

B. Day

25/3/92

# New Inkatha threat to pull out of talks

INKATHA yesterday rejected government proposals for a transitional authority and said it would find it difficult to remain in Codesa unless there was an end to political violence.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly released at Codesa, demanded the inclusion of a KwaZulu government delegation at Codesa.

And national chairman Frank Mdlalose, in a broadside at the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said Inkatha could not continue at the talks "with guns at our backs". Mdlalose said Inkatha would not agree to an interim government until there was peace and until Umkhonto had been disbanded, a position set out by the SA government on Monday.

Yesterday Codesa working group 3, dealing with interim arrangements, met to hear responses to government's proposals for advisory transitional councils to oversee the transition process.

It is understood that a compromise between government's proposals and the ANC proposals for a Codesa-appointed transitional executive structure was being discussed.

Government has proposed the creation of six-member transitional councils designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. The councils would oversee areas such as elections, regional and local government and government finances.

Buthelezi said yesterday that with the

PATRICK BULGER

exception of the transitional council on local government, the other councils could proceed with their work without consulting KwaZulu.

"A new SA is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter, whereas (the TBVC states) are going to be there in these councils and in Codesa helping to write our future for us."

He said KwaZulu could not accept a transitional government or a constituent assembly before the future of the self-governing territories had been decided.

He said an earlier compromise to forgo the KwaZulu government's place at Codesa in favour of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, was being withdrawn and KwaZulu would demand inclusion at Codesa.

The issue of the participation of the Zulu king should be resolved by the end of March, Mdlalose said.

Our political staff reports that the PAC said it could not participate in Codesa when government was clearly bent on frustrating majority rule.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said government's latest transitional proposals were a "non-starter" because they emulated the discredited Native Representative Council which was purely advisory in nature and allowed the regime to retain full control.

"The right of the African people to self-

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## Inkatha

determination will never see the light of day in terms of these proposals and all affirmative action to improve the quality of life of our people will be subject to an omnipresent white veto," he said, adding: "We cannot participate under these circumstances — we don't believe in majority rule that is not majority rule."

Sapa reports from Umtata that military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa described

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government's proposals as shocking and negative. The interim arrangements should assign power to all participants and not be perceived as a window-dressing exercise, he said.

Holomisa said government should be given a deadline by which it had to offer more acceptable proposals.

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## Buthelezi: ANC running a hit squad

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI— The ANC had decided to hunt down and kill the 200 Inkatha Freedom Party members who were trained at Mkuze to protect VIPs and government installations, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged yesterday.

And Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose claimed the ANC was amassing weapons on the Reef to attack hostels and Zulu-speakers over the Easter weekend, WILSON ZWANE reports.

The ANC has denied both allegations. Buthelezi said a "hit squad" had been organised to operate from Eshowe to kill Inkatha leaders. He said an Umkhonto we Sizwe platoon was in the area to do the killing that had taken place.

After former Umlazi assembly member Wilmington Sabelo was murdered he had received additional information

about the names of other Inkatha leaders on the "hit list".

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma last night rejected the Inkatha claim "with contempt". He said Inkatha was afraid of the current democratic process and challenged it to submit evidence of this to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

The ANC also dismissed Mdlalose's allegation as a "baseless lie", saying in a statement the allegation was meant to:

- ☐ Swell Inkatha membership through instilling fear of the ANC;
- ☐ Throw the public off the scent of the real perpetrators of violence; and
- ☐ Persuade the ANC to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe.



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**COMMENT**

## On course

**W**ITH a referendum mandate to negotiate itself out of power, the National Party government has started doing just that. This, and not the inevitable slanging matches which followed the release of government's proposals for interim rule, is the import of that slim document.

Its proposals are intricate, and its motivation possibly obscure, but a start has been made to ending centuries of white rule. Having governed alone since 1948, the NP has tabled proposals for transitional rule which could come into effect within weeks. They would lead to one man one vote elections later this year for a new national assembly which would replace the present tricameral Parliament; this assembly would be an interim legislature and the body finalising South Africa's new democratic constitution.

That means the pussyfooting has ended; from now on all parties at the Codesa negotiations are playing for keeps. The ANC probably has some reason to feel aggrieved that the NP should propose mechanisms which essentially leave the NP in power during the transition. The ANC thought it had agreement on a transitional all-party executive which could override the present Cabinet; this would have given the ANC and others joint power over key areas such as police, defence and broadcasting. Government's proposal is for all-party councils which can only advise government; the ANC predictably rejects these powerless bodies as "toy tele-

phones" and accuses government of perpetuating apartheid.

The power game has started. The ANC's problem is to decide where government is deadly serious and which proposals may have been put there so they can later be ditched in return for a concession from the ANC. The fact that neither side seems to think there is an unbridgeable chasm suggests both see room for compromise.

KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, too, is offended by the proposals, and particularly by the fact that KwaZulu was not consulted as the document was drawn up. As he is not a member of the NP, that is not surprising; the way is now open for him to negotiate such changes as others will agree to. Codesa has rejected his proposal that the Zulu king replace the KwaZulu government delegation, so Buthelezi is once again demanding three Zulu delegations: KwaZulu, Inkatha and the king. The implied threat is that he will storm out of Codesa if he does not get his way.

Buthelezi should stay and negotiate. The transition is important, and the conclusion more so. There are others, notably in the government delegation, equally ready to exhibit histrionics at critical moments, and to warn of death and disaster if their proposals are rejected.

While the parties argue, we should not forget what all the noise is about. We have started negotiating the path to South Africa's first fully representative, democratic constitution.



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# Hidden concerns shaped NP plan for transitional rule.

ALAN FINE

**A**RE THE government/NP proposals on transitional rule tabled at Codesa on Monday simply ill-conceived, poorly drafted and a reflection of an arrogance born of last week's huge referendum majority? Or do they contain within them the seeds not only of a relatively smooth transition but also of durable structures which will deepen democracy in the new SA for decades to come?

Judged purely on the document submitted, it is difficult to tell. But that should surprise no one since vagueness and incoherence are common features of proposals made in the early stages of all sorts of negotiations.

The proposals are seemingly constructed to leave at least some room for compromise. But they also conceal a number of unstated concerns, hidden agendas and even differences of opinion between members of the NP/government negotiating team.

Oddly enough, the government proposals for the less important "preparatory" first phase of interim rule have drawn the most flak from the ANC alliance. This is the system of "transitional councils" which government proposes should operate until a transitional government has been elected in terms of a transitional constitution. The council system has been attacked by almost all the groups outside the NP/government axis because of its purely advisory nature.

**T**he alliance appears largely content with the proposals for the framework of the secondary, post-election transitional phase — a rotating presidency; a joint cabinet; and a bicameral system comprising a national assembly elected by proportional representation and a senate representing regions. These proposals are in line with the NP constitutional proposals published last year. Not surprisingly, the NP would not be averse to a final capitulation based on the very same principles. That, however, will be a matter for later debate.

