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THE MEDIA

Cape Times 15.4.94

James McClurg

SELDOM in South Africa's troubled history have so many hopes and fears been concentrated so largely on one man of conspicuously volatile temperament.

Writing in Die Burger on the eve of the arrival of the international mediators, Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town's department of political studies said pure pique was the best explanation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's attitude.

As a man of great pride and dignity he was unable to endure the last and worst humiliation of the transition, namely a hiding from the African National Congress at the polls on his home ground.

He had missed the bus and there was now no possibility of his being able to climb on at the last moment.

"During his long political career one has learned not to underestimate him.

"This time, however, it looks as though he has overplayed his hand."

Professor Welsh conceded that some of Chief Buthelezi's grievances were valid.

Rapport called on leaders to seek a political solution with renewed strength of purpose.

The thinking and worried public asked of its leaders an honest understanding of one another and a tempering of expectations that had been shown to be unattainable.

Debi prophecy quickly fulfilled

THIS column took leave last week to prophesy that the taxpayer would be made to bale out the virtually bankrupt Democratic Broadcast Initiative (Debi) which was supposedly to be financed out of international funds but ran out of money.

This prophecy was all too swiftly fulfilled. Following a dispute between Debi and

Hopes and fears concentrated on one man



— By Fred Mouton of Die Burger

Carrington is sent

Mail Foreign Service

SOUTH AFRICA was braced for more bloodshed last night after the collapse of Lord Carrington's peace mission.

The former Foreign Secretary admitted failure in his efforts to lift the threat of violence from the country's first all-race elections.

His mediation group, which arrived 36 hours earlier, was unable to persuade Zulu nationalists to drop their boycott of the polls later this month. Lord Carrington said: 'The fact that it has failed fills me with sadness.'

Fellow mediator Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, said the seven-member team would go home having achieved nothing.

The 1973 Nobel Peace Prize winner said: 'We urged the parties to bridge the gaps and we met with the parties individually. However, the terms could not be bridged.'

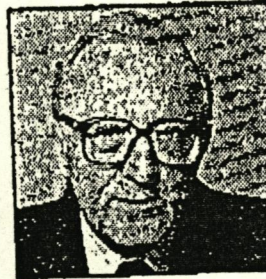
Lord Carrington, who helped broker Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, said the mediators had believed the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party had already agreed guidelines for the mediation. But when they arrived, they learned



Kissinger: Going home

of the continuing dispute over Inkatha leader Chief Buthelesi's demand for the election to be postponed.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa predicted a surge in violence in the KwaZulu-Natal



Carrington: 'Sadness'

Zulu heartland. 'We are aware of the threats being made by Inkatha to disrupt the election in Natal,' he said.

But Inkatha negotiator Ben Ngubane said there was no question of his

packing by the Zulu men of war

party, which wants virtual self-rule in the new South Africa, taking up arms to try to win its objectives.

The political future of Inkatha does not depend on participating in the election. It is our democratic right to stay out of the election and we believe we can still be a political force through our mobilisation.'

Asked what he meant by mobilisation, he replied: 'All kinds of mobilisation, but I can tell you that we have not embarked on an armed struggle.'

Meantime, a pre-election TV debate ended in friendship when ANC leader Nelson Mandela reached out and clasped the hand of President F W de Klerk.

Mr Mandela told his rival: 'We are a shining example to the rest of the world of people from different racial groups who have a common loyalty to their country.'

'I am proud to hold your hand and work together with you.'

Mr de Klerk replied: 'We stand on the threshold of a new and peaceful era.'

THE DAILY MAIL

London 15/4/94

IFP, ANC locked over election date

DAILY NEWS 15/4/94

Mediation is off — Meyer

HE/IM

It seems the international mediators have had a wasted trip. A **Daily News** Correspondent reports from Johannesburg.

INTERNATIONAL mediation on South Africa's constitutional impasse appears to be off, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The minister, speaking after a meeting with me-

diator Henry Kissinger, said the IFP and ANC had been unable to resolve their differences over the inclusion of the possible postponement of the election date in the terms of reference.

Mr Meyer said he could not speak for the mediators — who were scheduled to address a news conference today — but it seemed to him that the "unfortunate position" was that mediation was off.

Mr Meyer rejected suggestions that the Government had been central to the breakdown. He said the ANC had taken the position that mediation and the election date should not be linked while the IFP felt mediation should be completed

before an election could be held.

These differences could apparently not be resolved in spite of a series of meetings this morning to rescue the international mediation process.

This follows last night's breakdown in talks between the ANC, the Government and the dissenting IFP over the mediators' terms of reference.

The mediators, headed by former US Secretary of State Dr Kissinger and former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, met delegations from the three organisations last night.

Today, the mediators' team met at their Johannesburg hotel, apparently to decide on whether they should abandon

their mission now.

However, a spokesman for the mediators said later that the seven men were still meeting and were in constant contact with the ANC, the IFP and the Government.

They had not yet decided to return home.

The spokesman also revealed for the first time that the mediators were not being paid for their efforts, and had not asked to be paid. They were donating their time for the sake of peace and democracy in South Africa.

The mediation effort appeared doomed last night after the failed IFP-ANC-Government negotiations yesterday.

Report by C. Whitfield, E. Waugh and K. Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Mediation called off

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
Political Editor

THE international mediation effort to resolve the constitutional deadlock collapsed amid acrimony yesterday without a single meeting taking place.

South Africa's politicians proved that not only could they not agree on the way forward, they could not agree on how international mediators should help them find a solution.

Failure by the ANC, Inkatha and the government to agree to the terms of reference led to the mediators calling off the initiative and packing their bags for home early yesterday afternoon.

Government sources last night blamed the ANC and the IFP for failing to have solid terms of reference in place for the mediation and both the ANC and Inkatha blamed each other for the breakdown.

The mediators, who included former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, refused to lay blame for the breakdown which prevented their mission getting under way.

The real sticking point was the election date.

The ANC and the government were not prepared to change the date, while the IFP was accused of using negotiations and the mediation as an opportunity to get the poll postponed.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramphosa said Inkatha was to blame for the breakdown. He said IFP insistence that the election date was a subject for mediation lay at the heart of the problem. He promised that security forces in Natal will be increased.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the breakdown will not lead to armed insurrection in Natal-KwaZulu. He said the ANC and the government have wasted yet another opportunity to get Inkatha back into the election process. Accusations that the IFP spoilt the mediation effort were nonsense, he said.

Buthelezi predicted an increase in violence in the province in spite of emergency troops being deployed.

He would not be drawn on whether another leaders' summit can be held, but said negotiations must go on.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said that an opportunity has been missed, but that attempts to secure a political settlement will continue. He reiterated that the election date is fixed and the government is proceeding on that basis.

Meyer said it was unfortunate that the mediators came to South Africa when the ANC and the IFP had failed to agree on terms of reference for the work which they wanted done.

Kissinger said the members of the mediation team dropped everything to come to South Africa but refused to lay any blame. He said when they arrived they found that terms of reference had not been agreed and this was not the most opportune moment for the mediation to proceed. He wished all the parties well in the future.

Report by W. Hartley, 244 Longmarket St, Pmb.

Witness 15/4/94

HE/IM

From herder to Natal leader

by LAKELA KAUNDA

Witness 15/4/94

JACOB Zuma is likely to be the only person in the world who never went to formal school but is running for premiership.

And if opinion polls are to be believed, Zuma is likely to be the prime minister of this province next month.

Described as extremely intelligent by colleagues, Zuma has come a long way from herding cattle in Nkandla in kwaZulu to being a senior ANC leader and negotiator. He is a born diplomat and even his opponents adore and respect him.

Zuma was born in Nkandla and his father died when he was very small. His mother, a domestic worker, could not afford to send him to school.

He joined the ANC in 1959 and its armed wing Mkhonto Wesizwe in 1962.

He was arrested for sabotage in 1963 near Zeerust in the Western Transvaal and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on Robben Island.

He studied formally for the first time on the island. Before then, he had taught himself to read and write through help from school-going pupils and off-duty teachers.

On his release in 1973 he worked closely with other leaders such as his mentor Harry Gwala. Zuma skipped the country in 1975 when Gwala was arrested.

He quickly rose within the ANC ranks in exile. In 1978 he became a member of the national executive committee, served on the political and military council in the 80s and later as chief of intelligence.

He has also served the ANC as



The ANC's JACOB ZUMA

chief representative in Maputo, Mozambique.

He was among the first ANC leaders to arrive in the country after the unbanning in 1990. He was soon elected chairman of the Southern Natal region but left after a year to work at the organisation's headquarters. At the ANC's July 1991 conference he was elected deputy general secretary.

Early this year, he surprised many when he beat Gwala and

Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe to become premier elect for the province.

Seen as a moderate, he has drawn criticism from those in the ANC who feel he is too soft on the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Since his return he has tried to normalise IFP/ANC relations in the region, as well as relations between the ANC and the Zulu king.

Report by L. Kaunda, 244 Longmarket St, Pmb.

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Chief's right-hand man murdered in Inadi

The right-hand man of the chief of Inadi, who is also the area's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) secretary, was killed at his home at Inadi yesterday. Mkhindi Dlamini (38) was the Induna of Chief Zondl who was installed last year. Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday witnesses identified three ANC-supporting youths from Gezibuso as having killed Dlamini and police have been notified.

The situation in Inadi has been unstable for a few weeks after about three years of peace.

Several weeks ago, three ANC supporters attending a voter education workshop at kwaNgubeni in the area were shot dead and two others were wounded.

Chief Zondl and his bodyguards, Elias Dlamini, Bhekuyise Zondl and Mfanafuthi Kunene, are currently out on R3 000 bail in connection with the incident.

Yesterday, an elderly resident who is a member of the IFP told *The Natal Witness* the situation is getting out of hand and intimidation is rife.

He also said that people have been called to attend a meeting on Sunday to commemorate people who were killed during the pro-sovereignty march in Johannesburg. He said people were told to bring identity documents with them and fear these will be confiscated to prevent them from voting. — *Witness Reporter*.

Fearful students leave Zululand campus

STUDENTS at the University of Zululand have left the campus "in fear for their lives" amid the inauguration of the rector, and will not return until after the election.

In a statement yesterday, SRC general secretary Pat Sibaya said tomorrow's ceremony for Professor Charles Dlamini will be attended by "traditional, weapons-wielding men". He added that in 1991, three students were "seriously assaulted" by these armed men when a similar ceremony was held during exam time.

Sibaya said the decision to suspend academic activities was taken unanimously at a "broad student body meeting". This is unlike Dlamini's "unilateral decision to reschedule the inauguration ceremony", originally due to be held in June while students are on holiday. He said students and their parents should have been consulted over the planning of the inauguration and diploma ceremony.

University of Zululand spokesman Dirk Rezelman said a parents' meeting will be held on Monday, in light of "parental concern at inflammatory rumours being spread about the state of affairs on the campus". He

said Dlamini "states that all is calm on campus" and the university is "open and functioning" with the normal academic programme being followed. He said students are protected at all times from attack.

Dlamini called for a show of solidarity between parents and university authorities to "discipline those who trample on the aspirations and financial sacrifices of the majority of peace-loving... parents".

The SRC said it is opposed to the meeting as most parents won't be able to attend as they live far away. — *Witness Reporter*.

ANC 'attacked IFP supporters'

JOHANNESBURG — African National Congress members mounted a number of attacks against Inkatha Freedom Party supporters after the SADF pulled out of the East Rand on Wednesday night, says the IFP.

Reacting to allegations in this regard from IFP spokeswoman Gertrude Mzisi, warrant officer Schalk Rabie said yesterday the allegations are correct.

He said it is the duty of the NPKF to intervene in the violence as the police role is only one of "protection" and to follow up complaints. His information is that the new force has still not been fully deployed.

IFP protesters marched to the Thokoza police station yesterday to present a memorandum.

Rabie said the memorandum concerns their objection to the NPKF.

"They want the blue berets out of here," he said.

The township was quiet yesterday afternoon with NPKF and SADF vehicles patrolling. The last SADF troops were due to leave the area last night.

A resident said taxis have driven past Thokoza hostels several times and their occupants have opened fire at the building. — *Sapa*.

ET admits training Zulus

VENTERSDORP — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has confirmed Zulus are being trained on the farm of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche at Ventersdorp in the western Transvaal. This follows a report from the ANC that at least one busload of Zulus had been seen arriving at the farm. — *Sapa*.

Report by R. Swart, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

Witness 15/4/94

HE/IM

IFP 'not preparing for secession or UDI'

KWAZULU'S ruling Inkatha Freedom Party is preparing for the formation of an independent state of KwaZulu-Natal but this does not mean secession or a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI), IFP leader Velaphi Ndlovu said yesterday.

Ndlovu was reacting to rumours that KwaZulu is planning to declare a UDI if mediation failed (which it has) or if they were finally left out of the elections.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate also denied the secession claims as well as rumours that KwaZulu is preparing a constitution on which the UDI would be based.

Ndlovu stressed that the proposed state would form part of South Africa.

"We are not even discussing the UDI option. It is only the media who are saying it because they want to frighten ordinary whites and industrialists out of this province. We are planning for an independent state as in a federal-type set up."

He said the king is demanding his kingdom which stretches all over KwaZulu-Natal. The purpose of the leaders' summit last week was to discuss the relationship of that kingdom to the rest of South Africa, not the ANC's offers to the king, Ndlovu said.

Asked where the money would come from to sustain the kingdom or continued existence of the KwaZulu homeland, Ndlovu said Zulus also pay taxes and are therefore entitled to the money from the new government. "It is our right, not a privilege."

He said he cannot speak for the civil servants but they will have to choose whether to work for the new administration to be formed after the elections or continue with the KwaZulu administration.

Report by L. Kaunda, 244 Longmarket St. Pmb.

Witness 15/4/94

HE/IM.

THE STAR, FRIDAY 15 APRIL 1994



ETHNICITY and fear of racial dominance are being used and exploited by all major parties in their election campaign in the western Cape, writes Hermann Giliomee

Past buried, future undefined

It is one of the peculiar features of the watershed election we are approaching that all the parties agree about what the country is hurrying (apartheid), but are at a loss when it comes to defining the desirable alternative (nonracism) or how it could best be promoted.

Nowhere else is the ideological confusion greater than in the western Cape.

Given its importance for the new South Africa soon to be born, it is astonishing that the origins and evolution of the term "nonracialism" in South Africa have not been properly researched.

It probably dates back to the early 1940s when academics abroad began to lead the assault on the racial doctrines of Nazi Germany and the segregationist systems of the American South and South Africa.

A seminal publication in the campaign against racism was Ashley Montague's *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, which appeared in 1942. The book offered two fundamentally important insights:

First, the idea that certain races

are inherently superior is quite fallacious, and the term "race" itself is so nebulous that it is useless to all except bigots.

This point has now been accepted by all the parties in South Africa except the far Right. More controversial, however, is Montague's second point that the term "race" should be replaced by "ethnic group".

Not only did he believe that differences between ethnic groups were greater than those between races, but he also thought that "ethnic group" was a neutral term which could help people to understand differences in a heterogeneous society.

Divisive

Montague could not foresee that politicians would exploit terms such as ethnic group, community and culture to achieve the same divisive effects as race once did.

To counter this, liberal and resistance organisations introduced the term nonracialism to stress the common humanity of all South Africans.

But even among the nonracialists, deep divisions continue to exist unto this day. The purists like the Liberal Party of Alan Paton and the Non-Eu-

ropean Unity Movement decried any attempt to organise people on the basis of their ethnic or communal affiliation.

