitution."

Such "meaningful amendments" would enable the IFP to take part in the election.

He said failure to reach an all-inclusive settlement would "generate tragedies of unparalleled proportions, which we must avert at any cost."

Mr Botha said it would be "a great irony and tragedy" if South Africans could not find another now that apartheid was gone. The government, he said, stood ready "to make your (the mediators') task easy and to make compromises."

The three parties and the mediators will leave for an undisclosed venue today where the process, expected to last between a week and 10 days, will get under way.

Each party will have two constitutional advisers while the mediators will be assisted by three special advisors.

News by R. Nyanzumba, 47 Ever Street, Johannesburg.
Co-it-alone attempts in Africa have led to bloody tragedy

Kwazulu Quandary

Appalling cost of trying to secede

NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Saying with Africa points out the most critical juncture

NEWS: Looks at Kwazulu's history and where it is going in the future. It is part of the Kwazulu-Natal province. The story is about the Zulu nation's struggle for independence.

WILLIE NUSSEY, a former editor of the Argus Afrika Service of the Pretoria Spectum.

DEATH: 1974. The bodies of two workers in the mines of Kwazulu, a government-owned coal company, were found. The miners were killed by a group of workers. The number of workers who died was 32.

The Argus Wednesday April 13 1984

24-hour news service
I would like to vote, so would my
boyfriend, but I tear for my children
Peacekeepers will go to hot-spot "Koebereg" over Koebereg, Natural Hands, Cloud Known as

The situation continues to unfold at the Peacekeeping Bases in the region.

A local report suggests a significant increase in activity around the Koebereg area.
Cloud known as ‘Natal’ hangs over Koeberg

□ Peacekeepers will go to ‘hot-spot’

ROGER FRIEDMANN
Staff Reporter

A CLOUD called Natal hangs heavy over Koeberg, temporary home to the National Peacekeeping Force’s Fourth Battalion.

The battalion completes its eight-week training programme today, but remains in the dark about where it is to be deployed.

The talk in the camp is of Natal and a lukewarm to ice-cold welcome from Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

Spokesman Connie van Rensburg said he hoped to know by today, after a command council meeting, where the troops would be sent.

“Deployment is very contentious at this stage. NPKF headquarters is carrying on contingency planning for deployment and is awaiting instructions from the command council,” he said.

The peacekeepers — who strode through a battery of stringent internationally-monitored evaluations with a 100 percent success rate last week — begin a week’s leave today.

Their return to Koeberg next week will be brief. All they know is that one of the country’s “hot-spots” awaits them.

The NPKF’s brand-new blue twotone uniforms and a fleet of 18 bright blue Mamba personnel carriers adorned with NPKF logo surrounded by olive branches were on display yesterday.

Fourth Battalion commanding officer Molefe Dladla declared the troops ready and waiting for further orders.

Colonel Van Rensburg said the soldiers were evaluated by an independent team comprising two senior South African officers and six French military specialists, “assisted by local instructors from the various forces”.

He said only half the NPKF intake at De Brug, near Bloemfontein, passed evaluation at the first attempt. Muff Anderson said the Transitional Executive Council had budgeted for another three battalions and the NPKF was negotiating with Eskom for the continued use of Koeberg camp.

Major Anderson said the TEC had approved its 1994/1995 budget, “so there will be NPKF activity throughout the year.”

Beyond the parade ground officer in charge of training Sakkie Marais explained helicopter drill.

NPKF officers said Fourth Battalion’s high standards, discipline and morale were largely due to the respected Colonel Marais.
Council beefs up emergency measures

PRETORIA — The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) moved yesterday to force the KwaZulu government to cooperate in election procedures by agreeing to extend the powers of the state of emergency in Natal and KwaZulu.

The reinforcement of the powers, by the addition of several new regulations, was necessary to prevent KwaZulu government officials from interfering with the requirements and duties of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

SACP representative on the TEC, Joe Slovo, said the elections could not be left "to the goodwill of the KwaZulu government". There should be no element of discretion in whether officials and facilities, such as government buildings, were made available for the elections. The current emergency regulations were inadequate to ensure the KwaZulu government's co-operation, he said.

The TEC, noting the reluctance of the KwaZulu government, some traditional leaders in the region and members of the public service to participate in the elections, resolved to allow its joint executive secretariat and state legal advisors to draft the new regulations.

Details of the new regulations had not been finalised and government TEC representative Davie de Villers said only that "further steps may be necessary to enhance the democratic process".

The content of the new regulations would be based on the needs of the IEC and the security forces, he said.

SAPA reports that at least 11 people were killed after violence erupted again in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Ndwedwe and Bambhlayi, near Durban, on Monday.

The latest reports push the toll in Natal to at least 170 since the emergency was declared 12 days ago.

About 40,000 people are expected to march on the magistrate's offices at Vyred in northern Natal today in support of the Zulu monarchy.

Police have appealed to marchers to heed the emergency regulations, in terms of which they are not allowed to carry traditional weapons.

Report by A Hackett, TSH, 216 Vamadevan St, Ph. (See Page 12)

AWB men found guilty of roadblock killings

FIVE AWB members who shot at 10 blacks, including three children they stopped at a bogus roadblock last year were found guilty in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday of murder, attempted murder and assault.

In a marathon judgment which resumes for the third day this morning, Judge D Marais and two assessors found all five men guilty on four counts of murder and six counts of attempted murder.

The men were part of a group of nine armed right-wingers who set up a bogus roadblock on the Krugersdorp-Ventersdorp road on December 12 last year to apprehend black motorists.

The 10 victims, four of whom died from their wounds, were travelling in two vehicles stopped at the roadblock. They were ordered out of the cars and told to sit on the ground.

The AWB men opened fire on them at close range and without warning.

The judge said that four of the men, Petrus Matthews, 26, Martinus van der Schyff, 25, Frederick Badenhorst, 20, and Marius Visser, 23, had intended to kill their victims when they opened fire.

He found that they had fired their weapons in accordance with a decision taken at the roadblock by at least six of the AWB men.

He said the four at the very least should have, and must have, foreseen that their unlawful activities could lead to deaths.

The fifth man, Karel Meiring, was also convicted of murder yesterday.

The judge said there was no direct evidence that Meiring had fired his handgun, but he rejected Meiring's testimony that when he had heard a shot he had jumped into a car used by the right-wingers and had not asked his friends what had happened afterwards.

There was also evidence that Meiring had told his friends after the incident that he had fired two shots.

The court found the five men and two co-accused, Gerhardus Diedericks, 24, and Andre Visser, 33, guilty of assault.

Marais said the men had gone out on the night of December 12 intending to apprehend, assault and intimidate blacks. They were all guilty of the assaults that had taken place.

Marais will continue with his judgment this morning.

He has still to give his findings on the murder and attempted murder charges against Diedericks and Visser.

Two other co-accused, Phillipus Kloppe, 40, and Deon Martin, 30 — who were allegedly the leaders of the group — were referred for psychiatric observation last month and will be tried separately.

BUSBAN RUSSELL
TEC to toughen emergency regulations

'Get KwaZulu to polls on time'

BY ESTHER WAUGH
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

Far-reaching steps to ensure voters can get to the polls in KwaZulu/Natal, including beefing up the state of emergency, are imminent amidst signs of increasing militancy from Ulundi. With only two weeks to go to the election, the TEC agreed to toughen the state of emergency regulations in the province yesterday and it was revealed that extra polling days may be allowed in KwaZulu/Natal.

The moves came as a KwaZulu deputy minister warned that the homeland government would defy the new dispensation and continue operating if its constitutional demands were not met.

'IRA war'

A KwaZulu cabinet minister also speculated on the possibility of an IRA-type war if the IFP was excluded from a settlement.

At the time of going to press, the task group formed after the Shikwaza summit last week and deliberating the future role of the Zulu monarchy, was still meeting.

