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ANC 'behind takeover of Bop'

DAVID GREYSE

THE ANC worked feverishly behind the scenes at the weekend to ensure the Transitional Executive Council took charge of Bophuthatswana after ANC accusations that President FW de Klerk had acted unilaterally.

The ANC accused De Klerk of reneging on an agreement with Nelson Mandela on Thursday night that the TEC would appoint an administration to replace Lucas Mangope.

The ANC national working committee sanctioned the deal on Friday morning, only to find out De Klerk had agreed Mangope would remain at the helm in the beleaguered homeland in exchange for participation in the elections, ANC sources said.

The ANC accused De Klerk of deploying the SADF in Bophuthatswana without discussing specific aspects of the deployment despite an agreement to do so, which led to a row between the ANC and government at an emergency TEC management committee meeting on Saturday.

Mandela and De Klerk held separate news conferences at the Union Buildings on Friday night after they failed to resolve their differences over the handling of the crisis at a tense two-hour meeting.

De Klerk said he had been assured by Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje that Mangope would comply with TEC resolutions which demanded the embattled leader allow free political activity. However, Mandela demanded the assurances in writing from Mangope.

De Klerk argued Mangope should be permitted to remain Bophuthatswana's head until the election, as was the case with Brig Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa in Transkei.

When Independent Electoral Committee chairman Judge Johann Kriegler failed late on Friday night to secure Mangope's co-operation, the ANC led the charge within the TEC management committee to take control of the situation.

Not all the management committee members attended the emergency meeting in Pretoria. Present were the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and Mac Maharaj, the SACP's Joe Slovo, government's Roelf Meyer and the DP's Colin Eglin.

In an extraordinary development, the management committee decision to replace Mangope was announced by Ramaphosa, flanked by Slovo and Maharaj, at an "ANC Press conference". A management committee news conference scheduled immediately afterwards, to have been addressed by Eglin, was cancelled without explanation.

Meyer yesterday denied the ANC had hijacked the handling of the crisis after Mangope's refusal to give the necessary assurances. He said De Klerk had taken the initiative with his statement on Saturday morning in which he said he had given Meyer a mandate for the TEC to act against Mangope.

He added Foreign Minister Pik Botha and SADF head George Meiring "were in the driving seat" when a management committee team informed Mangope in Mmabatho on Saturday night his rule had ended.

The TEC will finalise details of the replacement interim administration this week when interim leader and SA ambassador to the territory Prof Tjaart van der Walt meets the management committee today and the TEC tomorrow.

Meyer said the ANC decision to hold a news conference at the TEC had been an attempt to "score party political points" and was "totally unacceptable".

Not so, argued a senior ANC negotiator yesterday: "There's no doubt about it. It was the ANC resolve which eventually prevailed. De Klerk made a half-hearted attempt to give Mangope a last chance to see if he would abide by the TEC ultimatum."

Top bank job for Coovadia

MUNGO SOGGOT

CIVIC leader Cas Coovadia has been appointed CEO of the Community Bank Trust.

Coovadia participated in the formation of the community trust, along with Perm former MD Bob Tucker and community banking specialist Hank Jackelen.

"The Community Bank is, in my view, one of the most important socio-economic projects in the country at this time," Coovadia said.

"If the trustees feel that I can contribute to its success, then I have no hesitation in withdrawing completely from regional and local politics.

"My name is being withdrawn from the lists which were submitted to the IEC," he said.

The Community Bank Trust's chairman, Ellen Kuzwayo, has also appointed Archie Hurst, a former MD of Allied, as the bank's MD.

Shill housing plan may get the all-clear today

THE National Housing Forum could give its backing to Housing Minister Louis Shill's R90bn housing scheme as early as today, despite the row which led to the Transitional Executive Council demanding the scheme be suspended.

Forum chairman Eric Molobi confirmed yesterday that a forum plenary session was going ahead today, and delegates would consider all aspects of the multi-package housing scheme.

"If the forum agrees to the scheme the process must be ratified by the National Housing Board, which will then advise the Minister to implement it," Molobi said.

A forum invitation to Shill to attend the plenary still stood, he said. The forum had originally planned to announce the scheme jointly with Shill immediately after its ratification by the plenary.

Shill said yesterday he had not yet received the invitation, but if he did he would consider it.

Molobi said as far as the forum was concerned Tuesday's row should not hamper future relations between it and Shill. The plenary would discuss the three broad areas of the scheme, certain aspects of which had already been agreed to by the different stakeholders.

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These were the state subsidies announced unilaterally by Shill at the end of February; private sector participation, mainly in the form of mortgage lending; and structural implementation of the scheme to ensure the biases of apartheid rule were not repeated.

Shill reiterated that the TEC order that he suspend implementation of the scheme "until ... the matter is resolved in the forum" was illegal and government was under no obligation to comply with it.

The TEC had no legal right to issue the order under the section of the TEC Act used to call him before the multiparty body, whose job it was to level the political playing field in the run-up to the election.

The TEC also had no right under the TEC Act to condemn an individual, Shill said, referring to the TEC resolution which deplored his "provocative action" in unilaterally announcing part of the scheme.

The TEC also ordered the NP government immediately to "stop abusing its position" for electoral gain. Shill claimed the TEC was trying "very hard" to become the government of the day. "If so, heaven help us." He further claimed the ANC had undue influence within the forum.

NEWS IN BRIEF

ANC to buy farms

ANC Free State premiership candidate Patrick Lekota has re-emphasised land redistribution as ANC policy.

He told farm workers in Senekal yesterday that an ANC government intended buying farms that were being put up for sale. These would be resold to aspirant black farmers.

Viljoen seeks talks on election alliance

PRETORIA — Gen Constand Viljoen is to seek urgent talks with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the formation of an electoral and negotiations alliance between his Freedom Front and Inkatha.

"I will try to secure the idea that we should in future work together in an alliance," Viljoen said in his first interview since he resigned as co-leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

He said he had not yet discussed with Buthelezi his decision for the Freedom Front to take part in the forthcoming elections. However, he would soon travel to Ulundi to discuss his proposal for an electoral and negotiations pact with Inkatha.