One important exception to the alliance's present contentment on these secondary phase proposals is the central role suggested for members of existing apartheid structures, such as nominated legislatures, in the

senate if proper regional government structures are not established in time for elections.

The ANC alliance on Monday lost no time in entering into the spirit of political discourse following the release of the NP/government proposals. It warned of a crisis, it feigned horror and disbelief, questioned the NP's very commitment to negotiations and demanded that it return to the drawing board.

The ANC claims government agreed earlier this month to an all-party "super cabinet" which would ensure the NP did not have sole control as the country moved towards transitional government. Committees with no greater powers than to advise the present government portend apartheid rule, it argues.

In reality, though, there is no crisis at all. A senior government minister commented that if agreement could not be reached "we would have no right to call ourselves negotiators". And the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, following his expressions of horror, when pressed to describe the depth of the "crisis" conceded he was confident of a solution.

There is good reason to suppose this is so. The transitional councils are structurally not dissimilar to the ANC's proposed multiparty commissions on matters like security, the budget, foreign relations and local government; and independent commissions on elections and the status of media. (The government proposals are conspicuously silent on

control over the SABC.)

Similarly, the NP's proposed joint transitional council could serve the same purpose as the ANC's proposed interim government council were its powers to be enhanced. But at issue is the extent of the powers of these bodies.

It is perhaps not surprising that the initial proposals give away as little as possible in the opening shot at negotiating an interim structure. But the government source concedes that there is, and must be, room for flexibility on the issue. "It is up for negotiation. We are well aware that the transitional structures have to pass a test of legitimacy."

**H**e points out the proposed council's members, although formally appointed by President F W de Klerk, would be nominated by Codesa.

His flexible view is not necessarily held unanimously in the NP. One member of the ANC alliance suggests there are divisions within the Cabinet on this question. He says there are strong signs in working group 3 discussions of government delegates that the NP is adopting a far harder line than his NP counterpart Dawie de Villiers.

The government source — on the left wing of the NP — concedes that the proposals may be imperfect. He notes that while government is perhaps too strong on retaining as much

control as possible, the ANC alliance seeks power without responsibility. It can be expected that the eventual compromise will address this very question.

Mbeki unintentionally touched on the reason for this unstated government concern when he said that all the ANC wanted the first phase interim government to do was level the political playing field, and ensure free and fair elections. He said the government's first phase proposals covered areas properly the concern only of an elected assembly during the secondary phase.

But he did not then explain why the ANC believed commissions dealing with government finances and international relations were appropriate to the first phase. One assumes that the former, at least, is at the heart of Codesa which is far more convinced than the ANC that the time has arrived to become involved in decision-making on socio-economic issues, and that argues for this purpose need to be put in place as soon as possible.

The issue of what apparatus of joint rule are appropriate to which phase of interim rule links behind many proposals on both sides. The ANC alliance, anticipating a comfortable majority in an elected constituent/national assembly, seeks to postpone many debates to that post-election period when, it proposes, decisions be taken by a two-thirds majority.

That is why Mbeki commented on Monday that the first phase struc-

tures proposed by government appear to be designed "to investigate matters that are otherwise the domain of a constitution-making body". He was referring, presumably, to the suggested transitional councils charged with delimiting new provinces or federal states, and those dealing with such matters as housing, education and health.

The NP/government grouping, on the other hand, would prefer to resolve as many issues as possible at Codesa where decisions are taken by consensus. As a bonus, it seems, the transitional constitution will be negotiated there. The council system would also be a way of getting over the "interim government by stealth" syndrome which has caused the NP some discomfort. It has studiously avoided being drawn into forums not of its own making on economic policy, housing and the like.

But it may be ungenerous to leave it at that. At least some NP leaders take a visionary view, arguing that the councils could be used to draw in groups like organised business and labour, housing and education specialists and community organisations to the policy-making process.

"Transitional councils have tremendous potential in various disciplines. Their role could extend long beyond the passing of a new constitution," the government source says, citing the National Manpower Commission as an example of what could be achieved.

**O**f all the obstacles in the way of a smooth transition, none is more daunting than that of the independent homelands, especially Bophuthatswana and to a lesser extent the Ciskei. Bophuthatswana is resisting all attempts to renounce its independence at this stage.

The imperatives to try to remain independent are strong. As one of the parliamentary party delegates to the relevant working group puts it: It is more a case of civil servants and politicians looking for ways of protecting their jobs than a serious examination of constitutional options.

The ANC alliance believes it has a simple solution: cut off their SA government subsidies and they will soon co-operate. But the NP is not yet ready to take so drastic a step, and this may become one of the most heated financial debates in the first transitional government.



# Buthelezi's No

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## Buthelezi rejects the transition plan

KWAZULU yesterday rejected the government's proposals for a transitional constitution, saying no recognition had been given to the existence of self-governing states.

"The existence even of self-governing territories is not even admitted in

the document... It simply talks about government structures which will include provincial councils," said a statement by

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KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"It must be a precondition for any acceptance of constitutional proposals that they include the future status of KwaZulu or of a regional government which has been negotiated into existence with us having a veto power in this respect. I can trust nothing else."

Released at Codesa after a debate on the issue in Ulundi, the statement also rejected the proposals because they would be discussed at the multi-party convention where, Chief Buthelezi said, KwaZulu was not represented.

Although Inkatha is represented at Codesa, it has argued the Zulu nation requires representation by their king.

"With the exception of the transitional council for regional government which alone stipulates that proposals must be made after consultation with existing government authorities, the other transitional councils can go about their work with no consultation with us whatsoever," said the statement.

In direct contrast to the ANC's objections to the government proposals — that the transitional councils would lack power — Chief Buthelezi said the joint transitional council would, in fact, be a legislature.

"I believe (the KwaZulu legislative assembly) should request the State President to address it... to give us assurances that... the government recognises the historic

reality of KwaZulu and sees KwaZulu as distinctly different to other self-governing territories or TBVC states.

"We cannot be expected to accept the recommendations of Codesa if we are not represented in it."

Chief Buthelezi said he rejected the idea of establishing a transitional government and holding elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided on.

"Politically it is suicidal to pin the whole of the future of this country at stake on the outcome of an election which cannot be fairly contested because of violence and intimidation and the commitment of the ANC to maintaining a private army and to rely on mass action."

He said government's anticipation that draft legislation would be tabled by the end of April indicated a rushed decision was going to be reached during the next few weeks.

"It is insane to attempt to reach constitutional finality for a transitional process with Codesa delegations being encapsulated in Codesa and not being able to seek support for the proposals from the constituencies which gave them the mandate to be there at the negotiation table."

"Quite clearly the TBVC states will have veto rights over what happens to them. The South African Government has a veto right over what happens to it. The prin-

ciple of sufficient consensus, however, ensures that Codesa may attempt to ignore our strongest form of protest."

