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THE CITIZEN

FW, Buthelezi discuss obstacles to negotiation

By Fred de Lange

THE State President, Mr F W de Klerk, met with a delegation from KwaZulu led by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Pretoria yesterday.

The South African delegation included the government's full constitutional negotiating team while the KwaZulu team included Mr Oscar Dlo-mo and other senior officials.

Mr Buthelezi said after the meeting that it was re-

quested to discuss a report on the obstacles impeding the negotiation process.

One of the main subjects of the talks, he said, was concern with the KwaZulu Government over the large number of people who were left without a say by the process of urbanisation.

"These people did not have a voice in the KwaZulu Government because they do not live in KwaZulu and they do not have a voice where they live now. This is a matter of concern for us and we discussed it with the State President," Mr Buthelezi said.

He stressed that the meeting should not be seen as negotiations but as talks only.

In his reaction Mr De Klerk said the talks were cordial and to the point.

"We had a discussion on the need for negotiations and valuable inputs were made by Mr Buthelezi and his delegation. These inputs will receive due consideration by the Government.

Mr De Klerk said he had reiterated the Government's commitment to a negotiated settlement for a constitutional dispensation which would give all people regardless of race or creed a say in the governing of South Africa in such a way as to prevent domination.

"We look forward to resuming our discussions in the not too distant future.

During question time Mr Buthelezi said he was

encouraged by the direct style of the State President in dealing with these matters. "He is not indulging in petty politicking," he said.

However, Mr Buthelezi said one of the biggest obstacles facing the negotiations process was the release of Nelson Mandela.

"I am satisfied that Mr De Klerk is seriously addressing the issue and I have no doubt that he must have reasons for the delay," he said.

In answer to this Mr De Klerk said the matter was receiving constant attention and that an announcement in this regard would be made in due course.

Mr Buthelezi also expressed his and his delegation's views on the concept of group rights.

He said he and Inkatha realised the dilemma of the South African situation concerning the rights of groups but that they did not want to make race the cornerstone of the classification of minority groups.

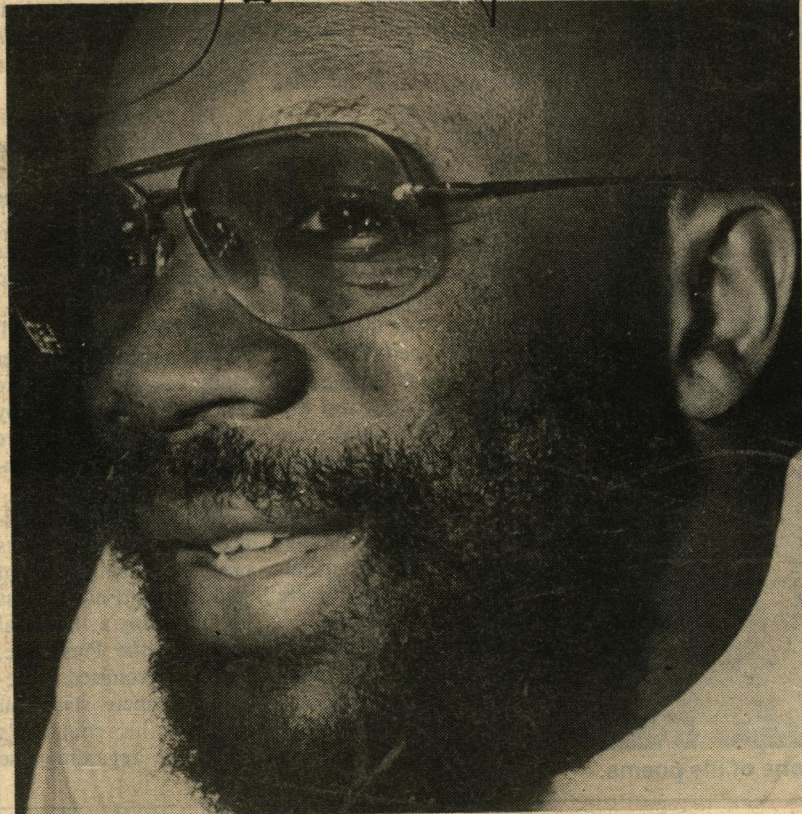
Mr De Klerk, he said, was already seen to be moving away from this concept and this was encouraging.

