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~"Pretoria jail
protest kills

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AP _

21 in blaze

By MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG
: AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

PRISONERS rioting for the
right to vote in next monthâ\200\231s

multi-racial election set fire to

a cell in Piciuia last night,
starting a blaze that killed 21
people. while 2,400 inmates
rampaged through another
prison. .
â\200\230The Department of Correc-
tional Services said the deaths
at Queenstown prison in the
Eastern Cape province were
from smoke inhalation. It said
firemen could not rescue the
prisoners because they had
blocked access to their cell
with steel beds.

The deaths came after 2
weekend of protests in at least
15 South African prisons by
inmates demanding the right
to vote. Two prisoners died in
a fire at a prison in Paarl, near
Cape Town. on Saturday. At
Pictermariizburg. in Natal,
2.4X) prisoners rampaged
through the city's prison, de-
stroying cells.

The prison trouble flared as
Nelson Mandela, the African
National Congress leader,
tourcd Sharpeville, where 34
years ago police killed 09
blacks, and vowed "never

againâ\200\235, promising tens of
thousands of supporters jobs,
education and peace in the
new South Africa. "We say |
that Sharpeville will never
happen again,â\200\235 Mr Mandela
told a crowd of 80,000. The
anniversary was particularly

ignant, coming six weeks
before national elections when
the country seems on the verge
of another explosion of vio-
lence. The litter-strewn roads

of Sharpeville's Miami Beach
section â\200\224 a weedy patch of
land overlooking a smelly
dam â\200\224 swarmed with people
commemorating Sharpewile
Day by boycorting work and
attending rallies.

On the patitical front, Chief
Mangasuthu Buthelez, the
Chief Minister of KwaZulu,
faced a waming that South
African armed forces were
ready to secure the troubled
areas of his fiefdom to ensure
that the election campaign Â¿an
be frecly and fairly conducted.
A judge is lo visit Ulundi, the
KwaZulu capital, to lay down
the law to Chief Buthclezi,

Leading article, page 21

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Lapipans RN

TEC bid to
take control
in KwaZulu

THE Transitional r_â\200\230::ecutzve Council |{ | |
(TEC\ Is considering a series of steps, \ DoVID SRerâ\204çÂ@ |
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Over 'Â«..Ta.,u iu ard cor:sâ\200\230ce"zng goâ\200\230Â«-; ! â\200\234The TEC must take th
e leaE! mA this
lrâ\200\231ie"t Â\$ financial obligations to the | | muatter,â\200\235 Gerdhan said, adding
that go'v-
territory, lo ensure free pclitical ac- /|, ernment would be expected to play ag
tivity in the region in the five weeks ' â\200\234assertive roleâ\200\235. A
leac.A.g up to the elections. Otber steps are expected to include: giv- *
Atthesame time Independent Elsctoral \â\200\230 ;22 the â\200\234ADIâ\200\230 greater juris
diction over

Commission (IZC) caaâ\200\230**anv.as-Jonann wazuly; giving the TEC and Natal Pro-
Kriegler is trying to secure â\200\234an inclusive vincial Adminxstvation control over all
commli-â\201me. nt'â\200\235 to Iree .' ~the eâ\200\230eCIâ\200\230OPS ve:*ui-â\202s in l\WaZ
LAU Dhtâ\200\231...â\200\230g a s to
from President FW de Xler â\200\234Tnkatha's tr aining Ting of its members at mili-
dent Nelson Marndela, I iary-style camps; anc acting against wea-
Party president \Iaugos.ch'. Buthelezi, pens smuggling. â\200\224
and Zulu ing Geodwil; Zwelithini. ~ Thereincorporation of the KwaZulu Po-
Krâ\200\230eg er met De Klark ard .vIe:xdeia lice Jorce would also be considered.
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uea to mes: 5 ;'Â» lezi, Zweitrint and the iron guaranteesâ\200\235 from Ciuadl to allsw t
he
KwaZule Legisiative 2ssembiv in Ulundi IEC to set up its eiection machinery, the
togzgr;o?. TEC source said. These would include the
.rxegxe.' s message lo them i that the ; KwaZulu government makizg government
time for games is ncw over,â\200\235 an IEC / bu\Idlngs inciuding schools, avauable for
source said. He said the IEC would not organising and holding the electic
hesitate to use the full force of the law,â\200\231 â\200\234But it doesnâ\200\231t help ge
tting assurazces
â\200\234including subs:antial firesâ\200\235, to ensure a4 from the top, which are then ig
nored at
frgf and xaxf election. ! lower levets " the source warned. â\200\234Unieess
â\200\234If Ulundi reacts posisively, the upshot there is a collective: national effort to
may well be 2 summit of the :eaders 2 mazKe the elections work, thev just won't
TEC management comittee member Zet off ite'ground.â\200\235 *
Pravin Gordhran said the TEC plan, to beâ\200\231 He said the IZC would not be opposed to
Implernem_ec in stages, was exgeted to do In: atna using the [EC's Operatzon Access
away with the KwaZulu Folicâ\200\231s sole juris- to get its anti-vote message across.
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KwaZUI{] : o O] From Page 1

Gordhan also sald a political decision Ii. only once the â\200\234political processâ\200
\235 initiated
had to be taken te stop senior members of J by the IEC had been completed, Gordhan
the SAP from interfering in the duties of i} said. â\200\234A series of TEC initiated steps
will,

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local SAP. officials. An example was the \f however, have to start as soon as possible,
weekend occupation of a KwaMashu stadi- || he said, referring to todayâ\200\231s TEC meetin
g.
um by â\200\234the Zulusâ\200\235, which prevented the Â\$ The TEC is due torelease areport
today

ANC from holding a rally there. ~on alleged hit_squads in KwaZulu. The
He said local SAP members â\200\234securedâ\200\235 _â\200\234report is the fesult of an In
vestigation by a
the stadium on Friday when they locked TEC task group_a.p.pmnmi~\201_m December.
the gates and put up razor wire, only to be =~ Gordhan said he expected the report to

instructed later by a senior policeman to () â\200\234point fingersâ\200\235 at the KwaZulu
govern-
withdraw the security measures. ment which controls the KwaZulu Police.

The full force of the TEC plan for Kwa- ' Report by D Gravbe, TML. 11 Disgonst St. Jhb.
Zulu was expected to be officially unveiled - Â® 8ao Pages 8 and 14

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NDABEZITHAI

| write to express my deep concern
regarding the recent political developments
in our beloved country. In particular the present position of
non-participation in the elections by
the Inkatha Freedom Party. :
Nddbez)tha, in your humble yet
fearless manner you have, for the
past two decades or so, fought gall-
antly for honourable causes.
_[JCainpaigning for the release of af!
Â political prisoners,
) Refusing to accept independence
for KwaZulu under undemocratic
conditions, s
[Assuming A temporary role as &
leader of XwaZulu to continue* the
struggle against apartheid, rather
than be head of a snl{-iovernmng
Wwalwiv terndory, se (hat your
voice was not lost in the political
debate,
. Â Helusing (to be drawn into a nego-
tiation process with the powers that
_ be without the participation of the
! entire black leadership, :
lLâ\200\230._:Campanuinu conspiently for a

Â found economic base and viable in- -

! {rastructure, and
â\200\230 {3 Making possible suggestions to
PPretoria on a possible constitutional
dispensation for KwaZulu/Natal.
Despite contrary opinion in cer-
tain circles, particularly the media,

o e

GORDON Sâ\200\231dlYA addresses an open letter to
Inkatha leads: Dr Mangosuthu Buthe

5 -

you have played, and continue to
play, an important role in the debate
on constitutional developments.

it appears to me that many South
Africans agreed with your justifiable
concerns about aspects of the consti-
tution, which were subsequently ac-
commodated â\200\224 to a large extent -
by all parties at the Transitional
Executive Council on 27 February 21
1994, These included: -
3 Two baliol papers,
[27 Feb 1994] for provinces to change
their names, namely to formal recogni-
tion by all of the name => KwaZulu/
Natal,
[Extensions to provincial taxation

VWS, i

Exclusive, rather than concurrent,
powers for provinces in all areas of
. competence; and

Do Provinces have the right to create their
own executives and legislatures.

I am of the humble conviction that
outstanding malice could be negoti-
ated with the shier role players with-
in a new Parliament. These are:
1) Constitutional principles guaran-

teeing that powers will not be sub-
stantially reduced, and

Do Constitutional principles recog-
nise the right to self-determination in
a territorial entity?

Like the majority of South Afri-
cans, I am vehemently opposed to an
Africaner volkstaat. The issue of the
volksstaat has nothing in common
with the issue of KwaZulu/Natal.
Historically, and in terms of ances-
tral considerations, KwaZulu is the
Yard of the Zulu kings and their sub-
divisions. It is, with clearly exist-
ing and visible historical boundaries.

The residents are black and white,
Zulus and non-Zulus. My uncle: I want-
ing is that you, Shenge, quite car-
fully, do not intend to drive non-Zulus or
anybody else out of this beautiful
province. Now or any time in
future. Eff

I feel humbly compelled to urge
you, Ndabheritha, to discontinue your-
self from the right-wing volksstaat
clique. I have no illusions about the
level of unprovoked hatred the volks-
staaters bear for you and me, and the

rest of our black brothers and sisters.
On the other hand, my perception is
that the majority of Afrikaners has
always opted for democracy to
the extent that they have even joined
the democratic organisations of this
country. Including Inkatha.

I therefore see it as utterly foolish
any demagogue (ically orientated South
African) to entertain any idea of
courtship with volksstaaters.

You have done all the commend-
able work mentioned above with ad-
mirable courage. At this crucial
moment, when you should formally en-
ter the constitutional arena and con-
tinue the struggle for real justice
and democracy, I would question

LETTERS

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Inkailzha. mounts terror campaign to keep ANC backers
from voting

By Liz Sly

TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

VERULAM, South Africa—Lin-
diwe Mngadi, 25, is in little doubt
as to why a band of Inkatha Free-
dom Party supporters swept into
her rural settlement of Sonkombo
last Sunday, shooting randomly,
forcing everyone to flee and then
setting fire to the houses.

They don't want us to vote, so
they are going to kill us all," she
said as she moved the few belong-
ings she salvaged into a tent on
the edge of the town of Verulam,
30 miles from her home. About 80
refugees began settling there
Thursday night after spending
three nights hiding in sugar cane
fields.

A surge of attacks in the ANC-
supporting townships that sprawl
outwards from Durban has engen-
dered a climate of fear bordering
on hysteria in Natal that has
dashed any hopes that a free and
fair election may be possible in
the Zulu province.