"A new South Africa is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter whatsoever."

He said on the other hand, representatives from the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei were going to be represented in the Transitional Councils and in Codesa, helping to write KwaZulu's future for it.

He said this kind of "tramping over" of KwaZulu was reminiscent of the way in which KwaZulu was trampled over by Great Britain "when she went to war against us" and conquered the Zulus in 1879, and subsequent events which rode roughshod over the Zulu people's political rights.

This culminated in the National Party Government imposing a KwaZulu constitution which would take away the Zulu nation's rights as South African citizens.

More recently KwaZulu had been excluded from participating in Codesa, Mr Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi pointed out that the only reason he could see for the exclusion of KwaZulu from Codesa was the unstated intention of the government and the ANC "to orchestrate the demise of KwaZulu in Codesa."

"I now want to know where KwaZulu stands."

The State President should be asked to give KwaZulu assurances that he, the National Party and the government recognised the historic reality of KwaZulu and saw KwaZulu as distinctly different to other self-governing territories or TBVC states. — *Sapa*



# ANC may call for end of sanctions

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, said yesterday the

ANC could be forced to call for the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa

before May — earlier than ANC policy dictated.

Mr Sisulu, indicating conflicting views on sanctions with the movement, said the ANC might call on foreign governments to lift the measures before the expected installation later this year of an interim government.

The official policy of the ANC is that economic sanctions should be lifted only when a multi-racial interim government is in place.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last week criticised as emotional and premature plans by some governments to lift sanctions because of a referendum win for White reformists.

But Mr Sisulu said the ANC might be forced to make an earlier move because governments had ignored its policy and unilaterally lifted the curbs. Sanctions were, in any case, doing harm to Blacks.

Mr Sisulu told Reuters in an interview: "I say we are going to be bound to examine the question of sanctions properly in the light of developments where countries are uni-

## ANC call to lift curbs?

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laterally lifting sanctions.

"We are mindful that if we allow sanctions to die by themselves, we are the losers. Therefore we should take the initiative."

The ANC is expected to hold a major economic conference in May to draft a post-apartheid blueprint for the economy.

"That conference itself is not adequate enough to tackle the question of sanctions. It is too far. We need to be considering the position as it stands now, alongside with our pushing for an interim government," Mr Sisulu said.

He added: "Discussions are continuing within the ANC regarding sanctions. We have already done a great deal of damage to our loyal

supporters by merely insisting on sanctions. Therefore we must consider what to do now."

The ANC had found it difficult to convince some Western governments of the need to retain economic sanctions.

"Even Sweden, which supported our struggle all these years, has insisted it wants to lift sanctions," he said. "I spent hours trying to convince them not to. I am glad they have not. They nearly did."

Denmark lifted sanctions this month, Canada and Sweden are reconsidering ending curbs. Britain last week called on the European Community to lift its oil embargo. — Sapa-Reuter.

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## Dr T gets confidence vote

# CP caucus No to Codesa

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The Conservative Party will not take part in Codesa — this is the unanimous decision taken by the party's 47-member parliamentary caucus yesterday.

The caucus also expressed its confidence in the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The National Party slammed the decision not to take part in Codesa.

saying that the present leadership of the CP was unable to learn from the faults of the past, nor from its own painful failures.

The CP caucus decision, which apparently is not necessarily binding on the party's general council, which meets in Pre-

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## CP caucus No to Codesa

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toria on Saturday, is nevertheless seen as reflecting the likely direction the council will take.

However, party sources confirmed that there had been no split in the party, no breakaway and no discussion over non-participation in Codesa.

The caucus discussion of the referendum result began last Thursday, after last week's huge 68 per cent Yes vote in the referendum, and continued yesterday.

A statement issued by CP Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, indicated that the CP envisages no change in policy in view of the referendum result.

The statement said: "We express our confidence in, and thank our leader (Dr. Treurnicht) for his untiring efforts, clear leadership and sacrificial dedication in the interests of our folk and the Conservative Party.

"We reaffirm our willingness to negotiate with other peoples, but express ourselves unani-

mously against participation in Codesa."

The statement made four accusations against Codesa:

"It does not acknowledge the supremacy of the Triune God.

"It does not acknowledge the right to self-determination of our folk.

"It is dominated by Communists.

"Its commitment to the establishment of a unitary state for a multiplicity of peoples is a recipe for a bloody power struggle."

The statement made no reference to the referendum result as such.



The Citizen 25/3/92

## Strong govt stance on MK

By Brian Sturt  
CAPE TOWN. — A strong government stance against the ANC's continued hoarding of arms caches and the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe is likely to be spelled out by senior Cabinet Ministers to the media today.

This follows an ANC statement on Monday that in its view the issues of transitional government and the disbanding of Umkhonto were not related.

Government sources said transitional government required free and fair elections, which were not possible while one of the parties retained a trained army and the weaponry to

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arm these forces.

Due to speak at a Press conference today on "preconditions for a transitional government" are Mr Koble Coetsee, Minister of Justice, Mr. Hermus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, and Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Defence.

This is the most high-powered group of Ministers yet to address a Codesa-related issue. Parliamentary journalists cannot recall when last all three security establishment ministers were scheduled to appear together before political correspondents to brief them and to answer questions.

The implication is that the government is taking very seriously the issue of the ANC's com-

mitment in terms of the Pretoria Minute and D.F. Malan Accord to eliminate private armies and to end the hoarding of weapons.

Earlier this week, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, said the government was eager to amend the Constitution so that transitional steps could be taken as soon as possible to introduce a more representative system of government, as a first step towards true transitional government.

The government is due to publish a Draft Bill to amend the Constitution before the end of April, but has made clear it hopes that by then the ANC will have implemented the steps set out in the previous bilateral agreements be-

tween the government and the ANC.

If there is to be an early transitional government, as proposed by both the government

and the ANC, then it must be on the basis of peace in South Africa, at least to the extent that political activity can take place unimpeded by violence.

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# 'Terror campaign' probe

CAPE TOWN.—The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation is to sit urgently in Pretoria on Friday to try and establish sources of allegations by the Inkatha Freedom Party that ANC structures were planning a terror campaign against the IFP.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in a statement yesterday the commission received a report that a statement had been issued concerning the campaign.

"None of the alleged information has been furnished to the commission. As far as I have been able to establish, it has also not been furnished to the South African Police," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

The terror campaign against IFP leaders and residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels, according to the statement, was being engineered from a house in Mapetla, Soweto, which is allegedly known to the IFP.

He said the commission would sit at the NG kerk's synodal centre in Pretoria at 11 am on Friday and IFP leadership would be asked to furnish the commission with the allegations.

Mr Justice Goldstone appealed to the Press not to make public any further details of the allegations until Friday's meeting of the commission.

"I would appeal to the public and in particular members of the IFP not to act on what are at this time unsubstantiated allegations."

