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SUNDAY COMMENT

Bring on the wise men — but is there time? ^{SUNDAY TRIBUNE} 06/03/94

The ANC's axiom that the April 27 election date is etched in stone is in question after another week of drama that kept the nation on political tenterhooks. Mr Mandela was again emphatic only yesterday that the stone will not be smashed. Mr De Klerk is equally adamant. Mr Thabo Mbeki is less sure. Government advisors are said to be weighing up the consequences of a delay. The signals are mixed, although a change at this late stage is almost unthinkable.

Mr Mandela in particular is between a rock and a hard place. After — metaphorically, at least — going down on his knees before Dr Buthelezi in Durban he was so bent on conditional IFP participation in the election that he accepted their proviso of international mediation.

It was an inexplicable gesture, unless he has something up his sleeve hidden even from partners in the ANC, and for that matter Mr De Klerk. There is everything to be said for mediation in the normal course of events. But there just is not time between now and April 27 for such fractious negotiators as the ANC, IFP and NP to agree on their wise mediators, let alone brief them.

So there are two likely options. One is that the ANC and the government will agree to relax the election date. They would lose face to the IFP which would be seen by many to be fearless and steadfast, a people's champion after all. There would be a violent reaction from the black majority impatient for some finality.

The second option, however, is that the ANC will find grounds to shun lengthy mediation and keep the election stone intact, satisfying its followers but leaving a wrathful IFP and other right-wingers out in the cold again and with enough excuse to cause mayhem. The resultant upheaval would be more violent and more lasting.

Perhaps Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk, in spite of their assurances to the contrary, will decide that another climbdown is preferable to the chaos that would follow an election without IFP participation. But it would be a bitter setback. Voters can only wait to see whether Mr Mandela will be prepared or allowed to humble himself once more.

Or is there a third, more palatable solution? If there is, Mr Mandela would need the wisdom of Solomon to find it.

'Bogus' party's IFP link

SAM SOLE and
TRISH BEAVER

The Sunday Tribune has uncovered what appears to be a bogus party, registered to confuse voters intending to back the ANC in the elections -- and it would appear the party is linked to the IFP.

On Friday the African Moderates Congress (AMC), whose name will appear next to the ANC's on the April ballot paper, was registered with the Independent Electoral Commission.

According to the registration form, the party leader is one PB Magwaza whose Johannesburg address is given. The Tribune traced this address to Peter B Magwaza, the IFP's secretary-general for the West Rand. Contacted yesterday at the IFP's Johannesburg office, Mr Magwaza at first confirmed his involvement in registering a new party, the African Moderates Congress.

When he realised he was speaking to a reporter from the Tribune, he then said there was a misunderstanding and that another man, Peter Sipho Magwaza, an ordinary IFP member, was the person we must be looking for.

IEC officials confirmed yesterday that there could be voter confusion.

An official said a N Mansvelt had signed the registration document as secretary of the AMC.

The Tribune yesterday traced a N Mansvelt in Johannesburg. Mr Mansvelt said he knew nothing about the registration or the party.

The party office is registered as 12b Koorsboom Street in Rand Park Ridge. When the Tribune visited the offices -- a double-storey house divided into two suites -- yesterday they were deserted.

One suite is occupied by a group of tax consultants, Odendaal, Jordaan and Dorfling.

Anton Jordaan said. "I can confirm that the AMC has approached us about a lease agreement." Mr Jordaan said he had dealt with a Nico Mansveld whom, he said, was the secretary of the party. On further questioning, Mr Jordaan said he was a member of the AMC's central committee.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the IFP central committee knew nothing about the new party. The IFP would investigate the involvement of an IFP member or office-bearer in what Mr Tillet termed "this elaborate and expensive hoax".

TRIBUNE 6/3/94 HE/DM

Pre-election violence looms as Constand loses
eleventh-hour battle to draw right-wing to the polls

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 06/03/94

Into the laager

PETA THORNYCROFT,
BRENDAN SEERY and
JOHN MACLENNAN

ON THE BALLOT

General Constand Viljoen lost the battle to get the right wing to choose the ballot box after his dramatic Friday night registration of the "Freedom Front".

The white right wing will not take part in next month's election and they will begin planning ways of opposing the election and applying pressure against it, possibly through a heightened campaign of insurrection and sabotage.

As the country faced another crisis yesterday over the right wing's intransigence, fears were expressed that violence would escalate — even if the NP and ANC agreed to a postponement of the poll.

If the election is not delayed then right wingers and others will turn up the heat, and if the date is changed, there will be a backlash from the majority black electorate who have never had the vote and want it on April 27 — no matter what.

After a marathon session in Pretoria yesterday of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and right wing unions, General Viljoen and his supporters failed to persuade the majority to take part in the elections. This was a major defeat for the general and for those in the right wing who believed the only way of showing Afrikaner support for a volkstaat was at the polls.

This followed a meeting on Friday afternoon with African National Congress negotiator Thabo Mbeki, who said the ANC would agree to certain accords being carried over into the new government regarding negotiations for a volkstaat, but that the Afrikaners would have to demonstrate how many of them were truly committed to an Afrikaner homeland.

The president of the "Volksraad", CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, said the government had refused the Afrikaner a referendum to test the people's will, but that participation in an election with "the communists" was "unacceptable".

