

The Star

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Trekking to the future

The Freedom Front offers a constitutional path to Afrikaner nationalists in search of a volkstaat.

THE emergence, replete with lists of national and regional candidates, of Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front as a contesting party in the April election is a positive development. It means that a substantial proportion of Afrikaner conservatives will pursue the establishment of a volkstaat within legal parameters and, sensibly, seek to make use of the Volks Council to advance their objective.





































Ferdi Hartzenberg, leader of the Conservative Party, has reacted with asinine crassness to Viljoen's FF. Instead of accepting it as a vehicle to advance the volkstaat cause which he holds dear, he has declared his intention of expelling CP members whose names appear on the FF list. Since CP men on the FF list include a fair proportion of its articulate pragmatists, Hartzenberg's action will weaken the CP rather than harm the FF. Unless Hartzenberg relents he will find himself surrounded by the reckless extremists, including the rabid Eugene TerreBlanche, whose political myopia is matched only by his ineptitude as a "general".

Significantly, the retired police and army generals who helped form the Afrikaner Volksfront last May appear to have rallied around Viljoen. Apart from Viljoen himself they reportedly include Koos Bischoff and Kobus Visser. Thus, the men who know about war have chosen the constitutional route. Hartzenberg and the boastful TerreBlanche should take note.

The FF's participation is, however, bad news for FW de Klerk's NP. Had the FF stayed out, many CP voters might have voted for the NP as the next best bulwark against ANC domination. Similarly, in the absence of the FF, the NP is the most likely beneficiary of IFP voters who defy an Inkatha boycott call.

The NP's loss will, however, be South Africa's gain. The more inclusive the election and settlement, the better.

Specimen

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA		PAC		
SPORTS ORGANISATION FOR COLLECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS AND EQUAL RIGHTS		SOCCER		
THE KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY		KISS		
VRYHEIDSFRONT - FREEDOM FRONT		VF-F		
WOMEN'S RIGHTS PEACE PARTY		WRPP		
WORKERS' LIST PARTY		WLP		
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY		XPP		
AFRICA MUSUM PARTY		AMP		
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY		ACDP		
AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT		ADM		
AFRICAN MODERATES CONGRESS PARTY		AMCP		
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS		ANC		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY - DEMOKRATIESE PARTY		DP		
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA		DPSA		
FEDERAL PARTY		FP		
LUSO - SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY		LUSAP		
MINORITY FRONT		MF		
NATIONAL PARTY - NASIONALE PARTY		NP		

Public funds: TEC control body formed

THE Transitional Executive Council sub-council on finance is setting up a fiscal control committee to ensure public funds are properly spent and accounted for.

This follows news that four self-governing territories had indicated they would overspend their 1993/94 budgets by a total of R333 million.

Asked during a Press briefing at the executive council's Pretoria offices whether the sub-council was investigating claims that assets such as cars and computers were being stripped from state departments, African

National Congress economics head Tito Mboweni said there were many rumours in this regard and they applied also to Pretoria.

"We must ensure the family silver is there when the new administration takes over," he said.

The sub-council expressed its displeasure at political office bearers' and accounting officers' inability to manage their affairs.

The four territories are Lebowa, Gazankulu, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele.

In addition, Lebowa

would require an additional R145 million to cover accumulated cash flow deficits to March, 1994.

The sub-council recommended approval of central government-guaranteed overdraft facilities for a total of R478 million.

Mr Mboweni said no central government budget would be presented in March as was customary because of the transitional process.

The departments of Finance and State Expenditure would brief the National Economic Forum and others on the 1993/94 fiscal year.

The National Party's Theo Alani said negotiations were continuing to reach double taxation agreements with the G-7 nations, hopefully by the end of the year.

Agreements had already been reached with Germany and Britain, and negotiations were under way with the United States.

Preparatory work was also being done for South Africa to join the African Development Bank so that membership arrangements would be ready for approval by the new government. — Sapa.