However, a Government source said that if the task group was successful — and there had been some vaguely encouraging signals — another summit of the four leaders may not have to be held.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo introduced a resolution at the TEC yesterday which, he said, would remove the element of discretion from KwaZulu in deciding on what facilities it would make available for the election.

The KwaZulu government could not be allowed to exercise its discretion because it had not displayed goodwill towards the election, he said. The exact nature of the additions to the regulations was left to the TEC’s structures to decide.

TEC chairman Denis de Villiers said in a briefing after the TEC meeting the new regulations would be released today.

Slovo also said that it was imperative for the regulations to be "reinforced" to enable the security forces to carry out their tasks.

He said the KwaZulu government was not co-operating fully with the Independent Electoral Commission, some tribal chiefs were reluctant to facilitate the holding of free and fair elections, and KwaZulu civil servants were hindered in cooperating with the IEC.

Natal Indian Congress delegate and TEC management committee member Pravin Gordhan also told the meeting there had been "a thinking that additional days for voting were required in Natal".

Exploratory discussions on this issue had been held between the TEC management committee and the Independent Electoral Committee.

No decision has been taken, but it was agreed that the situation in the province would be monitored, Gordhan said.

KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Valthipile Ndelo said from Ulundi that it would be business as usual on April 29.

"Who will come to Ulundi to tell our government to disband if we do not take part in the election?" he asked defiantly.

KwaZulu Finance Minister Dr Denis Madikize said yesterday that if the IFP was excluded from a settlement "one can with the greatest horror think of the PLO or IRA... because then you have people driven by a very strong force of nationalism who are on the outside and who are dissatisfied".

[Out 12/12/94]
Kwazulu Violence Down — Poll Goes On

Cape Times, Thursday, April 14, 1934

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An exercise in futility?

Maybe not, but the immediate consequences have done more harm than good

Over the past week, the four “democratic” leaders portrayed on our cover have contrived to do more harm to the economy and SA’s democratic and peaceful aspirations than did the last “apartheid” president, P W Botha, on that fateful evening of the Rubicon speech in Natal nine years ago when he talked at the implications of his own political innovation.

The outcome of the summit put us in a worse position than the Rubicon reversal did all those years ago. Indeed, the four leaders gathered with what can only be seen to have been uncompromising aspirations.

The tide of optimism that preceded Friday’s meeting of the top four political leaders at a private bush camp near Skukuza in the Kruger National Park was short-lived.

Confrontation rather than compromise dominated the day and the first gathering of the four may well have been their last. Let us pray for the sake of SA that it isn’t. Panic in the financial markets (see Economy) in reaction to the failed talks illustrates how much our future is in their hands.

Hopes for a breakthrough now rest with international mediators headed by Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington. Their efforts are probably our last chance of a settlement in the short term, but the outlook is not good.

The summit may well have hardened positions instead of opened the way for compromise. The faint hope that President F W de Klerk, Zula King Goodwill Zwelithini, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela would somehow find one another in the tranquility of the Kruger Park and pave the way for relatively peaceful elections in KwaZulu in less than a fortnight was wishful thinking.

Failure was signalled more than four hours before the talks ended. The 80-strong media contingent flown in by the SA Air Force to await the outcome was given a scathing 12-page memorandum presented by Zwelithini to Mandela: a chronological account of months of perceived insults by the ANC against the Zulu monarchy and people, and a new demand for restoration of the kingdom.

Though the meeting between the king and Mandela — their first ever — was initially scheduled as one-on-one, the king, relying on protocol, insisted on being accompanied by his entire delegation. ANC aides regarded this as a ploy by Buthelezi, the king’s chief adviser, to ensure Mandela couldn’t persuade the king to change his anti-election attitude in return for a high-profile constitutional position.

Though upset by Zwelithini’s attitude, Mandela nevertheless made a proposal to accommodate him in the regional constitution. The ANC had apparently been so confident that the plan would be accepted that it headed the document: Agreement between the ANC and the Royal House of KwaZulu.

But later, when a copy was circulated to journalists, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the plan had “unfortunately” not been accepted and should therefore be regarded as a proposal, not an agreement.

The full extent of the summit’s failure became apparent only at the late-night press conference. It was announced jointly by the four that the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu royal house was to be referred to a joint working group that had to report back within six days and that unresolved constitutional issues would be referred to international mediation. In other words, there had been no progress towards a settlement.

Buthelezi remained insistent that the election should be postponed and that registration of parties participating in the poll be reopened. This was emphatically rejected by Mandela: “There should be no doubt whatsoever about the election on April 27. We cannot postpone our freedom. We are determined to set up a government of our choice on that day.”

Ever the optimist, De Klerk insisted that “important progress” had been made on “major issues” such as the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu monarchy. “I’m confident that the task group will come up with good results. There is already consensus. It is a question of putting it together.”

Buthelezi disagreed: “Unfortunately, progress could not be made on fundamental issues,” he said. Then, as if to emphasise his point, Buthelezi read a separate statement in which he and Zwelithini raised issues not addressed in the joint communiqué.

Angered by not having been warned of Buthelezi’s intention to issue a separate statement, Mandela responded with a bitter attack on Inkatha. All pretence of progress crumbled under the glare of the world’s TV lights.

Mandela said the ANC had gone out of its way to address the king’s concerns and would press ahead with the accommodation of the monarchy in the regional constitution. He cautioned repeatedly against expecting miracles from the working group. He clearly believes time has run out for constitutional tinkering before April 27 and now wants the political crisis in KwaZulu to be resolved by
the new parliament after the election.

It was not quite one minute to midnight, but close enough to be dramatically symbolic, when De Klerk intervened to prevent the press conference from degenerating into a destructive verbal duel between Mandela and Buthelezi. He rescued some unity of purpose by shifting the focus back to the summit's achievements and emphasized the "broad foundation" that had been laid.

Mandela took the cue and agreed, belatedly, that "tremendous progress" had been made. Buthelezi followed, acknowledging that he had not been "an exercise in futility." But, when the press conference ended and the delegations gathered in tight, isolated knots to await executive jets to wing them back home, it was obvious to journalists, who were regaled with unfathomable accounts of how rival delegates had behaved, that the situation remains dangerously grave.

As things stand, the election will go ahead without Inkatha in 12 days' time. Even if international mediation begins right away, there is scant hope of progress by April 27.

What, then, is the immediate outlook for the region and the country? As we noted (Leaders April 8), the unrest in many parts of the province is not conducive to a free and fair election. Even if the security forces succeed in bringing down the death rate, the climate of intimidation and fear will probably take years to ease.

Nevertheless, the election will be held in KwaZulu but on a smaller scale than initially planned. The IEC has reduced the number of polling stations in the region to allow greater control of security forces at the stations and along access routes from nearby residential areas.

Unless no voting is possible anywhere in the province, which is most unlikely, the IEC will, in all probability, declare the polls there to be substantially free and fair, based on the votes that could be counted.

The IEC could justify this on a poll as low as 30% if it is assumed that there would have been a poll of at least 70% had Inkatha participated and that Inkatha has 50% of voter support in the region. A 30%-35% poll could therefore be regarded as a fair reflection of the views of voters other than Inkatha supporters. This means only 1.3m-1.5m of the province's 4.5m voters will need to vote for the poll to be considered legitimate.

According to Department of Home Affairs figures, more than 60% of voters are concentrated in 16 of the region's 66 magisterial districts, including 360 000 in Durban, 200 000 in Umlazi, 189 000 in Inanda, 161 000 in Maritzburg, 121 000 in Chatsworth and 133 000 in Pinetown, all of which are relatively easy to police for three days of polling if security forces are deployed in sufficient numbers.