Later, General Viljoen said the registration at midnight on Friday of the Freedom Front would be allowed to lapse and he would continue working within the Volksfront.

He dashed any hopes that he and his pro-election supporters would strike out on their own as a political party for Afrikaners who wanted to vote in the election against the ANC.

The ANC, meanwhile, is understood to have suggested that former British ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, as well as former Nigerian ruler General Olesgun Obasanjo act as mediators in trying to broker a constitutional settlement. According to IFP sources,

The following is the order of parties on the April 26-28 election ballot paper for the national list. It was drawn up by the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday:

1. Pan Africanist Congress
2. Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights
3. The Keep it Straight and Simple Party
4. Vryheidsfront/Freedom Front
5. Women's Rights Peace Party
6. Workers' List Party
7. Ximoko Progressive Party
8. Africa Muslim Party
9. African Christian Democratic Party
10. African Democratic Movement
11. African Moderates Congress
12. African National Congress
13. Democratic Party/Demokratiese Party
14. Dikwankwella Party of South Africa
15. Federal Party
16. Inkatha Freedom Party
17. Luso-South African Party
18. Minority Front
19. National Party/Nasionale Party

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is not interested in well-known political personalities as mediators.

He suggests that a body such as the constitutional group from the European Community — which toured the country recently, met leaders and is well acquainted with the interim constitution and the negotiating process — is best qualified to do the job, and do so quickly. The NP said yesterday that before it would signal agreement on mediation there had to be clarity.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel warned earlier of an escalation of violence, climaxing on election day — April 27. The fight would come from militants on the left who would try to grab power and right wingers preparing for war.

He said right wingers were successfully recruiting among retired security force officers and were trying to obtain sophisticated weapons overseas.

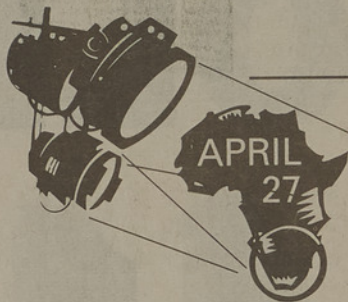
A hint yesterday by government negotiator Roelf Meyer that Pretoria was prepared to negotiate with the Independent Electoral Commission and Transitional Executive Council to extend the registration deadline appears to have opened the way for at least one other member of the Freedom Alliance — Bophuthatswana — to slip through the last crack in the door of negotiations and join the electoral process tomorrow.

An extension of the deadline will enable President Lucas Mangope's Cabinet, which meets in emergency session tomorrow morning, to symbolically throw in the towel after 16 years of self-rule.

SEE PAGE 5

Between a rock and a hard place

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel this week lifted the veil on dangers posed by extremists of the left and right. He concludes: "The run-up to April 27 will be increasingly violent, but we can contain the disruption and the election will be free and fair enough." **JOHN MACLENNAN** reports.



ELECTION WATCH

Hernus Kriel predicts an escalation of violence climaxing on election day. This will be caused by the grassroots supporters on the left who want to grab power rather than follow the democratic route as well as by rightwingers who are arming themselves for what they see as the final showdown.

The expected mass action tactics of the left are likely to spark reaction and the far rightwing is preparing for war.

Mr Kriel disclosed the rightwing was having some success in signing up senior retired police and SADF officers. They have also launched a recruitment drive among serving members of the police and defence force and among police reservists and commandos, especially in the platteland.

At the same time the rightwing, which has only rifles and pistols, is attempting to obtain more sophisticated weaponry abroad - so far without success. This assertion, he says, is based on "good intelligence" from police sources as well as other intelligence agencies.

"They claim large numbers of security forces are prepared to join forces with them - but this is very much exaggerated."

He says the rightwing has absolutely no intention of taking part in the election and are now involved in a sweeping mobilisation effort.

According to police intelligence sources, this involves

stockpiling food, water, medical supplies and even firewood in case there are power failures. Shelters are being constructed to safeguard women and children. Weapons are being cached and ammunition stockpiled. There is large scale and regular training in weapons handling and the use of commercial explosives.

Plans have been laid to occupy police stations, SADF offices, government buildings and municipal offices which fall within the 14 areas the rightwing has already claimed as part of the volkstaat in the Transvaal, Free State and Northern Natal.

Rightwing resistance is responsible for more than 40 explo-

sions which have destroyed railway lines, electric pylons and ANC offices since the beginning of the year and 47 people have been arrested. All are linked to the far right. Because of their high success rate police are now being threatened with death.

The main danger posed by the left wing, he says, is that its undemocratic and threatening behaviour could ignite an equal response from other parties.

"From the left we can anticipate mass action and that always leads to violence. They will again claim that this is their democratic right, but in exercising that right they will be infringing on the rights of others.

"At the same time other parties will not be allowed to canvass freely or hold meetings in peace - because the ANC leaders cannot control their grassroots - and this will lead to violence. The grassroots don't believe in free political activity. They just want to take over power and are prepared to misuse the democratic process.

"I am grateful for the call Mr Mandela made, but I don't believe the calm will continue for much longer because I don't believe he can control his followers. We have numerous requests from parties for protection. The lives and homes of their canvassers are being threatened. And obviously I don't have the manpower to do so.

"The ANC is also intimidating traditional leaders, especially in Natal, who tell canvassers to stay out of certain areas. The chiefs are captives of the ANC."

