

# Moves to secure Zulu monarch's position

DAILY NEWS

1/03/94

**Cape Town:** Further amendments to the Constitution, which had already been drafted by the Minister of Home Affairs, Danie Schutte, could secure the position of the Zulu King and the Zulu monarchy, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, George Bartlett, has said.

Speaking during the debate in Parliament on the constitutional amendments yesterday, he appealed to "my colleagues" in the Inkatha Freedom Party, its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to support the amendments and take part in the election.

Mr Bartlett said the future stability of South Africa had been put at risk by the fact that the April election was not all-inclusive.

It was a tragedy that a key political player such as the IFP was not taking part in the election.

The IFP's exclusion from the election would result in widespread intimidation and violence in Natal, with a resulting low percentage poll in that province.

Cehill Pienaar (IFP Heilbron) said the constitutional amendments were no more than a publicity stunt by the National Party and the African National Congress to appease the international community.

Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) said the arrogance of the NP and ANC had prevented them from introducing the amendments at an earlier stage.—Sapa

## 'Power hungry' ANC, IFP leaders condemned

DAILY NEWS

1/03/94

**Cape Town:** Both the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal were guilty of killing more than 18 000 innocent people during the past five years, Roger Burrows (DP Pinetown) said today.

"They are deeds of retribution and vigilante activities carried out without the control of the leaders, both of whom are power hungry and who should be roundly condemned for not looking after their members," he said during debate on the Constitution of South Africa Amendment Bill.

He said the Zulus had been a divided nation for more than 150 years, and it should be understood that those living in Natal did not all belong to one

particular political party.

The best way to test Zulu opinion was in an election or referendum.

The DP would support a constitutional monarchy in Natal with an elected legislature, but would oppose an absolute monarchy.

IFP Member Koos van der Merwe said the amendments were obviously due to the National Party grovelling in front of, and capitulating to, the ANC.

"The NP has let South Africa down by being satisfied with too little. They are the spoilers because there will now be less devolution of power instead of the promised maximum devolution of power."



## MAR 03 '94 08:53 \*\*\*\*\*



## Clinton, Major press for SA deal

BY PETER FABRICIUS  
CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and JOHN SODERLUND

Washington — US President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister John Major yesterday sent a joint message to ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to urge a successful outcome to their "crucial" meeting today.

Major, who is visiting Clinton in Washington, said in announcing the sending of the joint message that the meeting "might have great importance to South Africans as they move towards their first multiracial elections".

Mandela and Buthelezi began their discussions today as Government makes a fresh bid to get approval from the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, for the country's political transformation.

Buthelezi has bluntly dismissed suggestions that today's talks in Durban may bring him into a settlement.

He insists he will only discuss peace with Mandela.

Meanwhile, Government negotiators were preparing another amendment to the constitution which would see the Zulu monarchy being constitutionally protected.

But by this morning there was no indication whether the king had risen to the bait.

The joint appeal from Clinton and Major came shortly after Mandela telephoned the US president to seek assistance in getting all parties into the elections.

In another initiative designed to bring dissenting parties into a political settlement, President FW de Klerk is ex-

► To Page 3

## Clinton, Major urge deal

◀ From Page 1

pected to meet Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen today.

The talks designed to get the Zulu king's nod for the election could see Parliament sitting longer than expected this week.

In terms of the deal being sought, another constitutional principle — which cannot be amended by a new parliament — would be added to the Interim Constitution. It would effectively guarantee the continued existence of the Zulu monarchy.

A major concern in Government circles is that Buthelezi will reject the deal, reports Sapa.

"There is no question of me being persuaded by him (Mandela) or anyone to ensure the IFP's participation in the elections," Buthelezi said in a memorandum prepared for delivery to National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

Today's Buthelezi-Mandela meeting in Durban will be their

first in nine months.

Mandela said yesterday he was making a last-ditch effort "to persuade Buthelezi to get on board".

However, he flatly ruled out the possibility of delaying the election in Natal for a referendum on a provincial constitution — and De Klerk and Mandela both bluntly rejected calls for the election to be postponed.

De Klerk, addressing yesterday's opening of the special session of Parliament, issued his most direct warning yet to any organisation planning to disrupt the election, saying the Government would use "all means at its disposal" to deal with any threat.

De Klerk went out of his way yesterday to woo King Zwelithini, saying the NP supported the view that the Zulu kingdom should be given constitutional recognition in the new South Africa.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

► More reports — Page 6



## UN ends aid for ANC and PAC

BY MIKE LITTLEJOHN  
STAR BUREAU

New York — The United Nations, in a show of impartiality in the upcoming election, has terminated financial aid for the ANC and PAC.

This is in accordance with a General Assembly resolution adopted in December to end the subsidies, which enabled the two groups to maintain offices in New York, as soon as they became regular political parties.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reminded UN chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali of the resolution in a letter dated February 11.

In fact, Nigerian ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, had already advised the ANC and PAC representatives in New York that February would be the last month during which payments would be made.

The action did not affect their status as observers, he emphasised, and the committee would continue to be helpful.



## I won't compromise on united SA, says Mandela

Although ANC leader Nelson Mandela will do everything in his power to get the Freedom Alliance into the April election, he will not compromise on a change in the poll date or on the establishment of a united country.

Speaking at the opening of the ANC's media centre in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel last night, Mandela said he would meet IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today.

"I am meeting one of the leaders who has stood outside of the election process all along and it is my duty to persuade him to join in.

"I will do everything in my power to persuade him, but there are two aspects that I must make clear that there can be no compromise on.

"The one is that there can be no change to the election date and the other is that South Africa is to remain a united country and cannot countenance any demands that would lead to secession," he told about 200 people.

"It is to this end to which I will spend the rest of my life working."

He said one of the pillars of a true democracy was a free press which could draw leaders' attention to their shortcomings. He hoped this would happen in SA.

ANC information head Dr Pallo Jordan said the election would not be an easy story for the media to cover.

"This is not a conventional assignment. It will be one full of challenges and dangers to which you are unaccustomed."

He said he hoped the facilities at the media centre would allow the world's media to cover the election "as competently and as completely as possible".

The premises, in the plush Carlton Hotel in the city centre, were donated by the hotel. Communications equipment such as computers, facsimile and photocopying machines were donated by SA Phillips, Sharp Electronics and Nashua SA — Sapa.

(Report by L. Elias, 141 Commissioner St. Jhb)



*Election indeed like no other*

# Ballot papers prove that poll is unique

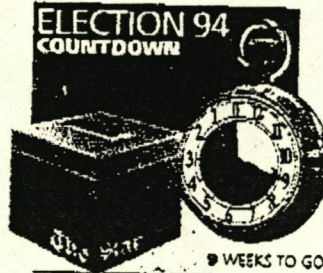
■ BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH

Open up the newspaper you're busy reading and measure it from top to bottom. That, plus another two centimetres, is what a ballot paper for the National Assembly election will measure.

With 60 cm ballot papers, 10 different kinds of ballot papers and marking fluid all over our knuckles, the April election is going to be like no other.

Our 80 million ballot papers will fill 10 jumbo jets when they wing their way to South Africa from London where they are being printed.

According to the Independent Electoral Commission, no South African firm could handle the printing order and the London



firm De La Rue, of Basingstoke, has expertise in printing banknotes, ballot papers and official documents.

Printing will be completed by April 17. The ballot papers will be flown to South Africa under stringent security and be transported to warehouses under surveillance and in the presence of

political party officials. Three days before the election they will be transported to secure locations near the voting stations.

Ten different types of ballot papers will be used — one for the National Assembly (the 60 cm one giving details of each political party) and nine for each of the provinces for the provincial legislature elections indicating only the parties contesting the election in each province.

On election day, voters will have both hands dipped into marking fluid which is invisible but shows up under UV lights. That means no one who has been "dipped" can vote again. The dye washes off after about seven days.

(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)







## NPKF morale high, says top observer

■ BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Morale and enthusiasm is high among the Peacekeeping Assistance Group and the National Peacekeeping Force, says Russell Marshall, chairman of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa.

Speaking after his return from the De Brug military base near Bloemfontein yesterday, Marshall said members of the NPKF now undergoing training at the installation were learning a new style of policing, which included a "less combative" response to demonstrations.

The new methods being taught by Commonwealth police and military officers were aimed not only at the election but constituted a long-term approach to their task.

"Clearly, the members of the NPKF face a major challenge to live up to the expectations for its role in providing security for the coming election," said Marshall.

There was a strong sense of commitment among NPKF soldiers, and although the two teams now training at De Brug and Cape Town would not be adequate to cover the whole of South Africa, he believed the teams would play a "small but significant" part in securing free and fair elections.

Commenting on claims of dissent within the NPKF, Marshall said tension was inevitable when 13 disparate groups were brought together.

The various groupings were now being melded with skill and care by a highly experienced team as a disciplined, committed force, he said.

■ Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield reports that the NPKF budget will be put before the Transitional Executive Council for approval today and the amount could be much less than expected.

It had been estimated that the NPKF's budget would be R400 million or more, but a source said the TEC would today be asked to approve a figure of less than R180 million.

The estimate was reduced as a result of a thorough review of the original proposals, the source said.

The TEC is not expected to finalise during today's meeting the thorny issue of the retention of section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for detention without trial.

However, one source indicated this issue was "nearing finality".



*CP and IFP voice objections in Parliament*

# Lively constitution debate

Cape Town — The first day's rowdy debate on the amendments to the Interim Constitution yesterday saw much the same public arguments and accusations between parties being voiced in Parliament.

The CP and IFP maintained that the amendments did not meet their demands for either proper federalism or attaining a volkstaat.

The DP accused the NP of being tardy, seven months ago, in accepting its proposals which were now embodied in the amendments.

The NP was upset since the DP was taking credit for the amendments, insisting that CP and IFP demands had been met.

President de Klerk opened the proceedings by saying the fact that the most crucial election campaign in the country's history was being interrupted for the special sitting indicated the

**THERE can now no longer be any reasonable excuse for non-participation in election, De Klerk tells special sitting**

importance attached to ensuring the election was as inclusive as possible.

## Stalemate

There could now no longer be any reasonable excuse for non-participation, he said.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the political process had reached an uncomfortable stalemate before the amendments.

"What South Africa requires now is an equal, reciprocal act — more than a political act, an

act of statesmanship."

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the fact that Parliament was sitting showed that the constitution was weak and proved that a constitutional guarantee was worth nothing. The basic flaws remained.

Senior DP negotiator Colin Eglin said that if people wanted to obtain a volkstaat, constitutional rather than revolutionary mechanisms should be used.

"We are not wild about these amendments, but will go along. It is an opportunity to evolve a new volkstaat concept free of racism. It is a challenge."

ANC representative Dave Dalling said the amendments met all the Freedom Alliance's requirements.

"It is only the right to dominate everyone that the right wing will lose."

The IFP's Jurie Mentz said the party was not looking for

war, but for lasting peace.

The Zulu king and his subjects would take part in the election only if the constitution provided for proper federalism.

"The double ballot is not a concession, but is rectifying a flaw," Mentz said.

## Threats

■ Section 29 of the Internal Security Act was necessary to uphold the democratic process during the run-up to the election to act against threats from extremist left-wing and right-wing elements, the Government admitted yesterday.

Law and Order Minister Herinus Kriel told a press briefing: "A number of political parties apparently supported the need to keep the section, which allows detention without trial for 10 days, to reach democracy in this country." — Sapa, Political Staff.

(Press Gallery, Parliament)



## Freedom Alliance boycott might help NP and ANC

The fundamental political divide is now between those who have the guts to face the future and those who pine for the past. The unhappily named Freedom Alliance falls heavily into the latter category by effectively demanding three bastions in which the ruling classes will be either political and/or racial minorities.

Although the FA has no intention of holding referenda in the territories it claims, it seems determined to turn the April election into a referendum on the Interim Constitution, and a violent one at that.

Those who have the courage to vote (and in some parts of Natal and the Platteland this will require high courage indeed), will be indicating their assent to the future, while those who boycott will register their preference for a version of the

status quo before February 1990. Unfortunately for the FA the past has been demonstrated to be unworkable, unpopular and immoral.

A boycott is the democratic right of the FA. However, it is the democratic right of the taxpayers to prevent the use of public revenues for their protest.

It is therefore the Transitional Executive Council's responsibility to ensure that they do not use their police forces or commandos to "shore up" the boycott. A very sharp and heavy financial sword of Damocles needs to be suspended over their heads between now and the election.

Perhaps it has not occurred to the FA but the boycott could be a blessing in disguise for the National Party and the ANC. To boycott is not in the nature of the white voter, as current polls of Con-

servative Party supporters show. To whom then, will white supporters of the Conservative Party and Inkatha turn if not the National Party? The Right's boycott could cast a nice little electoral windfall into the National Party's grateful lap.

There are signs that many Inkatha people, particularly civil servants, are unhappy with the boycott.

This means Inkatha's support could be even further eroded when KwaZulu starts to feel the economic pinch.

Perhaps the Right has shot itself in both feet this time by excluding itself from the only show in town, alienating its own supporters who want to take part, and at the same time antagonising the show's bouncers.

Fr C Chatteris, S J  
Jeppestown,  
Johannesburg



# The Star

Established 1887

47 SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG 2000

## Last chance for alliance

*Mandela's plea for peace may be a prelude to a cry for action.*

**T**WO major initiatives are under way to persuade the Freedom Alliance to abandon its threat to boycott the April election: a special parliamentary session, where proposed amendments to the Interim Constitution and the Electoral Act will be debated, and a high-level meeting in Durban between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The first initiative emanates from the ANC and the National Party. It represents a joint attempt to meet the FA's objections to the Interim Constitution and avert the risk of civil war between election participators and boycotters. The second comes from Mandela himself, who has said: "I will go down on my knees to beg those who want to drag our country into bloodshed . . . not to do so."

The ANC-NP initiative — which includes a move to extend the election registration deadline — offers the FA an opportunity to reappraise its foolish and dangerous boycott tactic. If the FA parties do not register by March 4, they will have embarked on a course which can lead only to political defeat, at the risk of igniting large-scale but futile violence.

Mandela's willingness to adopt the position of supplicant begging for peace should not deceive his political opponents. It is not a sign of weakness, but a move by a strong man to prepare for tough action by showing that he has done his best to reach a compromise and avoid violence.

Like the threat to restore the pre-colonial Zulu monarchy, Buthelezi's latest ploy — of seeking a postponement of the April election in Natal and preserving the status quo there for the immediate future — has no chance of success. By introducing yet another demand, he risks demonstrating beyond doubt that he will do anything to avoid the verdict of the people at the polls. Unless he changes tack, his political epitaph will be that of a spoiler.



## NEWS

### Rush to join Bop strikers

■ BY JUSTICE MALALA

The civil service and commercial workers' strike that began in parts of Bophuthatswana yesterday has intensified as workers join in large numbers.

There was chaos at bus terminuses in the evening when commuters who had used buses in the morning returned to find drivers had decided to join the strikers.

A driver who did not participate was slightly injured near Mabopane station when he was set upon by a number of strikers.

The strike is expected to intensify further today as the Bophuthatswana Workers' Co-ordinating Committee goes ahead with its rally at Soshanguve's Giant Stadium in preparation for a march on the administrator's office in Ga-Rankuwa tomorrow.

Hospitals, clinics and post offices remained abandoned this morning as the strike entered its second week.