A negotiations alliance was more important than an electoral one, Viljoen said, referring to the post-election period when a constitution-making body, or constituent assembly, would rewrite the constitution.

But he warned: "If push comes to shove I will not take part in the government of national unity unless I am assured of a volkstaat."

He said a SACP negotiator, whom he declined to name, had assured him if the volkstaters got even 400 000 votes, "a volkstaat is a reality".

Now that the Bophuthatswana crisis had been resolved, talks between the Freedom Alliance and the ANC and government could resume.

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Viljoen, with some of the CP MPs who have joined him in the Freedom Front, has headed talks between the Volksfront and the ANC on a volkstaat. But he warned the talks were in serious jeopardy.

"This is the biggest problem that we have at the moment, because who am I representing now?" he asked.

"I don't see how I can now carry on the talks with the ANC, because I have no mandate."

ANC and AVF negotiators had hoped to sign a bilateral accord this week in which the two sides would undertake to pursue the issue of a "nonracial" volkstaat if there was proven electoral support.

It was now up to CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg whether he would continue to take part in the talks, Viljoen said. He had told Hartzenberg he was available to him as a military and strategic adviser.

Reiterating his demand that the elections be postponed for at least two months, Viljoen said SA's political scene was in a "real mess".

He said he had decided to contest the election to keep his options open.

Sapa reports the NP welcomed his decision.

Reports by D. Greyse, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and R. Denny, Baco, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

Inkatha men 'may join NP'

DURBAN — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte has hinted that senior Inkatha Freedom Party members are to join the NP soon.

Schutte said the NP would accommodate some Inkatha leaders in its candidate list for the national assembly, but he declined to say who they were.

Meanwhile, it appears the NP is not the only party which has been approached by top-level Inkatha members. DP candidate for the national list Kobus Jordaan said his party had also been approached. And DP Natal leader and MP Roger Burrows called on Inkatha supporters to vote for the DP.

"A non-vote is likely to benefit the de facto ANC/SACP/NP alliance," he said.

Meanwhile, in Kimberley, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthezi denied that decisions by some of his Freedom Alliance allies to contest the election had weakened the alliance.

He told a rally that Inkatha's self-protection units would be deployed in communities hit by violence and protect Inkatha supporters from ANC cadres whom he accused of murdering much of his leadership. "No matter how many of us you kill, you cannot kill our resolve. We will fight to the last man," he said.

Report by E Osofofe, S Denny and J Ross, Seite 141
Commissioner St, Jhb.

COMMENT

Ulundi is next

THE downfall of the Bophuthatswana government was its refusal to allow free political activity. Now that the Transitional Executive Council has found some fire in its belly, it should set about ensuring the same freedom in KwaZulu before the ANC arranges another spontaneous uprising.

The blame for what happened in Bop lies squarely at the door of ousted President Lucas Mangope; the ANC exploited his autocratic obstinacy and South Africa's lack of resolve, and is now claiming a splendid political victory. That combination of pigheadedness and squeamishness, if repeated in KwaZulu, could result in that violent area being reduced to the anarchy we saw in Mmabatho and set Reef townships aflame all over again.

The confrontation over democracy in Bophuthatswana should have happened long ago. A political ultimatum, backed by the threat of financial sanctions and military intervention, would have saved the lives and property lost in the past few days. Instead the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission, charged with ensuring free political activity, shied away from conflict. They seemed to accept that no parties could campaign in Bophuthatswana, meekly considering the erection of polling booths on the homeland's borders for those who wanted to vote.

That situation was untenable, and has been reversed at great cost in a move of dubious legality. For all its puppet status, Bophuthatswana is in

South African law an independent country until April 27. Where President de Klerk and the TEC found the right to depose Mangope is unclear; Foreign Minister Pik Botha more accurately describes the move as a coup.

There are no such legal scruples in the case of KwaZulu, legally and factually part of South Africa. If Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha keep out of the election, as now seems likely, Natal will become more tense and more violent. Inkatha will measure its election success in votes not cast, and claim moral victory from a low poll. The incentive for intimidation will be high, and both voter education teams and campaigners from other parties will be seen as hostile to Inkatha interests. Buthelezi is entitled to boycott, and to campaign for a boycott, but undertakings that opposing parties will be allowed to canvass other views must be honoured and enforced.

People in KwaZulu have the same right to vote as people in Bophuthatswana. If they are denied it, there will be the same confrontation and for the same reasons. Whether or not Inkatha participates in the election, the TEC and the IEC need to make it clear now that they will act, forcibly if needs be, to ensure free political activity.

That will not be as easy in rural Natal as it was in rural Transvaal, but it is the responsibility of present and transitional authorities, not those all too ready to ride to power on the back of what they will call another popular revolution.

Peace troops

THREE battalions of the
National Peacekeeping force
— about 3 000 soldiers — will
be deployed in unrest areas on
the Witwatersrand by the end
of March.



Inkatha Freedom Party supporters armed with spears and shields surround the King Zwelithini Stadium in Umlazi, near Durban, to prevent ANC supporters from entering to hold an election rally yesterday. After a standoff the ANC held the rally in the street outside the stadium.

Picture AP

Five killed in Umlazi as armed groups clash

DURBAN — At least five people were killed and several were injured in Umlazi, south of Durban, yesterday during a standoff between thousands of armed men after Inkatha Freedom Party supporters occupied a stadium where the ANC had planned to hold an election rally.

The dispute between the two groups began on Saturday when more than 2 000 Inkatha supporters occupied the King Goodwill Zwelithini stadium.

Inkatha's Durban south region secretary Solomuzi Masondo said the occupation was in protest at the fact that the ANC had burnt down an Umlazi hostel housing Inkatha workers.

Inkatha supporters said they had a right to occupy the stadium because it belonged to the Zulu king.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the ANC

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had obtained township council permission to use the stadium.

Inkatha supporters spent the night in the stadium and by 11am the crowd had swelled to more than 5 000.

