

# ANC and Inkatha both claim Natal is behind them

DURBAN. — The political race in Natal is hotting up with claims from both the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party that they command majority support in the war-torn province.

And both ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will hit the election trail in Natal this weekend as they vie for support.

This comes as a confident ANC — buoyed by recent research which claims the organisation commands 43 percent support in Natal compared to the IFP's 19 percent — prepares for a mammoth cultural festival in Durban tomorrow to display provincial support for the April 27 poll.

The IFP, however, has contested these figures, claiming that 60 percent of the Natal/KwaZulu electorate supports Inkatha, with the ANC trailing at less than 30 percent.

Tomorrow's "Sonke (all of us)" festival has become the latest focus of heated debate between the competing organisations.

To be addressed by Mr Mandela, the festival boasts over 4 000 singers, musicians, dancers and other performers while it is expected to draw thousands from across the cultural spectrum.

Although the ANC has carefully avoided falling into the ethnic trap, observers say the festival is also an attempt to visibly show it commands majority Zulu support in Natal and thereby lay to rest Chief Buthelezi's claim to be speaking on behalf of the Zulu nation.

But the festival's cultural theme has sparked the latest war of words in

The use and alleged abuse of culture has been a contentious issue, particularly within the IFP, but this time Inkatha is accusing the ANC of attempting to "hoodwink" the electorate by the "cultural pretensions of its so-called Sonke festival".

"The ANC has unashamedly declared that the Sonke festival is a launching pad for its election campaign in Natal, and that it intends to use the festival to demonstrate

that it is not a minority party in the Natal/KwaZulu region, which of course it is.

"The festival is clearly a Trojan Horse for its political agenda," said IFP national spokesman Mr Ziba Jiyane, who appealed to all performers to reconsider their participation in the festival.

But the ANC has countered by saying the IFP feels threatened by the erosion of its support in Natal and is releasing desperate statements.

ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe says the festival aims to unite all cultures in South Africa and display their commitment to a non-racial democracy and the April 27 election date.

"These IFP statements are a campaign to try to get people to stay away from the festival. But, we're going ahead and the performers have agreed to perform knowing the ANC is facilitating the event." — Sapa.



# ANC will not hang up on industry

JOE LOUW

NO SOONER had the Government and ANC resolved the controversy surrounding the country's fledgling cellular phone industry in a "satisfactory" manner yesterday, than the prickly issue of the ANC's "nationalisation policy" reared its head again. At a hastily called press conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa

was at pains to correct "the impression that the ANC wants to nationalise the telecommunications industry and the cellular phone industry".

An earlier report said the ANC had "backed down on its plans to nationalise the cellular phone industry" in exchange for an agreement from the two private sector enterprises involved, and the Government, to incorporate shareholding by black business.

Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted a moratorium in order to look into the structure of the two consortia involved, before entering negotiations to bring it in line with norms found elsewhere in the world.

## Excluded

It wanted to ensure the agreement entered into did not harm, stagnate or make the country's mixed economy less competitive.

He said the ANC emerged from the negotiations with the Government pleased with the agreement because it reflected "an economic mosaic of public and private sector mix that included an opportunity for black business, which had up to now been excluded from participation in such deals".

● TO PAGE 2.

## Phones

● FROM PAGE 1.

Part of the ANC's concern was that the public sector should not be weakened by private and foreign investor participation in the new multibillion-rand industry, he said. The moratorium on licensing cellular phones was lifted yesterday when a number of concessions were made by both the ANC and Government. Among the most important were that:

- The licences issued to Vodacom and MTN would be recognised by the ANC, COSATU and the Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association.
- Vodacom's shareholding structure would change to accommodate a 5 percent

shareholding by black business, while shareholding by Telkom would remain unchanged. It would be decided at Vodacom's board meeting next month how Rembrandt's 15 percent shareholding and Vodafone's 35 percent shareholding would be restructured.

- At least 50 percent of Vodacom's service providers should be represented by black business.

● Vodacom's own captive service provider would have a substantial portion of its equity in the hands of black business.

- Vodacom agreed the proposed Joint Economic Development Programme should be implemented in consultation with all parties. This programme includes counter-trade, job creation, local manufacturing, and exports.



# We treat terrible words like toys — when they are time-bombs

**C**HIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the secretary general of the United Nations this week that there was only one way negotiators could get the writ of the Transitional Executive Council to run in his region: through "force of arms". It was but a one-day news story in the nearly-new South Africa, so accustomed have we become to war talk.

I am not picking on Buthelezi as a unique case; officials from most parties have been responsible for bellicose statements. But that considered remark in Maputo to Boutros-Boutros Ghali needs to be seen for what it is — a barely veiled threat of war, real war. This time we are not talking about someone raising the possibility of civil war — by implication an eventuality out of his hands — but rather threatening it: "If you do that, I will do this".

Does Chief Buthelezi really mean it? Does he really picture troops pouring across the Kwa-Zulu border, to be met by volleys from KwaZulu Police trenches? I hope not. In any event, he shouldn't be saying it.

The two terrible words, "civil war", have become cheapened through constant use in this country. Politicians of all stripes toss them around as if they are toys, rather than time-bombs. How many, I wonder, have seen civil war at first hand, and understand its true meaning? We have horrific, regionalised violence in South Africa, and our destiny hangs on whether we can find a way to stop it.