By contrast, the Progressive Party, founded in 1959, took a pragmatic line. Its intellectual founding father, Donald Meltzer, wrote in that year that the problems of a plural society cannot be met by "simply adopting unchecked majority rule on the basis of adult suffrage — in other words by pretending that such problems do not exist."

He went on to argue that a democracy can come about here only by recognising "the stubborn fact of race and other communal differences" and by securing "inter-racial and inter-communal co-operation".

The ANC has remained ambivalent in its position. On the one hand it has persistently used race and ethnicity as a basis of political organisation.

Until the second half of the 1980s the ANC proper was reserved for Africans. Almost all non-Africans wishing to join the ANC-led alliance were consigned to the SACP or, in the case of Indians, to one of the two Indian congresses.

Mandela has insisted that in a region such as the western Cape the

ANC's leadership should reflect the particular population ratio.

On the other hand the ANC has been purist nonracial in the political goal that it posits for society.

By contrast the ANC rejects non-racial individualism in its economic policies. It wants affirmative action for disadvantaged ethnic groups.

This policy cannot be implemented without some kind of ethnic classification.

It is against this background that one can assess the raging controversy in the western Cape about political parties exploiting racism.

First there is the ANC's charge that it is the NP's racist campaign that has enabled it to secure majority support among coloured people.

Prejudices

In fact the February 1994 MPD poll found 66 percent of coloureds supporting the NP — the same as that of a poll taken in February 1992.

Second, there is the charge that the NP is playing on racial and ethnic prejudices in its advertisements. Here I think the NP stands guilty as charged.

its infamous comic book and its

advertisement of the white girl who
thinks of her rapist enjoying the right
to vote is as dirty as politics can get.

Third there is the ANC accusation that the NP is using scare tactics to chase the coloureds into its kraal.

Clearly the NP is guilty of exploiting coloured fears about housing under a black government, but what else is Franklin Sonn, one of the ANC's chief spokesmen, doing when he said: "We must not make the same mistake as the brown community in Namibia. When they asked for houses, Nujoma asked: For whom did they vote?"

The ANC has good reason to be indignant about some aspects of the NP's propaganda in the western Cape, but it should remember that scare tactics can succeed only in a climate of fear and insecurity.

When Ramaphosa, the ANC's Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, talks about having the Klerk sweep floors in a new Cabinet and washing the NP down a toilet, he is awakening all the fears of minorities which can be mobilised with devastating effect. The first victim will be the ideal of nonracialism.

■ Hermann Gilhomet teaches politics at UCT

ANALYSIS

KwaZulu situation bleaker than ever

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and SHAUN JOHNSON

Little more than two weeks ago it became evident that South Africa's passage to democracy was entering its stormiest phase, with the KwaZulu election impasse emerging as the greatest threat to the final stage of the transition.

The apparent refusal of KwaZulu to co-operate fully with the Independent Electoral Commission — coupled with the Inkatha Freedom Party's unequivocal commitment to a boycott — preceded the bloody battle in the streets of Johannesburg on March 28.

Senior Government and ANC politicians counselled patience and strong stomachs: the rough waters could be weathered.

An attempt to hold an urgent summit before Easter involving FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini ran aground, giving rise to the declaration of a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.

Much store was placed on the rescheduled four-way leaders' summit in the Kruger National Park last weekend. And when it failed, eyes turned to the arrival this week of seven high-profile international mediators.

Running directly into the hard realities of South African politics, they were yesterday afternoon preparing to leave empty-handed after spending more than 40 fruitless hours in Johannesburg.

Now South Africa is just 11 days from the election. The four-way summit has failed. The follow-up task group is floundering. The state of emergency has proved ineffectual. Me-

diation has fallen before the first hurdle. The situation appears bleaker than ever. What are the options for resolving the crisis between now and the opening of the polls?

A best-case scenario — and probably the least likely — would see Buthelezi, resigned to another five years of extra-parliamentary politics, softening his position sufficiently to help cool tempers on the ground in KwaZulu/Natal. The only realistic chance of this happening might arise from a very generous ANC offer to the Zulu king on the future status of his monarchy.

Another possible scenario would see Buthelezi replaced by a Transitional Executive Council administrator. But such a move would probably arise only if the KwaZulu Chief Minister was seen to overtly encourage violence.

Most likely would appear to be more steps in directions already being explored. The state of emergency in the province appears set to be tightened, possibly today. Troop strengths will almost certainly be increased and wide-scale arrests in terms of emergency regulations of warlords and others thought to be behind the violence could take place before polling.

Although it appears unlikely that Buthelezi's powers as Chief Minister will be removed, there must be a possibility that his control of the KwaZulu Police is already the subject of close scrutiny.

If the election in KwaZulu/Natal is declared a success, the ANC will probably take power. When it does so it will be aware of the potential for sustained problems from disgruntled IFP supporters: the real negotiations on the future of the vexed province will in all likelihood only begin then.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

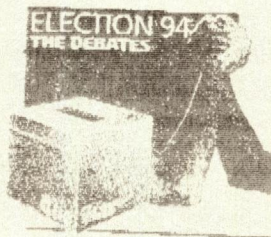
MEDIATORS LEAVE: International mediators abandoned their mission to South Africa, taking with them probably the last chance to get the Inkatha Freedom Party into the electoral process. The high-powered team began leaving the country after the IFP, Government and ANC had failed to bridge differences on the terms of reference for mediation. Former US secretary of state and mediator Henry Kissinger refused to apportion blame for the fiasco.

TV battle ends in harmony

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON
and ESTHER WAUGH

Nearly an hour of bruising exchanges between South Africa's incumbent president and his likely successor gave way to passionate pledges of co-operation in last night's television debate between FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

In a debate initially dominated by angry sparring on well-worn issues such as complicity in violence, economic policy and responsibility for South Africa's myriad problems, the two leaders later checked mu-



tual hostility and called for reconciliation in order to secure a stable transition.

The television contest appeared, on balance, to be fairly evenly matched. Fundamental disagreements were aired on

matters including various Goldstone Commission reports, ANC and Government economic plans, where credit lay for initiating negotiations, and "racist" campaigning tactics.

The about-turn from aggression was symbolised by Mandela's initiative — enthusiastically received by De Klerk — in grasping his opponent's hand in a gesture of unity.

Neither the State President nor the ANC leader chose to use the platform to make major new policy announce-

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TV debate ends harmoniously

◀ From Page 1

ments, but they did shed further light on several issues of vital importance in the last days of the election campaign.

■ De Klerk said he would be fully prepared to serve as an executive deputy president in a government of national unity, and that his party's political experience would be needed.

■ Mandela proposed that his own salary, should he become president, be cut and taxed. The political "grave train" would come to an end: "We are not going to live as fat cats."

■ Regarding the crisis over KwaZulu, Mandela said he regretted that political initiatives and security measures had to be linked. But he would continue negotiations with the IFP and the

Zulu monarchy after the election.

■ Mandela said revenue sufficient to ensure essential development could be raised via government bonds and "fair taxes" among other measures, while De Klerk said the ANC's economic plans would cost vastly more than it thought. Mandela was "in for a big surprise" when he became responsible for balancing budgets.

In a conscious effort to shift the debate from conflict to conciliation, Mandela said: "The exchanges between Mr de Klerk and I should not obscure one important fact ... I think we are a shining example to the entire world of people drawn from different racial groups who have a common loyalty, a common love, to their com-

mon country. That is the dominating issue ... In spite of my criticism of Mr de Klerk, sir, you are one of those I rely upon ... We are going to face the problems of this country together."

Reaching over to De Klerk he added: "I am proud to hold your hand for us to go forward."

Earlier De Klerk thanked Mandela for his "kind words" and said he "could also testify that on major issues such as nation-building, we are finding it possible to work together".

Peter Fabricius reports from Washington that CNN Television devoted an extraordinary 90 minutes to coverage of what it called the "remarkable, historic" first debate between De Klerk and Mandela.

Premeditated but a master stroke

In sporting terms, Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk played to a goalless draw in their eagerly anticipated TV debate last night.

As theatre, the event resembled second night blues, that affliction which throws actors into lacklustre performances after the adrenalin of opening night.

It is not surprising the malaise struck the chief protagonists in the mighty drama of

TONIGHT writer
Darryl Accone takes
a critic's view of last
night's TV debate

"The New South Africa" (written by authors bristling behind the noms-de plume Codesa and TEC): De Klerk and Mandela trotted out a script so well committed to memory, so frequently recited that its very fa-

miliarity began to dull even their fierce on-stage rivalry.

At times, though, the playing threatened to stutter into life. Mandela, touching the sardonic button, referred to De Klerk as "my friend", then pushed home the point by wagging his finger at De Klerk and at the audience. Had his tongue curled round to caress his lower lip, irreverent reptilian memories of the Groot Kroko-

► To Page 3

Oh, masterly, Mr Mandela

◄ From Page 1

dil might have surfaced.

In general, Mandela was more prone to gesture, though hardly approaching the expansive Italian style.

He showed a marked predilection for digital dialogue, pointing his finger accusingly or stabbing it in several directions for emphasis.

Mandela interpreted his role more sternly than expected.

De Klerk brought to his role solidity and a great deal of smiling. At times it seemed like an embarrassed Oriental smile of denial, at others a suspension of disbelief.

But it was Mandela who scored the dramatic coup of the evening. He punctuated his final speech, before the curtain fell, with a masterstroke, no less brilliant for being premeditated.

"I am proud to hold your hand and to work together," he told De Klerk, extending his left hand to grasp the NP leader's right hand.

If there had been misgivings in the audience about this duo's ability to achieve dynamic harmony on stage in future, they were at least slightly allayed.

It's a dead heat, say PWV viewers

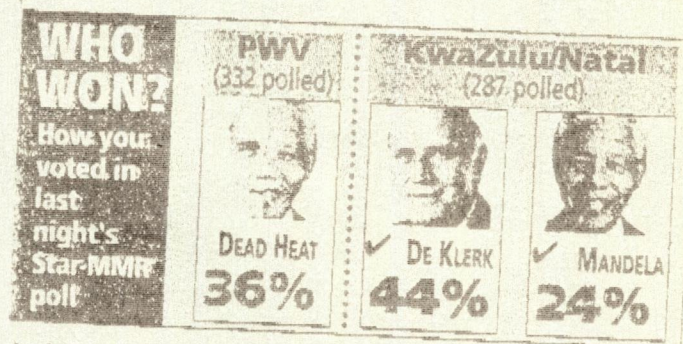
Viewers in the PWV area saw it as a dead heat, while those in KwaZulu/Natal thought President de Klerk had the edge.

These were the main findings of a snap telephone survey conducted by Marketing and Media Research for The Star after last night's debate.

PWV respondents were split evenly — 36 percent of those who had watched said Mandela had won, the same number favoured De Klerk and 18 percent ruled it a draw.

In KwaZulu/Natal, 44 percent said De Klerk had won, while 24 percent went for Mandela. Nineteen percent drew the contest.

A total of 619 people were contacted in the two areas. Fifty-nine percent said they



had watched, 27 percent said had not, and 14 percent refused to say.

De Klerk appeared to have won the battle for "undecided" voters. In the PWV, 26 percent of those contacted who were described as "undecided" voters, found Mandela more convincing, while 40 percent favoured De Klerk.

In KwaZulu/Natal, De Klerk had the support of 32 percent of "undecideds", and Mandela 16 percent.

The poll was necessarily biased towards white respondents because of the number of telephones in traditionally white areas.

The male-female breakdown was 50-50. — Political Staff.

KwaZulu reassures its public servants

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Despite continued opposition to the election, the KwaZulu government is reassuring its public servants they will form part of "one unified public service for the new region".

And the self-governing territory's administration has been conducting voter education programmes.

A circular on December 13 1992 said: "The KwaZulu government has determined that a

voter education programme for democratic elections be conducted in primary and secondary schools, as well as colleges of education, technical colleges and special schools under the control of the Department of Education and Culture of KwaZulu."

In another circular, dated March 9, public servants were told that "the participation or non-participation of the current political executive in the forthcoming elections does not in any manner affect the employment conditions of KwaZulu public

servants".

Sapa reports that about 1 500 KwaZulu civil servants marched through Ezakheni, northern Natal, yesterday, demanding employment guarantees.

Marching under the banner of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu), they handed in a memorandum.

The KwaZulu government accused Sadtu and other organisations this week of planning to bring the homeland administration to a standstill.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Bid to get king's okay on voting

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Ulundi — A last-ditch effort is being made to persuade King Goodwill Zwelithini to authorise Zulus to vote in the election.

It is understood that church leaders headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu have been granted an audience with the king, possibly today, near Nongoma.

This follows the inconclusive Skukuza summit last week and the breakdown yesterday in international mediation efforts to resolve the impasse.

The IFP has declined to participate in the election and Zwelithini has not advised his 8.2 million subjects about voting.

Assurance

It is widely believed that without his personal assurance, many Zulus — particularly those in the IFP — will not go to the polls in KwaZulu.

This weekend, they are to be urged at mass rallies in KwaZulu/Natal that they should vote. ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to address a series of rallies in the Durban area and Ladysmith tomorrow.

■ It was widely believed in Ulundi last night that units of the SADF and SAP were preparing to take up positions this weekend in the light of the failure of mediation.

It is understood that roads are to be barricaded, but this could not be confirmed.

Long convoys of armoured vehicles were seen yesterday heading south on the Vryheid-Melmoth road close to Ulundi.

THE STAR, FRIDAY 15 APRIL 1991

Pamphlet man tells of torture, murder

Durban — A badly beaten Xolani Welcome Ngcamu told of the chilling brutality and torture yesterday in which he and nine colleagues went through at Ndwedwe, north of Durban, on Monday before seven of them were killed.

He told of how they were punched, kicked, beaten up until they bled, and then ordered to lick their blood from the floor.

Police have arrested six people. One person was still missing on Wednesday. Three others had escaped and one of them, Ngcamu, is in hospital.

Ngcamu (22), an employee of Natal Pamphlet Distributors in Durban, said they arrived at Tafanasi School in Ndwedwe with the aim of distributing TEC pamphlets on voter education.

As they got out of the car, they

were surrounded by a group of people and asked what they wanted in the area.

They were taken to a local chief where the group were interrogated at length. They were then "beaten up, kicked and told to admit that we were 'comrades'," he said.

"Once in the classroom, our assailants then took off their clothes and ordered us to lick

their backsides. They then told us to lick our blood from the floor," he said.

Ngcamu said their assailants marched them off to the bush — tied up in pairs — where they were told they were to be killed.

A man known only as Mcwayizeni, with whom Ngcamu had been tied up, managed to break loose and ran away, allowing Ngcamu to escape as well. — Own Correspondent.

Tempers flare over NPKF in E Rand

■ BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT
and CHRISTINA STUCKY

The presence of the National Peacekeeping Force in townships on the East Rand appeared to fan the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters yesterday, leaving little hope for peace in the area in the run-up to the election.

After a long night of sporadic gunfire and a shootout early yesterday between ANC and IFP supporters on the Kaitshong-Tokoza border, a small group of angry IFP supporters from the Tokoza Hostel marched to the police station.

Commandant Wayne Hermanson, SADF staff operations officer of Group 41, which has been in the townships since February 3, said the fighting seemed to have been sparked by the IFP's rejection of the NPKF's deployment.

He said: "We have received information that the IFP is not satisfied with the NPKF force being deployed here. From their side they have started to resist and show their teeth, making both groups tense and prompting them to arm themselves."

Local chief and IFP leader David Mduba, who led the march, said his people were

protesting against the NPKF, which included their "enemies" from the ANC and homeland armies.

The IFP protesters, who recently opposed SADF troops' presence, yesterday called for their return, saying they had won the trust of the people.