Central Statistical Service in Pretoria says there are 445 000 white and 500 000 Indian voters in KwaZulu/Natal, so a 70% poll among whites and 60% among Indians would alone provide more than 600 000 votes. Only about 20% of the 3.57m black voters would then have to vote to give a poll of around 30%. Chances are that substantially more will.

The outcome of the election in these conditions raises interesting possibilities, including an outside chance of an NP victory in the province if a significant number of Inkatha supporters defy Buthelezi to back the NP and a substantial number of ANC supporters stay away because of intimidation.

An ANC-dominated provincial government is more likely but with a strong NP component. The effect of a low poll in KwaZulu/Natal will be felt at national level but not sufficiently to undermine overall credibility.

A 70% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 30% in the region will give an average poll of 62%. An 80% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 35% there will give an average of 71%.

The NP will probably gain most nationally by a low poll in Natal, which will almost certainly destroy what little chance the ANC has of gaining a two-thirds majority in the national assembly.

But Buthelezi and Inkatha will be far worse off. Speaking to journalists after the summit, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa made it clear that the KwaZulu government will cease to exist after the election. If necessary, Buthelezi, his Ministers and other elected and appointed political representatives will be forcibly removed from office.

As PM to his nephew, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi will keep an important ceremonial role, but political power — and control of the purse strings — will rest, in all probability, with ANC regional leader Jacob Zuma and his national unity administration in Maritzburg.

The spectre of full-scale civil war and military action such as the air strikes now being mounted against Bosnian Serbs by UN forces in central Europe are most likely the product of overzealous reporters eager to squeeze the last iota of sensation from a story that needs no dramatic embellishment.

The SA Defence Force and SA Police militarily superior to any militia Inkatha may be able to muster and the new government is expected to use the security forces far more ruthlessly to stamp out the unrest than is currently the case. Some ANC leaders are already pointing to the effectiveness of previous states of emergency when thousands of dissidents where arrested within days of the security measures becoming effective and asking why the same is not happening now.

This potential within the ANC for a vicious backlash against Inkatha must not be underestimated. An important task of minority parties in the national assembly and of the international community will be to guard against it.

They must insist that
Can the mediators pull it off?

If ever there was a demonstration of the carrot-and-stick approach to politics, it is that now being used to resolve the volatile KwaZulu/Natal impasse. The problem is, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is barely sniffing at the carrot and, far from cringing from the stick, threatens to hit straight back.

For all ANC leader Nelson Mandela’s assertions to the foreign media that Buthelezi does not have the capacity to wage a Vietnam-style military campaign in the province, he’s all too painfully aware that the chief minister and his supporters, irrespective of whether they remain in control of Ulundi and its civil service, can make things decidedly uncomfortable for any new regional administration.

The region is known to be flooded with arms and a considerable number of Inkatha supporters have been given at least the rudiments of military training at clandestine training camps set up throughout KwaZulu.

They clearly have the capacity to wage an effective, low-key, guerrilla war capable of tying up men and resources for years with devastating consequences for the region.

Moreover, though the ANC has yet to be elected to office there are signs of increasing disenchantment, locally and abroad, with the unceremonious (and legally and democratically questionable) way both the ANC and government swept aside opposition to the election. Both would thus be well advised to tread carefully in their dealings with Inkatha from a purely diplomatic perspective if nothing else.

Van Niekerk adds that the strategy seems to be working, though to what extent it is being effective is difficult to quantify. “Violence seems to have dissipated, though we cannot yet prove it statistically, particularly as it is difficult to differentiate between politically and criminally motivated strife.”

There is a body of opinion, however, which believes that all the troops have done is serve to heighten tensions and that they will be of little or no effect in ensuring free and fair elections take place in the region.

On the carrot side, the picture is equally bleak (see Leaders). Last week’s quadrilateral talks in the Kruger National Park were clearly a failure and the last vestiges of hope for a pre-election resolution of the impasse rest with ongoing discussion between the negotiating teams and international mediation which was scheduled to begin on Wednesday.

Interestingly, though government and the Nats initially poo-pooed the idea of mediation when it was used as a means of enticing Buthelezi to register for the elections, government has now wedged its way into the process. Clearly it believes there could be political advantage to be gained from participation, though it would seem the NP would have the most to gain if Inkatha stayed out of the election. Home Affairs Minister Dane Schutte believes there is an excellent chance of the Nats winning the election in KwaZulu/Natal. Certainly, the NP’s campaign seems to be gathering momentum in the region.

Realistically, though, what chances are there of a breakthrough in the mediation process?

The international mediation team consists of Judge H K Bhagwati (India), Lord Carrington (UK), Judge A Leon Higginbotham (US), Henry Kissinger (US), Prof Paul Kevenhorster (Germany), Judge Antonio La Pergola (Italy) and Prof Jean Antoine Lapone (Canada).

Cyril Ramaphosa leads the ANC’s team to the mediation talks, Roelf Meyer government’s, Ben Ngubane Inkatha’s and Prince Vincent Zulu that of the King.

The odds, of course, are virtually nil that any solution can be thrashed out in time for Inkatha to participate in the election. The leaders’ summit last Friday gave their negotiating teams until Thursday to reach an agreement which would allow for Inkatha’s participation. And Ramaphosa has stressed that the ANC will not entertain any postponement of the poll. There’s a feeling abroad that it would take a “miracle” to produce a constitutional deal between the ANC and Inkatha at this late juncture.

The mediators’ first task is to mediate on the terms of reference of their mediation task — only part of which has so far been agreed.

One issue that may well scupper mediation before it gets under way is Inkatha’s demand for a postponement of the election. Other differences include the ANC’s desire to test the interim constitution against the yardstick that it provides for a “democratic, non-racist, non-nexus, united SA,” while Inkatha wants a “federalist and pluralist” constitution.

The general view, then, is one of pessimism. However, that in itself could pave the way for a more realistic approach to compromise than has been evident previously when hopes of a breakthrough were higher.

Note of warning

Not on the heels of a call by the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) for an ANC government to break up the Development Bank of SA, because of alleged unfairness in job-creating public works projects, comes an Urban Foundation report on the international and SA experience of public works programmes.

Unlike Sanco, the foundation’s report advocates a crucial need for partnerships between government and the private sector, as well as local community involvement, as a key element of future employment policies.

It emphasises that the central government should not be seen as the sole, or even the main, player in the development of public works programmes as it is extremely difficult to conceive of an effective “developmental” state which on its own can design, manage, implement, maintain and monitor a sound programme.

According to the report, SA spends R6.2bn a year — about 5% of its national budget — on a variety of projects that are partially public works.

It is noted that the programmes (centre-piece of the ANC’s election manifesto), are likely to be an important component of the new government’s reconstruction and development programme. But the foundation’s Ann Bernstein warns that while such programmes can have strong benefits, they can also be costly failures if poorly thought out.

In raising the question of whether it is possible to increase significantly the labour
Call to arms in KwaZulu

Reports from South Africa's military have confirmed that the ANC's military wing, the African National Congress (ANC), is preparing for a possible armed struggle. The reports claim that thousands of ANC members have gathered in secret locations across the country, preparing for a violent uprising.

The ANC, which has been in power since 1994, has been facing increasing pressure from its opponents, who are concerned about the country's economic policies and the growth of violent crime. The ANC has denied the reports, saying they are false and that the party is committed to democratic principles.

In a statement, the ANC said: "We reject any suggestion that the ANC is preparing for an armed struggle. Our commitment to democracy and the rule of law is absolute."

The South African government has also denied the reports, saying they are baseless. "We are aware of the allegations but we are confident that the ANC will follow the law," the government spokesperson said.

The situation in South Africa is tense, with tensions rising between the government and its opponents. The ANC has been in power since the end of apartheid but its popularity has been on a downward trend in recent years.

The ANC's rivals, the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), have been increasing their pressure on the government, calling for a change in leadership.