.At least 90 people have been
killed since Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi failed to register for the
elections two weeks ago, signaling
a new and dangerous phase in the
ongoing conflict between the Afri-
can National Congress and In-
katha.

The deaths tell only part of the
story, hundreds of homes have
been burned and hundreds of peo-
ple have fled as the implications
of Inkatha's decision to boycott
the election become clear. Vio-
lence monitors say almost all of
the attacks have been carried out
by Inkatha, in what appears to

have been a concerted and orches-
trated onslaught against ANC
strongholds around Durban.

By telling his supporters not to
vote in the April 27 election,
Buthelezi now seems intent on
demonstrating that he has majori-
ty support with a low poll turn-
out. In the current climate of fear,

it may be easier to persuade people to stay at home on election day than to convince them it is

worth risking their lives by going out to vote.

Buthelezi has distanced himself from the violence, saying he personally cannot be held responsible for the actions of his supporters. These events actually reflect the will of a people to resist elections, he told the neutral Independent Electoral Commission on Wednesday.

After failing to receive guarantees from Buthelezi that he would permit elections to be held in areas under his control, the commission warned Thursday that its capacity to organize the election in the province was severely curtailed and called for immediate government action.

But no action appears imminent. The ANC is calling for the Transitional Executive Council, the multiparty advisory body that has already taken control of three former homelands, to administer Natal and for South African troops to be sent in to enforce peace during the election.

But President F.W. de Klerk, under the shadow of revelations implicating his police officers in the Natal violence, said he had no immediate plans for South African military or political intervention.

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wo of the three police generals whom De Klerk suspended following the revelations that they were helping Inkatha by smuggling guns and training hit squads have led to work. & reâ\200\231tIâ\200\230l;fle ANC has made it plainâ\200\230,lt would like to see Buthele21 S KwaZulu administration collapse in the same way as those of the homelands of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, with a broad desertion of civil servants and security forces. foBoth those homeland&# are now being run by the Transitional Executive Council and patrolled by the South African army. The ANCâ\200\231i'Es planning a march through the streets of Durban Friday to mark the start of a program of protests designed to pres-

sure Buthelezi into allowing free political activity. :

But it seems likely that Ulundi, the remote capital of Buthelezi's administration, will remain loyal to its chief. KwaZulu civil servants marched in Ulundi Thursday in support of Buthelezi.

Buthelezi also has armed and determined supporters throughout the province and the probable support of at least some elements of the South African security forces, making him a formidable foe.

Outgunned and seemingly outmaneuvered, the ANC appears to be groping for a strategy. In the province it was confident it could win in an election.

The surge of attacks in the Durban area, considered an ANC stronghold, caught everyone off guard; the violence had been expected to flare in the more hotly contested rural areas. -

Voter education programs are on hold, and at least three ANC election rallies have been canceled

or curtailed because of alleged interference. The organization is also coming under mounting pressure to fight back. The ANC is urging discipline on its supporters, saying that elections only weeks away is not the time for the organization expected to move into government to take up arms in what risks escalating into a full-scale guerrilla war. -

Wiseman Lithuli, 19, who fled his home in Sonkombo, was one of a number of young men from the area who approached his local ANC chairman to ask for weapons to fight back against Inkatha. 'He told us he can't give us weapons because we are not the organization for violence,' he said. 'I agree, but they could give us something just to defend ourselves.' : 'If the killing continues, and with guns available on the black market, the ANC leadership may find it hard to control its own followers much longer.

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eT seeks election pledges

take control
in KwaZulu

THE Transitional Executive Council
(TEC) is considering a series of steps,
including giving the SAP jurisdiction
over KwaZulu and considering gov-
ernmentâ\200\231s
territory, to ensure free political ac-
tivity in the region in the five weeks
leading up to the elections.

At the same time, Independent Electoral
Commission (IEC) chairman uudegã© Johan
Kriegler is trying to secure â\200\234an inclusive
commitmentâ\200\235 to free and fair elec-
tions
from President FW de Klerk, ANC presi-
dent Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom
Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Kriegler met De Klerk and Mandela
jointly in Pretoria yesterday, and is sched-
uled to meet Buthelezi and the
KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi
tomorrow.

â\200\234Kriegler's message to them is that the
source said. He said the IEC would not

hesitate to use the full force of the law,

â\200\234including substantial finesâ\200\235, to ensure a free
and fair election.

â\200\234If Ulundi reacts positively, the upshot
may well be a summit of the leaders.â\200\235
H_C management committee member
Ravin Gordhan said the TEC plan, to be
implemented in stages, was expected to do
away with the KwaZulu Province's sole juris-

time for games is now over,â\200\231 and [EC V

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diction over the region. The SAP currently

KwaZulu

Gordhan also said a

had to be taken to stop senior members of
the SAP from interfering in the duties of
local SAP officials. The example was the

weekend occupation of 8 KwaMashu stadium
by â\200\234the Zulusâ\200\235 which prevented the
ANC from holding a rally there.

financial obligations to the | |

political decision k@

DAVID GREYBE)

has to get permission to enter: > territory

"The TEC must take the lead in this matter," Gordhan said, adding that government would be expected to play an assertive role.

Other steps are expected to include: giving the SADF greater jurisdiction over KwaZulu; giving the TEC and Natal Provincial Administration control over all venues in KwaZulu putting a stop to Inkatha's training of its members at multi-

tary-style camps; and acting against weapons smuggling.

"The reincorporation of the KwaZulu Police force would also be considered.

Kriegler is expected to demand that the government guarantees from Ulundi to allow the JEC to set up its election machinery, the TEC source said. These would include the KwaZulu government making government buildings, including schools, available for organising and holding the elections.

But it doesn't help getting assurances from the top, which are then ignored at lower levels," the source warned. "Unless there is a collective national effort to make the elections work, they just won't get off the ground."

He said the IEC would not be opposed to Inkatha using the IEC's Operation Access to get its anti-vote message across.

O To Page 2

] From Page 1

only once the political process initiated by the IEC had been completed, Gordhan said. A series of TEC initiated steps will, however, have to start as soon as possible," he said, referring to today's TEC meeting.

The TEC is due to release a report today on alleged human rights abuses in KwaZulu.

He said local SAP members secured the report is the result of an investigation by a

the stadium on Friday when they locked the gates and put up razor wire, only to be instructed later by a senior policeman to withdraw the security measures

The full foree of the TEC plan for Kwa-
Zulu was expected to be ofâ\200\230*Â«.:allx unveiled

TEC task group appointed in December.

Gordhan said he expected the report to

â\200\234point fingersâ\200\235 at the KwaZulu govern-

ment, which controls the KwaZulu Police.

Report by O Greyys, Tâ\204çL, 11 Diagonal St, Jab.

@ See Pages 8 and 14

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FOR N

â\200\234Carrington,

international mediator lis:t

FORMER British foreign secretary
Lord Carrington and former US sec-

retary of state Henry Kissinger are ;
reportedly among the international |
mediators agreed on by the ANC and }

Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators from both parties met
in Kempton Park yesterday to final-
ise the list of mediators and terms of
reference for mediation

Inkatha's central committee
agreed to a package of proposals at
the weekend. The ANCâ\200\231s national
working committee will discuss them
tomorrow

Sources last night said Kissinger
and Carringtonâ\200\231s names were on a list
of â\200\234not more than sevenâ\200\235.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu
Buthelezi told business leaders at 2
breakfast in Johannesburg yesterday
that international mediation was
â\200\234one of the last options at our dispos-
alâ\200\235 to ensure a federal SA. However,
it was not impossible, even at such &
late stage, to achieve an inclusive
constitutional settlement

ANC national chairman Thabo
Mbeki said at the weekend that the
two sides had drawn up proposals to
be considered by their leaders.

Buthelez: said the mediation would
have to address Zuilu King Goodwill
Zwelithiniâ\200\231s demand for Zulu self-

THE BUSDAY, TUESDAY 22 MARCH 1994

Kissinger on

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DAVID GREYBE \ J,'/

i~
determination as well as 'rationalise
the electoral process and timetablesâ\200\235
to ensure free and fair elections
| Buthelezi has said Freedom Front
% leader Gen Constand Viljoen's
f, proposal that the elections be post-
poned for two months would â\200\234prob-
ablyâ\200\235 suit him.

Inkatha was hoping that President FW de Klerk, despite his reservations about international mediation, would join in, Buthelezi said. "We proposed international mediation because we do believe in a peaceful resolution of our problems, which can be brought about only if the constitutional solution is all-inclusive."

ANC and KwaZulu spokesmen were yesterday unable to report any progress in arranging another meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Zwelithini. Friday's meeting was cancelled amid fears for Mandela's life ;

A KwaZulu government spokesman said it was up to the ANC to make the next move.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that while the ANC was still interested in a meeting, there were new plans ;

Report by O Greybe

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THE BUSDAY, TUESDAY 22 MARCH 1994

Mandela karates
rally organisers ()

SHARPEVILLE Day commemoration ral-
lies were held around the country yester

day, mostly without incident and with only
a small percentage of workers observing a
stayaway

A heavily armed crowd of about 75 000
waited much of the day for ANC president
Nelson Mandela in the Vaai Triangle towi
ship of Sharpeville, where police shot dead
89 protesters 34 years age.

Sapa reports that Mandela berated par-
ty organisers for the chaotic conditions at
the rally. Marshals battled to control the
crowd as it pushed forward to get a
glimpse of Mandela when he arrived. No-
body appeared to be injured.

Sporadic gunfire was heard and stones
were thrown at people who refused to sit
when Mandela began his address.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that Man-
dela said more than 18 000 people had died
and government and the NP should take
the blame as they were responsible for the
loss of lives. Courageous policemen of all
races had displayed their willingness to
serve the community. After his speech, he
released four doves into the air.

Earlier, PAC president Clarence Mak-
wety addressed about 3 000 people at the
nearby George Thabe stadium. He said the
ANC had not wanted to become involved
when the PAC launched the pass protests
that led to the Sharpeville Killings. Only
the PAC had stuck to its principles and
only the PAC could ensure real liberation.

