Cape Times 20.9.93



TREVOR HUDDLESTON: President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement which has helped launch in Britain the International Campaign to Promote Free and Fair Elections in SA.



ANTHONY O'REILLY: The Heinz International president who is chairman of the South Africa Free Elections Fund (SAFE), an American-based organisation.

Nothing anybody does will argus 20.9.93 Chief Buthelezi

There was no progress at last week's government-Kwazulu summit, argues Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

IF Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi approached his crucial meeting with President De Klerk last Thursday with any hope that some of his demands might be met, then he must have left Cape Town a disappointed man.

For Chief Buthelezi must have known — he himself said at the beginning of that meeting he did no think there was much the two leaders could talk about — that chances of Mr De Klerk giving in to his comprehensive demands were very slim if not altogether non-existent.

And not just because Mr De Klerk is unwilling to make more concessions to the IFP leader whom he is now desperately trying to appease in an effort to woo him back into negotiations, but because he is simply unable to accommodate the Kwazulu Chief Minister more than he and the ANC have already done.

Chief Buthelezi's 10-page "preliminary remarks" — which he makes at the beginning of every important meeting he attends to Mr De Klerk on Thursday were very revealing. More than anything else, they indicated quite clearly what Chief Buthelezi sees as his bottom lines, and showed yet again that nothing anybody does will now satisfy him.

In what can only be described as a terrible dressing down to Mr De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi demanded nothing less than the scrapping of the present multiparty negotiations and agreements reached in that process, notably the holding of South Africa's first all-inclusive elections on April 27 next year.

By so doing, he put the hapless Mr De Klerk in a tight corner: while he is eager to accommodate Chief Buthelezi and in the process keep his own National Party together, the concessions the chief now asks for are simply not his to give. It is as simple as that.

But back to the "preliminary remarks" which often serve as policy statements and usually impact on the agendas of meetings he holds with other leaders. Chief Buthelezi sees these as vehicles for him to put his own concerns and priorities upfront, thereby ensuring that the things he holds dear are discussed in the meetings.

His interlocutors, however, see them differently. ANC president Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, foreign leaders and ambassadors based here have often found themselves vehemently criticised and chided in Chief Buthelezi's "preliminary remarks" before their meetings with him.

Depending on the outcome of the meeting, such statements are sometimes not released to the Press. And so the fact that Chief Buthelezi found it necessary to release his preliminary statement last Thursday, only about an hour before the end of the meeting, was the first signal that not all had gone well at Tuynhuys.

Clearly, Chief Buthelezi is very unhappy about what he sees as the government's collusion with the ANC at the expense of his party, and he said so to Mr De Klerk. He is upset that negotiations have gone on without the IFP and Kwazulu while they were halted following the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa II last year, and again he said so.

He accused government negotiators of not understanding "black

politics", accused the government of having moved away from policies it once shared with the IFP, accused Pretoria of not taking seriously what he says, said the agreed-upon Transitional Executive Council could take actions which "could crash the financial operation and institutional autonomy of the Kwazulu government", and that his government would not implement agreements reached in the Negotiating Council.

He is also very resentful about the international credit going to the government and the ANC for progress in negotiations, and he condemns "the smiling, the receiving of (awards) and boastings that the talks were still within the time frames that were agreed upon between the government and the ANC/SACP alliance".

Then he dropped the bombshell: negotiations must be halted and a national constitutional convention be called "to review the negotiations mess we are in".

He bluntly told Mr De Klerk and members of his Cabinet: "We must now pause and reconsider what is happening in negotiations. That is probably the only reason for me being here today.

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here."

Increasingly isolated here and abroad, Chief Buthelezi then resorted to emotional blackmail and the kind of threats he has recently been making with a monotonous regularity: he would resign as leader of the IFP if the party's general conference decided against his wish to return to negotiations, and Pretoria would be responsible for "the dramatic consequences" if it did not heed his calls.

But if Chief Buthelezi is such a democrat, then why would he resign and not abide by the decision of the majority of IFP members if they voted in favour of co-operation with other parties and organisations? His threats are hardly necessary.

Political observers know, and some of his top Cabinet ministers privately agree, that he is the driving force behind the IFP and that that party's general conference and the IFP's ever-expanding central committee often endorse whatever he wants. He need not fear, then, that their verdict might go against him.

Chief Buthelezi has now dared public opinion here and the international community to do their damnedest.

"No amount of pressure from within or from the international community will have any effect on me. I cannot be pressured into persuading the people of this region (Natal-Kwazulu) to commit suicide." he said.

From a man who used to be sensitive to gentle proddings from Washington, London and Bonn, this is worrisome.

South Africans should not be fooled by Mr De Klerk's smiles at the end of the summit, the joint committees agreed upon and the undertaking to meet again. No progress was registered at what sources described as an acrimonious meeting.

20.9.93



SUMMIT: A friendly handshake between President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi but the discussion was heated.

Referendum is option

IF rampant violence should make it impossible to hold a fair election on April 27 next year, the referendum option could turn out to be a blessing in disguise.

But political analysts warn that a postponement of the scheduled election could lead to more violence and mass action because of high expectations raised by political lead-

Any decision to change the agreed plan for an election must, therefore, be a joint decision by the main political players, they say.

With political violence continuing, the referendum option has been brought to the fore once more by top analyst and former political leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who ■ President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Dr Zac de Beer will be on the same political platform in a referendum. Their opponents will be white and black radical groupings such as the AWB and the PAC.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political

Correspondent

should at all costs avoid elections under circumstances that could make the elections "a one-off disaster".

In an assessment published in The Argus yesterday, Dr Slabbert wrote that the "first prize" for South Africa would be widely-acclaimed free and fair elections on April 27.

However, he added that the worst possible case would be to have elections on that day under circumstances where the

warned that South Africa. outcome is substantially questioned, both inside and outside the country.

If conditions should turn out to be impossible, the alternative would be to hold a referendum.

Other political specialists agree with Dr Slabbert on this point, suggesting that a referendum could be much less hazardous than an election and could offer opportunities for paying the way to a government of national unity. In a

referendum campaign, it is pointed out, leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk and Dr Zac de Beer could appear on the same political platform.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of Stellenbosch University's department of political science, said that in view of the high expectations raised on the part of the black majority, it was "almost unthinkable" that the election could now be postponed.

If this were to happen, the people among whom expectations had been raised would suspect "foul play". Such a de-cision could unleash a new wave of mass action and "all the destruction that accompanies it."

Professor Breytenbach said it would, therefore, be be pref-

erable in the event of impossible conditions to hold a referendum on April 27 instead of an election.

It was essential to hold something next year - either an election or a referendum and whatever was done to change existing plans would have to be approved by way of negotiation and joint decisions between the different political leaders. Such a decision simply could not be taken unilaterally by the government.

Dr Slabbert's argument that a referendum would be less divisive than an election "undoubtedly carries great weight", Professor Breytenbach said.

In a referendum there would basically be two political camps — the "no" camp and the "yes" camp.

The referendum issue should be a simple question: either "yes" or "no" for the proposed transitional executive council (TEC) and interim constitution package.

The "yes" camp would consist of the ANC and its alliance partners, the National Party. the Democratic Party, most of the tricameral parties, and most of the homeland parties.

This would leave the black left and the white right in the "no" camp, Professor Breytenbach said.

The "no" camp would, therefore, include the PAC, Azapo, Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Afrikaner-Volksfront (AVF), and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP). They would all reject the TEC package in a referendum.

The positions of the Conservative Party (CP) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) were somewhat uncertain at this stage.

Professor Breytenbach said that if the election were simply to be postponed and no referendum was held in its place, the violence could increase.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, as the main players, would have to decide between them whether or not circumstances warranted an election on the scheduled date or a referendum.

Dr Slabbert noted that the TEC Bill, now before parliament, specifically makes provision for the holding of a referendum.

"This may well be the way out," he said.

Arafat soon to be a dad - paper

TUNIS — PLO leader Yasser Arafat and his wife, Suha, are expecting a child, a leading Tunisian newspaper said



ARAFAT . to be a father?

yesterday.
Al-Ra'i AlAmm did not give any date for what it termed the "happy event". If correct, the child will be their first.
The 30-year-

old Palestinian married Arafat (64) in a secret ceremony that was disclosed in early 1992. The date of the marriage remains in contention, with Al-Ra'i saying it was July 27, 1990, and others insisting it was November 1991.

Suha Arafat worked as Arafat's secretary in Tunis after completing studies in political science at the Sorbonne in Paris.

-Sapa-AP.

Church leaders leaders meet 1993

Buthelezi

by TONY OOSTHUIZEN

Durban Bureau

CHURCH leaders are again holding urgent talks with political leaders to find solutions to the "horrifying" violence and the Inkatha Freedom Party's non-participation in constitutional talks.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba met at short notice with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban on Saturday, and are to seek a meeting with the African National Congress's Nelson Mandela soon.

"If necessary, we will try and bring the two leaders together again for another meeting," Mogoba said after Saturday's meeting. The two political leaders first held talks in June at a meeting facilitated by the church leaders.