But we do not have civil war. Angola has civil war, and so does Bosnia. In those countries normal life has broken down to such an extent that the pursuit of shelter, security, warmth and sustenance is the primary concern of each citizen; there has been a dramatic turn backward towards Hobbes's state of nature. That is not the case in South Africa, and need not ever be the case if rationality continues to prevail in the transition process, and if irresponsible statements do not become self-fulfilling prophecies.

## UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

**SHAUN  
Johnson**



**THE two terrible words, 'civil war', have become cheapened through constant use in this country. Politicians of all stripes toss them around. How many have seen civil war at first hand?**

This war talk, of which Chief Buthelezi is merely the latest exponent, put me in mind of some illuminating moments experienced in Moscow a while ago, shortly before the shelling of the Russian parliament. It is worth revisiting them to illustrate how something which was not taken wholly seriously at the time came to pass suddenly, viciously and bloodily.

It is July and we are in the downtown Moscow office of Mikhail Fedotov, Minister for Press and Information of the Russian Federation and close confidant of President Boris Yeltsin. Fedotov, jowled and sharp-eyed, sits at the end of a long table under a portrait of Sakharov. He is agitated, telling us about the impending showdown between the ruling Yeltsinites and the recalcitrant parliamentarians.

His manner suggests the utmost seriousness: he goes on lyrical flights, bangs the table, raises his voice. "We are going to declare war on the (parliamentary) Supreme Council," he says, "we

will fight to the end." The inexpert South African audience listens interestedly, but with the detachment of journalists who spend their lives hearing politicians' hyperbole, and mentally discarding most of it. "We will not allow a return to totalitarianism," says Fedotov, "we would rather be killed first. This battle will reach a peak in September."

Everything seems relatively peaceful and stable outside, so far as we can see, and there's no compelling reason to take words like "war", "fight" and "kill" too literally. We stroll out into Moscow's summer sunshine and on to another meeting. "I wonder if he's serious?" says one of our party. We all wonder too, but not for long.

A few days later, I am in the Russian parliament building across from the Novo Arbatskaya. It is recess and the politicians are absent, leaving us free to roam the corridors of the "White House", the Finnish-designed structure built for Brezhnev and referred to disparagingly by Muscovites as "the commode". We wander past the Cabinet room, where the praesidium meets, through the great foyers, and linger to look at the magnificent art treasures adorning the walls: outsized oils depicting Pushkin, Rasputin and dozens of legendary Russian figures.

Come September and I am looking at the same building, but from far-off Johannesburg, on television. There are shells screaming into the upper floors, blackening the White House and destroying, in chutes of dark, violent smoke, much of the contents. People are being killed inside and out, and tracer bullets are flashing across the wide road where we promenaded lazily with Moscow's summertime citizenry.

Where is Mikhail Fedotov now? I wonder. Is this what he was trying to tell us? Did he know this would happen? Did he really mean it? I tried to telephone him but, unsurprisingly, he was unavailable. I remembered Boris Yeltsin's first words after his putsch: "There will be no bloodshed." Did he really mean it?



# Bed-and-breakfast in Phola Park?

KILL the boer, kiss the tourist? Bed-and-breakfast in Phola Park for tourists from Sandton? Armed SDU militants as tour guides? Perhaps — if National Tourism Forum chairman and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba has his way.

At a cocktail party this week hosted by Thompson International Tour Operators MD Anton Thompson, Mokaba said he was developing tourism strategies which would see the controversial self-defence units (SDUs) in townships become paid "tourist police", and backyard rooms in townships turned into bed-and-breakfast establishments "so that whites can sleep over".

He said township residents should be encouraged to build the bed-and-breakfast rooms at the back of their houses for tourists, and that hotels should help these township entrepreneurs get started.

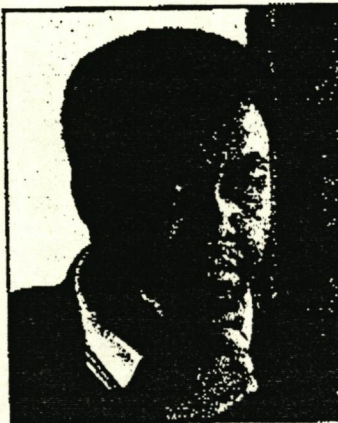
The proposals are to be tabled at a tourism conference next month. The aim would be to develop tourism potential in terms of job creation.

"We want to teach the kids that tourism is a national asset; that it brings money to our country, like gold. Tourism offers easy entrance to the formal sector for our frustrated youth. They are already defending their local communities: we believe they can also defend

---

**AN ANC firebrand has unusual — but interesting — plans for tourism.**  
**MANDY JEAN WOODS reports.**

---



**MOKABA: Wants gun-toting militants to guide tourists.**

tourists by becoming tourist guides — and get paid for it at the same time," Mokaba told the Saturday Star.

A workshop on how to involve the youth in tourism as tourism police had already been held in Soweto, and major hotel groups in all areas had been approached with regard to exploring options for training black youths in security.

The aim of a second proposal — encouraging black entrepreneurship in townships — would be to create a cultural exchange that would, through greater knowledge, break down

racial barriers.

"The people of Sandton must go and stay a night or two in Phola Park for instance," he said. "Apartheid kept our people spatially and emotionally separate. So, for nation-building, we will need to intensify the interpersonal interaction between our people, to learn how the other side lives.

"We must actively encourage whites to visit townships: the human interaction is necessary," he said. The value of understanding between white and black cultures was evident in the relationships between domestic workers and their employers, and farmworkers and their farmer employees.

"We have never been able to mobilise domestic workers on a racial basis. That is because they consider the families they work for as their own families. It is the same thing with farm workers," he said.