Leaders of the striking workers said it was possible that the security forces could also join in, but this cannot be confirmed. Police and army are guarding installations.

The workers are demanding that the government:

■ Pay them their pension and provident fund money "due to uncertainty over what would happen to the money after the April election";

■ Stop all deduction made by the Sefalane Employee Benefits Organisation (Sebo) on their salaries;

■ Institute parity in salaries between homeland and South African workers; and

■ Free political and trade union activity.

They are also demanding the allegedly government-aligned Bophuthatswana Teachers' Association be disbanded.

The workers committee's Freddie Mathibe said the organisation was being swamped with inquiries about how to join the strike.

"If Mangope remains intransigent we shall take the strike beyond this week. We will definitely continue until he meets our demands," Mathibe said.

The Information Service of Bophuthatswana said internal problems, and not politics or the pensions question, were the real reason behind go-slow actions.



*Subsidies for ANC, PAC cut in 'show of impartiality'*

DAILY NEWS

1/03/94

# UN ends aid for parties

The UN is no longer providing the ANC and PAC with money. This report from a **Daily News Correspondent** in New York.

**T**HE United Nations, in a show of impartiality in the forthcoming elections, has terminated financial aid for the ANC and PAC.

This is in accordance with a General Assembly resolution adopted last December to end the subsidies, which enabled the two groups to maintain offices in New York, as soon as they became regular political parties.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, reminded Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali of the resolution in a letter dated February 11.

In fact, Nigerian Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, chairman of the special committee on apartheid, had already advised the ANC and PAC representatives in New York that February would be the last month during which payments would be made.

The action did not affect their status as observers, he emphasised, and the committee would continue to be helpful. Thus they will be able to continue to have UN missions, but not at

the UN — and international taxpayers' — expense.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Washington that the South African Embassy is to launch a major publicity campaign to inform the estimated 100 000 or more eligible South African voters in the US about the April elections.

Ambassador Harry Schwarz said yesterday there were sizeable concentrations of South Africans in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Miami, Texas, Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The aim of the non-partisan campaign would be to make people aware of their voting rights and where to exercise them.

The ANC's missions in the US are co-operating with the embassy in arranging voting for South Africans.

Mr Schwarz said voting in the US would be on one day only — April 26 between 7am and 7pm. There would be no postal votes and so voters in the US would have to cast their votes in person at polling booths in locations still to be announced by the Independent Electoral Commission.

South Africans in the US, including permanent residents, would be eligible to vote if they had retained South African citizenship and their South African passports or other identity documents were still valid.

## Five MPs from the HoD have joined IFP

**Cape Town:** Five more Members of Parliament in the House of Delegates had joined the Inkatha Freedom Party, says the leader of the Opposition in the HoD, Farouk Cassim.

They are Rashida Ebrahim (Lena-sia East), Narend Singh (Umzinto), Pubal Govender (Isipingo), Perumal

Nadasen (Allandale) and Hemanhku-mar Neerahoo (Newholme).

Mr Govender and Mr Nadasen were previously members of the National Party, Mr Singh of Solidarity, Mr Neerhoo of the Democratic Party and Mrs Ebrahim of the Merit Peoples Party.—Sapa



Uproar over  
housing plan

# Shill's 1/03/94 'cheap DAILY NEWS trick'

Not everyone is happy about the way the Government has announced a huge housing programme, writes Daily News Reporter **Susan Miller**.

**A** LOCAL African National Congress leader has slammed Housing Minister Louis Shill for unilaterally announcing a 10-year, R90-billion housing plan yesterday and described the announcement as a "cheap political trick".

Mike Sutcliffe, ANC regional executive member, said the announcement should have come from the National Housing Forum, which is made up of various political parties.

"I am very concerned that this announcement did not come from the National Housing Forum.

"Some of the parties in the forum are not even participating in the forthcoming elections, but they should all be given credit as part of the National Housing Forum."

Dr Sutcliffe said it seemed the credit for the plan would now go to one political party instead of all the participants.

Announcing the plan, Mr Schill said that it would eliminate the housing shortage and create one million jobs. The implementation of the new capital grant scheme would begin on March 15.

Sums of up to R12 500 would be paid to new owners who have a total household monthly income of not more than R1 500.

Households earning between R1 501 and R2 500 will be eligible for grants of up to R9 599, and households earning between R2 500 and R3 500 a month will be eligible for grants of R5 000.

The Government will contribute about R2 billion this year to the scheme and an average of R4 billion a year over the next decade.

Dr Sutcliffe said he expected a more detailed comment on the unilateral announcement to come from the ANC head office later today.



# FW warns Zulus

Daily News 11/03/92

World leaders are urging Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to reach an agreement at their meeting in Durban today. **Political Staff report.**

**S**HORTLY before the Mandela/Buthelezi summit in Durban today, President F.W. de Klerk threatened in Parliament to deploy the SADF and the SAP to counter any attempts by King Goodwill Zwelithini to declare an independent and sovereign monarchy in KwaZulu/Natal.

However, the Government will make one last-ditch effort to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party into the election by tabling more amendments to the constitution specifically to accommodate the Zulu monarchy.

In its efforts to bring political stability and peace to this region, ANC president Nelson Mandela met IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi today at the Royal Hotel in Durban. The two teams were still locked in talks at mid-afternoon.

They left their delegations at the talks this morning for a private one-hour tea break.

They both returned smiling but would not comment or respond to questions about their private meeting.

ANC southern Natal secretary Sbu Ndebele said today's meeting was a serious attempt to find a common meeting point between the two organisations. "If it fails, then God help us," he said.

US President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister John Major sent a joint message to Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi yesterday to urge a successful outcome to today's meeting.

The joint appeal from the two leaders came just after Mr Mandela phoned President Clinton to appeal to him to do what he could to get all parties into the elections.

But there seemed little likelihood that the IFP will be drawn into the electoral process. Before today's meeting Dr Buthelezi told reporters: "I don't expect concessions from Mr Mandela and he shouldn't expect concessions from me."

On violence, he said: "The matter concerns us very deeply ... we haven't come here solely to discuss the elections."

On his arrival several minutes later, Mr Mandela said he was hoping for a breakthrough.

"We'll keep trying, (for a constitutional breakthrough)," he told journalists.

He described the talks as "sensitive".

Efforts to draw in the IFP culminated in a six-hour meeting of the IFP's central committee in Ulundi last night. The IFP issued a three-paragraph statement saying the 1994 constitution still did not satisfy "the basic requirements of a properly federal form of state, nor does it adequately address the constitutional position of the kingdom of KwaZulu".

The Government is expected to table another constitutional amendment today specifically setting out the role of the Zulu monarchy in a democratic South Africa.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that the Government would use all means at its disposal, including security forces, to deal with any party that might try to achieve its objectives through violence or unconstitutional, illegal or undemocratic means.

"Parties which contemplate secession or the illegal seizure of states or municipal powers should have no illusions concerning their position or the consequences of their action."

Report by R.M. Challenor, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.



# High-speed convoy

By David Tucker

YOU need a very fast car and strong nerves to keep up with Nelson Mandela's election roadshows.

Drive at South Africa's national speed limit of 120 km/h and you will be left far behind on the open road by Mandela in his chauffeur-driven, armoured Mercedes and his bodyguards in sleek Toyotas.

"We have to drive fast... for safety," said one of the drivers, worried about attacks by Right-wingers on a vote-catching tour by the African National Congress leader.

But are speeds of between 160 and 180 km/h the safest way to whisk 75-year-old Mr Mandela to rallies and campaign meetings for South Africa's first all-race election in April?

## 3 abreast

At times cars, and any minibuses able to keep up, race three and four abreast behind the lead vehicles. Wheels spinning, engines roaring,

they overtake on the hard shoulder. They seem oblivious to traffic police not normally known for their reticence in applying the law.

Traffic lights are largely ignored, although one reporter found himself behind a motorist who didn't know that red lights were no longer to be obeyed when the Mandela convoy was on the road.

The motorist stopped; the reporter did not.

ANC officials in the convoys keep in touch through walkie-talkies.

During a Mandela swing through the Orange Free State, an ANC official in a minibus wanted a megaphone from another vehicle. Fearful of losing the convoy if they stopped, the two minibuses drove side-by-side at 160 km/h. The megaphone passed from one to the other after more than a few hair-raising brushes.

Convoys normally start out with 20 or so vehicles, with most journalists not content to use the "slow" ANC-provided minibus. Many believe, with some

justification, they will arrive late.

Midway through the tours, the convoys have collected at least as many hangers-on as journalists and officials. This makes driving even more difficult. "Intruders" are not content to sit at the back — they weave in and out of the "official" cars to get closer to their leader.

## Better run

(President FW) De Klerk's roadshows are much better organised. Cars travel at no more than 120 and journalists are bused to venues before he gets there. This is chaos," said Reuter photographer Juda Ngwenya during a Mandela tour.

When Mr Mandela left a township after a rally, the media convoy tucked in behind as usual.

What the journalists didn't know was that the ANC leader planned to fly to the next venue. This only became apparent when his white Mercedes turned off the main road to an airstrip.

The end result, despite frantic pumping of accel-

erator pedals, was the "hack pack" failed to make the next appointment 100 km away and the ANC lost an opportunity to show Mr Mandela inspecting Congress offices bombed by Right-wingers.

If the open road convoys are dangerous, those in the Black townships can only be described as serious health risks — for pedestrians as well.

Excited people mill around the cars, eager for a glimpse of Madiba (Mandela).

In a township near Bloemfontein at least two children were "bumped" by cars as ANC officials, reporters, television camera crews and residents, in an assortment of battered cars, tried to penetrate walls of people to rejoin the convoy.

Neither child was badly hurt.

Cars unable to link up with the convoy line were driven towards oncoming traffic on the other side of the road, forcing other motorists to take hasty and evasive action. — Sapa-Reuter.



# CITIZEN 1/03/94 Contrast in styles of De Klerk, Mandela

By Pierre Claassen

TO compare the African National Congress and the National Party is like comparing an elephant to a mouse, ANC leader Nelson Mandela insisted last week while touring the northern Cape in the wake of NP rival F W de Klerk.

For journalists, who trailed both men for the four days of their back-to-back election road shows, the contrast was certainly as sharp, even if the scale was not quite as unequal.

It is too early to tell what effect, if any, their week of campaigning had. But a not inconsiderable number of voters, particularly Coloured, were able to see and listen to both sides and experience the differences.

If one compared the larger rally-style events, discounting particular visits which had unique features, the pattern was superficially the same — prearranged venues and times with full poster and organisational back-up to draw the best possible crowd.

## Personal style

It was in the personal style of the leaders and the structure of their appearance that the contrasts sharpened.

Whether flying in by chopper or driving in his armoured motorcade to cheering, flag-waving supporters, Mr De Klerk emerged from the vehicle only to be lost in a huddle of waiting officials.

No greeting, no acknowledgement of the often hysterical welcome of the crowd, just serious talk and frowns — an almost conspiratorial briefing session as they all move him towards the microphones or a "blaster

wagon" laden with loudspeakers.

Then, as if reaching the spot marked 'X', out comes the FW smile, up goes the hand in greeting. As the cheers finally die down, the standard election speech follows, sometimes with a shift of nuance.

The appearance is short, the departure swift after the 'Thank you'. It is all so quick, he often leaves behind a crowd milling with half fulfilled expectations.

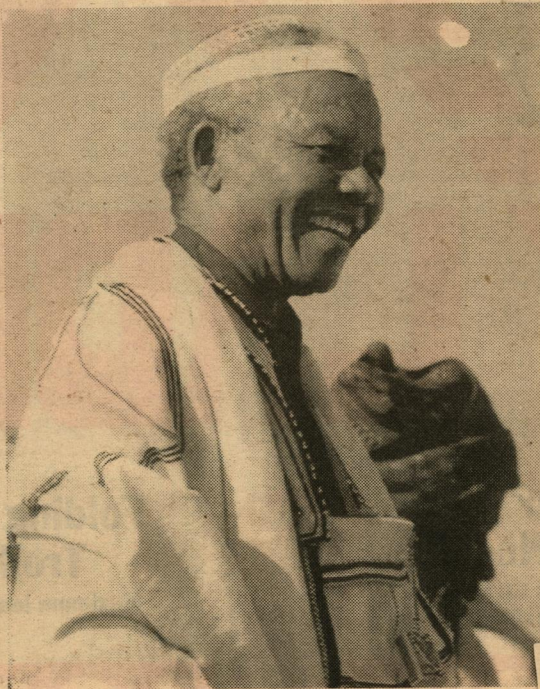
Mr Mandela does not like to arrive in his armoured limousine if he can help it. He stops his crazily racing entourage some distance from the rally site — in Galeshewe more than 5 km away — and takes up a highly exposed stand on top of his own blaster wagon.

## Stature

He fully exploits his tall distinctive stature, approaching the rally at walking pace, waving, smiling with joy and addressing bystanders with whom he makes contact directly as he moves along.

When he gets to the same hysterical crowd welcome, he often overrides arrangements of his security men, directing the truck to a specific corner of the crowd where he stretches out to shake hands in greetings.

All the time, his greetings sweep the crowd, far



ANC president NELSON MANDELA smiles at the crowd after he was presented with traditional Xhosa chief's robes in Bisho, Ciskei, on Sunday.

and near, waving and smiling in obvious pleasure. No official intrudes, it is only Mr Mandela and his supporters.

Indeed, it is unfair to compare the two men. Their worlds are so different, as the week proved once more.

Mr De Klerk is facing the impossible task of convincing voters that there is more to him (and the NP) than the brilliantly wise and courageous White leader who knowingly proclaimed and managed his own inevitable political doom.

He refuses to take on his opponent in this strangest of elections in which one man, in a certain sense a newcomer, is already the acknowledged

victor — the martyr saint hero of the oppressed majority.

And so they speak in disparate tongues as they travel through the harsh heat of a wonderfully lush and green Karoo.

Mr De Klerk comes to his new electorate, the people his old party had discarded as unworthy of sharing the wealth of the White world, protesting a thorough change of heart.

## Input

People must join and support the "new" NP because in that way they will ensure he can make an input, and a difference, in the new government of national unity.

He tells them of the things that can be done, if the NP is allowed to see

the economy run the way it used to. They must strengthen his hand, give him the maximum leverage.

A difficult, defensive message made no easier by the constant harrying squad of toyi-toying ANC supporters trying to drown it out with sheer noise.

But Mr De Klerk is still awkward in this role. His new audiences are just out of his reach because he has not yet had time to become one with them. Their idiom of the heart and emotions is not an easy target for his intellectualising tongue although he does occasionally hit home.

When he tries reason-

LADDERS • TROLLEYS • LADDERS • TROLLEYS • LADDERS • TROLLEYS

Flatbed Trolley

1 200 MM x 680 MM	LARGE
900 MM x 600 MM	SMALL

SW 12	3,6
SW 10	3,0
SW 8	2,4
SW 6	1,8
SW 5	1,5
SW 4	1,2
MODEL	HE



# Zulu monarchy must be secured, says FW

CITIZEN

1/03/94

THE status and position of the Zulu King had to be elevated above party politics, and the monarchy secured through effective constitutional safeguards, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing a special session of Parliament, he said he understood the concerns of King Goodwill Zwelithini and his people on the

future of the Zulu monarchy.

The government and the National Party supported the view that the Zulu kingdom should be given constitutional recognition.