Declaring their willingness to facilitate transition, the bishops said that, while there has not been a total breakdown in communication between Mandela and Buthelezi, one of the important decisions not implemented since June is the holding of joint rallies by the two political leaders in violence-ravaged areas.

aged areas.

"We are horrified by the violence that is continuing ... It has assumed alarming proportions and we believe action is required very urgently by all leaders: political, church, state, business, everybody," said Mogoba.

"There was a very high level of concern in the meeting about the violence and the future of our

In a short statement, Buthelezi said IFP negotiator Joe Matthews explained briefly to the meeting why his party had walked out of the talks because "the bishops were also concerned about that".

Tutu concluded: "We are aware of the urgency of the situation and want to be available as facilitators of the whole transition process."

The ANC will not allow Buthelezi or anyone else to hold the future to ransom or to prevent the election from taking place in April next year, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned on Saturday.

The elections will take place on

The elections will take place on April 27 next year, regardless of opposition from Buthelezi, Ciskei military dictator Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and movements such as the Azanian People's Organisaion and the Conservative Party, he

Opinion

By COLIN LEGUM

LONDON - In spite of all the defeatism voiced about the chances of negotiating a non-racial democratic constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa, the stage has been set for Parliament to rush through legislation providing for an interim coalition government and for arrangements to stage the country's first democratic elections on the basis of a universal franchise.

The next test will be the success of free and fair elections to be held on April 27 next year.

Three obstacles stand in the way of achieving this result: violent opposition from the white right wing and militant black left wing; resistance from two of the homelands — kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana; and a climate of intimidation that could cast doubt on the fairness of the result.

Recalcitrant homelands

None of these threats is to be treated lightly. Together they could set back the democratic process once the election campaign gets under way.

Once the decision to hold the elections is seen to be irreversible, the chances are that the two recal-citrant homelands will either voluntarily drop their opposition, or that they will be compelled to do so by the government stopping the subsidies on which they depend for their economic survival.

Another immediate concern is how to educate the majority of the electorate who have no experience of democratic electorate practices, which includes abstaining from intimidation.

International support for programmes to promote free and fair elections is shown by some

major initiatives.

The International Campaign to Promote Free and Fair Elections in SA has been launched in Britain by the All-Party Parliamentary Committee on Southern Africa (chaired by the Conservative MP, Peter Temple-Morris) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement whose president is Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Another initiative comes from the South Africa Free Elections Fund (SAFE), an American-based organisation formed by an influential group of concerned Americans committed to a peaceful transition to democratic rule.

SAFE is remarkable for the support it has already obtained from 26 influential Americans, including 20 leading businessmen. Its chairman is Dr

International help for SA in preparing for free elections

individuals "with proven track records of using and accounting for foreign contributions at the grassroots level'

One of the principle means of distributing SAFE funds will be through national organisations such as the Christian Assistance Trust established by Dr

SAFE points out that scores of vibrant, nongovernmental organisations have worked for years at local levels and have developed strong relationships with international foundations and other donors. Many of these organisations are engaged in voter registration and education.

SAFE will screen proposals from these organisations to fund their activities. It will work locally through a committee of South Africans with longstanding pro-democracy credentials.

The funds will not be used to promote the interests of any individual politician or political organisation. Although Nelson Mandela has given his strong support to SAFE's goals, neither he nor the ANC will be involved in SAFE's operations.

SAFE, however, has not sought the approval of President De Klerk or members of the present

Anthony J F O'Reilly, the president of Heinz International, who is himself an Irishman.

Its co-chairman is the distinguished black American judge, A Leon Higginbotham; and its counsel is Theodore G Sorensen, who was a prominent figure in the Kennedy administration.

Another major figure from the Kennedy era is G Wayne Fredericks, who has played a prominent part for almost half a century in promoting democ-

part for almost half a century in promoting democracy in South Africa.

Among the other leading American figures are Robert McNamara, the former Defence Secretary and president of the World Bank and Andrew Young and Donald McHenry, both US representatives at the UN during the Carter administration.

The world of corporate business is represented

by 20 leading executives.

SAFE has set itself a target of \$10-million (R34m), and has already raised \$1,2-million. The fund says it differs from other efforts to promote democracy by focusing exclusively on elections and the electoral process; it will not be involved in monitoring operations which will be conducted by a number of international groups. It will, instead, work through existing credible institutions and government because it does not favour governmental involvement, but says it will work within the election laws and procedures agreed on at the negotiations.

Historic moment

However, SAFE says that while negotiating the electoral process is a major challenge, ensuring free and fair elections is an even greater one since the vast majority have never voted in an election before and the obstacles to their full participation abound, from illiteracy to geographic isolation and lack of independent sources of information.

In its appeal to Americans, SAFE declares: "Rarely have true historic moments presented themselves in such a clear and urgent fashion. The end of apartheid is attributable, in large measure, to the actions of thousands of committed Americans.

"By ensuring a free and fair participatory election, Americans now have an opportunity to join in realising the emergence of democracy in South Africa. After so many years of struggle, this is a unique event for our generation and, indeed, for our own nation's democratic history."

20.09.93



SHOWDOWN: The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at their eight-hour talks in Cape Town this week. Chief Buthelezi agreed to hold further negotiations with the government.



DE KLERK: Power poker.



☐ BUTHELEZI: Diatribe first.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON **Political Correspondent**

A BID by the apartheid state to sweep the murky side of its history under the carpet will be challenged in the Pretoria Supreme Court next week.

A court application designed to save innumerable classified and historic state documents from the shredding machine and the furnace has been filed by the director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin.

He said vesterday that his personal crusade was not motivated by feelings of revenge but aimed at "preserving our history for our children and their children".

Mr Currin said he had embarked on his course of action when, to his surprise, no party or organisation seemed to be taking steps to block the wholesale destruction of important security-related documents by all government departments and the SA Defence

Mr Currin said he had written to a number of prominent individuals voicing his concern about the

Mr Currin's lawyers said the application was expected to be heard by the Pretoria Supreme Court next Tuesday. The application seeks a declaration from the court for all documents - classified and non-classified - to be saved in terms of the provisions of the Archives Act.

Volksfront postpones ANC considers ex-Bok's plea 10 plagues protest

PRETORIA. - The Afrikaner Volksfront is confident many Nationalist MPs will refuse to toe the party line and will vote against the Transitional Executive Council Bill due to be tabled in Parliament today.

Volksfront spokesman Mr Stephan Maninger said the planned right-wing protest at the gates of Parliament this week had been suspended to give MPs a last chance to turn away from the route set at multi-party negotiations.

After a marathon meeting here at the weekend, Volksfront leaders decided to put their "10 plagues" campaign on hold.

However, details of Volksfront resistance to multi-party plans had been finalised and would be announced, "probably later this week".

Right-wing sources said the plans included strategic stayaways.

Meanwhile, an Afrikaner "cultural" radio station has been granted a temporary licence to broadcast in the Pretoria area. Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen went on the air at the launch of Radio Pretoria on Saturday.

Commando members at the launch said they would not allow the government to stop transmissions.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. -The ANC had been approached by former Springbok cricketer and Johannesburg insurance broker Mr Dennis Gamsy to investigate possible indemnity from prosecution on 30 counts of foreign exchange fraud, the organisation confirmed yesterday.

"All we can say at this stage is that we have been approached by Mr Gamsy and will look into the matter of possible indemnity," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said.

'Injustices will be corrected'

JOHANNESBURG. — Affirmative action was an important principle needed in South Africa's Bill of Rights as most of the country's people are seriously disadvantaged, ANC media liaison head Mr Carl Niehaus said at the weekend.

"We need to make use of the necessary legislative powers to make sure the injustices of the past are corrected," he said.

Mr Niehaus was speaking at a dinner organised between members of the ANC's Department of Publicity and Information and the government's SA Communication Services (SACS).

South Africa's white minority had to understand just how deep apartheid had hurt, he said.

"There must be an unequivocal commitment to real fundamental and structural change to empower the oppressed people in South Africa.'

This change also had to take

place in the area of communication where the SACS was still seen by the vast majority of South Africa's people as a mouthpiece of the National Party government.

Mr Niehaus said the SACS should be restructured by the time a new party took power as that party might not be able to resist the "temptation of using these structures for its own purposes". - Sapa

Indian party ioins Inkatha

DURBAN. - The Indian Reform Party yesterday merged with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Speaking in Phoenix, a predominantly Indian suburb, where he was also opening an IFP branch, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party wanted Indians to contribute to the rebuilding of the Natal/-KwaZulu region and South Africa as a whole.

Their entrepreneurial skills and business acumen were valued.

Watershed week ahead for MPs in Parliament

SOUTH AFRICA faces one of its most ously opposed a TEC. significant weeks in Parliament which is expected to pass legislation to set up mechanisms that will herald a historic new phase.

The legislation will enable the setting up of the Transitional Executive Council.

With its promulgation ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to make the call for the lifting of sanctions at an IMF meeting in the United

The law will place severe pressure on the CP and IFP which have strenu-

The PAC was yesterday locked in intensive discussions about whether to take its place in the TEC.

The NP's members are deciding whether to take part in national or regional elections. Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport have opted for participation in

regional parliaments. The DP is expecting more defections to the ANC of its members following an aborted leadership bid by Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Police blast survivor OK

PRETORIA. - The policeman who was wounded in a bomb blast at Bronkhorstspruit on Saturday morning is in a satisfactory condition in the local hospital.