About 10 000 ANC supporters marched towards the ground. A clash was averted by security force members, who formed a cordon between the two groups.

When ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki and Transkeian leader Bantu Holomisa arrived, the rally was held in the main road, with the two leaders speaking from the back of a van.

However, it ended in chaos when gunshots were heard and police opened fire on the crowd with rubber bullets and teargas.

Report by S. Mkhawane, Natal Newsprint, 18 Osborne St, Durban.

Keep It Simple party lives up to its name

TIM COHEN

THE Keep It Straight and Simple (Kiss) Party has proposed a constitution true to its name — it has only five clauses.

But the first section does have four sub-clauses, which would allow a government to impose 10% VAT, create a police force, an independent judiciary and a defence force.

But to make up for this gratuitous complexity, the following section states simply "the government shall have no other powers".

Human rights are subsumed in clause five, which states that the actions of citizens will be controlled by the principles contained in common law.

The remaining two sections state that the constitution may be changed by a referendum and that any member of Parliament may be recalled for improper conduct if 10 000 or more citizens sign a petition calling for action against such a person.

Devolution of power, special majorities, even a definition of what Parliament may do with its defence force is left for Parliament to decide.

Party leader Clair Emery suggests that the constitution is designed to "put politicians in their proper place".

Politicians "are there to serve, not to rule", she says.

A major focus of the party is on taxation, and Emery issues the following warning to politicians: "Stop taxing the economy to death, rather make it easier to produce."

The party states that the power to tax is "the power to destroy". Afrikaners left the Cape to free themselves from British imperialism, only to find themselves being taxed to an unprecedented degree 150 years later, says the Kiss proposal.

It appeals to all sections of society, saying the "marginalised" should realise that the freedom they fought for during the years of struggle could come to an abrupt end under a totalitarian state.

Businessmen, housewives and intellectuals ought to share a sceptical attitude towards politicians.

"Real people ought to understand that politicians should not do for people what people can do for themselves," says Kiss.

Kriel calls off unrest curbs

PRETORIA — Law and Order Minister Hennie Kriel has lifted unrest restrictions placed on 52 areas during the violence in Bophuthatswana.

Yesterday Kriel said the lifting of restrictions would take place at midnight last night.

Kriel added that the unrest restrictions had been declared "to contain and combat any possible overflow of unrest from the homeland during the crisis", and not "to inhibit in any manner ... (the) expression of free and fair political activity".

ANC president Nelson Mandela told about 150 000 people at a rally in Wesselton, outside Ermelo, that neither President FW de Klerk nor Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler had known about the declaration of unrest areas.

He had telephoned De Klerk and Kriegler on Saturday night after an ANC rally in Kimberley was prohibited in terms of the declaration.

Mandela said De Klerk told him he had not known about the declaration and the subsequent banning of the ANC rally.

"The amount of confusion and lack of consultation among members of the government is frightening. There are times when even De Klerk does not know about matters of fundamental importance."

The ANC leader said the declaration of unrest areas seemed "calculated to undermine free and fair elections".

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said at the rally that the emergency powers had been invoked without the Transitional Executive Council being consulted.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said the intervention was designed partly to halt "the sort of barbaric looting and violence we saw in Bophuthatswana".

But he said the special powers could also help police to contain any backlash against the execution-style killing of three AWB members in Bophuthatswana. — Sapa-Reuter.

Report by E. Oelofse and E.H. Krimm, Sapa. 141 Contributor: S.J. JNB

DP calls for immediate disarmament

THE DP last night demanded that government and TEC take immediate action to prevent the carrying of all weapons by any unauthorised persons in SA, including the homelands and TBVC states.

DP PWV leader Tony Leon said: "We are sick and tired of provocative behaviour by parties, trade unions and politicians, and roaming gangs of armed criminals, whether in paramilitary units or not, shooting indiscriminately at innocent people."

The DP called for bans on all weapons and unauthorised camouflage or military-type uniforms, with heavy penalties for contraventions.

It said security forces should carry read-

Business Day Reporter

ily visible identification; police should use video cameras more to identify trouble-makers; and police and army personnel should be removed if they were unsuitable for curbing unrest. Suitably trained military units should be sent to unrest areas.

More use should be made of peace monitors and other independent centres.

Leon said SA was spending millions funding commissions such as that of Judge Richard Goldstone, and they should be given concrete powers to act on their findings.

Report by G Du Vernooy, TML, 11 Diagonal St, JHB.

Rowan Cronje quitting politics

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S State Affairs Minister and chief negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said yesterday he was quitting politics and looking for something else to do with his life.

"I am finished. But I am calm and relaxed," he said.

He said in an interview yesterday that an administrator had been appointed to run the territory and President Lucas Mangope had been told to step down.

"Find me a job and then I will tell you what I plan to do," he said in response to a query on his future.

Cronje, who is also chairman of the Freedom Alli-

BILLY FADDOCK

ance negotiating team, said he regretted that his cabinet had not supported participation earlier and that the alliance could not foster an inclusive settlement.

"I always supported participation in the elections but the cabinet regularly rejected this by majority decision.

"This week I pushed hard for participation and this was rejected. But in view of that decision and the events of the past week I am finished. I feel I need a break from politics."

Cronje was a minister in

Ian Smith's government in UDI Rhodesia and Abel Muzorewa's Zimbabwe/Rhodesia cabinet before he became an adviser to Ciskei's Charles Sebe. After being fired by Sebe, he moved to Bophuthatswana to advise Mangope.

Cronje said he could not formally state he had resigned because it was not right for his boss to read in the papers that he had done so. "I first have to tell my boss before announcing it."

He added that he would do whatever was required of him until the elections.

Report by W Faddock, TML, 11 Dispersal St, Jhb.

Mangope

by the SA government, in league with the ANC-SACP, in terms of powers which they have given themselves.

He said there were indications that the same strategy was being devised for KwaZulu/Natal. "All I can say is that KwaZulu is not Bophuthatswana."