The ANC's military wing, the MK, played a significant role in the struggle against apartheid and has a strong following in certain areas of the country. The MK has been a source of concern for the government, which has, in the past, tried to disarm the MK.

The ANC has denied any links to the MK, saying it is an independent body. However, the government has been pushing for its disarmament, saying it poses a threat to national security.

The ANC has been facing criticism for its failure to deliver on its promises of economic growth and job creation. The country's economy has been struggling in recent years, with high unemployment and poverty levels.

The ANC's failure to deliver on its promises has led to a rise in protests and violence across the country, with the government blaming the ANC for the increase in crime and violence.

The ANC has denied any links to the violence, saying it is being used by its opponents to undermine the party's image.

The situation in South Africa is tense, and the government has been increasing its security measures to prevent any possible armed uprising.

The ANC has been facing increasing pressure from its opponents, who are concerned about the country's economic policies and the growth of violent crime. The ANC has denied the reports, saying they are false and that the party is committed to democratic principles.
Fresh summit move to set up
Mediation

Kissinger yesterday morning the government was prepared to go back to the original terms of reference. This was rejected by the ANC.

Despite Dr Kissinger’s appeals to Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, he could not save the process.

Dr Kissinger said the mediators had come on the “honest misunderstanding” that their terms of reference had been agreed to.

United States mediator Mr Justice Leon Higginbotham said it was not so much that mediation had failed, but that the process had not come about.

The ANC’s secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, warned that more SADF troops would be moved into KwaZulu-Natal to strengthen the emergency measures and secure elections. Chief Buthelezi warned that this would be “dangerous”.

He predicted violence would increase despite the emergency, but the election would go ahead because he could not stop it.

He said Inkatha’s central committee would meet urgently to consider its next move.

It is understood the ANC is still pursuing ways of accommodating King Goodwill Zwelethini and has revised the package presented at last weekend’s summit.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa
There will be no war – Buthelezi

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi appeared resigned yesterday to the fact that two weeks from now he will not be Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

A relaxed Buthelezi told a press conference in Johannesburg on the failed international mediation that he was not unduly concerned about his future after the election, adding that his pension would be safe.

Asked if he was worried about his and his people’s position in KwaZulu once an ANC-dominated regional government was in power, Buthelezi replied: “We have our pensions, if you are talking about money.”

He expressed his “great disappointment” with the failure of mediation, and laid the blame at the door of the ANC and the Government.

The two, he said, had been opposed to mediation from the beginning, and had “again ruined another opportunity where there could have been reconciliation”.

However, he would continue to engage the ANC and the Government in negotiations.

Asked whether he would resort to armed insurrection, Buthelezi said he had never considered taking up arms even against successive racist National Party governments, and he would not do so now.

“It (a war) would be a terrible thing for Natal. It would be terrible for South Africa and the rest of southern Africa. Whose who wins power through war would have won a pyrrhic victory.”

The IFP leader said he had always stated openly that those who wanted to vote in the election had their democratic right to do so, adding that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had not called on Zulus not to vote.

He said he did not know if he and King Goodwill would still attend the second round of talks with ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, now expected to be held next week.

(Star 15/4/94)
Bid to get king's okay on voting

BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Umlazi — A last-ditch effort is being made to persuade King Goodwill Zwelithini to authorize Zulus to vote in the election.

It is understood that church leaders, headed by Archbishop Desai Tutu, have been granted an audience with the king, possibly today, near Nongoma.

This follows the inconclusive Sibiya summit last week and the breakdown yesterday in international mediation efforts to resolve the impasse.

The IFP has declined to participate in the election and Zwelithini has not advised his 8.2 million subjects about voting.

Assurance

It is widely believed that without his personal assurance, many Zulus — particularly those in the IFP — will not go to the polls in KwaZulu.

This weekend, they are to be urged at mass rallies in KwaZulu-Natal that they should vote.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to address a series of rallies in the Durban area tomorrow.

It was widely believed in Umlazi last night that units of the SADF and SAP were preparing to take up positions this weekend in the light of the failure of mediation.

It is understood that roads are to be barricaded, but this could not be confirmed.

Long convoys of armoured vehicles were seen yesterday heading south on the Vryheid—Melmoth road close to Umlazi.
ULUNDI. — King Goodwill Zwelithini joined top-level South African church leaders yesterday in a plea for peace in KwaZulu-Natal — even as thousands of Zulus marched and more troops prepared to move into the region.

Speaking after a meeting with church leaders at his residence at Nongoma, King Goodwill appealed to his subjects to reject violence.

Before the meeting, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu told reporters: “We have come just to speak about peace... We are not going to be partisan.”

Also in the church delegation were Professor Johan Heyns and Dr Louw Alberts of the NG Church, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, who is also National Peace Committee vice-chairman, Dr Khoza Ngxojo of the Methodist Church and Pastor Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church.

National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall, who was also present, said the talks had not proceeded smoothly, but added: “I think we reached common ground.”

Thousands of Zulus marched through Pongola in northern Natal yesterday in support of King Goodwill’s constitutional demands.

SA Defence Force spokesman Commandant Braam van Wyk said last night that before the election another 900 soldiers would join the 3,000 already deployed in KwaZulu-Natal.

The deployment had been planned before the emergency and was unrelated to political developments, he said.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee said he had appointed three special advisers to visit and report on people detained under the state of emergency in Natal.

They are Mr A I J Chadwick, SC, Mr M A Mdhlachia, a member of the Legal Resources Centre, and Mr E Moolla, an attorney.

IEC officials charged with organising the poll, said in Durban yesterday they were confident free and fair elections could be staged in KwaZulu-Natal, despite “substantial obstacles”.

IEC commissioner Mr Thabani Jali said the IEC had to reduce the number of polling stations from 1,500 to 900 because communities had not made their facilities available.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, speaking at the College of Education in Sebokeng yesterday, called for a summit of leaders following the failure of international mediation. — Sapa
Robert Brandt, President

Boree, bid to train Zulu soldiers
Eskom pledges to come clean on R2,1 million KwaZulu arms deal

JOHANNESBURG - Eskom, the African generator of electricity, has pledged to come clean on allegations that it is involved in a R2.1 million arms deal.

The company's chairman, Mr. Pollard, has stated that Eskom is investigating the matter thoroughly to ensure that all relevant facts are brought to light.

The alleged arms deal involves the sale of 100 arms to Nigeria, which have been confirmed as illegal by the country's authorities. Eskom is understood to have been involved in the transaction, and the company is now facing questions about its role.

Eskom's statement reads: "We are investigating the matter thoroughly to ensure that all relevant facts are brought to light. We are committed to transparency and will provide a full report on the matter as soon as possible."
King tells Zulus to end violence

ULUNDI — Zulus were yesterday told by their king to end their role in political violence in South Africa.

His appeal came after a marathon six-hour meeting with a Peace Committee delegation headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

But King Goodwill Zwelithini's agreement to appeal to his followers was not a foregone conclusion, royal sources said.

The meeting, which was held at the Kwenkangele Royal Kraal, 80 km from Ulundi, was marked by disagreements on several points and discussion was heated at times, with the king also objecting to being interrupted by delegation members while he was speaking.

Satisfied

Tutu said last night that he and his delegation were satisfied at the progress made particularly in view of the failure of the Shukuma Summit and the international mediation effort.

"We felt that those who had helped to broker peace in South Africa should do all in their power to reduce violence. The king has a crucial role to play as it is his people who are involved in violence from both sides," Tutu added.

"He did what we asked him to do by saying that this nonsense of violence must stop."

Apart from Tutu, the delegation consisted of Professor Johan Heyns, Dr Louw Alberts, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Dr Khoza Mgojo, Pastor Ray Macanley, and Peace Committee chairman John Hall.
Buthelezi dismisses proposals on king

BY BRIAN SOKUTU 17/4/94

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed as "nonsense" suggestions changes to the constitution that will be presented to King Goodwill Zwelithini by a working group established after the government-ANC-IFP summit meeting in Skukuza.