Constable Henkie Maree, 21, sustained shrapnel wounds in the explosion which killed Warrant Officer Lappies Labuschagne.

So far, no one has claimed responsibility for the explosion in front of a shop in the Indian business area. Police have offered a R100 000 reward.

Damage was estimated at thousands of rands. The blast wrecked 11 vehicles and several shops. - Sapa.

'Let's go back to humanity'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Let us go back to ubuntu botho (humanity).

This was the message the six Wits/Vaal peace walkers had for hun-dreds of ANC and IFP supporters who wel-comed them here yesterday at the end of their 700km walk, which start-ed in Katlehong on national Peace Day.

ANC-supporting walk-er Mr Victor Mpahleni said: "The people should understand that we are members of the human race before we are members of any political organisation.

This was echoed by fellow walker and IFP member Mr Bonginkosi Dlamini.

IFP and ANC youth meet

DURBAN. — Youth leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party met here on Satur-day for a second round

of peace talks.

But the meeting deadlocked and both sides
agreed to meet again on

Wednesday.
The IFP Youth Brigade had demanded an apology for a remark by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a "puppet".

The ANC's regional

youth league had taken exception to an IFP Youth Brigade resolution which called uMkhonto we Sizwe a "killing machine". — Sapa

ackers stone

A man was stoned to death JOHANNESBURG. and two others wounded yesterday afternoon when and two others wounded yesterday afterhoof when a group of men clashed with hostel dwellers in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, Witwatersrand police spokesman Maj Eugene Opperman said.

The dead man was doused with a flammable liquid and then set alight by angry hostel dwellers.

uid and then set alight by angry hostel dwellers.

According to the police statement, a group of men entered the hostel just before 6pm and shots were fired at hostel dwellers. One of the hostel dwellers was wounded.

The attackers fled the scene, followed by a large group of hostel dwellers. One of the attackers was apparently stoned to death near Roosevelt Street and First Avenue. His body was set alight.

When police arrived hostel dwellers pointed out a wounded man whom they said was one of the at

wounded man, whom they said was one of the attackers. Police said they found a loaded Tokarev pistol on the man and he was arrested.

The body of a man burnt beyond recognition and bound hands and feet was found next to the N3 highway near Alberton, on the East Rand, yester-

day.
The motive for the murder was unknown. — Sapa

In Mkushi, Zambia, FRED BRIDG-LAND reports on a policy directly opposite to that of Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe: urging whites to take up land.

ELEVEN months ago Myburgh Wessels, a 35-year-old Afrikaner farmer, arrived at his new farm in Mkushi, an area of rich soils, abundant rainfall and forests 320 km north of Lusaka.

In an echo of the Great Trek taken

by his Boer forefathers a century ago, he travelled the 3 200 km over five days from the Free State. With his wife, Annemarie, two children, brother, three tractors, trucks, pick-up vans, planters, ploughs and har-rows, he drove by day and camped in the bush by night.

The Wessel family is among hundreds of South Africans who are responding to the Zambian government's offer of vast tracts of well-watered land. They are fleeing drought, political violence and econo-

mic uncertainty.

Democratic

Joining them in this remarkable migration of white Africans are Zimbabwean farmers seeking new opportuni-ties as President Robert Mugabe begins a grab of white farmland

Mr Ben Kapita, president of the Commercial Farmers' Bureau of Zam-bia, said: "We have 240 000 km² of topclass soil, but 225 000 of them are not being used productively. We need satellites of settlers to show how things can be done and develop our agricultural potential."

Two years ago Frederick Chiluba's democratic government was elected to replace the socialist regime of Kenneth Kaunda, which had appropriated the land of thousands of farmers in the former Northern Rhodesia.

Neighbour

Mr Kapita said: "We're opening up Mr Kapita said: "We're opening up to the outside world, and we need foreign investment to underpin the liberalisation of the economy and help us in our hurry for development and increased production."

Mr Wessels has put his first few months in Zambia to good use. Threading his way through the peach,

The Great Trek Cape Times 20.9.93 over again Afrikanei



FREDERICK CHILUBA: His government is offering vast tracts of wellwatered land to foreigners in a bid to speed up the liberalisation of Zambia's economy.

lemon, lychee, granadilla, guava and mango trees in his garden, he ex-plains why he made the move.

"Because there's rain. I started farming (at Winburg, Free State) in 1979 but, because of drought, we had only three reasonable years. Here it's ideal for farming because of the cli-mate — there's no frost — and the water. You can plant anything here and it grows," he said. His first crop of maize, soya beans and potatoes on his 566-ha farm was planted and harvested with the help of his neighbour, a coloured farmer.

"It surprised me how much more relaxed and friendly relations are here between the races," he said.

Of the hundreds of white South Africans and Zimbabweans who have arrived here in the past two years to survey Zambia's potential, more than 50 have bought 14-year and 99-year leases on land, much of it virgin forest. And the steady trickle continues.

Orania

Dr Guy Scott was the Farm Minister under President Chiluba who pioneered the foreign investment policy. He said: "It's important that Zambia joins the rest of the world. But it's also important that white South Africans don't settle in solid blocks, otherwise there's bound to be political noise."

He added that some of the first visitors from South Africa had thought they could create a copy of Orania whites-only enclave in the northern Cape. "When I looked out of my window, I could see their seven-ton trucks loaded with camping equipment, kids and bath tubs — it really was the Great Trek. Some of these guys, you could see where they had torn their AWB insignia from their shoulders before they crossed the border."

But like Mr Wessels, they are having to overcome preconceptions roll up.

to overcome preconceptions, roll up their sleeves and settle down to hard work. Unlike their Zimbabwean cousins, their future looks fertile — at least while the present government stays in power. — © The Sunday Telestays in power. — [©] The graph Limited, London.

Mandela to be taught 'not to vote for NP'

UITENHAGE. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela would be taught to vote next week so that he would not embarrass the organisation by voting for the National Party, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Addressing an ANC election rally in Kwa Nobhule township near Uitenhage, Mr Ramaphosa told the cheering crowd that he would personally teach Mr Mandela and ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu how to vote so that they would put their cross next to the right party in April next year.

He emphasised the need for an ANC house-to-house voter education campaign and called on all people in the Eastern Cape to get identity documents so that they could vote in the country's first democratic election.

"We must ensure that everyone learns to vote. I've never voted in my life. Comrade Madiba (Mandela) has never voted. Even we must learn to vote. If we do not learn, we may end up putting our cross next to the National Party."

Mr Ramaphosa said people such as Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqoza, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the 15 generals in the Afrikaner Volksfront must not be allowed to prevent the election from taking place.

"The April 27 election will not be stopped by anyone. We will vote whether the IFP likes it or not, whether Oupa Gqozo likes it or not, whether Lucas Mangope likes it or not."

He warned militants in the Afrikaner Volksfront that they could not play "war games" with the future of the country.
Sapa.

1/21

MOIAN PARTY AND INKATHA MERGE

By Sapa and Angela Quintal

THE Indian Reform Party yesterday merged with the Inkatha Freedom Party

Welcoming the merger, which he described as historic, HP president, Chief Mangosuthn Buthelezi, called for unified action between his party and the old Reform Party to secure free enterpose.

federalism and democ-

Speaking in Phoenix a predominantly Indian suburb, where he was also opening an HP branch.

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To merge with IFP

FROM PAGE 1

Chief Buthelezi said his party wanted Indians to contribute to the rebuilding of the Natal/KwaZulu region and South Africa as a whole with their entrepreneurial skills and business acumen.

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP and the Indian community had much in common.

"We both want peace and prosperity... both champion economic pragmatism and political decency... both stand for federalism, pluralism and democracy... both believe in free enterprise and wealth creation."

The Indian Reform Party was established in 1974 as an alternative to the only other Indian political party in South Africa at the time, the Natal Indian Congress.

The IRP's first chairman, Mr Y S Chinsamy, a

respected community leader, handed over leadership of the party 18 months ago because of ill-health to Mr A Romaiall.

Many of South Africa's top Indian politicians, including Mr Farouk Cassim, Mr Amichand Rajbansi and Dr G N Reddy, began their political careers within the IRP.

As many as 12 current parliamentarians were formerly involved in the party.

Although the IRP has no seats in the House of Delegates, many local government officials support or are members of the party.

The IRP under Mr Chinsamy, and the Labour Party's Mr Sonny Leon, approached Chief Minister Buthelezi in 1978 to found the south African Black Alliance.

The IRP was the only alliance structure to join Chief Buthelezi in refusing to participate in the

tri-cameral parliamentary system, introduced by State President P W Botha in 1983.

The Labour Party, under Rev Allan Hendrickse, opted to work within the tri-cameral system. IRP members such as Mr Rajbansi broke away to form the National Peoples' Party, and Dr Reddy formed Solidarity.

As far back as July 1990 Mr. Chinsamy had indicated that the IRP would form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Under the leadership of Mr Romalall, and with the approval of Mr Chinsamy, the IRP disbanded yesterday and merged with the IFP.