"The Zulu kingdom is recognised by us as a unique reality. It has a proud history and plays an important role in the life of the Zulu nation."

Pres De Klerk said

the monarchy could be secured either in a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal or in the national constitution, or both.

The government had been involved in serious and in-depth discussions on the issue of the Zulu monarchy but no specific agreement had yet been reached. However, negotiation would continue until agreement was reached.



# CP wants guarantees of Afrikaner state

CITIZEN 1/03/94

THE CP wanted constitutional principles that guaranteed an Afrikaner state, not measures that forced them into taking part in the elections, Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) said yesterday.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Bill, he said there was talk in the Department of Home Affairs that the elections could be postponed.

Calling on the government to hold off the poll, he said: "If you do not postpone the elections, you and the ANC/SACP will carry the consequences on your own consciences. You'll not be able to say you did not know."

The latest constitutional amendments were nothing else but a ploy to get the CP to the polling booths.

An issue such as the proposed Volks Council, which was subservient to

Parliament, was being used to attract the CP into participation.

"You cannot treat us as children and try and entice us with sweets."

The ANC and NP had declared that the Afrikaners would not get a "volkstaat", but this dispensation had to be in place before April 26.

Bophuthatswana did not have racial discrimination, featured a bill of basic human rights and

was a demarcated region.

But if Bophuthatswana had no chance of being recognised, the CP could simply not trust the government.

"We know why this is the case — because the Constitution must cater for a single sovereign state."

The issue of ballots was not about one paper or two, but which powers went with the vote.



## Constitutional delay has 'prejudiced IFP'

THE delay in introducing constitutional amendments had seriously prejudiced the Inkatha Freedom Party because it now had less time to prepare for elections, Mr Farouk Cassim (IFP Nom) said yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Bill, he said he welcomed the amendments, but wished they went further.

Mr Cassim said the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, had consistently resisted constitutional amendments proposed by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"Why were the amendments not made earlier? The Minister has been the problem all the time."

He said the battle of the double ballot had been fought and won because the IFP had been principled and had refused to buckle.

The Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said the Freedom Alliance had never intended becoming part of the democratic process through the amendments to the constitution.

"Negotiations on the amendments to certain clauses of the constitution were but a smokescreen. The real agenda of the Conservative Party is still to bring about separation partition and a volkstaat."

## IFP seeks 'lasting peace'

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was not looking for war but wanted lasting peace, Mr Jurie Mentz (IFP Vryheid) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Constitution of South Africa Amendment

Bill, he said the IFP wanted to take part in the election "after our problems are solved".

The present constitution was not a federal one and the Zulu king and his subjects would only participate in the election

when the constitution provided for federalism.

"The double ballot is not a concession, but is rectifying a flaw. Parliament had forsaken its duty by not taking the interests of minorities into account."



# DP amendments proved correct, says Eglin

CITIZEN 1/03/94

THE Government had first to wait for a crisis before stumbling on to the truth that the DP's constitutional amendments had been correct all along, Mr Eglin (DP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Bill, he said the amendments should be accepted on their merits, and not as a means to woo the Freedom Alliance back into negotiations.

It was tragic that the NP's earlier rejection of the DP's proposals had caused the Freedom Alliance and its allies to abandon the constitutional process, leaving it to be dominated by the ANC and NP.

"It has taken the ANC and NP months to accept

the merits of the proposals."

This had been a tragedy for South Africa. How different would the scene not have been if the IFP and its allies had stayed in the process, and if the ANC and NP had not been so self-satisfied with their deals.

Turning to the Freedom Alliance, he said: "Come into the political process; if this was the final constitution I would also be dissatisfied, but it is not, it is a process of constitution-making.

"They owe it to South Africa, the people of South Africa, to find a political solution by peaceful, not violent, revolutionary means."

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, had made a chilling revelation when he used the phrase that the present govern-

ment had saved the country at the brink of catastrophe.

By implication, he was saying it was the NP government which had taken the country to the brink of catastrophe.

The amendments being debated had been submitted by the DP at negotiations seven months ago, and the DP would support the Bill.

"Not just because it is an attempt to woo the Freedom Alliance, but we will support the clauses on their merit. Every clause in this Bill is an improvement on the Constitution."

They further enshrined the federal aspects of the Constitution and made it impossible for the next Constitution to reverse its federal content.

## Five MPs in HoD join Inkatha

1/03/94 CITIZEN

FIVE more Members of Parliament in the House of Delegates had joined the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Leader of the Opposition in the HoD, Mr Farouk Cassim, said yesterday.

They were Mrs Rashida Ebrahim (Lenasia East), Mr Narend Singh (Umzinto), Mr Pubal Govender (Isipingo), Mr Perumal Nadasen (Allandale) and Mr Hemankumar Neerahoo (Newholme).

Mr Govender and Mr Nadasen were previously members of the National Party, Mr Singh of Solidarity, Mr Neerahoo of the Democratic Party and Mrs Ebrahim of the Merit Peoples Party.



# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

1/03/94

## Press threats

IT'S time political organisations made a point of inculcating in their followers the message, taken for granted elsewhere, that media people are not fair game for extremists and should never be attacked or threatened for carrying out their duty.

On the contrary, they are people who are performing an essential function, keeping the public informed of what is going on, and any attack on them is not only contemptuous and uncalled for but a denial of freedom of expression and of the Press (now broadened to include the electronic media).

We cannot, therefore, condemn too strongly the call at the funeral of APLA commander, Sabelo Phama, in Transkei on Saturday that APLA cadres should shoot White journalists.

Immediately after the funeral, in the village of Baziya, near Umtata, a group of uniformed APLA soldiers gathered a short distance from the grave, fired shots in the air and chanted, "One bullet, one settler. Bullet, bullet, settler, settler."

Some of the crowd of PAC supporters around them pointed out a SAPA reporter nearby and called out: "There is the first settler. Why are you pointing your rifles up in the air and not at his head?"

Referring to other White journalists, other PAC supporters called out: "Hit them, hit them."

This contrasts with the funeral rally at the Umtata Independence Stadium where PAC officials offered to provide marshals for White journalists who wanted to move in and out of the stadium or out of the VIP area and into the crowd.

Media officer, Mr Bosman Mukupula, said television cameramen among the crowd in the stands had been given permanent guards.

"We want people to be safe," he said. "We don't want people to intimidate journalists."

He should see to it that this message gets through to the PAC's rank-and-file members.

Unfortunately, reporting the violent events in this country has become hazardous for newsmen and women.

On occasion, they are victims of criminal thugs, like two overseas television crews who were robbed of their equipment and cars in separate incidents.

However, journalists, particularly on Black newspapers, have been threatened because what they write is not acceptable to the organisations about whom they are writing.

That is not only dangerous but a sign of political intolerance and is intimidation of the worst kind.

You either write favourably about us, or else.

Or you report events as we see them, or else.

What freedom of the Press or expression is there when journalists can be threatened in this manner?

Some journalists have sadly lost their lives in incidents like the shooting dead of a photographer during the visit to Katlehong of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and SACP chairman Joe Slovo at the height of unrest in that area.

Since he had his cameras with him, we can accept that his murderers knew that he was a journalist.

On the other hand, he might have been killed by a Self-Defence Unit member firing wildly at hostel dwellers who had allegedly fired on the touring party.

Whoever was responsible, the fact is that a cameraman was killed — and he shouldn't have been in any circumstances, since he was there to record events not to take part in them.

Previously an SABC journalist was killed in Sharpeville when on assignment to examine the desecration of graves by Right-wingers.

And there have been dozens of other incidents involving journalists.

In truth, no journalists will be safe unless they are accepted as people who have a duty to report events without fear or favour.

Our appeal then is: Do not attack them and do not threaten them, but respect them and help them to carry out their task fairly and accurately.



## Umfolozi *Day's News* 'army' claim

1/03/94  
Cape Town: Between 500 and 1 000 people are being trained and armed in Umfolozi every fortnight, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, told the Transitional Executive Committee today.

He said people in the Umfolozi area were being armed by white conservative farmers who were assisting in training them.

The only objective could be to serve the stated goal by certain parties that there would be no election allowed in the territory, he said.

—Sapa



DAVID FREDERICK '94





*Time for immigrants to shake off complacency, writes Helen Grange*

## All residents must vote in April poll

**I**t has come as a surprise to many permanent residents in South Africa that they can vote for the first time in this country's history.

The extension of the franchise to legal immigrants in the pending April election was announced by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) without any fanfare, but for the thousands who have made this country their home, it's as significant as the first-time voting rights of black South Africans.

Many immigrants have contributed substantially to the South African economy but have had no say in the governance of its development.

Some would argue that the bulk of white immigrants came to South Africa as scavengers of the lopsided privileges of apartheid and don't deserve the same rights as citizens.

However, it has become increasingly apparent that thousands of immigrants, while they may have avoided becoming naturalised citizens, have grown to love South Africa and committed their futures to it.

Those who decided to flee have mostly flown already, as reflected in emigration graphs over recent years. It would be safe to assume that the immigrants left are here because they have embraced the impending transition and not because they missed the boat.

Political analysts predict that, in any case, these votes will have very little if any impact on the final election result. This is because, for as many white immigrants who may vote conservatively, there is likely to be many more black permanent residents who veer left.

In addition, there are about 15 000 illegal migrants, mostly from neighbouring African countries, who are trying to get identity documents, and since the procedure involved in getting citizenship cannot be watertight, many of these applicants will be successful.

As Theo Bekker of the University of Pretoria's political science department points out, there are thousands living in South Africa who do not have birth certificates, making it difficult if not impossible for Home Affairs department officials to determine their birthplace.

Most of these migrants are concentrated in Venda and Gazankulu, so if the poll is influenced by their votes, it will impact largely on the provincial legislature for that region rather than in the national assembly.

Tom Lodge, senior politics lecturer at Wits University, doubts that there will be any significant input by immigrants in the election, however.

"My guess is that, even with the right to vote, many immigrants won't use it. Traditionally, foreigners have been very detached from politics in this country, though they are just as influenced by the actions of the Government as the citizens."

Perhaps this complacency has been created to an extent by the draconian style of apartheid's keepers. In South Africa past, most foreigners felt it best to keep a low profile rather than risk deportation.

It must be hastily added, however, that mitigating factors do not in themselves excuse a crime — and those immigrants whose silence was rooted in self-interest cannot now proclaim innocence for what amounted to tacit approval. It is time now to stand up and be counted.

In the 1992 referendum to endorse the transition process, white permanent residents were required to become naturalised before being able to vote. Many refused for fear of losing their dual citizenship (which was not the case, although dual citizenship was prohibited during the dark 1980s).

Not having to be naturalised to vote in this election should effectively wipe away any remaining reservations.

But this extension of the voting franchise is a liberal policy which may be reversed by the new government.

One of the obvious problems with such a policy is that it affords equal privilege to all foreigners with permanent residence, notwithstanding the widely varying degrees of their commitment to the country.

But then, a democracy is never perfect, and there's a good lesson to be learnt from the Boston tea merchants who coined the phrase: "No taxation without representation".

Conversely, it is the duty of immigrants to fill in not only their tax forms but their ballot papers too.









Professor Reginald Austin . . . 'the priority is getting voters educated on the various party policies so that they can make an informed decision. I am quite optimistic, there is tremendous enthusiasm'.

PICTURE: PETER MOGAKI



# Mandela: Delay to election recipe for disaster

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela yesterday ruled out any possibility that he would agree to the postponement of the April elections as a concession to woo organisations that are boycotting the first all-race elections.

"The postponement of elections is a recipe for bloodshed and disaster," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus commented privately.

Addressing a news conference after meeting visiting Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, and a day before crucial talks with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Mandela repeated he would press ahead with efforts to bring boycotters into the election process.

But he made it clear that his crusade would rest on two main considerations.

"That the date set for the elections will under no circumstances be postponed, and secondly that ... the sovereignty of South Africa as a united nation must under no circumstances be violated."

Mr Mandela was apparently referring to demands for self-determination and for a volkstaat by the IFP and Right-wing political groups. The IFP is also reported to have started moves for the election to be postponed in KwaZulu/Natal.

"Within that framework I am prepared to spend the rest of my days in an attempt to persuade every South African leader to join us," Mr Mandela said.

Asked whether he was optimistic about his meeting with Chief Buthelezi today, Mr Mandela said

dialogue was the ANC's weapon, which it would employ to sway groups bent on shunning the process.

"I approach every problem with optimism, because dialogue is one of the most important weapons that we command," he said after meeting Mr Lubbers.

Touching on political violence, Mr Mandela said it was a duty of all South Africans to address the issue of violence to create a proper environment for investment.

He said violence was creating conditions where it was difficult to predict the economic or political situation.

The ANC leader also said his organisation was making progress in talks with Right-wing organisations. He did not elaborate, but has repeatedly said in the past that the ANC would not cave in to demands for a volkstaat.

Mr Lubbers said he hoped ties between South Africa and his country, which gave the ANC substantial financial and moral support during its 30 years of anti-apartheid struggle, would be closer in the future.

Mr Mandela said Holland was one of the countries to throw their weight behind the ANC campaign "in the most difficult time in our struggle."

The meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, comes amid spiralling violence in Natal, and followed a weekend of apparently inconclusive talks between the government, Chief Buthelezi, and King Goodwill Zwelithini, aimed at securing an acceptable constitutional deal for the Zulu monarch and the IFP president.

(Report by Craig Doonan, 130 West Street, Durban, and R Banda, 141 Commissioner Street, Jhb.)



## Section 29 stays: Kriel

CAPE TOWN — Although laws of its type were unnecessary in a normal society, the success rate of arrests and prosecutions against Right-wing violence could be largely attributed to Section 29 of the Criminal Procedure Act, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said

yesterday.

"We believe that under the circumstances, with threats from the Left and far-Right, it is in the interests of democracy to keep the level of violence low up to the election, and keep this provision in place," he said. Both the South African

Police and the government believed that a big round-up of "dissidents" before the election would serve no purpose.

"We will arrest anyone who breaks the law," — Sapa.

By Lorraine Braid.  
Press Gallery, Parliament)







## Zulu monarchy must be secured, says FW

THE status and position of the Zulu King had to be elevated above party politics, and the monarchy secured through effective constitutional safeguards, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing a special session of Parliament, he said he understood the concerns of King Goodwill Zwelithini and his people on the

future of the Zulu monarchy.

The government and the National Party supported the view that the Zulu kingdom should be given constitutional recognition.

"The Zulu kingdom is recognised by us as a unique reality. It has a proud history and plays an important role in the life of the Zulu nation,"

Pres De Klerk said

the monarchy could be secured either in a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal or in the national constitution, or both.

The government had been involved in serious and in-depth discussions on the issue of the Zulu monarchy but no specific agreement had yet been reached. However, negotiation would continue until agreement was reached.







## New draft 'secures' Zulu king, monarchy

FURTHER amendments to the Constitution, which had already been drafted by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Danie Schutte, could secure the position of the Zulu king and the Zulu monarchy, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr. George Bartlett, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the constitutional amendments, he appealed to "my colleagues" in the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi to support the amendments and take part in the election.

Mr Bartlett said the fu-

ture stability of South Africa had been put at risk by the fact that the April election was not all-inclusive.

It was a tragedy that a key political player such as the ICP was not taking part in the election.

The IFP's exclusion from the election would result in widespread in-

intimidation and violence in Natal, with a resulting low percentage poll in that province.