Natal-KwaZulu election ballot list

The following is the order of parties on the April 26-28 election ballot paper for the KwaZulu-Natal list following the draw by the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday morning.

1. Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
2. Vryheidsfront, Freedom Front
3. Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (SA)
4. African Muslim Party
5. African Christian Democratic Party
6. African Democratic Movement
7. African National Congress
8. Democratic Party, Demokratiese Party
9. Inkatha Freedom Party
10. Minority Front
11. National Party, Nasionale Party

VIVA FEVER

That gives the impression the soldiers are not loyal and hardworking. They are, but confused as to where to put their enthusiasm.
Spokesman for Commonwealth trainers at De Brug denying National Peacekeeping Force members went on strike

We thank the ANC for coming to sing to us, but we did not invite them. We do not like their songs. We like the songs of real freedom and do not like intimidation.
President FW de Klerk touring Natal

It would only be fair if the IFP were given a little time to prepare, should we decide to go to the polls.
IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Instead of becoming part of the greater movement supported by the overwhelming majority of South Africans, the IFP has once again chosen to play games.
President De Klerk

Everything is being done to eliminate the Conservative Party as it poses a serious obstruction to a communist unitary state.
CP chief secretary Lem Theron

Boycott the election and the NP will claim your votes.
President De Klerk to the IFP

If those who are toying with the idea of secession think they can escape from the ANC alliance they must think again.
President De Klerk

The people will tell King Goodwill we are tired of the homelands system.
SA Communist Party regional treasurer Sibongile Mkhize

Ibelieve we are on the verge of great things.
Natal Administrator Con Botha

Ihave got a feeling everything is going to be all right.
NP supporters singing while waiting for President De Klerk to arrive

I'm memorising ANC policies. I'm at school, familiarising myself with their charter. So I guess that soon I will be taking a decision on whether to join them.
Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa



THE OBSERVER

FOCUS

Inkatha massacre cover-up

In an *Observer* inquiry **Phillip van Niekerk** shows how KwaZulu homeland police have condoned a reign of terror in Natal by Buthelezi loyalists.

ON 7 November last year, 11 relatives and friends of Chief Elphus Molefe, an African National Congress supporter, were gunned down at their *kraal* in the remote rural district of Nqutu in northern Natal province. Within 48 hours, an investigation by KwaZulu homeland police netted two suspects, both Inkatha Freedom Party members.

It would have been just another bloody Sunday in Natal's seven years of simmering civil war but for the bombshell contained in the confessions of Stunku Ngobese and Genene Ngobese, who said the killings were planned in Inkatha's offices in Johannesburg.

The man they named was Themba Khoza, the Transvaal chairman of Inkatha and one of its most senior public figures. He had personally selected the assassins and issued them with AK-47 assault rifles, according to the confessions. The four assassins, said the suspects, were from the KwaZulu Homeland in KwaZulu, an Inkatha bastion and the epicentre of the conflict on the East Rand, near Johannesburg.

It was the first time in the Natal conflict that an investigation led so clearly to the upper echelons of a political party.

The policeman who made the breakthrough, Lieutenant Westleigh Mbata, asked his commander, Colonel B. L. Ndlovu, for permission to go to Johannesburg to arrest Khoza and the four alleged assassins on charges of murder and conspiracy.

But the message that came back from Ulundi, the capital of the KwaZulu homeland, was puzzling: Mbata had to see a specialist, a Dr Peter Quantock, the next morning about his health. He was given a letter in a sealed envelope, which he passed on to the doctor. Quantock booked him off sick with high blood pressure, and he has not returned to work since.

That weekend the suspects were released and are still free. The investigation passed to Captain V. J. Ngobese, who had twice before handled 'sensitive' cases. He allowed the case to lapse.

Nqutu is only one of scores of massacres in Natal. More than 10,000 people have died in fighting between the ANC and Inkatha there since 1987. But, for the first time, *The Observer* has been able to speak to sources within the KwaZulu police, who have established a well-planned assassination attempt leading straight to the top of Inkatha. Themba Khoza is one of the most trusted advisers of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the party's president and KwaZulu Chief Minister.

Mbata spoke to *The Observer* despite fears for his safety and that of his family. It is only possible to use his name because, as a result of our investigations, he was taken into a witness protection programme yesterday by the Goldstone Commission, the permanent body investigating violence and intimidation in South Africa.



War party: Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (front centre) leads a Zulu impi in a traditional ceremony at Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital. Photograph by Tail Selwyn.

His fears of retaliation from the KwaZulu police and Inkatha are well-founded. The force, which polices a third of Natal, has repeatedly failed to investigate violence implicating Inkatha leaders. It falls under the administration of the KwaZulu homeland, which is almost indistinguishable from Inkatha. In addition to his other high-profile roles, Buthelezi is Minister of Police, and the senior ranks of the more than 5,000-strong force are staffed by Inkatha loyalists.

The KwaZulu police were already under investigation by a task force set up by the Transitional Executive Committee, which is overseeing key areas of government until the watershed general election of 26 and 27 April, and by the Goldstone Commission. The chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, confirmed yesterday that, as a result of facts uncovered by *The Observer*, a new inquiry had been launched into the Nqutu massacre and other related incidents.

Our inquiry confirmed details of the Nqutu massacre and the cover-up from KwaZulu police sources. The fact that police are coming forward with evidence is a sign of the crumbling of Buthelezi's power.