Mduba said he was sure NPKF troops would be biased against IFP supporters "and kill them". Refusing to elaborate on the IFP's plans to counter the perceived threat, he said only: "We will show them our history. We will retaliate."

While IFP supporters believed the NPKF to be entirely in charge of the area yesterday and accused it of failing to maintain peace, the SADF will not fully withdraw from the area until at least tonight.

SADF commander on the East Rand Colonel Chris du Toit said the NPKF, which was supposed to assume full control of the Katorus area last night, had requested more time to orientate themselves. None of the NPKF troops were operational.

Amid the tension, self-defence unit commander Jackson Jermain (20) was buried yesterday. He was found shot dead in Tokoza.

Dinkins, Obasanjo to help

■ STAFF REPORTER

Several prominent individuals from countries in Africa and abroad are to provide technical assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission over the election period.

Among the people arriving — under the auspices of the African-American Institute — is former New York mayor David Dinkins, former Nigerian president General Olusegun Obasanjo and US Corporation for Public Broadcasting president Richard Carlson.

Individuals from Zambia,

Namibia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Japan, Philippines, Brazil and Central America will also form part of the group. "It brings the developing-world experience into the South African context," said Frank Ferrari, vice-president of the African-American Institute.

Obasanjo and Nigerian head of Chevron Godfrey Etikerentse will be based in KwaZulu/Natal, while Dinkins will be in Cape Town. The others will be deployed throughout the country.

(M Grange, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Intimidation claims denied

■ BY LANNIE MOTALE

The ANC has rejected allegations made by the NP that the party has embarked on "a massive intimidation campaign".

The ANC responded to an allegation by the NP's executive director in Pretoria, who said ANC members had "intimidated, assaulted or murdered" NP members.

In a statement the ANC said a sustained campaign has been launched by the NP and DP to hold the ANC responsible for almost every act of disruption, intimidation or interference that takes place at their meetings.

"The ANC totally repudiates this slander."

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Ink's contents secret, says IEC

Details about the manufacture of the identification ink that would be sprayed on voters' hands to indicate they had voted were top secret for security reasons, the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday. There were groups that were concerned, on religious and health grounds, about the ink's ingredients. — Sapa.

Well hello Henry... so nice to have you back where you belong, however briefly. And another hello — and goodbye too, it seems at the time of writing — to your mediating sidekicks, Peter, Leon, Paul, Antonio, etc.

The most familiar of those elder statesmen, Henry Kissinger and Peter Carrington, arrived here looking rather more elder than one remembers from their heyday.

Anyway, come back and see us, fellas, after we've sorted it all out in our own traditional way. As they say in New York, you should live so long.

Embarrassing moment at a big black-tie ANC fund-raising bash at Midrand. The MC was Dali Tambo, but when Nelson Mandela rose to thank him and others the name that slipped out was "Dali Mpofo".

Maybe he was on Nelson's mind because just recently the ANC paid out a settlement (undisclosed) in the unfair dismissal case Mpofo brought after being sacked in mid-1992.

Whatever the reason, the name slipped out amid a dreadful hush. Mandela didn't notice his slip.

Foreign and local hacks were summoned in Jo'burg this week for a press conference with ANC legal adviser Penuell Maduna — who then failed to show.

Carl Niehaus was blunt: such behaviour was "totally unacceptable" and he wouldn't bother making excuses. Obviously the old excuse about "African time" is wearing thin.

□ □ □
Pieter-Dirk Uys, as Ambassador
Evita Bezuidenhout, did a two-hour
daily stint at Bapetikosweti home-
land's pavilion at the Rand Show.

To many of the public Evita was quite real, Uys writes in his weekly

"Five out of 10 passers-by asked me: 'Mevrou, why aren't you standing in the election? We would all vote for you.' Trouble was that most were quite serious."

Those who claim the overseas press exaggerates SA's political problems might take comfort from a snippet in the Financial Times, London.

Ever anxious to redress the statistical balance, the FT points out that, while township violence continues to take a terrible toll of lives, the country's roads are even more dangerous

More than 9500 people died in traffic accidents last year, it tells its readers -- as many as have been killed in Natal over a decade of political violence.

Drily, the report ends: "Last Easter weekend's count: Cars 147, politics 50."

None the less, some Pom journals are undergoing rigorous battlefield survival training before going forth to cover our elections. At Aldershot base they're being given a three-day course in how to react under fire and

□ □ □

Clearly the Government's Bop take-over did it no harm electorally. President de Klerk drew a vociferous mixed crowd of 2 000 at an election rally at Mmabatho the other day.

The musical choice was interesting, too. As FW appeared, a band played *Mkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and the crowd stood to attention. They went into a frenzy, reportedly, for the next item: Paul Simon's *Graceland*.

□ □ □

If it's pomp and circumstance King Zwelithini is looking for, you can't accuse the ANC of not trying hard.

The draft agreement it offered the Zulu monarch at Skukuza included a coronation ceremony performed by the Chief Justice, a Royal Constabulary, paid expenses for the royal house and regular consultations with the Natal/KwaZulu premier.

Quite likely they'd even throw in some horses and corgis, but it seems the king isn't biting.

Quotes of the week:

■ The spirit of a miracle must

emerge. — Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the difficulties of mediation.

■ An election is not a duchess's de-
partly. — An JEC tribunal, before
ruling that an NP photo-comic con-
travened the electoral code.

■ Do not fall into the trap of the enemies of democracy. Do not allow a minority to destroy this university and our movement. — Professor Kader Asmal of the ANC, vainly trying to stop the break-up of a DP meeting at UWC.

■ Choose your party carefully. The last one went on for more than 40 years. — Radio 702 poster.

■ The war hasn't reached the beach. When it does I'll fight. — A Durban lifesaver, on Natal violence.

■ Dialogue is our important weapon. — Nelson Mandela, on prospects if mediation should fail

□ □ □

From The Star's graffiti wall: "Help your local branch of the ANC/PT on April 27. Beat yourself up."

Hector Saint

Rebuilding a wasteland

Just how meaningful is the ANC's newest economic plan?

THE financing of the ANC's five-year R39 billion Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is certainly in the realm of the possible. Higher economic growth could provide at least R3 billion of the R8 to 9 billion a year sought. Cutting the defence budget may yield R2 billion — though many wonder just how much more can be pared from that bone that is needed for policing. And revenue collection could definitely be improved.

But hard-nosed local and foreign businessmen may still find the lack of financial detail puzzling, likewise the promises of no tax increases and a tight rein on the deficit. True, overall taxation may not increase but that doesn't exclude juggling around with an increased tax burden on the wealthy while lifting that on the poor.

The forecast of savings from dismantling apartheid structures sounds hollow when viewed against Nelson Mandela's promise that civil servants' salaries and pensions will remain intact. Central government, provincial institutions and the various public services of the TBVC states and self-governing territories number 176 departments with a total personnel complement of around 1.2 million people. The ANC's commitment to affirmative action is likely to swell numbers still further.

The capitulation by the TEC to security force strike threats endangers the budgetary framework even before the new government comes to office. And the industrial action by hospital and ambulance workers, teachers and cleaners might have been anticipated.

The Keynesian stance that creating public works programmes can provide a solution to the country's problems is also questionable.

The ANC's admission that it doesn't yet have all the answers and won't be prescriptive is heartening. So is the softening of the populist rhetoric of the first few RDP drafts. Still, there remains too much emphasis on the role of the State and insufficient recognition of how the market economy works. But much of this could change after the election.



GO-BETWEENS take with them probably the last real chance of bringing the IFP into the election process

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

International mediators yesterday abandoned their mission to South Africa, taking with them probably the last chance to get the IFP into the electoral process.

The high-powered team began leaving the country yesterday after the IFP, Government and ANC failed to bridge differences on the terms of reference for mediation. They flew into Johannesburg on Monday.

Former US secretary of



Analysis - Page 2

state and mediator Henry Kissinger refused to apportion blame for the fiasco, saying that the parties had made "a major effort to bridge the differences".

He and his team had come to the country in the belief that terms of reference had been agreed on, but discovered on Wednesday that this was not the case.

The ANC categorically blamed the IFP, the IFP said it was the fault of both the ANC and the Government, while the Government said the IFP and ANC could not reach agreement.

Yesterday both ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said their organisations remained committed to negotiations.

At a press conference after Kissinger's announcement, Ramaphosa said: "The breakdown in discussions... was really occasioned by Inkatha's insistence that the postponement of the election had to be addressed by the mediators."

Ngubane, speaking immediately after Ramaphosa, said

► To Page 3

◀ From Page 1

the IFP had objected to an attempt by the Government and ANC to include in the terms of reference the fact that the election date would not be a subject of mediation. He denied this meant that the IFP in-

tended to raise the postponement of the election in mediation.

Earlier yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said there were "insurmountable problems" between the ANC and IFP which could not be resolved.

He said the ANC had taken the position that mediation and the election date should not be linked while the IFP felt mediation should be completed before an election could be held.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Mediators pack bags

Accusations fly as fiasco deepens crisis

JOHANNESBURG—The IFP warned last night that it was entering a period of "resistance politics" but its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi ruled out the possibility of armed insurrection in KwaZulu and Natal.

With the collapse of international mediation, both Inkatha and the ANC said no further constitutional talks were planned before the elections, but did not rule out resuming talks after the elections.

Constitutional development minister Roelf Meyer said insurmountable differences be-

Political Staff

tween the Government and the ANC on one hand, and Inkatha on the other, were responsible for the breakdown.

The gap between the parties defeated international mediators after only two days in the country, and even as the seven-man team were heading for home, the parties were blaming each other for the failure.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned that more SADF troops would be moved into KwaZulu and Natal to strengthen the emer-

gency measures and secure elections.

People in the province were determined to vote. The IEC, backed by the security forces, would ensure free and fair elections.

Dr Buthelezi said it was expecting too much of him to control his supporters, as much as he tried, and the outlook was "very grim". He warned of a catastrophe.

He predicted that there would be an increase in violence in the province despite the emergency, but the elections would go ahead because he could not stop them.

An Inkatha central committee member said the only option for Inkatha supporters was "the politics of resistance".

Despite mediation team leader Henry Kissinger's last-minute appeals to President De Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Dr Buthelezi, he could not save the process. It broke down because the Government and the ANC refused to allow Inkatha to use mediation to negotiate a postponement of the elections, the IFP claimed.

(Report by D Greybe and W Paddock, 11 Diagonal St, Jnb)

AWB training Zulus

VENTERSDORP—The AWB has confirmed Zulus are being trained on the farm of AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche at Ventersdorp in the western Transvaal.

Earlier, Mr Terre'blanche said he was providing training for what he termed "non-whites opposed to communism" — (Sapa)

(Report by K Swart, 161 Commissioner St, Johannesburg)

Why should IFP trust ANC?

SIR — Why in God's green earth should the IFP trust the ANC?

The present situation need never have arisen. But of course the power-hungry ANC wanted to show their great muscles. So, as the negotiations were about to start, dictatorial Nelson decided that the IFP would not be allowed to participate!

Yes, it's true, that great supporter, yea defender, of democracy refused to allow a

party to participate in the negotiations and of course, NM's great American propagandist buddies told the world that the IFP was part of the NP because it also voted against the ANC. The DP, CP, PAC and several others also opposed the ANC but were not part of the NP.

So why should the IFP trust the dictatorial ANC?

PHILIP BLUMBERG
10 Ocean Gardens

Waterkant Rd, Durban North

Mercury 15/4/94

HE/IM

Handclasp of hope

A masterstroke?

HUGH ROBERTON
Political Editor

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk and Nelson Mandela projected themselves into the homes and shebeens of South Africa last night as tough political opponents sparring for votes ... but also as partners in shaping a just, peaceful and stable future.

They clashed bitterly on key political issues, but also clasped hands in a gesture of political fraternity and reconciliation.

In the closing minutes of the hour-and-a-quarter exchange, Mr Mandela reached across to Mr De Klerk and took his hand, saying: "I am proud to take your hand ... for us to work together to end division and suspicion."

It was a sentiment Mr De Klerk expressed too when he endorsed the need for reconciliation and his willingness to work with other parties in the new government.

PRESIDENT De Klerk opened the live debate by describing himself as the man who "brought us to this historic moment" — a view vigorously challenged by Mr Mandela — but warned voters that it was up to them to determine whether the new beginning would be a good or bad one.

A good beginning, he said, would be a balance of power between the main contenders, the NP and the ANC, "but if any one party gets too much power, it will be a bad beginning".

Later, Mr De Klerk predicted a "dramatic" result for the NP.

Mr Mandela's introductory remarks were uncontroversial, but the first question — on violence — set the scene for the first dispute.

Mr De Klerk insisted his government had done a lot to curb violence, but its efforts had been "made difficult" by the ANC's attitude to the police, its self-defence units and the violence perpetrated by its supporters, highlighted in several Goldstone Commission reports.

Mr Mandela hit back, accusing Mr De Klerk of misquoting the Goldstone reports, and declaring: "Any leader who merely promotes his own point of view will not help to pull South Africa out of this mess."

On this issue, and several others, he described the President as being "less than candid" with the public, and repeatedly tackled Mr De Klerk

over the Goldstone report on third force activity.

Mr De Klerk insisted he had taken action when evidence of wrong-doing was brought to his attention, but that, in contrast, members of the ANC involved in the detention camps' controversy were not only not punished, but managed to get nominated to the movement's election lists.

Economic policy was the basis of the next clash.

Dismissing the suggestion that the ANC's undertakings might be "empty promises", Mr Mandela said the ANC would restructure the budget and launch reconstruction bonds to finance a "realisable" plan to improve the lives of all South Africans.

He said the detailed plan had been discussed not only within the liberation movement, "but with government departments, business, academics and State corporations, and all of them have regarded this plan as reasonable".

The NP's plan would work, he said, because it was based on economic growth achieved by adopting policies that underpinned economic successes elsewhere in the world.

But the ANC's plan, rooted in internationally discredited policies, would cost R70-billion in the first year alone and lead to a doubling in personal income tax, he said.

In his closing remarks — and in reaching out to take Mr De Klerk's hand — Mr Mandela underscored his view that all South Africans should work together to solve the country's problems.

(News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)



Callers give it to FW

KARIN SCHIMKE,
JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporters

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was a clear winner, say the majority of more than 600 callers who kept The Argus phone-in poll lines humming for 90 minutes afterwards.

The National Party leader came out tops during the 70-minute debate, said 339 callers, while 264 believed Mr Mandela had out-argued him.

Each of the leaders drew praise — and some criticism — for his performance.

Many viewers struggled to decide as they thought both men had argued well.

"They're both great leaders — it's a pity we can't vote for both of them," said CHRIS PIETERS of Belhar.

NOEL RHODES of Hout Bay called it a tie. "They have a lot of respect for each other," he said.

ALIDA CROUDACE of Simon's Town said she was not an NP supporter but felt Mr De Klerk had won the debate by a small margin.

"I just thank God for two such wonderful leaders," she said.

VIRO MURUGAN of Rondebosch East said each of the leaders was a winner in a way. "Mandela had the ammunition to attack Mr De Klerk on past issues and he won there, but Mr De Klerk focused on the future and he won the debate in that way."

An anonymous Cape Town caller said both debaters were good and he was proud to be South African in a country with such strong leaders.

HERBERT FOX of Welgemoed said both men had scored good points as debaters, but Mr Mandela sometimes "fell down political drains" in his arguments.

EDDIE DANIELS of Hout Bay complimented the leaders on their performances and said Mr Mandela had proven himself as a debater who could "hold his own".

A caller from Cape Town was cynical: "No-one was the winner in this debate and we are all losers."

"I'm sure the world is going to be suitably unimpressed by the unprofessional manner in which both of them approached the debate."