While a semblance of normality had returned to Mmabatho yesterday, residents said they were bracing themselves for today's memorial service to honour the victims of the last week's uprising.

□ From Page 1

Wary shopkeepers initiated a major clean-up operation at the Mega City shopping centre — scene of large-scale looting and rioting last week — under the watchful eye of the SADF and SAP.

The SADF, SAP and the Bophuthatswana armed forces were jointly patrolling streets and guarding key points. An SADF spokesman said no incidents of violence had been reported since Saturday.

Report by B Bothma and L Gortse, TML, 11 Diagonal St, JHB.

● Comment: Page 18

Election goes ahead without Inkatha, insists electoral commission

THE election is to go ahead on April 27 without the Inkatha Freedom Party. "And that is final," an Independent Electoral Commission spokesman said.

He said the R17m printing contract for 80 million ballot papers had been finalised and Inkatha's name deleted.

However, he could not "with certainty" confirm that London printer De la Rue worked on weekends. "For our purposes it started printing on Saturday and no changes can now be made."

He said that the schedule was not very flexible because the ballot forms had to be delivered to SA embassies and missions in 80 countries and to 9 000 polling stations

before April 26.

But talks to get international mediation going are continuing. If agreements are reached on constitutional changes these would be implemented after the elections.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said on Saturday that his party's central committee had decided not to contest the April election until "we have a proper constitution". He said Inkatha would campaign for a boycott.

Another Inkatha source said the full-page advertisement in a Sunday newspaper was in line with this decision. It states that people should vote for Inkatha "when the time comes". "We remain committed

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to deliver a constitution which will ensure free and fair elections and lasting peace for all," the ad said.

An ANC negotiator in mediation talks said Inkatha had failed to register. "We tried to get them in before Friday's deadline but they were not interested. Now it is too late and they will not be on the ballot form." But mediation would continue.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed this view and said any changes to the constitution as a result of international mediation were always only going to be implemented after the election.

"Nelson Mandela always said that mediation was not simply linked to participation. Inkatha has problems with the constitution and we want to deal with these constructively. Everything continues — the election goes ahead, mediation goes ahead and campaigning continues with Inkatha not interfering with people's right to vote if they choose," Niehaus said.

However, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate took a firmer line and said that a postponement of the election date and other deadlines were top of the mediation agenda.

He said the fact that Inkatha was not on the ballot form did not mean it would not

participate at all. It was pushing for changes in the election date, and if this happened it could change the ballot form. However, the ANC and government are adamant that the election date is final.

One ANC source said that it was important to continue with mediation because "we want to delay for as long as possible a crucial decision as this leads to greater risks of violence and intimidation".

He hoped that Inkatha would allow free political activity, and if it did not, the IEC, TEC and government would have to ensure that this was done.

Report by W. Paddock, T&A, 11 December 93, J.P.

© See Page 4

SA deposes Mangope and his ministers

Van der Walt said the Independent Electoral Commission would also immediately start with voter education programmes to ensure that the area would participate fully in free and fair elections.

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Elections: On board with Gen Viljoen

CP in Natal joins new Freedom Front

THE executive council of the Conservative Party in Natal yesterday pledged its support to Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen in order to contest the April election.

The news came as Gen Viljoen said he was to seek urgent talks with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the formation of an alliance between his Freedom Front and Inkatha.

The CP council's decision follows the resignation last week of CP Natal leader Carl Werth, who also pledged his support to Gen Viljoen's party.

Seven of the 10 council members supporting Gen Viljoen are: CP Natal deputy chairman Duncan du Bois; Gunther Gathmann, Magriet Torlage, Braam Joubert, Gordon MacGregor, CP Natal chief information officer Roger Whiteley and Neels Fourie.

Mr Du Bois said their membership with the CPO would lapse.

The CP preoccupation with establishing a volkstaat and nothing else had precipitated the

defection.

Mr du Bois said he was confident that most CP supporters in Natal would follow the council's lead and vote for the Freedom Front.

"Generally, as far as Natalians are concerned, we wanted to vote for an anti-National Party, anti-African National Congress front.

● Gen Viljoen spoke last night of his bid for talks with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi: "I will try to secure the idea that we should in future work together in an alliance."

He said he had not yet discussed with Dr Buthelezi his decision for the Freedom Front to take part in the elections. However, he would soon travel to Ulundi for talks. — (Sapa)

(Report by D Greybe, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and S Denny, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

Too Late For Classification

CHETTY. — The funeral tender

'Ulundi's no Mmabatho'

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa would be plunged into "real trouble" if the ANC and the government "tried the Mmabatho trick on Ulundi", a senior Afrikaner Volksfront source said yesterday.

"The Nats or ANC will regret it if they start something like this in KwaZulu because then you will have a Boer-Zulu alliance."

The source said last night fresh moves were under way with the increasingly divided Freedom Alliance to try to force a review of registration procedures — as well as a delay in the election date.

The "illegal removal" from office of President Lucas Mangope had placed South Africa on a slippery road to chaos, Dr Buthelezi said last night.

It appeared that opposition

to the fatally flawed 1993 constitution would be smashed by whatever means.

"It appears the same strategies are being devised for KwaZulu/Natal. All I can say is that KwaZulu/Natal is not Bophuthatswana."

Meanwhile the ANC welcomed the appointment of former Bophuthatswana ambassador Tjaart van der Walt as administrator.

Congratulating the Batswana for their "courageous struggle", the ANC said they could now engage in free political activity and next month's election.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela visits Bophuthatswana today.

(Report by S Denny, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb; D Pressly & P Loeman, 18 Osborne St, Durban; & A Johnson, 121 St George St, Cape Town)

Mercury 14/3/94

HE/IM

The Daily News

14/3/94
FOUNDED IN 1878

Time to pause and think

HE main danger following the developments in Bophuthatswana is that some people in Natal/KwaZulu fancy it can be repeated here. That is simplistic, misguided thinking which, if put to the test, will cause unprecedented bloodshed.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is right: this region is no Bophuthatswana. The differences are vast, chief among them that he has significant support and Dr Lucas Mangope did not. Among those followers are armed, bellicose men who would stop only at death in defending their leader. And then there is the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, who has sided with his uncle in rejecting the interim constitution and next month's elections. His throne has support transcending party-political allegiances.