The sources believe what is now visible is only the tip of the iceberg of a reign of murder and terror by Inkatha in Natal. This contrasts with Buthelezi's image as a moderate, democrat and federalist. But it is the reality that concerns ANC activists as they prepare for the election.

THE Nqutu case follows Goldstone's announcement on 6 December last year that he had found credible evidence that a death squad within the KwaZulu police had murdered at least nine leaders and members of the ANC during 1992 and 1993.

In a detailed statement made in prison and sent to the Goldstone Commission, an alleged Inkatha assassin, Brian Mkhize, named General Siphosiso Mathe, the assistant commissioner of the KwaZulu police and brother-in-law of King Goodwill Zwelithini, as having full knowledge of the death squad operations.

He said the commander of the death squad units was Daluxolo Luthuli, a former ANC guerrilla turned Inkatha official operating out of the IFP offices in Ulundi.

Goldstone linked the squad to a group of 200 Inkatha members who were secretly trained by South African military intelligence in the Caprivi Strip in northern Namibia in 1986 and re-incorporated into the KwaZulu police. At that time, military intelligence was involved in combating the ANC as a revolutionary scourge to be eliminated at every turn.

Goldstone has established that the key players in organising the training were Mathe, Luthuli, Buthelezi and his personal assistant, M. Z. Khumalo. Buthelezi was aware at all times of what was going on with the trainees, Khumalo said, and signed their cheques every month from a private slush fund supplied by military intelligence.

When it emerged in 1990 that the South African Defence Force had given combat training to members of a political party, President F. W. de Klerk said the men had merely been trained as bodyguards for Inkatha leaders.

But the names of Caprivi graduates repeatedly crop up in the sordid tales that have accompanied the carnage in Natal. The evidence — both of the details of the training and their subsequent activities — suggests that, far from being trained as bodyguards, they were learning the art

of assassinating ANC members *en masse*. The Natal violence and its hitmen were, in turn, exported to the hostels and townships of the East Rand.

David Sogot, counsel for the ANC, argued to the Goldstone Commission that 'the specific skills taught in the Caprivi in the art of killing and destruction constituted steps carried out by military intelligence as part of a grand design to create a military-style force to attack and destroy ANC activists'. The KwaZulu police have yet to investigate the record of the Caprivi trainees in acts of violence.

Goldstone pointed out that other political parties, including the ANC, had been involved in the violence. Indeed, some ANC militants in Natal have not attempted to disguise their willingness to meet violence with violence. But, unlike Inkatha, the ANC has not had access until

now to the structures or resources of government. Its self-defence units are usually ragtag collections of youths with few skills in the art of war.

TWO weeks ago, in a village near Creighton in southern Natal, 14 ANC youths, who were to conduct a voter education workshop, were murdered in their sleep. The attack, reminiscent of the Nqutu massacre, has provided further evidence implicating Inkatha in Natal's violence.

Creighton was a turning-point in the detective work of the South African Police, who for years had been accused of failing to pursue cases where Inkatha members were suspected. An investigation was launched and three Inkatha branch leaders were arrested. A magistrate last week viewed the charges and evidence as so serious that he refused to extend bail to the suspects.

Such is the volatility of the province that in the days following the Creighton massacre, dozens more ANC and Inkatha supporters were killed in reprisals and counter-reprisals.

Anxieties are compounded by the fact that, though the end is near for the KwaZulu police as part of the paraphernalia of the homelands system, Inkatha is openly assembling a paramilitary force. Last week, it had a passing-out parade for more than 1,400 men who had completed a training course near Umfolozi in northern KwaZulu. One of the instructors is Luthuli, the commissar of the Caprivi trainees and the man named as heading the death squads.

Despite the congenial meeting in Durban last Tuesday between Buthelezi and ANC President Nelson Mandela, there are fears of a bloodbath in Natal whether or not Inkatha contests the election. It was precisely the prospect of civil war that persuaded Mandela to go down on his knees and make an undisclosed generous offer to Buthelezi to secure his participation in the election.

The Transitional Executive Council, aware that Natal is the region most vulnerable to disruption, plans to step up policing, deploy troops and send in large numbers of international monitors to avoid a repetition of the Nqutu and Creighton massacres.

NQUTU has long been an Inkatha stronghold and its chief, Tazaka Ngobese, is a powerful figure within the party. Last October, the ANC announced plans for a rally there, to be addressed by Winnie Mandela and ANC Natal leader Harry Gwala.

It was then, according to the two suspects — both *indunas* or sub-chiefs under Chief Ngobese — that the chief decided to enlist the support of Inkatha in Johan-

nesburg to drive the ANC out of the area. Many of the migrant workers and unemployed men in the East Rand hostels are from rural Natal. Word leaked out to the ANC that a hit was being planned and the meeting was cancelled. The squad apparently decided to attack anyway.

The men said in their statement that they had driven to Chief Molefe's *kraal*. 'They were wearing dustcoats under which they hid their weapons. Chief Molefe was sitting in the house, his daughter was washing outside,' one informant said.

After surrounding the house and shooting every living thing in sight, they drove back to Stunku Ngobese's *kraal*, where they slaughtered a goat and bathed in its bile and blood to wash off any bad luck that might result from the deed.