ROSA RHODA of Heathfield said the State President had been defensive and without substance in his arguments.

Said JERRY HEROLD of Fish Hoek: "If it had been a boxing match, Mandela would have been disqualified for hitting below the belt."

Another caller also used the boxing metaphor: "Mr Mandela is always on the attack and the State President always on the defensive."

A few callers commented that Mr Mandela had lost the debate purely because of his personal attacks on Mr De Klerk.

One said Mr Mandela had been far too aggressive, and a woman from Tokai said Mr Mandela had tried to score points off his opponent.

FATIEMA LANGE of Brackenfell said Mr Mandela had started off "from a negative base" whereas Mr De Klerk had been more positive throughout.

Two callers commented that the ANC leader had "played the man and not the ball".

WILHELMUS VAN DER WAAG of Pinelands and ANITA JONES of Rondebosch East were among those who criticised Mr Mandela for "dwelling in the past".

A caller from Mitchell's Plain said it was time to forgive, if not to forget — "Mr De Klerk can lead us to a land of milk and honey, not bread and pap. It is the future we must think of, not the past."

But Mr Mandela won many hearts.

Said MONICA LOUW of Valhalla Park: "He spoke for everyone, including us poor people."

A Mitchell's Plain caller said Mr Mandela won "on facts alone".

VIMLA PILLAY of Rylands Estate described Mr Mandela as a man of honesty and integrity and said it was obvious the ANC had a plan for the future.

JANNIE VAN VUUREN of Southfield said: "As a boere-seun I want to say Mr Mandela won the debate hands-down. He really showed the president up. He was fantastic."

MARTIN PHILLIPS of Belhar said the debate had "swayed my mind" — "The ANC came out tops."

And then there was the caller who showed that even though the State President has shared the Nobel Peace Prize, not everyone knows his name.

Asked who he thought had won the debate, he responded: "The white guy ... er, what's his name?"

Both leaders were complimented individually by people who thought they had showed integrity, sincerity and honesty.

(News by Karin Schimke and John Viljoen, of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

ANC president Nelson Mandela should have known that in last night's historic television debate he could not, convincingly, imply at every turn that President De Klerk's hands were dripping with blood, and then reach out for the NP leader's hand in a magnanimous gesture of affection.

Either the personal barbs he flung at Mr De Klerk for two-thirds of their confrontation were insincere and opportunistic, or the grand handshake was. So incongruous was the gesture of fondness after all the personal invective that many voters must have been torn between the two contrasting impressions which Mr Mandela created.

As it turned out, there was not a dry eye in the house. Mr Mandela's gesture was a political and emotional masterstroke and it proved to be the turning point of the exchange. Suddenly, what the two leaders had been saying was drowned in a deluge of sweet togetherness which came across as being a lot more sincere and believable than the scrappy debate that had preceded it.

It was the image of the two men which the country was familiar with — a smiling handshake in the midst of adversity; a promise to work together, with sufficient proof of having worked together in the past to make the promise credible. It was what a country weary of conflict, fearful of the future, and confused by the present, desperately wanted.

BUT from the moment of the handshake onwards, it was not a debate. The debate part of the Mandela-De Klerk encounter fizzled out in a messy tangle of charges and counter-charges which the country has heard for so long that it would hardly be surprising if little of what was said in the pre-handshake phase was remembered.

One of the striking features of the first few minutes of the exchange was Mr De Klerk's tacit concession that the NP might not win the election and his appeal to voters to ensure a balance of power between the major parties. It was a refreshingly candid projection when compared with the predictions of an outright NP victory by Foreign Minister Pik Botha in the first television debate of the campaign.

Although Mr De Klerk talked later of a "dramatic result" for the NP, he was careful not to make the cocksure forecasts of others in his party and his caution, and modesty, was endearing and it also lent credence to much of what he had to say. This was not a man making claims few could, given the poll results, believe.

Mr Mandela was altogether justified in raising the issue of the NP's racist campaign in the Western Cape. But it was not an issue which could be illustrated and proved in a few minutes on television. Producing the NP's quite disgraceful racist "picture book", which was banned this week by the Independent Electoral Commission, must have struck a chord in many Western Cape households where it was distributed.

But little, if anything, that emerged from the debate was new. And this was as much the fault of Messers De Klerk and Mandela as it was of the panel of journalists who could not ask a direct question without a rambling editorial prelude and who, above all, did not have an original thought between them. At least the politicians had the time to rescue the situation, but they failed to.

Perhaps the debate showed up something nobody intended it to show — that the politicians and the journalists have reached saturation point; that both are punch drunk and that nobody seems to have anything meaningful to add to what has already been said.

Even the togetherness, let's face it, was not new — emotionally satisfying as it was to many people.

Rather, it was a signal, perhaps also unintended, that the country should treat with profound scepticism the episodes of attack and counter-attack which Messers Mandela and De Klerk indulge in from time to time, in and out of public debate, since when all the dust has settled they are committed irrevocably to serving in the same cabinet and reaching their decisions by consensus.

That will be hard to do and also score points off one another in a debate, and it will be even more difficult in the future when they will jointly bear responsibility for the decisions, and the record, of the government. How, then, will they be able to debate one another?

(Comment by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

THE tragedy of Natal and the Zulus reached a symbolic climax this week with the bloody slaughter of a team of non-partisan election workers.

And the Natal impasse was threatening to have a much wider and increasingly negative impact at home and abroad.

At the Skukuza summit, Messrs Mandela and De Klerk, internationally hailed as peace-making statesmen, seemed to be stumbling into the dark, helpless to avert a Zulu/Inkatha debacle.

Hysteria

As international mediation falters, a kind of hysteria is taking hold of people in some parts of the country, though only mildly so in the Cape, thank heavens.

People in the Transvaal are stripping supermarket shelves of canned goods and candles to prepare for election week and the aftermath, when they expect the country to be short of food and without electric power.

There is no substance whatsoever in such expectations, except to the extent that the groundless rumours, if they are widely believed, could create the very conditions that they are warning about.

As Roosevelt said, the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.

The best antidote to panic is knowledge. To the extent that people are well-informed and understand what is going on they are proof against disinformation and panic.

As things stand, the obvious scapegoat for what is going wrong is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a tragic figure whose miscalculations could well confine him to the sidelines in future, unless, which God forbid, he is to lead Natal even further into a morass of rebellion and secession.

Influential

It doesn't help to single out Buthelezi for blame. Influential as outstanding personalities can sometimes be, historic causation is rather more complex. As briefly suggested in this column last week, the Natal tragedy has deep roots in colonial history and in the subjugation of the Zulu kingdom.

The Natal tragedy is a consequence of the ANC under-rating Zulu ethnicity, on one hand, and of Buthelezi and others consciously ex-

SA is reaping a nationalist whirlwind

Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW



ploiting it, on the other hand, and unleashing a pathological brand of Zulu nationalism.

The villain of the piece is not any particular individual, but a style of politics as practiced by Afrikaner nationalists, African nationalists and Zulu nationalists alike, which exploits and manipulates ethnic fears and loyalties for the sake of gaining and keeping political power. The classic example, apart from the Third Reich, which was an extraordinary and diabolical variation on the theme, is the rise of Afrikaner nationalism.

Afrikaners were mobilised on ethnic lines with single-minded drive, empowering them politically and economically and keeping them and their allies in power for 45 years — at a terrible cost to the country and the rest of its people.

And the Zulus? Chief Buthelezi, in the 1970s, was a non-racial democratic and committed Christian, working within an oppressive racist system he abhorred to achieve a South African democracy on federal lines.

I remember a conversation in Stellenbosch in those days when he took me by the arm and said with great earnestness: "You must remember. The Zulus are a very violent people."

We were discussing what might happen in South Africa if black liberation was too long delayed, and the prophetic fears expressed by the

old umfundisi in Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* were to be realised.

The subsequent formation of Inkatha as primarily a Zulu movement seems to have been the turning point in Buthelezi's political journey, leading to his break with the ANC leadership in exile. Buthelezi had until then been an ANC Trojan Horse within the apartheid citadel, a man who had been in the ANC youth league with Mandela, Sobukwe, Sisulu and others.

At this point the counter-insurgency strategists of the Botha security establishment identified Inkatha as the perfect instrument for dividing and ruling the Zulus and destabilising the liberation movement. Hence the secret funding of Inkatha, the Third Force gun-running, train massacres and other massacres and now, some 20 000 bodies later, the killing of the hapless election workers. Buthelezi has been fatally compromised.

Exploitation

Liberals deplore the calculated exploitation of ethnic ties and fears, but it can be an effective mobilising technique, regrettably, as the electoral strength of the NP in the Western Cape seems to indicate, and so it continues to be employed.

If the attainment of political power is a goal to be striven after at all costs, as nationalists of all stripes seem to believe, civilised standards of decency and tolerance go by the board. In comes detention without trial, torture, Third Force massacres and assassinations and all the horrors now threatening to engulf Natal.

If there is an answer to all this, it lies beyond politics. Meanwhile, we must live with the consequences.

S African TV debate too close to call

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

IN THE best traditions of close finishes, a United States presidential-style debate between Nelson Mandela and President F. W. de Klerk last night left supporters on both sides claiming victory after a 70-minute battle of words and wits.

The sight of joint Nobel prize winners — one of them formerly jailed, the other formerly his jailor — slugging it out justified its rating as one of the more extraordinary productions in the age of television.

The broadcast, reportedly watched by 100 million viewers internationally as well as by South Africans throughout the country, turned out to be a repeat of the election campaign. Both Mr De Klerk, who is normally less than fluent in English, and Mr Mandela, whose usual style of delivery is wooden, proved surprisingly lively and effective debaters.

Clearly intensively prepared — Mr Mandela got advice from veterans of Bill Clinton's presidential campaign — the two men scored predictable points off each other with the help of a panel of questioners which included the BBC's foreign editor, John Simpson.

Hostilities broke out nine and a half minutes into the debate, when Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of making it difficult to control violence, quoting reports of the Goldstone Commission blaming a power struggle between the liberation movement and Inkatha for the country's political carnage.

The ANC president pointed out that the same commission of inquiry had recently found that senior police officers were "deeply involved" in fomenting the violence.

Mr Mandela delivered one of the most telling blows of the contest when he later disclosed that he had repeatedly asked Mr De Klerk for a copy of an internal government report which had led to the forced retirement of a group of senior army officers. Claiming that it contained proof of the existence of a "third force" conspiracy to destabilise the country, Mr Mandela accused Mr De Klerk of a cover-up.

Protesting that he did not have time under the rules of the debate to explain, Mr De Klerk fumbled: "It wasn't a report of that nature." But he recovered to point out that the ANC had published a report on atrocities in its detention camps in exile and had then put forward several of those held responsible as parliamentary candidates.

Mr De Klerk also found himself on the defensive over publication by the National Party in the Cape of a cartoon book subsequently banned as racist by the Independent Electoral Commission. Mr Mandela waved it at the cameras, demanding whether it was evidence of a "new" National Party.

The debate swayed from passionate denunciation to moving moments of reconciliation, as when Mr Mandela suddenly reached out a hand to Mr De Klerk, saying: "I am proud to hold your hand, for us to go forward. Let us work together to end division."

Last word in the debate was decided on the toss of a coin. It went to Mr Mandela, who said: "If you vote for the ANC you are voting for an organisation which has the experience of more than 80 years of nation-building."

The previous 70 minutes were arguably the most important of those 80 years.

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THE GUARDIAN - LONDON

15/4/94

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

South Africa confounds eteran peace emissaries

THE much-heralded team of international mediators flew out of South Africa last night shaking their heads at the absurdity of it all.

Henry Kissinger, Lord Carrington and seven other, mostly legal, luminaries were invited to try to close the constitutional gap between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. But when they arrived two days ago they discovered that the terms of reference for the mediation had not been agreed.

"Or," as Dr Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State, put it yesterday, "if they had been agreed they were re-opened again".

Two further days of anguished discussion between the parties, which now also included the South African government, failed to resolve the disagreement over whether or not the date of the election — in two weeks' time — should also be the subject of

established. At one time Roelf Meyer, the Constitutional Development Minister and the senior Cabinet minister involved, was reduced to consulting his principals by telephone in the premises of Alfred Katz, jewellers, in the hotel lobby.

Lord Carrington, the former British Foreign Secretary, like Dr Kissinger made it clear that they had been assured by their respective embassies in Pretoria that the terms of reference had been nailed down before they arrived. "If I thought it was otherwise," Lord Carrington said, "frankly I would have found it difficult to leave London."

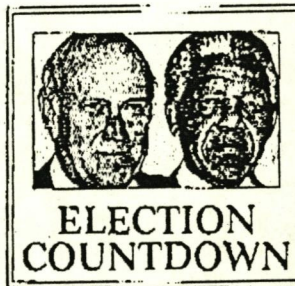
Lord Carrington, whom history will remember as the architect of the settlement that ended Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence, and brought about the legitimate birth of Zimbabwe admitted: "I don't think the mediation would have been very easy, but the prize at the end of it was enormous."

After the mediators had folded their tents and backed out of the television lights, the platform was occupied by representatives of the two quarrelling parties, who each accused the other of being responsible for the fiasco. Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC Secretary-General, declared: "We have to say that the breakdown around the terms of reference was really occasioned by Inkatha's insistence that the postponement of the elections had to be addressed by the mediators."

Chief Buthelezi last night maintained that armed insurrection in KwaZulu was "not a possibility, even if people expected it to happen". He said that the ANC and the government had never really favoured negotiation, and they had now wasted an opportunity by which Inkatha could have returned to the electoral process.

After last Friday's summit meeting in the Kruger Park, a task force to address the constitutional crisis surrounding the aspirations of the Zulu king has been established, and a set of joint proposals is in the process of being refined. If this matter can be settled and another summit meeting convened early next week, some of the steam could be taken out of the argument.

Zulus face defeat, page 16



Cape Town: For the first time, a black woman is answering the telephone in the South African president's office. Aides have said the appointment is "the face of the new South Africa". Olga Tsoku, 33, speaks Afrikaans, English, Zulu and three other languages. (Reuters)

mediation. The mediators themselves said explicitly that it should not. The ANC said the date was sacrosanct. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, insisted that the point of the mediation was to reach an accord that would enable his party to join in the elections, which it could not do under the existing timetable.

Dr Kissinger, who invented the concept of shuttle diplomacy when he was brokering a Middle East peace, shuffled between the various floors of the Carlton Hotel in the centre of Johannesburg where delegations of the parties were

THE TIMES - LONDON

15/4/94

De Klerk plays on tax fears

By MICHAEL HAMLYN

PRESIDENT de Klerk last night forecast that the African National Congress's plan for the reconstruction and development of South Africa would cost 70 billion rand (£13 billion), almost twice the estimate produced by the ANC's economic team.

It would, he said, involve doubling income tax. "You can't save this from the defence budget," he scoffed. "The ANC is planning to induct 12,000 MKs [members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe] into the defence force." Mr de Klerk said the Mr Mandela's party was planning to spend more on defence, not less.

The accusation was made in the course of a television debate between Mr de Klerk and his presidential rival, Nelson Mandela, the ANC

leader. The debate, which was rigidly structured after intense negotiations between the parties, was broadcast live by state television and relayed worldwide.

In response, Mr Mandela accused Mr de Klerk and his government of sponsoring the Inkatha Freedom Party to the tune of 8 million rand as recently as 1991. "Who has been disciplined for this?" Mr Mandela asked. He also promised that when he is elected President he would take a cut in salary. "The days of the fat cats are gone," he said.

Mr de Klerk replied that, if he thought he was going to save enough for the ANC's spending programme by cutting politicians' salaries, "then he is in for a big surprise". The debate ended on a genial note

with assurances of warm personal regards and optimism about co-operation in a government of national unity after the election.