It is understood that Chief Buthelezi, accompanied by Mr Cassim and Mr Romalall, visited Mr Chinsamy at the St Augustine's hospital, before yesterday's announcement.

By Angela Quintal Minister, Dr Tertius | Congress. Deiport, last night denied that he was quitting national politics because he refused to serve in a government

of national unity with LOCAL Government the African National

> Dr Delport, National Party MP for Sundays River, told The Citizen while he would not be standing for Parliament

next year, he hoped to serve in regional government, where he could best fulfil the needs of his constituency.

Media reports that he would not serve in any

TO PAGE 2

Delport denial

power-sharing executive with the ANC, but would consider serving a regovernment. gional where no co-operation was envisaged between the ANC and the NP. were "untrue"

"I will stand for a regional Parliament because I feel a greater responsibility towards my constituency." he said.

Even at regional level, there would probably be some form of power-shar-

National Education Minister. Mr Piet Marais, has dismissed reports that

he is considering his position in a government of national unity

"It's pure speculation. I have not made any decision about my future in politics after April 1994.

"I haven't even thought about the matter."

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who joined Dr Delport in stating he would not stand for Parliament next year, was unavailable for comment yesterday.

IMF finance for SA soon

WASHINGTON.—
The International Monetary Fund is likely to be in a position soon to provide financing to South Africa now that apartheid is being dismantled. a senior IMF official disclosed yesterday.

of hope that very soon we will be able to contribute to the financing of South Africa. The told reporters, "We see immense problems to

TO PAGE 2

IMF finance

FROM PAGE 1

tackle in the near fu-

The United States has blocked IMF and World Bank loans to South Africa, but the progress being made there towards ending apartheid is expected to change that in the near future.

The IMF official said that an "enormous" international financing effort would be needed to help South Africa cope

with its difficulties and get rid of the distortions in its economy from apartheid, from transportation to education.

Nearby countries, including Mozambique. Zambia and Namibia, would face problems as well, he said.

Help for South Africa is expected to be one of the issues discussed at the IMF World Bank annual meeting starting in Washington later this week.—Sapa-Reuter.

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The Citizen 20193

[Hostel clash:

One dead

A MAN was stoned to death and two others were wounded yesterday when a group of men clashed with hostel dwellers in Alexandra Township, Witwatersrand spokesman police Major Eugene Opperman said.

The dead man was doused with a flammable substance and then set alight by angry hostel dwellers.

to the According police statement, a group of men entered the hostel just before 6pm and shots were fired at hostel dwellers inside One of the hostel

dwellers was wounded in the legs.

After the shooting. the attackers fled, followed by a large group of hostel dwellers.

One of the attackers was apparently stoned to death in the vicinity of Roosevelt Street and First Avenue. His body was set alight.

Police arrived at the hostel shortly after the clash and hostel dwellers pointed out a wounded man, who, they said, was one of the attackers.

Police found a loaded Tokarev pistol on him and he was arrested. -Sapa.

Page 4

Concern by 'peace walkers' at Natal DURBAN. — Six Wits/Vaal peace committee monitors ended mistrust.

DURBAN. — Six Wits/Vaal peace committee monitors ended a successful 700 km "peace walk" from Johannesburg to Durban yesterday but expressed concern at the lack of peace structures in some of Natal's volatile Midlands townships.

Ezakheni, near Ladysmith, and Estcourt's Wembezi townships were singled out by the six monitors and their support team as the most tense and violent areas they had passed through.

Neither township has a fully operational peace committee.

The monitors left Johannesburg on September 2, National Peace Day, and walked about 40 km a day spreading the message of peace and reconciliation.

"People are hungry for

peace, they're yearning for peace," said the team's co-ordinator Peter Nishona who expressed concern at the tardy progress the National Peace Accord had made in some of Natal's townships.

"We were struck by the lack of the peace message among some of the local areas and we want to emphasise the importance of transferring peace into violent areas."

On band to meet the walkers were about 300 African National Congress and Inkatha supporters who gathered with some of their regional leaders outside Durban's Workshop centre.

Among the six monitors were ANC supporter Victor Mpahleni and Inkatha-supporting Bongi Diamini who said their joint venture should signal to members of their organisations that peaceful co-operation was possible.

"What struck us most was the non-existence of peace accord structures in the Midlands. Because of this there is a high level of mistrust and a lack of communication between opposing parties," said Mr Mpahleni.

Both said Wembezi had been the most volatile township they had walked through: "It was tense and we heard gunshots," said Mr Dlamini.

"Both parties in Wembezi and Ezakheni pointed fingers at the police for fanning the conflict and doing little to end the killings," he added.

Wembezi and Ezakheniare about 80 km apart in
the northern Midlands
and have experienced a
recent upsurge in killings
in the ongoing conflict
there between Jukatha
and ANC supporters.

Countless attempts to establish effective peace committees there have been scuttled by violence or have failed due to numerous obstacles.

Mr Ntshona, meanwhile, said political leaders had to be seen to be working together in these areas and had to visibly support the peace campaign.

"We must also market the peace process far more extensively in areas of violence.

"We need to bring the peace structures to the people who need them most and we need to blanket these areas with the message of peace."

Socio-economic problems had to be urgently addressed in tandem with peace initiatives, he stressed.

Meanwhile, he told the crowd who had come to greet the walkers that they had been overwhelmed by the support from local communities who had come out in force to applaud their effort.

Local business had been a great financial help, he explained.

Mr Ntshona said later there had been no major problems along the way except for a chilly reception at the Cato Ridge hotel which they had left after being made unwelcome by the owner "who was perturbed that Blacks were going to stay there".

The six walkers were: Mr Mpahleni, Mr Dlamini, Prince Kgeletsani, Tebogo Louis, Desmond Kumalo and Thabo Moeketsi. — Sapa

Pta may form a separate region in new S Africa

Citizen Reporter

THE City Council of Pretoria has noted that the Eastern Transvaal Region does not want Pretoria to be included with it under a future dispensation. Pretoria will now look at other alternatives.

The Eastern Transvaal Region Economic Development Forum in Nelspruit tabled a report from the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) at the weekend which stated it would "not be wise" to include Pretoria in the Eastern Transvaal.

A special demarcation committee of the HSRC found that the Eastern Transvaal had developed a political identity of its own which separated it from its neighbours. This was strengthened by the decentralised administrative and political activities in the region.

The inclusion of Pretoria would eventually lead to the problems experienced by an urbanised centre — such as Pretoria — of a higher priority being given to the city than to rural areas.

Other reasons given by the committee were that business and political groups did not want Pretoria included in the region and that international experience had shown that densely populated and industrial areas should not be separated.

The acting chairman of Pretoria's Management Committee, Dr Gerhardt Davidtsz, said Pretoria had taken note of these objections and would now be studying the possibility of becoming a separate region on its own.

He said the city felt it would not be suitable for inclusion into the PWV region as had been proposed by the negotiating forum in Kempton Park.

Pretoria would rather go it alone by including all the areas presently served by the Pretoria Regional Services council into a separate region.

"If this is not possible, we may look at possible inclusion into the Northcrn Transvaal Region," Dr Davidtsz said.

'Affirmative action is needed in Rights Bill

AFFIRMATIVE action was an important principle needed in South Africa's Bill of Rights as the majority of the country's people are seriously disadvantaged. African National Congress media liaison head Mr Carl Niehaus said at the weekend.

"We need to make use of the necessary powers of the legislative to make sure the injustices of the past are corrected," he said.

Mr Niehaus was speak-

ing at a dinner organised for members of the ANC's Department of Publicity and Information and the South African Communication Services (SACS).

South Africa's Whites had to understand just how deep apartheid had hurt, he said.

"There must be an unequivocal commitment to real fundamental and structural change to empower the oppressed people in South Africa."

This change also had to

take place in the area of communication where the SACS was still seen by the vast majority of South Africa's people as a mouthpiece of the government. It would be a major task to change this perception, he said.

Although the ANC had been at the receiving end of some of the worst propaganda and disinformation ever seen, it did not want to unilaterally restructure the SACS.

A future strategy for the SACS must be decided by all the parties involved in the Transitional Executive Council.

Mr Niehaus said the SACS should be restructured by the time a new party took power, as that party might not be able to resist the "temptation of using these structures for its own purposes" - Sapa.

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COSATU backs **ANC** for

LEBOWAKGOMO. -Congress of South African Trade Union (CO-SATU) general sec-retary, Mr Sam Shilowa, yesterday confirmed his federation's support of the African National Congress in South Africa's first all-race elections.

He was addressing more than 2 000 people at a National Union of Mineworkers rally at Lebowakgomo Stadium in Lebowa.

"COSATU is the first labour movement to adopt a freedom charter, therefore the ANC is assured of all votes, even if it needs five million to win (the elec-

Mr Shilowa said the ANC-COSATU-South African Communist Party alliance had agreed to embark on a reconstruction and development programme soon after elections. -Sapa.

Man stoned, set alight

A MAN was stoned to death and two others were wounded yesterday when a group of men clashed with hostel dwellers in Alexandra township.

dra township.

Police said a group of men entered a hostel and fired shots, wounding an inmate. The attackers fled. followed by hostel dwellers. One of the attackers was stoned and set alight.