Security is worry for ANC

THE African National Congress was faced with a security nightmare in the election. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Not only are up to 3000 foreign journalists expected in South Africa to cover the story, but the ANC had to contend with the general threat presented by the Right-wing.

Mr Niehaus said the ANC was especially concerned about safety on the election roadshows of ANC president Nelson Mandela. Reports of Mr Mandela being conveyed from rally to rally at high speed had also caused concern.

He denied that Mr Mandela's drivers were driving too fast and said journalists were creating problems by trying to beat Mr Mandela to his destinations.

Journalists thronging around Mr Mandela to get off-the-cuff comments also created problems.

Most Mmabatho civil servants back at work

MMABATHO. — Most Bophuthatswana civil servants in Mmabatho returned to work yesterday

but those in the Moretele region said they would continue their strike until they had secured a meeting with the interim administration.

The decision to continue the strike was taken at a rally at Hammanskraal's Mandela Village.

The workers are demanding that their pension benefits be paid out by April 15, and their March salaries be paid in full.

They appealed to the private sector not to apply a no work, no pay policy.

Workers in the Odi region took a similar decision earlier this week.

Bophuthatswana public servants' committee spokesman Mr. Collyn Morake said employees would not accept that

their pensions were secure without proper scrutiny of the financial records of former President Lucas Mangope's government.

Civil servants wanted a reassurance from Bophuthatswana's administrators that their pensions would be paid out before the April elections, he said.

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings (BTH) has appealed to its striking drivers to report for duty by today.

BTH spokesman Mr. Johan Stegmann called on the workers to respond urgently to enable the company to prepare for the resumption of normal services by Monday. — Sapa

Friday 18 March 1994

PAC condemns lack of overseas poll funds

Citizen Reporter

FOREIGN governments and big business were ensuring that the African National Congress won the April election by pouring millions of rands into the party's campaign, while ignoring pleas from financial backing from the Pan Africanist Congress.

This was said yesterday by PAC President Clarence Makwetu, who disclosed that his party's officials — including himself — had not been paid for nine months and that no money was forthcoming to help it honour arrangements to meet outstanding bills.

Speaking at a news conference at the PAC's headquarters in Johannesburg, Mr Makwetu said big business and the overseas community were determined to ensure that the election was one-sided.

He said it was the

strategy of the international community and big business to pour millions of rands and dollars into the election campaign of a specific party instead of into a common pool for all parties to use proportionately to their support.

Mr Makwetu said the United States had poured at least \$10 million into the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, while the PAC and other organisations had been ignored.

"Our efforts to get the same kind of assistance have fallen on deaf ears," he said. "We know that our policies have been grossly misunderstood by big business at home and abroad."

According to Mr Makwetu, the Scandinavian countries had donated R25 million to the ANC this year, while the French

boasted that they, just as other Western powers, had donated substantially to the ANC's election campaign.

"At the weekend it was disclosed that Mrs Marike de Klerk had received money from the German Government for rural projects, when we all know that this is for the National Party's election campaign," Mr Makwetu said.

"India and other countries from the Far East have made it clear they will not support us financially as they must make sure the ANC wins."

"The United Nations, Commonwealth, and other international organisations are sending observers to ensure that the elections are fair — yet — their member countries ensure that the PAC's hands are tied behind its back by not giving it the election-neering money they give other organisations."

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Viewpoint

Miracle needed in

Natal/KwaZulu's

Leon Marshall

case

IT WOULD be the height of foolishness to think that the Bophuthatswana option could be repeated in Natal/KwaZulu. One shudders even at the thought of what might happen if attempts were to be made to turn Ulundi into a Mafikeng.

The circumstances are entirely different. For all their obduracy, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his IFP are in an entirely different league from ex-President Lucas Mangope and whatever the obscure party was in whose name he ruled.

In Natal/KwaZulu there is a long, proud and profoundly bitter history that lies behind present events. Here there is a king whose position commands loyalty and respect across party-political barriers and whose demands, of late, for an independent Zulu monarchy have lent a powerful new dimension to the political dispute.