Why try to overthrow a regime when it is going to lapse in six weeks anyway? There is no chance of Dr Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party returning to power in this region next month because it has decided to boycott elections. The assumption is therefore that the African National Congress will now triumph unhindered in this province, with the National and Democratic Parties optimistically trying to catch those IFP voters who courageously intend to resist the "don't vote" campaign.

Voters in KwaZulu/Natal are between two fires, with the ANC saying vote and the IFP urging the opposite. Experience, most recently the stand-off in Umlazi yesterday, has taught that no amount of pious endorsements from party leaders on free and fair elections will translate into intimidation-free balloting. ANC organisers realise that their opponents will want a low poll to legitimise claims of a boycott victory, and will be working to counteract that. Innocent people will be in the pincer, many fearing for their very lives.

Right-wing turmoil

Another theatre of post-Bop, pre-election conflict, fear and confusion is in white, right wing politics. Happily, rightists now have a choice next month whether or not to vote. General Constand Viljoen's breakaway and splitting of conservative Afrikaners severely weakened the voice of non-participant protagonists like CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg whose constituency continues to dwindle.

The general's disparaging observations about the AWB, and his declaration that he will not work with it again, have further damaged Dr Hartzenberg who remains in league with it, and certainly does AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche no service.

Mr Terre'Blanche, who has fallen strangely silent (for one so bellicose) since the Mmabatho chaos, owes this country a full explanation of the AWB's invasion of Bophuthatswana on Friday. What role did he play? Why did his men go in uninvited? Why did he renege on a deal to withdraw? Does he feel responsible in any way for the deaths? Does he share any blame for making people believe they are racially superior and able to impose their will at gunpoint on others?

Events of the last few days ought to have given all South Africans pause to consider the consequences of wartalk, private armies and resorting to violence.

THE NATAL

MERCURY

15/3/94 HE/In

No respect for the law

THE SAGA of Bophuthatswana's rise to statehood, and now its unceremonious annihilation, is a devastating commentary on our politicians' regard for constitutionalism and the rule of law. Neither does it hold any comfort for the future safety of minority groups, which might find themselves at odds with the big parties.

This doesn't imply support or even sympathy for ex-President Lucas Mangope. Though long regarded as one of apartheid's more constructive siblings for the way he encouraged development of his homeland, he was never averse to using suppressive methods to secure his government. For that reason, as well as his foolhardy obstinacy about re-integrating his heavily dependent and scattered homeland with South Africa and committing it to the election, he probably deserved his fate.

But it is the role of the bigger parties — not least the Nat government — that is most disturbing. Having first cajoled Mr Mangope into taking independence as "an escape from apartheid", the government then showed no respect for the new state's integrity when it sent in troops to help prop him up against his opposition. And now, albeit under orders from the TEC, it had no hesitation in helping with his ousting.

The ANC, on the other hand, will be unable to deny that its calls for demonstrations and boycotts must have had a large part in Bophuthatswana's chaotic and bloody collapse. Many, including the ANC itself, might see this as proof of the power it possesses to deal with obstructive adversaries.

The question is, what guarantee is there that the same methods will not be tried elsewhere or be used against smaller parties in future? It is a dangerous precedent, which has again shown constitutionalism and the rule of law to be no match for the politics of expedience.

Buthelezi took 'worst possible option'

It's poaching

says De Klerk

season

The Inkatha Freedom Party has finally opted out of next month's General Election. **Martin Challenor** reports.

NATIONAL Party and Democratic Party leaders have wasted no time in trying to poach IFP members to bolster their election campaigns.

As they did so, President de Klerk warned today of the dangers of the IFP's decision not to run next month. He said IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had taken "the worst possible option".

The IFP ignored the Friday night deadline to take part in next month's elections. Printing of 80 million ballot papers started in England at the weekend without the IFP's name on them.

There have already been tentative, low-key, cautious talks between IFP members anxious to find a new political home and the DP and NP. Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front is also to make a pitch for IFP support.

IFP leaders such as Ben Ngubane and Ziba Jiyane would prove to be good vote-catchers and efforts are likely to woo them. So far, both are insisting they they will stay loyal to Dr Buthelezi.

But IFP members fear that anybody breaking ranks now could be attacked by IFP hardliners.

Roger Burrows, DP leader in Natal, said IFP supporters should exercise their democratic right to vote.

Recommend

"In fact, the Natal DP firmly believes that the IFP leadership should recommend to their supporters to vote for us, bearing in mind that a non-vote is likely to benefit the de facto African National Congress/South African Communist Party/NP alliance."

George Bartlett, NP leader in Natal, called on IFP supporters to exercise their vote "to assist us in the NP, especially if they are anti-communist."

"We call upon them not to boycott the election because by doing so they will aid the ANC/SACP alliance."

Mr de Klerk today assured KwaZulu it did not face the same fate as Bophuthatswana, but warned that the IFP's decision to stay out of the election would create "a dangerous situation".

Addressing Pretoria businessmen at the hustings, he said violence in Natal/KwaZulu was already escalating, as evident in weekend killings.

"I'm astounded by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision not to participate in the election. If the IFP took part, it together with the NP, could achieve a clear majority against the ANC."

He said Dr Buthelezi was now preparing the ground to accuse the Government and ANC for developing a strategy for a repeat of the Bophuthatswana situation.

"There is no basis for that accusation," he said. Report by R.M. Challenor, 18 Osborne Street, Durban, and M. Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

DAILY NEWS 14/3/94

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THE DAILY TELEGRAPH - LONDON 14/3/94

Bloody end to Mangope's dreams

LUCAS MANGOPE, 70, a black South African chieftain who bet on the white system of apartheid, saw his dreams of glory crumble yesterday, when the people who gave him the presidency of Bophuthatswana took it away again.