In a statement yesterday evening the ANC rejected the IFP's allegations.

A member of the Durban police Dog Unit is in a serious but stable condition after being shot in the face at KwaMashu yesterday afternoon.

Police said W/O Derek Thomson and Const Ruan Meintjes were driving along a road in the township when three shots rang out from behind an embankment, wounding W/O Thomson in the face.

Const Meintjes and a third member of the unit, Sgt Adrian Ash, carried their wounded colleague to another police vehicle and drove him to a helicopter pad next to the N2, where the Aeromed helicopter airlifted him to Addington Hospital.

X-rays showed a bullet lodged in his jaw.

Three people were wounded in two separate incidents when unknown

assailants opened fire at hostel dwellers in Tokozazi, near Alberton, yesterday morning.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer, Captain Eugene Opperman, said Mr Cherry Malepi and Mr Philip Nkobo were sitting in a vehicle at a hostel in Kumbalo Street when shots were fired at them from a passing vehicle, a white Mazda bakkie.

Both Mr Malepi and Mr Nkobo were wounded in the attack.

Shortly afterwards a resident of an adjoining hostel was shot and wounded in the face by a man armed with a pistol.

The three wounded men were admitted to the Netalspruit Hospital.

On Monday five people were killed in political violence, three of them on trains in Soweto and Johannesburg, police said.

As authorities imposed a ban on weapons on commuter trains, police said two men were killed and hurled out of a speeding train at New Canada Station. One other man was injured in the attack.

Another man was murdered and thrown out of a train at Longdale Station, Johannesburg.

At Braamfontein Station, a man suffered serious injuries when he jumped from a moving train in an attempt to es-

cape from his panga-wielding attackers.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, bidding to quell violence on trains, banned the carrying of weapons on trains. The measure became effective on Monday.

In other violence, police said the bodies of a woman and a man were found at Alexandra township and Meadowlands, Soweto. The victims were burnt and stabbed to death respectively.

Two other people were injured in the political violence on Monday.

The Pan Africanist Congress, meanwhile, said yesterday it would announce measures it plans to take to halt train killings.

Codessa delegates yesterday held discussions with National Peace Accord chairman Mr John Hall, Codessa management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said.

"A sub-group is having discussions with John Hall with a view to taking resolutions on the question of violence," he said at a Press briefing at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

"They decided to take it a step further and explore the possibility of co-operation between the National Peace Committee and Codessa." — Sapa.



The Citizen 25/3/92

## Firearm, grenade found: ANC youth leader held

Citizen Reporter

THE secretary-general of the African National Congress Youth League (Ancyl), Mr Rapu Molekane (31), was arrested and police seized a firearm and handgrenade during a raid on his Soweto home early yesterday morning.

Soweto police liaison officer, Lieutenant Colonel Tienie Halgryn, said police conducted a thor-

ough search of Mr Molekane's home in Pinville at about 12.45 am, after receiving information about alleged illegal weapons.

A charge of illegal possession of a firearm is being investigated.

In a statement by the ANC Youth League yesterday, the organisation expressed its dissatisfaction at the manner in which police "continue to

relate with its (Ancyl) members in arms" — despite standing arrangements under agreements with the government.

"Paragraph three of the D F. Malan agreement stipulates a procedure which should be followed in cases of this nature. We view the violation of that procedure as completely provocative and despicable," the statement read.

As Mr Molekane was regarded as a prominent participant in the negotiation process, Ancyl felt that a "more amicable approach" to satisfy both parties "could have been adopted."

"These factors, if taken into consideration, could have assisted in minimising the conflict that may arise as a result of the continued criminalisation of the fact that there had historically been an accumulation of weapons in the country to pursue a legitimate struggle for the liberation of the oppressed majority."

enlarge



## AWB denies it will take part in Codesa

Saga and Citizen Reporter

### VENTERSDORP

The general staff of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday denied that anyone in the organisation, with exception of Mr Piet Rudolph, was prepared to participate in Codesa.

A statement issued by the general staff after an emergency meeting yesterday, reaffirmed that the AWB would not take part in the Codesa negotiations.

The statement was in reaction to an alleged SABC interview in which Mr Rudolph, former AWB secretary-general, had said that he would persuade AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche to join the talks at Codesa.

A motion of confidence in Mr Terre'Blanche had been passed at the meeting, the statement said.

• The Boerestaar Party (BSP) yesterday announced that it would not be joining Codesa, and would rather look at closer ties with more militant Right-wing organisations such as the Boere Kommandos and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging.

The leader of the BSP, Mr Robert van Tonder, said his organisation had provided Codesa with a comprehensive information document on Boer

history, because it was clear that the negotiation forum was not informed on such matters.

Codesa was also informed that it was meeting in what was regarded as the centre of the Boerestaar, and that it was discussing the future of Boer land.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

# Peace

WE wonder whether we are ever going to see an end to the violence in the townships.

Despite all the precautions being taken to safeguard train passengers, there are still killings on trains on the Reef.

Despite all the talk of local peace committees stopping the warring, the bloodshed in Natal continues.

Despite leaders calling for an end to the slayings, the death toll mounts.

We accept that major massacres are no longer taking place, but that is no consolation.

Each death is deplorable; each death means that a family grieves; each death means that the different factions, the different organisations, are no nearer to resolving their differences peacefully.

The Inkatha Freedom Party believes that its officials are being assassinated; the ANC, in turn, blames Inkatha for much of the violence.

Although there is still no evidence of a third force or the complicity of the security forces in the violence, the allegations continue to be made.

In some instances, there is clearly a battle for power at a local level.

In other instances, particularly in Natal, it appears also to be a settling of old scores, tribal feuding and the machinations of warlords.

Whatever the reason, it is shameful.

Tragically, violence feeds on violence; one incident brings retaliation, followed by further retaliation, and so on.

There is, in effect, a breakdown in law and order — and the ANC, which denigrated the police to the extent that the police lost the respect of township dwellers, bears a large share of the blame.

There is also a lawlessness in the townships that is caused by socio-economic factors — the vast number of unemployed people who turn to crime, the disrespect of youths for elders and teachers, the virtual anarchy at some schools, the creation of a generation of young people without hope.

The tragedy is that unless something is done, we will go into the new South Africa without an end to the unrest, the thuggery, the lawlessness, because conditions are not going to change overnight, nor are political rivalries going to be ended because there is a new dispensation.

Besides, the pace of change is being accelerated to the point where socio-economic problems and their solution take a back seat.

We warn all involved in the violence that the new South Africa will be born in bloodshed instead of hope if they do not watch out.

There is no need to fight it out when the negotiations are likely to bring about solutions that are acceptable at least to the major players.

There is no need to take it out on the innocents — or on opponents — when the settlement is only months away.

This is the time when negotiation is the key to the future.

It is a time when arms should be set aside, when hatreds should be abandoned, when people of all races should demonstrate goodwill and seek reconciliation.