Mr Cehill Pienaar (IFP Heilbron) said the constitutional amendments were no more than a publicity stunt by the National Party and the African National Congress to

appease the international community

Mr Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) said the arrogance of the NP and ANC had prevented them from introducing the amendments at an earlier stage.

The amendments had been proposed due to expediency not their inherent merits.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### Press threats

IT'S time political organisations made a point of inculcating in their followers the message, taken for granted elsewhere, that media people are not fair game for extremists and should never be attacked or threatened for carrying out their duty.

On the contrary, they are people who are performing an essential function, keeping the public informed of what is going on, and any attack on them is not only contemptuous and uncalled for but a denial of freedom of expression and of the Press (now broadened to include the electronic media).

We cannot, therefore, condemn too strongly the call at the funeral of APLA commander, Sabelo Phama, in Transkei on Saturday that APLA cadres should shoot White journalists.

Immediately after the funeral, in the village of Baziya, near Umtata, a group of uniformed APLA soldiers gathered a short distance from the grave, fired shots in the air and chanted, "One bullet, one settler. Bullet, bullet, settler, settler."

Some of the crowd of PAC supporters around them pointed out a SAPA reporter nearby and called out: "There is the first settler. Why are you pointing your rifles up in the air and not at his head?"

Referring to other White journalists, other PAC supporters called out: "Hit them, hit them."

This contrasts with the funeral rally at the Umtata Independence Stadium where PAC officials offered to provide marshals for White journalists who wanted to move in and out of the stadium or out of the VIP area and into the crowd.

Media officer, Mr Bosman Mukupula, said television cameramen among the crowd in the stands had been given permanent guards. "We want people to be safe," he said. "We don't want people to intimidate journalists."

He should see to it that this message gets through to the PAC's rank-and-file members.

Unfortunately, reporting the violent events in this country has become hazardous for news-men and women.

On occasion, they are victims of criminal thugs, like two overseas television crews who were robbed of their equipment in separate incidents and in one case of their car as well.

However, journalists, particularly on Black newspapers, have been threatened because what they write is not acceptable to the organisations about whom they are writing.

That is not only dangerous but a sign of political intolerance and is intimidation of the worst kind.

You either write favourably about us, or else.

Or you report events as we see them, or else.

What freedom of the Press or expression is there when journalists can be threatened in this manner?

Some journalists have sadly lost their lives in incidents like the shooting dead of a photographer during the visit to Katilehong of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and SACP chairman Joe Slovo at the height of unrest in that area.

Since he had his cameras with him, we can accept that his murderers knew that he was a journalist.

On the other hand, he might have been killed by a Self-Defence Unit member firing wildly at hostel dwellers who had allegedly fired on the touring party.

Whoever was responsible, the fact is that a cameraman was killed — and he shouldn't have been in any circumstances, since he was there to record events not to take part in them.

Previously an SABC journalist was killed in Sharpeville when on assignment to examine the desecration of graves by Right-wingers. And there have been dozens of other incidents involving journalists.

In truth, no journalists will be safe unless they are accepted as people who have a duty to report events without fear or favour.

Our appeal then is: Do not attack them and do not threaten them, but respect them and help them to carry out their task fairly and accurately.











# Cash-for-housing plan for low-income families

By Fred de Lange

THE government yesterday announced a new strategy to provide housing which includes a housing subsidy for low-income families which would see this group get immediate cash payments of as high as R12 500 to assist them in buying a house.

The scheme, which will be introduced on March 15, will make grants available to low-income families on a sliding scale depending on their income.

Families who want to buy a house and who have a monthly household income of not more than R1 500 will receive a

grant or subsidy of R12 500, while those with an income not exceeding R2 500 will receive R9 500 and those with an income not exceeding R3 500 will receive R5 000.

The Minister of National Housing, Mr Louis Shill, said in Pretoria yesterday the scheme would replace all existing subsidy schemes and specifically targeted low income households.

It was designed in such a way that people could also receive further subsidies for serviced sites which would make it possible for shack dwell-

ers and squatters to replace existing structures with permanent housing.

Details of the additional subsidy will be made known by March 31.

Mr Shill said it was expected that beneficiaries would be able to use these grants or subsidies to help secure housing loans.

The Association of Mortgage lenders have also been approached to facilitate in this process and negotiations were nearing finality.

Among the proposals to assist banks to make loans available to low income families include a mortgage indemnity in-

surance scheme to ensure that banks did not lose money in the process.

This scheme would be set up with the assistance of the National Housing Forum.

It was envisaged that with these grants families with an income of R2 000 a month would be able to get loans of as high as R22 000 if the R9 500 grant was taken into account.

The figure for a family with an income of R3 000 would be R45 000.

Mr Shill said the new scheme would provide an impetus for employers to assist their workers in ac-

quiring housing with security of tenure and would stimulate activity throughout the economy.

The housing subsidy is part of a complete new government housing package which includes:

- Higher priority in housing
- Emphasis on regenerating the economy and encouraging the creation of jobs through housing delivery

- A R7 500 capital discount scheme under the National Sales campaign which would make it possible for more than a million families to buy their homes and in many cases get their existing homes free of charge.

- Major steps to resolve hostel issues in conjunction with community based organisations.

- A single Ministry for National Housing has been established and the Department of National Housing had been restructured to accept overall responsibility for housing.

- The restructuring of statutory housing bodies to improve co-ordination, monitoring and reporting within the housing sector.



## ANC strongest party, Marike tells elderly

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress was the strongest political party in South Africa, the State President's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk, said in East London yesterday.

She was speaking to about 250 people at an old-age home at the start of a one-day electioneering visit to the city.

She told her White au-

dience an abstention on April 27 would be a vote for the ANC.

"You must remember that to do so, for whatever reason we abstain, we vote for the ANC. Because they are the strongest party numerically."

The ANC threatened to dominate everything, as it had already dominated the SABC board.

"That is why the news

is so negative at the moment and so slanted," she said.

"We must come out strongly for the moderate option, for our value system, for a Christian, civilised society, for whatever we believe in, for religious freedom."

She told her audience they could avert the threat of farmers losing their land, the national-

isation of mineral rights and a wealth tax.

"The National Party needs the strength, that you the voters can give them, to have a strong voice in government."

"We cannot wish away the Communists and radicals. They are there. We kept them under blankets so long, but they are still there."

Earlier Mrs De Klerk visited another old-age home to see Mr Harry Harris, who turned 100 on February 9.

Mr Harris, who has been in the home for 18 years, gave halting replies to Mrs De Klerk's questions on whether he had children and what his profession had been.

Afterwards he told reporters he did not think he would be able to vote on April 27.

Asked why, he said he would be "too old for one thing".

Would he like to vote? "Being old, no." — Sapa.

(News by Ben MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament.)



## Bekkersdal attack: IFP is to withdraw

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is to withdraw from the Bekkersdal Peace Committee following a hand-grenade attack on its members.

IFP West Rand chairman, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said the committee, a structure of the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, was a toothless body and had been used in attacks against the IFP in Bekkersdal.

He said, ANC supporters were openly using cars given to peace monitors

working in the area.

On Saturday the committee — comprising representatives of the IFP, the African National Congress and foreign observer missions — agreed on measures to curb violence in the area.

On Sunday three people were killed and several injured when a hand-grenade was thrown among a group of mourners attending the funeral

of Mr Mthakathi Maseko, an IFP member killed in the Bekkersdal violence.

Three policemen were among the injured.

In reaction, Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat spokesman Mr Con Roux said it was crucial for all political parties to remain involved in the Bekkersdal peace structures if violence was to be curbed.

Mr Roux said his organisation would take immediate steps if Mr Ndlovu could substantiate allegations that peace monitors were being used by ANC supporters against the IFP — a hope



# Volkstaat illusion — FW

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Neither the Conservative Party nor Inkatha Freedom Party intends to register by the new deadline on Friday to participate in the April general election, party sources confirmed yesterday.

State President De Klerk warned them in Parliament that, whatever their decision was, the April general election would take place and the interim constitution would come into operation.

He described an Afrikaner volkstaat as "a hopeless illusion". It was not supported by the majority of Afrikaners, nor would the international community accept a state based on apartheid.

The government would use every means at its disposal, including the security forces, to prevent any party from hindering any person in his democratic

right to vote, or from hampering the elections.

Responding to Mr De Klerk, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said Mr De Klerk was threatening the Afrikaner Volksfront with the full powers of the state.

A constitutional settlement was still possible. But for it to be achieved, the April election had to be postponed, said Dr Hartzenberg.

Mr De Klerk said the amendments before this week's sitting of Parliament were designed to meet the concerns of the Freedom Alliance by providing stronger guarantees of provincial powers and changing the name of the province of Natal to KwaZulu/Natal.

Referring to the Afrikaner Volksfront, Mr De Klerk said Parliament could amend the constitution, but not the realities in South Africa. It was a reality that Afrika-

ners were in the minority nationally and within any province.

Rejecting the proposed amendments, Dr Hartzenberg said it was claimed they satisfied the demands of the Freedom Alliance, but nobody had asked the FA whether this was so.

When negotiations between the FA, ANC and government broke down, the government and ANC held a boseraad and decided on what they regarded as "good enough" for the FA.

"You must postpone the election. In the first place, it will not be free and fair, and in the second place this is not a solution."

"If you truly want to seek a solution, then you must postpone this election," said Dr Hartzenberg.

The Swazi people had self-government. The Afrikaner, too, wanted its own land, its own constitution and its own government, he added.

ANC spokesman Mr Dave Dalling and Democratic Party spokesman Mr Colin Eglin both endorsed the constitutional amendments.

Mr Eglin accused the Freedom Alliance parties of abandoning the negotiating process and leaving the ANC and National Party to dominate the process.

The senior IFP spokesman in Parliament, Mr Farouk Cassim, also rejected the amendments.

He told The Citizen in an interview he was awaiting a decision by last night's meeting of the IFP central committee on the final attitude IFP members would adopt in Par-

liament on the measures.

However, the IFP had proposed to Parliament's joint committee on the constitution last Friday that the election should be held in other parts of the country, but postponed in Natal.

Mr Cassim said the proposal to postpone election in Natal was aimed at preventing spiralling political conflict and avoiding a total constitutional deadlock.

• See Page 8



Page 2 \*

## Mandela: I'll try to persuade him

AFRICAN National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday he would do everything in his power to get the Freedom Alliance into the April elections, he would not compromise on a change in the date of the poll or of the establishment of South Africa as a united country.

Speaking yesterday evening at the opening of the ANC's Press centre in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, Mr Mandela said he would meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today.

"I am meeting one of the leaders who has stood outside of the election process all along and it is my duty to persuade him to join in.

"I will do everything in my power to persuade him, but there are two aspects that I must make clear that there can be no compromise on.

"The one is that there can be no change to the election date and the other is that South Africa is to remain a united

country and cannot countenance any demands that would lead to secession," he told about 200 people at the event.

"It is to this end to which I will spend the rest of my life working."

One of the pillars of a true democracy was a free Press which could draw

the attention of the country's leaders to their own shortcomings so they could be acted on and, he hoped, this would be the case in South Africa. — Sapa.

• See Page 10

(Report by L. Elias, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)



# Consternation as Barnard slams Beyers

CAPE TOWN. — Consternation reigned in Parliament last night when a senior Conservative Party member called a former party colleague, now a National Party Member, a "Communist" and a "traitor".

When Mr Andries Beyers (NP Potchefstroom) rose to speak shortly after the supper break during the debate on the constitutional amendments, the Conservative Party caucus walked out, leaving only two whips, Mr Daan van der Merwe and Mr Carel Schoeman, to hold the fort.

Mr Beyers, who joined the NP last year after leaving the Conservative Party and sitting for a while as leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie and then as an Independent, said the amendments met

the "reasonable aspirations of all the reasonable people of South Africa".

An NP member, referring to the CP members who had walked out, interjected: "They have gone to shift the goalposts".

Mr Beyers said the CP

was idealising a past which South Africans had rejected.

Mr S P Barnard (CP Hercules) had meanwhile returned to the Chamber and, standing in a CP frontbench, shouted that

**TO PAGE 2**

## Beyers slammed

**FROM PAGE 1**

Mr Beyers was a "traitor" and a "Communist".

When Mr Barnard refused to withdraw his unparliamentary language, he was ordered out by the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw.

Mr Barnard stalked towards the far exit nearest Mr Beyers's bench, repeating that Mr Beyers was a "traitor" and a "Communist".

Mr Koos van der Merwe (IFP Overvaal) took him by the arm and led him out.

• Mr Beyers, a former CP general secretary, precipitated the 1992 referendum by winning the Potchefstroom by-election for the CP.

He left the CP to form the Afrikaner Volksunie, and last year further incensed his former colleagues by joining the NP. — Sapa.

(News by D van Zyl, Press Gallery, Parliament).



## 'I'll talk peace'

### FROM PAGE 1

summit in June last year when they agreed, among other things, to address rallies together.

But this had not happened, he said, in spite of meeting ANC chairman and deputy secretary-general Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma in September, 1993, when they discussed possible dates for the joint public addresses.

"I gave them October 16 and 17 as being possible dates ... I have heard nothing further from them until last week when Mr Zuma contacted me about tomorrow's (Tuesday's) meeting."

Chief Buthelezi criticised Mr Mandela for what he described as an offensive statement that he, Mr Mandela, was prepared to

go on his knees to the IFP president to prevent bloodshed.

"The insinuation ... that I am responsible for the bloodshed, I throw at him with the contempt that it deserves."

Mr Mandela was also reported as saying he wanted to persuade Chief Buthelezi to participate in the April poll.

"I am prepared to cooperate with Mr Mandela in any efforts that we agree can end or reduce the levels of violence," Chief Buthelezi said.

On the election, the IFP leader said his party would not participate because of the interim constitution which did not allow regions to have exclusive powers.

Mr Mandela had also told him during their June

meeting the ANC was opposed to a federal system.

"We do not accept the constitution. We do not intend entering the elections. And indeed we oppose the constitution and the election with every democratic means at our disposal."

But, Mr Buthelezi said, he alone could not make a decision to participate in the elections.

"It is an IFP matter as much as it is a Freedom Alliance issue. I want there to be no illusions about this, and understanding this before our meeting tomorrow will contribute a lot to making our meeting fruitful and meaningful." — Sapa

(Report by D Isaacson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)



**BUT HELEZI: I'LL  
TALK PEACE ONLY**

ULUNDI — African National Congress president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, will be wasting his time if he tries to persuade him to enter the April elections when they meet in Durban today. IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said on the eve of the summit.

He wanted to talk only peace with Mr Mandela, Chief Buthelezi said.

"There is no question of me being persuaded by him or anyone to ensure the NP's participation in the elections," Chief Buthelezi declared in a memorandum prepared for delivery to National Peace Secretariat chairman, Dr Antonie Gilden-

hurs, in Ulundi yesterday.

"I have nothing further to talk about on this issue, particularly with Mr Mandela. . . . I hope he does not waste his time by trying to persuade me to accept this."

Chief Buthelezi said today's meeting was a follow-up to their peace

**TO PAGE 2**







## Political parties spell out policies on workers' rights

POLITICAL parties have outlined their official positions on workers' rights in the first survey of its kind in the latest issue of the Shopsteward.

On the right to strike, the ANC said it saw this as an integral part of any system of labour law and collective bargaining, while the NP limited it to the purposes of collective bargaining. The Inkatha Freedom Party agreed on the right to strike but said it should be balanced against others' rights and welfare.