In all, there are differences

so deep and pronounced from Bophuthatswana that it often has one wondering to what extent this province really ever was part of Verwoerd's South Africa.

In any case, unlike the lengthy calm and relatively low-key opposition that preceded Mr Mangope's sudden and chaotic overthrow, the opposing factions in this region have been engaged in a battle for supremacy for a very long time.

In some areas the ANC have gained the upper hand, and in others the IFP. But neither side has yet been able to claim overall victory. All they really have to show for their efforts are thousands of graves, much destruction, untold misery, and a division so deep and bitter that it now stands as the most lethal obstacle to relatively peaceful progress to a new order.

Their conflict has, of course, also left many communities to whom (except for "General" Eugene Terre'Blanche's

bakkie brigade) the wild scenes in Mafikeng and elsewhere in that distant, scattered homeland must have seemed all too familiar.

But how will the murderous fraternal strife be ended, as surely it must be eventually if this region, for all its scenic beauty and vast potential, is not to end up a poor and ruined adjunct of an emerging new country?

Who can say? Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting today with King Goodwill Zwelithini holds some hope. But so did his recent meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, when they agreed on international mediation and emerged holding hands and pledging to hold joint rallies to encourage peace and tolerance between their followers.

There are those who believe that both the capacity and the desire of the IFP and Dr Buthelezi to mount a full-scale resistance campaign are being over-estimated. Some

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point at Dr Buthelezi's assurance to KwaZulu civil servants that they will be transferred to the new regional authority after April as a certain sign of his willingness to withdraw to the sidelines rather than risk election defeat or a Bop-style public service revolt.

However, hard as it is to see him and the IFP taking the Jonas Savimbi-Unita route, it remains even harder to see them simply capitulating at a certain point.

President De Klerk seemed to harbour similar fears when he spoke of Natal/KwaZulu being a dark cloud over the future. And from all Mr Mandela's actions, to the point of saying he was prepared to go on his knees before Dr Buthelezi, he doesn't seem to have any illusions either about the potential for catastrophe in this region, with dire consequences also for the rest of the country.

A remark which a senior ANC functionary made to me

privately about two years ago, often comes to mind these days. He said that the ANC's single biggest mistake had been to alienate Chief Buthelezi instead of embracing him.

With all this in mind, there seems an air of unreality about our politics at the moment as the cut-off time for election registration and the submission of party lists has come and gone and with talk that the firm in London has already started printing the ballot papers.

(Incidentally, the London firm, which says it has considerable experience in printing ballot papers for third-world countries, will not confirm or deny whether it has started printing the ballot papers.)

However, the question is whether it now has to be accepted once and for all that the IFP is not going to participate in the election? Does it mean that the issue now switches to how the election is going to be conducted in this

province with the IFP, as one of the major forces, setting its face firmly against campaigning and voting?

If so, why then is the ANC — by far the IFP's strongest adversary — still engaging the IFP so frantically in negotiations, with Mr Mandela talking to the king about the future role of the Zulu monarchy, and the ANC's candidate for Natal/KwaZulu premiership, Mr Jacob Zuma, and his colleagues continuing negotiations with Ulundi over international mediation?

Surely, with all this going on there must still be some chance of compromise somewhere, even though others are proceeding as if Inkatha's absence from the hustings is now a foregone conclusion.

It is just so very hard to accept that South Africa's capacity for producing miracles, initiated by Mr De Klerk's remarkable change of course four years ago, has run out in the case of Natal/KwaZulu.

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HE/IM

De Klerk warns Right of violence crackdown

By correspondents in Pretoria and Durban

THE President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, warned right-wing whites yesterday that he would crush any attempt to take control of South African towns ahead of all-race elections next month.

As the deadline passed for political parties to register for the election, the president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, urged supporters in the violence-torn Natal province not to be afraid to vote in the April 26-28 poll.

Natal is a stronghold of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, whose leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has refused to contest the election and threatened to disrupt voting.