"Tourism must lead the way in terms of creating opportunities. The ANC sees tourism as an industry which will kick-start the economy. It is an industry that is labour intensive and can bring about understanding between people," Mokaba said.

Programmes to transform townships like Soweto and Alexandra into tourist attractions — with central business districts, industrial areas and accommodation for visitors — should be developed. He said tourism had the potential to become South Africa's leading industry if it were properly managed and conflict minimised.



Page 4



NH Witness 23-10-93

# Federal option

Great Br

**F**EDERALISM could be the best solution for South Africa, as argued by Gavin Woods on this page yesterday. Any system which restrains the power of a strong central authority, and brings government closer to the people, should be welcomed. What the ANC and the National Party are offering is, at best, diluted federalism. The functions they would allocate to regions are trifling, resembling decentralised administration rather than decentralised power.

That's the theory. Why then is there not more clamour for stronger federalism? First, the Bantustan system has given the concept a bad name by association with the divide-and-rule philosophy of apartheid. This perception is reinforced when apartheid-minded people jump on the federal bandwagon. Secondly, the personal style and bluster of one of its main proponents, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is often regarded as negative and destructive. Thirdly, practices within KwaZulu, such as demanding oaths of allegiance from employees and prohibiting the use of certain names for the leader, belie any liberal impulse behind his federal position. The IFP's motives are suspected.

However, these are all distractions from the central issue. Federalism offers an accountable, democratic option. The negotiators at Kempton Park should give it more serious attention. And we should all put pressure on them to do so. Natalians know the pitfalls of having a distant, unrestrained government. We should exert ourselves to bring government closer to home.

FOR aficionado subject of utter cination.

And who are these people? Politics is as past, other people boxing? In a remarkably all, of course politicians. House of Commons, some other me at the most. To those must losing candid election who, ments, have r would estimate more than a u

Then, a ve come the so lists. To quali you must shc thing more th a political ps lar-attender must voluntu representat regional or you must alv when there l tribute leat Political ac ground. In c cannot thir five who w

Immigration

pace last start Can finish in the money. TUCKY TATTOO is poor.

need the suit, clear it a new, my w... run but may need the cutting.



# Referendum

**A**FTER initial ambiguity, the ANC has now come out clearly against President de Klerk's somewhat impetuous suggestion of a referendum. Some of its reasons seem to have been pragmatic — reluctance to deplete funds and energies which should more properly go into fighting an election, as well as the confusion inherent in campaigning with the NP shortly before an election in which it would be a rival. And would the outcome legitimise the process of change any more than an election?

What is clear is that the ANC decision effectively torpedoes the referendum proposal. So now, if the IFP cannot be lured aboard the negotiation process by carrots, then perhaps the time has arrived for the State President to resort to the big stick. After all, the pretensions of its Chief Minister notwithstanding, KwaZulu is a creation of apartheid, dependent on Pretoria for its financial lifeblood, with many of its minions in officialdom likewise dependent for the perquisites they enjoy. Cutting off the light and water, so to speak, could well have a most salutary effect.

Natal on Saturday 23/10/93

## King otherwise engaged

IT IS NOT a case of the emperor having no clothes... he has other duties to attend to. King Goodwill will not be among the expected 80 000 at tomorrow's Sonke festival at King's Park.

KwaZulu Government sources said yesterday the king would be otherwise engaged.

## Mokaba Shackland surprise

HAS Peter Mokaba put his foot in his mouth again?

The question is raised by his suggestion this week, in his newspaper, that one way of attracting tourists was to set up bed and breakfast establishments in the Phola Park area. It seems certain to be controversial.

# 'Griqualand must remain in Natal'

Natal Witness 25/10/93

by JUSTINE BANFIELD

FARMERS, chiefs and the National Party expressed solidarity over the view that East Griqualand (Mt Currie District) should remain part of the Natal/KwaZulu region, and the Umzimkhulu district of Transkei be incorporated into the Natal/KwaZulu region.

At a meeting on Saturday, members representing the Council of Chiefs, Umzimkhulu, the Natal NP and the Natal Agricultural Union signed a document expressing solidarity on this point.

Concern and disappointment were

expressed about the manner in which the Delimitation Commission regions dealt with the evidence led to the commission, in accordance with the criteria determined by the Negotiation Council.

The commission, however, ignored the evidence in favour of the recommendations relating to Natal/KwaZulu, according to a statement released by those at the meeting.

"As a result the undersigned have

no confidence in either the technical expertise or impartiality of the commission and request that we be permitted to present evidence in support of this view to the Negotiation Council," it said.

The meeting mandated Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte to present the statement to the government, the Negotiation Council and the ad hoc committee on regions.

It also requested that Schutte represent the views expressed at the meeting on the issue to the various bodies concerned.



DURBANNatal on Saturday  
23/10/93

## Fuel to cost less

FUEL prices are to be cut by 2c/l from Saturday, October 30.

Pick 'n Pay is to sell petrol at the new price at its garages around country from Tuesday.

The fuel price cuts were announced in separate statements yesterday by the National Economic Forum and George Bartlett, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, following a joint meeting of the forum's process committee and the Liquid Fuel Industry Task Force in Johannesburg.

However, the taxi industry had already determined at a summit meeting on Thursday that in spite of the offer of a 2c reduction it would go ahead with a two-phase programme of mass action in demanding a 7c rollback of the fuel price.

Mr Bartlett said yesterday the cut of 2c would apply to petrol, diesel and illuminating paraffin.