In Cape Town Philip Kgosa appealed
to thousands of PAC supporters to strive
for peace. Kgosa, who now works for the
UN in Botswana. led a march of 60 000 on
Parliament protesting against the pass
laws 24 years ago. :

1 To Page 2

Sharpeville

We ist |}
no?h: Must keep it up,â\200\235 he said. "We d d
dâ\200\234r.gowrong, We don't â\200\230necklaceâ\200\231 " i
bu.{;nessg ba'n' correspondent reports that
Were not seriously affected by

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greasc:xau i ?;o;ts:xmÃ@or industries in the
e andst;) ik
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i jtlf'yI:w'a':Yâ\200\231 although severa) townships
'a'xthdrhaâ\200\230w'wljÃ@aze transport as buses \wfe
" due to roa inc
b i o d blockades and inoj-
L Dlx;'rban Chamber of Busine
asil Smit said som
th.aâ\200\230z an average of 8
?(_1 fer work. Some Âç
as a public holiday
*eaErngz people were arreste
n h St achl .
Â»(â\200\230amâ\200\224lâ\200\230.a;pu::t.me when pupils went on the
mohr'Â«v?\â\200\234â\200\230 ' t4r Â\$as was used to dispetse
sl Were stoning cars angd bus'PÂ\$:
Port Elizabeth ('o!â\200\230respr;nderâ\200\230tâ\200\230 Te

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â\200\230_eycompames reported
27 of staff had repaort-
ompanies took the day

d at Madadem

Y a patd holiday
E reports that at

sia South wer

o Y yesterday after grcu;:eg
b ITying ANC banpers demanded
5 S5es stop in rememb g
arpville Day W il

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achers and pupils were beatiixi #54

Entrances
to Daveyton
and residents 3la*_y'edyindogfsi~\201e ey

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8ne P Buiger 423 O ven v Sepe. 121 -â\200\230,Mâ\200\230vÂ«d.m., â\200\234:;' â\200\230:;
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2 Ploturs: Pnâ\200\234. ;

parties vie for ad

after Goldstone

THE Goldstone commission's re-

port on the "third force" set the
cat among the pigeons yesterday
with political parties seeking
electoral advantage in their re-
sponses to its allegations.

The ANC and the DP called for
political heads to roll, the Inkatha
Freedom Party continued to pro-
claim its innocence and the AWB and
the Transvaal Agricultural Union
lodged strong protests against it,

The ANC questioned whether
President FW de Klerk and Law and
Order Minister Hernus Kriel could
not have known of the "third force"
activities of senior police officers.

The ANC vowed to remove the
"rotten eggs" within the security
forces, but refrained from condemn-
ing the police force as a whole, ex-
tending a hand of friendship to
policemen who wanted to serve SA.

ANC president Nelson Mandela
also called yesterday for indemnity
from prosecution for SA security
force members prepared to testify
about hit squads and other offences,
Reuters reports.

The ANC said government and the
police had blamed political intoler-
ance between the ANC and Inkatha
for the violence. It was now evident
they were promoting the violence
and "using the intolerance argument
to conceal their own involvement"

It called on De Klerk to admit that
neither he nor his government had
any control over the SAP.

The DF, which is considered likely
to benefit most from the report,
called for Kriel's suspension. DP MP

and,

! Tim COHEN and |
f WILSON ZWANE |

Tony Leon said Kriel's credibility

had suffered because he had often

! denied that police would harbour or
! assist a killer force. Knel had said
' the police were doing their utmost to

halt the illegal arms trade.

Inkatha central committee member Sue Vos said Inkatha would not act against the Transvaal political director Themba Khoza who the report alleged was involved in the third force activities because it did not have information on which to act

Sapa reports Khoza said yesterday he would hold a news conference today to discuss the Goldstone report. I am also inviting Goldstone commission members to the conference so they can answer questions relating to the report, he said.

Vos said Khoza denied the allegations. Inkatha objected strongly to Khoza's trial by media which it saw as a public kangaroo court

AWBE leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said Goldstone was a boere-hater and ANC apologist who had, without corroborating evidence, used an anonymous, paid informant to throw the three generals Deputy Commissioner Lt-Gen Basie Smit. intelligence chief Maj-Gen Krappies Engelbrecht and CID chief Lt-Gen Johan Roux (one of the communist wolves)

The CP said yesterday it was shocked at De Klerk's rash decision to place the three generals on compulsory leave as the claims against them were "meagre". They had not had recourse to a proper hearing and

THE BUSDAY, TUESDAY 22 MARCH 1994

vantage
report

the CP was concerned that this rash decision will become commonplace after the election.

Police public relations head Maj-Gen Leon Meillet claimed De Klerk had lost a lot of white support and had responded to the report in the way he had in an attempt to gain black support

The way it was made public came as a shock to all of us, Mellet, who is retiring, said at his farewell function in Cape Town. It is unsettling because it was done unfairly. I am upset about the way it was made public

Last night Police Commissioner

Johan van der Merwe said he would go on pension immediately if any of the policemen implicated in 'third force' activities were found to be guilty. He had no reason to believe his generals were guilty of any crime.

The Transvaal Agricultural Union said government was seemingly assisting the ANC in destabilising SA for political purposes by imposing mandatory leave on the three generals and others implicated in 'third force' activities.

Absa Bank said it had suspended on full pay another of its employees, Victor Ndlovu, who the report alleged was implicated in illegal arms dealing. The suspensions would remain in place until an internal bank investigation had been completed.

A second Absa employee named in the report, security officer Dries van Heerden, had asked to be suspended while Van Heerden's superior, Doug: ie Crew, would not be suspended, Taoert By W Zwane and T Cohan at 204 L, 13 Ciagonw St

Jno. at 202 ven Wyk, 3 Tomsen g S Denny, Jape. 141 Commismensr St JhB

A life's struggle can continue in Parliament

NDABEZITHA

I write to express my deep concerns regarding the recent political developments in our beloved country, in particular the present position of non-participation in the elections by the Inkatha Freedom Party, in your humble yet fearless manner you have, for the past two decades or so, fought gallantly for honourable causes.

{3 Campaigning for the release of anti-political prisoners,

) Refusing to accept independence for KwaZulu under undemocratic conditions;

] Assuming temporarily to be a leader of KwaZulu to continue the struggle against apartheid, rather than as head of a Self-governing KwaZulu territory, so that your

voice was not lost in the political

debate;

Refusing to be drawn into a negotiation process with the powers that be without the participation of the entire black leadership,

[3 Campaigning consistently for a sound economic base and viable infrastructure, and

) Making positive suggestions to Pretoria on a possible constitutional dispensation for KwaZulu/Natal Despite contrary opinion in certain circles, particularly the media,

'GORDON SIBIYA addresses an open letter to

Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

you have played, and continue to

play, an important role in the debate .

on constitutional developments.

It appears to me that many South Africans agreed with your justifiable concerns about aspects of the constitution, which were subsequently accommodated - to a large extent

by all parties at the Transitional Executive Council on February 21 1994. These included :

{2} Two ballot papers:

{3 The right for provinces to change their names, and the formal recognition by all of the name KwaZulu/

Natal;

J Extensions to provinces' taxation
powers;

[] Exclusive. rather than concurrent,
powers for provinces in all areas of
competence, and

{3 Provinces' rights to create their
own executives and legislatures.

I am of the humble conviction that
outstanding matters could be negoti-
ated with the other role players with-
in a new Parliament. These are
the Constitutional principles guaran-

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teeing that powers will not be a\200\234sub-
stantially reducedâ\200\235; and

{J Constitutional principles recognis-
ing the right to self-determination in
a a\200\234territorial entityâ\200\235.

Like the majority of South Afri-
cans, I am vehemently opposed to an
Afrikaner volksstaat. The issue of the
volksstaat has nothing in common
with the issue of KwaZulu/Natal.
Historically, and in terms of ances-
tral considerations, KwaZulu is the

land of the Zulu kings and their subjects. It is there, with clearly existing and visible historical boundaries,

The residents are black and white, Zulus and non-Zulus. My understanding is that you, Shenge, quite correctly, do not intend to drive non-Zulus or anybody else out of this beautiful province, now or at any time in future.

I feel humbly compelled to urge you, Ndabezitha, to dissociate yourself from the right-wing volkstaat clique. I have no illusions about the level of unprovoked hatred that volkstaaters bear for you and me, and the

rest of our black brothers and sisters. On the other hand, my perception is that the majority of Afrikaners has always opted for democracy to the extent that they have even joined the democratic organisations of this country, including Inkatha

I therefore see it as utterly folly for any democratically orientated South African to entertain any idea of courtship with volkstaalers

You have done all the commendable work mentioned above with admirable courage. At this crucial hour, when you should formally enter the constitutional arena and continue the struggle for peace, justice and democracy, I would question whether though not without understanding of your genuine feelings and those of Inkatha's central committee your reluctance to participate in the elections. I believe that your contributions would be impossible to replace. All your gallant efforts would be denied the opportunity to come to fruition at the decisive moment.

I believe that all your people would lose the able leadership of a stalwart fighter of wisdom, calibre and integrity. I believe that the country would surely be thrown into civil strife if you did not participate. I believe that the right wing should continue to take advantage of In-

katha's exclusion to drive this country further into waning violence

My private communications with many highly placed and reputable South Africans have consistently revealed that your absence in the first democratically elected Parliament would be a calamitous omission we should all regret

Shenge, I humbly urge you to submit your list of candidates and to continue to fight for what you have always believed.

I still believe that we can all make this country the envy of the world by pulling the country and its people first. But the key, it seems to me, rests with your good self, Mr Mandela. Mr Makweli, President de Klerk, and many other important and credible role-players. I still believe that your contribution, working hand-in-hand with others, will make the difference.

I hope this better will stimulate independent submissions to this important cause by other ordinary men and women like myself. I am convinced that the majority of South Africans feel equally concerned.

Humbly yours
Dr GORDON SIBIYA, Pr Eng
{Sibyls runs 8 Johannesburg electrical engineering consultancy.

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T THE close of the Phila-
delphia constitutional con-
veplion in 1789, the vener-
able elder statesman Ben

| Franklin referred to these hines

{rom Alexander Pope {6 surnma-
rise his view of the conventionâ\200\231s
product. It was nol periect, nor
could 1L be expected Lo Jast for-
ever wnperveried.

But lack of immortal perfeiion
was nol a reason for rejecting il Hs
success or failure depended less on
its specific wording â\200\224 virtually all
of il a compromise â\200\224 than on the
poman bewgs who would pul the
words nio praclice,

Viewed from the distance of Wash-
ington, S4â\200\231s intersn constitution,
though a vast improvement on what
obtained heietolore, seemed none
theless severely Nawed 1 pays litile
more than lip service to federalism,
or even devolution. Its system of list-

based Exmpomonal representation,
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owes his seat to Jus party rather than
any constituency of voters, [looks cer-
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elected party appasalt The Bill of

By the rule that says an MP

Rightis, while it is splendid finally to
have one, still contains too many
wickel gates for repression,

Seen from the ground, these and
other Flaws appear less important,
and certainly not grounds for rejec-
tion of the entire edifice. Even peo-

ple ke me who disirusi government
â\200\224 especially when it is the hands of

people who think government can

. and should do everything â\200\224 have to

concede that SA. Jacking anything
worthy of the name. needs one. That

is why the next election date must be
sacrosanct

But to accept the interim consti-

tution is not a policy of despair What

ever it omits or fudges in a formal
way will inevitably be counter-
balanced by other, informal, forces
As the communist states, not to men-

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flaws in SAâ\200\231s
constitution need
prove fatal

SIMON BARBER

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L

tion the architects of apartheid, discovered, power can ultimately be wielded only with the consent of the governed, regardless of whether they are denied a formal voice, with rights and protections. As the preamble of the American declaration of independence states, man is endowed with certain inalienable rights by his Creator. Like it or not, he is going to try to exercise them.