He was chief of a Tswana warrior regiment at 21 and, on the death of his father in 1959, of the Motswedi-Barutshe-Boo-Manyane tribe.

Mr Mangope trained as a teacher, became a civil servant and, until an eye-opening visit to the United States in 1973, was a firm believer in the apartheid system of racial segregation.

His American episode, according to *Who's Who in South African Politics*, convinced him that a "one-person, one-vote participation in the central political system" was needed — but that this was "impossible to achieve... overnight".

When the homeland system came into effect, Mr Mangope, as a tribal chief, loyal civil servant and able politician in the regional wing of the ruling

National Party, was the obvious choice for the Bophuthatswana presidency.

The year was 1977, the same year that Mr Pik Botha, who told Mr Mangope at his rural retreat on Saturday night that he was no longer Bophuthatswana president, became Foreign Minister of South Africa.

In Mr Mangope's tenure as president, his nominally-independent homeland dented, if not broke, international embargoes against South Africa.

Tourists came to Sun City from all over the world to play golf, gamble, ogle show-girls and watch top entertainers — Frank Sinatra was once a fixture.

For the African National Congress, which led an international sports, cultural and financial boycott against Pretoria in the 1980s, Sun City — and Mr Mangope — symbolised black conservatives' collaboration with apartheid.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, attacked him at every turn, referring to



Mr Mangope: chief of warrior regiment at 21

him as "that little dictator" and saying during a recent election rally that he "detested Mangope from the bottom of my heart".

Mr Mangope's days were numbered when President FW de Klerk announced on Feb 2 1990 that he would begin dismantling apartheid.

Under a plan later thrashed out by democracy negotiators, Bophuthats-

wana, which has grown rich on the fruits of gambling, pornography and pure entertainment, will disappear after South Africa's first all-race election next month.

Mr Mangope tried to cling to power by threatening to boycott the poll, a costly blunder.

Civil servants, worried about their pensions, went on strike and students launched street protests, sparking a popular uprising and an orgy of looting and rioting.

Declaring on Saturday night that he no longer had the support of his security forces or control over the civil service, officials of South Africa's multi-party transitional authority went with Mr Botha to tell Mr Mangope that his term as Bophuthatswana leader was over.

South African troops, the officials told Mr Mangope, had arrived not to prop up his administration, as they did in 1988 when they rescued him from a coup attempt, but to "secure" him for his own safety. — AFP

ATTN: Room 301

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THE INDEPENDENT - LONDON 14/3/94
ATTN Room 301

Bophuthatswana taken off the map

THERE was one country less in the world yesterday after Lucas Mangope was deposed as President of Bophuthatswana. Control of the homeland, a sovereign territory under the old apartheid rules, passed to the South African authorities.

The ambassador of the only country which recognised Bophuthatswana's independence, South Africa's Tjaard van der Walt, promptly took charge of the territory's administration.

Mr Mangope, who with Pretoria's blessing had ruled Bophuthatswana as a one-party republic since 1977, was not arrested but, according to an official state-

JOHN CARLIN
in Johannesburg

ment, would be "secured" by the South African Defence Force for his own safety.

Reports from Mmabatho, until Saturday the homeland "capital", said soldiers and civil servants loyal to Mr Mangope were fleeing for fear of retribution from an otherwise jubilant local population. The policeman who killed two members of the Africaner Resistance Movement (AWB) on Friday is to be charged.

The statement was issued by

the South African government and the multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC) after a joint delegation had visited Mr Mangope at 9pm on Saturday to tell him his reign was over. The delegation was headed by South Africa's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, and included a senior ANC official on the council, "Mac" Maharaj, and General Georg Meiring, the chief of the South African Defence Force.

"Citizens of South Africa, and all those resident in Bophuthatswana, can now engage in free political activity and participate without let or hindrance in the forthcoming elections," the state-

ment said.

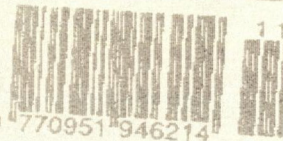
It was Mr Mangope's refusal to provide guarantees of free political activity, despite his belated decision to take part in the elections, that led the government and the ANC to deliver the coup *à la* grace to the deluded dictator.

A warning that fires remain to be extinguished in other parts of South Africa was provided yesterday morning when hundreds of Inkatha supporters occupied a stadium outside Durban and prevented an ANC rally from taking place. Four people died.

Adding fuel to that fire, Inkatha's leader, Mangosuthu Buthelesi, who failed to meet Friday's

deadline for electoral registration, said that he would deploy trained "self-protection units" in areas affected by violence. "No matter how many of us you kill," he said, addressing himself to the ANC, "you cannot kill our resolve. We will fight to the last man."

Fiasco clears way, page 9



THE INDEPENDENT - LONDON 14/3/94

ATTN: Room 301

Fiasco in 'Bop' clears way for SA elections

THE COLLAPSE of the Freedom Alliance, the unholy marriage of the black and white right, has shattered the greatest obstacle to peace in South Africa and, while more violence can be expected, has cleared the way for all races to vote in the country's first democratic elections next month.

A short, sharp military showdown exposed the bluster behind the far right's threats of civil war and delivered, in less than 24 hours, the outcome the government and the African National Congress (ANC) had sought during months of painstaking negotiations.

On 12 October last year the Afrikaner Volksfront coalition, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and the government of Bophuthatswana, formalised a union held together by a seemingly strong bond: their common fear of democracy.

Their combined support amounted, at best, to 10 per cent of the population but they had the firepower, they snarled, to stop the April elections. Unable to gauge the exact nature of the threat, the ANC and the government bent over backwards to accommodate their demands while simultaneously, in discussion after discussion, trying to divide them.

What South Africa's two main political parties now know, to their immense relief, is that when it comes to the crunch the South African Defence Force can be expected to defend the new order against — another happy discovery — the paper tigers of the far right.