Chief Buthelezi promised last night, while addressing the opening session of his KwaZulu homeland's legislative assembly, a liberation war "unparalleled in Africa" if the Government and the ANC stifle his opposition to next month's voting.

He warned that a campaign of "ungovernability" would be the only option open to those who reject the country's new constitution and any attempt to stifle his democratic opposition "will spawn a struggle for liberation ... which will have no parallel in Africa".

The white right-wing has issued a list of towns that it says have voted to be part of a white-ruled Volkstaat, and earlier this week

neo-Nazi leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said war, chaos and revolution would grip the country in the run-up to the election.

Mr De Klerk, singling out the Afrikaner People's Front (APF) by name, told a news conference his Cabinet had discussed contingency planning.

"We will act firmly against any action or deed which constitutes a transgression of the law. We will not allow the constitutional process to be undermined by illegal acts," Mr De Klerk said.

"There's been an announcement that March 31 will be a D-Day on which certain actions will take place."

Mr Mandela, speaking to an audi-

ence of 25,000 supporters at Marianhill outside the Natal capital of Durban, no doubt had fresh in his mind the recent bloodshed in the black homeland of Bophuthatswana.

The ANC leader will hold talks with King Goodwill Zwelithini in the hope of averting similar unrest in the Zulu homeland of KwaZulu.

"Don't be afraid of voting. There are people in this province who do not want you to vote," Mr Mandela said.

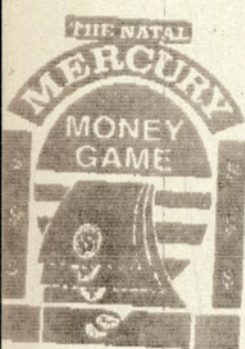
"Don't worry. The peace forces are going to catch up with murderous hit squads and you will get sufficient protection when you go and vote."

Reuters, AFP

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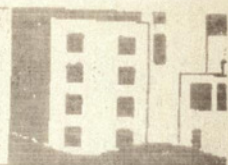
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'World class' hotel

Planning begins

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Meeting off after safety fears

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HE/IM

Don't push us, Inkatha warns

By Steve Mathewson
Political Staff

ULUNDI—This morning's long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini has been shelved because of fears for the ANC president's life amid renewed warnings of armed confrontation from Inkatha.

The ANC demanded that the venue for the historic meeting be switched from Ulundi to Durban after reports that an attempt on Mr Mandela's life was planned.

The king also entered the political arena, saying he would not encourage his people to vote in the April elections under the current constitution, but he stopped short of calling for a poll boycott.

In another development, President De Klerk said he was working on an "IFP initiative" which could lead to a resolution of the impasse.

IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose told the opening of the 1994 session of the KwaZulu legislative assembly yesterday that he had been in contact with ANC Natal regional premiership candidate Jacob Zuma since Wednesday. Mr Zuma, he said, had told him that the meeting should either be postponed or moved to Durban.

But Dr Mdlalose said it would be impossible to change the venue at such a late stage because all the arrangements had been made.

"I gave my assurance (to Mr Zuma) that we had gone out of our way to provide security, and not only KwaZulu police but also SAP was involved," he said.

The ANC had also been invited to send as many of their security officials as they liked to Ulundi.

Dr Buthelezi said the meeting

would go ahead without Mr Mandela and the king would address his people on his call for Zulu sovereignty.

He laid down what appears to be the IFP's final word on the election: that it would boycott unless the poll was delayed.

He promised "a struggle for liberation... which will have no parallel in Africa" if his party's "democratic opposition" to the poll was stifled by the ANC and the Government and warned that a campaign of "ungovernability" would be the only option open to those who rejected the interim constitution.

"Is it really (the government's intention) to push us all forward to the final confrontation... or to pursue a Bophuthatawana-type option in collaboration with the ANC?" Dr Buthelezi asked.

He accused the Government and the ANC of producing "a highly explosive situation" in KwaZulu and he said he was aware that "big plans" were being implemented to destabilise KwaZulu's civil service.