In his reaction to this, Mr De Klerk said recognition was still not given to the Government's clear statements regarding the question of group.

"We are not ideologically obsessed with the question of groups. We are prepared to put the question of group definitions on the agenda.

Soul singer Isaac Hayes in secret visit to SA

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Isaac Hayes . . . talks with MDM Culture Desk

LEGENDARY American soul singer Isaac Hayes arrived secretly in the country on Saturday to negotiate with the MDM Cultural Desk for future performances in the country.

Hayes last visited the country in 1983 at the height of calls for a boycott of South Africa and was blacklisted by the United Nations.

But his host, Road Runner Chicken outlet owner Mr Harvey Lynch denied that Hayes' visit had anything to do with music.

He said Hayes was in the country for a private business visit.

'Remember
the ANC and
^{SOWETAN}
PAC were
6 DEC 1989
once one'

SIR - I have read and re-read the letter published in the *Sowetan* of November 20, entitled "Xhosas dominate ANC".

Although the writer may dismiss me as an escapist, we should remember that the ANC was once combined with the PAC. Because the ANC was "racially blind" the PAC was formed.

It is true that the better part of the ANC comprises Xhosa-speaking members. Two main reasons for this are the early disenchantment of the Xhosas under apartheid and their vengeful mood to the people whose ancestors illegally infiltrated South Africa through the Cape.

My thanks go to the writer on whose letter I am commenting by virtue of the reason and non-racialism he or she has shown.

ELLIOT THABALALA
Sebokeng

Sowetan however, established that Hayes had arranged to meet with the Cultural Desk representatives and members of the South African Musicians Association where he would discuss possible appearances in the country. The meeting was to be held at Darragh House in Johannesburg yesterday.

"We do not want to involve the Press in Isaac's visit because it is a purely business matter," said Lynch.

When asked why Hayes had asked for a meeting with Sama when his visit had nothing to do with music, Lynch said: "Of course he must talk to them because he remains a musician whether he becomes a businessman or not."

"Black Moses," as Hayes is affectionately called by his fans first hit the local shores in 1978.

RECENT developments in South Africa like peace marches, the release of long term political prisoners and the opening of beaches, although welcomed, had to be seen against a backdrop of fears that expectations would not be met.

Also there was the continuing state of emergency, death squads, refugees dying on electric border fences and the harassment of the clergy and the media.

This is contained in a statement issued by the synod of Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa which met in Cape Town yesterday.

The Anglican bishops of Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and South Africa said while the developments in South Africa since the assumption of office by the new State President, Mr F W de Klerk, were encouraging, the bishops were deeply concerned of the consequences if the South African Government failed to live up to the expectations it was creating.

"De Klerk's decision to allow protest marches, to release eight long-term political prisoners, to concede May 1 as a public holiday and to open beaches to all races have been praiseworthy and are warmly welcomed," the statement said.

However, they warned that De Klerk's actions appeared to be "ad hoc responses to internal and foreign pressure and not part of a comprehensive plan to dismantle apartheid."

The bishops said that while many in the white community and some foreign leaders speculated excitedly about changes to come, the people in most of their congregations experienced no change in their daily lives and struggled to keep up hope for the future in the face of "an apartheid machine which continues to grind on relentlessly."

Giving examples of this, the bishops said there was no end to the terrible suffering which had been brought on the people of the Eastern Cape by "Grand Apartheid."

There was also the failure of police and government prosecutors to act against the violence of police riot squads.

The details of death squad activities emerging from different sources had a ring of truth to them and were consistent with speeches by Cabinet Ministers that the security forces would eliminate terrorists wherever they were found, the statement said.

There was also the continued harassment of clergy and the media and while the Government made only incomplete and ad hoc gestures, the distrust between black and white communities of which De Klerk complained would continue.