At the same time, it has to be acknowledged that constitutions, themselves, are at best only bits of paper. An endless source of employment for lawyers and sophists. Perhaps, but no guarantee of justice, happiness or, of the phrase of the American document, domestic tranquillity. Were it otherwise, the Soviet Union would be with us still and we would have no cause to complain.

â\200\234Whaleser 15 wrong 'with SA'S internal constitution, and may be wrong with the Binal one, the next government will be constrained by reality. It will not be able to function, let alone deliver on its promises, without the unrestrained cooperation of the public (â\200\230 service, the security establishment, business, organised labour and the broad array of other interests complained under the heading of civil society.

This reality may not be just a

triviality, it may not be de jure. But in a country as lawless as this one has become, that will have to be lived with for a while. After generations of being bound by laws it was a moral duty to disrespect, SA will not become a Rechtsstaat simply because its leaders so ordain it. A culture of respect for the law will have to be inculcated over time, possibly a long time, by the passage and enforcement of good laws, and by a government that plays by the rules.

As it would have been nice if the internal constitution contained more checks and balances, more mechanisms

to protect the weak against

the strong. But, in a society where a minority for so long brutalised the majority, it was perhaps too much to

â\200\234 expect the founding fathers of post-apartheid SA to get this right on the first try. That may turn out to have

been 3 tragedy, but there is no reason
tragedy should be inevitable or people
keep their heads, and recognise
that even if the constitution
does not mandate compromise, government
at all levels will be impossible
without M

Mangosuthu Buthelezi may disagree,

but President F W de Klerk's
persistence to trade away
minority protections including

the requirement that cabinet decisions

in the interim period be made
by a supermajority of members
was reasonable. Such formal
devices would most likely be a source,
rather than a palliative, of conflict.
There are, as noted, sufficient
incentives to the majority's power
to achieve the same end.

What is to be hoped that beneath the
explosive rhetoric, Buthelezi, King
Goodwill Zwelithini and the living
and the dead he represents, come to
recognise that the new constitution
does not knock them out of the game
simply because it does not grant
them formal suzerainty over Natal.
Likewise, it is to be hoped that the
ANC restrains itself from steps that

push the Zulu leaders over the brink
into blind irrationality.

Inkatha is not celebrating the
national election, and let us assume
it does not accept De Klerk's proposal
that it be allowed to enter the
provincial race. Result: Buthelezi
and his followers have no place in the

the central and provincial legislatures

and elsewhere. Does this mean they
are locked out for ever and that their
interests will go unrepresented and
ignored? Hardly. After all, the party

is

4 that is setting the country's agenda is

not sitting in Parliament yet, either,
and that does not seem to have
cramped its style.

My reading of Buthelezi's decision

is

that the boycott of the election is this: he has

concluded that the April vote will

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recent African history to be a seizure

"of power under colour of democratic process. Therefore, the conclusion is |
his view foregone, he will have no

Wait of it.

~{ one sense. the conclusion is

foregoes, The ANC will win, at all-
most all levels, handily. But then the
ANC will have to govern And gov

erning will entail far more than get

ting simple majorities in the national
and regional assemblies That will
presumably be a fairly easy feat, but
also an empty one if the vast array of
interests and lobbies not formally
represented do not bring the result

Too much force majeure to over-
ride extra-parliamentary forces, and
we will be back to square one with a
government that cannot function and
an economy in a state of anarchy.

W3 incumbent on Buthelesi (if he
has not already done so) to recognise
the legitimate possibilities of in-
cluding the new government and con-
stituent assembly from outside, but
also his responsibilities. He and the

ANC will, and should, skid Bhebe and

Tinpot say. No one denies, after

ANC all., that they have a constituency
in Botswana there are limits.

These limits are set not so much
by law. of which the present order
has made an unholy mess by treating it
with utter disrespect and expedi-
ence, as by practical morality and
common sense. Preventing people

| who wish to vote from doing so will
[discredit Inkatha just as surely as
| Tebeka's opponents diminished the
ANC in the 1980s. Crude ethnic mo-

ANC's mobilisation, whatever the provocation.

will earn Buthelesi and the king a
place in Infamy alongside Serbia's
Slobodan Milosevic,

Politics is the art of the possible.
the chances. The possibilities
SA's immensely fluid transition to
state are legion. Surely, they can be
pursued without resort to civil war

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SIMON BARBER

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HE STRATEQGY of IFP sympa-
Tthisers in occupying venues in-

tended for ANC rallies is provoca-
tive in the extreme. It brings closer
every day the frightful spectre of full-
scale civil war in NatalV/KwaZulu,

As the ANC says, it is a fagrant
violation of the Electoral Act. While
it is up to the Independent Electoral
Commission to dectde what to do, we
wonder whether anything it orders
will be adhered to. Democratic no-
tions about freedom of assembly and
tolerance are being rapidly snuffed
out by the lust for war.

Evidently, as has been the case for
a long time, the forces of anarchy are
taking their cue from the top. As-
suming â\200\224 difficult as it is â\200\224 that the
IFF sympathisers keeping ANC sup-
porters out of venues are not acting
on direct orders from their leaders,
the question remains: how can the
rank-and-file be expected to show re-
spect for the rules of free election
campalgning when their leaders are
opposed to the election itself?

In fact, how can Natal/KwaZulu
hope to avoid a conflagration when
the IFP persists in boycotting the
election and the king announces his
intention to declare an independent
Zulu kingdom. President De Klerkâ\200\231s
warning that the king will not be al-
lowed {0 secede highlights the seri-
ousness of the situation, which is
made still more tense as the ANC
prepares for mass action and talks
sinisterly of repeating the Bophutha-
tswana option. On top of this come
worrying new allegations of contin-
ued â\200\234third-forceâ\200\235 involvement in the
conflict?

Attitudes have hardened alarming-
ly these past few days. It {s now a
matier of emergency to get interna-
tional mediation to settle the consti-
tutional rift at the heart of the con-
flict. The leaders seem to be actively
escalating tensions that can easily
turn into a catastrophe, but it is ordi-
nary folk who are going to have to
pay the price,

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KwaZulu,

STEPS to ensure free
ity in KwaZulu are be
by the TEC.

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They may include giving the BAP .

jurisdiction over the region in the
weeks remaining before the election.

The news came as KwaZulu chief
minlster Mangosuthu Buthelezi
warned that a conflict of "awesome
proportionsâ\200\235 would be unleashed {f
the ANC tried to destabilise the
EwaZulu government as had been
done In Bophuthatswang and as was
threatened in Ciskel. :

Meanwhile, IEC chatrman Mr Jus-
tice Johann Kriegler is trying to se-
cure "an Inclusive commitmentâ\200\235 to
free and fair elections from President
De Klerk, ANC president Nelson
Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and King
Goodwill Zwelithing.

He jointly met Mr De Klerk and
Mr Mandela In Pretorla 'gesterday
and is scheduled to meet â\200\234separate-
lyâ\200\235 Dr Buthelez, the king and the
KwaZulu legislative agsembly in Ul-
undi tomorrow. :

â\200\234Mr Kriegler's message to them s
that the time for games s now over,â\200\235
an IEC source said.

TEC management committee
member Pravin Gordhan said yes:
terday the TEC plan was expected

Says TEC

Political Staff

to do away with the KwaZulu Po-

lee's sole jurisdiction over the region, under which the SAP had to get permission to enter the territory.

Other steps expected include giving the SADF greater jurisdiction over KwaZulu; giving the TEC and Natal provincial administration control over all venues in KwaZulu; putting a stop to Inkatha's training of its members at military-style camps, acting against weapons smuggling and reconsidering the government's financial obligations in KwaZulu.

The reincorporation of KwaZulu Police would also be considered.

Delivering his policy speech in the KwaZulu legislative assembly, De Beule said the assembly would not accept the re-formation of the constitution on the people of KwaZulu.

"We were not party to drawing it up, we were not party to taking it through the parliamentary process and we were not committed to the drawing up and the establishment of the transitional mechanism," he said.

@ See also Page 2

(Report by D Greybe, 11 Disgrace Steat Johannesburg and P Legmen. 10 Qaborne Street Durban)

Mercury "200/235/3" (200/231) 0 (200/2359) HE [Fr

the,

â\200\224

KwaZulu: Cosatu plot alleged

Buthelezi fears |
Bop-type overthrow

THE ANC and Cosatu are
planning the same tactics
I In KwaZulu as were used
in Bophuthatswana to
| topple the government of
President Lucas Mangope,
according to the chief min-
ister of KwaZulu and
president of the Inkatha
Freedom Party, Dr Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi

Delivering what is likely to

be his last policy speech in
| the KwaZulu legislative as-
| sembly last night, he quoted
from a resolution of g regional
congress of Cosatu. This stat-
ed that the "congress resolved
to â\200\234mandate the public sector
unions to form g task force to
spearhead an intensive cam-
paign against the KwaZulu
governmentâ\200\235

The crushing of the Man-
gope government destroyed
all prospects of there being
free and fair elections in that
region, he said

Dr Buthelezi said he could
not see elections being con-
ducted smoothly without

Sâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

Political Staff

KwaZulu's willing partici-
pation in them

He could not see that the
elections, if forced on people
through the deployment of se-
curity forces, as President De
Klerk had intimated, would
be free and fair.

Dr Buthelezi said the South
African government and the
ANC were now employing the
full power of the state to

shake 8A and to seize victory

at the polls

â\200\230They had the laws which were made (o assist them, and the security forces which they were reconstituting to apply the laws in their favour.

â\200\234We stand In danger of now reaching the point at which, whatever the outcome of glev-enth hour negotiations may be, the strategies to erush op-position to the elections will already have done their dirty work,â\200\235 the KwaZulu chie(minister said.

{Raport by P Leeman, 18 Otbaras Stramr, Dusban!