Earlier during the opening ceremony, SA regional and land affairs minister André Fourie appealed to Dr Buthelezi to reconsider seriously his position on the election.

However, it appears that the Government is preparing to approve international mediation which was agreed to by Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela earlier this month.

Recently, Mr De Klerk said in Soweto that he was working on an "IFP initiative" which could lead

to a resolution of the impasse.

He did not elaborate, but an IFP source said it was likely that the National Party felt sidelined by the IFP/ANC agreement and had realised the error of initially rejecting mediation.

Dr Mdlalose indicated that the NP was softening its stance and constitutional development minister Roelf Meyer had given him a report recently on the Government's position.

King Zwelithini said in Ulundi that it was "foolishness" to believe there could be a free and fair election in KwaZulu "when the election is being foisted on people without their approval", reports Sapa.

"If anyone believes that the vast majority of blacks in the KwaZulu/Natal region want an election, they can only be right to the extent that those people have not heard their king and their traditional prime minister (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) say 'no' to their participation in the election."

The Zulu monarch said he had never attempted to dissuade any Zulu from belonging to the political party of his choice.

However, he called an *imbizo* (traditional gathering) at which Zulus heard him admonish parties which approved the interim constitution, "they will not vote in the elections".

"The word will spread rapidly that this election is death to 'Zulu-ness' and that it must be resisted at all costs."

He added that Zulu nationalism, irrespective of party politics, would gather in strength through "rolling Zulu mass action".

(Report by S Mathewson, 18 Debarne Street, Durban, & C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban)

TEC cracks down on profligate govt spending

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The TEC has cracked the whip on government finances as more evidence emerges of profligacy in the dying days of the present government.

next fiscal year as was expected, but said an announcement would be made in due course.

Students clean up mess SRC head's tongue-lash

By Veven Bi

UNIVERSITY of Durban-Westville students who took part in Wednesday's boycott, giving rise to chaos, widespread disruption.

looted offices, broken windows and doors.

Buthlezi 'helped to free' Mangope

ZEERUST — Ousted Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday intervention by Inkatha-Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had led to the restoration of his personal freedom after a day under house arrest.

In his first public appearance since fleeing Mmabatho last week, Mangope told reporters at a briefing in his home village of Motswedi that Buthelezi had discussed the matter with President F.W. de Klerk.

"I wish to thank Chief Buthelezi for standing up to the dictatorial actions of the SA government. I also wish to thank the media, without whose insistent questioning my house arrest would have been kept a secret and would undoubtedly not have been lifted," he said.

Mangope said he would legally challenge his removal from office but would not be involved in or associated with acts of political violence or non-constitutional activities.

He said he might be denied a chance to take part in the elections and that he had been told by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and TEC member Mac Maharaj that his participation would be undesirable.

Mangope said government's intention when it placed him under house arrest had been to humiliate him. He vowed to continue his political career.

LLOYD COUTTS

He described a decision by the interim administrators of the homeland to partially suspend the constitution as the rape of the constitution. "This flies in the face of all constitutional and legal presidency."

He said the SA government was acting under orders of the ANC and its communist partner to prevent normal political activity in Bophuthatswana.

Mangope, who met leaders of the North-west Christian Democratic Party in Motswedi yesterday to discuss his participation in the regional election, said he had no aspirations to the presidency of SA.

MARIANNE MERTEN reports that looting continued in Bophuthatswana yesterday at the Pick 'n Pay store in Mabo-pane, north of Pretoria.

Pick 'n Pay northern Transvaal regional manager Danie Boshoff said staff could not get to the shop to remove remaining stock, most of which had been contaminated by teargas, used to disperse looters, and needed to be destroyed.

Sapa reports that Botswana's Foreign Affairs Department yesterday advised citizens they could resume travelling to Bophuthatswana as the situation was returning to normal, as long as they journeyed by day.