Police also said the burnt body of a man, whose hands and feet had been bound, was found next to the N3 highway near Alberton yesterday. — Sapa.

B/Day. 20/9/93

Insurance broker asks ANC for indemnity

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE ANC had been approached by former Springbok cricketer and Johannesburg insurance broker Dennis Gamsy to investigate possible indemnity from prosecution on 30 counts of foreign exchange fraud, the organisa-

tion confirmed yesterday.

However, spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC could not confirm that it supported the granting of the indemnity to the well-known insurance company owner.

Gamsy is charged with illegally sending R5.7m to bank accounts in London, and has aiready appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court five times in connection with the alleged crimes. He has not yet been asked to plead, but it is believed that he intends pleading not guilty on all counts.

His court appearances all took place at 8am, thus escaping the attention of the media. His first court

appearance was on October 30 last year.

"All we can say at this stage is that we have been approached by Gamsy and we will look into the matter of possible indemnity," Niehaus said.

Legal sources said yesterday that although it was unlikely that fraud could warrant indemnity, it was possible that Gamsy's publicised involvement in multiracial sport could give the ANC a reason to agree to take up the matter.

Gamsy would not comment yesterday, and family members said the media should contact ANC legal repre-

sentative Matthew Phosa about the matter.

Phosa could not be reached, but the Sunday Times quoted him saying that he had the impression that the circumstances surrounding Gamsy's indictment were political.

"If I find a loophole, I am ethically bound to help

Gamsy," he said.

Gamsy told the Sunday Times that he had resigned as a member of the board of his company, Gamsy Insurance

Affirmative action 'in Bill of Rights'

was an important principle needed in SA's Bill of Rights as the majority of the country's people were seriously disadvantaged.

ANC media liaison head Carl Niehaus said at the weekend.

"We need to make use of the necessary powers of the legislative to make sure the injustices of the past are corrected." he said.

Niehaus was speaking at a dinner organised between members of the ANC's department of publicity and information and the gov-

communication Services.

SA's white minority had to understand just how deeply apartheid had hurt, Niehaus said.

"There must be an unequivocal commitment to real fundamental and structural change to empower the oppressed people in South Africa."

This change also had to take place in the area of communication, where the SACS was still seen by most people as a mouthpiece of the NP government.

A strategy for the SACS

must be decided by all the parties involved in the Transitional Executive Council.

Niehaus said the SACS should be restructured by the time a new party took power, as that party might not be able to resist the "temptation of using these structures for its own purposes".

SACS head David Venter said the restructuring process must take place without delay. "The most important penance we can pay is to become an agent of change." — Sapa.

B/Day 20/9/93

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UlTENHAGE -- ANC president Nelson Mandela would be taught to vote next week so that he would not embarrass the organisation by voting for the NP, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Sapa reports Ramaphosa said at an ANC election rally in KwaNobhule township near Uitenhage that he would personally teach Mandela and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu how to vote so that they would put their cross next to the correct party in April next year.

He emphasised the need for an ANC house to house voter education campaign and called on all people in the eastern Cape to get identity documents so that they could vote in the country's first democratic election.

"We must ensure that everyone learns to vote. I've never voted in my life. Comrade Madiba (Mandela) has never voted. Even we must learn to vote. If we do not learn we may end up putting our cross next to the NP."

Hamaphosa said people such as Ciskei military dictator Brig Oupa Gqoza, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the 15 generals in the Afrikaner Volksfront must not be allowed to hold the country to ransom. They could not prevent the election taking place.

While boosting the ANC's Eastern Cape election campaign over the weekend, Ramaphosa coined a new election slogan: "One President, One

Our Port Elizabeth correspondent reports that Ramaphosa warned Buthelezi he had no choice but to return to the negotiating table or be "left howling outside".

Speaking in Zwide township near Port Elizabeth on Saturday, Ramaphosa said: "I want to tell them nothing can stop the election. The Conservative Party and Inkatha left the negotiations thinking we would stop the negotiations. We did not. Inkatha ran to court and did not succeed.

"We told them the train is moving. We have told them that we are prepared to stop the negotiation train at the next stop for them to re-embark, and if they refuse, the train will move on and leave them behind."

Parliament set for historic week

Parties at the crossroads as TEC looms

CAPE TOWN — Parliament faces one of its most significant weeks as MPs prepare to pass laws that will heraid a new phase in SA's history.

Of the four Bills already approved by multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, the most crucial will set up the transitional executive council (TEC). This will shift power over critical areas of government from the current executive to the parties involved in negotiations.

The passing of the Bill is expected to trigger the lifting of sanctions, which have been part of economic life for decades.

The new laws will come into being as international financiers meet in Washington for the IMF and World Bank AGMs, where government and ANC leaders will press for investment and aid packages.

ANC president Nelson Mandela will address the UN on Friday and is expected to cite the TEC's establishment as good cause for the UN to abandon its sanctions stand.

Sapa reports that a senior IMF official said last night the IMF was likely to be in a position soon to provide financing to SA. He said an "enormous" international effort would be needed to help SA cope and get rid of distortions in its economy.

As the political landscape changes and the election nears, unprecedented manneuvring is taking place in most of SA's political parties.

The PAC was locked in discussions yesterday about whether to take its place in the TEC structures and elections. Central to these discussions was the question of the PAC suspending its armed struggle.

The PAC's discussions are likely to have

TIM COHEN

far-reaching consequences for the organisation, particularly its negotiators who are understood to be pressing for participation in TEC structures and the election.

☐ The NP's members are deciding whether to take part in national or regional elections. Already two Cabinet Ministers, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Local Government Minister Tertius Delport, have declared they will not stand for the national assembly, preferring to run for regional parliaments.

☐ The DP is expecting more defections to the ANC by its city councillors. The party has also been rocked by bruising publicity about an abortive party leadership bid by Houghton MP Tony Leon and the heaith of leader Zach de Beer.

☐ The Labour Party is likely to distand and throw in its lot with the ANC. Leader Allan Hendrickse has decided not to stand for re-election at the party's December congress and at least half Labour's members are set to join the ANC.

Labour Party members said vesterday that MPs Desmond Lockey and Moza Theron had already joined the ANC and some colleagues, including the party leader's son Pieter Hendrickse, were likely to follow. Hendrickse said the ANC was the only party that had the capacity to save SA from the mess into which the NP had plunged it.

The passing of the TEC Bill will also place severe pressure on the CP and Inkatha Freedom Party, which have expressed strenuous opposition to the TEC.

BIDay

20/9/93

'Third force behind murders in Natal'

E OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban - The ANC has charged that a "third milles in military-style operations in Umbumbu-In on the Natal Sound

The allegation followed the slaying of five nagging of the parties of the pure Sound

Coast spokesman Monty toodley said the armond the slaying of five and men swooped on the ed men swooped on the in on the Natal South were shot by runmen have anything to do with the conflict between the .צום שעש חדד.

These attacks are carried out with military precision and by trained murderers. We believe it is no coincidence that these attacks fullow so closely on peace being restored to the Umbumbulu area."

The five dead were letta Nkindla (30), Gletta Nkindla Myolisi Shazi (13), Pinke Shazi (0), Bahle Shazi (21) and Bhekumuzi Mkhize (35). They

a series which have been taking place in the lim-bumbulu area after concerted efforts by the ANC and IFP to bring about peace, he said.
The ANC was ex-

tremely concerned about the attacks, which were aimed at sowing terror in communities.

コニュー

MK, Apla commanders meet in Zimbabwe

BEY KAIZER NYATSUMBA AND STAR AFRICA SERVICE

the ANC and the PAC begin a spucial two-day meeting in Harare today on "matters related to the transitional process", including the proposed natural peacekeeping force.

The talks, which take place at a time when the South African Parliament is expected to pass the Transtional Executive Council Bill into law, are understood to also include military leaders from some longlands.

leaders from some homelands.

The TEC's sub-council on defence makes provision for the establishment of a national peauchceping force, believed to be the issue at the top of the agendar of luday's meeting harmens.

tween the two armies.

Umknown washing (ME) as sistant chief of staff Chris Pepani told The Star that chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda had led a top-level MK delegation to the talks with the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apia) high

command

Pepani described it as "just a bilateral meeting to share ideas relating to the transitional process", and revealed the Marketing with both Apia and other armed

with both Apla and other armed formations in the pixe.

The Black of that PAC president Clarence Makwetu had "fully briefed" President Robert Mugabe about today's meeting during his visit to that county

Mugabe about today's meeting during his visit to that country lost wask.

The spin delegation united in the correct country had sansat talks with Transkei Detence rorus country mander Major Central T T Matanzima in Zimbabwe last week, is led by chief of staff Barner Mzolo.

Mzolo.

The Herald said plans were alsoused for a joint manifest military chiefs from Clakel. Venda, Dophuthatswans and Transkoi with the commanders of April 2018 and Mr. The paper said the Inkatha Freedom Party might also be invited.

23 slain in E Rand townships

E BY ANNA LOUW and CHARMEELA SHAGOWAT

At least 23 people died in violent attacks in East Rand townships at the weekend.