"The Government cannot afford to play the game of divide and rule. The unity of all of South Africa's peoples is essential to the future peace of

the country," the statement said.

The bishops said if De Klerk wanted to promote a climate of trust there had to be purposeful action to negotiate a comprehensive timetable for the phasing out of apartheid and the introduction of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

They pointed out, albeit reluctantly, that economic pressures on South Africa would remain necessary.

They said they had discussed with experts the argument that the various forms of economic pressure inhibited growth and development but the fact remained that the damage to the economy and to the whole of society inflicted by apartheid far outweighed that done by economic pressure for the end of apartheid.

They said there could

be no sound economic growth in a society faced with the threat of civil war and recent evidence in Eastern Europe showed there could be no vibrant economy in an undemocratic society.

The bishops aligned themselves with a statement by the Southern African Bishops Conference made in September this year where the South African Government was urgently requested to switch off the electric border fences between Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the Republic.

"We believe that any form of border control that is intended to take human life is inhuman, unchristian and unacceptable," the statement said.

They also requested that any form of harassment like the rounding up of refugees and the shoot-

ing of fugitives in the Kruger Park be stopped.

Army and police should also restrain themselves at road blocks while dealing with refugees or illegal immigrants.

They also urged the South African Government and the United Nations through the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to embark on immediate negotiations with a view to securing refugee status for the Mozambicans moving to South Africa for shelter.

Forced repatriation of about 3 500 people a month should also be stopped.

The bishops' statement ended with what they called a partial list of immediate steps which they believed the Government should take. These inclu-

*To reincorporate Peelton East into South Africa, reinstate the pensions of South African citizens from the area and pressure the Ciskei authorities to release the leaders of the community.

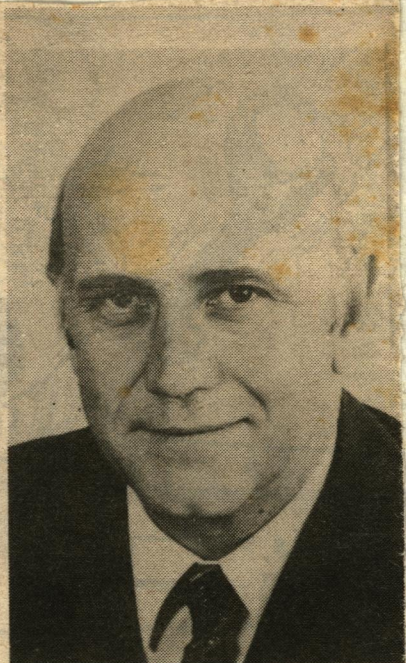
*To appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the existence of police death squads.

*To lift the state of emergency, including regulations covering the media and the removal of all restrictions on non-violent political expression.

*To unban all political parties and release remaining political prisoners and detainees. It was essential that Nelson Mandela be released because he was the one leader who could bring together a wide variety of political groups.



Anglican Church leader
Desmond Tutu



President F W de Klerk

Bishops praise De Klerk but there is a question mark

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The two sides of Enos Mabuza



Enos Mabuza.

ENOS Mabuza, Chief Minister of Kanganwane, occupies an unusual position in South Africa's political line-up.

He heads a homeland government, which should be anathema to the African National Congress. In 1986 he held apparently constructive discussions with the ANC in Lusaka. He still heads a homeland government.

He believes the ANC is the primary black political force in South Africa, but he also believes other black political organisations should take part in constitutional negotiations.

Rhetoric

These apparently contradictory positions possibly place Mabuza as close as anyone to that point where the arcs of opposing political rhetoric intersect to provide practical as opposed to ideological answers.

On the future of the homelands, for instance, he says they should be dismantled as ethnic political entities. But they

could well be retained as administrative structures in a post-apartheid South Africa, as the most effective way of bringing services to particular communities. (His government serves a million ethnic Swazis wedged between Swaziland and Mozambique.)

He expresses cautious optimism following the De Klerk Government's release of political prisoners and its flexible attitude toward public marches and rallies by the extra-parliamentary opposition.

But the Government still has to take the giant leap of unbanning political organisations such as the ANC, releasing Nelson Mandela and arranging negotiations.