At Molefe's house, police found the chief's son, Tsepo, dead. In the dining-room 'we found these 10 bodies piled on top of each other'. Two or three were still alive, but Colonel Ndlovu said 'we mustn't do anything to those bodies until further

After the attack, the killers slaughtered a goat and bathed in its bile and blood to wash off bad luck that might result from the deed

notice'. He reversed the order six hours later, by which time the others had died.

Sympathisers spirited the injured Molefe and three of his daughters into hiding. Also injured was three-year-old Ntswaraleng Molefe. They have never returned to Nqutu and are still in hiding.

Ndlovu was promoted shortly afterwards to brigadier, an appointment ratified by Buthelezi.

The station Commander, Capt E. N. Masinga, who had been prepared to protect the ANC rally, was transferred two days later to Umlazi, outside Durban, where he now sorts case files.

LAST year, police arrested the wife of an Inkatha chief in the Mtunzini area, the brother of a powerful brigadier in the police force, for the murder of Constable B. K. Mthembu. After being locked up, she was caught in the cells trying to remove human flesh from her bag. Under interrogation, she admitted she had killed the policeman with help of her *nyanga* or witch-doctor.

She had first cut off his penis and testicles, while he was alive, then opened his stomach and finally drained his blood before dumping him into the boot of her car. The purpose was to extract strong *muti* — traditional medicine — from his body.

Again, the police at Nqutu had made a breakthrough. Again, loyal Captain Ngobese was asked to take over the investigation. Again, the suspects — the *nyanga* and the chief's wife — were released. Again, the investigation was quashed.

When she gave her statement, the chief's wife was asked to explain why she had killed this particular police officer.

Mthembu, she explained, had been her husband's bodyguard, a post in which he had proved himself to be exceptionally brave. She was to sprinkle his private parts and blood over members of the Mtunzini branch of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in the hope that this would make them equally brave and enable them to dodge bullets. After her release, she did not say what *muti* she — and the other suspected Inkatha assassins — had used to dodge prosecution so effectively.



Police remove a body after the Creighton massacre in Natal; Themba Khoza is accused of planning the Nqutu attack.



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Man 'for all reasons'

TERRY VAN DER WALT

It's Friday and the President is riding around in a BMW with a number 13 on the roof and a police helicopter hovering overhead.

A guy who looks like GI Joe magnified threefold and a swarm of bodyguards are there for his protection - but if anyone is going to kill the president it will be with kindness.

Grabbing votes in Natal's coloured and Indian communities is a sweaty and heady affair and wherever he goes good fortune follows, with wave after wave of fawning supporters turning out to greet the "man for all reasons".

The sortie into Wentworth, which the African National Congress regards as a stronghold, is a major success for the NP roadshow and a window into an often ignored and forgotten community.

An elderly crowd made to look younger by a kinetic band of NP Youth League members laps up every word the president has to say, and he chooses his words carefully.

Playing on issues of housing, health and education, he gets the crowd to respond to his questions: who is burning houses, disrupting education and wasting money on their campaign while not providing one hospital? The ANC becomes a victim of the NP's teflon-tongued leader.

Outside the Austerville Civic Centre, which Wentworth ANC leader Clifford Collings points out was paid for by the civic, ANC supporters declare the man a "fake" in their hastily drawn placards. Anna van der Merwe is a short round woman with a capacity for shouting: "My granny was black and my grandfather was white. Yes, sir, yes! What has Mr De Klerk done for us here? Nothing."

A young ANC supporter, who challenges an older man among the NP crowd to say publicly whom he will be voting for, is called over.

"Do you understand what democracy means?"

"No, I forgot".

"Well, it means that I can vote for who I like and don't have to tell anyone."

Much applause.

Mrs Susan Laas is clear about where her vote is going: "I am going to vote for De Klerk, he is my father and I love him. The ANC can kill me, but I am going to vote for him!"

When the meeting comes to an end and ANC members start toyi-toying, an exasperated NP youth leader grabs a banner, yelling "Where is the youth, they must come and dance!"

On their way home the two

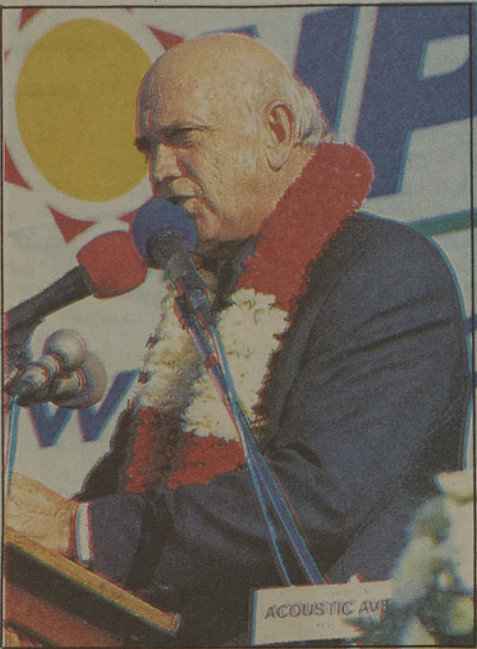
groups hurl abuse at each other: "Phansi NP", "Daddy has come home", "look at them behave like monkeys!"

Weighted down with designer jewellery and credit cards, Umhlanga residents nonetheless give the president a rousing welcome in the midday sun.