A police spokesman said most of the violence occurred in Katlehong and Tokoza, but at tacks were also reported in Davoyton and Tombies

Most of the victims died of gunshot wounds, the spokes-

In what appeared to be the first unrest death in Alexandra for many months, a man was stoned and his body set alight by hostel dwellers.

However, the security task group of Alexandra's Interim Crisis Committee (ICC) said last night's killing did not appear to be politically motivated.

The killing came after a

The killing came after a march by hostel dwellers through the township. Police liaison officer Captalu

Police liaison office: Captain Eugene Opperman said that minutce after the attack, police of neers had arrested an injured man near the hostel and had confiscated a loaded Tonarev pistol.

According to the ICC, the incident in Alexandra began as a quarrei inside the M2 (Nobuhie) hostel.

On the East Rand, three people were arrested when police found two AK-47s and a pistol in Daveyton.

Two men were arrested after police recovered an AK-47 in Tembisa.

A house was set on fire in Twala Section in Katlehong.

A Tokoza resident said he saw two men shot dead by a group of gunmen while he was standing to make it is a said he saw two men shot dead by a group of gunmen while he was saturday.

Katlehong residents had to return to the township before sunset on Saturday because of the violence.

SA joins the world in marking Peace Day

E BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

Tomorrow is International Peace Day and South Africans of all persuasions have been asked to commit themselves to peace in the community of nations.

In a continuing effort for peace, the National Peace Campaign has called on all religious communities, schools and workers' organisations to hold peace services.

The UN General Assembly, which also opens in New York tomorrow, has asked all countries to renew their commitment to peace, a UN spokesman said in Jonannesourg yesterday.

A campaign statement said individuals and groups should feel free to organise services where they are and liaise with religious leaders, irrespective of their denominations.

"International Peace Day will give us the opportunity to demonstrate to the whole world that South Africans are a peace loving people ..." the statement says.

"The National Peace Campaign calls on every individual to become a peace campaigner by arganising services in their community and context and not wait for someone else to do it."

No peace bodies in some Natal areas

Committee monitors ended a successful 700 km "peace walk" from Johannesburg to Durban yesterday but expressed concern at the lack of peace structures in some of Natal's Midlands townships.

Ezakheni, near Ladyomith, and Estcourt's Wembezi township were singled out by the six monitors and their support team as the most volatile areas they had passed through. Neither township has a fully operational peace committee.

The monitors left Johannesbury on September 2, National Peace Day, and walked about 40 km a day spreading the mes-



sage of reconciliation.
"People are hungry for peace. they're yearning for peace," said the team's co-ordinator Peter Ntchona.

Among the six monitors were ANC supporter Victor Mpahleni and Inkatha supporter Bongi Dlamini, who said their joint venture should signed to members of their organisations that peaceful co-operation was possible.

I'll teach Mandela to vote – Ramaphosa

Uitenhage — ANC president Nelson Mandela would be taught to vote so that he would not embarrass the organisation by voting for the National Party, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Addressing an ANC election rany in the state of the crowd that he would personally teach Mandela and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu how to vote.

He emphasized the need for an ANC house-to-house voter education campaign and called on all people in the Eastern Cape to get identity documents so they could vote in the counWe must ensure that every one learns to vote. I've never voted in my life. Comrade Madiba (Mandela) has never voted. Even we must learn to vote. If we do not learn we may end up putting our cross next to the Na-

Ramaphosa said people such as Ciskei military dictator Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangopo. Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the 15 generals in the Afrikaner Volksfront must not be allowed to prevent the election from taking place.—Sapa.

Cosatu members 'will vote ANC'

Lebowakgamo — Congress of South African Trade Union general secretary Sam Shilowa confirmed his federation's support for the ANC in South Africa's first all-race elections.

He was addressing more than 2 000 people at a National Union of Mineworkers raily in Lebowa yesterday. "Cosatu is the first la-

bour movement to adopt a freedom charter, therefore the ANC is accounted of all votes, even if it needs five million to win (the elections)," he said.

Shilows said the ANC-Cosatu-South African Communist Party alliance had agreed to embark on a reconstruction programme soon after elections.—Sapa

A coherent thesis, but not the final word

POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA, by John Kane-Berman (SAIRR, R34,20)

PRODUCING a book which attempts to identify the root causes of violence in SA is not a task for the faint-hearted. Chances are you are going to anger at least two, and possibly all three, of the main political blocs. This is especially so when, as SA Institute of Race Relations director (and Business Day columnist) John Kane-Berman has done, your primary target is the largest of those.

Kane-Berman has often faced unpleasant accusations - of being an applogist of Inkatha or worse - and this book will provoke yet more. None of these personal attacks is justified. His standing as an independent thinker remains unblemished. His arguments should be judged on their merits.

Kane-Berman's points of departure in this book will not be surprising to those who know him. The NP and its apartheid policies, and the repressive and violent measures used to enforce that policy, represent the "original sin" - the original source and cause of violence.

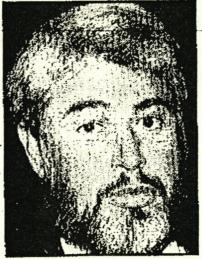
He briefly considers the contribution of poverty to violence. He devotes more attention to the "third force" theory used by the ANC and its allies. Probably his primary intention is to refute those self-serving ANC attempts to put the blame for

the violence anywhere but on their own shoulders, sometimes by portraying President F W de Klerk himself as the co-ordinator of third force activities.

He proceeds to the main theme tracing the development of "people's war" and the campaign to make the townships ungovernable adopted by the ANC in exile and the United Democratic Front at home. These strategies, "adopted in the struggle against apartheid, and the moral climate in which they were adopted" from around September 1984, represent Kane-Berman's primary explanation for the sorry state of SA.

He traces consumer, rent and school boycotts and the work stayaways of the period, and the coercive methods used to enforce them. He examines the campaigns against black local authorities to force their resignation, and the casualties suffered by those who refused to comply. He looks at the systematic programme of assassination of local Inkatha Freedom Party leaders. A further manifestation of that strategy was, and is, attacks on policemen.

He also focuses on those (like the SA Council of Churches) who, he says, legitimised violent political action and others (like large sections of the media and other faint-hearted white liberals) who failed to highlight the methods being used in the struggle against apartheid.



DKANE-BERMAN

Unlike the "tap" theory put forward by those who argue that the controllers of the "third force" can switch the violence on and off, he argues that the ANC has discovered that "violence, once turned on, was very difficult to turn off".

As far as the development of "people's war" is concerned, Kane-Berman's exposition may still be incomplete. There is still no clear explanation of how ANC supporters on the East Rand and in Nafal have come to be so heavily armed. There remain those romantic revolutionaries in the organisation's top leadership who talk the language of people's war. Perhaps we will one day know to what extent since 1990 they translated their words into deeds and exacerbated the spiral of violence. It would certainly fit into Kane-Berman's methodical and internally coherent framework.

But there are other ways in which this book is incomplete. Some of his arguments - for example, linking particular violent incidents to specific meetings or statements - are as tendentious as those employed by some "third force" protagonists. Further, his treatment of the "third force" phenomenon remains unsatisfactory. Ironically, no one has done more than the ANC to discredit the theory. It has done so by the hyperbolic terms in which it has presented its views - presenting the third force as a highly and widely organised government project designed to weaken the ANC or even to cause the collapse of negotiations and thus leave the NP in power. Kane-Berman concedes that "so Machiavellian a strategy would be compatible with the known dishonesty, corruption and brutality of apartheid rule, so it is as well to keep an open mind".

But this concession only bullds upon an already weakly constructed straw man. The real "third force" phenomenon that needs consider-

ation is the small, highly trained, closely knit and multiracial groups of former or present security force members and civilian volunteers determined to derail the democratisation process. By its very nature, there is little concrete evidence of the existence of such groups, so it is impossible to assign a precise weight to them in the overall incidence of violence. But there are so many viocribed simply to political rivalry that the circumstantial that the circumstantial evidence of that the circumstantial evidence of such a third force is extremely powerful.

The final area neglected is the role in the violence of ethnic mobilisation and the vested interests of homeland leaders and administrators who may lose their power in a democracy. Kane-Berman portrays violence committed by Inkatha elements as purely defensive reactions to ANC alliance aggression. In many cases this is so. But, given that ethnic chauvinism is becoming the primary cause of violence in the "new world order", its role in SA bears close examination, as do the traditional and political structures which bred SA's own class of warlords.

Kane-Berman has made a valuable contribution to the debate on the roots of violence, focusing on a sorely neglected factor. But the definitive account is yet to be written.

ALANFINE

B/Day 20/9/93

MONDAY 20 SEPTEMBER

BUTHELEZI

There was no progress at last week's Government-KwaZulu summit, argues Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatsumba

FW in KwaZulu quandary

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi approached his crucial meeting with President de Klerk on Thursday with any hope that some of his demands might be met, then he must have left Cape Town a disappointed man.

For Buthelezi must have known he had said at the beginning of the meeting he did not think there was much the two leaders could talk about -- that chances of De Klerk giving in to his comprehensive de mands were slim if not non-existent.

And not just because De Klerk is unwilling to make more concessions to the IFP leader whom he is now desperately trying to appease in an effort to woo him back into negotiations, but because he is simply unable to accommodate the KwaZulu Chief Minister more than he and the ANC have already done.