"It is a race against time. There is a need for more more action and fewer words."

Mabuza says his concern is to see the different parties in South Africa sit down together to negotiate. He envisages this including minority parties, white as well as black.

He does not regard himself as a facilitator of talks or necessarily a participant.

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participant.

"I don't see myself as a participant, though I would attend if asked and I were convinced that I could play a role."

He says the Government cannot afford to ignore the ANC, which he sees as the primary black

grouping.

"They are not the only one but they are without doubt the main political actor."

"There are other groups but they will be marginalised, some neutralised, by the unbanning of the ANC. This is my

firm conviction."

He sees the object of political negotiations as the establishment of a just political and economic order in which a Bill of Rights protects individuals rather than groups.

The form of government - federal or unitary -

is less important than that it should come about as the result of negotiations and it should be democratic.

On the time span for constitutional change Mabuza is characteristically pragmatic - no instant solutions.

Indians give fat, arrogant MPs their marching orders

STAR 1 DEC 1989

NEW DELHI — Mr Rajiv Gandhi's resignation as prime minister was the inevitable consequence of his party's pitiful performance in the northern Hindi-speaking states.

But those disgruntled Congress activists, who are holding him solely responsible for their embarrassing defeat at the hands of a volatile electorate, may be missing a crucial point.

When more than 300 million voters stamped their ballot papers in India last week they were doing more than delivering their verdict on Mr Gandhi's leadership and the corruption scandals it has recently provoked. They were also sending an unmistakable message to politicians of every hue: clean up your acts or get out.

By rejecting the incumbent leadership in all but a handful of states, the electorate drew little distinction between Mr Gandhi and his opposition rivals. With only a few

India's Congress Party did pitifully at the polls as incumbent politicians of every hue suffered for their sloth, writes **TONY ALLEN-MILLS.**

exceptions, whichever party was in power locally in the north of India or the south crashed to conclusive defeat.

At the heart of this remarkable voters' onslaught was not just dismay at Mr Gandhi and his sordid fall from grace, it rather represented a mass outpouring of contempt and disgust for ordinary Indian politicians who never keep their promises and who only bother with their constituents when they need their votes.

After 42 years of independence, the results of this election clearly demonstrated that Indian voters are tired of being pushed around. No longer will they tolerate elected representatives who ignore them for years

on end. No longer will they re-elect MPs who fail to take any interest in mundane constituency affairs.

For years, run-of-the-mill Congress candidates have relied almost exclusively on the magic of successive Gandhi prime ministerial wands to lure voters into the polling booths. Why waste time performing good work in the villages when Indiraji and Rajivji can work their miracles whenever a mass turn-out is required?

These very same Congressmen are now deluding themselves that it is only because Mr Rajiv Gandhi's wand has become so tarnished that the voters have turfed them out.

The truth is that no single Congress leader could have saved the party from the complacency and arrogance that has gripped its roots over the past nine years.

What has happened in India this week is

exactly what should happen in any flourishing democracy — a bunch of flaccid, lazy, arrogant, shifty, mostly crooked members of parliament have been given their marching orders by an increasingly sophisticated electorate that is making it gloriously clear it will no longer tolerate lies and sloth.

If, as a result of this election, India's politicians get the message that voters actually matter, that their support cannot be taken for granted and that improving their lives can bring tangible results, candidates from parties like Congress will no longer need to have to lean so heavily on famous names like Gandhi to help them hold on to their seats.

If, on the other hand, the new generation of Janata Dal and Bharatiya Janata Party MPs carry on in the same old indolent, contemptuous, money-grabbing style, Mr Gandhi could be back in a couple of years. — The Independent.

1/12/89



The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday met a delegation from KwaZulu, led by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The picture was taken at a Press conference held after the meeting.



President F.W. de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a news conference at which the release of Nelson Mandela was discussed.

Picture: REUTERS

BUSINESS DAY

11/12/89

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Govt is not obsessed with groups, says FW

PRETORIA — Government was not ideologically obsessed with groups, President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

He was speaking at the Union Buildings after two hours of discussions with a KwaZulu delegation led by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Government opponents, said De Klerk, were making negative propaganda of the group issue.