SATURDAY REPORTER

PRETORIA

## FW on referendum

PRESIDENT De Klerk said yesterday that he would meet political leaders to seek agreement on a possible referendum to break the political deadlock — but stressed that such an exercise would remain a last-ditch solution.

De Klerk, who first brought up the issue at a speech in Boschendal two weeks ago, reiterated that a referendum "has many disadvantages under the present conditions" and that "if it can be avoided, we should do so".

SAPA-AFP

KEMPTON PARK



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### Symbols

NOBODY could have thought it would be easy to find new national symbols for the new South Africa.

But we can't think of any worse designs for a national flag than those put before the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre by the commission on national symbols.

The flags are the kind we might expect if they were being designed for independent homelands, with what seem to be African motifs or designs.

But that doesn't mean that a national flag should look anything like that.

The commission says that most of the 7 000 entries reflected an overwhelming preference for green and gold.

"Gold signifies wealth, resources and sun; green the environment, the land, the vegetation, fertility, growth and youth."

The favourite design depicts on a green and gold background a vertical motif of green, blue (rain) and red (courage, progress and vitality) triangles representing the people and associated with indigenous decorative forms.

The line separating it is white (peace, hope, reconciliation, understanding).

In the new South Africa, it would be difficult to design a flag that would symbolise the past, which is so controversial, the present, which is full of anguish and violence, or the future.

We accept that.

Nevertheless, the designs are so bland that it is as if nobody wanted to incorporate anything that might be controversial, anything that might even hint at the past.

The Afrikaner Right does not want a new flag. The Blacks — certainly the ANC and other liberation organisations — reject the present flag.

Thus a new flag is absolutely necessary. But it must be a flag that all can be proud of.

The favoured flag couldn't be less inspiring, less reflective of the country and its people.

If a dress were made of cloth incorporating its design, it would be most attractive. As a flag, it is awful.

Our advice: Let's have something that looks like a national flag and can be flown or carried with pride and joy by all the new South Africans.

The proposal that Die Stem and Nkosi Sikelele' iAfrika be considered as dual national anthems for the transitional period is, on the other hand, a valid compromise.

Die Stem, the anthem of present-day South Africa, was born in controversy, but is sung with patriotic feeling as befits a national anthem.

True enough, it was written in Afrikaans and translated into English and reflects a great deal of Afrikaner sentiment.

But its message of love of country and dedication and service to it is not particularly one that only Afrikaners, or English-speakers, can accept.

Nkosi, which is a prayer and is sung elsewhere in Africa as well, could be a noble anthem.

But the Right calls it the anthem of terrorists (which is just as bad as the ANC claim that Die Stem is the anthem of the oppressor).

The SA Communist Party's national chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, says the lyrics of Die Stem are offensive to the majority of South Africans.

The ANC and SACP back a minority report that Nkosi should be sung as the anthem, followed by the playing of a stanza of Die Stem. The Negotiating Council has decided to refer the matter of national symbols back to the Planning Committee, which will return to the council with a proposal to take the issue forward.

Meanwhile, the public will be consulted.

The issue is to be finalised before the April election.

All we can say is that if, like everything else, the question of the flag and the anthem is rushed, the chances of avoiding a storm of controversy will be slim.

On top of all our troubles, we should not be plunged into such a divisive row.

Which is why we should try to ensure that there is the greatest possible consensus.



## 'ANC does not want referendum'

A REFERENDUM is not a "viable option" because its disadvantages outweigh the advantages, says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The decision was taken this week at a meeting of the organisation's national working committee. In an interview with Saturday Star, Ramaphosa said: "In the first place a referendum will only delay the elections and will not solve the problems of the right wing, because they will continue mobilising and resisting.

"We see it (the referendum) as something that will devalue the vote our people have struggled for."

Ramaphosa said President F W de Klerk had proposed the referendum to gain the moral high ground over the right wing.

**ESTHER WAUGH**  
**Political Correspondent**

"Our struggle is not about gaining the moral high ground. It is about democracy, installing a new government and electing a constituent assembly."

A further disadvantage would be that the ANC and National Party would contest the referendum on the same side.

**See Page 8.**

"This will confuse our people because we are the alternative to the National Party," he said.

Ramaphosa said the ANC's resources were being pumped into its election campaign, and a ref-

erendum would place an extra burden on these resources.

Addressing the Foreign Correspondents Association in Pretoria yesterday, De Klerk said he had not yet taken a "definite decision" on a referendum.

"A negotiated settlement remains the first prize. A referendum has many disadvantages under present circumstances. If it can be avoided, it should. I am open to any other meaningful suggestions in the face of the negotiating deadlock," he said.

De Klerk added that the deadlock could not continue.

"There is no question of turning back either. Similarly, we dare not allow any party, no matter who it is, to hijack or sink the negotiations," he said.



WHILE President de Klerk countered claims last night that he was a "lame duck" president, four of his Cabinet ministers were party to decisions that showed just how limited the powers of his Government have in fact become.

Addressing the Foreign Correspondents Association in Pretoria, De Klerk said his National Party would continue to rule until it handed over power to a government of national unity after democratic elections on April 27.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC), to be installed next month to oversee government in the run-up to the vote would not be — nor was intended to be — an interim government, De Klerk said.

But, he added, his government faced a "difficult" period.

#### ANC presence

"There are, at the moment, concerted efforts across the spectrum to establish a *de facto* interim government by trying to limit the Government's ability to take effective day-to-day administrative decisions," he said.

Witwatersrand University political scientist Professor Alf Stadler says De Klerk has already lost the battle.