The Skukuza meeting sought to accommodate the Zulu monarch in the new dispensation.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday the changes were "a rehash" of earlier proposals. "What was put before the king was not worth much," he added.

Asked what he would do if the April elections went ahead without him, he said: "I can't spell out my plans yet. The IFP has always operated outside the electoral process.

He added: "It is a very abnormal situation to expect people to participate in what is called free and fair elections when there is a state of emergency (in KwaZulu Natal)."

He said he was "ashamed" that international mediators had come to South Africa "to help us", only for the mediation attempt to be aborted. He said he hoped the mediators could "still come and help."
A report in the British newspaper The Argus Foreign Service in London on 16th September 1944 by Garnier Thomson reads:

Zulu secret army gearing up for war – Press

[Redacted text in the original document is not transcribed accurately due to the image quality.]
SAP plans to keep 'a close watch' on KwaZulu Police

THE SA Police would move quickly to "sideline" KwaZulu Police officers manning voting stations if there was any indication they were not performing their jobs properly, SAP Natal regional commissioner Lt Gen Colin Steyn said yesterday.

The SA security forces had also asked for a six-month reduction in the planned number of voting stations within Natal and KwaZulu government controlled areas due to a shortage of policing manpower.

The KwaZulu Police would be on duty at a number of voting stations in the KwaZulu area, Steyn told a news briefing in Durban yesterday. Although the Inkhatha Freedom Party was campaigning for an election boycott, party leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had issued a directive to the KwaZulu Police to co-operate in the election process, he said.

Asked what would happen in communities where there had already been objections to the presence of the KwaZulu Police, Steyn said these situations were being monitored on a daily basis.

"If it comes to our notice that irregularities could take place we will take action. If there is anything questionable, we will move the KwaZulu Police," he said.

Although there might be some KwaZulu Police officers who stepped out of line, he said, he was confident most would handle the task adequately. There would be sufficient back-up if KwaZulu Police members refused to man the stations.

SAP members could not be used at all voting stations as there were not enough policemen to go around. The minimum number of policemen at a voting station was five, but in some places it would be necessary to deploy up to 25. Steyn said senior security officers were hoping the IEC would reduce the number of voting stations allocated in Natal. At present 341 stations were pencilled in for KwaZulu areas and the SAP was hoping for a significant reduction in this number.

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KwaNdebele govt fined for misusing publication

IN ITS first ruling, the Independent Media Commission yesterday found the KwaNdebele government guilty of misusing state publications.

The publishing information department was fined R1,500 plus costs for an article in its Progress publication, which quoted Chief Minister James Mahlangu praising the ANC for its support during riots in 1999. Mahlangu urged for ANC members to vote in the elections.

The Independent Media Commission Act prohibits the use of state publications and resources to the advantage of any political party during the election period. Sapa reports from Port Elizabeth that the Independent Electoral Commission tribunal yesterday found that the Steyn commission report, which investigated charges of vote-rigging by the NP, was a "dirty tricks" report that had been used by Transkei MP Bantu Holomisa to make the NP leader lose his seat.

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PAC launches media drive

SELLO MOTLHABASWE

THE PAC yesterday announced a major media campaign starting on Thursday.

Speaking from its central Johannesburg office, PAC secretary General Philiwe Sikhole said the campaign had been made possible by a R1,7m grant from the Independent Electoral Commission.

She said it would focus on radio broadcasts in all 11 official languages as an important part of a low-cost "below-the-line" approach. The PAC's PWV region had already placed several glossy posters featuring PAC leader, Clarence Makweza, that were not based on very literate readership.
King calls for peace

DURBAN. — King Goodwill Zwelethini made an impassioned plea for an end to violence yesterday after a political breakthrough saw the IFP joining the election process.

Speaking at his royal house at Nongoma, he thanked all the parties involved in the negotiations which had led to his demands on a Zulu monarchy being met.

A carnival atmosphere erupted at the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi, when the news was made known, with motorists hooting, women ululating, men bursting into tribal singing and dancing and youths toy-towering in the streets.

Thousands of civil servants joined in the celebrations outside the Legislative Assembly buildings.

'Earlier a protest march by thousands of Zulus at Denny Dalton turned into an election campaign when the news was announced,' King Goodwill said he was above party politics and would not be supporting any particular party.
The statement was issued by the President.

MANAGOSLINI BUTLERZI after several days of negotiation.

on course for peace

decision plus SA

In that election.

The International Peace

For the President.

Their Excellency's election agreement.

Managoslini Butlerz, after several days of negotiation.

on course for peace

decision plus SA

The International Peace

For the President.

Their Excellency's election agreement.
NEWS IFP’s Felgate rapped on the Way clear for Inkatha to contest

IN LINE Interim constitution amended to recognise role of king.

By Tyrone August
Political Staff

The Negotiating Council yesterday formally opened the way for the Inkatha Freedom Party to take part in next week’s election.

At a special session at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, the council passed two amendments to the interim constitution to recognise and protect “the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarchy”.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer welcomed the IFP in the election fold. “It is further contribution on the path of reform and, more importantly, putting into operation a full-scale democracy in South Africa,” he said.

But the jubilation behind the unanimous decision of the Negotiating Council did not prevent ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa from attacking IFP official Mr Walter Felgate for his remarks on Tuesday that it was the IFP’s strategy to hold out on a constitutional settlement for as long as possible.

Ramaphosa also questioned whether the IFP would accept the election results, saying this was “absolutely essential.”

SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo described Felgate’s remarks as “callous and repulsive. Never again must a political party be allowed to use human life as a bargaining chip in the negotiating process.”

Meyer also questioned why the IFP rejected a draft agreement last week which also gave Zwelithini constitutional protection and specific powers in KwaZulu/Natal.

(T August, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg)
Joy as IFP plunges in

**Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa**

**Sowetan** 21/4/94

THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched through Ulundi yesterday to the Legislative Assembly building to celebrate the decision by the party to enter the election.

And later at a rally, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced that IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose would stand as candidate for the premiership in KwaZulu/Natal.

Buthelezi will head the party’s national election list. It was expected last night that the party would hand its preliminary list of candidates to the Independent Electoral Commission in Johannesburg.

However, it is believed the IFP has instead opted to come up with its final list on Friday, the new deadline allowed by the IEC.

What was originally planned as a protest march turned into celebrations as women bearing the image of Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s face on their dresses chanted, ‘Long live the King’. They shouted ‘when Buthelezi’s arrived outside the KLA building. Chanting impis moved through the town and the business centre came to a standstill as shops were closed.

Sporadic gunfire was heard and at least two people were seen carrying AK-47 rifles.

Buthelezi told more than 10 000 supporters that he had joined the electoral process to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace.

Although he did not think the IFP’s participation in the election would lead to an immediate reduction in violence, “the proportion of violence will be less”. He said it would be naïve to believe the IFP’s participation in elections would mean an end to violence “but it should decrease because tensions are less”.

He said he had asked State President FW de Klerk to lift the state of emergency only to be told that his advisers had suggested he impose the emergency in other volatile parts of the country.

*Report by Mshoza, 18 Osborne Street, Durban and C Dowman, 330 West Street, Durban.*

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Polling from pole to pole

Youth members of the Inkatha Freedom Party prepare election posters in Durban for the party’s campaign which they later distributed around various areas of Natal-KwaZulu. The IFP decided at the 11th-hour on Tuesday to contest next week’s election and yesterday launched its belated campaign.

PIC: MEJUZENI ZULU
LET'S VOTE A Group of Zulus will post a speech defending a protest of their rights.

IN SUPPORT of the freedom fighters, we present a protest poster.
Coetsee rejects KZP indemnity

INVESTIGATIONS into kwazulu Police hit-squad activities are being frustrated by the refusal of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to indemnify KZP members willing to testify.