The Whites in the referendum showed they are prepared to change their attitudes for the sake of peace and prosperity and a better life for all.

Their clear signal should be matched by the Blacks. They, too, must make peace their watchword, for without peace the new South Africa cannot ensure a good future for all its people.

Let there be a true effort to stop the killings, not just tut-tuts and empty promises and pledges.

Let there be a respect for the law and open encouragement of that respect.

Let people wave banners of peace rather than banners of disunity and disorder.

Let socio-economic problems be given as much priority as political issues.

Above all, let the lives of every township dweller be regarded as sacrosanct, let the communities make peace their aim, and let the culture of violence be destroyed now, before it destroys more lives and hope itself.

Let there be peace.



# Kobie: No need to restructure SABC

THE government does not regard the restructuring of the SABC Board or its management as practical or necessary to ensure neutral broadcasting, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

Mr Coetsee was reacting to proposals by the African National Congress on the restructuring of the media in which a new board was suggested for the SABC.

Mr Coetsee said the term of office of the present board — until March 1993 — was relatively short and that a negotiated method of appoint-

ing a new board as part of the negotiation process seemed to be the advisable route to take.

The government supported the view that the SABC should be independent and neutral, and believed that the SABC was already as independent and neutral as any public broadcaster could be.

However, he supported the idea of a complaint tribunal, saying this appeared to be a suitable body to deal with any problems.

The ANC at Codesa yesterday called for all broadcasting powers vested in State organs to be transferred to an Independent Communications

Authority (ICA).

In a proposal submitted to Working Group One on free political activity, the ANC recommended that the ICA be appointed by a Media Commission which should be set up by Codesa before the second plenary session at the end of this month.

"In principle, the leveling of the media playing fields should not wait for Codesa II.

"Mechanisms to ensure that all public broadcasters should be ended as soon as possible."

The primary tasks of the ICA would be to en-

sure impartial control of all broadcasting and to effect limited regulation in the interim period.

"All the relevant powers vested in State organs including TBVC administrations, contained in the broadcasting, radio, post office and other acts should be transferred to this body."

The Media Commission would also appoint Public Broadcasting Boards which would be accountable to the ICA. These would cover the SABC and TBVC broadcasting institutions. Their tasks would:

- Ensure that all news and current affairs was fair and impartial;

- Re-evaluate management structures;

- Ensure rational usage of fictional, documentary and educational material with an emphasis on independent local productions; and

- Afford fair access for all political parties.

With regard to printed media, the ANC recommended that the Media Council be restructured to become more representative. Its tasks would include setting up an Ombudsman's office.

Both broadcasting and printed media should be monitored by independently initiated monitoring structures, it said. — Sapa.



The Star 24/3/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge

## Goldstone inquiry urged to quiz Vaal blast survivor

The Goldstone Commission has been asked to interview one of the survivors of the grenade blast which claimed the life of Saul Tsotetsi, a church worker and branch executive member of the ANC and SA Communist Party in the Vaal area.

The family's attorney, Caroline Heaton-Nichols, said her firm had requested this intervention because police had refused the Tsotetsis' legal representatives direct access to John Nkhomo, whom they regard as a

vital witness.

Mr Tsotetsi and two other men, Moses Molewa and Alfred Yika, were killed in the blast in the early hours of Sunday morning near Mr Tsotetsi's house in Sebokeng.

Enoch Khanyi and Mr Nkhomo were hurt and admitted to hospital.

The PWV branches of the ANC and SACP, and Cosatu's

western Transvaal region, made it plain yesterday that they regarded the death as an assassination.

They stated: "Saul's death brings to seven the number of anti-apartheid activists killed in a space of three weeks in the Vaal complex."

"A clear pattern of orchestrated attacks by unknown

death squads who continue to elude the police continues to emerge."

Evidence gathered from various sources pointed to a five-person attack on Mr Tsotetsi as he approached his home, the ANC/SACP/Cosatu statement read. "In the ensuing struggle a hand grenade exploded."

Since the killing, police have accused the ANC of interfering

with potential witness Dan Dikotla.

The ANC grouping has charged that the police have arrested at least one witness. Both parties deny the actions they are accused of.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce made it clear that an ANC probe was not welcome.

"There is only one police

force and only that force is entitled to investigate this case." But if the Goldstone Commission were to intervene "we would welcome it".

Ms Heaton-Nichols and Bayamile Vilakazi, of the ANC's PWV executive, said Mr Tsotetsi had spoken on Friday and Saturday of his fear of assassination. In his role as a church

fieldworker he had been investigating various leads on political violence.

The organisations strongly disputed an alleged police comment, carried in a Johannesburg morning newspaper, that the death was a case of suicide. The grenade apparently went off while in Mr Tsotetsi's hands.

Colonel Bruce also described

the conclusion of suicide as "absolute nonsense".

He said police were keeping their options open and conducting an inquiry in terms of the Inquest Act. As far as he knew, no murder docket had been opened.

Mr Tsotetsi, a two-time Robben Islander, was due to lead the ANC delegation to the launch of the Vanderbijlpark Dispute Resolution Committee today. Until hours before his death he had been partying with political associates in the wake of the ANC's Sharpeville rally.



The Star 24/3/92

# Five more die in continuing Reef violence

Staff Reporter  
and Sapa

Five people were killed and four seriously injured in continuing Reef violence yesterday, according to the latest police unrest report.

At Alexandra township near Sandton, police found the body of a man with severe burn wounds.

At the New Canada Station in Soweto, two men were killed and another seriously injured when a group threw them from a moving train, and at Longdale Station in Johannesburg, a man was killed when a group attacked him and threw him from a train.

At Meadowlands in Soweto, police found the body of a black woman with stab wounds.

In another attack in the same area a black man sustained serious injuries when he was attacked by a group of panga-wielding assailants.

At Braamfontein Station, a man sustained serious injuries when he jumped from a train after two men attacked him with pangas, and at Katlehong near Germiston, a man was wounded when a gunman randomly opened fire on him.

● In a breakthrough against rampant train violence, police yesterday arrested two Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers allegedly linked to attacks on Johannesburg trains last week in which 10 people were injured.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said the SAP had not ruled out the possibility that the men

could be linked to other attacks. More arrests could follow, he said.

The suspects, aged 24 and 26, are due to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today on charges of attempted murder.

Captain Opperman said undercover police officers had accompanied a witness who pointed out the men at Jeppe station yesterday morning.

The two residents of Merafe hostel in Soweto are suspected of involvement in two attacks on Johannesburg trains on Thursday. Nine men and a woman were injured and some victims are still in hospital.

Captain Opperman urged commuters to use toll-free numbers to report acts of violence. The toll-free number for Reef commuters is 0801-110141.

● Licensed firearm owners who commute by train may apply for permits authorising them to carry their weapons, police confirmed yesterday.