On the employment of temporary labour during strikes, the ANC said this led to violence and was unacceptable. Inkatha supported using such labour, adding that it was the right of employers to ensure the continued viability of a business. The NP also supported the employment of temporary labour but cautioned against increased conflict.

The right to lockouts was rejected by all parties except the NP and DP. The NP believed it was fundamental in preserving the balance of power between management and labour.

Parties differed on the rights of those working in essential services.

The ANC said all employees restricted from striking because of service classification should have avenues of compulsory arbitration.

The NP said workers in essential services should enjoy full trade union rights,

JACQUIE GOLDING

except the right to strike, but this should be accompanied by compulsory arbitration.

There was consensus among the various parties that access of unions to private property for organising members was an essential prerequisite to ensuring the balance of power between employers and workers.

Closed-shop policies were accepted by the NP and ANC.

The ANC viewed closed shops as capable of stabilising collective bargaining, and "offering effective protection to exploited groups".

The NP favoured the implementation of closed shops where more than 50% of workers belonged to a specific union but believed the arrangement should be negotiated by employers and unions and not be embedded in legislation.

The PAC and Inkatha rejected closed shops, calling them undemocratic.

The NP said trade unions should play a role in public policy-making and should be represented on statutory bodies such as the National Manpower Commission.

Inkatha did not see a role for trade unions in lobbying government.

The ANC, however, saw such lobbying as an important step towards tackling SA's economic problems.

Report by J. Golding, TML, 11 Doreen St, JHB.



## New measures drafted to appease Zulu king

CAPE TOWN — Natal NP leader George Bartlett said government had further amendments already drafted to protect the security of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, which "it could table before the end of the session".

He said during debate in Parliament that the changes had been drawn up by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, who met the king at the weekend, "to protect the sovereignty of the king".

Bartlett called on the Inkatha Freedom Party, which he said had always stood resolutely in favour of federalism, to accept the amendments already tabled and take part in the election. "These (tabled) amendments strengthen the federal aspects of the interim constitution," he said.

TIM COHEN reports CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday the constitutional amendments tabled in Parliament were "not nearly enough".

Hartzenberg said during debate that the constitutional amendments were simply the proposals suggested by government and the ANC, and thus had nothing to do with the Freedom Alliance.

Government and the ANC had gone to the bush and had come back with an attitude of "take it or leave it".

In terms of the amendments provinces could levy their own taxes only on casinos

### Political Staff

and gambling, but it was exactly those activities the CP did not want in a 'volkstaat'. The amendments did not guarantee a volkstaat, said Hartzenberg.

ANC-aligned MP Dave Dalling said if the present violence escalated into insurrection, future generations of Afrikaners would curse Freedom Alliance leaders who led them into "the abyss of certain destruction". The ANC had evidence that Inkatha and paramilitary right-wing organisations were pursuing the path of war, he said.

Government appeared unwilling or incapable of taking action against the "treasonous right wing".

Dalling asked whether Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was pretending to negotiate when he had, in fact, turned his back on democracy.

DP MP Colin Eglin said government had had to wait for a crisis before stumbling on the truth that the DP's constitutional amendments had been correct all along.

Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim said the delay in introducing constitutional amendments had seriously prejudiced Inkatha because it now had less time to prepare for the elections.

Report by T. Cohen. TML Press Gallery, Parliament; and O. Pressley, Natal Newspapers Press Gallery, Parliament.







BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday,

## Stayaway starts in homeland

JACQUIE GOLDING

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S public servants and private sector retailers began a week-long stayaway yesterday, demanding that the Labour Relations Act be extended to cover all homeland workers.

Cosatu public co-ordinator Leps Mokohe said yesterday: "We support workers who have resorted to strike action."

Bophuthatswana workers' demands include the investigation of pension funds and the transfer of money into a trust; the scrapping of all legislation prohibiting workers from organising into trade unions; an end to security legislation; and that the 50% pay increase for senior public servants be applied to all.

Cosatu blamed "Mangope's intransigence" for the industrial action.

A union spokesman said: "The use of security forces will succeed in suppressing the protest but will worsen the already explosive situation."

The ANC yesterday also threatened mass action if Bophuthatswana did not allow free political activity by March 5.

The decision was taken at a weekend meeting of the organisation's national and provincial candidates for the northwest region.

The TEC's finance subcouncil is expected to come under pressure to withhold finances until political activity in the area has been guaranteed.

Report by J. Golding, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb







March 1 1994

# Mboweni warns on election talk

ANC deputy director of economic planning Tito Mboweni yesterday appealed to politicians not to risk damaging the economy in their campaigning for the April election.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the Syfrets awards for consistent excellence in business journalism, he said political opponents would obviously attack each other during the general election.

Finance Minister Derek Keys was campaigning as a Nationalist, so he was a fair target for the ANC.

It was nevertheless important that economic issues should be carefully handled.

Mboweni noted that the TEC finance subcommittee was investigating whether government Ministers were using their cars and other public resources in their political campaigns.

He said he had difficulty understanding why the ANC was being singled out for questioning on its economic policy while other parties, including the NP, produced no more than free market slogans.

"What is it that is so unreasonable about ANC policy? I think the answer lies in where we come from, rather than the policy itself."

## Business Day Reporter

Mboweni said there were four main issues the ANC had to tackle in correcting the wrongs of apartheid — a system which had not simply ended in 1990.

They were:

- ☐ Lack of justice for blacks in the economy, which was dominated by whites;
- ☐ The effects of forced removals, which would be central to the ANC's land policy;
- ☐ Income inequalities; and
- ☐ Homelessness and deprivation.

Mboweni said human resources and skills would have to be developed to meet these needs through a strong economy.

The ANC also intended to democratise the state, which was very powerful and had historically been "used against the black people".

He said that there were differences of opinion in the TEC on the public service.

"Some people want to continue as if nothing has happened," Mboweni said, but noted that demographics had to be taken into account.

Some progress was now being made concerning the public service, he added.

Report by T. Blumberg, TML, 11 Diegenal St., JHB.



## COMMENT

## The meeting

**W**HEN Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela meet today, it will not mark the end of the road as far as the search for a constitutional settlement is concerned. That could continue for years. But it may help clarify whether there is any prospect of Inkatha participating in the April election, and hence limiting the potential for the destabilisation that must accompany the marginalisation (even if self-imposed) of a significant party.

It took a great deal of humility for Mandela, hardly a humble man, to say at an election rally on Sunday that he would be willing to "go down on my knees" before Buthelezi to plead with him to join the process — this while ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala, at a separate event, was denouncing compromises already made by the organisation's leaders towards black and white right-wing interests. Whether Mandela's public gesture on Sunday, and powers of persuasion today, can make a sufficient impression on Buthelezi remains doubtful. If the will is there, however, it permits Buthelezi the opportunity to re-enter the political mainstream with dignity, perhaps even with the aura of a statesman.

Doing so would not require Buthelezi to accept the constitutional amendments being considered this week by Parliament. Those amendments are flawed, and there

is a great deal of scope for substantially strengthening the powers of regions. Both the ANC and NP have indicated a reluctant willingness to contemplate further changes. These would have the support of the DP and other smaller negotiating partners.

What is required of Buthelezi at this stage, however, if he desires a reasonable deal, is that he adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the process even if he remains dissatisfied with the offer on the table. There is a world of difference between haughtily rejecting a minor ANC/NP concession as utterly useless, and welcoming it as a basis for further discussion. Failing to do the latter strengthens the position of the Gwalas of this world and makes it impossible for the wiser elements in the ANC leadership to offer further concessions.

Given the political realities of South Africa and the fiscal realities of KwaZulu, this would appear to be the rational course for Buthelezi — as his counterpart in Ciskei recognised recently and that in Bophuthatswana is likely to do soon. The chances of Buthelezi adopting that approach seem doubtful, though, given the new obstacles he has identified. First he said Inkatha would be unprepared for an April election even if all its constitutional demands were met. He then noted that the king's demands for an autonomous realm were paramount. The portents are not good.



# Jamaican statesman to lead Commonwealth team

MARIANNE MERTEN

FORMER Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley will lead the Commonwealth election observer team due in SA at the beginning of April.

The 120-strong Commonwealth Observer Mission to SA includes New Zealand's former governor-general, Sir Paul Reeves, Institute of Commonwealth Studies director Peter Lyon and former Canadian minister Walter McLean.

Mission chairman Russell Marshall told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday observers were expected to stay in SA for about four weeks and draft a report after the election.

The mission intended to cover all regions, but would concentrate on the PWV and Natal, he said.

Commenting on the progress made by the national peacekeeping force, Marshall said he had been impressed during a brief visit to the camp at De Brug near Bloemfontein yesterday.

The 27 Commonwealth military and police advisers already at the camp were "complimentary about the morale and strong commitment" of the soldiers on the ground.

Marshall said some tension had been expected as some of the groups in the force had been vigorously op-

posed in the past.

He believed the force would benefit from the wide-ranging experience of the Commonwealth advisers and develop a new style of policing.

The 13 police and 14 military officers from seven Commonwealth countries would be joined by a further four military officers from Pakistan and Ghana later this week, Marshall said.

LINDA ENSOR reports from London that Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku told a news conference yesterday that the group, the largest election observer team assembled by the Commonwealth, would arrive in SA early in April to monitor all aspects of the elections and would be active on the ground visiting polling booths.

Anyaoku will visit SA in the first week of April for a four-day visit to meet political leaders and to brief the observer team. He said the Commonwealth was committed not only to assisting with the transition, but also to consolidating democracy in SA.

Anyaoku noted that there was concern over the physical safety of the observer group and said constant

consultations with the SA authorities in this regard had taken place. "The SA authorities are liaising with the observer groups to ensure that the best possible arrangements are made for their security."

After the elections the group would submit its report to the Commonwealth heads of government.

He pointed out that the Commonwealth observer group would be part of a wider international election monitoring effort being co-ordinated by the UN which included teams from the EC and the OAU.

The activities of all groups were being co-ordinated and regular meetings between the leaders of the different groups were taking place.

While Anyaoku envisaged that each group would present its own final report on whether the elections had been free and fair, the high level of co-ordination achieved meant that they would find a way to reach shared, general conclusions.

He appealed to leaders of the Freedom Alliance to accept the "far-reaching concessions" made by government and the ANC and to consider joining the electoral process. "SA has had enough bloodshed," he said.

Report by M. Merten, TML, 11 Diagonal St. Jhb, and L. Ensor, TML, 32 Hatton Gdn, London



**NEWS IN BRIEF**

**Inkatha opts out**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is to withdraw from the Bekkersdal peace committee after a handgrenade attack on its members.

Inkatha's West Rand chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said the committee, a structure of the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat, had been used in attacks on Inkatha in Bekkersdal.

In reaction, Wits-Vaal peace secretariat spokesman Con Roux said it was crucial for all political parties to remain involved in the Bekkersdal peace structures if violence was to be curbed.



## Detention without trial necessary — Kriel

CAPE TOWN — The retention of the Internal Security Act's Section 29 provisions for detention without trial was necessary in the interests of democracy, but a round-up of anti-election dissidents would serve no purpose, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

"Government will use its full power during the pre-election phase to combat all forms of violence," he told an NP news conference on SA's security situation.

The SAP's track record on right-wing violence could be attributed largely to the existence of Section 29.

TIM COHEN

"It is amazing how talkative people can get after a few days with no one to talk to."

Considering the right-wing threats, and those from the left wing, it was necessary to maintain Section 29 in the interests of democracy, Kriel said.

He said other TEC parties also supported the retention of Section 29.

Political intolerance and violence from the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the far right threatened to create a blood-stained election. The ANC had to be singled

out as the main threat to the democratic process, although Inkatha and the far right seemed to be vying for this position.

Major threats to democracy had emerged during the run-up to the elections with the ANC, Inkatha and the far right playing prominent roles.

These threats included:

☐ Political intolerance. The ANC paid lip service to political tolerance but really wanted total power and would not tolerate opposition;

☐ Uncontrolled supporters. Both the ANC

☐ To Page 2

### Kriel

and Inkatha apparently allowed their supporters to kill, destroy and intimidate opponents without taking credible steps to control them;

☐ No-go areas. The ANC and Inkatha had created no-go areas for their political opponents, especially on the East Rand;

☐ Illegal weapons. The power struggle unleashed by the ANC had created an increased demand for AK-47 rifles. The ANC had resisted all attempts to place their arms under impartial control, while Inkatha and the far right were also arming their supporters on a large scale;

☐ War talk. Inflammatory statements by

right-wing leaders such as the CP's Ferdi Hartzenberg and the AWP's Eugene Terre-Blanche, as well as ANC president Nelson Mandela; and

☐ The demonisation of the SAP. The ANC had created a climate of hate and suspicion against the SAP which had contributed to the murder of hundreds of policemen.

The question therefore arose, if these organisations used violence to win the elections, how would they act after gaining victory against political opponents and when in control of the state's security organisations?

Report by T. Cohen, TML, Press Gallery, Parliament.

☐ From Page 1



## Talks will continue, says FW+

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that negotiations should continue until a solution was found but the elections would go ahead, signalling that government was resigned to the Freedom Alliance's non-participation in the election and was now pinning its hopes on post-election negotiations.

De Klerk said it should be remembered that the process of constitutional development would not end with the election.

He implored all South Africans to take note of the safeguards contained in the transitional constitution.

"The fact is that the transitional constitution will provide all South Africans, including all those who have always had the vote, with much greater individual and communal rights than they ever had."

TIM COMEN

Talking to journalists before the short session began, De Klerk said it was possible to lead a horse to water, but not to make it drink.

"This is only the end of one chapter of negotiations," he said, adding the next and more important phase would begin soon. "We have more to give, but we also want more," he said.

He conceded that negotiations were "at a bit of a standstill at the moment" although he expressed the hope that today's meeting between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela would go well.

Turning to the constitutional amend-

□ To Page 2

## De Klerk

ments under debate, De Klerk said government believed that it and the other negotiating parties had done everything within reason to accommodate the main concerns of the Freedom Alliance.

"There can now no longer be any excuse for non-participation in the elections and in the continuing national constitution process. I have for some time had a suspicion that the Freedom Alliance's main difficulty had not been so much with the text of the constitution, but with the broader reality of our time."

Whether the alliance parties decided to take part in the process or not, government was determined to proceed with the elections on April 26-28 and with the implementation of the transitional constitution.

Parties contemplating secession or the illegal seizure of power should have no

illusions about their position or the consequences of their actions.

He attested to a "deep understanding for the concerns of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his people, but unfortunately it had been impossible at this stage to reach specific agreements about these".

Government and the NP recognised the Zulu kingdom as a "unique reality" which had to have constitutional recognition.

De Klerk said he was also aware of concerns that the SACP, which was in alliance with the ANC, had "undemocratic and subversive intentions", while its ally the ANC threatened property rights.

"I understand these concerns but I am not overawed by them. I am confident that we will be able to resist and overcome the threat of any unconstitutional action."

Report by T. Cohen. TML, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.

□ See Page 4

□ From Page 1



# FW warns Zulus

World leaders are urging Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to reach an agreement at their meeting in Durban today. **Political Staff report.**

DAILY NEWS

1/3/94 HELZ

**S**HORTLY before the Mandela/Buthelezi summit in Durban today, President F.W. de Klerk threatened in Parliament to deploy the SADF and the SAP to counter any attempts by King Goodwill Zwelithini to declare an independent and sovereign monarchy in KwaZulu/Natal.