The reality of diversity could not be ignored, he said. It was a powerful force. It had been acknowledged in other countries, among them Switzerland, and the reality had to be addressed and accommodated.

Buthelezi told Pressmen that there was a need to be wary about talk of cultural groups.

He said at the meeting representations had been made on problems created by rapid urbanisation and the numbers flooding into the urban areas with no voice or channel of communication to government.

The Nelson Mandela release issue

GERALD REILLY

was raised and De Klerk had assured him the matter was being seriously addressed.

Buthelezi said Mandela's release was "the biggest obstacle to getting negotiations off the ground".

De Klerk intervened to say an announcement would be made as soon as government was ready.

De Klerk said discussions were cordial and centred on the need for negotiation and ways in which moves could be made in that direction, and impediments removed.

Minorities

Buthelezi had contributed valuable inputs on planning the way ahead and these would receive government's close attention.

De Klerk repeated government's commitment to negotiation and the creation of a new dispensation which would be fair and include all South Africans, irrespective of race or

colour, and which would prevent domination of minorities.

Buthelezi said he was encouraged by De Klerk's direct style. He never tried to indulge in petty and cheap politicking like his predecessor.

De Klerk added discussions with Buthelezi would be resumed in the near future.

Sapa reports that De Klerk was assisted by Constitutional Development and National Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, and Constitutional Development and National Education Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer.

Buthelezi, who also heads Inkatha, was assisted by members of his executive, including Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's executive secretary.

Buthelezi said he had requested yesterday's meeting as a follow-up to one he had in May, when a committee was set up with former Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis to investigate obstacles impeding negotiation.

Zulu prince gives MDM support

By MOIRA LEVY

PRINCE Mcwayizeni Zulu, ranked second only to the king in the Zulu royal family, has called for the dismantling of the bantustan system and turned his back on the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, after more than 17 years of the service as the representative of the king.

Interviewed in London this week, the prince pledged his support for the Mass Democratic Movement. He said he resigned his government post earlier this year after he realised that the legislative assembly was a "vehicle only for its driver".

The prince's stand points to a split within the kwaZulu ruling circles and a challenge to the legitimacy of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rule.

Zulu confirmed that he has held regular talks with the African National Congress in exile, and said he had been invited to Oliver Tambo's home in London last week where plans were made for him to visit Mandela after his return to South Africa.

At last month's ANC rally in Soweto, Zulu joined the released Rivonia trial leaders on the platform. He was

given an enthusiastic welcome when he launched an attack on Buthelezi, warning that the royal family would defy laws imposed upon it by the kwaZulu government.

This week the prince said, "One of the tragedies of the South African situation is that some of the people who are generally regarded as part of the leadership in Natal are not readily interested in reaching a democratic solution to the problem (of the Natal violence) and prefer to impose their own viewpoint and will."

He referred to the "double talk" of leaders who "pretend to do one thing publicly, while in fact they do another thing secretly".

This year Zulu joined the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa). He is the most senior traditional leader to participate in the organisation.

Last week, while abroad, he learned that his home at the royal kraal in the Nhlophenkulu district had been burned down. And pamphlets

claiming that he aims to depose the king have been circulated in the Nongoma and Mahlabathini districts.

The prince described the pamphlets as "an attempt to denigrate and vilify me" and a ploy to divide the Zulu royal family.

A founder member of Inkatha, Sibusiso Bhenyu, who fled kwaZulu after a row with Buthelezi and who is now the executive secretary of the Lutheran World Federation in Zurich, accompanied the prince in London.

The Inkatha leadership was "going it alone", he said. "Despite the role played by the Inkatha leadership, the majority of grassroot members want genuine freedom and independence."

Another analyst, a South African exile known as Mzala, author of a book on Buthelezi, predicted that King Goodwill Zwelithini would eventually join the prince in his stand against Buthelezi. "He will not allow himself to be tainted by the blood of innocent people."

Mzala said Buthelezi had also lost support in government and business circles.