"The ANC is a live presence indirectly in all Government decision-making," he said. "The Government can only govern in fairly routine matters. All serious decisions have now to be negotiated."

De Klerk conceals this by saying decisions are taken at negotiating forums, Stadler said, such as the multiparty Negotiating Council that is charting South Africa's path to democracy.

"But there has been a shift in the balance of power," he added. "The popular forces now have the capacity to act. It is part of democracy."

He pointed to the Government's partial backdown, announced yesterday by Energy Minister George Bartlett, on

#### BRYAN PEARSON

the petrol price increase.

Just 16 days ago, a defiant De Klerk announced that his Cabinet would not bow to pressure by the ANC, the taxi industry and COSATU to back down from a 7c/litre fuel price increase.

But with threats by the three groups to stage nationwide protests, blockade city centres and plunge the country into "costly conflict", Bartlett yesterday announced a cut of 2c/l.

A similar Government move came yesterday on cellular telephones.

On September 22, the Government granted licences to two consortiums to set up a cellular phone network, ignoring ANC objections that Pretoria was acting unilaterally and seeking to privatise public assets "with the intention of undermining a future democratic government".

Its main objection was that blacks were not adequately represented in the two consortiums and last week, the ANC threatened that unless the Government reversed its decision, it would simply nationalise the industry when it came to power.

After lengthy talks, the ANC and the Government said in a joint statement yesterday that the ANC had dropped its opposition after the Government and the two licencees agreed to incorporate shareholding by black businesses.

In a third blow for De Klerk, democracy negotiators representing 21 political groups yesterday resolved to set up a multiparty interim committee to handle practical aspects of next April's election.

The decision effectively prevents the Government's Home Affairs department from taking unilateral decisions relating to the poll.

"For De Klerk, it's basically egg-dancing," Stadler said. "Although the Government has the capacity and legitimacy, the TEC will eat into those powers." — Sapa-AFP.

I'm no lame duck - FW



# FW: Accept poll results or else...

STATE President De Klerk warned South African militants yesterday they would have to accept the results of a possible referendum and democratic elections or face the force of the law.

He warned White and Black opponents of the government's move towards a multi-racial state that there was no turning back on the democratic process on which the country had embarked.

"We cannot accept a new form of ethnic or racial discrimination in any part of South Africa," he told a Foreign

Correspondents' Association luncheon.

Asked what would happen if militants refused to accept the results of a possible referendum and the country's first all-race elections set for next April, he said they would be "breaching the law" and any government would have to protect the democratic process.

"A government of national unity will have to take firm steps because in a democracy all parties must accept the results," he added.

Mr De Klerk said his government remained irreversibly committed to democracy negotiations currently under-

way and to the agreed timetable leading to the April 27 elections.

The government hoped to reach agreement with its negotiating partners within the next three weeks on an interim constitution, a charter of fundamental rights and the constitutional principles within which a final post-apartheid constitution would be drawn up.

"A new, dynamic and democratic South Africa is almost within our grasp," Mr De Klerk said.

He acknowledged that the newly-formed Freedom Alliance of

## FROM PAGE 1

White Right-wing and conservative Black groups seeking their own states or virtual autonomy in a federal system posed a major problem in the democracy process.

"The parties involved have significant support. Without their involvement in the election there will be serious doubts about the legitimacy of the process."

The government was committed to resolving the issue through negotiations, but he repeated an earlier suggestion that a referendum might be necessary to break the deadlock.

He stressed no definite decision had been taken on a referendum, but said, in answer to questions, he believed such a poll could be held without hindering general elections in April.

"There is ample time, even in January, for a referendum to be followed by elections if a referendum becomes necessary," he said.

Mr De Klerk also hit back at a charge of terrorism levelled at him by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela for approving an army raid against an alleged APLA base in the Transkei in which five youths were killed.

Referring to the Nobel peace prize jointly awarded to him and Mr Mandela last week, Mr De Klerk said:

"It is not the first time we have received prizes together and after some vicious and unwarranted attacks on my person.

"I have not ordered the killing of children... I have authorised a military operation against an APLA arms cache according to cross-checked information we got.

"The fact that it didn't deliver what we expected is a negative result. The fact people were killed is unfortunate, that young people were killed is more unfortunate. Nobody is callous about that," he said.

Mr Mandela, Mr De Klerk said, "attacked me in the most vicious and unwarranted terms".

"It is a great pity," he said, "that he does not use the same invective when addressing those within his own organisation... who repeatedly sweep up ANC supporters to commit violence against members of other racial and political groups".

Mr De Klerk lashed out repeatedly at the ANC, asking why it was not queried on excesses such as human rights abuses and summary executions in the prison camps of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But he added: "Despite repeated and provocative attacks by Mr Mandela, I have refrained from reacting in the same abrasive tone. Other leaders must show similar restraint if they are genuinely committed to the cause of national reconciliation".

"We must close the

book on the past, or reconciliation will continue to evade us in this country."

He said "intemperate rhetoric" was a major threat to peace in South Africa and called for a new meeting of signatories to the National Peace Accord "to rededicate themselves to the accord".

"I call on all political leaders to lift the political debate to a constructive and dignified level," Mr De Klerk said. "We have made remarkable progress. We stand at the edge of a historical accord. Now is the time for state-manship."

TO PAGE 2



SUNSHINE  
HIGH 65, LOW 55 — Dr

# The Washington Times

WASHINGTON, D.C., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1993 \*

PHONE: (202) 436-3000  
SUBSCRIBER SERVICE: (202) 436-3000 25 cents

## Zulu chief doubts nonviolent solution in S. Africa

By Neil McMahon  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that South Africa has a less than even chance of a non-violent solution to its problems and expressed doubt an election can be held under current conditions.