Her"(.uf:ao}

gzatziw

He |

Buthelezi â\200\230on wilderness trailâ\200\231

JOHANNESBURG-The author of 4 South Afrlcan labour/political brief says Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelez is sure to fol-low Bophuthatswana's Lucas Man-gope and Ciskei's Brig Oupa Gqozo into the political wilderness.

Mr Duncan Innes, in his â\200\234Innes Labour Briefâ\200\235, maintalns Dr Buth-elezi has played into the hands of the ANC by refusing to participate in the elections

He makes no mention of Zulu

King Goodwlll Zwelithini's determi-nation to have a soverelgn state,

He says Dr Buthelezt will be a tougher nut to crack than Mr Man-gope, who fell [rom power as a result of & violent uprising In Bophutha-tswana

â\200\234It may take longer, it may be even more bloody â\200\224 but If he per-sists with his present strategy, lt will certalnly come." â\200\224 (Bapa)

(Heper(by E Qutofse. 141 Cammigsigner Sireat,

dohnnngaburg)

PR

e eagmiesmines aâ\200\224tc des B â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

Inkatha death squads roam thÃ©_i¬\201ontebella'lvallez

first shook wncontrollably.
His voice was sÃ» tense with
fear that he was unintelligi-

of fear

Uade so many of Antas
by conflicas. the ew-in-
taps Åçy civil war being waged
in Nata)-Kwazvlu is nol be
twets different ethnic groupe
Mot of the dead uvn both
sidss are pan of e Zuly
maion. The Hghting s for
polixal control and economic
doamance. Inkatha ~war-
laÃ©sâ\204ç, the ANC alleges. are
pwarded withn Jucriinve su
prvasket Sanchises and ey

On the fourth leg of his South African | e
odsssey, Sam Kiley meets Zulu victims
- of the ruthless death syuads who are

- waging Natal's low-iniensity civil war

(%

Ef

2]

LeEes

3

i

residrots burnt out of their the empty Mavula store.

[â\200\234Four workers were shot in
eir beds imside the shopâ\204ç
Who did this burning and
kling? â\200\234The other organis-

38

ha:

children. stepped over 2 2t
high kymite mound in the
desested

o

Â\$â\$Â\$â\$

She said: *These people are
making us poor. | am wo
years away from my pension

il

" She

xe

and all my things have been -

acion.~ So deep is the fear of
being dubbed an informer
that it takes much coaxing o
that the victims even 0 53y
â\200\234[uathaâ\204ç.

Mr Bbengu an Inkathz

- member unfortunate enough

tÂ» kive among African Nat-
ional Congress supporters
ltd who works as a general

Inkatha impis {regimen
of January.
i the

seniore mwant thi two men
Killed n what was kf of the
village al the od 0 last
monih lay rotting fo' thye
days xlore thw relatives
dared 10 collear Ve bodes.

â\200\234There is only one aim that
Inkatha has â\200\224 to wipe Uw
ANC out completely in this
area.â\200\235 said an administrator
at the hospital. He insisted on
anonymity for his own safety.

chaire Rizhts 10 minibus
TN
~ survivors of the hit~quad
2tucks, including those in the
scetebello area, further &t
p: that the KnaZulu pulice
kv been invulved i e
things. â\204çWO prheemen
smxd with 3 nilkes an
alleged 10 have arnivid wat
s 10 ay waste to
\langakan.

asistant 8t the hespital, at

Dris

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â\200\230_,_-â\200\2247â\200\231_. 7 o v
S Sâ\200\224 Kondas

BUTHELEZI'S RESPONSIBILITY

The provincial elections a"i'e.lnkatha's only legitimate option

Just like the execution of three whita extrem.
ists on a dusty road in Bophuthatswana, the
report of the Goldstone commission of
enquiry is a watershed in the politics of post
apurtheld South Africa. It has stri pped away
another layer of illusion and lid bare
- uncomfortable realitics: three of the most
senior officers of the South African police
stand accused of arming and training mem-

bers of the Inkatha Freedom Parg (IFP), .

engaged in 2 eampaign of violena: against
the Alrican National Congress (ANC). Tt has
alsu focused particular attention on Presd
duatde Kerk and the leader of the IF P, Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

- Mr de Klerk does not cmerge [rom the
report with credit. But it would be ciuel lo
hold him responsihle: the head of RruUYEmM-
ment cannot answer for the activiticy of
â\200\234rogue elementgâ\200\235 â\200\224 however senior â\200\224 intent
on subversion. And it 15 not iy the Interecre of
the ANC 10 pursue him cither. He is the
most valuable partner Nelson Mandcia has,
Considerable damage has been done, how-
ever, to the already tattered reputation of
hief Buthelezi. Hig party's links with the
unsavoury â\200\234dirty tricks departmentâ\200\235 of the
police bring its aniielection agenda into
sharp perspective. Chief Buthelezi's asser-
tion that he js battling for a â\200\234truly
democratic"caumry has a most hollow ring.
He has lost the Jitrle international sym-
nathy he had. The govesunent ana the ANC
+ have acceded to all of his original demunds,
Dut the Chiet 1s never satisfied. His mast
recent demand, that there be international
mediation on constitutional amendments,
cannot be fulfilled withou(posiponing the
elections. Mr Mandela js loath 10 agree 10

Ile and Mr de Klerk have made eve

that: he has no faith in Chief Buthelezi's
democratic bong fides.

Mr Mandela's position is understancdable,
effort

te accommodate Chief Buthelezi's legitimate

â\200\230apprehensions. It is his i!legitinxa_te methods

to which'they object. If the IFP fears a one-
party state after the elections, a disruption of
the polls is not the most rational way to in-
sure against that lis right to boyort the poit
1s unquestioned: but. equally, those in Natal-

KwaZulu who wish to vote must not be stopped from doing so. Chief Buthelezis called to Zulus to wage a struggle of liberation, and King Goodwill's secessionist bid, are an inflammatory incitement to violence.

Mr de Klerk should try to exploit Chief Buthelezi's post-Goldstone weakness. There is time yet for the IEP to agree to participate in the provincial elections, even though registration for the national elections has

closed. Similarly, his chief ministership of the homeland will lapse after the elections: winning at the polls constitutes the only legitimate way for him to remain in control, perhaps in alliance with the National Party.

The South African Defence Force (SADF) should now be deployed in Natal-KwaZulu in large numbers. As events in Bophuthatswana demonstrated, their loyalty can be counted upon. The Goldstone

committee's report left little doubt that the SADF is unsullied; and the ANC has con-

tinued to call for them to replace the police in the townships. It is ironic that the ANC should rely, for the conduct of peaceful elections, on the vigilance of soldiers against whom it was recently at war. But this irony, unfortunately, seems lost on Chief Buthelezi.

-

" ethical or even religious
: then the constitutional relationship
- between these is what provides the
* cornerstone of stability on the con-
- tinent. The will of the majority, the
. essential tenet of Western democ-

Now in Zimbabwe in Africa political labels such as democratic, liberal or totalitarian are being stuck on parties that are in essence regional, ethnic or tribal

ECENT calls by King Goodwill
welithiai for the full sover.
cignty of the Zulu people in South
Africa will be seen by good demo.
crats everywhere as another wrack-
ing move by the Zulus to under-
mise the brave and patient work by
President F W de Klerk and Nelson
Mandela towards a democratic
South Africa.

The position of the king, and
more especially his minister, Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is widely
interpreted as atavistic and sectar-
ian, putting the interests of the
tribe before those of the nation.

However, it will strike a different
chord among those in Africa who
are increasingly worried that a first-
past-the-post system of multi-party
elections will maintain the domination

of one tribe by another. At the mo-
ment the basic political unit
throughout the continent is not the

. madu swis left Ly departing colo-
. nial powers, but people of the shme
. ton;
- sucl
230 tioal are being stuck on parties
. that are in essence regional. ethnic
. or tribal (though 234 tribe 235 does not
- adequately describe many of these
. affiliations 224 it is equivalent to
- talking about tribalism in former
. Yugoslavia or, perhaps, English,

and culture. Political labels
33 Democratic, Liberal or na-

Welsh and Irish nationalism in the

. British Isles).

If the political map of Africa is
not 52 nations at all but a jigsaw of
hundreds of cultural, linguistic,
groups,

tacy, cannot be the ultimate arbiter

- . of political power for Africa: con-
- stitutions have to be based on
- . groups as well as individuals.

In Ethiopia the government has

- . 861 as its prime task the forging of 8

new relationship between the coun-
try's different nations. Like
South Africa, it is holding elections
shortly, in June. At first glance it
seems not

with South A

Europe has been settled, there can
be 10 peace.

While the South African govern-
ment was abolishing racial clas-
sification on identity cards, the B

South African government was introducing
. You can no longer be just a
tribe: your identity card must show
whether you are Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele
or Oromo. South Africans will vote
in their first democratic non-racial
election, for parties that shun eth-
nic or regional labels, at the same
time 33 Ethiopians will choose be-
tween candidates who explicitly
represent the interests of their
group. And while the South African
parliament is aiming to provide
representation for 11 tribal pre-
sidents, the national constitution, the

South African constituent assembly
will have to draw up a new constitu-
tion that will balance the interests
of the various ethnic groups and
their relationship to the central
power, in theory, the options are
to include 11 nations (as the language
groups are called) leaving Ethiopians
altogether, as Eritrea has done,

This, more or less, is what Ying
Goodwill and the Inkatha move-
ment are calling for in South Africa.
It may be a cynical ploy, an

1= build a house in which everyone
can live, but they may have to add a

dzor by which groups could save,
reilics than wbliging thau w e
maâ\200\230a part af a sla16 10 which they
fee. no allegiance.

Tu the first 20 years of statehood
in Africa, from (lâ\200\231xe eurlly Sixuiss, it
was fashionable w argue thet ihe
oas-party state best sulted the contis
part's political and develop:ueuntal
uecds. By 1999, however, that politi-
cx! system Was sÂçÂçn, in Dations such
as Zaire, Kenya and Angols, to have
preduced corrupt tyrannies thag
secved sell-perpetuating Ã@lites. Ones
rarly states went out, and withia
faur years 34 out of 45 states in sub-
Sshatan Alrica hud introduced
muwiti-party systcms, beld cections
or undergunes major pelitidel
change. Three of those that did oot
casnge were elecady functioning
ulit-party democracivs

This oulburst of democracy at
ie23i rid the continent of some tyr-
annies, and even the tyeants who
survived had to submut (0 efeciions.
t also allowed Africans to say what
y falt and criticira thair gavern
waeis. Polies] prisoners were
fieed and 8 Nuod of independent

excuse for boycotting elec.
tlons that xbf{ ms_Fc:(they
will luse Ludl hey say
the African National Con-
gress (ANC) represents, in
the qumin, vuc group, thÃ@
Xhosa, and that it will try
to dominate the Zulus
They cun point to other
states in Africs, such as An.
gola and Burundi, where
civil war has followed eleg.
tions in which one group
refused to accept the result.