When he tells them Umhlanga is his kind town and that he has timeshare there, you could almost hear people making their mental crosses.

Things wordily and a quest for capital investments is the ploy here, but further up the Natal North Coast President De Klerk moves to religion and culture to capture votes in the Indian communities.

Outside the Tongaat town



ON A ROLL: A garlanded FW taking his message to Natal.

hall a small group of very vociferous ANC supporters stand with a lily pond between themselves and the NP cavalcade and chant throughout Hindu priest LM Maharaj's opening prayer.

Manna from heaven, Mr De Klerk turns on his rivals: "What we are witnessing now is an ANC which cannot even keep quiet when a prayer is being said. You cannot trust them with your religious freedom."

The applause, shouting and waving of NP flags brings home the deep religious roots in the Indian community.

He leads them in an "ANC!" "NP!" chanting competition, ending with: "We can shout you down and we will give you a bloody nose in this election."

But the message he hammers home at all the venues is that a stay-away vote is a vote for the ANC and he urges people to give the NP a chance to "cut the ANC down to size."

At nearby Verulam AK Beesham showed the talent of an auctioneer, glib statements gliding from his lips, over and over. "You have nothing to be afraid of... the ANC should go and attend their own meetings... Mr De Klerk will set you free... a man for all reasons..."

But here the same ANC supporters with the same placards keep quiet during the prayer, prompting Mr De Klerk to say: "We are making progress in teaching them manners."

Playing a waiting game at Ulundi

Ulundi's rolling hills echoed to pulsing music, ululating women and clattering politicians' shoes in the Inkatha Freedom Party's scramble to register for elections.

ANDRE JURGENS and VICTOR DLAMINI report.

Usually slow-paced Ulundi buzzed with a strange combination of frantic activity and boredom on Friday.

A loitering press corps, eyeballed by bemused body-

guards, spent the morning jumping to attention at the click of every opening door, expecting to hear whether the Inkatha Freedom Party was "in" or "out" of elections.

But as the day wore on cameramen, reporters and technicians were treated to an odd marathon of harassed-looking political leaders racing up and down corridors clutching wads of fluttering paper.

Wafting cooking smells escaping the canteen kitchen signalled the only break during the 7½-hour meeting.

Shoppers and commuters carried on their business

seemingly unaware of the tension in the Legislative Assembly building across the road.

When the decision to provisionally register was finally announced and the press corps had snatched every available telephone the mood changed - delegates relaxed and the evening's entertainment began.

But for MP Hennie Bekker the rush had only begun as he went around frantically looking for a lift to take him to the airport on his way to Kempton Park so that he could beat the midnight deadline for registration.

Never let KwaZulu fall to communists, recruits told

VICTOR DLAMINI and ANDRE JURGENS

Elderly women ululated sporadically at the dusty Ulundi sports ground where 1400 Self Protection Unit recruits marched proudly, often missing their step, but displaying

remarkable discipline as they took orders swiftly from camp commander Phillip Powell.

Another batch of Inkatha Freedom Party protection units, numbering 1500, will be trained soon at the Mlaba camp near Umfolozi.

Orderly drill marches gave way to the sound of loud ma-

chine gun fire, stun grenades and thick smoke as the recruits put up an impressive display of combat routines which had formed part of their training, described by Mr Powell as gruelling.

Mr Powell said attacks against the Amakhosi, or chiefs, had decreased since

The hope is that accord will help dampen violence

JOHN MACLENNAN Political Correspondent

The smiling accord reached by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban this week is built on the flimsiest of agreements. The main achievement is that the two appear to have found each other - for a while anyway - after a period of long-range mudslinging.

The hope is that this new-found cordiality will seep down to their followers and perhaps help damp down violence.

This latest meeting between the two followed urging by a number of politicians outside the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC as well as prominent personalities. Advice to Mr Mandela from within the organisation has usually been to avoid paying too much attention to Dr Buthelezi as a "homeland leader" because this would increase his stature.

This hurt and embittered Dr Buthelezi, who had pushed in the past for Mr Mandela's release and has corresponded with



him regularly, also when he was in prison.

But ominous resistance to the elections, and especially the sovereign demands of King Zwidelethini, increased pressure on both Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk (who has had several meetings recently with right-wing leaders, the monarch and Dr Buthelezi) to reach out to the one man who might be able to clear the obstacles.

The meeting is recognition of Dr Buthelezi's importance within the Freedom Alliance as well as the spoiler potential of both the IFP and the rightwing.

During one and a half hours of private talks in the Royal Hotel, Mr Mandela sought to convince the Zulu leader that no settlement would work without him and that his contribution would be sorely needed in a national unity government.

But Mr Mandela did not offer any inducement to buy Dr Buthelezi's co-operation. Sources close to Dr Buthelezi said he rejected the suggestion with contempt. He was not offered a vice-presidency as reported - and which Mr Mandela is not able to offer in terms of the interim constitution anyway - nor was there any mention of any other sinecure, such as a hereditary prime ministership enshrined in the constitution.

Instead Mr Mandela pleaded for the IFP's participation. He told Dr Buthelezi he had a crucial role to play, that his party would easily obtain the percentage of votes

Hail fellow, well met

which would assure him of a Cabinet post and that the ANC was eager to see him in a national unity government.

This led, say sources close to the talks, to a spirit of conciliation and warmth. One more cynical source noted that the two had always got on well in private and that much of the public animosity could be written off as politics.