SA Gun Owners Association chairman Ian Lear, who met Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe yesterday, said he had been assured that firearm owners could apply for exemptions "on a reasonable basis".

Permits may be issued to licensed firearm owners at the discretion of police station commanders which enable them to carry their firearms while travelling on trains.

Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe, of SAP headquarters in Pretoria, said station commanders would assess each application on its merits.



The Star 24/3/92

## ANC Youth League leader held

Staff Reporters

The national secretary of the ANC Youth League, Rapu Molekane, was taken into custody early this morning, his wife told The Star.

Patience Molekane said more than a dozen plainclothes police had arrived at their home in Pinville, Soweto, at

about 2 am.

After searching the house — and leaving it in “a real mess” — they had taken Mr Molekane into custody, telling his wife that they had discovered weapons. She said she had not seen the items they alleged they had found.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Hal-

gryn denied police had ransacked the house.

“It was merely searched,” he said, confirming Mr Molekane’s arrest. He said a firearm and a handgrenade had been found on the property.

Mr Molekane’s attorney said he was to be charged with possession of arms.



The Citizen 25/3/92

# Dr T gets confidence vote

## CP caucus No to Codesa

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The Conservative Party will not take part in Codesa — this is the unanimous decision taken by the party's 47-member parliamentary caucus yesterday.

The caucus also expressed its confidence in the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The National Party slammed the decision not to take part in Codesa.

saying that the present leadership of the CP was unable to learn from the faults of the past, nor from its own "painful failures".

The CP caucus decision, which apparently is not necessarily binding on the party's general council, which meets in Pre-

10 PAGE 2

## CP caucus No to Codesa

### FROM PAGE 1

toria on Saturday, is nevertheless seen as reflecting the likely direction the council will take.

However, party sources confirmed that there had been no split in the party, no breakaway and no discussion over non-participation in Codesa.

The caucus discussion of the referendum result began last Thursday, after last week's huge 68 per cent Yes vote in the referendum, and continued yesterday.

A statement issued by CP Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, indicated that the CP envisages no change in policy in view of the referendum result.

The statement said: "We express our confidence in, and thank our leader (Dr Treurnicht) for his untiring efforts, clear leadership and sacrificial dedication in the interests of our folk and the Conservative Party."

"We reaffirm our willingness to negotiate with other peoples, but express ourselves unani-

mously against participation in Codesa."

The statement made four accusations against Codesa:

"It does not acknowledge the supremacy of the Triune God.

"It does not acknowledge the right to self-determination of our folk.

"It is dominated by Communists.

"Its commitment to the establishment of a unitary state for a multiplicity of peoples is a recipe for a bloody power struggle."

The statement made no reference to the referendum result as such.



B. Day 25/3/92

# New Inkatha threat to pull out of talks

INKATHA yesterday rejected government proposals for a transitional authority and said it would find it difficult to remain in Codesa unless there was an end to political violence.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly released at Codesa, demanded the inclusion of a KwaZulu government delegation at Codesa.

And national chairman Frank Mdlalose, in a broadside at the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said Inkatha could not continue at the talks "with guns at our backs". Mdlalose said Inkatha would not agree to an interim government until there was peace and until Umkhonto had been disbanded, a position set out by the SA government on Monday.

Yesterday Codesa working group 2, dealing with interim arrangements, met to hear responses to government's proposals for advisory transitional councils to oversee the transition process.

It is understood that a compromise between government's proposals and the ANC proposals for a Codesa-appointed transitional executive structure was being discussed.

Government has proposed the creation of six-member transitional councils designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. The councils would oversee areas such as elections, regional and local government and government finances.

Buthelezi said yesterday that with the

PATRICK BULGER

exception of the transitional council on local government, the other councils could proceed with their work without consulting KwaZulu.

"A new SA is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter, whereas (the TBVC states) are going to be there in these councils and in Codesa helping to write our future for us."

He said KwaZulu could not accept a transitional government or a constituent assembly before the future of the self-governing territories had been decided.

He said an earlier compromise to forgo the KwaZulu government's place at Codesa in favour of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, was being withdrawn and KwaZulu would demand inclusion at Codesa.

The issue of the participation of the Zulu king should be resolved by the end of March, Mdlalose said.

Our political staff reports that the PAC said it could not participate in Codesa when government was clearly bent on frustrating majority rule.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said government's latest transitional proposals were a "non-starter" because they emulated the discredited Native Representative Council which was purely advisory in nature and allowed the regime to retain full control.

"The right of the African people to self-

□ To Page 2

## Inkatha

determination will never see the light of day in terms of these proposals and all affirmative action to improve the quality of life of our people will be subject to an omnipresent white veto," he said, adding: "We cannot participate under these circumstances — we don't believe in majority rule that is not majority rule."

Sapa reports from Umtata that military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa described

□ From Page 1

government's proposals as shocking and negative. The interim arrangements should assign power to all participants and not be perceived as a window-dressing exercise, he said.

Holomisa said government should be given a deadline by which it had to offer more acceptable proposals.

● See Page 8



## Two years' jail for Croatian

**Mercury Reporter**

A CROATIAN was jailed for two years and fined R10 000 (or 500 days) yesterday for trying to sell a kilogram of hashish to a police trap to get money to buy arms to further his country's cause.

Tomislav Kostanjsek, 27, pleaded guilty before Mr J Wolmarans in the Durban Regional Court to dealing in the drug at Durban Harbour at the weekend.

Kostanjsek said he met two men and arranged to sell them the drug for \$7 000 (about R20 000), but as the deal was taking place one man identified himself as a policeman and Kostanjsek was arrested.

In mitigation Kostanjsek said his family and friends had been caught in the middle of the bloody civil war being waged in Croatia and patriotism had led him to do what he had done.

Sentencing Kostanjsek, Mr Wolmarans said the crime was serious and the venture would have been very profitable had it been completed.

## Buthelezi challenges FW on historic reality of KwaZulu

**By Patrick Leeman**

ULUNDI—President de Klerk should address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to give it assurances that the National Party and the Government recognise the historic reality of KwaZulu and see it as distinctly different from other self-governing territories or TBVC states.

This is the view of the chief minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Reacting angrily to the Government's transitional constitutional arrangements announced this week, Dr Buthelezi said that, without this categorical assurance, KwaZulu could have no faith in anything Codesa did.

He said that, with the exception of the Transitional Council for Regional Government, the other transitional councils envisaged by the Government could go about their work with no consultation with KwaZulu.

"A new South Africa is going

to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter whatsoever," he said.

"Representatives from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei are going to be there in these councils and in Codesa helping to write our future for us."

Dr Buthelezi said KwaZulu would not be dictated to by TBVC countries in committees and in councils from which it was excluded.

He said this set of proposals, and KwaZulu's exclusion from the decision-making structures and from any position of vetoing proposals to "dispose" of the region, would necessitate "bold and high-profile country-wide action".