Ruthelezi's 10-page "preliminary remarks" - which he makes at the beginning of every important meeting he holds - to De Klerk on Thursday were very revealing. More than anything else, they indicated clearly what Buthelezi sees as his bottom line, and showed yet again that nothing anybody does will satisfy him.

In what can only be described as a terrible dressing down to be Klerk.

Huthelezi demanded nothing less than the scrapping of the present multiparty negotiations and agreements reached in that process, notably the holding of South Africa's first all-inclusive elections on April 27.

By so doing, he put De Klerk in a tight corner; while he is eager to accommodate Buthelezi and to the process keep his own National Party together, the concessions the chief now asks for are simply not his to give.

Vehicles

But back to the "preliminary remarks". Buthetezt sees these as vehicles for him to put his own concerns and priorities upfront, thereby ensuring the things he holds dear are discussed in the meetings.

His interlocutors, however, see them differently. ANC president Nelson Maudela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, foreign leaders and ambassadors based here have often found themselves vehemently criticised and chided in Buthelezi's "preliminary remarks" before meetings with him.

Depending on the outcome of the meeting, such statements are sometimes not released to the press. And so the fact that Buthelezi found it necessary to release his preliminary statement on Thursday, only about

an hour before the end of the meeting, was the first signal that not all had gone well at Thynhuys.

Clearly, Buthelezi Is unhappy about what he sees as the Government's collusion with the ANC at the expense of his party, and he said so to De Klerk. He is upset that negotiations have gone on without the IFP and KwaZulu while they were halted following the ANC's uttledrawal from Codesa 2 last year, and he said so.

He accused Government negotiators of not understanding "black polltics", accused the Government of having moved away from policies it once shared with the IFP, accused Pretoria of not taking seriously what be says, said the agreed-upon transitional executive council could take actions which "could crash the financial operation and institutional autonomy of the KwaZulu government", and that his government would not implement agreements reached in the Negotlating Council.

He is also resentful about the international credit going to the Govenument and the ANC for progress in negotiations, and condemns "the smiling, the receiving of (awards) and boastings that the talks were still within the time frames that were agreed upon between the Government and the ANC/SACP alllance".

Then he dropped the bombshelt:

negotiations must be halted and a national constitutional convention be called "to review the negotlations mess we are in".

He told De Klerk and members of his Cabinet: "We must now pause and reconsider what is happening in negotiations. That is probably the only reason for my being here today.

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African Government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here."

Blackmall

Increasingly isolated here and abroad, Buthelezi then resorted to emotional blackmail and the kind of threats he has recently been making: he would resign as IFP leader if the party's general conference decided against his wish to return to negotlations, and Pretoria would be responsible for "the dramatic consequences" if it did not heed his calls.

But if Buthelezi is such a democrat, why would be resign and not ablde by the decision of the majority of IFP members if they voted in favour of co-operation with other parties and organisations? Ifis threats are hardly necessary.

Political observers know, and some of his top Cabinet Ministers privately agree, that he is the driving force behind the IFP and that that party's general conference and the IFP's central committee often endorse whatever he wants He need not fear that they might go against him.

Buthelezi has now dared public opinion here and in the international community to do their damnedest.

"No amount of pressure from within or from the international commualty will have any effect on me. I cannot be pressurised into persuading the people of this region (Natal-KwaZulu) to commit sufcide," he said.

From a man who used to be sensithe to gentle proddings from Washington IX, London and Bonn, Itals is very worrisome.

South Africans should not be fooled by De Klerk's smiles at the end of the sunmit, the joint committees agreed upon and the undertaking to meet again. No progress was registered at what sources described as an acrimonlous meeting.

It is now important for De Klerk to consider the options open to him to give legitimacy to agreements reached in negotiations, and calling a national and all-inclusive referendum night be the answer.

The Star

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Road ends for AVU

The collapse of the AVU removes a sane voice for the Afrikaner Right from the negotiating process

HE Afrikaner Volksunie without Andries Beyers? That is Hamlet without the Prince. Beyers was prime mover behind the AVU and its chairman for the whole year-and-a-bit of its existence. Now he, too, has quit, latest and last of the party's handful of MPs to leave, and with him go the remaining shreds of credible right-wing representation at Kempton Park.

In August last year the AVU looked like a powerful force in the making, and an encouraging one. It set out to bring a sense of modesty and a spirit of adaptation to the right wing's core demand for a brand of self-determination, and sought to stage a moderate takeover of the Conservative Party from which it broke away.

Its dream is now moribund, if not technically dead. This is a pity. A reasonable Right is a necessity in the unfolding process, and the AVU at its birth held forth the promise of growing into a super-reasonable Right. With the AVU's virtual demise, that spirit loses ground and loses face. Worse, the Negotiating Council takes another step towards the invidious fate of finally becoming a cosy clan of the centrists, leaving the disaffected extremes resentful on the outside.

The right wing is self-evidently a minority in every segment of the population, but it is a minority to be neither derided nor dismissed. The collapse of the AVU makes it that much there difficult to keep the Right connected to the mainstream process. Which means it is that much more necessary for all the rest of us to try.

The demise of the AVU coincides with signs of renewed activity by the fanatical AWB. On a more positive note, however, Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen is known to have had discussions with Nelson Mandela of the ANC. Their dialogue must be nurtured and encouraged.

More than arm-wrestling

ontroversy over the in-troduction of a multimul-lion rands cellular telephone network in South Africa threatens to build into yet another full-scale political confrontation in the tense count-down to the April 27 election.

On the surface it looks like just another arm-wrestling match between the political combatants," says one insider. "But the bets going down on who wins are running into me-gabucks. The stakes are

There are deepening suspi-cions that there are undercur-rents of complex high finance intrigue below the squabbles between the Government and the ANC/Cosatu alliance.

On one side, the Government has voiced its determination to stick to a deacline of Septem-ber 30 to close bidding and set about deciding the winners of the two R100 million licences it intends awarding to two busi-ness consoctia that will run cellular phone systems in direct competition.

ANC secretary-general Cyru Ramaphosa is equally determined to scrap the dendline and refer the whole issue for more discussion at the national negotiating council at the World Trude Centre at Kemp-

He has warned of "scrious consequences" if the Govern-

ment goes allead.
An ANC/Cosatu delegation has hinted at the risk that any deals struck between the Government with operators now could be cancelled by the next government.
The threat of a reversal of

agreements has shaken not only the Government.

Among the first to react was Computer Sciences Corporation of the United States. which has laid plans to investment millions of rands in a contract with Allied Technologies to develop management systems for network opera-

THE Government has confirmed it is standing firm on its timetable to introduce a multimillion rands cellular phone network, despite heavy Flak from the ANC/Cosatu alliance. Michael Chester reports

CSC manager Derek Arnold. siready in South Africa to work out details, said: "If the present threats to derail this process materialise, we, as for-eign investors, will back off completely in terms of our involvement with South Africa.

However, he was confident that the State would bonour its commitments.

initial capital investment in hardware is expected to run above RS00 million with milions more to be ploughed into the comal running of the net-TOOKE.

The first prize, of course, is wanning one of the two licences

According to insiders, it already looks cut and dried that



"unilateral reconstruction".

one licence will go to a consor-tium known as Vodscom — 50 percent owned by Telkom, and balance shared between the Vodafone company of Brit-niu and Dr Anton Rupert's

Rembrandt group.
The hot favourite for the second licence is Mobile Telephone Networks, a consortium formed between M-Net, the LK-based Cable and Wireless, the Transnet subsidiary Transtel, and - with a sharp eye on black business participation - National African Telecommunications (Naftel) and the Foundation for African Busipass and Consumer Services (Fabcos).

Insiders add that the Goverament also looks set to fayour phone systems based on digital rather than analogue technology — the Global Sys-tem for Mobile Communications (CSM) standard which most overseas countries have

selected.
ANC information services chief Andile Ngonon believes the system is unnecessarily expensive. He strongly supports a delay in the launch of the new networks to allow deeper consideration of alternative technologies that he be-lieves would be "more appro-priate" to South Africa.

Vodacom chief executive Alan Knott-Craig retorts: "It has taken 100 years to provide about 3.2 million telephones in South Africa, and still only 1 percent of black families have one in their homes " Faster action was crucial

The two new actworks promised access to telephone services to no less than 70 percent of the population, even in the most remote rural villages, within five years. Affordability would be ensured by special community services, where the expense of celiular phones sidles and overall costs shured by entire villages.

There would be 30 000 jobs created.

Many eyebrows have been raised at hints that several ANC critics favour a single network that should stay under total State control

Rumours and speculation are rife as the controversy builds into a storm. Many of the rumours swir! wound the These investment Corporation, which has links with the ANC hierarchy

Thebe is also believed to be closely linked with a new company called Sun Telecommunications. which has made known it is anxious to secure a cellular phone nerwork licence. but so far has lodged no actual lender. Suntel claims it can easily raise as much as \$1,5 billion (R5 111 billion) from overseas sources, if nec-

in turn. Thebe bas airrady forged ties with the US hi-tech giant Digital Equipment Corporation, which observers see as a major potential bidder for network contracts.