With Dr Buthelezi's provisional agreement to register for the elections, Mr Mandela has now obtained what is only a provisional breakthrough. In return for registering, Dr Buthelezi has been guaranteed international mediation of outstanding problems by the ANC. But there is no assurance he will go along with the mediators' efforts unless he gets exactly what he wants.

It is understood Dr Buthelezi is not interested in well known political personalities as mediators. He suggests that a body such as the constitutional group from the European Community - which toured the country recently, met all the leaders, and is well acquainted with the interim constitution and the negotiating process - is best qualified to do the job and do so quickly.

At the same time the Freedom Alliance parties want the election postponed so they can campaign properly and this demand is likely to develop into a serious problem.

The ANC and the National Party are both dead set against this but might yet have to buckle. All depends on how badly they want an all-inclusive settlement.

If the FA is successful in this demand then the IFP will be able to go to the voters with the truthful claim that they did not sell out, that they obtained what they wanted and that they can be trusted to take on the sinister NP/ANC/Communist partnership which struck shady deals to produce a flawed constitution.



SHOW OF STRENGTH: A member of the KwaZulu Self Protection Unit, commanded by Phillip Powell, inset, in action.

trainees were sent back to protect them.

Although their role was described as one of protection the men staged mock attacks and wielded automatic weapons with impressive ability.

The recruits were told when they returned to their communities they would have to

make sure KwaZulu never fell in to the hands of communists.

Guest of honour, KwaZulu Minister of Justice Reverend CJ Mthethwa, lambasted the South African Government for capitulating to the "demands of communists". He said communists threatened to impose their rule and ideology all

over Africa.

Addressing a crowd of about 300 people gathered at the sports ground for the passing out parade of the third intake of trainees at the Mlaba camp, Reverend Mthethwa said the young men would back up the desire of Zulus to end foreign domination.

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Imagine, koeksisters in the lap of Mandela in his Merc

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 06/03/94

The surrealism of this election campaign seems to re-establish itself with every new day as the extraordinary sight of former foes in alliance becomes an accepted thing.

Somehow one still can't forget the shrill chorus from Tuynhuis not so long ago after respected Afrikaners crawled through the hole in the barbed wire fences to the forbidden north and met members of the banned African National Congress.

Can we really have been so fenced in by fabricated fear? It was then illegal to wear T-shirts that said Free Mandela. People were arrested and found guilty "by association"!

Anyway, my attitude has always been that to belong to a political party made no sense in my work as a "political comic". All parties must "belong" to me as the essence of my material. But when it comes to Evita Bezuidenhout, it has been easier to field her as an "equal-opportunity queen-mother of the nation", taking her to the rallies of whichever party asks for her and sometimes putting a smile on strained faces.

Mevrou appeared at the DP PWV rally on video, thanking them for all they did for the National Party, and so winning President FW de Klerk his Nobel Peace Prize. So when the ANC's Western Cape Branch asked if she would appear at a recent

Peninsula rally, in all fairness one said: "No well OK fine."

So there I appeared one hot Sunday afternoon in my shorts with a plastic bag in my hand, holding Mevrou's rokkie. The marshalls had all been briefed and glanced at the bag with interest. "Is she in there," they asked, as if, like Jeffrey Dahmer, I was bringing my own lunch to the party. I was shown into a small caravan where the change could be made from forty-something boere-seun to middle-aged super-tannie.

Mrs Evita Bezuidenhout emerged from the hokkie glowing in the orange white and blue of her Voortrekker Dress. The MK soldiers and gathered officialdom

of the ANC gagged and gasped. A boerevrou in her traditional cultural outfit? Someone whispered the magic passwords and they smiled. They posed with Evita. Someone pinched her on the bum.

Allan Boesak announced the most famous white woman in South Africa and Mrs Bezuidenhout wafted on to the crowded stage like a Free State Scarlett O'Hoera to a roar of enjoyment and a cry of "amandla skatties!"

Let me be honest: I was terrified. Not of the sea of black faces staring at me, but knowing that there were 20 000 South Africans out there who might not have heard of this nonsense I do, especially if they came from the

shacks of squatter camps and other "alternative garden cities" on the Cape Flats.

But the lowest common denominator has never been my gauge so Evita gave her 15 minutes speech, punctuated by cries of Viva!, Amandla! and even, dare I say, Vrystaat!

The gist of the sketch was about democracy and voter education; that the ballot was secret, the vote sacred, the choice of party personal. All the important facts, but dressed up as fantastical comedy and so enjoyed by the crowd.

And then Nelson Mandela arrived. I have never met him either as me or as Evita. I watched

him slowly make his way past the adoring guests on the podium, shaking hands, embracing friends and smiling that magical smile. Then he looked across and saw ... well, saw Evita Bezuidenhout. He opened his arms and surged towards her. He embraced her. And laughed and laughed and laughed!

I had been placed very firmly in the front row of the guest seats and there I sat, glowing in my "rok" like the Monument itself, sitting next to the most famous politician in the world as if it was the most natural thing in this crazy country.

Usually once I've performed Evita I leave as soon as I can, but there I was trapped on a stage

surrounded by the Cape Politburo of the ANC.

So Nelson made his speech, the crowd roared, and Mrs Evita Bezuidenhout presented him with some koeksisters made by her own hand and a silver key to her Homeland of Bapetikosweti. He laughed again and again, looking younger each time.