Zulu nationhood may be
backward- and inward-
looking, but it is a commeon
theme in Africa these days,
and it would be a rash poli.
tclan who trled to take ft
on by force and ploughed
sheud with an election
which marginalised people
wiih (DAL View. ven

oy

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Rewspysers appeared in Mealawi, Ghans, Ziire and Mozambdique, smong others. The elections were aliwa: all peuceful and produced turnouts that often rcached more than 99 per cent.

My sbiding image of an electiva ia Affica is a queue of people stand. ing for hours under a hot sun, hav. ing walked for three or four hours to 2 pulling booth. In many cases they would rua out of time and have to return the next day. When they fie pally did cast their vores with great serivutness Å«nd meticulous care, pevpls would emerge and greet their fricnds, saving: â\200\234] have voted.â\200\235

But mulii-party demucrucy has brought division. Ten years 2go s

prasva's Libe v uvithisn Wngus was a4 taboo subject tn many Alricsn

cuntsies, asd governments sirove to abolish â\200\234rriballsmâ\200\235. Th= jntro. ductios of pariics tesurreciad pival. riefy that had lain concesled during culonisl timys wnd the posteinde-

Å¸adense period. Suddinly, ia

enya, Nigeria, T'ogo and Ethiopis, gruup loyulties becare explicit an suplaiealla by pawerhunghey politis cians. Electicns have produced few sussesriul new governments on the

cuntinenl.

uew political system has failed to answer the ba. \$is questions of Atriean politics: what happens to the losers, and what hap- pens to he army, the guare sutor of power? In Angola, the losez, Jonas Savimbi, went back to war. In Nige- ria, when the â\200\234wrangâ\200\235 man won, Presldeny Ibrabim Babangida cancelled the clection. Only those from the winnerâ\200\231s own group took to the streets to defend the election. In Buruadi, whers the parties were split along ethniÅ¸ lines, the win- ner wat murdersd hy army olficers from the oppusing

group and the country way
plunged into one of Africa's
worst massacres. In Keava,

Pi\oâ\200\230vâ\200\230?.o;:â\200\230 Reuters

differences and strives to eradicate
the hardwon democratic culture
built up before the elections.

One African leader has since
sought Western pressure for a
multi-party system and forged a
case against it that should be heard
in the rest of Africa. President Yoweri
Museveni of Uganda argues that
in post-industrial societies parties
divide horizontally, according
to class. Class conflict, he

argues, is dynamic and people's
class positions may change. But
in pre-industrial societies, political
parties express vertical divisions
that are static and unchangeable. In
this, he points out, it is possible
change one's mind, therefore politicians
will simply allow politicians
to exploit and widen these divisions
creating the sort of problems for
which Uganda was once notorious

Uganda's election next week is to
be held on a 80-party basis. In-
dividuals may stand on their own
account, but are not allowed
stand in the name of a religious
party, ethnic group or political

party. President Museveni has
invited four former presidents to re-
establish their monarchial as well as cul-
tural symbols as a sign of chan-
gelling ancient tribal and ethnic
sentiment into non-political areas

in the Ugandan experiment
works, it may be a sign to democ-
racy for other African countries
President Museveni says he has
human rights problems at the moment
by banning free associations, but he
has not rejected the idea of political
parties in the longer term. He per-
haps by suppressing group politics

activity he is simply stoning up
trouble for the future Is Ethiopiaâ\200\231s
president, Meles Zens=i, perhap:
right in chousing to ccafront the
ethaic questian?

In their elections this year Etbio
pia, Uganda and SoutÂ® Africa have
each chosen different scutes to tr,
to build coherent natie2 states fron
peoples of disparate exeic and cul
turel backgrounds That they have
done so underlines a growing recay

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M Y s N G

tDecis|on to deny b_riâ\200\230sĩ¬\202ohAers fr

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n Johsanenburg

PROTEST by convicts
demanding the righi
lo vore in the South
African alection
resulted in the deaths of 21 pris-
oners yegterday, - Â¢ Â¢,

The protesters, -at Queens-
town jail in the Eastern Cape,
apparently died of asphyxlation
after setring light to matoreases
In a communal coll. Two other
prisoners died {n a similar incj-
dent at the woekend near Paarl,
in the Western Cape.

The prisons department gaid
warders and the flre brigada
were unable to extinguish yes-
terdayâ\200\231s- fire because the pro-
testers had jammeod stesl beds
againsi the cell door.

Violent demonstrations have
been sweeping South Africaâ\200\230s
| prisons since the Transitional
Executive Council decided
sarly last week to deny the vots
to the 110,000 convicts who are
8erving sentences without the
option of a fine.

On Friday, two warders were
held hostage at Boksburg jail

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pear Johannesburg. They were released unharmed, but several prisoners â\200\230were reportedly injured by warders and police,

Two people died on Saturday when about 300 prisoners rioted at Paardeberg prison in Paarl. Inmates at Pretoria central Prison sent a petition to the MEC on Sunday threatening to make the jail ungovernable if they were not given this vote. They were yesterday reported to have smashed up 18 cells,

At Pietermaritzburg, in Natal province, where more than 2000 convicts are on hunger strike, prisoners yesterday burned down the chapel and wrecked cells. Another 1.000 prisoners are on hunger strike throughout the country,

Civil rights lawyers have threatened court action to try to invalidate the April 27 election. If the franchise is not extended to all prisoners,

In other political violence, police yesterday reported that at least 31 people had been killed in Natal, the present epicentre of instability. They included an ANC leader in Natal, Mzwanaile Mbongwe.

franchise sparks violence

convicts

â\200\231.% & 3) &
R A T I e g

notes protest

The defence force yesterday called up part-time troops to

stop combat election violence,

Controversy, meanwhile, continued over the Goldstone

Commissionâ\200\231s sallegations last week that three police genernls were involved in *â\200\234Third Force" activities to destabilise the country. The police establish. ment doomed (0 be moving swiftly to defend the officers â\200\224 who have been sent on â\200\234com-pulsoryâ\200\235 lsave by President F. W. de Kilerk â\200\224 and to dis- : credit Mr Justice Richard Goldstone,

The alieged name of the pollce Infgrmant who testified to the commission â\200\224 {dentified by the fudge only as â\200\234Q" â\200\224 wag leaked to newspapers as Cap-tan Kobus â\200\234Chapples" Klop-per, a former member of the â\200\234Vlakplaasâ\200\235 assassination unit set up in the 15808 in the dirty WAar apainst the ANC.

Themba Khoza, the Inkatha Transvaal leader implicatod in the â\200\234Thud Foreeâ\200\235 by Judge Coldatone's report, said he was inviung members of the com. niission to anend a press con: ference with him today.

21 killed as -
fire sweeps
cell block

FIRE engulfed a cell block in
a South African prison yes-
terday, killing 21 black
inmates who had barricaded
themselves in as part of a
nationwide campaign by
prisoners to be allowed to
vote in April's elections,
writes Christopher Muynnton
in Johannesburg

In the worst single incident
to mar South Africa's
mergingly bloody election
campaign, the prisoners of
Cell Block A at Queenstown
in the eastern Cape prov-
ince incinerated them-
selves, according to prison
officials,

The inmates had joined
the protest by going on hun-
ger strike and barricading
themselves in by stacking
their beds and bedding
against the door, said Brig
Chris Olkors of the Correc-
tional Services Department,

Prison staff could not get
through the barricaded door
and when they tried to hose
water through the windows,
they were beaten back by the
heat

When the fire brigade
arrived they managed to get
the blaze under control but
21 inmates were dead
Brig Olkors said.

YOU KNOW you're OK
until you hear the humming
noise. It sounds like bees,
but comes from men,

it's the same sound the
inpis [Zulu regiments] made
when they beat the English
at Isandhlwana. When we
hear them come we run and
hide in the bush.

As the Zulu spoke, a mini-
bus braked on the track 20

wards away and be jumped to his feet. Then the wvehicle drove on and he relaxed.

Mr Glenn Mabuto, 33. speaks ilmmaculate English and wants to return to wvni- versity to study law.

Bui first he has to sumive his familyâ\200\231s feud with their iocal chief, and as next monthâ\200\231s election draws nearer this 18 increasingly hard,

In the wvillage of Ndlan- gubo, as all over northern Natal, the chief exerts much the same rights as his fore- fathers in the last century, when the Zvlus controlled the most powerful empire 12 sub-Saharan Africa.

Tor the 10.000 people scat- tered over Ndlangubo hill-

ides, choosing a wedding dav, building an extension lo the kraal (homestead) and a myriad of other domestic and social activities require the permission nof Chiel Bov Mzimela. In the time-hon-

The war song of Isandhlwana is now used to terrify ANC supporters, writes Alec Russell in Ndlangubo

oured wax, this bond brngs reciprocal benefits to the vil- lagers, such as the chiel's imfluence or patronage in a legal dispute.

But for Mr Mabutoâ\200\231s fam- ilv, politics has shattered thts relationship. Three vears ago. his cousin, Ennch Nzuza, 30, joined the Afnean National Congress in open defiance of the chief, a sup- porter of the Inkatha Free- dom Party. Since then, the farmly kraal has been under regular artack,

The most serious recent incident came early one morning last month, when Mandia. 20, Enochâ\200\231s brother, was shot i the neck and leg as he sqguatted in the thatched hut which serves as the family lavatory.

â\200\234Bam! Bam' They fired |
think they thought I was
dead.â\200\235â\200\235 be said, ingening the
scars which have barely
started to fade

After this Mr Mabulo was
calied in from bis heme in the
town of Empangeni, 10 miles
away, to help defend the
family

As long as he sleeps dightly
at night and keeps an ear
epen for the â\200\234â\200\234hummg'', be
is confident that he can keep

the [ami]Â» alive and the kraa)
intact. â\200\234â\200\230Sometimes when
they come up the hill we just
stand outside and brazen it
out and they lose heart.â\200\235

They have an added bonus
in that the chief's mother is a
friend of Mandlaâ\200\231s mother
and she sends waming from
her kraal on the other side of
the village whenever she
hears an attack is planned.

As next monthâ\200\231s election
draws near, so the local ten-
sions are rising. The deter-
mination of the vounger
members of the family to
fiaunt their support for the
ANC seemns to leave them
very exposed.

The ANC has tried to court
local chiefs. On the other side
of the vallev 3s an ANC-con-
trolled district where,
Mandia concedes, it would
be all but impossible to sup-
port Inkatha.