"In spite of my criticism of Mr de Klerk, I say you are one of those I am going to rely on," said Mr Mandela, already assuming a presidential tone.

THE TIMES - LONDON

15/4/94

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

LONDON
15/4/94

Carrington and Kissinger leave with peace plea

By Alec Russell
In Johannesburg

LORD CARRINGTON and Dr Henry Kissinger scrupulously avoided apportioning blame last night for the failure of their mission of mediation to South Africa that finished before it started.

But they left no doubt about their frustration that they had been invited under the illusion that their role had been agreed by the African National Congress, the mainly Zulu Inkatha Party and the government.

"From the beginning we took the position that we needed agreed terms of reference between the parties," Dr Kissinger said. "When we came we found that the terms of reference had either been reopened or were not as fully agreed as we believed."

The impasse stems from Inkatha's insistence that the mediators should be entitled to consider a postponement of the election, due on April 26-28. This was against the wishes of the ANC, the government and the mediators, who had made clear that they would not act on such a brief.

There seems to have been genuine confusion about Sunday's agreement on the mediators' terms of reference, which failed to exclude specifically the possibility of discussion on the election date. It

was only when a new agreement was drawn up on Tuesday by the government and the ANC, explicitly ruling this out, that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, said mediation under such terms was futile.

But even if the first draft had been kept, there is little doubt that Inkatha would have insisted on discussion on the election date. Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary-general, accused Inkatha of sabotage.

By insisting on mediation on the election date, it was arguing for something which it knew from the start was non-negotiable, he said.

Inkatha's chief negotiator, Dr Ben Ngubane, said the ANC and the government had negotiated in bad faith. "The door has been slammed in our face," he said.

After the failure of Friday's summit between President de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, Chief Buthelezi and his Zulu ally, King Goodwill Zwelithini, the chances of successful mediation were slight. Differences between Inkatha and the ANC over their preferred form of constitution have become

bogged down over two years of talks.

The mediators, who were given a festive reception on their arrival on Tuesday, stressed that their departure was not a disaster. Dr Kissinger expressed his hope that the parties could still reach a settlement on their own. "All of us pray that peace will come," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said there would be no armed insurrection in Natal — which is divided between Inkatha and the ANC — and that he would not prevent the elections.

The ANC said it would try to set up another summit of leaders and that it had a new proposal for King Goodwill. But neither side expressed much hope of a settlement.

With the two-week-old state of emergency in Natal patently failing to curb political violence, the outlook for the election there is bleak.

Mr Ramaphosa said more troops would be deployed. Chief Buthelezi immediately issued a warning that this would lead to an increase in violence. "The catastrophe is here," he said.

Last night Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela slugged it out in a live television debate, giving South Africa a taste of US-style election campaign.

ing. In an hour-long discussion which was broadcast to an international audience of millions they answered questions from journalists and savaged each other's policies. Mr Mandela, effectively

the president-in-waiting, focused on the government's record on law and order. He repeatedly accused Mr de Klerk of complicity with renegade elements in the security forces who are

fomenting the violence. Mr de Klerk condemned the ANC's programme of social reconstruction and economic policy as "unrealistic and steeped in outdated socialist thinking". Mr de Klerk came across

as the more polished debater and the more attuned to getting his message across to a television audience. At the end Mr Mandela was careful to temper his

port for his rival. "We are saying, 'Let us work together'," he concluded, looking at Mr de Klerk. "I am proud to hold your hand, to go forward together."

Editorial Comment — P22

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LONDON

The Daily Telegraph

1 CANADA SQUARE LONDON E14 5DT TEL: 071 538 5000 TELEX: 22874
TRAFFORD PARK MANCHESTER M17 1SL TEL: 061 872 5939

K Doomed to failure

HENRY KISSINGER and Lord Carrington, veterans respectively of the Vietnam peace treaty and the Middle East shuttle, and of Rhodesian independence and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, have been made to look foolish. The two men, wrongly advised that the terms of reference for their mediation had been agreed by the disputants, discovered on arrival in South Africa that this was not the case.

Neither expected that it would be easy to find a compromise between the African National Congress's wish for a unitary state and the Inkatha Freedom Party's preference for a federal structure. But at least they expected their mediatory efforts to get off the ground. With the great men departed, the scene is set for increased violence and, at best, a deeply flawed election in KwaZulu.

Responsibility for the farce of the Kissinger/Carrington visit lies largely with the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It was he who pushed for international mediation, then killed any chance of its success. The two elder statesmen had refused to include the date of the election within their terms of reference. Yet, once they were in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi insisted that a postponement be on the agenda. Any delay in polling at this stage, less than two weeks before the election is due, could lead to an outcry among the majority of blacks and intensified violence. That in turn would doom any chance South Africa has of achieving political stability and

attracting the foreign investment it so desperately needs.

As Trevor Fishlock made clear on the facing page on Wednesday, Chief Buthelezi has become a tragic figure. His reputation was built under the old regime, as an opponent of apartheid. In dealing with the transition to a non-racial democracy, he has been outmanoeuvred to such an extent that all he can now offer his Zulu supporters is an apparently hopeless fight to the death. His boycotting of the constitutional talks, above all his refusal to take part in the election, have revealed him as someone who is not prepared to face a democratic judgment at the polls.

The fall in his prestige is all the more tragic in that it has allowed the ANC — because of Buthelezi's failure to create political alliances and the decline in his popularity, even among the Zulus — to brush aside his sensible pleas for greater devolution of power.

A last attempt will doubtless be made by the ANC and the National Party government to gain Inkatha's acquiescence in the election. But there seems no chance of finding common ground. The prospect for KwaZulu is bleak: an election in which a large part of the electorate will be effectively disenfranchised for fear of reprisals, then an attempt by an ANC-dominated government to crush Chief Buthelezi once and for all.

In the event of an Inkatha boycott, one can only hope that the National Party will attract enough Zulu voters to make it an effective brake on ANC excesses.

Carrington team's peace mission fails after just 48 hours

JOHN CARLIN
in Johannesburg

LORD Carrington and Henry Kissinger left Johannesburg last night having abandoned all hope for the mediation mission that had brought them to South Africa only 48 hours earlier. "I personally am very sad about this," said Lord Carrington.

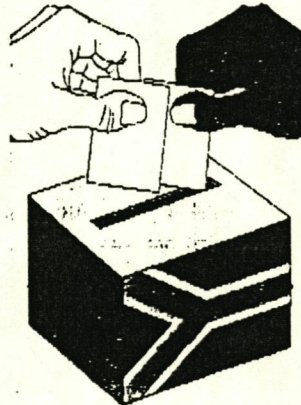
Upon their arrival, Lord Carrington and Mr Kissinger had expressed the hope at a buoyant press conference that they would succeed in bridging the gap between the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha, the last, biggest and potentially most violent obstacle South Africa needs to surmount if the elections of 26-28 April are to be a success.

At noon yesterday, at the very same hotel in Johannesburg, Lord Carrington and Mr Kissinger declared their enterprise a failure. They had expected to begin work on Wednesday morning but the talks never got off the ground. They made it plain they felt they had been lured to South Africa under false pretences.

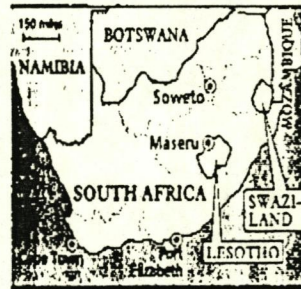
"We dropped everything in order to contribute to progress towards a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society in South Africa," Mr Kissinger said, appropriating the language of the ANC. "Last Sunday we were told that our consolidated terms of reference had been agreed and on the basis of that we came. When we arrived we found the terms of reference had been either reopened or not as fully agreed as we had believed."

It was the realisation that agreement on the terms of reference would never be reached — despite frantic last-minute negotiations between the ANC and the government on one side and Inkatha on the other — that persuaded the foreign notables their best course was

SOUTH AFRICAN



ELECTIONS



to acknowledge the fiasco and depart. Yesterday, ANC and Inkatha officials exchanged recriminations, each providing their histories of the conflict over the terms of reference.

In essence, Inkatha's leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, wanted a possible postponement of the election put on the mediation agenda while the ANC and government believed the date to be sacrosanct. That was why few South African observers entertained any hope of success for the mediators' mission. The only chance seemed to be that Inkatha would be bound into a mediation process lasting beyond the election, that a constitutional agreement might be reached and that Chief Buthelezi would be sufficiently mollified to stop fanning the vio-

lence of his supporters.

The chief's main concern is somehow to perpetuate the power he has enjoyed undemocratically under apartheid. But he has consistently refused to register his party for the elections and the ANC and the government feel that now it is too late.

It was Mr Kissinger's judgement that Chief Buthelezi's expectations had exceeded reality. "In no circumstances," he said, "would we involve ourselves in the issue of the appropriate time for the elections."

The Inkatha leader was understandably upset yesterday afternoon. He had been drowning politically, and the mediators' arrival appeared to throw him a lifeline. He chose not to take it. Now there is no chance, as Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, said yesterday, that Inkatha will play a role in the elections. The only solution that remains for Natal-KwaZulu, where Inkatha is threatening to sabotage the elections, is for the army to go in and contain the fire. Chief Buthelezi's response yesterday was that South Africa was "on the road to catastrophe". He warned against plans to send in more troops and described the prospects for the immediate future as "very grim".

THE INDEPENDENT - LONDON

15/4/94

Why the Zulus face defeat

History suggests a bloody outcome, says R.W. Johnson

Even as the international mediators leave South Africa and the crisis in Natal, the question is whether anyone can possibly halt the runaway militarisation of that province: perhaps too much blood has already been shed for mere politics to work. Many thousands of people have, after all, already died since the conflict between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party first began.

Amid the Hobbesian realities of life in Natal, the question which stands out is who, in a contest of pure power, will win. If you listen to Chief Buthelezi's admiring white supporters, enthused with a romantic passion for the very Zulu military prowess which once struck terror into their ancestors, there is no doubt of what is to come. "If you push the Zulus too far," they say, "watch out. Buthelezi or the king will give the word and the *impis* will pour forth as of old. The ANC will simply be annihilated."

Such a vision is, however, simply out of date and has been since at least 1879, when Lord Chelmsford's riflemen dispatched a far larger number of Cetewayo's men at the battle of Ulundi, breaking the power of the Zulu monarchy for generations. Today's talk of a protracted civil war between KwaZulu forces and a post-election ANC government rest upon a quite inflated notion of Inkatha's real ability to resist.

The vast bulk of IFP supporters are uneducated and middle-aged Zulu peasants, often with a strong Christian commitment and an unwillingness to believe that political violence is justified. The spear-waving *impis* of the IFP are real enough but they are a minority in their own camp. Their Matabele cousins in Zimbabwe enjoyed a similar warrior reputation but it did them little good against President Mugabe's brutal campaign of repression through his notorious Fifth Brigade.

KwaZulu itself packs little military punch. True, the KwaZulu police is a large and well-armed body, but its policing is notoriously ineffectual: it is doubtful that the KZP would make the grade as soldiers in any serious conflict. Precisely because of that, Chief Buthelezi recently set up paramilitary self-defence units, the first 500 of whose recruits have just graduated. Their prowess is unknown.

Meanwhile, the South African Defence Force has already established a heavy presence in Natal, where its armoured cars and troop carriers are everywhere visible. Buthelezi has indignantly condemned this "invasion" but he wholly lacks the means to resist it. At present the SADF gets its orders from President de Klerk and sees its role as one of neutral peacekeeping between the two sides. But already ANC voices are raised, demanding that the SADF smash the IFP and detain its militants by the thousand. The real question is what the SADF will do if the post-election ANC-led government orders it to act in such a brutally partisan fashion. The generals may be tempted to continue to look for a lead from de Klerk or even from General Constand Viljoen, leader of the white right, but their long-term professional interest will surely be to establish their indispensability to their new political masters.

Buthelezi's dislike of the SADF, however, pales in comparison with his utter rejection of the newly formed National Peace-Keeping Force (NPKF), which blends SADF units with those drawn from the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and the various tinpot armies of the pro-ANC homelands. Not surprisingly, Buthelezi sees the NPKF as simply an ANC army. The news that 1,000 NPKF soldiers are to be dispatched to Durban's biggest township, Umlazi, is deeply ominous not only because the NPKF's partisan image and notorious disciplinary problems make it a dubious candidate for the ultra-sensitive task of township policing, but because it introduces a further and volatile military element into the already overheated atmosphere of Natal politics.

Meanwhile the MK Commissar, Andrew Masondo, has announced that a further 16,000 MK soldiers are to be integrated into the new army. Mr Masondo has been repeatedly branded as a torturer of his own men, even by the ANC's own investigative commissions. The fact that he clearly still enjoys authority within MK is a deeply chilling fact in the eyes of the ANC's opponents.

The post-election situation in Natal seems certain to be a violent mess, but barring a major rebellion by the SADF against the new government, any KwaZulu attempt at military resistance seems doomed. If the current staccato rhythm of political killing goes on — and 205 people have died even since the emergency began — the chances of a "pacification" campaign along Zimbabwean lines will surely grow.

But while the forces of Zulu traditionalism can be crushed quite easily in the short term, this does not mean they will necessarily be defeated in the longer term. One must remember how in Uganda, the forces of Milton Obote's radical African nationalism easily vanquished the Kabaka, the traditional King of Buganda. But as Obote's and then Idi Amin's regimes failed, Buganda pined more and more for its lost ruler. Today Obote and Amin both live in exiled disgrace, while once more Buganda is ruled by a Kabaka. It is a lesson which should be pondered by anyone who believes that an institution as deeply rooted as the Zulu monarchy and its traditional aristocracy can be easily disposed of by a whiff of grapeshot.

THE TIMES - LONDON 15/4/94

Politics of peace hard at work in heart of Soweto

Rivals in the election, the ANC and National Party share a building and a spirit of tolerance, writes John Carlin

DUBE is the Piccadilly Circus of Soweto. There is no neon, no statues, but bustle, a feeling of being in a town centre you do not experience anywhere else in Soweto.

All you see, for miles, are rows of uniformly brown Monopoly houses. But here, at the township's compact heart, you have the supermarkets; the banks; the hairdressers; the Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet; and the offices both of the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party.

The ANC has been occupying an office on the first floor of a three-storey building for some time. The National Party (NP), apartheid's founder and enforcer, moved into the second floor, directly above the ANC, at the end of last year.

The NP's information officer in Soweto, Vronda Banda, sits in a spare little room with a formica desk, a potted plant and a large photograph on the wall of a smiling, roguish Pik Botha, Foreign Minister since 1977. Beside the photograph is an election poster, "NP: for your place in the sun."

It was precisely because the NP was denying black people a place in the sun that Mr Banda fled South Africa in 1976 and joined the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). After training in East Germany, he was dispatched back to South Africa in the early Eighties. He was arrested and tried for "high treason" and "conspiracy to overthrow the government". Found guilty, he was sent to Robben Island prison in 1983 and pardoned in 1990.

In April last year he joined the NP. Two questions had to be asked. What on earth had possessed him to join the "Nats"? And, how did he get on with his ANC neighbours?

A short, stocky, energetic man in his mid-thirties, Mr Banda smiled, as if the answer were obvious. Two hundred other Umkhonto members had joined the NP, he said. "We all felt the same. We felt the NP was the one political party in South Africa consistent in its objectives, more particularly as regards peace and getting South Africa back to normal."

Consistent? "Yes. It was a painful process for them and it has given them credibility. But they did change and now we're thinking of the future, not the past. Some of the faces are the same but we don't consider

that. We are all South Africans irrespective of colour. I left the ANC because I think they're still a bit stuck in the Cold War era, with their Communism and those things. But I have no personal grudge against them."