A Transitional Executive Council task group on hit squads last month proposed indemnity be granted to kwazulu policemen who took part in criminal activities but were reluctant to divulge information, for fear of incriminating themselves.

The issue was discussed by Coetsee, Judge Richard Goldstone, TEC co-chairman Zam Titus and two members of the TEC task group — Professor Nicholas Haysom and Howard Varney — at a meeting last week.

Coetsee apparently refused to agree to an indemnity, despite two Goldstone Commission reports implicating senior KZP officers in hit-squad activities and the alleged involvement of people in the office of kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Coetsee argued that he did not want to interfere with the judicial process, and specifically not with the independence of attorneys general, in deciding whether or not to prosecute.

Judge Goldstone and the TEC delegation argued the need for a longer-term view to help prevent violence, while the task group said they needed collaboration from "foot soldiers" in the hit squads if anyone was to be prosecuted.

Coetsee agreed on the necessity for interim measures, but steadfastly refused to interfere with existing legal procedures.

Haysom said he was hopeful that an acceptable agreement might soon be reached on the TEC task group's recommendations.

He confirmed that a second task group report had been handed to an international investigation team under Transvaal attorney general Jan D'Oliveira.
THE ELECTION

Buthelezi's late, late entry

While SA heaved a collective sigh of relief at Inkatha's decision to enter the general election after all, many of its supporters will be scratching their heads in wonder at how passing strange are the ways of the wise. What, they may well ask, makes today different from yesterday, when their leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was talking about a fight to the finish? And what of the constitutional changes towards prudent federalism that Buthelezi seemed prepared to die for, but are not part of this week's breakthrough?

The tragedy is that so many people had to die and so much economic damage had to be done before Buthelezi finally accepted, in effect, what Nelson Mandela had offered him two weeks earlier — that is, to guarantee the constitutional position of the Zulu king and Kwazulu and continue mediation after the election — in return for his taking part.

Buthelezi's decision had an immediate upshot on financial markets, with the finnand bouncing back from the trough it sank into after the failed, "last-ditch" summit between Buthelezi, his king, Mandela and State President PW de Klerk two weeks ago.

The immediate hope must be that Buthelezi's abrupt U-turn will dampen the violence, which this week flared into open warfare between the ANC and Inkatha in Thokoza (causing the death of, among others, award-winning photographer Ken Oosterbroek), and lead to the cancellation of the threatened march into central Johannesburg by the Inkatha Youth Brigade, with all its potential for a bloodbath.

The immediate hurdle is the logistical problem of amending the 80m ballot forms (already on their way to safe warehouses around SA) to include Inkatha candidacy in the national and all nine provincial polls.

Since it will not be possible to reprint the ballot papers in a week before the election, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) says adhesive stickers will be used, containing the Inkatha logo, acronym and leader Buthelezi's picture. The stickers will look the same as the other entries except that they will not have the security marking. They will be fixed to the ballot form below the last entry (which is the National Party's), in the polling stations before being distributed to voters. Printing of the stickers began on Tuesday night. A potential problem is that improperly affixed stickers will result in spoil papers.

Clearly intent on not wasting a moment, Inkatha began an intensive poster campaign in Durban on Tuesday even before the Pretoria talks were completed.

The clinching agreement commits the parties to peace and reconciliation. It makes the following pledges:

☐ Inkatha agrees to participate in the April 26-28 election for both the national assembly and provincial legislatures;
☐ A commitment by all three parties to do everything in their power to ensure free and fair elections;
☐ Agreement to recognise and protect the institution, status and constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of Kwazulu, which shall be provided for in the provincial constitution of Kwazulu/Natal. To this end the 1993 constitution will be amended (probable at a short sitting of parliament on Monday) before April 27;
☐ Any outstanding issues in respect of the Zulu king and the 1993 constitution as amended will be addressed through international mediation, which will start as soon as possible after the election; and
☐ Government will do all it can to help the IEC arrange the full participation of Inkatha in the election.

The first hint that Buthelezi might be having a change of heart came on Friday, with calls from King Goodwill Zwelithini for Zulu to stop killing one another. It was a noticeably more conciliatory tone than the threats of a week earlier. However, the final decision to participate, according to Buthelezi, was taken by the Inkatha Central Committee on Sunday. Negotiations began immediately and were completed on Tuesday.

It marked the end of the resistance campaign Buthelezi effectively began when he boycotted the second plenary session of Codess because of the exclusion of the Zulu king in May 1992. The rift between him, the ANC and government deepened over the months, particularly over issues such as the ANC/ NAT Record of Understanding signed in September 1992, after which Buthelezi alleged there was a plan afoot to "ethnically cleanse" the Zulus a la Bosnia.

The election proclamation and establishment of the TEC without reference to him only added insult to injury. "Final" deadlines came and went with monotonous regularity and all negotiations ended in deadlock.

When the Kruger Park summit between Mandela, Buthelezi, Zwelithini and De Klerk ended in acrimony two weeks ago, it was closely followed by last week's stillborn attempt at international mediation. However, Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington left when the ANC and Inkatha could not agree on their terms of reference. It looked like the end of the road.

Nothing more, it seemed, could be done — that is, until an obscure Kenyan professor, who had been included as an afterthought in the international mediation team, stayed behind to have one more try. And he succeeded.

While Tuesday's settlement was hailed by Mandela as a victory for all who love SA, UCT professor Robert Schrire believes it amounts to a political defeat which could write Buthelezi out of future politics.

"If Buthelezi and Inkatha had decided (in February) to participate in the polls after winning agreement on separate national and provincial ballots, he would have been hailed as a great and brilliant statesman who had won significant concessions from a weak position. Instead, he hung on for a couple of months, precipitating mass bloodshed. His bluff was called, he went to the edge, peeled back the precipice at the abyss, and capitulated. Though he won concessions on the status of the king, that was a side issue. "His boycott was based on two issues. He wanted the elections postponed and he wanted fundamental change in the interim constitution. The bottom line is that he achieved neither."

Schrire believes Buthelezi's change of heart was precipitated by the unexpectedly high violence brought about by the party's election boycott stance. "As a committed Christian and moral person he was appalled by the loss of life, even though it was partly a terribly destructive consequence of his own strategy. He could not help but be distressed at the violence."

This Christian element, says Schrire, was reinforced by the involvement of his Christian fellowship friend of 20 years, Prof Washington Okumu, as the mediator from Kenya who is given the lion's share of credit — by Buthelezi certainly — for this week's breakthrough.

Schrire believes the other crucial element was that "reality finally broke through the code of the advisers with whom Buthelezi

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had surrounded himself. He really finally realised that he was about to be marginalised. He was about to become the first victim of the SA which he had helped create. I doubt that he liked the idea."

Though the impact of the election agreement should reduce the intensity of the violence which brought about a state of emergency in Natal and is ravaging the East Rand, there is little likelihood that it will abate completely.

UCT's Prof David Welch observes that having "virtually everyone on board" enables conflicts to be funnelled through the ballot box rather than the bullet. "It is a step in the right direction. Clearly, electioneering will still be pretty hairy but one would hope that violence will diminish. Inkatha's inclusion in the process could, of course, just add a new dimension to it. The settlement, however, remains good news."

Schrirle says the real problem is that Buthelezi has "taken the genie of anarchy and ethnic chauvinism out of the bottle" and will have difficulty returning it. "The legacy of violence and hatred plus the fact that the traditionalists have suddenly become politically relevant means that forces like the Inkatha Youth Brigade and some of the senior indunas around the king will be less likely to obey Buthelezi automatically than they would have six months ago."

Another problem could be just how he and his party will react if they do badly at the polls. Wits' Tom Lodge argues that Buthelezi capitulated too late to make a good showing at the polls. For this reason, it is suggested, he will not be offered anything by the ANC government that he doesn't win.