However, the Government will make one last-ditch effort to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party into the election by tabling more amendments to the constitution specifically to accommodate the Zulu monarchy.

In its efforts to bring political stability and peace to this region, ANC president Nelson Mandela met IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi today at the Royal Hotel in Durban. The two teams were still locked in talks at mid-afternoon.

They left their delegations at the talks this morning for a private one-hour tea break.

They both returned smiling but would not comment or respond to questions about their private meeting.

ANC southern Natal secretary Shu Ndebele said today's meeting was a serious attempt to find a common meeting point between the two organisations. "If it fails, then God help us," he said.

US President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister John Major sent a

joint message to Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi yesterday to urge a successful outcome to today's meeting.

The joint appeal from the two leaders came just after Mr Mandela phoned President Clinton to appeal to him to do what he could to get all parties into the elections.

But there seemed little likelihood that the IFP will be drawn into the electoral process. Before today's meeting Dr Buthelezi told reporters "I don't expect concessions from Mr Mandela and he shouldn't expect concessions from me."

On violence, he said: "The matter concerns us very deeply... we haven't come here solely to discuss the elections."

On his arrival several minutes later, Mr Mandela said he was hoping for a breakthrough.

"We'll keep trying, (for a constitutional breakthrough)," he told journalists.

He described the talks as "sensitive".

Efforts to draw in the IFP culminated in a six-hour meeting of the IFP's central committee in Ulundi last night. The IFP issued a three-paragraph statement saying the 1994 constitution still did not satisfy "the basic requirements of a properly federal form of state, nor does it adequately address the constitutional position of the kingdom of KwaZulu".

The Government is expected to table another constitutional amendment today specifically setting out the role of the Zulu monarchy in a democratic South Africa.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that the Government would use all means at its disposal, including security forces, to deal with any party that might try to achieve its objectives through violence or unconstitutional, illegal or undemocratic means.

"Parties which contemplate secession or the illegal seizure of states or municipal powers should have no illusions concerning their position or the consequences of their action."

Report by P.M. Chabane, 19 Osborne Street, Durban.



**20 killed in Natal**

AT LEAST 20 people, including ANC regional leader Solomon Mzolo, were killed in weekend violence in Natal, police said yesterday. Most had been stabbed or shot.











# Troops salute senior soldier

By MICHELLE EDMUNDS

A MARCH-PAST by 160 soldiers yesterday honored the retirement of Victoria's top-ranking officer.

Soldiers from all over Australia attended the South Melbourne parade for Maj-Gen. David McLachlan, who served in Borneo, Malaysia and Vietnam, and was awarded the Order of Australia in 1993.

During 35 years in the Australian Army, Maj-Gen. McLachlan said there was never a day he did not want to go to work.

In his farewell speech, he thanked those with whom he served and those who supported him.

"I thank my wife and my family, in front of all, for the support they've provided me," he said.

And his wife, Louise, said: "We're not just leaving the army — we're changing our whole lives."

Maj-Gen. McLachlan said he was sad to leave but, at 57, he had no plans to retire from working life.

"I just hope that whatever I do after this is as demanding and exciting as the army, because I still have a lot to offer."

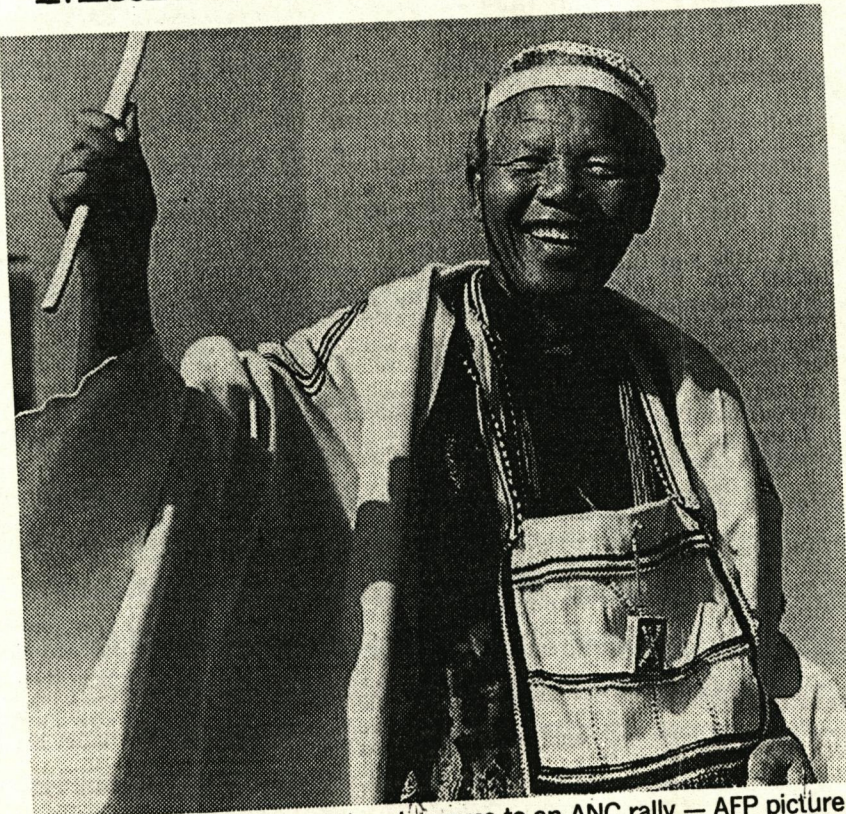


**Former fighter:** retiring Maj-Gen. David McLachlan in his office yesterday with his wife Louise. Picture: JACK ATLEY

Rosa / June 11/2005



# Mandela willing to beg for peace with Zulus



By correspondents in Bisho and Johannesburg

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela set dignity aside yesterday and begged for peace ahead of talks with his chief political rival, Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who remains opposed to South Africa's first all-race elections.

"I will not stand on dignity," Mr Mandela told 10,000 people yesterday at Bisho stadium in the Ciskei black homeland where, on September 7, 1992, soldiers gunned down 27 ANC supporters.

"I will go down on my knees to beg those who want to drag our country into bloodshed not to do so," he said.

Chief Buthelezi has sparked fears of more political fighting with a call to supporters of his Inkatha Freedom Party to resist the election.

He says the April 26-28 election will result in an ANC-led communist dictatorship. He refuses to participate unless he is guaranteed autonomy in his stronghold, the KwaZulu homeland.

The South African Parliament convenes today to offi-

cially adopt ANC concessions into a draft Constitution. The ANC has offered greater regional powers in an effort to persuade blacks and whites to call off their planned boycotts of the elections.

Talks at the weekend with the Government failed to convince Chief Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to back down on their boycott.

The IFP, the Bophuthatswana black homeland and the white far-right Afrikaner Volksfront are joined in the Freedom Alliance which says it will boycott the election and threatens civil war unless its demands for stronger federalism and a separate white homeland are met.

The ANC yesterday held a mass funeral in Natal for 15 of its election workers, 12 of them teenagers, who were murdered in their sleep on February 19 in a pre-dawn attack in Creighton.

AFP, AP

Opinion — Page 9

Mr Mandela, in traditional garb, waves to an ANC rally — AFP picture

1-3-94

The Australian



## Mandela ready to beg for peace

By ROSS DUNN, *THE AGE*  
Johannesburg, Monday 1.3.94

The president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, has offered to fall on his knees and beg Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other leaders if it would help bring peace to South Africa.

Mr Mandela was speaking in advance of tomorrow's summit with Chief Buthelezi that is being billed by some sections of the media as the last hope for persuading Inkatha to take part in the first multi-racial elections in April.

Inkatha's latest official position is that it wants elections for the new province of KwaZulu-Natal after the national poll. But it is uncertain if this would be acceptable to the ANC or Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela made his offer while addressing about 12,000 people at an ANC rally at the Bisho stadium,

site of the 1992 massacre of 21 ANC supporters by troops

With fighting still common between ANC and Inkatha supporters, Mr Mandela said: "It is not easy to talk of peace . . . In spite of that, we want to heal the wounds of the past, we want reconciliation, because without reconciliation, we will not be able to give our people a better life."

Mr Mandela said he wanted to put a halt to the bloodshed, the capital flight and the political and economic uncertainty in South Africa.

"That is why with all humility I am talking to every leader in this country," he said.

In Cape Town today, the President, Mr F. W. de Klerk, will open a special sitting of Parliament to make changes to the present Constitution aimed at bringing Inkatha and other parties into the democratic process.



HERALD 1/5/94

# Let reason triumph

HE/7-1

**T**HE GENERAL public in South Africa is tired of the brinkmanship that has gone with deciding terms for elections in April, but no one should under-estimate the great opportunity — perhaps the last — to reach a deal today when ANC leader Nelson Mandela meets IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban.

Efforts by the IFP to stall elections in Natal/KwaZulu while a provincial constitution is drawn up are very unlikely to find favour with other parties, especially in the light of the rising tide of violence accompanying electioneering. The nation wants the elections over so life can go on.

The way the constitutional battle has developed has the potential to turn KwaZulu/Natal into another Northern Ireland. There are substantial groups of people on each side of the political/ethnic divide whose interests will be damaged if victory goes to the other side. We do not need another Northern Ireland.

Mr Mandela says he is prepared to go down on his knees before Dr Buthelezi if this would prevent bloodshed. It is the language of a man who understands the implications of failing to reach a settlement. Dr Buthelezi needs to show he understands equally well.



002

Priority: Suburbs 'sadly lacking facilities'

# Post offices to be set up in black areas

HERALD

1/3/94

HE/IM

SEVENTEEN additional post offices are to be established in the mainly black suburbs of Natal in an attempt towards addressing these once neglected areas, the South African post office's senior manager of operational planning in Natal, Mr Sakile Lourens, said last night.

Addressing the media at the new post office at the Pavilion shopping complex in Westville, Mr Lourens said adequate postal facilities were "sadly lacking in the densely populated areas and increased services were receiving priority attention".

He added that the move would also create job opportunities. He said the post offices would be established in Cato Manor, Drexelton (Umlazi), Inanda, Kwa Makhulu, Kwa Zibele, Umlazi Station, Ntleni, Sandumbili, Kwa Dabeka, Kwa Makuta, Lomi, Midway, Umbumbulu, Driefontein, Weza, Ngeleni and Boxedell.

Mr Lourens said 31 additional

## Mercury Reporter

counters would be established, bringing the total to 451, while the number of private post boxes would increase by 24 850 to 40 940 in the CBD. In the black development areas the total number of counters would increase to 433 and the number of private boxes would be 46 825.

"The South African post office has a social responsibility towards the previously neglected black development areas."

Mr Lourens said a franchise concept could be divided into three different categories — the retail postal agency, postal agency and stamp agency.

Corporate communications manager Aneken Rootman said mail centres would be erected in Durban and Johannesburg, similar to the successful ventures in Cape Town.

"This will not be funded from postage, but from selling off post office property countrywide."

01 03 94



Threats: Democracy could be under pressure

# Detention without

By Donwald Pressly  
Political Reporter

from extremists

## trial

CAPE TOWN.—Section 29 of the Internal Security Act was necessary to uphold the democratic process during the run-up to the April election to act against threats from extremist left-wing and right-wing elements, the government admitted yesterday.

Law and order minister Herman Kriel told an NP press briefing that a number of political parties apparently supported the need to keep the section, which allows detention without trial for 10 days, "to reach democracy in this country".

He said one only had to look at the parties in the transitional executive council, who now apparently supported its retention. "It's amazing how quickly people talk after three days in solitary confinement," he said.

Mr Kriel, the NP's Western Cape premier candidate, singled out the ANC as "the main threat to the democratic process" but at the same time the IFP and the far right wing also seemed to be "vying for the inevitable position".

He accused these groups of political intolerance, lacking control of their supporters, setting up no-go areas, harbouring illegal weapons, war talk and the murder of policemen.

Report by D. Pressly, 18 Victoria Street, Durban

# 'necessary'

MERCURY 1/3/94 HE/IM.

## DP man joins IFP

CAPE TOWN.—The DP lost its last representative in Parliament representing the Pietermaritzburg area yesterday, when MP Hemant Kumar Neerajoo joined the IFP.

He followed Mr Mike Tarr Pietermaritzburg North MP who joined Inkatha in 1992. Former Pietermaritzburg South DP MP, Mr Rob Haswell, joined the ANC in the same year — (Political Staff).

Report by D. Pressly, 18 Victoria Street, Durban



# Parliament's last and final session . . . maybe

MERCURY 11/3/94 HE/IM

**T**HIS is certified to be absolutely the last, final and ultimate parliamentary session of the apartheid system, thereby replacing all previous sessions also believed to be the last.

The meetings yesterday, today and tomorrow take place in the former all-white Assembly chamber, with rows and rows of chairs in the centre aisle, so close to the front benches on either side that if a minister speaks without rising he talks straight into the ear of another member.

The Speaker, Eli Louw, explained to the sardine-packed House that to facilitate the counting of votes in a division, members should rise in their seats.

Koos van der Merwe (IFP, Overvaal) hearing the announcement in only English and Afrikaans, wondered: "Can I ask you to make your announcement in the other nine official languages, too?"

"The member is a little premature in his request,"

replied Mr Louw.

Eleven-language announcements apparently come on request in the first session of the new parliament.

The two bills before this last, final etc Parliament are supposed to help woo the Freedom Alliance into the electoral process, but if yesterday is any guide, it will be a stormy courtship.

President FW de Klerk's introduction of the "fifth session of the ninth Parliament" was frequently interrupted by jeers from the Conservative Party benches, with Salmon Barnard (CP, Hercules) among the most vociferous voices heard.

He called the State President a "back-stabber", but his candour also raised a laugh when Mr De Klerk said that the Afrikaner Volksfront should have no illusions that they would receive any international support.

"That we know," confessed Mr Barnard.

Population development minister Jac Rabie told a story that the CP found almost impossible to believe.

He said that he had been confronted by a bunch of AWB men in a supermarket aisle and, because he was coloured, he expected to receive a fist in his face.

Instead the leader told him: "Tell FW we are tired of the AWB Guy Fawkes. Tell him we are going to vote NP."

"Is he (Mr Rabie) speaking the truth?" asked Mr Jan Hoon (CP, Kuruman).

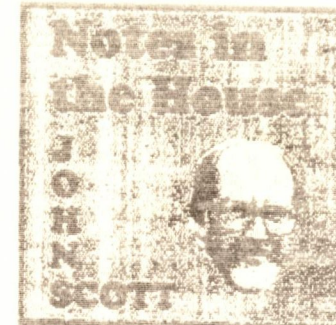
Was Mr Hoon implying that Mr Rabie was lying? asked the Speaker.

"Oh it just sounds so improbable," explained Mr Hoon.

On the other hand, truth is indeed stranger than fiction.

Farouk Cassim (IFP, nominated) announced: "Whether we take part in the election or not, the IFP is a growing vibrant party."

Jannie Momberg (ANC, Simon's Town) wondered



why the IFP didn't prove it by fighting an election.

"The IFP has suffered from great prejudice," complained Mr Cassim. "There is less and less time for us to prepare for an election."

"Whose fault is that?" asked someone in the NP benches.

The Democratic Party, meanwhile, got in a dig at the Nats. Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point) said that he had found Mr De Klerk's reference to having brought South Africa from the brink of catastrophe "a chilling phrase".