It all started going wrong for the apartheid die-hards when, in response to a request from what remained of the Bophu-

**White extremists
and Inkatha are
in disarray, writes
John Carlin in
Johannesburg**

thatswana government, General Constand Viljoen dispatched his motley Boer army to Mmabatho, the homeland capital. It was a decision so politically misguided, with such suicidally catastrophic consequences, that by Friday night the Volksfront had split in two and Lucas Mangope, the embattled leader of Bophuthatswana, was staring political oblivion in the face.

General Viljoen, explaining his decision on Saturday to break away from the Volksfront and register for the elections in the name of the Freedom Front, blamed the "Bop" fiasco on Eugene Terre-Blanche's rabble, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). Had they not joined the fray with the rest of the Boer "commandos", he said, there would never have been such murder, mayhem and, in the end, the worst humiliation since the Boer war.

This was disingenuous. It was he who gave the order for the *tok* to embark on their midnight ride in the full knowledge that the AWB was as integral a part of the Volksfront as his other, purportedly more disciplined, troops. The general, who Nelson Mandela describes as a gentleman, has always felt uncomfortable in the presence of Mr Terre-Blanche. But, de-

spite the promptings of, among others, his appalled wife, he stuck by them.

To imagine that when he issued the call to war the AWB would fail to respond, their *raison d'être* having always rested on the fantasy that one day they would rise up in arms to claim their "volkstaat", indicates how far removed from reality General Viljoen is. Responsibility for the killings in Mmabatho is not something he can shrug off.

Just how many deaths will result from Chief Buthelezi's continued refusal to participate in the elections is the question that remains to be answered. He failed to meet the final deadline for electoral registration and, barring some last-minute acrobatics by the strained Independent Electoral Commission, the door is open for the ANC to sweep the board in the Zulu province of Natal and the homeland that lies within its borders, KwaZulu. Alternatively, Inkatha will set about their customary bloody tactics in a bid to stop people from voting.

But there is another possibility. Chief Buthelezi, remarking on events in Bophuthatswana on Friday, said he had glimpsed "the nightmare" that lay in store for South Africa. He might, in truth, have been giving expression to more immediate fears.

For the moment Chief Buthelezi has the lid on things. But his real nightmare, many suspect, is that one day in the not too distant future the South African Defence Force will drive into KwaZulu and that the residents of his capital, Ulundi, will welcome them with as much celebration as the residents of Mmabatho.

Defections crack South Africa's anti-poll front

Chris McGreal in Mmabatho

THE Freedom Alliance of black and white conservatives opposed to South Africa's first multiracial elections is disintegrating. Yesterday Pretoria overthrew the leader of the Bophuthatswana black homeland, Lucas Mangope, while a prominent white right-winger led a breakaway of Afrikaner nationalists to rejoin the election process.

The developments have left the Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as the only prominent politician actively opposing the vote.

Rowan Cronje, who suffered a double blow as the Freedom Alliance's chairman and President Mangope's deputy, said elements of the alliance would keep up the struggle but admitted it had suffered a setback.

"It's not necessarily the end. It seems to put new resolve in some but clearly things took a very sudden change," he said.

After days of violent unrest and a collapse of authority, the South African government forced Mr Mangope from power in the early hours of yesterday. The foreign minister, Pik Botha, said South Africa no longer recognised Mr Mangope as president and Pretoria's ambassador, Tjaart van der Walt, would administer the homeland on behalf of the government and the Transitional Executive Council, probably until next month's elections.

"The political government of Bophuthatswana is non-existent. It is no longer recognised by South Africa. That specifi-

cally applies to Mr Mangope and the cabinet ministers," he said. Asked how Mr Mangope reacted, Mr van der Walt said: "I can't say he's accepted it, but he noticed."

Mr Mangope was overthrown after protests against his refusal to allow Bophuthatswana to join the elections turned violent with extensive looting and killings. South African troops were sent in to the homeland on Friday. Although Mr Mangope then agreed to join the vote, he failed to offer sufficient guarantees of free political activity.

Mr Mangope was visited by Mr Botha, Mr van der Walt and an ANC official, Mac Maharaj, in the middle of Friday night. They attempted to persuade him to resign rather than be pushed, but failed.

"For weeks I've been trying to persuade him to take part in the elections. When that didn't work, last night I tried to persuade him to resign with dignity. And that didn't work," Mr van der Walt said.

A statement said Mr Mangope had been "secured" by troops but Pretoria denied he was under arrest.

A few hours earlier, General Constand Viljoen resigned from the leadership of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), which has led the campaign for an Afrikaner homeland, after entering his Freedom Front in the April 26-28 election. Seven Conservative Party MPs backed the general, though their party has rejected the vote.

Gen Viljoen also attacked the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), saying it had

undermined the common cause through indiscipline such as its failed attempt to take over the Bophuthatswana capital. At least 10 people died in clashes, including four white right-wingers. The AWB described the general as a Judas goat in league with the South African government and communist ANC to lead white separatists to the slaughter.

None the less, the loss of Mr Mangope and Gen Viljoen has probably shattered the Freedom Alliance. The general's defection will bleed support and the loss of Bophuthatswana has cost the AVF territory it had hoped to include in an Afrikaner homeland, or *volkstaat*.

But hopes of a peaceful election remain distant amid Chief Buthelezi's continuing intransigence. Last night, Inkatha and ANC supporters clashed at a stadium near Durban leaving at least four people dead.

The behaviour of the AWB and other whites in Bophuthatswana delivered another blow to the right's credibility. Their attacks on unarmed blacks did not do as much damage as being herded without resistance from Mmabatho by the Bophuthatswana army and South African forces.

The cold-blooded murder of two of their number by a policeman won some sympathy for the victims. One Afrikaans newspaper carried the front page story of the eight-year-old daughter of one who saw her father's body on television.

"Is my daddy dead?" read the headline.

Last puppet king, page 11

THE GUARDIAN - LONDON 14/3/94

ATTN: Room 301

THE TIMES LONDON 14/3/94

ATTN: Room 301

Pretoria deposes homeland chief

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

PRETORIA took direct control of the black homeland of Bophuthatswana and deposed the President yesterday after the murder of three white extreme right wingers.