But chiefs identify more
readily with the message of
Inkatha, which works within
the old social structures,
than with the iconoclastic
message of the ANC.

Mr Mabute points across
the vallev to his chief's dis-
tinctive blue kraal and says o
is Inkatha terrtory as far as
the homzon 10 miles away

Sound of Zulus on the warpath

While he is Convxnced thai

the chief's followers are .

closest backers of the ANC,

he concedes that as long as the chief stays with Inkatha, °

so will the village. !
Last Friday, when the Zulu
King Goodwill Zwelithini,

who is effectively opposed to '

the ANC. held a meeting in
Ulundi, two busloads of sup-
porters left from Ndlangubo

The next day, just four .

people, including Mandela
and Mr Mabulo, left for an
ANC rally 15 miles away.

"We were expecting them
to attack on our way home,"
said Mandela. "Their usual
technique is to pull people
out of buses and beat up
those they suspect of favour-
ing the ANC."

They survived, but pollard

could be another matter
if they decide to defy Inx
katha's threatened boycott.

i

There is only one road : S1
from their house to the main 5

road and it winds through a
mile of Inkatha territory
Last month, Enoch was
forced off the road by
unknown assailants and had

to abandon the family's car

under gunfire

"You never know how it
will turn out in the end," said
Mandla. "Why, but a Dre E
CUV We could not see the
ill's worksh

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Lond

+ -16 TUESDAY, MARCH 22, 1994

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(RN M8
* VIOLENCE erupted in se\
eral areas of South Africa
yesterday as the country's

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) lÃ©aders in
emergenew.
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By cgulqtopho; Munnlqn In Johannqsbq;

%aidâ\200\231 *It'will helpTationalise
the eclectorat process and
timetables so all parties

5 pu.thcâ\200\230_i leaders held an. tould compele on an equal

h,gmergenm meeting with foulm%\

â\200\230â\200\234ihelection officialsito ensure 4 Mr fandela went on to
.treeand fair vote, â\200\230i1 (el Sharpeville, south of Johan-

â\200\230 President de Kh.xk \1r â\200\230neshurg, where police killed
Nesson Mandela, the African 69 protestÃ©rs during demon-

National: Congress leader,
and Mr Johaun Kriegler,

â\200\234 head of the .Independent
Election Commission, dis-
cussed the' increase in vio-

lence in the run-up to next month's election in a 90-minute meeting in Pretoria,

strations in 1960 against laws restricting the movement of people.

Sharpeville Day has since been commemorated by blacks as a symbol of the start of the revolt against apartheid,

The situation in Natal, where Mr+Mandela is normally

where the mainly-Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party's decision not to take part in the election has resulted in Zulu traditionalists trying to prevent electioneering in the region, dominated their dxsu.sxson Obxousl, we are concerned about the fairness

and fairness of the elections, not only in KwaZulu, but throughout the country, Mr

Kruger's success after the talks.

beard had built up the KwaZulu capital, his week, and hoped to

ous Lush dress the homeland's legislators to the air.

tive assembly. v

Bongani L. At least 3 people, including four ANC officials, were

killed in weekend violence in Natal, police disclosed yesterday.

Tension throughout the province, which is interwoven with the KwaZulu homeland, has risen perceptibly in

the KwaZulu election period. Mangosuthu Buthe, the KwaZulu leader and head of Inkatha, was conspicuous by his absence from

the meeting.

He was in Johannesburg where he told business leaders that he was prepared to put up with criticism for not

taking part in the elections.

International mediation by
constitutional experts would
show Inkatha's demands: to
be fair and its concerns
g Jegmmate, he said. .
Mediation will address
(the question of Zulu self-

;mn%mnai~\201 the sx
â\200\234Zulu ki :

â\200\234well-protected and organised
cavalcade was overwhelmed
Ly an unruly crowd of some
50,000 people, many of whom |
had been standing in hot sun.
for four hours and had heard
i~\201er{â\200\230 speechics from leaders
of the radical Pan â\200\230Afyicanist
Congress. aagâ\200\230 it
wing, APLA #ÂfY
} â\200\230Many people in the crow
openly carried guns and
other weapons and as Mr
Mandela battled through the
throng to the pomuufx he.wa
}ustl . The fyere â\200\230numers
& youths fired :

"ARAK angry Mr Mandela
remonstrated wnh local
ANC organisers. 1 must
condemn in the strongest
terms their lack of organisa-
tion and their inability to
takÃ@- â\200\230P:eventlve steps,â\200\231â\200\235 he
Sasd â\200\230Âst'2 hiek that nobody
has died.â\200\235

Thousands of blacks
stayed away from work in all
major centres to commemao-
rate Sharpeville Day.

In Newgastle in the Natal
midlands, pupils went on the .
rampage, stoning vehicles
and setting up burning barri-
cades before being dxpersed
by riot police, .. wri-i

The major vehiclc man
facturing plants in Port Eliz
abeth and Uitenhage in the
eastern:Cape were closed,
Durban suspended bus ser-
vices to..several area

ecause of unrest,

At Daveyton, a townshxp
cast of Johannesburg, mob

BEHL SLYy

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Richard Dowden explaing

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i-party elections in Africa may causc as many problems as they solve.

y tribe, not my nation

PRESS CUTTING.

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Rl;CBNT unils by Kin? Goudwill
fwelllthing for the [ull suver:
eighty of the Zulu people In South
Aliica will be seets by good demy-
erais everywhere 8s anoihoy wreek-
ing move by the Zulus lo under
ming the brave and yariant work Ly
Prestdent F W de K}crk and Nelson
Mandela towards & denocanic
South Africa.

The positlon uf the king, sud
mote cspecially bis mintsier, Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelesi, 16 widely
Interpreted &y atavisiic and seciar-
fau, puiling the interests of the
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flower, it will sirike & diflerem
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Teornerstone of sabllity on the coi
tinent. The will of \he iwjort!y, the
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thew rebnnionship between ths coun
tery's different â\200\234nailionsâ\200\235, Like
Y Sautlt Africa, lt is holding election:
tshatdy, sn June At fisey planoe
Lecerns that while South Africe s
vabolislung o state bated on fwve,
{ichlopiia, a0 the other end of the
Lcontinent, i seniitg one up. The
imhsopmn governinen belicves that
funtil the teiattonship Letween the

groups has been settet, (there can
Bs lifr pEAce
While the South African govern:
miewt wab abolishing raci) classiflc
cution on identity eards, ihe Bihio-
iaa governuent was introducing
lt You vnn 00 Jonger BÂ¢ just Bthio-
pian: your identity card st show
whetlier you are Ataharic, Tigiayan
or Otomo. South AN issns will voie
in their eal democratic nonsacial
cleetion, for parties hat shun ethe
wls o rogional iabels, st the samu
me ot Sthiopians will chowe by
iween tandidates who cxplicitly
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gioup And while e South Alvican
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râ\200\231\}rm! pational sonstituton, the
Tthioplan conttuent assembly
will try 10 draw yp 8 new constitu.
tian thao will balance the inierests
of the veritus cthnic groups and
iheir relationship to the eeatye of
powser. In theoty, the oplions ine
Â¢lude â\200\234nationsâ\200\235 (as the langmiage
groupt sie called) luaving Ehiopin
wliogether, as Brities has done.
This, nore or legs, is whet King
Goudwlill snd the Inkatha move-

ment are calling for in South Africa.
't may be a cynical ploy, an
cune for boycotting elec-
tions that they suspect they
will lose because of the ARy
(the African National Con-
gress (ANC) movements, in
(the main, one group, the
Khowa, A (it will only
(to dominate the Zulus
"like the other
states in Africa, such as
Ghana and Burundi, where
civil war has followed
the group
refused to accept the result
which may be
backward. and forward.
Looking, But in the 1980s
during in Africa these days,
which would be a risk
telling who tried to keep it
on the ground (pi-)ugâ\200\230ncâ©
ahead with the election
which marginalised people
with their view, It is even
the necessary of
work the option of
bringing together The A
and the National
have spent many
patient negotiators,

icommy's 80 different longun

it Inkat
African leadership

to build a house [which everyone
can live, but which may have to yield
to the groups that leave,
rather than obliging them to re-
main part of a state to which they
feel no allegiance.

In the first 20 years of existence
in Africa, from the early Sixties, it
was fashionable to argue that the
one-party state best suited the con-
ditions of the continent's
needs. By 1990, however, that politi-
cal system was seen, in nations such
as Zambia, Kenya and Angola, to have
produced corrupt tyrannies that
served self-perpetuating interests. One-
party rule went on, and within
four years 34 out of 45 states in sub-
Saharan Africa had introduced
multi-party systems, held elections
or undergone major political
change. Three of those that did no
change were already functioning
multi-party democracies.

This outbreak of democracy al-
most hid the continuation of some
sanctions, and even the (years with

survived had to submit to elevations,
it also allowed Africans to say what
they felt and criticize these govern-
ments, [titles! prisonery wore

freed and a flood of independent

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la supporters fear domination Ly & new
U'hotograpl: Rewt

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Tuesday, March 22, 1994

â\200\230South Africaâ\200\231

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DEMOCRACY is the dream and April 27 the
day those dreams of freedom,
equality are expected
These are the idealistic goals of the new South

liberty and
to come to fruition.

\frica â\200\224 if the bestiality and cynieism which
& players in the old South Africa are appar-
oly unable to relinquish can be defeated.

The old South Africa is riven with shock-
ing, often murderoaus events. AfYer the excesses
of the total struggle and total anslaughter which
have already been revealed, many might have
thought they were now peyond shock. Not so,
&llegations last Friday of senior police in-
solvemnt in â\200\234third forceâ\200\235 violence saw Lo that.

nicatina members, nomioally dubbed pro-

list Zulus for the occasion, were openly

jishing AK 47s at the meeting m kwabMa-

where they were to greet ANC President

. Mandela-on Friday morning This
rightening image preceded by only a few hours
ihe announcement by President F.W. de Klerk
ihat the Goldstone Commission hes found
â\200\234prima facieâ\200\235 evidence of senior policemen
supplying weapons lo inkatha, the same wea-
wons which the â\200\234imopisâ\200\231â\200\231 brought to Ulundi to
greet Mandela?