President F W de Klerk and the NP hierarchy have complained a great deal that they and, in particular, their black supporters, have been victims of intimidation in the black townships. The evidence supports the complaint. Had Mr Banda had any bad experiences with his ANC neighbours?

"No. We've got very good guys here, some I was with in the ANC. When I opened the office in December the ANC were already here. I gave a guy I knew from exile an invitation to the opening and he came."

How were relations now? "Normal. We're friends. We discuss problems together, social problems, like when your child is sick. We have drinks together here or in their office. Let me tell you a story. We had a burglary here recently. They took our TV and our fax machine. To our surprise, the ANC guys helped us to trace the stuff and we got it all back. Because they saw the criminals. The very same day they came with us, we went looking for them and together we caught them immediately."

The ANC office downstairs was identical to the NP's save for the Mandela posters. Dan Moshugi, a thin, mild-mannered man who joined "the struggle" aged 16 in 1959, was coy about admitting to a friendship with the NP people. But he acknowledged, with a shrug and a smile, that relations were just fine. "We exchange courtesies. 'Good morning, good morning'. And we help each other out. Banda knows people in the ANC and if he has problems he knows we will sort them out."

Mr Moshugi felt no bitterness towards his neighbour. "We're committed to political tolerance. We need to be seen to be doing that. Every political party has a right to organise and canvas. When de Klerk... said 'I went to Soweto and I was welcomed' I think that was to the credit of the ANC. What I tell people is, 'without tolerance how can we say the elections will be free and fair?'... This is the first election of its kind and we simply cannot afford to mess it up."

THE INDEPENDENT
London - 15/4/94

Carrington mediation bid collapses in S Africa

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

LORD Carrington and Henry Kissinger yesterday suffered the humiliating collapse of their mediation efforts in South Africa after the government and the African National Congress refused to contemplate postponing this month's election.

The apparently irresistible schedule for the transition to majority rule was underlined when President F. W. de Klerk announced that his government had held its last cabinet meeting. The next meeting is scheduled for May 4, when the cabinet is expected to be chaired by the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, as president-elect.

The seven international mediators, led by the former United States secretary of state and the former British foreign secretary, excused the failure of their mission by saying they had been misled over the terms of reference.

Dr Kissinger said the mediators had insisted the terms of reference be agreed before they came to South Africa.

"On Sunday we were told consolidated terms of reference existed and a copy was faxed to me... When we came here, we found the terms of reference had either been reopened or were not fully agreed as we had believed," Dr Kissinger said.

The expedition appears to have been ill-advised. It is likely to add little to the reputation of Lord Carrington or Dr Kissinger as freelance "super-diplomats".

Since the failure of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party to register for the April 27 election, talks with those participating in the poll have seen attempts to seize the moral high ground rather than resolve differences.

Chief Buthelezi has clearly insisted on the poll's being postponed. It was assumed for that reason that the mediation attempt would never get off the ground.

But it appears there was only belated recognition of this by the mediators. "We dropped everything in order to contribute to progress towards a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa," Dr Kissinger said.

"The fact that it has failed fills me with sadness," Lord Carrington said.

The ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said negotiations could still take place.

An Inkatha spokesman, Ben Ngubane, accused both the government and ANC of acting in bad faith.

Meanwhile, the National Peacekeeping Force began deploying in the East Rand yesterday, only to come under attack from gunmen allegedly firing from an Inkatha hostel in the township of Katlehong.

Inkatha said they had been attacked by the ANC and that the peacekeepers failed to intervene.

TV debate too close to call, page 12; Old statesmen, page 20; Leader comment, page 21

THE GUARDIAN - LONDON

15/4/94

Doomed to the bullet and the ballot

THE MISSION ended before it began; and Henry Kissinger was on the plane home from South Africa yesterday without needing to unpack his bags. That spectacle inevitably produced a little chortling in high places of the golden-oldie-fails-in-comeback-drama variety. But it needs to be said that this failure, boding further tragedy, had absolutely nothing to do with Dr Kissinger, Lord Carrington, or any of their team. You can't make peace when the people involved don't want it — and the endless hassle between the ANC, National Party and Inkatha about terms of reference betrays the fact that none of the parties really wanted this delegation of superannuated statesmen in on the act; least of all Chief Buthelezi. A fortnight of bloodshed and crisis away from election day, it is time to take stock.

Will the election happen on cue? It is vital that it does, for the momentum, excitement and catharsis of coming democracy are binding the wounds of South African society. Take away that momentum and the carnage will grow, not diminish. Of course there is no chance of holding a pristine ballot in parts of Natal: but it would be best, if necessary, to open the polling stations anyway — and try a re-run later if the independent electoral commission so advises. The transfer of power cannot be delayed: and the logic of that transfer has to be worked through.

Logic is the crucial ally of South African change — and demands that every situation and every eventuality be put to its test. Such logic now transfixes Buthelezi. Some South Africans talk fearfully of impending civil war, resurrecting the Zulu ghosts of Blood River. Too much history; too little logic. The mounting carnage in KwaZulu is the rural butchery of gangs. It can't be easily stopped — and there are not enough dependable troops and police in all South Africa to attempt the task. (On a Northern Ireland assessment, you'd need an army of 80,000 merely to contain the situation). But this is not a war of large battalions marching across a grassy, open slope; not the charge at Blood River.

The battle in KwaZulu is not, as the Chief or his King pretend, one of Zulus against ANC aliens. It is Zulu murdering Zulu. Inkatha represents the clear minority of Zulu allegiance, the ANC a demonstrable majority which wants to vote and be an integral part of the new South Africa. That is the deepest reason for the bloodshed: to stop an election which would expose Inkatha's weakness.

But — logic again — present weakness is also future weakness. An Inkatha army cannot take on the forces of the state in formalised conflict. Nor, in a low-level terrorist conflict, can it depend on any neighbouring nation for covert supplies and cash. It will be wholly alone, without safe territory or friends. And, critically, Chief Buthelezi will lack the money that Pretoria currently supplies to pay his fighters and his police and the public officialdom which sustains his fiefdom. Slowly, grindingly, miserably, he will lose what he has — just as surely as he would lose at the polls.

It's a stark, but compelling scenario. It gives the new South Africa a lousy start. But it is still a beginning. And the crumbling may come faster than expected as those around Buthelezi sense the inevitable. Let us hope that happens: and that the ANC remains more anxious to negotiate than to lash back. But the logic is set. If the Inkatha minority won't join what should be a joyous party, then their isolation and defeat must be inexorable.

THE GUARDIAN COMMENT 15/4/94

Out to put the brake on the Mercedes set

David Beresford in Johannesburg meets Ben Turok, the Marxist aiming to get the country on the road to prosperity for all

AMONG the jewels in the crown of South African capitalism is the Mercedes-Benz plant outside East London, one of only three in the world. It should be converted into a bicycle factory, suggests the man who has every chance of becoming the economic supremo of the country's industrial and financial hub.

Elections in 11 days time may bring the liberation of the black population politically, but the battle to close one of the biggest gaps between haves and have-nots in an industrialised society is likely to be protracted, and its outcome less predictable.

The determination of the African National Congress to fight the good fight, however, is likely to be signalled shortly by the appointment of a former lecturer at Britain's Open University to mastermind its "reconstruction and development programme" in South Africa's economic heartland, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) triangle.

For Ben Turok, the job will represent the realisation of a life's work. The Marxist writer, who joined the liberation movement at the age of 16, has become something of an *enfant terrible* to Western capitalism. After 14 years lecturing in politics at the Open University, as well as stints in various parts of Africa, he took premature retirement to launch the Institute for African Alternatives, a multinational think-tank which devotes much of its energy to confounding the machinations of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in the continent.

In 1961, as an early recruit to the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, he planted an incendiary bomb in a magistrate's desk in the old Rissik Street post office in central Johannesburg. It only partly detonated, leaving behind a piece of charred paper bearing his fingerprints. It was after serving three years in Pretoria Central for arson that he fled into exile.

A PWV provincial parliament is to be set up in Johannesburg's city hall, and current plans are for the old post office building across the road to be used as its administrative offices. Mr Turok may finally settle into a seat of state power on the premises he once tried to burn down.

He is tipped to head the provincial government's reconstruction and development commission, which will administer the ANC's reconstruction and redevelopment budget of 39 billion rand (£7.5 billion), in collaboration with similar commissions in each of the provincial states.

The task of levelling the country's economic playing field is daunting. Whites own 87 per cent of land; 5 per cent of white South Africans own 88 per cent of the country's wealth; 95 per cent of managerial jobs and 98 per cent of company directorships are held by whites.

In the PWV, a striking example of racial inequality is provided by Johannesburg's northern suburb of Sandton and the adjoining township of Alexandra. Population density in Alexandra is 688 a hectare, against 12 in the "white" suburb. Water

consumption in Sandton is more than seven times higher a head than in the township. Local government per capita spending in Sandton is 22 times that in Alexandra.

"This kind of polarisation of society is very dangerous," says Mr Turok. "It cannot continue... The people are looking to a new government to change their way of life."

One of the main causes of inequality is the subsidy system, he says. Electricity, for example, is sold to white areas for 9 cents a kilowatt-hour while Soweto residents pay 18 cents. He also cites white exploitation of cheap black gardeners and maids as part of the subsidy system.

"The inequalities go beyond income and wealth. They go into the lifestyle of South Africa. We will have to look at the way people live in reality and see what can be done," he says.

Manufacturing is a priority target for reconstruction. In a contribution to a recent book on the subject, Mr Turok declared flatly that the manufacture of luxury goods should be frozen, because of their dependence on imported materials. In the face of current ANC orthodoxies, he has softened his stance.

Turok: *Continued*

"If we are short of foreign exchange, luxury imports are one of the things we will have to look at," he says. "We might have to appeal to those people who are at the luxury end of the social scale to refrain from importing certain luxury commodities which are a drain on foreign exchange. Hopefully, we can do this on a voluntary basis, without the imposition of curbs."

The manufacturing industry is "badly skewed" in favour of goods with high mark-up poten-

tial, aimed at the top end of the market. "One would like to see the refocusing of South African manufacturing to mass production goods," he says, pointing out that South Africa does not have a bicycle factory of note.

But would he close Mercedes? "You don't want to do anything too drastic, but I certainly am prejudiced," he says cautiously, but with the underlying tone of a man who has realised that the Rissik Street post office can be better used than as a bombing target.

THE GUARDIAN - London

15/4/94

Listen, Zwelithini, to what the nation is saying

In a letter to his king, **Mondli waka Makhanya** writes that Zwelithini should act now to avert the disaster awaiting the Zulus

Ndabezitha.

IN the mother-tongue we say: "Ingane engakhali ifela embelekwent" (A baby that never cries when it is hungry dies on its mother's back). And your name, Zwelithini, asks the question, "What is the nation saying?" As a proud subject of yours I am appealing to you to save the Zulu nation from the suicide to which it is being driven.

Your majesty, with the people of South Africa two weeks away from celebrating the the end of 300 years of subjugation, there is an air of joyous anticipation. But among your subjects, Ndabezitha, there are only rumblings of war and fear of death.

This war, if it is not averted, will set Zulu against Zulu and succeed in destroying the kingdom — a task the colonialists, the "abakazindlebe zikhany' ilanga" (those whose ears the sun shines through), failed to accomplish in the last century. You, too, should be rejoicing at the end of this subjugation and the birth of a new nation.

For is it not this very subjugation that Cetshwayo so gallantly resisted at Isandlwana, and Bambatha died trying to shake off?

All over your kingdom, spears are being sharpened and young men are preparing to plunge them into the hearts of fellow Zulus.

We know, your majesty, that when you talk sovereignty it is not you who speaks. The words are those of your prime minister, Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi, who craves absolute power.

We know that when you threaten civil war it is not you who is talking. The lives of your subjects come second to his insatiable appetite for power.

And when you reject offers of a constitutional monarchy, it is not you that says no. It is he who has usurped your authority and made you an appendage of his designs.

Your majesty, your people have a right to see you carry yourself in a manner that makes us proud of the throne. Could you live with the knowledge that you were the king who presided over the demise of



A woman flees her home in kwaMashu

PHOTOGRAPH AP

what was so painstakingly built by Shaka?

Mageba, history tells us that kings have cast aside their lieutenants before. Now is time for you to act decisively in the interests of your subjects and make a break with your prime minister.

It is he who poses the greatest threat to the survival of Zulu institutions and is tarnishing the image of the Zulu people in the eyes of fellow South Africans.

It is your prime minister, Ngon-Lyama, who should take ultimate responsibility for the blood that has for the past decade stained the beautiful hills that make your kingdom so dear to its inhabitants. It is he who has made your subjects in Reef hostels enemies of their township neighbours, with whom they had previously lived in harmony.

What you have in your hands is the future of seven million people, a future which should not be confused with the career of one man.

The people with whom your prime minister has surrounded you, and whose advice you now take, do not have at heart the interests of the crown, the Zulu people and of the South Africa most Zulus want to remain part of. Mario Ambrosini and Stan Armstrong are from lands far

across the sea. You should be suspicious about why they value the future of the Zulu nation and your throne so much.

Your majesty, it should be clear from the overtures made to you by the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma that the threat to your throne does not lie in that quarter. The entire South African nation holds your throne in high regard, for it embodies a rich heritage of resistance of which most South Africans are proud.

Silo sama bandla onke (lion of all the clans), it is only by ridding yourself of your prime minister and moving into a new era with the rest of South Africa that your throne can regain the respect and authority eroded by manipulation.

You owe this to Senzangakhona, Shaka, Dingane, Cetshwayo and other kings that came before you. You owe it to those who have been widowed, orphaned and been left indigent by the war in Natal and on the Reef.

You owe it to those whom this worsening war may turn into murderers.

Lastly, you owe it to your own children who will inherit your throne.

Your humble subject,

Mondli waka Makhanya ka Gumede ka Qwabe.

THE WEEKLY MAIL, 15-21 APRIL 94



BY FRANCIS, H. DUGMORE & RICO

QUICK, EVE--THEY'RE
HERE. I'LL GET THE DOOR.
YOU GET THE CHEESE.
DIP!!

HEH HEH



I AM
NOT!
LOUSY
CHEAT

LOOKING AT MY CARDS!

I AM NOT!

LOUSY CHEAT!

MAYBE WE SHOULD'VE GONE WITH "OLD MAID."

WITTE

As the political conflict continues in kwaZulu with the death toll mounting and preparations being made for war, an IFP spokesman reveals that the call to wage war against an ANC government will come from the king, 'a political untouchable'. Farouk Chothia reports

Call to arms in kwaZulu

ACALL by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on his subjects to wage armed struggle against an ANC-led government of national unity was "within the realm of possibility", Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Tillet said this week.

Mass action and civil disobedience campaigns, including rent boycotts, were also possible.

In an interview, Tillet said any call to arms would come from Zwelithini — "a political untouchable".

The IFP would continue operating as a legal organisation, while an "amorphous group of people" would operate outside it, making any government clampdown on the party difficult.

Other sources have confirmed war preparations are underway, with guerilla-type cells being formed.

They claimed 5 000 IFP fighters trained at Mlaba camp in Umfolozi and other camps would form the backbone of a guerrilla force, and said IFP supporters were already stockpiling weapons — including tracer bullets, mortar bombs, AK47 rifles and RPG

7s.

By using Zwell00int, the IFP hopes an armed struggle would have wider appeal, observers believe.

Said Tillo: "Royalist fervour is running very, very high (in the urban and peri-urban strongholds of the ANC)."