In an interview with The Washington Times, Chief Buthelezi also criticized the Clinton administration for favoring his archrival, Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, and defended his own alliance with white nationalist parties.

Asked if he had revised his prediction last year that South Africa had only a 50-50 chance of a peaceful

settlement, Chief Buthelezi said he was "definitely" more pessimistic.

"These circumstances make it even more dicey. . . . It's going to be more difficult than I anticipated last year," he said. Chief Buthelezi contended that a free and fair election is unlikely given current levels of violence, "when people are killed just for being members of parties."

South Africa might repeat the experience of Angola, which returned to civil war after elections last year, he warned.

"I'm very concerned about it, and I don't see how we're going to do it," he said. "I do realize that time is of the essence and we do need elections, but nonetheless, I don't believe there shall be elections at any cost."

Multiparty negotiators led by the

ANC and President Frederik de Klerk's government have set an election date of April 27, but Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Party and other groups say they won't take part unless their demands are met.

Chief Buthelezi, two "tribal homeland" leaders and several nationalist groups have withdrawn from the talks and joined forces as the Freedom Alliance to push their demands for a new constitution with most power given to regional governments.

The alliance also demands that a final constitution entrenching regional powers be drawn up before an election. The ANC and the government have agreed that a government of national unity will devise a constitution after the election.

Chief Buthelezi said recent talks with the two major parties had gone well but were hampered by the deals already made by the ANC and Pretoria.

"I think there is an eagerness [to accommodate us], but this eagerness is limited by the fact that they have already agreed between themselves on this two-phase process," Chief Buthelezi said.

"They expect us to go where they are, whereas we cannot see how we can do this. We are prepared to take part in the election on April 27, if it is an election for a government of South Africa under a complete constitution.

"But it's a different matter to have

see S. AFRICA, page A8



# S. AFRICA

From page A1

an election on who's going to write a constitution."

Mr. de Klerk's recent proposal for a referendum if agreement could not be finalized within a month was an attempt to "force my hand to commit suicide," Chief Buthelezi said. "It is not democratic. We reject it."

"The time frames seem to him to be more important than us finding solutions on a multiparty basis. I don't think we will be rushed by that. If they want to destroy the country, then the onus is on them."

Nor, he warned, would the alliance be pressured by world opinion, which generally favors the position of the ANC.

"The world doesn't have to live with us in South Africa," he said, "It's not the world's future that's being discussed."

Chief Buthelezi said the United States, in particular, should take a nonbiased stance on South Africa, rather than the Clinton administration's apparent pro-ANC position.

"All I need from them is evenhandedness," he said. "I can only say that the United States is a bulwark of the Western world [and] should really set an example in evenhandedness."

"Even when I wrote letters to him [President Clinton] and sent them through official channels congratulating him on his election, I never got acknowledgment of receipt. I think that says something."

"In South Africa, there is more than one party. However much they may like to make it bipolar, there is more than one party."

"If my colleague or someone went to Las Vegas and won so many thousands of dollars there, I would not stop and debate the ethics of gambling," he said, "In the same way, I congratulate them on their luck without getting into the issue of whether it is right or wrong."

Chief Buthelezi said he resented criticism of his alliance with white nationalist parties that seek to form an Afrikaner homeland, and angrily denied he was in danger of being seen as an Uncle Tom personality.

"I support self-determination. The Afrikaners have been in this country longer than the Americans have been in America, and, therefore, they are indigenous in the sense. We reject any state based on racism and we have made them make that declaration."

# Gramm fund-raiser to feature Gorbachev

## Some conservatives oppose move

By Ron Hutcherson  
FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

The Cold War may be over, but some conservatives are plenty hot about Sen. Phil Gramm's plans to use former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as the drawing card for a GOP fund-raiser next month.

Mr. Gramm, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, has invited big-money donors to join Mr. Gorbachev for dinner and drinks Nov. 4. Proceeds from the Washington event, which is expected to net Mr. Gorbachev more than \$50,000, will be used to help Republican senatorial candidates.

Although party officials predict a big turnout, the prospect of rubbing elbows with Mr. Gorbachev rankles conservatives who continue to equate him with the Evil Empire — the term former President Ronald Reagan used for the Soviet Union.

"It's a terrible idea," said William Bennett, who was education secretary under Mr. Reagan. "Gorbachev is a reactionary figure, and it's a mistake to have invited him. If he's not an architect of the communist system, he's a defender of it."

Elliott Abrams, former assistant secretary of state, who described himself as a Gramm admirer, also criticized the Texas senator's fund-raising techniques.

"I do think it hurts him," Mr. Abrams said. "I'm sorry about that, but it has offended many conservatives in the party."

Mr. Gramm was traveling yesterday and could not be reached for comment, but a spokesman for the Senate campaign organization defended the senator's decision to in-

vite Mr. Gorbachev to Washington.

"I think it's going to be a very strong turnout," spokesman Gary Koops said. "It's going to be a very successful event and a very insightful speech."

Mr. Koops, who predicted that the dinner and reception will draw at least 1,000 donors, said he has received only a few complaints about the guest of honor.

The Gorbachev dinner at the National Building Museum is restricted to members of the Republican Inner Circle, a fund-raising group that requires a minimum \$1,000 contribution. Participants will have to pay an additional \$180 to help defray the cost of Mr. Gorbachev's visit.