Tjaard van der Walt, the South African ambassador, deposed Lucas Mangope, 70, as President, ending at a stroke one of the legacies of apartheid: the separate homeland of the Tswana people. Mr Mangope, who had allied himself with the white far right and sparked the rebellion by refusing to take part in next month's election, was placed under guard at his farm "for his own safety".

The South African takeover of the homeland, whose independence was recognised only by Pretoria, came after a visit by R.F. "Pik" Botha, the South African Foreign Minister.

Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, welcomed the takeover, saying: "Mangope belongs to the past." Mr Mandela will

visit the former homeland tomorrow.

Rowan Cronje, the homeland's Defence Minister, said Mr Mangope intended to fight the election under the banner of the North Western Christian Democratic Party, which has recently been registered.

At Umzali, near Durban, violence erupted when thousands of supporters of the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party armed with rifles and spears occupied a stadium to prevent the African National Congress from holding a mass meeting. Five people were killed.

One Inkatha supporter was killed when he opened fire on the ANC crowd from a pick-up truck. He was pulled from his vehicle and stabbed. The truck was set alight.

In East London three black youths shot dead three Iranians in an attack on a Baha'i congregation.

Right in disarray, page 10

Homeland chief sacked as army restores order

SOUTH AFRICA'S Transitional Executive Council and the Pretoria government jointly took control of the troubled homeland of Bophuthatswana yesterday, ousting President Lucas Mangope.

Five days of chaos and bloodshed in the homeland, which left at least 62 people dead, ended when Mr Pik Botha, South Africa's Foreign Minister, told Mr Mangope yesterday his presidency was no longer recognised.

Prof Tjaart van der Walt, the South African "ambassador" to Bophuthatswana, was immediately installed as head of an interim government. He summoned a meeting of cabinet ministers and senior civil servants in Mmabatho "to restore stability and pave the way for free and fair elections".

Mr Mangope, who had earlier declared on South African national television that he was "undoubtedly" still in charge, was flown with his family to his fortified farm near the South African town of Zeerust.

There, he was given an armed guard "for his own protection and safety". Despite official denials, it appeared Mr Mangope, who seemed not to understand what had taken place in his fiefdom, was under benevolent house arrest.

More than 1,500 troops, with units of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force and the homeland's police force, were in control of Mmabatho and its twin town of Mafikeng yesterday.

Occasional gunfire was heard as the troops rounded up looters who have had a free run of the capital's shops during the weekend. The last of the extreme Right-wing whites who had moved on Mmabatho to support Mr Mangope were escorted from Bophuthatswana without incident.

Prof van der Walt, who was a close friend of Mr Mangope, called on all civil servants and members of the administration to report for work today. "I love that man but he refused to believe what was going on under his nose," he said.

He said he expected his rule in Bophuthatswana to be "very brief" and concerned first with getting the administration working and then preparing to allow the two million inhabitants of the homeland to take part in

By Christopher Munnion
in Johannesburg

South Africa's first democratic elections in April.

The takeover of the homeland clearly had the full approval of the African National Congress. Mr Mac Maharaj, a senior ANC representative on the TEC, was a member of the delegation that informed Mr Mangope of his fate yesterday.

Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC President, said yesterday: "We have already forgotten about Mangope. He belongs to the past." Mr Mandela has postponed for at least a day his visit to the homeland to

**Ambassador takes over
'to restore stability
and pave the way for
free and fair elections'**

address a rally because of the security situation.

No such constraints were imposed on his estranged wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, who flew into Mmabatho to tell a rally that Mr Mangope was "an hallucinating, megalomaniac Hitler".

The dramatic events in Bophuthatswana have thrown South Africa's Right-wingers into disarray. Gen Constand Viljoen, the former South African military commander, was reported to have resigned his leadership of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the Right-wing alliance.

He quit after a bitter row with the leadership of the

**Three killed
as they pray**

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army was blamed by police last night for killing three church members during a service, writes Christopher Munnion.

Six uniformed armed men entered the building in Mdanane, near Port Elizabeth, where members of the Ba'hai faith were worshipping. They ordered all whites to stand to one side and then shot dead three Iranians who had been living in South Africa for several years.

At least four people were killed yesterday after the Inkatha Freedom Party occupied a Durban stadium where the African National Congress planned to hold an election rally.

neo-Nazi AWB over events in Bophuthatswana. Gen Viljoen had mobilised several thousand Right-wing farmers to go to Mr Mangope's defence on Friday but had specifically asked the AWB to stay away.

But hundreds of armed AWB men converged on Mmabatho and Mafikeng and were involved in running battles with Bophuthatswana forces as well as shooting indiscriminately into crowds of civilians.

In one incident, two AWB men were shot dead by a policeman as they lay wounded in a road after their car had been stopped by gunfire. The incident, filmed and photographed by the media, happened as the AWB were supposed to be leaving the area under escort.

Mr Eugene Terreblanche, the AWB leader, described Gen Viljoen as "a political Judas goat sent by the ANC and National Party communist alliance to lead us to slaughter".

Amid the Bophuthatswana crisis, Gen Viljoen registered his own Freedom Front party to take part in the April elections, destroying the facade of the Freedom Alliance of Right-wingers and conservative homeland leaders who were resisting participation in the poll.

The fragmentation of the alliance has posed a deeper dilemma for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Kwa-Zulu leader and head of the Alliance's key component, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The party failed to register candidates for the elections by the Friday deadline. This would appear to eliminate the Zulu-dominated movement from the April poll, although there is an obvious elasticity to deadlines in South Africa's current state of flux.

Another blow to the Freedom Alliance came with the resignation last night of Mr Rowan Cronje, Mr Mangope's right-hand man, who had been an effective negotiator for the alliance. He quit the Bophuthatswana Cabinet after saying he had been bitterly disappointed by the decision not to take part in the elections.

Mr Cronje became an influential figure in the negotiations which have led up to South Africa's moves to full democracy, but last night he appeared to be disappearing into the mists of the sub-continent's bloody history.

Death of the dream — P21.

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