But observers believe the IFP would be strongest in rural areas, where it can rely on the support of chiefs and rightwing farmers, enabling attacks on industrialised areas which could include blowing up pipelines and railway lines to the PWV — South Africa's economic heartland.

The KwaZulu government is expected to resist any moves to disband the homeland which, legally, is due to cease to exist after elections.

KwaZulu deputy minister of works Velaphi Ndlovu told the *Mail & Guardian* it would be "business as usual" in Umtata after the elections and that the new government would be regarded as "illegitimate".

As kwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) members were elected, "nobody can just tell us what to do".

If a new government wanted to "force" them out of office, they could send in troops.

Sources said the kwaZulu government was considering adopting a new constitution — either before or after the election — and presenting it as Zwelithini's.

This would frustrate dismantling the homeland and put pressure on a new government to meet its constitutional demands.

Several ANC election rallies were banned under the emergency regulations this week while IFP anti-election rallies went ahead.

In Durban, about 20 non-governmental organisations at a civil society summit warned the emergency had increased "political polarisation" and fostered a "war psychosis".

Meanwhile it is believed the TEC will use beefed-up emergency regulations to prohibit all strike action, which would force striking kwaZulu teachers — some staying away in the face of IFP death-threats — and nurses back to work.

Sources said other amendments could include:

- Empowering the TEC to "commandeer" kwaZulu property — to aid election preparations.

●A ban on carrying and displaying weapons in public, whether concealed or not, to counter an IFP ploy of hiding weapons in plastic bags.

● Giving the National Peacekeeping Force powers similar to those of the police and SADF — paving the way for NPKF deployment in the province and reducing reliance on the SAP and SADF to enforce the emergency.

A number of incidents show the emergency's impact on the ANC's ability to campaign in the region:

15 APR 1994 10:17 PM 15-21 APR 1994

(2)

will come from the king

●Verulam's chief magistrate refused permission for an ANC "people's forum" this weekend on grounds of insufficient notice.

●At Impendle in the Midlands, security forces reportedly failed to stop several hundred IFP supporters from occupying a stadium where the ANC planned a rally, instead banning the rally on the grounds that it could lead to violence.

●KwaMashu's township manager refused to allow the ANC to hold a funeral at Princess Magogo stadium for fear it could lead to violence, forcing the ANC to change the venue.

●At Edendale in the Midlands, the SAP's Internal Stability Unit stopped a South African Democratic Teachers' Union meeting, saying it was an illegal gathering.

ANC Midlands spokesman Blade Nzimande has called for a TEC sub-council to sit in kwaZulu/Natal and for TEC representation in security force

"command structures" charged with enforcing the regulations, a task currently performed by SAP regional commissioner Lieutenant General Colin Steyn and his counterpart in the SADF, Brigadier Deon Ferreira.

Said Nzimande: "As long as we don't have control of the security forces, we are going to have difficulties. We need effective supervisory mechanisms."

Concern has also been raised in ANC circles that the kwaZulu Police (KZP) is behaving in some areas as though it has emergency powers.

At a meeting last weekend in Umlazi, Durban's largest township, the local civic association complained of "increased lawlessness" on the part of the KZP since the emergency's imposition — one example being claims that KZP members fired shots at the local ANC office.

ANC violence monitor Roy Ainslie said he had reports that KZP officers

were searching kwaMashu homes, close to the Amasinyora gangsters, for arms earlier in the week.

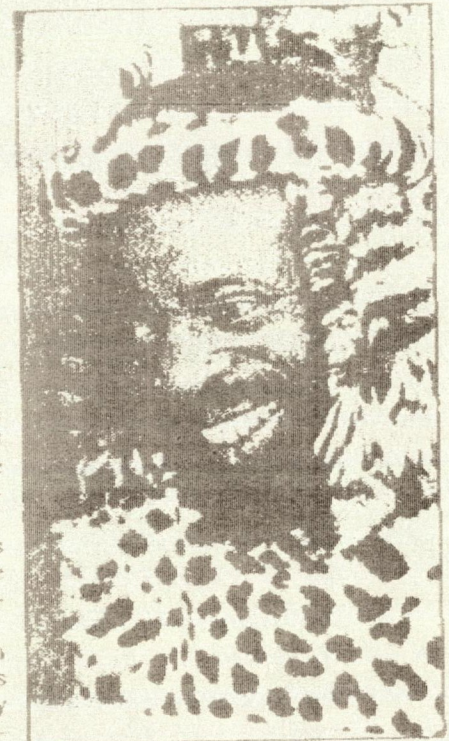
"If anything, they've taken encouragement from the emergency regulations," said Ainslie.

Meanwhile, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) reported that 153 deaths were recorded in the first eight days of the emergency.

By Wednesday this week — the 13th day of the emergency — another 43 deaths were reported, bringing the total number of deaths since the emergency to 200.

An HRC spokesman said: "There has been a slight decline compared to late March but not when compared to January and February."

"There are now about 2 400 troops in kwaZulu/Natal hotspots but this number is expected to be beefed up by another 1 200 as citizen-force members would be ready for deployment from today."



King Goodwill Zwelithini ... Political untouchable

Much of the jousting between the TEC and De Klerk is for public consumption — it has become clear that on most issues, they are at one.

Swopping the shovel for a gun

Farouk Chothia

WHEN peace broke out in war-ravaged Mpumalanga four years ago, Felix Sithole and Mandla Cele struck up friendships with their former enemies in the ANC, playing football and sharing drinks with them.

Today, the two 22-year-old youths are trained IFP soldiers, ready to fight at the call of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. They underwent an intensive six-week training programme at the Mlabi training camp in Umfolozi in Northern Natal, where they learnt how to fire semi-automatic rifles and defuse explosives.

Drop-outs from school, both were in the frontline of battle during IFP/ANC clashes in the 1980s. When peace came to the township in 1990, they reaped its fruits. Now, with the political temperature rising, both are on battle alert.

Sithole was 16 when his mother died in 1989: "She was shot dead. Two ANC people are now in prison. I do not hate them. They are getting their punishment," he said.

They said they had no alternative but to be on a war-footing since the ANC started training its people for the National Peacekeeping Force (NPRF) and to combat crime in the township.

"Our leaders told the ANC there was no need for the training because in Mpumalanga there is peace. Any training should be done jointly by the IFP and ANC. They did not listen to us so we went to Umfolozi," said Sithole.

He described their rigorous training: "We used to wake up at 4.30am and go for a jog; do push-ups and climb up poles. It made us fit and disciplined."

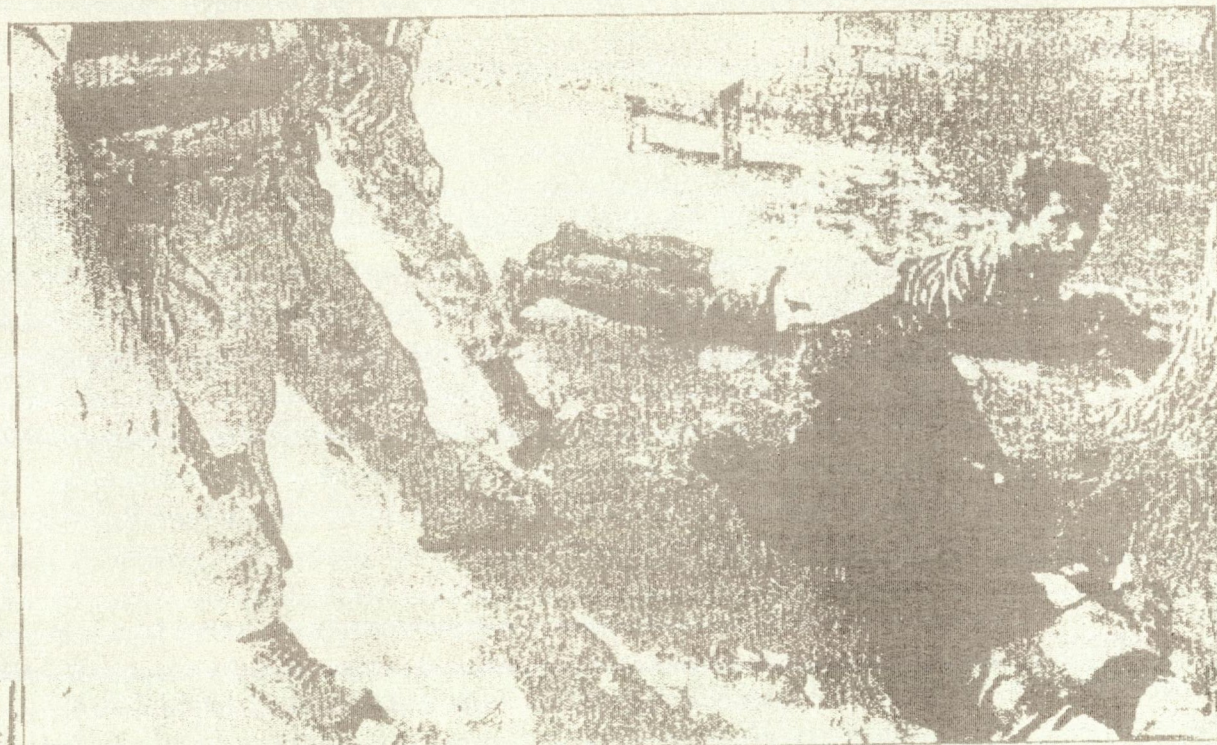
Cele said that twice a day they were taught to use SAP-issued R-1 and kwaZulu Police-issued G-3 rifles. Sit-hole said they also learned how to defuse hand grenades.

Military training was rooted in party political doctrine: "We were taught about the Zulu kingdom — and the need to defend it. If kwaZulu property is attacked, then we will fight back," said Sithole.

Cicelo added: "The Xhosas want to take over kwaZulu. They want to take our mineral resources to the Transkei. They've got nothing there. We will defend our kingdom."

Sithole is concerned about plans to set up polling booths in Mpumalanga. "If the king is against (the elections), how can we have polling booths here? I can't allow them to be here," said Sithole.

Both declined to say who the train-



Caught ... An ISU member holds a zip gun confiscated from two suspects arrested at a hostel in KwaMashu

ing instructors were. Sithole said when he was at the camp, there were 16 black instructors. Cele said there were two whites among the instructors.

The camp was run along military lines: Cele said the 900 trainees in his course were divided into 32 platoons. The recruits came from IFP strongholds throughout KwaZulu/Natal and the PWV.

On their return to Mpumalanga, the trainees were placed under the control of a commander who often gets the

group together for physical training.

But they are now careful not to contravene emergency regulations: training is done in groups of three people for fear that it could be interpreted as an illegal gathering. Sithole said the soldiers were not given weapons on leaving Umfolozi. "We will be helped to get them," he said.

The military training has changed Sithole's life: he has severed ties with his friends in ANC strongholds. In 1990, he worked with ANC supporters on an Urban Foundation-sponsored

development project, making bricks to rebuild homes destroyed by violence.

The shovel has been swapped for the gun. The builders have been retrained as destroyers.

There are ominous signs for peace: two ANC supporters from the township died recently under mysterious circumstances; a school in an ANC stronghold came under gunfire; ANC election posters have been ripped off and, in what appeared to be a retaliatory move, anti-IFP slogans were sprayed in the township.

ELECTIONS '94

The pamphlet massacre

Eight men die at a country school.
Their crime: voter education

(1)

ELEVEN young men, hired for a day to distribute official voter education leaflets, were dropped off at a country primary school in Ndwedwe, Natal.

Eight of those men are now dead. They were slowly tortured in a locked classroom. A group of thugs led by a local shopkeeper beat them with sjamboks and red-hot wires. Three men managed to escape in the pandemonium. The rest were roped together, thrown in a ravine and hacked to

death with pangas.

When their boss came looking for them a day later, he found the classroom walls splattered with blood. The teachers all said they had been absent the day before and knew nothing. KwaZulu Police, told of the massacre soon after it happened, had not yet arrived.

The leaflet that didn't help: **PAGES 4 and 5**

Most of the dead men — and their assailants — could not read the pamphlets. If they could, they would have learnt that the new constitution offers equal protection for all: "Your guarantee for a better South Africa."

(But there still are some moments of hope. Turn to PAGE 5 for a Romeo and Juliet tale of love across the ANC and Inkatha divide)

(2)

TEC's 'guarantee for a better South Africa' didn't

Chris McGreal

S EVEN young black men were this week sent to their deaths in the heart of a Natal war zone after being hired to distribute Transitional Executive Council leaflets encouraging people to vote. The victims, all in their teens and twenties, were tortured for hours at an Ndwedwe area primary school and then hacked and burned to death. The principal and his bodyguard have been arrested with four other people.

The murders of even those engaged in non-party political promotion of the election came as opponents of the vote renewed their threats of a widening war. One of three men who managed to escape said some of the victims, part-time workers from Durban, were unaware of what they were distributing or where. An ANC belt was found lying across one of the bodies, but it is not known if it was taken from any of the corpses. One man is still missing.

The distributors drove in to Ndwedwe on Monday to hand out pamphlets explaining South Africa's new constitution and voting procedures. "Your guarantee for a better South Africa," the leaflets declare. They are not party political but they do explain the rights of those who wish to vote. Throughout, the pamphlet emphasises that

unlike the old apartheid system the new constitution offers equal protection for all. But Thulane Ngcamu (22) discovered that in parts of Natal it offers no protection at all.

Their minibus pulled up at the Tokomele primary school where they went in search of the principal, Elliot Shangase. He also turned out to be the local chief and Inkatha stalwart.

Shangase ordered the 11 into a classroom. Shortly afterwards a group of men carrying sjamboks, knobkerries and pangas arrived. Ngcamu said a shopkeeper called Mhlonishwa demanded to know if they were "comrades".

"The principal rang the bell to close the school. The children went home and the principal left and the shopkeeper took over. That's when things started to go wrong. They beat us and kicked me in the face and accused us of being comrades. They asked us what we wanted here. We explained we are here to distribute the pamphlets but they didn't listen. They just kept torturing us," he said.

Ngcamu counted 18 people taking part in the beatings. His face is swollen from a kick in the jaw and his back is still raw from the sjambokking. Other victims were burned with hot wire and cut with pangas. The torture went on for about two hours until the classroom walls and desks were

help seven murdered pamphlet distributors

bloodsoaked. Then each victim was pushed through the window and lashed together in pairs.

Ngcamu escaped when the man he was tied to broke free. While his captors fired at the fleeing man, Ngcamu ran in the other direction. The others were not so lucky. They were tossed into a ravine, and hacked to death.

Ngcamu ran for his life until he was grabbed by a crowd who feared he was a thief. They returned him to Shangase. Apparently aware of the many witnesses, he ordered that the captive be handed over to the police. Only two others survived the killings. They included the minibus driver who was separated from the others and sent to the kwaZulu police station under armed escort. En route, his vehicle was set alight. He escaped and called his boss, Andy Cox, the owner of the firm contracted to dispense the leaflets across Natal and Transkei. Four of the driver's relatives are among the dead men.

Cox wept with sorrow and anger as he related the frustrations of trying to persuade the kwaZulu Police to act. Eventually he called a brother-in-law in the SAP riot squad who sent help. An initial search after dark did not discover the bodies. Cox returned with the SAP on Tuesday and again sought KZP assistance.

"When I got here at 12 o'clock these guys had done nothing. They hadn't even checked to see if there was anyone alive," he said.

Cox approached the principal. "I knew he was involved. How could he leave those kids here with those other guys and not know anything about it? We got to the school and spoke to the teachers who claimed they were sick on Monday and hadn't seen anything. There was blood all over the walls, all over the desks, and they said they didn't know anything. We weren't far from the bodies, but we didn't know that at the time," he added. They were discovered later on Tuesday.