In an invitation to prospective donors, Mr. Gramm called Mr. Gorbachev "the man who heard the call for freedom" and promised contributors "a rare opportunity" to hear the former Soviet leader's view on international affairs.

Organizers expect Mr. Gorbachev to turn his speaking fee over to the Gorbachev Foundation, which he founded to promote world peace. In a twist that is particularly galling to some conservatives, the U.S. branch of the international foundation is headed by former Sen. Alan Cranston of California, a liberal Democrat.

But most critics are more concerned about the idea of Republicans working with Mr. Gorbachev.

Ros Haley of Midland, Texas, a Republican activist who has contributed to Mr. Gramm in the past, said she tossed her dinner invitation in the trash as soon as she opened it.



# ANC, govt agree on cellular phones

THE government and the African National Congress yesterday resolved the controversy surrounding the country's fledgling cellular phone industry.

The ANC backed down on its plans to nationalise the cellular phone industry in exchange for an agreement from the two private sector enterprises involved and the government to incorporate shareholding by Black businesses.

A joint statement by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and Transport, Posts and Telecommunications Minister Piet

Welgemoed said Vodacom and Mobile Telephone Networks could proceed "as soon as possible" with setting up their cellular networks.

The licences issued to Vodacom and MTN would be recognised by the ANC, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association.

The agreement reached between the government, the ANC and the two companies still has to be approved by the Postmaster-General, Tertius Oosthuizen.

However he told Sapa he foresaw no difficulties in approving the deal.

"I am very satisfied

with the agreement, because we have maintained the competitive element in the cellular market," he said.

"There's no public sector pre-dominance in the set-up."

Mr Oosthuizen pointed out that although Telkom held a 50 percent interest in Vodacom, it would not be exercised as a majority shareholding.

Another parastatal, Transnet, holds only 10 percent of the equity in MTN.

According to the details of the agreement:

- MTN's shareholding structure has to accommodate a 30 percent shareholding by Black business, while in the case of Vodacom it is five percent;

- Transnet's current stake in MTN would be increased to 20 percent; and

- At least 50 percent of Vodacom's service providers should be represented by Black business while a similar arrangement exists for MTN.

Vodacom chief executive Alan Knott-Craig expressed his satisfaction with the deal, saying his company's cellular network would be ready for service by the end of March 1994.

However, it would be constrained by a provision to connect only 10 000 users between the end of March 1994 and the beginning of June, whereafter this constraint would be lifted. — Sapa.



## Talks with FA: Not optimistic

THE future of multi-party negotiations will be determined in the next few days in bilateral meetings involving the Freedom Alliance, the South African Government and the African National Congress.

The government met the newly-founded Freedom Alliance in Pretoria yesterday afternoon, and the FA will meet the ANC in Johannesburg all-day on Monday.

But senior government and ANC negotiators said they were not optimistic differences would be resolved.

Unless the FA came up with new proposals on the well-known differences between them, the bilaterals would fail, warned ANC and government sources.

However, a senior FA negotiator said yesterday morning the alliance did have new positions, which he maintained would prevent the newly-established bilaterals from breaking down even before they got off the ground properly.

Members of the diplomatic corps who met FA

leaders this week shared the pessimism of the government and the ANC, and argued the only possible way for the FA to present new positions would be to dump the Conservative Party, which is demanding a separate Afrikaner state.

The FA source, asked about this, claimed it would not be long now before the CP would soften its well-known position, and adopt a more federalist approach like the rest of the alliance.

Government and ANC negotiators in the bilaterals expected the issue of a summit of political leaders, as demanded by the FA, to feature highly yesterday and in Monday's talks agenda.

The FA is demanding a summit of political leaders to determine the political route negotiations must take. — Sapa



## Election: Body to decide dept role

DEMOCRACY negotiators agreed yesterday to establish a multi-party committee to handle the practical side of organising the scheduled April 27 election.

The committee will also decide on the role of the Department of Home Affairs in the run-up to the election.

The African National Congress led a charge at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park that the department was intervening unilaterally in the election and called for ne-

gotiators to put an end to it.

Home Affairs should only be concerned with issuing identity documents, some negotiators argued.

"What must be clear now is that Home Affairs no longer owns elections," said Prof Selby Ripinga of the Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane.

"Home Affairs no longer has a role to play in elections except where we tell them," he added.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte replied that the government's commitment to a free and

fair election could not be questioned.

His department was prepared to stop making decisions on the election, but then a multi-party committee had to be established by the end of next week, because time was running out.

ANC negotiator, Popo Molefe, accused Mr Schutte of negotiating with a gun pointed at fellow negotiators.

However, the ANC supported the proposal for the committee to be set up, which would deal with the practical side of organising the election

until the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

The IEC will, at the earliest, be established by the middle of November, according to Mr Schutte.

However, important practical steps had to be implemented before then if the election was going to proceed smoothly, he warned.

For instance, an order for infra-red sensor lamps — to prevent cheating — had to be placed before the end of next week or they would not be ready by April 27. — Sapa.



## FW tries to shed 'lame duck' image, but backs down

WHILE State President De Klerk countered claims yesterday that he is a "lame duck" president, four of his Cabinet Ministers were party to decisions that showed just how limited the powers of his government have in fact become.

Addressing the Foreign Correspondents Association in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said his National Party would continue to rule until it hands over power to a government of national unity after all-race elections on April 27.

The transitional executive council, to be installed next month to oversee government in

the run-up to the vote would not be — nor was intended to be — an interim government, Mr De Klerk said.