Postmaster-General Ters Oosthuizen confirmed at the end of a mid-week meeting of the Cabinet that the September 30 deadline for tenders was standing firm

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, bitter about untiateral reconstruction of the telecommunications industry" remains equally adamant that the hidding process should be suspended to allow full consultative debate over brand new strategies.

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Transitional Executive Council Bill began its rough passage through Parliament today, taking South Africa a step closer to elections and clearing the way for the lifting of remaining sanctions.
The TEC debate comes as

major parties enter a period of extreme flux prompted by the new impetus from the World Trade Centre. Realignments and internal power shifts are under way across the political spectrum.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will pilot the vital TEC Bill - providing for a multiparty watchdog mechanism during the election campaign - through two days of debate in the short parliamentary session.

The TEC Bill is the third chunk of World Trade Centreprepared legislation to be placed before tricameral MPs. It is expected to run into vodiferous opposition, especially from the Conservative Party, but TEC supporters enjoy a clear majority.

Attention will also focus on the position of Inkatha Freedom Party MPs in the debate. The tone of their contributions will be a barometer of Government-IFP relations in the wake of talks between President de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi last week.

But parliamentary approval is only the first step.

It was agreed at the World Trade Centre that the legislation would be put on hold until a plenary session of negotiators has approved the entire "package", including the TEC Bill and the interim constitution. If all goes according to schedule, that

THE TEC Bill can expect vociferous opposition, but its supporters are in a solid majority

meeting of negotiating parties' leaders could take place towards the end of October.

Meanwhile significant decisions are facing a number of parties:

The IFP is expected to decide at its October 2 central committee meeting whether to soften its boycott of transitional arrangements.

The Pan Africanist Congress is already debating its own participation in the TEC and elections.

The Afrikaner Volksunie has lost its founding fathers and its future is uncertain.

There are continuing tensions over leadership and rumours of defection in the Democratic Party.

The Labour Party is on its last legs following the announcement by Rev Allan Hendrickse that he will not seek to be re-elected to the leadership - and large-scale defections to the ANC are now expected.

Debates persist in the National Party over whether the NP's negotiating team has adopted a sufficiently tough approach.

Esther Waugh reports that the ANC is linking the proposed lifting of sanctions to a comprehensive international and local drive for development assistance.

The ANC wants potential investors to start preparing now for an immediate "push" once the political conditions have been fulfilled.

MK, Apla commanders meet in Zimbabwe

E BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA AND STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Leaders of the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC begin a crucial two-day meeting in Harare today on "matters related to the transitional process", including the proposed national peacekeeping force.

The talks, which take place at a time when the South African Parliament is expected to pass the Transdonal Executive Council Bill into law, are understood to also include military leaders from some homelands.

The TEC's sub-council on defence makes provision for the establishment of a national peacekeeping force, believed to be the issue at the top of the agenda of today's meeting between the two armies.

Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) assistant chief of staff Chris Pepani told The Star that chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda had led a top-level MK delegation to the talks with the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) high command.

Pepani described it as "just a bilateral meeting to share ideas relating to the transitional process", and revealed the MK leadership had held similar meetings with both Apla and other armed formations in the past.

The Zimbabwe Herald newspaper reported that PAC president Clarence Makwetu had "fully briefed" President Robert Mugabe about today's meeting during his visit to that country last week.

The Apla delegation, which reportedly held secret talks with Transkei Defence Force commander Major-General TT Matanzima in Zimbabwe last week, is led by chief of staff Barney Mzolo.

The Herald said plans were discussed for a joint meeting of military chiefs from Ciskei. Venda, Bophuthatswana and Transkei with the commanders of Apla and MK. The paper said the Inkatha Freedom Party might also be invited.

Growing tension over police union

E BY BRONWYN WILKINSON

As temperatures continue to rise between the SAP and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Poperu), the union claims its members are facing increasing pressure from the SAP to give up their Poperu membership.

Poperu believes the SAP has become more threatened by the union since the organisation's march on Johannesburg's John Vorster Square last month.

At least 116 Poperu members face severe disciplinary action for taking part in the march, during which marchers reportedly chanted "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" and "One settler, one bullet".

Poperu spokesman Monwabisi Moto said recently that dismissal of the policemen who took part in the march would not make sense and added the men had been targeted because they were members of the union.

"The SAP claims it will do anything to stop crime and violence. It needs policemen; why fire trained policemen just for taking part in a march?"

Weaken

The official recognition of the union was the subject of heated debate in Parliament last week.

Police have announced that a pilot committee has been set up to investigate the establishment of another police union. Poperu believed the SAP were planning to establish the second union to weaken Poperu, Moto said.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze has denied that the second union would be set up purely as a Poperu rival.

Moto said the recent announcement that 13 000 assistant constables were to be integrated into the Permanent Force if they fit the criteria, or placed in civilian positions, was yet another means the SAP was using to rid its ranks of Poperu members or intimidate them into resigning from the union.

Poperu's strongest support base is among assistant constables.

Kotze denied the allegation.

Mandela, Sisulu to be taught how to vote

UITENHAGE. — African National Congress president Mr Mr Nelson Mandela would be taught to vote next week so that he would not embarrass the organisation by voting for the National Party, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday

Addressing an ANC election rally in KwaNobuhle township near here, Mr Ramaphosa told the cheering crowd that he would personally teach Mr Mandela and ANC chairman Mr Walter Sisulu how to vote so that they would put their cross next to the right party in April next year.

He called for a house-to-house voter education

campaign. - Sapa

FW: 'I would do it all again'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent

"I WOULD do it all again," President F W de Klerk said at the weekend of his first four years in office — which changed the face of South Africa.

"It was the only alternative that could have succeeded for South Africa," he said of the momentous changes in political, social and economic thinking in government that he had initiated since assuming office in September 1989.

Mr De Klerk told Rapport that the goals he had set in his inauguration speech were starting to succeed.

Most parties now supported reconciliation as a goal, the negotiation process was on course and the economy was being opened up.

But a number of problems and disappointments remained. Violence had not declined to acceptable levels and there was still much understandable insecurity and unease in society.

However, he was convinced these problems would be addressed once a final agreement was reached at negotiations.

He said the most important perception needing to be destroyed was that "the ANC and all its wild elements will take over all power in the country and be able to make and break as they please".

No party winning the election would be able to do as it pleased, as South Africa was moving towards a system in which no central government or State President would be able to enjoy as many powers as at present.

Mr De Klerk said that despite the current "growth pains of the transitional phase", he envisaged a period after the election of "almost abnormal security".

No holding of Cape Times 20 Sept. 1993, SA to ransom

PORT ELIZABETH.

— The ANC would not allow the right-wing parties and IFP léader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to hold the country to ransom, ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

He said any attempts to disrupt the April 27,

1994 election would not be tolerated by the ANC and nobody should have any illusions about this date, including the National Party.

Mr Ramaphosa was addressing more than 5 000 people at a rally at the Dan Qeqe Stadium, Zwide, on Saturday. He spent the weekend in the Eastern Cape to boost the ANC's election campaign.

The right-wing had 15 generals who said they were prepared to ing outside".

ANC vows to fight petrol hike

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC secretarygeneral Mr Cyril Ramaphosa vowed the ANC would fight the petrol price hike.

Addressing an ANC rally at Zwide township on Saturday, Mr Ramaphosa warned that taxi organisations and trade unions would prevent the implementation of petrol hikes. "We will not accept the government imposing such a decision on us without majority consent," he told the 5 000-strong crowd.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC would continue to fight the government's decision to issue cellular telephone licences to international businesses.

The ANC has expressed outrage at what it described as the government's "secret moves" to introduce legislation to deregulate public telecommunications and postal services during the present session of Parliament. — Sapar

1994 election would not be tolerated by the ANC and nobody Mr Ramaphosa said.

"We must warn the generals that if they think they are going to hold the country to ransom they are making a big mistake. The same applies to the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Azanian People's Party."

Mr Ramaphosa said Chief Buthelezi must return to the negotiating table "or be left howling outside" Also, people who wanted to vote in kwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei would do so de spite the opposition of the home land leaders, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the new government would "be under pressure with problems it cannot solve overnight".

A reconstruction programme was needed. "People have no houses. Many townships have no tarred roads and houses have no electricity."

Tutu seeks IFP, ANC summit

DURBAN. — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu says there has not been a total breakdown in relations between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and that he and Methodist bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba were working to bring them together again if necessary.

Archbishop Tutu was speaking at a news conference after he and Dr Mogoba had met the Inkatha Freedom Party president and its chief executive officer, Mr Joe Matthews, here on Saturday.

"We've been gratified by reports that have indicated the common perception of a total breakdown is wrong," Archbishop Tutu said.

He said many agreements reached at Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi's summit in June were being implemented.

Among these was the establishment of teams to negotiate on constitutional matters and violence, Mr Matthews said.

"We've already held ANC/IFP bilaterals on constitutional matters. Sub-committees were appointed to identify areas of difficulty in negotiations. They are continuing," he said.

The important agreement to hold joint ANC/IFP presidential rallies in areas racked by political violence had not been implemented although there had been some joint initiatives at local level, Mr Matthews said. — Sapa, Political Staff