February 2, 1980 was a clear acknowledg-

ment that the imposition and maintenance oi
gpartherd through repression and violence had
failed. The police generals should have under

~stgod-that-better than mest. Alter all, they and

their hard-pressed men, who now sadly all ap-
pear evil along with them, have been at the cut-
ting sdge of violence against apartheia for

Intolerance and cyni

L)

Did they honestly think that inkatha and
the ANC would destroy each other and leave
the way open for apartheid in a different guise? Or was it simply that, in spite of negotiations, in
spite of an approaching new order, the ANC is
still the perceived enemy and thus Inkatha an
ally? What pure folly. Criminal folly, appar-
antly

armed (hab we thought. An equakly wet Farmed-

ceed even Natal's bloody history over the last decade,

The Goldstone findings have given the moral high ground to the ANC, an organisation whose members and supporters are as intimately involved in the violence as anyone else. So much so that the necklacing in Mmabatho of

a former Bophuthatswana cabinet minister
and members of his family hardly made the
news at all.

The intolerance
still survives and whets
cynicism of this election day
as against the poll, the immediates
bleak. 2

Consider the cancelled meeting between
the Zulu king and Nelson Mandela recently

and neither party was going to the meeting in
hopes of a solution that could save the lives of
ordinary people. Mandela wanted a tri-
partite meeting in Inkatha's backyard; But

X

South Africa
with the utter
either for
future looks

ism

by Wyndham Hartley -

thelezi and others wanted to humiliate him and
tence involved a number of (many as we saw -
now armed with AK 47s) to attend the meet-
ing. Hardly the spirit of compromise and nego-
tiation, but rather cynical manoeuvring for
political advantage

Also high on the list of cynical political
acts must be the rally Mandela held at the site
of the recent train smash. With the horror of the
84 deaths still fresh in many minds, the sight of
a smiling, fist-clenching Mandela exploiting
the situation for political advantage was
naïve. :

The potential for conflict lies behind the
considerable efforts being made by both the
government and the ANC to reach a negotiated
settlement with Inkatha and the king, particu-
larly in the case of the National Party govern-
ment which stands to gain a great deal from In-
katha's absence from the ballot. A recent study
predicted that if Inkatha supporters actually
went to the polls and could not vote for their
own party then the NP would stand to benefit
most. :

But the reality is that post 2 quarter of
the country's voters are caught in a vice and elec-
tion boycotters will force them not to vote and
liberationists will attempt to force them to
vote, :

Let us all pray that through international
mediation and constitutional guarantees for
the survival of Zulu monarchy, a compromise
can be reached which will lessen the extreme
tension which has built so rapidly in the pro-

vince since the fall of Bephuthatswana, â\200\230

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â\200\230râ\200\231i'.il?Ã© editorial comment (March 11, 1994) on
the election date deserves evaluation by some

one who grew up under all manner ol destabili-
cation from extremists of both the left and
right. and who knows where the left and right of

Donâ\200\231t fear a Bep.here

the centre really starts and ends.

Fortunately, Zulus In 1984, especially
those thet are usually scoffed at and ridiculed
for their honesty, were the ones who repelled
the burning down of properties at Umlazi town-
ship in Durban. In kwaMashu they were the
ones who prevented a disaster that was about
to befall the Indian community there. In both
instances, it was the hostel dwellers who inter-
vened on the side of law and order, helped by
courageous township residents.

So, I swear by my mother, you do not have
to worry about a repeat of Transkei and Bophu-
thatswana here in Natal/KwaZulu. The major-
ity of us Zulus think we do not want to burn to
aches our hard-earned businesses and plages
that give us employment to satisfy anarchistic
politicians who use black political democracy
and ignorance to empower themselves.

ENOCH KHUMALO
Plessislaer

@ood . .

Mandela, De Klerk meet to
quell pre-election violence

JOHANNESBURG: The President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela met election officials yesterday to discuss mounting conflict in the KwaZulu black homeland over the country's first all-race election.

Fighting between ANC supporters and Zulu nationalists erupted yesterday in several parts of KwaZulu, with unofficial reports indicating as many as 16 deaths.

Police reported 13 deaths in scattered incidents, but the police account of some attacks and clashes differed from versions provided by ANC officials and peace monitors.

Zulu leaders want an autonomous State and have threatened to scuttle voting in KwaZulu, the traditional homeland located in Natal Province on the east coast of South Africa.

The call prompted threats of war from ANC leaders.

"If it means war, we will go to war," the ANC's southern Natal spokesman, Mr Dumisane Makhaye, said.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela insist that people must be free to campaign and vote throughout the na-

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tion in the April 26-28 election, the first in which the black majority will participate.

Mr Mandela's ANC is favoured to win and lead the first post-apartheid government.

On two consecutive weekends, supporters of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his uncle, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have occupied stadiums in KwaZulu to prevent the ANC from holding election rallies.

And in one incident near Cape Town, bottle-throwing supporters of the National Party disrupted an ANC rally at which Mr Mandela was speaking.

Yesterday's meeting with election officials indicated Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk were studying how to react. ANC officials have called for South African forces to provide se-

curity for campaigning and the election.

There was no statement from the meeting, and none of the officials involved offered immediate comments.

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THE STAR, TUESDAY 22 MARCH 199/

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Mandela
upset by
chaos at
Vaal rall

W BY JUSTICE MALALA
and CHRISTINA STUCKY

At mwo contrasting rallies, the.
?AC and ANC leadership ad-
dressed crowds of supporters in
Sharpeville near Vereeniging
yeste~day to commemorste the
massacre of 69 people in 1960.

ANC president Nelson Mande-
la's zrmival at the Miami Beach
Stadium, where a vast crowd of
supgerters had gathered to hear
him speak, was marred by a
bareiv-in-control crowd of sup-
porters who blocked his path to
the s:age for more than 30 mi-
nutes. ANC marshals struggled
10 kx2=p the crowd in line.

ziy the intervention of a
group of former Umkhonto we
Siza'z combatants brought the
crewd under confrol.

Macdela said the lack of cob-
trol was â\200\234totally unacceptableâ\200\235.

In contrast, the PAC raily of
about 5000 supporters on the
other side of the township was
cormparatively small and sub-
dued.

The PAC service began early
in the day with a visit to the old
Sharpeville cemetery, where
PAC president Clarence Makwe-
tu cleaned the graves of those
who died in the massacre.

Makwetu later told the gath-
ered PAC supporters that his or-
ganisation was concerned that
while parties with outside fund-
ing continued campaigring,
cash-strapped organisations had
to wait while the Independent 3
Electoral Commission dithered
about election funding.

During a 40-minute stop in
Sharpeville, Mandela said an
event like the Sharpeville mas-
sacre must not happen again

He said the Goldstone Com-
missionâ\200\231s report implicating
high-ranking members of the
SAP In violence, was a land-
mark. â\200\234However, | know that de-
spite these allegations, the force
has honest and devoted men and
women. It is a force of this na-
ture that we are going to use in
the new government.â\200\235

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THE STAR, TUESDAY 22 MARCH 1994

9 parties receive campaign cash

TEC election
fund begins
to pay out

M STAFF REPORTER

Several organisations yesterday received the first of long-awaited payment to political parties from the State Electoral Fund of the Independent Electoral Commission.

Nine parties received payments of between R48458 and R1 259 000 after submitting either an acceptable opinion poll indicating their support or a list of signatures from supporters.

The parties that received funds to conduct election campaigns are the NP, DP, ANC, PAC, the Freedom Front, the Minorizy Front, the Dik-

warkwetla and the Worker's List Party.

These parties all complied with Section 74 of the Electoral Act.

The parties that have not yet received any funds have been given until 4.30 pm on Friday to submit lists of signatures as required by the Electoral Act. If they supply adequate and proper lists, money from the Electoral Fund will be paid to them.

An amount of R11 million, half of the R22 million available in the fund, will be distributed among participating parties before the election and the balance afterwards.

15 Makgabatlane. 47 Sauer St Johannesburg)

THE STAR, TUESDAY 22 MARCH 1994

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Kriegler to
meet Zulu
leaders

in Ulundi

B BY JOVIAL RANTAO

Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, ;
chairman of the Independent
Electoral Commission (IEC),
will meet Zulu King Goodwill
Zwelithini and IFP leader
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
{n Clundi tomorrow to ad-
dress the crucial question of a
free and fair election in vola- |
tile KwaZulu. |

Judge Kriegler, who met
President de Klerk and ANC
president Nelson Mandela
yesterday, will meet the Zulu
chiefs separately before ad-
dressing the KwaZulu Legis-
lative Assembly.

IEC spokesman Pieter
Cronje said although no offi-
cial confirmation had been re-
ceived from Ulundi, Judge
Kriegler would like to address
the Legislative Assembly.

Cronje said issues on the
agenda included events of the
weekend when IFP members
prevented ANC supporters
from holding a rally at the
Princess Magogo stadium, the
use of KwaZulu government
buildings for IEC operations,
and access by political parties
to voters to provide them with
information and voter educa-
tion.

Zwelithini has urged Zulus
to defend their freedom and
sovereignty at all costs.

147 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

2231 e, 18 AU

Established 1887 -
47 SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG 2000

Natal's poll
powder keg

Decisive action is needed to protect
the electoral process in Natal.

VOLATILE situation is developing in

KwaZulu/Natal, one which threatens

to disrupt and even prevent free and

fair polling in the region. A substan-

tial proportion of South Africa's voters live in

KwaZulu/Natal, so the explosive state of af-

fairs there imperils the election as a whole
and, with it, hopes for a peaceful settlement.

For two weekends in succession the ANC

has been unable to hold planned rallies in

townships near Durban. On the first [FP zeal-

ots occupied a stadium in Umlazi which had

been booked in advance by the ANC; on the .

second a Zulus, suspected of being IFP loyal-

ists, again thwarted the ANC by occupying a-

stadium in KwaMashu. Major conflict was
avoided but the portents of a major disaster
are there for all to see. 7,

. Last Friday's declaration of the Zulu king-

dom by King Goodwill Zwelithini, and his call
on Zulus to defend it at all costs, has -

exacerbated tensions. The ANC sees the dec-
laration as a move towards secession; a move
which it is determined to resist with all its
growing strength. ~

- Additional fuel has been added to the al-
ready-inflammable situation: the cancellation

6th meeting between Nelson Mandela and
Zwelithini, predictions of the occurrence of a .-
Bophuthatswana-style rebellion in KwaZulu -:

and the emergence of a glee mentality in the
KwaZulu stronghold of Ulundi. -

This Independent Electoral Commission is a

sum'ed! 'entirely concerned to have arranged meet-

the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. That is to
must be deployed in a strength, not to over-

throw Mangosuthu Buthelezi but to ensure

ings with President de Klerk, Mandela and -
dod. But it is not enough. Security forces

a . .
>SS SR Woy IS e

that all parties have the right to campaign

peacefully and that all voters have the right to ;

vote or not to vote The situation must not be
allowed to degenerate into chaos

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THE STAR, TUESDAY 22 MARCH 1994

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