But, he added, his government faces a "difficult period."

"There are, at the moment, concerted efforts across the spectrum to . . . establish a de facto interim government by trying to limit the government's ability to take effective day to day administrative decisions," he said.

Prof Alf Stadler, a Witwatersrand University political scientist, says Mr De Klerk has already lost the battle.

"The ANC is a live

presence indirectly in all government decision-making," Prof Stadler said. "The government can only govern in fairly routine matters. All serious decisions have now to be negotiated."

He pointed to the government's partial back-down, announced yesterday by Energy Minister George Bartlett, on a petrol price hike.

Just 16 days ago, a defiant Mr De Klerk announced that his Cabinet would not bow to pressure by the ANC, the taxi industry and giant COSATU labour federation to back down from a 7c a litre fuel price increase.

But with threats by the three groups to stage nationwide protests, blockade city centres and plunge the country into "costly conflict," Mr Bartlett yesterday announced a cut of 2c a litre.

He said the decision was made by the Cabinet after a meeting of two committees of the National Economic Forum, comprising government, essentially COSATU labour and business.

COSATU hailed the move as "a significant backing down" by Mr De Klerk.

A similar government move came yesterday on

cellular telephones.

On September 22, the government granted licences to two consortiums to set up a cellular phone network, ignoring ANC objections that Pretoria was acting unilaterally and seeking to privatise public assets "with the intention of undermining a future democratic government."

After lengthy talks, the ANC and the government said in a joint statement yesterday that the ANC had dropped its opposition after the government and the two licencees agreed to incorporate shareholding by Black businesses. — Sapa-AFP.



## Two held for hospital cache

TWO men were arrested yesterday in connection with the discovery of a firearm and ammunition at the Natalspruit Hospital on the East Rand, police said.

The two will appear in court on Monday charged with illegal possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition, a police statement said.

The discovery of firearms on the hospital grounds had created mistrust and anxiety among staff and patients, chief superintendent Dr Nor-

man Kernes said yesterday.

Reacting to police's seizure of a pistol and more than 400 rounds of ammunition in a change room next to the paediatric ward on Thursday, Dr Kernes said the incident had worsened the already enormous strain placed on the hospital by violence in East Rand townships and squatter camps.

He said some kind of perimeter and ward security would be maintained at the hospital, but the medical facility "was not Fort Knox."



# Curb arms smuggling, Goldstone warns

CAPE TOWN. — Violence in South Africa could reach critical proportions unless drastic measures are taken to curb the inflow of AK-47s from Mozambique, a committee of the Goldstone Commission has warned.

The committee, chaired by Mr NMS Sithole, said in a report released yesterday there was no need for new legislation to control gun-running, but that sections of existing laws which had not yet been brought into operation should come into force "with a minimum of delay".

It was not difficult to predict that AK-47s would continue to play a "major and inevitably destabilising role" in the new South Africa.

The committee recommended that the Arms and Ammunition Act be changed to make it compulsory for anyone in possession of a firearm to produce a licence on demand.

The committee was set up in January to hear evidence on ways of curbing illegal imports of automatic weapons and their use in political violence.

Announcing the appointment of the committee, the Goldstone Commission had said it was deeply concerned at the dramatic increase in deaths and injuries caused by automatic weapons among Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress leaders and supporters in particular.

Defence Force should find out from the Department of Transport what sophisticated equipment was available for detecting illegal weapons in motor vehicles.

The committee said it opposed the police practice — now discontinued — of selling confiscated AK-47s. All such weapons should be destroyed.

It noted that during its hearings it had been faced with the "anomalous situation"

that the ANC — while publicly acknowledging that it was in illegal possession of weaponry of all kinds in hidden caches — had demanded that the security forces and others in lawful possession of weaponry should give an account of themselves "while it declined to do so".

"Furthermore, while the SAP and the Army offered an explanation of what steps were being taken to obviate any leak-

age of weaponry, the ANC did not offer any information whatever that might assist the committee with respect to (its) principal terms of reference."

In a submission to the committee the organisation had expressly disclaimed any intention of addressing what it termed the "specific issues arising out of the possession of arms and ammunition by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe". — Sapa.

The committee said extensive new regulations on firearm licences, storage and transport — which were being drafted by legal advisors to the Commissioner of Police — should be promulgated as soon as possible.

Urgent attention should be given to ensuring the police and defence force had funding for the equipment they needed to stem arms smuggling into South Africa.

The SA Police and SA



## AVU returns to WTC after brief walkout

THE Afrikaner Volksunie was back in talks at the World Trade Centre yesterday after walking out on Thursday.

AVU representative Mr Schaik Burger, began yesterday's Negotiating Council session by formerly objecting to Labour Party negotiator Llewellyn Landers acting as council chairman.

The objection was noted and the scheduled debate on the draft electoral Bill began.

The AVU walked out after Thursday's chairman, Mr M J Mahlangu, refused to allow AVU

chief representative, Mrs Corlia Kruger, to speak on a controversy which had erupted briefly in the council last Friday.

### Controversy

The controversy concerned a strongly-worded AVU submission on the Umtata raid, which was almost ruled inadmissible because it had allegedly not gone through the correct administrative channels.

Mr Landers, who was council chairman last Friday, had himself given permission for the submission to be distributed,

according to the AVU.

After the party's walkout on Thursday, Mrs Kruger condemned the Planning Committee for refusing to rule that Mr Landers should apologise and for thus "putting the legitimacy of the whole (negotiating) process on the line". — Sapa.