Dr Buthelezi said he rejected the principle of establishing a transitional government or constituent assembly and holding elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided on.



B. Day 25/3/92

# Hidden concerns shaped NP plan for transitional rule

ALAN FINE

**A**RE THE government/NP proposals on transitional rule tabled at Codesa on Monday simply ill-conceived, poorly drafted and a reflection of an arrogance born of last week's huge referendum majority? Or do they contain within them the seeds not only of a relatively smooth transition but also of durable structures which will deepen democracy in the new SA for decades to come?

Judged purely on the document submitted, it is difficult to tell. But that should surprise no one since vagueness and incoherence are common features of proposals made in the early stages of all sorts of negotiations.

The proposals are seemingly constructed to leave at least some room for compromise. But they also conceal a number of unstated concerns, hidden agendas and even differences of opinion between members of the NP/government negotiating team.

Oddly enough, the government proposals for the less important "preparatory" first phase of interim rule have drawn the most flak from the ANC alliance. This is the system of "transitional councils" which government proposes should operate until a transitional government has been elected in terms of a transitional constitution. The council system has been attacked by almost all the groups outside the NP/government axis because of its purely advisory nature.

**T**he alliance appears largely content with the proposals for the framework of the secondary, post-election transitional phase — a rotating presidency, a joint cabinet, and a bicameral system comprising a national assembly elected by proportional representation and a senate representing regions. These proposals are in line with the NP constitutional proposals published last year. Not surprisingly, the NP would not be averse to a final constitution based on the very same principles. That, however, will be a matter for later debate.

One important exception to the alliance's present contentment on these secondary phase proposals is the central role suggested for members of existing apartheid structures, such as homeland legislatures, in the

senate if proper regional government structures are not established in time for elections.

The ANC alliance on Monday lost no time in entering into the spirit of political discourse following the release of the NP/government proposals. It warned of a crisis, it feigned horror and disbelief, questioned the NP's very commitment to negotiations and demanded that it return to the drawing board.

The ANC claims government agreed earlier this month to an all-party "super cabinet" which would ensure the NP did not have sole control as the country moved towards transitional government. Committees with no greater powers than to advise the present government perpetuate apartheid rule, it argues.

In reality, though, there is no crisis at all. A senior government Minister commented that if agreement could not be reached "we would have no right to call ourselves negotiators". And the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, following his expressions of horror, when pressed to describe the depth of the "crisis" conceded he was confident of a solution.

There is good reason to suppose this is so. The transitional councils are structurally not dissimilar to the ANC's proposed multiparty commissions on matters like security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government; and independent commissions on elections and the state-run media. (The government proposals are conspicuously silent on

control over the SABC.)

Similarly, the NP's proposed joint transitional council would serve the same purpose as the ANC's proposed interim government council were its powers to be enhanced. But at issue is the extent of the powers of these bodies.

It is perhaps not surprising that the initial proposals give away as little as possible in the opening shot at negotiating an interim structure. But the government source concedes that there is, and must be, room for flexibility on the issue. "It is up for negotiation. We are well aware that the transitional structures have to pass a test of legitimacy."

**H**e points out the proposed councils' members, although formally appointed by President F W de Klerk, would be nominated by Codesa.

His flexible view is not necessarily held unanimously in the NP. One member of the ANC alliance suggests there are divisions within the Cabinet on this question. He says there are strong signs in working group 3 discussions of government delegate Barond du Plessis adopting a far harder line than his NP counterpart Dawie de Villiers.

The government source — on the left wing of the NP — concedes that the proposals may be imperfect. He notes that while government is perhaps too strong on retaining as much

control as possible, the ANC alliance seeks power without responsibility. It can be expected that the eventual compromise will address this very question.

Mbeki unintentionally touched on the reason for this unstated government concern when he said that all the ANC wanted the first phase interim government to do was level the political playing field, and ensure free and fair elections. He said the government's first phase proposals covered areas properly the concern only of an elected assembly during the secondary phase.

But he did not then explain why the ANC favoured commissions dealing with government finance and international relations were appropriate to the first phase. One assumes that the former, at least, is at the behest of Codesa which is far more convinced than the ANC that the line has arrived to become involved in decision-making on socio-economic issues, and that arguments for this purpose need to be put in place as soon as possible.

The issue of what areas of joint rule are appropriate to which phase of interim rule lurks behind many proposals on both sides. The ANC alliance, anticipating a comfortable majority in an elected constituent/national assembly, seeks to postpone many debates to that post-election period when, it proposes, decisions be taken by a two-thirds majority.

That is why Mbeki complained on Monday that the first phase struc-

tures proposed by government appear to be designed "to investigate matters that are otherwise the domain of a constitution-making body". He was referring, presumably, to the suggested transitional councils charged with delineating new provinces or federal states, and those dealing with such matters as housing, education and health.

The NP/government grouping, on the other hand, would prefer to resolve as many issues as possible at Codesa where decisions are taken by consensus. As a bonus, it seems, the transitional constitution will be negotiated there. The council system would also be a way of getting over the "interim government by stealth" syndrome which has caused the NP some discomfort. It has studiously avoided being drawn into forums not of its own making on economic policy, housing and the like.

But it may be ungenerous to leave it at that. At least some NP leaders take a visionary view, arguing that the councils could be used to draw in groups like organised business and labour, housing and education specialists and community organisations to the policy-making process.

"Transitional councils have tremendous potential in various disciplines. Their role could extend long beyond the passage of a new constitution," the government source says, citing the National Manpower Commission as an example of what could be achieved.

**O**f all the obstacles in the way of a smooth transition, none is more daunting than that of the Independent Homelands, especially Bophuthatswana and to a lesser extent the Ciskei. Bophuthatswana is resisting all attempts to renounce its independence at this stage.

The imperatives to try to remain independent are strong. As one of the parliamentary party delegates to the relevant working group puts it: It is more a case of evil servants and politicians looking for ways of protecting their jobs than a serious examination of constitutional options.

The ANC alliance believes it has a simple solution: cut off their SA government subsidies and they will soon co-operate. But the NP is not yet ready to take so drastic a step, and this may become one of the most heated financial debates in the first transitional government.



Att: Mr Mzimela  
Minister Dhlamini  
Minister Ngubane

# From Ixopo

Ixopo is facing an uneasy future following the recent upsurge of violence in neighbouring Hopewell township.  
**CRAIG URQUHART**  
reports.

"THERE is a lovely road that runs from Ixopo into the hills. These hills are grass-covered and rolling, and they are lovely beyond any singing of it." With these words, Alan Paton immortalised Ixopo forever. But tragically, this magnificent midlands hamlet has become the latest victim in Natal's long-running ANC/Inkatha conflict.

Two weeks ago, an angry mob stabbed a minibus driver to death before setting his vehicle alight in Hopewell township. This was followed by the deaths of nine Inkatha supporters, also in Hopewell, and there are fears that these incidents could trigger off further fighting.