Says Schrirle: "This probably sees the end of Buthelezi as a major national player. By exclusively focusing on the monarchy, which will be taken out of politics, he has essentially written himself out of the script."
SADF saves election workers

By GEORGE MAHABERE AND CAS ST Leger

EIGHT ANC members and four IEC monitors were rescued from the KwaZulu capital, Umhlanga, last night by the SADF after they were besieged in a police station by more than 1,000 IFP supporters.

Earlier, an ANC supporter was burnt to death in his bakkie and another was shot dead.

Sapa-Reuters reported that a third person died of a gunshot wound after taking refuge in the police station.

In an apparent exchange of fire between members of the rival groups, IFP supporter Alpha Ngcobo was also wounded.

The SADF rescue operation was launched after IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short his Free State roadshow to rush to Umhlanga.

KwaZulu police spokesman said the ANC supporters were confronted by Umhlanga residents who objected to them canvassing for votes in the town.

A resident of an ANC member shot at a firearm and shot him. Ngcobo was also wounded.

SADF to ANC's aid

From Page 1

Police incensed the crowd who attacked the ANC members.

The ANC supporters ran in different directions, with the exception of one who remained in the vehicle. The bakkie was set on fire with the man inside. He was burnt to death.

They also torched another bakkie loaded with ANC pamphlets and shot dead a flying ANC member.

"Four IEC monitors and eight ANC supporters sought protection at the Umhlanga police station," the spokesman said.

IFP campaign manager Arthur Konigkramer lashed out at what he called "extremely provocative" behaviour by ANC members.

The ANC last night expressed its shock and outrage at the "vicious attack" on its members.

However, the party welcomed the "prompt action taken by Chief Buthelezi".

(News by G Mahabere, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville, and C S Leger, 13 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)
Inkatha releases list of candidates

THE Inkatha Freedom Party released its list of candidates yesterday, appearing to give high-profile public figures and whites prominence on its national list but preserving its top echelon for the regional list in KwaZulu/Natal where it expects the strongest support.

Inkatha expects at most to win 25% of the votes nationally, with its list of provincial candidates almost equalling that of the combined regional and national component for the national assembly. It is fielding 76 candidates to contest the 400 seats.

Most opinion polls have given Inkatha about 13% of the votes nationally, although the latest Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report gave it only about 7%, which would result in the top 20 making it into Parliament on the national list. President Mangosuthu Buthelezi heads the national list followed by former SAPC member Joe Matthews and hardliner Walter Felgate.

Positions five, six and eight are held by former NP members Koos van der Merwe, Jurie Ments andennie Bekker. Press officer Sue Vos will also make it into Parliament at number seven. At number nine is information director Ziba Jiyane with Vaphedi Ndlovu at 11 and former independent Broadcasting Authority member Harriet Ngubane at number 12.

Chief negotiator Ben Ngubane heads a strong list of candidates on the regional list, the safest route to election. HSRC director Laurie Schlemmer estimates that Inkatha could manage 25% support in KwaZulu/Natal, giving about 15 candidates from that region a good chance.

Among these are Dennis Madide, Faith Gasa Forouk Cassim, Kisten Rajoo, Peter Smith of the information department, Natal Red Cross director Inka Mars, Ben Skopana and Philip Powell.

For its KwaZulu/Natal Provincial legislature, Inkatha has its chairman Frank Mdabose as premier candidate followed by Jeffrey Mntwana and two royal family members Gideon and Vincent Zulu. Also high on the list are former DP MPs Mike Tariq and Peter Miller, with Arthur Konkelo in ninth and Sue Pelgutie at 15.

KwaZulu/Natal premier Patrick Corneli occupies the number 20 slot and Lindelani warden Thomas Shabalala is at number 26.

In its second strongest region, the PWV, Inkatha has chosen Transvaal leader Themba Khoza to head the list for the national assembly. He is likely to get into Parliament. As number nine is Charles Lofwag, who called on Inkatha members to march on the ANC offices at Shell House.

Recently, Inkatha's choice for PWV premier is Moses Myeni with Jennie Bekker's wife, Gerda, occupying fourth position before Ruth Felgate.

MUNGO SOGGOT reports that Inkatha's 21st hour decision to take part in the poll has triggered the frantic printing of 88-million labels.

Jackstadt MD Ken Steyn said his company, which printed the stickers, had delivered 40 tons of label stock to printing company Self-Adhering Products. It, in turn, had printed 22-million labels a day since last Wednesday.
Last day of tricameral system

Role of Zulu king affirmed

POLITICAL STAFF

Cape Town — The last white parliament ended yesterday with Zulus in traditional garb witnessing the ratification of constitutional measures to affirm the position of the Zulu monarch.

All parties, except the Conservative Party, voted in favour of amendments to the Interim Constitution to ensure the IFP's participation in the election.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Second Amendment Bill was witnessed by the king's uncle, Prince Gideon Zulu, and a team of amakhosi (chiefs) dressed in leopard skins.

Spears

The men had been told to leave their spears at security, but the prince managed to sneak in his traditional axe.

The amendments recognised the institution of the Zulu monarch in Natal, its role, authority and status.

At the special day-long session, the Democratic Party took the seats of the official Opposition after six years, following the defection of 10 MPs from the CP to other parties, including the IFP.

The MPs of General Constant Viljoen's Freedom Front took their seats next to the IFP for the first time on the last day of the tricameral Parliament.

During the debate, which also marked the CP's swansong in Parliament, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg posted a token protest and warned that the flame of nationalism would burn again.

President de Klerk closed Parliament with a warning that South Africa's new democracy should be nurtured carefully, otherwise it would wither and die.

South Africa was being watched by Africa, which needed an example of success, and by the world, which needed a symbol that intractable differences could be resolved peacefully, de Klerk said.

Powers

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said parties agreed that the provincial constitution of KwaZulu/Natal would make suitable provision for the king, who would have such rights and powers as determined by Zulu customs and tradition.

The House of Assembly, where apartheid architect Dr Hendrik Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966, echoed for the first time with the Zulu royal salute, shouted out by the IFP's Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal. It was taken up by people in the gallery.

(T Maxie and D Pressly, Press Gallery, Cape Town)
KwaZulu Police slam SAPS raid on camp

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu government paramilitary training camp outside Ulundi was allegedly raided by the SA Police Service on Tuesday night, a move which drew condemnation yesterday from the KwaZulu Police.

KZP Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During slammed the late-night raid which he said was initiated by Mr Mac Maharaj, senior African National Congress representative on the Transitional Executive Council and lawyer Mr Howard Varney who is currently investigating alleged KZP hit squads.

Gen During said the SAP had told him the raid was executed because training at the Miaba camp was in contravention of the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal. — Saps
Rescue teams fly at dawn to Ulundi

Home Affairs helps out IEC

Political Staff
DURBAN. — About 60 Home Affairs officials were flown to Ulundi at dawn today by the Air Force to help the Independent Electoral Commission salvage the election in KwaZulu/Natal.

And if the rescue is not completed today, IEC personnel and voting materials from Durban could be airlifted early tomorrow to the problem areas of Ulundi, Nongoma, Umdoni and Dundee.

Special permission would be given to the presiding officers in those areas to open their voting booths tomorrow.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on television today that these plans had averted a crisis.

But they ran into immediate problems because there was no IEC staff at the Ulundi airport to meet the Home Affairs teams.

President De Klerk said in Durban last night that virtually the whole Air Force was now at the disposal of the IEC.

Seven teams of Home Affairs officials were flown from Pieternelaarsteburg to Ulundi with all the equipment needed to some temporary voting cards, a part-time problem in some remote parts of KwaZulu/Natal.

The IEC yesterday had two million ballot papers for the National Assembly printed for KwaZulu/Natal, and two million for the Provincial parliament. These included the IEC option, as doing away with the need for stickers.