"This means that the previous Nationalist government took South Africa to the brink of catastrophe. So why should South Africans trust you now?"

Did anybody trust any member of another party? It could explain why, squeezed in together yesterday, everybody looked a little too close to everybody else for comfort.



DUNCAN DU BOIS puts the Freedom Alliance view

MERCURY 1/3/94 HE/IM

# FA won't legitimise Azania

**T**HE April election is being portrayed as the key to South Africa's future. But democracy, manipulated by unlimited torrents of money and media conditioning on a scale that makes the 1992 referendum exercise seem primitive in comparison, is not going to bring peace and stability to this country.

The desires of the Zulu, the Afrikaner and Bophuthatswana to be self-ruling nations are not for some future constituent assembly loaded with communist internationalists to decide. Why should the members of the Freedom Alliance prostrate themselves before such an oligarchy to secure what is rightfully theirs?

The unctuous posturing of the proponents of the April election is that those who want self-determination should test their support at the ballot box.

But against the refusal of the New World Order parties, the SACP/ANC/NP, to enshrine the principle of self-determination of nations in the constitution together with the powers of provinces to raise their own revenue, participation in the April election would be a fatally flawed act.

The leaders of the FA have

recognised this together with the fact that negotiations with the SACP/ANC/NP over participation in the election have been part of an insidious exercise. Although the SACP/ANC/NP have made noises about concessions that might follow if the FA participated in the election, they in fact have no intention whatsoever of acceding to the demands of the Alliance.

Moreover, it is the policy of the SACP/ANC/NP to draw out negotiations with the FA for as long as possible in an attempt to stymie the chances of the Alliance in pursuing alternative strategies.

Joe Slovo himself has confirmed all of this. In a jubilant report to the SACP central committee (*African Communist*, No 136, 1993) he hails the interim constitution as "a famous victory — the culmination of decades of struggle".

"Looking at the results as a whole, we got pretty much what we wanted."

He goes on to list the powers that would reside in the hands of central government: revenue raising, appointment of regional commissioners, control of security forces countrywide. Whatever else might be needed could be "rewritten" by the new constituent assembly into the

constitution after April 27, notes Slovo.

Just as Hitler sought a democratic veneer with his "enabling" election of March 1933, so the April election is merely an exercise in "legitimising" the takeover of South Africa by the communist-dominated ANC.

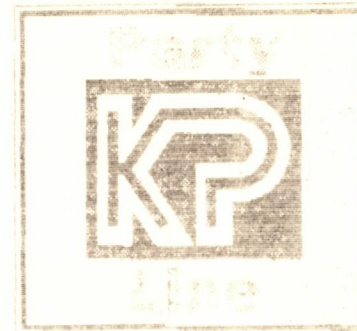
The FA refuses to legitimise this process by participating in the duplicitous April 27 exercise.

But while the media continues to propagate the view that the FA is frittering away its democratic chances, in fact quite the opposite is occurring.

Instead, the members of the Freedom Alliance have embarked on alternative structures in advance of the termination of the Republic of South Africa.

The Afrikaner Volksfront and the Conservative Party have established their own constituent assembly and have the support of more than 250 towns as the basis of the volkstaat. Bophuthatswana has indicated that it is prepared to defend its sovereignty. King Zwelithini has given notice that the Zulus intend to pursue self-determination within the kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal.

By such regional initiatives,



as King Zwelithini stated in Durban on February 14, the process of constitutional development is not "merely a change of government, but rather a radical change of states". Quite so indeed.

As things stand, South Africans have two choices: self-determination through separate freedoms within a confederation as the Freedom Alliance is actively pursuing, or slavery in Azania under the SACP/ANC.

The battle lines have been drawn.

This is an extract from an address delivered to the Durban Parliamentary Debating Society last night. Duncan du Bois is a provincial vice chairman of the CP. His address 10 Clunas Road, Brighton Beach, Durban.



# ANC strongest party, Marike tells elderly

EAST LONDON — The African National Congress was the strongest political party in South Africa, the State President's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk, said in East London yesterday.

She was speaking to about 250 people at an old-age home at the start of a one-day electioneering visit to the city.

She told her White au-

dience an abstention on April 27 would be a vote for the ANC.

"You must remember that to do so, for whatever reason we abstain, we vote for the ANC. Because they are the strongest party numerically."

The ANC threatened to dominate everything, as it had already dominated the SABC board.

"That is why the news

is so negative at the moment and so slanted," she said.

"We must come out strongly for the moderate option, for our value system, for a Christian, civilised society, for whatever we believe in, for religious freedom."

She told her audience they could avert the threat of farmers losing their land, the national-

isation of mineral rights and a wealth tax.

"The National Party needs the strength, that you the voters can give them, to have a strong voice in government."

"We cannot wish away the Communists and radicals. They are there. We kept them under blankets so long, but they are still there."

Earlier Mrs De Klerk visited another old-age home to see Mr Harry Harris, who turned 100 on February 9.

Mr Harris, who has been in the home for 18 years, gave halting replies to Mrs De Klerk's questions on whether he had children and what his profession had been.

Afterwards he told reporters he did not think he would be able to vote on April 27.

Asked why, he said he would be "too old for one thing."

"Would he like to vote?" "Being old, no." — Sapa (News by Ben MacLennan Press Gallery, Parliament).

## Jaap Marais option

MR Jaap Marais' remarks reported in The Citizen February 18 offers, to my mind, the best alternative to the dilemma of Right-wing thinking.

THE AVE's fruitless negotiations appear to have left it with two options. An unlikely SACP/ANC sanctioned ceasefire or a civil war of "limited violence". Either way, one is left with a nagging sense of patronage and indecision.

The sort of leadership one would expect from men trained for war is conspicuous by its absence because the generals appear to be playing the role of the defeated.

Firstly, they give about 60 percent tacit approval to president De Klerk's 100 percent surrender of South African territory to Communist rule, then they negotiate with "former" (sic) enemies for a time portion of what is their own.

To crown it all, Gen Constand Venter, after having his shocking proposal to partition the country into four regions, is now negotiating with the "former" enemies, who are given, by a hostile non-ANC of fools, to interpret this as a mandate to continue negotiations.

Meanwhile Mr Marais, who for more than 20 years has maintained a flawless record in accurately assessing political developments, has once again come forward with

a clear-sighted, non-violent strategy to end the present chaos.

A campaign of action must be started with a view to postponing the April election until the term of the present government elapses in September 1994. This would then require a White general election.

The action would probably be disruptive but not necessarily violent.

Thereafter a patriotic government would have five years in which to restore law and order and, without haste, enable it to work out an agreeable solution in keeping with the ethnic reality of our sub-continent and so produce an harmonious non-Communist South Africa.

Surely the Jaap Marais option deserves consideration.

TONY NORTON

Rondebosch



**EFI MOTORS**  
**THE NAME YOU CAN TRUST**  
TO SERVICE AND REPAIR ALL MOTOR VEHICLES  
FOR PERSONAL ATTENTION


3031437  238455

# The Daily News

TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1994

LATE FINAL

**FLASH FOR THE DIFFERENCE**

  
Professional quality  
precise  
Electronic flash

JOHANNESBURG CAPE TOWN POMERANIA

## Troops threaten separatists as ANC-IFP 11th-hour summit starts



Picture: PETER DUFF

SUMMIT: Photographers crowd around Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthe as they head for their 11th-hour talks at a Durban hotel today, aimed at keeping Inkatha within the General Election process.



JEFF GUY highlights a difference of opinion between royalists and historians

MERCURY 1/3/94 MERCURY 1/3/94 HE/IM  
HE/IM

# The Zulu kingdom WAS destroyed in the 1880s

**M**ANY years ago I was speaking to a man who became a leading member of the IFP about my book *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*. He enjoyed it, he said, except for one thing — the title was wrong. It was obvious why — the Zulu kingdom was never destroyed.

His remark highlighted more than a difference of opinion between us — it pointed to a different attitude. His was that of a Zulu royalist. The Zulu people existed far back in the last century and they exist today. The links between Shaka and King Goodwill Zwelithini can be demonstrated and the unbroken line between past and present still exists.

Such feelings are sincerely held by many people in Natal and in KwaZulu. They are, in my opinion, to be respected.

But historians deal with facts and analysis. As a result, when they point out the tortuous and contradictory way in which history proceeds, they get short shrift. They are accused of

ivory-tower theorising about what the people know — what is in their blood.

And this is what is happening now. The Zulu king has made his claim to KwaZulu and Natal and historians are asked to pass judgement — and the two sides pass each other by. Nonetheless the historian has to try — even knowing that the project will fail among many of the people being addressed.

Was the kingdom destroyed in the 1880s? Let us look at the basics. From its foundation in 1816 by Shaka until 1878 the Zulu kingdom was independent. The kingdom suffered encroachment from Natal and the Transvaal and the loss of land, and some political interference, but in all the essentials the kingdom remained independent and the king sovereign.

But the world was changing. The scramble for Africa was about to begin. In London it had been decided that the time was right to build a stronger, economically-progressive, South African union. The existence of

a large armed independent African state was seen as an obstacle to this. In 1879 the British army, supported by colonial forces, white and black, invaded the Zulu kingdom, and the Zulu army was defeated.

The territory, now liberated, it was said, from the alleged tyranny of the House of Shaka, was divided into 13 chiefdoms.

This policy — known ironically as the "Settlement" of 1879 — was in fact a cynical ploy to extricate Britain from the consequences of an unjust invasion. But the Zulus suffered for it: civil war broke out between those who had lost everything with the exile of the king, and those who had gained something from the settlement.

A deal was struck between a faction in the royal house and some Boers on the Transvaal border. Cetshwayo's son Dinuzulu was recognised as his successor, and the Boers joined the teenage Zulu prince. Once this was done in another battle in 1884 the Boers demanded their price — Zululand from the

Transvaal to the sea.

The Zulus appealed to the British to save their land. The British negotiated a deal with Boers and annexed British Zululand in 1887. The most intransigent royalists, including Dinuzulu, protested. The British called it rebellion and exiled Dinuzulu to St Helena.

For me these events of the 1880s destroyed the kingdom. The kingdom, that is, in its original form: as a sovereign state, economically self-sufficient, its independence secured by the Zulu army. The situation in Zululand was now different. The king and most of his chiefs were dead and his successor was in exile. The land had been divided and was now ruled by Britain or occupied by the Boers.

The chiefs had authority only if they recognised the authority of the British crown. An alien administrative system was imposed together with taxes to be paid by the wages of men building the railways or working in the mines of Natal and the

Transvaal.

And yet, as we know very well today, the House of Shaka was to survive. It was a hard struggle. But Dinuzulu's son, Solomon, worked steadily into the 1930s to revive the fortunes of the royal house with some success. The glories of the Zulu past did much to compensate for the everyday indignities suffered by so many Africans.

The first Inkatha was founded in the 1920s. Solomon received increasing support from Natal's African intelligentsia who found in Zulu history and traditions a royalist plank in their own political programmes. And even the long-standing hostility to the royal house from Natal's politicians and businessmen began to change as they saw in the Zulu monarchy a possible conservative ally against the radical political and trade union tendencies emerging among Africans in the 1920s and 1930s. New themes, a new basis for support, new political affiliations and agendas, nowhere apparent in the independent kingdom before 1878, but very

much the issues which confront us today.

I remain convinced that the Zulu kingdom was destroyed in the 1880s and that Zulu nationalism has been constructed in the twentieth century — out of the fragments of the old kingdom.

Royalists don't agree. They emphasise only the continuities — in language, custom, ritual, the emotions and the commitment to the king. And it is a position which poses great dangers to all of us. It obscures too much of what has happened since 1879 in order to promote the interests of or grouping regardless of the interests of all.

In the name of history it ignores history. It ignores the fact that the economic self-sufficiency of the kingdom disappeared with conquest. It ignores the opportunities which a democratic South Africa will have to address the wrongs of its undemocratic past.

Jeff Guy is Professor and Head of Department of History, University of Natal, Durban.



# Change

## Don't bother persuading us on poll — Buthelezi

by WYNDRHAM HARTLEY  
and Sapa

**T**HE election date will not be changed, was the response from President F.W. de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday to attempts by Inkatha to get a postponement of the April 27 poll.

And IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has stated that Mandela will be wasting his time if he tries to persuade the IFP to enter the April elections when they meet in Durban today.

Buthelezi said he wants to talk only peace with Mandela.

Mandela is due to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Buthelezi in Durban this morning.

The meeting comes against the backdrop of a surprise proposal by the Inkatha parliamentary caucus that the election in Natal should be postponed in order to prevent spiralling violence and a constitutional deadlock.

IFP MP Farook Cassim said yesterday that Inkatha's central committee was due to discuss the matter last night.

The proposal centres on Natal KwaZulu not being included in April's poll but instead concentrating on writing a regional constitution and putting that to a regional referendum.

Mandela, after a meeting with visiting Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers yesterday, reaffirmed his willingness to "go down on my knees" to secure the participation of the boy-

can "under no circumstances" be delayed. A unified South Africa is also non-negotiable.

However, Buthelezi said in Umtata last night. "There is no question of me being persuaded by him (Mandela) or anyone to ensure the IFP's participation in the elections."

"I have nothing further to talk about on this issue, particularly with Mr. Mandela. I hope he does not waste his time by trying to persuade me to accept this."

De Klerk, opening a short session of Parliament yesterday, called to ratify amendments to the constitution, said a delay in the election will have dire consequences and the government is determined to proceed on schedule.

De Klerk told what is arguably the absolutely last sitting of the interim parliament that, while so inclusive settlement is desirable, there can be no discussions about the support levels of the Freedom Alliance.

He said the FA is a minority of the nation and this is true in every region.

De Klerk lashed out at the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront, saying they have no right to speak on behalf of Afrikaners because they represent only a fragmented portion of Afrikaners.

IFP MP Hennie Bekker said last night that if the IFP can be guaranteed that the present constitution will only be changed by a two-thirds majority, it will participate in the election.



### DP denounces move to IFP

THE Democratic Party's Natal midlands branch says Lily Nee-rancho's decision to move to the Inkatha Freedom Party's "camp" is ill-considered.

"The IFP has brought South Africa to the brink of civil war by the easy use of dire warnings of violence if they are not accommodated to the full," said the DP Natal midlands chairman Peter Barnard. "Our concern is for the country and the intense pressure our citizens are put under by the warring political parties in the region," he said.

— Witness Reporter

**ANC threatens mass action**  
PIETERSBURG — The African National Congress said yesterday it will embark on mass action in Bophuthatswana if free political activity is not allowed by March 3. The decision was taken at a weekend meeting of national and provincial ANC election candidates from the North West region. They resolved to press the Transitional Executive Council's subcommittee on finance not to extend financial or other facilities to Bophuthatswana until free political activity was guaranteed — Gapa.  
Report by Andrew Thomson, 147 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg

Witness

1/3/94

Hein



# Too much to lose

FEAR and the ethnic button. We hear it all the time now. Zulus reject the election. Right-wing Afrikaners do the same. Tswanas as well. The ethnic button is the last refuge for beleaguered politicians.

Generally associated with ethnic mobilisation is the call to arms; to resist and die if need be for the protection of the ethnic unit and its survival in an "own area". With Sarajevo as a compelling example of ethnic conflict, it is worth being aware of the awful potential for violence.