The afternoon was a success. My ankles hurt like hell and Evita's smile was a real pain in the cheeks, but watching our future President drive off in his Merc holding his plate of koeksisters on his lap made it all worthwhile.

You couldn't make it up if you tried!

WHEN the African National Congress says the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, should stay out of politics, it has some surprising allies.

Unlikely as it sounds, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and officials of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and of the Inkatha Freedom Party all, theoretically, agree.

In fact they felt so strongly — at least on paper — that in 1976 they made it a serious offence against the KwaZulu constitution to involve the king in politics. And earlier that year they formulated a royal oath of office so widely worded as to make unconstitutional any action which even the ANC might regard as political.

This oath bars the king not just from party politics but from any kind of political activity. Even his demands for Zulu sovereignty and his comments on the Kempton Park proposals would all be prohibited as they are clearly "political".

The king signed this oath on January 19, 1976, after a special session called to deal with what Chief Buthelezi described as a "constitutional crisis", at the heart of which lay the question of the appropriate role for the Zulu king in modern politics.

This "crisis" was prompted by the king's flirtation with a proposed new political grouping. His actions raised doubts about his loyalty to KwaZulu's ruling party, and the assembly hoped the oath would ensure he did not stray again.

After a humiliating session of the KLA which must have left him in no doubt that Inkatha, through the assembly, would not tolerate his involvement in politics beyond what was already constitutionally allowed, the king took the new oath: "I, Zwelithini Goodwill Zulu Kabhekuzulu, presently the Ngoniama of the Zulus, pledge to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here present and to the Zulu nation my solemn word that I will withhold myself from any participation in any form of politics and from any action or words which could possibly be interpreted as participation in politics. I pledge further that I will honour in thought, word and deed the letter and spirit of the constitution of the KwaZulu government."



Sunday Times 6/3/94
HE/PM

CARMEL RICKARD
reports on the Zulu king's
little-known oath of
office which bars him
from all political activity

Is the Zulu king a pawn in the game?

The king had raised the question of the limits of his powers before. But his presence at a gathering in December 1975, called to discuss the formation of the Inala Party, was such a threat that the assembly felt the constitutional issue had to be resolved finally. With its intended royal patronage, the new party would have been a rival to Inkatha, something the KLA could not tolerate.

On January 5 the KwaZulu executive council had an audience with the king to discuss the new party and his participation in the preparatory meeting. Recounting what happened during their audience to the assembly some days later, Chief Buthelezi painted the scene: "The king admitted after a silence of 20 minutes that he was at Ndeleni on the 12th of December 1975, but that he had been invited for tea and not for the purpose of involvement in the new party."

The chief minister continued: "We are not concerned with whether it is true or not that he was there for a tea party rather than a political party. There is enough evidence and to spare that the purpose of the gathering was the formation of a political

party." He said the KLA would not be concerned if the party had been "a genuine one arising spontaneously from among the people", but that was not the main issue at stake in the urgent session. The real problem was a constitutional question: whether the king's political or executive role should be increased.

The king had expressed his grievance at not having wider executive powers, and the KLA should now consider how to resolve the continuing political problem of the royal power. Should the constitution be changed to satisfy the king or should the existing situation be retained?

Between a detailed and humiliating interrogation of the pro-Inala chiefs, Chief Buthelezi and other speakers repeatedly emphasised how inappropriate it would be for the king to become involved in politics and the inadvisability of increasing his political role. One commented, for example, that the existing constitutional role was correct since it "protects the king from being thrown with mud if he interferes in politics".

Chief Buthelezi said: "It is not proper for us to drag our

king into the political games that we play."

Unsurprisingly, the assembly agreed that no change would be made to the king's role, and decided to make its will clear to him through the wording of an oath, proposed by Chief Buthelezi, which the king was to take before the assembly.

Not, Chief Buthelezi added quickly, that we lack faith in the king. But the Ndeleni incident had taught the need to "prevent wolves from entering the kraal secretly and pinching our flock".

In the wake of this political crisis the assembly also amended the KwaZulu Constitutional Proclamation: since the monarch personifies the unity of the Zulu nation and should hold himself aloof from party politics and sectionalism, anyone involving the king in politics would, from then on, be punishable by a fine of R1 000 or two years in jail.

Since that time the power struggle between Chief Buthelezi and the king over the extent of the monarch's independence has continued. For example, four years later Chief Buthelezi announced that the king would no longer be allowed to give press interviews on his own, and all invitations are now scrutinised by the cabinet.

In KwaZulu's present constitutional crisis, nearly two decades after the Ndeleni tea party, the king's role is seen very differently by the KLA and Inkatha. Now political involvement on behalf of one particular party seems to be thrust upon him in defiance of earlier prohibitions.

This perception that the king has been "dragged into politics" by Ulundi and the Inkatha Freedom Party has generated a good deal of anger among many of His Majesty's loyal subjects.

The king's oath of office, duly signed and sealed 18 years ago, and the amendment to the constitution making it unlawful to involve the king in politics, might offer a tempting Supreme Court avenue to challenge his increased political intervention.

But prospective challengers will have to act quickly: ironically, after the April elections, when the KwaZulu constitution falls away, the legal prohibition on the king's involvement in politics will disappear with it.