Deputy Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schreuder offered Chief Buthelezi and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke all the facilities at the government’s disposal to ensure the election worked in KwaZulu/Natal.

Mr. Schreuder said that in terms of the Electoral Act an extension of voting hours could only be allowed at specific polling stations.

IFP people told Mr. Moseneke at the midnight meeting that voting equipment had not arrived at some

polling stations. People had waited two days, but had still not voted.

At some polling stations there was no electricity to work the machines that checked voters’ hands. Some ballot boxes were not sealed.

Also today IFP said, some IEC officials were young and arrogant and did not seem to know what they were doing. Some IEC officials had opened ballot papers in front of voters.

The 250,000 ballot papers flown into Newcastle this morning were part of an order for a million placed by the IEC officials yesterday.

The IEC’s sub-regional director, Vaughan Southey, was hopeful that the rest of the order would be flown in later today.

“We have decided to change the Newcastle town centre itself of papers for the moment and find those in the more volatile areas,” he said.

“This is necessary, even though some people in Newcastle might be unhappy.”

Mr. Southey said one of the reasons for the under-supply of ballot papers was the lack of proper population figures for the area.

“For instance, the townships around Newcastle are supposed to have a population of about 250,000. We suspect the true figure to be more than 600,000.”

Mr. Southey said the available stock would be taken by road and helicopter to the various stations.

A Puma helicopter was on standby awaiting the arrival by air of a shipment of voting materials to be taken to the Greytown, Mkhaya and Kramatrat areas, where frustrated and angry voters were reported to have been turned away last night.

IEC acting officer Denheim Grey, said “Overall, things in the Midlands are a lot calmer and smoother. All our stations are up and running. The crowds are a lot smaller. One wonders if there are any people left who have not voted.”

Postbags used as ballot boxes

EAST LONDON. — Completed ballot papers may be put into postbags if there are no enough ballot boxes at polling stations, the Independent Electoral Commission has decided.

The IEC says presiding officers may exercise “flexibility”.

If no official stamps are available, officers should sign the ballots if they able to. If there are no more ballot boxes, completed ballot papers can be emptied into post office bags, which must be sealed and tagged. — Sapa.

A new dimension
Huge effort for voters in KwaZulu

DURBAN. — An operation of unprecedented scale has been launched in KwaZulu for the extra voting day today.

Nearly six million additional ballots including the IFP were being printed.

Radio messages in homeland languages and aircraft with "sky-shouts" were prepared overnight to inform selected regions that voting will continue today.

Special radio messages were recorded for broadcast in the areas to ensure the electorate were given the best chance to exercise their voting rights, IEC spokesman Mr Humphrey Khoza said.

The IEC insisted last night that administrative hitches had largely been resolved, and were confined to northern KwaZulu/Natal. It blamed the chaos in certain areas on shortages of ballot papers, marking ink and ultra-violet lights and inaccurate census figures, the last-minute addition of nearly 500 polling stations and an overwhelming turnout of voters on the first two days of voting.

The extra voting day seems to have placated IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who earlier had criticised the IEC after touring the troubled areas. — Sapa-Reuter 29/14/94
ANC and NP agree to compromise on king

Secret talks have led to agreement on the recognition of the Zulu king in Natal/kwaZulu, writes Farouk Chothia

In a major compromise, the African National Congress and government have agreed to amend the interim constitution to include a guarantee on the position of the Zulu monarch in kwaZulu/Natal. Reliable sources said the agreement — reached in talks among ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and government negotiators — will probably be endorsed at a four-way summit between King Goodwill Zwelithini, IFP leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC president Nelson Mandela and state president FW de Klerk early next week.

The summit — which was to have taken place yesterday and today at a private game lodge in Natal — was called off by Zwelithini on Tuesday in protest against the killing of four subjects during Monday’s march in central Johannesburg.

Sources said negotiators agreed earlier in secret talks to include a clause in Article 160, which deals with provincial constitutions, which would recognise the Zulu monarch in kwaZulu/Natal.

His exact future role would be defined by the provincial legislature which would take office after elections, though all parties seem to agree that he would be ensured the titular position of constitutional monarch.

Barring any last-minute hitch — and there was concern that the Johannesburg killings could harden attitudes — the agreement will be placed before the four leaders for ratification at next week’s indaba, sources said.

Taken at face value, this agreement represents a major compromise between the IFP and ANC. The IFP previously demanded the king’s future status be enshrined as a constitutional principle while the ANC insisted the matter be left entirely in the hands of a future provincial legislature.

In making the concession, the ANC and government hope to achieve several objectives. These include:

- Reducing the possibility of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly adopting a new constitution in the run-up to the April poll in which it planned to outline the future relationship between kwazulu/Natal and the rest of South Africa.

- Weakening the IFP’s anti-election campaign which centres on claims that the Zulu kingdom is under threat.

- Pressing pressure on Zwelithini to stop calling for a boycott of the poll and to endorse the interim constitution, thus driving a wedge between himself and the IFP.

But sources said while the ANC and government hoped to woo Zwelithini, any such agreement would be more likely to cement the relationship between Zwelithini and Buthelezi — as the IFP leader would make a bid for securing the monarch’s position under an ANC-led government.

Sources suggested Zwelithini would continue carrying the IFP banner and would now focus on demanding a postponement of the elections.

Hewould go as far as tying acceptance of the constitutional amendment to a postponement of elections.

“The king will say that if his subjects cannot vote, the constitutional amendment will be meaningless. He can’t be a constitutional monarch of whites, Indians and coloureds,” said one source.

To rule out any prospect of Zwelithini endorsing the present election date — or of IFP participation in the poll — Buthelezi this week declared April 27 as a “National Zulu Day of Mourning for those who died”.

Bargaining against a backdrop of rampant political violence and a trans-

stitional infrastructure which appears incapable of stemming the tide of violence, observers believe the ANC and government may find themselves hard-pressed to resist a postponement as hopes of an all-inclusive settlement once more hover within reach.

Taking advantage of the deaths of Zulu supporters this week to claim the moral high ground, the king has also pulled off a rearrangement of timetables: the four-way summit will now coincide neatly with the planned start of international mediation.

This is likely to ensure that the mediation team, to be headed by Lord Carrington and Henry Kissinger, will make few moves without Zwelithini’s support, thus raising the possibility of much greater constitutional concessions to Buthelezi than could otherwise have been extracted.

Sources suggested that, remaining faithful to Buthelezi, Zwelithini will demand recognition of his “sov-
erignty” through an asymmetrical federal constitution — one which would give kwaZulu/Natal more powers than other provinces.

In return for Zwelithini’s support, the IFP would ensure that the provincial legislature — rather than central government — would be solely responsible for his stipend, sources said.

Sources added that the IFP was also standing firm on its demand for fiscal autonomy and exclusive powers for kwaZulu/Natal — and that it may even push for these to extend to natural resources, effect-
atively meaning that the PWV region — the heartland of South Africa’s econ-
omy — would be reliant for its water supply on the benevolence of kwaZu-
lu/Natal’s federal government.

Some sources were optimistic that if it started next week, international mediation could be concluded by mid-April — on condition the ANC and government agreed to a post-
ponement of elections.

See Page 8
Judge postpones squatter verdict

Supreme Court Reporter

JUDGMENT has been reserved in a Supreme Court application by the Vredenburg municipality for the eviction of 38 squatters living on municipal ground. ARG 17/5/94

The court action comes after the failure of 14 months of negotiations to move the squatters to another site.

The squatters, some of whom have been living on the municipal site since 1992, want the municipality to provide housing on the land they now occupy while the municipality claims the land has been set aside for formal housing.

Mr Justice Marais postponed judgment.

Charles Louw SC appeared for the municipality and Brendan Manco for the squatters.