Cox says his firm had already distributed 4 000 leaflets in Northern Natal with few problems except for a driver being chased away. He selected Ndwedwe and he was clearly not aware of the extent of the killings in the area over recent months. He says no one from the TEC warned him of any no-go zones.

"Obviously you read the newspapers, you see the TV and that. I knew it wasn't exactly a hundred percent safe. But you don't think it'll happen to your guys," he said.

■ Reports by Farouk Chothia and Chris McGreal of 139 Smit St, Johannesburg

(3)

Tough TEC action likely after talks break down

Stephen Lauter

THE Transitional Executive Council and the government could move swiftly against kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi following the failure of international mediation efforts.

Former United States secretary of state and mediation chief Henry Kissinger said efforts to find a solution had not failed. "Because the terms of reference were never agreed, mediation never began."

The talks broke down over Inkatha's insistence that the issue of an election date should form part of the mediation. A senior ANC source told the *Mail & Guardian* the failure of the efforts to reach settlement meant "we now need to march through" to the elections.

At a press conference called to explain the collapse of the mediation process, Kissinger refused to apportion blame. But he said: "We made it clear from the start that we would under no circumstances make a recommendation on the election date. We believe that the issue of the election date lies totally within the jurisdiction of the parties in South Africa. It is not an appropriate subject for mediation."

Quoting philosopher Immanuel Kant Kissinger said: "Peace will be achieved some day either by insight or suffering. We hope it will be insight in South Africa."

Kissinger said he believed the failure of the process reflected an accumulation of years of negotiation.

He said he believed the lack of terms of reference had been an honest misunderstanding. "We were told that ANC and Inkatha working groups had met on Sunday and agreed terms. The level of people involved in those negotiations gave us the confidence to believe that there was indeed agreement."

The AWB's 'last stand'

Jan Taljaard

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is gearing up for a last stand in parts of the Transvaal.

In anticipation of armed conflict, AWB members' wives and children were last week sent to "safe havens" on farms in the Eastern Transvaal.

Apart from stockpiling food, other signs of preparations for war include the purchase by rightwingers of at least 30 Saracen armoured vehicles at SADF auctions over the last month.

Sources said the AWB's plans centred on a "mini-secession" of certain towns in the Western Transvaal — including Ottosdal and Schweizer-Reneke, which in recent months granted their "freedom" to the para-military AWB Wenkommando.

Other sources said there were indications that parts of the Eastern Transvaal and Pretoria could be simultaneously declared "independent" in the week before the election.

The AWB allegedly has plans to blockade the towns to make the election impossible in these areas. Although it is envisaged the secessions will be achieved peacefully, sources close to the AWB fear that it will provoke the SADF and black inhabitants of the towns to react.

Some are pinning their hopes on kwaZulu/Natal erupting into anarchy and tying down the security forces to the extent that they will not be able to act in the Western Transvaal.

Three rightwing sources said that women and children have been sent to "safe havens" on Eastern Transvaal farms.

Of the Saracen armoured vehicles bought over the past month, a Free State rightwinger has bought two, while parties linked to the Pretoria Boerekommando Group and the Alasia Town Council have also shown interest.

Ex-CCB men flock to ANC

South African mercenaries in Angola have offered to work for an ANC-led government, report **Stephen Lauler** and **John Grobler**

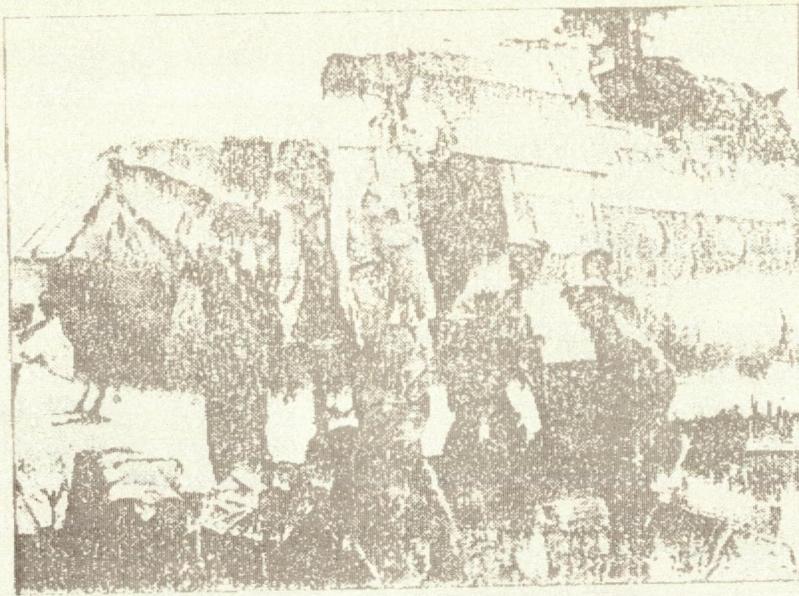
Up to 500 former CCB members and recces, headed by Lafras Luttingh — a co-director of Executive Outcomes, the company which recruits mercenaries for the Angolan government — have approached the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale pledging support for an ANC-led administration in South Africa.

The move indicates a significant split within the ranks of the former Civil Co-operation Bureau, the special forces killer commando which has been linked to the deaths of anti-apartheid activists. Another group of CCB operatives appears to have allied itself to the ultra rightwing.

Luttingh told SABC's *Monitor* this week his group had "no problem with the ANC. Although we won't join the new defence force, we will work for the new government if asked."

A Luttingh associate said the group knew "we won't have problems with the ANC because we are supporting the MPLA".

Confirming the contacts, Sexwale said Luttingh had "come to us in confidence, but not in secrecy. I passed them on to our intelligence department, which is in contact with them." The ANC had been in touch with the Angolan govern-



Mercenaries in Angola offload ammunition

PHOTO JOHN LIEBERBERG

ment which had "confirmed the group was involved in guarding oil installations in Soyo".

Asked why he had been approached, Sexwale said: "I am not the head of the ANC's cultural department and these are not cultural workers. Everyone knows of my military background. I suppose they felt I was the right person to talk to."

Executive Outcomes has denied its employees — mainly former special forces and 32 Battalion soldiers — have been involved in combat against Unita forces, but announced last week that four had been killed in reconnaissance missions in northern Angola. Former Namibian rugby player and 5 Recce member Stryn Marais was killed a week earlier in an opera-

tion Executive Outcomes termed an "investigation into criminal activities".

This is understood to mean Marais was involved in military activities against illegal diamond mining in the mineral-rich Lunda Norte diamond fields controlled by Unita. Besides the Angolan government, De Beers is understood to have shown an interest in staunching the flow on to world markets of Angolan diamonds beyond its control.

Unita has financed its war against the Angolan government through diamond sales since losing the official backing of the United States and South Africa in the settlement which led to elections last year. Savimbi returned to his bush war after losing the

elections.

As increasing numbers of Luttingh recruits appear to be doing in Angola, the war of words with the "unreconstructed faction" within the former Recce has heated up. Former 32 Battalion commander Colonel Jan Breylenbach accused Executive Outcomes luring people to their death with false promises of security work at US\$ 10 000 a month.

Sexwale had played a central role in facilitating contacts between Luttingh and the Angolan army, charged Breylenbach.

"That's absolute junk," said Sexwale. "I would be proud to help organise the defence of the revolution and of democracy in Angola, but the fact is I had nothing to do with it. Luttingh's group was involved in Angola before they came to see me."

Sexwale said he had been to Angola once and, although he had wanted to see what Luttingh's people were doing there because it would give an indication of their readiness to serve a new South Africa, he had been unable to meet them.

"You are seeing mercenaries playing another role today. Eventually all these people who want to play a role, can. But they must accept the principle of reconciliation which is that you cannot forgive what you don't know."

Sexwale's stance may mean reconciliation is still a long way off. Luttingh told *Monitor* he would prefer the CCB's criminal activities to be forgotten. "Both the ANC and the CCB were responsible for terrible things," he said.

THE WEEKLY MAIL, 15-21 APRIL 1996



Farewell ... Soldiers hand out sweets to children as they pull out of the troubled East Rand townships, to be replaced by the first unit of the National Peacekeeping Force. Although security forces are universally unpopular in the townships, this SADF force is widely credited with damping down violence in the area. The untried Peacekeeping troops had hardly arrived when local Inkatha leaders warned of "more bloodshed"

Photo: GUY ADAMS



INSIDE POLITICS

Michael Morris

Struggle for democracy has only just begun

Argus 15. 4. 94

As each day of this historic election campaign passes, it is becoming inescapably evident that while the struggle against apartheid is nearing an end, the struggle for democracy has only just begun.

Perhaps that's as it should be.

But the disquieting aspect is that this second, harder struggle has yet to be acknowledged, let alone embraced, by a very considerable portion — probably the majority — of South Africans who, at this eleventh hour, believe their liberty is assured and, indeed, that their lives are going to change tangibly and immediately.

The notion of liberation generates an understandable euphoria that appears to cloud the careful energy that is required to sustain liberty.

It is the act of throwing off shackles, of defeating something you're against ... things the importance of which privileged South Africans often don't understand.

But securing liberty and peace and well-being is another thing.

It is one thing to identify a target, and batter it to pieces.

But it is another to envision an ideal, and make it real.

For the first you don't need much more than a mob intoxicated and empowered by its own might and convinced of its ability to vanquish.

For the second, you need conviction, and an unshakeable commitment to reason.

Broadly speaking, it is in making this switch that the country is challenged on April 26-28.

The commendable, yet vain, attempts of respected ANC leaders such as Kader Asmal and Jakes Gerwel this week to convert angry student protesters at the University of the Western Cape from the first, brute mindset to the second, democratic one demonstrated this essential watershed.

It is clearly not an easy switch to make.

The fact is that the liberation struggle in all its anger and moral rightness never permitted — or, perhaps, never could afford — the moderation of a libertarian approach. Perhaps apartheid would not have ended as soon if it had.

Yet, as a consequence, the ANC, as the biggest and most enduring of the liberation agents, has earned a reputation not as a house of democrats — though there are many within its walls — but as a fortress of angry soldiers, intent on being determinedly martial.

There are times this reputation seems unfair, and times it seems to fit.

The bulk of complaints about political intolerance and hooliganism in the Peninsula concern ANC supporters, and the constant refrain — borne out too often by first-hand observation — is that ANC leaders do not exercise sufficient control over their supporters, or fail to seek and punish those who behave undemocratically.

It is not a question of picking on the ANC and no one else ... there is no political party that is beyond reproach. But the ANC is the most powerful and it is poised to serve as our new government.

All these problems are undoubtedly an electoral burden for the ANC itself, but, beyond that, they are deeply troubling for our society, for the way we are going to live and work and express the political freedom for which the new constitution provides.

There are probably at least two important things to bear in mind: the unusually high level of political passion during any election campaign, but also the possibly unpalatable truth that the majority of South Africans feel a deep anger at the long years of oppression, repression, denial and indignity.

To have expected it to evaporate in the warmth of a post-1990 political summer, or be expunged by the political generosity of a De Klerk or the unembittered testimony of a Mandela would be unreasonable.

Equally, it cannot be left to play itself out dangerously and bloodily simply because it is explicable.

Nor can it be left merely to the Asmals and Gerwels and Leons.

If ever the bell tolled for everyone, it is in South Africa at this historic juncture.

It is a pity that the struggle against apartheid was not as much the struggle for democracy that it might have been, yet this is only one of so many lamentable aspects of this difficult country's past.

If it is going to take years to bridge the schism between South Africans and establish the liberty that many have never experienced, the anger and bitterness that have flared up too often in this election campaign should be seen for the signal that they are that none of our problems will go away if we ignore them.

If South Africa turns its back on this schism for whatever temporary gain or relief that might offer, it will turn into an abyss.

THOUGHTS FOR TODAY

"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." (Holy Bible, Matthew 6.33.)

Throughout history, nations have been warned to look for God's will and obey His laws if they wish to have a lasting blessing.

□ □ □ □ □

"(O Believers), never shall you attain to righteousness unless you spend on others out of what you cherish yourselves." (Holy Quran, Chapter 3.92.)

The Quran reminds the believers that their faith in God cannot be considered complete unless it makes them conscious of the material needs of their fellow beings.

IFP backs supporters *Argus 15.4.94* opposed to call-up

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party officials in the Western Cape are backing IFP supporters in the Citizen Force — including several officers — who are refusing to obey Defence Force call-up instructions.

They said they had received four letters — including one from a captain in the Cape Garrison Artillery, which has been called up for a camp at Lohatla — and about a dozen telephone calls from IFP supporters who were refusing to obey call-up instructions.

Western Cape IFP organiser Malcolm Bagley said: "We are encouraging them to refuse.

"If they feel they want to go on a camp, and they are deployed where there are clashes between IFP and ANC supporters, we are urging them to go easy on IFP supporters and go very hard on the ANC guys."

Mr Bagley said the Cape Garrison Artillery captain had said in his letter that he was unable to obey his call-up instruction because, as an IFP member, he did not recognise the authority of the Transitional Executive Council, any of the transitional mechanisms or the interim constitution.

● Sapa reports from Ulundi that a top level delegation of South African church leaders arrived in the KwaZulu capital today for an audience with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Interviewed just before leaving for the meeting, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: "We come just to speak peace."

(News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

THE WORLD

'Catastrophe' looms in S. Africa

Mediators fail in attempt to start peace talks

By Jack Kelley
USA TODAY

South Africa appears on the verge of increased violence now that pre-election peace talks have broken down.

"The catastrophe is there, anyone with eyes can see it," warns Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party.

Says policy analyst Wim Booysse of the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industry: "The election in Natal (Province) is going to be a nightmare."

Former secretary of State Henry Kissinger and a six-person mediation team have failed to even start talks aimed at ending violence before South Africa's first all-race elections April 26-28.

"The fact that it has failed fills me with sadness. ... This is not a time to blame anyone," says mediator Lord Carrington, ex-British foreign secretary.

But Buthelezi, who wants the election postponed so he can have time to campaign, refused to accept the dates agreed to by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and South African President F.W. de Klerk.

The Zulu chief is now urging his people to boycott the balloting.

"The political future of Inkatha doesn't depend on participating in the election," says Inkatha negotiator Ben Ngubane. "It's our democratic right to stay out."

The talks, had they begun, would have aimed at finding a constitutional compromise between Inkatha, which demands a federal constitution with strong regional autonomy, and the ANC, which wants a unified state and a strong



NEAR JOHANNESBURG: A Zulu demonstrator rests among soldiers keeping the peace in the East Rand township of Tokoza. South African troops are trying to prevent violence between Zulu migrants and local residents in East Rand townships.

By Juda Ngwenya, Reuters

central government.

Both sides now expect to fight it out on the battlefield.

"We are aware of the dangers," says ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, whose party is expected to win the election. "We are aware of the threats."

At least 213 people have been killed in political unrest in the Natal Province, site of the most vicious violence between the ANC and Inkatha, since a March 31 state of emergency was called.

Thursday, the South African Defence

Force canceled training courses to bring units up to full strength. There are nearly 3,000 troops in Natal, which Booysse calls "a joke. They'll have to send more men in," he warns.

Also Thursday:

► The South African currency, the rand, hit a new low of \$3.6465 amid fears of increasing violence.

► De Klerk effectively conceded the election to Mandela during a television debate.

"What came across was two leaders who had come to terms with the fact

that Mandela would be top dog with de Klerk as No. 2," says Cape Town University political scientist Robert Schrire. "But an important No. 2."

► Transkei, one of the artificially created black homelands and a cornerstone of apartheid, lowered its flag for the last time in anticipation of its absorption into the new South Africa.

► Former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke said in Pretoria that thousands of right-wing Americans would be willing to fight for a white homeland in South Africa.