It is no accident that the government and the ANC have expended so much energy on getting the right-wing Afrikaners and the Zulus into the negotiation process. If they posed no significant threat to the stability of the nation, the drive towards the election would have proceeded sublimely without them. Fears of what can happen on the run-up to the election are not misplaced. But those fears need to be understood.

The actual threat of the ethnic units now planning resistance must be closely measured against what their proclaimed supporters might have to lose. The intensity of black mobilisation against apartheid had at its heart the fact that white racial superiority left them with little if anything to lose.

Let us consider the case of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. Ciskei's military ruler, Oupa Gqozo has always been virulently anti-ANC. His negotiators at the World Trade Centre walked out with other members of the then Cosag group and helped to form the Freedom

'There is not going to be a civil war as in Bosnia and Angola. Most of those in opposition have too much to lose (this could of course change in the twinkling of an eye if the ANC starts a land grab) and they don't have the necessary heavy weaponry. Yet Zulu and Afrikaner extremists can cause an awful amount of destruction — hence the attempts to get them on board.'

Alliance. Yet he has since joined the Transitional Executive Council and Ciskei is set to participate in the election. Why? Because soldiers, teachers and other civil servants, fearful of losing their jobs, salaries and pensions, put him under enormous pressure.

The same is happening in Bophuthatswana. Already civil servants are starting strike action against their homeland leader Lucas Mangope through fears that they will be left out in the cold if the territory is not included as part of the solution. Bophuthatswana is the most likely of the remaining Freedom Alliance parties to join the election train this week.

KwaZulu will come under similar pressures. Civil servants and policemen are likely to look beyond resistance and think of what might lie in store for them when the ANC runs the new regional government in Natal. However in Natal/KwaZulu there are also masses of impoverished rural people who still live under the feudal system of chiefs, Indunas and the like. Their survival is linked to the survival of the KwaZulu system and they will be susceptible to pressure from hardline Zulus wanting to mobilise against the election.

The white right wing has similar problems. Those supporters they are exhorting to fight for the Volkstaat will have to sacrifice pensions, houses, swimming pools and all manner of other possessions to go on commando for Fardir Hartzenberg. While there might be a large number of right-wing supporters within the security forces, their problem remains that they stand to lose everything if they join the troublemakers. Even General Constand Viljoen has recognised this and suggested to the Afrikaner Volksfront that the route of participation and negotiation should be followed. The extremists, particularly of Eugene Terre-blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, shouted him down but they will ultimately prove to be a minority.

An excellent example of this was the right-wing invasion of Fort Schanskop near Pretoria. One right-wing invader had to bail out of the occupation forces because he had neglected to tell his wife where he was; others left to go to work or to milk the cows.

Similar pressures caused the Pan Africanist Congress to abandon its armed struggle. Members of Umkhonto weSizwe and others in the liberation struggle are to be paid pensions. If Apla soldiers did not down arms and join the process, they would not have been eligible.

There is not going to be a civil war as in Bosnia and Angola. Most of those in opposition have too much to lose (this could of course change in the twinkling of an eye if the ANC starts a land grab) and they don't have the necessary heavy weaponry. Yet Zulu and Afrikaner extremists can cause an awful amount of destruction — hence the attempts to get them on board.

Political analyst Harald Pakendorf last week coined the phrase: "You are right to be frightened, but you are frightened of the wrong things." He suggested that the real problems would start if South Africa could not satisfy the economic demands of the underclass and if this in turn began to threaten the uneasy unity between the different factions within the ANC.

Our biggest fear remains one of financial disruption should hardliners within the ANC gain the upper hand following a failure of free market policies and economic decline. Obviously ethnic violence would destabilise the economy and this is the most frightening aspect of resistance to the election — it opens up the Achilles heel of poverty and heightened expectation.



Memorial Statue in the Church  
Street mall at 10.30 am.  
— Witness Reporter

Report by Dennis van der Merwe, 101 Lange Street

## Hani's grave vandalised

JOHANNESBURG — The Boksburg grave of murdered South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani has been vandalised, police said yesterday.

A cross forming part of the gravestone was removed. Police later found it in front of the old Boksburg town hall, in a damaged condition. Forensic tests on the cross are under way.

The SA Police strongly disapprove of this type of

# Police destroy bomb in Durban

AN explosive device of commercial origin, found next to a suspected stolen car in central Durban yesterday, was destroyed by police before it could detonate.

Police spokesman Major Bala Naidoo said the device was spotted in Albany Grove, a lane next to the Natal Playhouse.

It had been placed near the Inkatha Freedom Party national headquarters, the O'Pecador restaurant and other offices.

The explosive device was spotted shortly before 11 am by a pedestrian, who reported it to the police.

The bomb disposal unit established that the device was made

of commercial explosives, a timing mechanism and a battery. It was destroyed "using disruptive techniques". The car was checked beforehand for possible clues.

Naidoo said the police suspected that a second device had been placed in a nearby refuse bin which was also destroyed in a controlled explosion. However, it was a false alarm.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said that the party is not ruling out the possibility that the bomb was meant for its members.

Meanwhile, in Brisdonten in the Free State, a school caretaker died of shrapnel wounds yesterday when he rode his

bicycle over a home-made bomb which was buried at the entrance to a taxi rank.

Police spokesman Major Johannes van der Merwe said the device had exploded on impact, instantly killing Kleinboy Ramogalla (56).

Van der Merwe said police are investigating a possible link between the blast and more than 30 other explosions in recent months in the Free State and Transvaal, which have targeted railway lines, electricity pylons and the homes and offices of black activists.

Eightyfour were arrested earlier this month in connection with some of the blasts.

— Durban Bureau-Sapa-AFP.

Natal Witness 11/3/94

HE/IM

002

## Little headway after talks

JOHANNESBURG — At the end of four days of talks, government negotiators made little headway with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, government and IFP sources said.

Talks, which continued for most of Saturday and again yesterday morning when Home Affairs Minister Doreen Schutte and Buthelezi did not clarify either the king's position or that of KwaZulu in the future, the sources said.

Government negotiators believe Buthelezi will have to make his move this week without being seen to lose face to the ANC.

Commenting on his talks with the IFP leader, Schutte would only say that issues and possible solutions have been identified. He gave no indication that the talks will help ease Buthelezi's position.

King Goodwill has stepped back from earlier demands for secession. However, his position remains unresolved, government sources said. Therefore, any hope that the settling of the king's position could have eased Buthelezi's meeting with Mandela has not materialised.

Buthelezi has insisted the king's position be cleared up as a prerequisite to a constitutional settlement. — Sapa.

Report by Patrick Barlow, 101 Commissioner of Johannesburg

01/03 94 10



*The GUARDIAN - LONDON 1/8/94*

## Paranoid statelet turns its back on the future

Bophuthatswana is not the ANC's favourite election territory; it can't hold meetings there for a start, writes **David Beresford**

**T**HE question about Mafikeng nowadays is who precisely is under siege: the ANC, which is only 60 days away from taking power in South Africa, or Lucas Mangope, who is becoming increasingly defiant behind the ramparts of what might be described as the last bastion of the apartheid era.

Baden-Powell would hardly recognise the little Transvaal town, where he was inspired, as he whiled away the 217 days of the famous siege of what was then known as Mafeking, to found the Boy Scout movement.

But there is a sense of déjà vu about the place, whisking one back, not to 1900 — although the museum recalls Baden-Powell's moment of glory — but to the bad old days of the mid-1980s when P. W. Botha was still firmly ensconced in Pretoria and paranoia about communism was the ruling ethos.

Security force vehicles prowled around the local ANC offices. Their officials are edgy, fearful of being detained. A suspicious police lieutenant exudes oily friendliness as I inspect the Boer War siege guns in the museum.

Today paranoia rules again, in the purportedly independent homeland of Bophuthatswana. And its leader, President Mangope, arguably has more justification for it than P. W. Botha.

"We will fight fire with fire," declares the banner headline on a pile of free sheets at the museum's entrance, reporting the president's fulminations against those trying to "destabilise Bophuthatswana and topple the government".

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's non-independent homeland of KwaZulu aside, Bophuthatswana is the last of the country's bantustans to be holding out against South Africa's constitutional settlement.

In another Mangope-support-

ing newspaper, the Mail, full-page advertisements offer assurances about the Bophuthatswana government services pension fund. The advertisements are an attempt to stem a whispering campaign, based on rumours of corruption in the administration of state pensions, which has threatened to bring the civil service out in full-scale rebellion.

The rumours have assumed such credibility that on Friday, after a staff meeting, civil servants in the ministry of finance delivered a memorandum to the

**'Mangope doesn't have citizens any longer. He should go to jail for treason'**

government demanding the pay-out of pensions and provident fund benefits within a week. Homeland hospitals and health clinics have been hit by strikes and teachers are reportedly threatening to boycott classes from today.

It is not the first time that Mr Mangope's government has been the target of such speculation. In January rumour had it the president had drawn R93 million (£18.6 million) from a local building society in preparation for a flight into exile.

His former ally among homeland leaders, the Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, recently caved in to similar concerns in his civil service, agreeing to go into the constitutional settlement to ensure job security and protect pensions. But Mr Mangope is hanging on in Bophuthatswana. That may mean the disenfranchisement of some 1.8 million homeland residents qualified to vote.

President Mangope is run-

ning Bophuthatswana under draconian security laws. Strong-arm police tactics leave little room for electioneering. Meetings — defined as gatherings of more than two people — have to be sanctioned by the authorities (there have been instances of lawyers in consultation with clients having their "meeting" broken up). The ANC is not exactly banned, but it is not recognised as a legal political party, because it has failed to "register". That it cannot do, because it would imply recognition of the homeland government. (It would also have difficulty gathering the 3,000 signatures necessary for registration in the face of the ban on meetings.)

Political meetings are routinely broken up with tear gas, assaults and the occasional killing. Rebellious students are dealt with by means of suspensions, college closures, and the now traditional beatings.

The bodies set up at South Africa's multi-party negotiations to prepare the way for elections — the transitional executive council and the independent electoral commission — have shied away from a showdown. They have produced a bizarre plan to set up polling stations along the borders of the homeland in the hope that voters will be able to get to them.

Bophuthatswana being made up of seven different fragments of territory, there are a lot of borders. Set amid conservative white farmlands in the western Transvaal and Orange Free State, this arrangement threatens to provide sharpshooters of the far right with the electoral equivalent of a turkey shoot.

"This should be a priority area," says the ANC branch secretary in Mafikeng, Ephraim Motoko. Pointing out that in terms of legislation instigated by the TEC, all residents of Bophuthatswana have been recognised as South African citizens since January 1, he says: "We need protection from the South African government. Mangope doesn't have citizens any longer. He should be sent to jail for treason."



# De Klerk condemns Afrikaner illusions

FROM MICHAEL HAMILYN  
IN CAPE TOWN

DESCRIBING the white right's idea of an Afrikaner homeland as a hopeless illusion, President de Klerk said yesterday that the Afrikaner Volksfront has "no right to speak on behalf of the Afrikaner people".

The President added that his government will "use all the means at its disposal, including the security forces, to deal with any party which might seek to obstruct the process through illegal or undemocratic means".

The President was speaking during the opening of what will probably be the last session of the three-chamber apartheid parliament, called to amend the constitution that the members passed into law in December.

The changes to the constitution that will be legislated for in this three-day session include new overriding powers for provincial legislatures and the entrenchment of those powers against substantial reduction. Other changes include new financial powers for the provinces, a double ballot paper for electing the national and provincial legislatures separately, a constitutional principle enjoining the right to self-determination of groups linked by language or culture, and the establishment of a *volksraad*, or national council, for the Afrikaners as a first step towards the possible establishment of their homeland.

Last night Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, made it absolutely clear that he will not agree to any further concessions of substance at his meeting today with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader. He would do all he could to persuade the chief to take part in the coming election but he would not accept delaying the poll.

□ Observers named: Lord Weatherill, former Commons Speaker, has been chosen as one of 120 Commonwealth observers who will help to see order and fair play in the South African elections on April 27 (Eve-Ann Prentice writes) Michael Manley, former Jamaican Prime Minister, will lead the team.

THE TIMES LONDON

1/3/94



# Anglo-US pressure forelection breakthrough

A JOINT initiative was launched by Britain and America last night to try to achieve a breakthrough at crucial talks today between rival South African leaders.

Mr John Major and President Bill Clinton sent a message to Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the mainly-Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, expressing hope that agreement can be reached on bringing both parties together before next month's elections.

A joint statement last night said:

By Phillip Johnston, Political correspondent, in Washington

"The US and the UK, as countries which have played a leading role in encouraging the transition in South Africa ... wish to give every encouragement to Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi in their meeting."

Inkatha has threatened to boycott the country's first multi-racial elections and Mr Mandela is seeking to persuade Chief Buthelezi to register for the polls before a new deadline, set for later this week.

The joint message was approved by

the Prime Minister and the President yesterday following contacts between Downing Street and National Security Council officials.

● South Africa signed Walvis Bay over to Namibia last night, ceding the last bit of territory in a country it had ruled for 74 years.

President Sam Nujoma of Namibia returned to Walvis Bay for the first time for 35 years yesterday. He waved to crowds as he entered the city accompanied by the presidents

of Ghana and Zimbabwe. On his previous visit, he said, he came to organise dock workers — disguised as a priest.

At midnight last night the South African flag was lowered over Walvis Bay and the Namibian flag hoisted to a 21-gun salute and the lighting of a "unity flame".

Pretoria had been reluctant to give back the port when it surrendered the rest of Namibia in 1990, but conceded it when the Namibians brought pressure through the ANC at South African constitutional talks last year. — AP

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH - LONDON 1/3/94



THE GUARDIAN  
Tuesday March 1 1994

- LONDON

De Klerk seeks to woo Buthelezi with carrot and stick

# Zulus are warned against secession

David Berezford  
in Johannesburg

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S president, F.W. de Klerk, yesterday declared his government's support for constitutional recognition of the Zulu kingdom and protection of its monarchy. But he warned that any move towards secession would be met by force.

Opening a special sitting of parliament — on the eve of a crucial meeting between the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — Mr De Klerk spelt out to the country what he termed the "realities of our time".

Detailing the constitutional compromises which were to be passed by the two-day parlia-

mentary sitting, in an attempt to woo rightwing Afrikanerdom and Chief Buthelezi into a settlement, the president said dissident groups had to recognise their minority support in the country.

In particular, the Afrikaner Volksfront, campaigning for an independent state, had "no right to speak on behalf of the Afrikaans people". They represented only a divided fraction of the community, he said.

The security forces remained loyal to the government, Mr De Klerk said. "There is simply no future on the road of unconstitutional and violent activity. I appeal to those who might be considering this road to turn back before it is too late."

Agreements had to be negotiated to meet the concerns of the Zulus. The Zulu kingdom was a "unique reality" which had to be given constitutional recogni-

tion. "The position of the king of the Zulus should be lifted out of party politics and secured beyond doubt," he said.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi are scheduled to meet in Durban this morning in what appears to be a major effort by the ANC leader to placate his embittered opponent.

The meeting takes place against the background of a steady escalation of violence in the KwaZulu-Natal area. At least 29 people died in the region at the weekend, including the ANC branch chairman in Greytown, who was shot at a meeting in a local community hall.

● The neo-Nazi leader Eugene TerreBlanche told a rally of about 1,000 in Cape Town's city hall yesterday that he had 20,000 "soldiers of God" trained and ready to fight for a white homeland.