Ixopo is unique in that whites in the area have now become virtually unanimous in their support for the Inkatha Freedom Party. They have expressed concern that unless they make a stand, they face a danger of being sucked into the spiral of violence. Their greatest fear is that the situation could deteriorate into another Richmond where fighting fractured the once peaceful community in a matter of months. Already the town is showing signs of decay. Some of the streets are strewn with litter, political slogans are emblazoned on buildings and crime is on the increase.

Once again, the root cause of the problem appears to be a power struggle between Inkatha and ANC supporters, but residents are quick to point out that there have always been isolated incidents of faction fighting.

Several white residents in the area told The Natal Witness they are convinced Ixopo could go the same way as Richmond unless they stand united in the face of ANC "conflict and domination". They said blame for the unrest lies squarely on the shoulders of the ANC, claiming that ANC "instigators" have infiltrated the area from Umzimkhulu which is just a few kilometres away. An Ixopo policeman said whites are becoming increasingly concerned about the deterioration of Hopewell township and the subsequent strain it has placed on Ixopo.

"The situation is under control, but only because we have a large contingent of SADF soldiers patrolling in the township," they say.

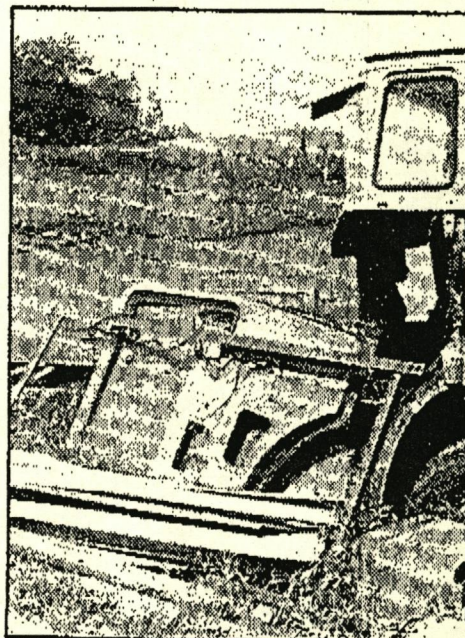
Local hotel manager Phillip Holliday says the mood at the moment among whites is one of fear. "We used to be able to walk around the town at night, but it is far too dangerous now," he said.

Holliday came under fire for caring for a large group of Inkatha-supporting refugees from nearby Hopewell township, alleging that he received several death threats over the telephone. Three hundred refugees have been transported from Ixopo to Jollyvet, about 35 kilometres away, where they are being cared for by local chief Xhawulengweni Mkhize.

Mkhize has difficulty underlining reasons



ABOVE LEFT: A makeshift home for refugees who have fled. BELOW LEFT: Playgrounds



for the recent upsurge of violence, but he is adamant that it has been caused by ANC instigators who infiltrated into the area from Umzimkhulu and sparked off a reign of terror.

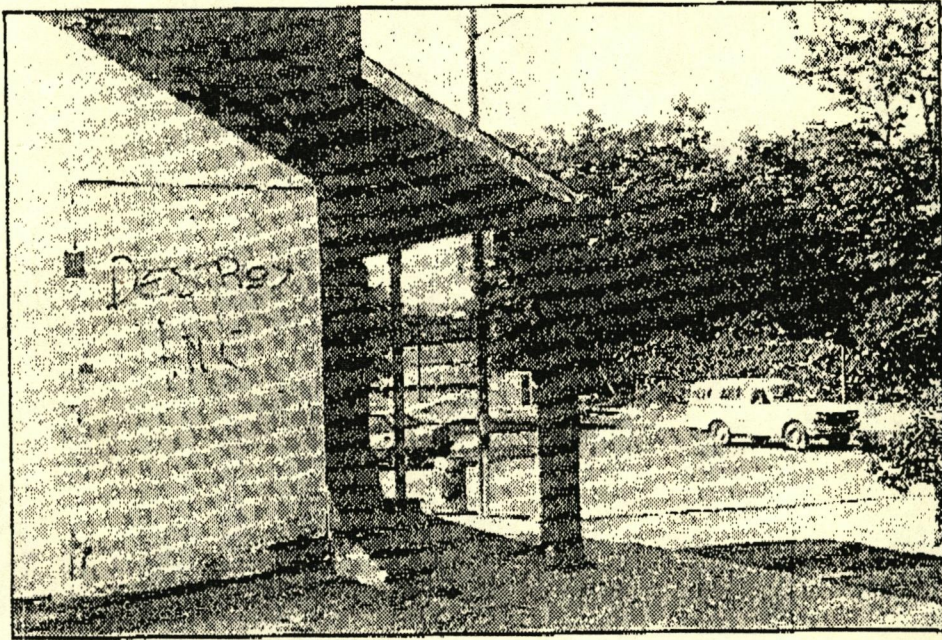
"Hopewell is now deserted, the people have fled and those comrades just sit waiting in the bushes near the township," he said. Citing the plight of the refugees, Mkhize says they will return as soon as it is safe to do so but, in the interim, they will have to make do with makeshift facilities and squalid conditions



# into the blue . . .



bled from the Hopewell fighting in a camp near Jollyvet. ABOVE RIGHT: In a camp like Jollyvet one has to make do with what's available when it comes to doing the too are makeshift for refugees like these two. BELOW RIGHT: A sign of the times in the centre of Ixopo. — Pictures by MIKE MATTHEWMAN



That is the one side to the story. Ixopo holds a special place in the heart of ANC midlands region vice-chairman, Reggie Hadebe, who was born there (shortly after Paton's classic novel was penned) and he still regards it as his home. Hadebe is a former Inkatha executive committee member who resigned in 1978 because he was disillusioned over Inkatha policies "and because Buthelezi was betraying the cause". Hadebe vehemently dismissed accusations that ANC forces have taken it upon themselves to destabilise the region: "When the ANC

was unbanned in 1990, we immediately saw a spontaneous mushrooming of ANC support in the area and this resulted in brutal suppression of that phenomenon by Chief Mkhize and Chief Jerome Ndlovu (who was shot dead in an Ixopo garage last year)."

Local ANC chairman Bréndan de Bruijn also claims that last week's flare-up of violence followed the killing of ANC member Mzikayifeni Zondi on March 6.

While both the IFP and ANC camps recognise that Ixopo is strategically significant, their reasons differ. Mkhize said Ixopo "like

Richmond" lies on the main road between Pietermaritzburg and Transkei and "they want control of that route at all costs".

Hadebe says the IFP failed in its attempts to "crush" the ANC in Richmond and it now sees Ixopo as vital to its interests. "It lies in the southern tip of the Natal midlands, surrounded by ANC strongholds, and they intend using it to consolidate attacks in other areas," Hadebe said.

Clearly, the root causes of Ixopo's problems lie deep but, unless they are resolved swiftly, this paradise could be lost forever.