Report by L. Coutts and M. Merten, TML 11 Diagonal St. JNB

Bop overthrow won't happen in kwaZulu

Despite calls for the ANC to topple the kwaZulu government the way Lucas Mangope's regime was ousted, Inkatha Freedom Party national spokesman **Ziba Jiyane** argues why this will not happen in kwaZulu/Natal

MANUFACTURING the Bophuthatswana crisis was manna from heaven for those believing the best means of dealing with political opposition is to crush it. And target number 1 is, of course, the Inkatha Freedom Party and kwaZulu government.

That this deluded thinking is on the agenda is evident from the statement by Congress of South African Trade Unions vice-president George Nkandimeng over the weekend. Speaking in Durban, he said that if Bophuthatswana could overthrow Mangope, "why can't we do it here?"

His rhetorical question should not be misunderstood — ANC hardliners have always displayed a callous disregard for the Queensbury rules of politics, and we have no doubt there are plenty of likeminded militants in kwaZulu/Natal who would welcome the opportunity to "concretise their revolutionary fervour" through a repeat of Bophuthatswana.

The simple answer to Nkandimeng's question, however, is "because it won't work" — and this is not for want of trying. Despite approximately 350 IFP office bearers having been assassinated by the ANC, SACP and

MK since they brought violence to the kwaZulu/Natal region; despite the ready availability of arms and ammunition stockpiled in caches around the region; despite safe havens in and logistical support from the Transkei; despite roving MK hit squads intimidating communities; despite the training of thousands and thousands of cadres — despite all these, kwaZulu and the IFP are still here.

One should recall the attempt by the tripartite alliance in 1990 to have kwaZulu "disbanded". This tragic decision, condemned by the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo and others, inevitably resulted in a terrible bloodbath from which South Africa has never recovered. Since "disbanding kwaZulu" was somehow equated with destroying the IFP countrywide, the campaign was initiated by calls to "the people" to wipe the IFP off the face of the Reef.

That the East Rand is what it is today is directly attributable to this savage display of intolerance and hunger for power through the barrel of the gun. But kwaZulu and the IFP are still here.

One should recall the alliance again reverting to its old tricks, when,



Ziba Jiyane ... Sticking to principles

having failed to get its way at Codesa, it embarked upon "mass action" from June 1993 to force the government's compliance with the ANC's negotiating demands.

The euphemism "mass action" included calls to overthrow a number of administrations perceived as hostile — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and kwaZulu in particular. We all know what happened at Bisho, but strangely enough, despite repeated statements by the kwaZulu/Natal ANC leadership that the campaign was still on in this region, in fact it never occurred. The reason is that it was never possible, and the ANC was very aware of the likely results of attempting it.

Where does that leave us now? Despite trying every trick in the book to secure a weak and compliant IFP, the ANC is faced with a powerful IFP and kwaZulu government sticking resolutely to their principles — which at present include the fact that we will not be participating in elections unless certain fundamental problems we have with the constitution are addressed.

But this presents a problem to the ANC and government which, while stating publicly that our participation is essential, privately believe there is no need to take our concerns seriously enough to facilitate this through amending the constitution.

Fearing the results of our possible non-participation however, they are therefore seeking a means of securing their interests while denying us ours by "levelling the playing field" in the region in anticipation of our non-participation.

Earlier ANC suggestions — such as that kwaZulu's budget be unilaterally suspended — to force our compliance are now being replaced with the notion of TEC intervention and the deployment of a massive security force presence to "minimise violence", despite the IFP having decided that non-participation would be strictly peaceful and legal. In terms of this scenario, following April 27, the kwaZulu government will be replaced and the IFP will quietly get lost in the political wilderness while Jacob Zuma and his merry band take over.

The big question, of course, is whether this scenario is realistic. Notwithstanding the avalanche mentality of the deal-makers (nothing can stop the inevitable), there are good grounds for believing that things will not be quite as simple as this, and there would without doubt be a host of difficulties associated with the imposition of a constitution and of a government elected under it, neither of which reflect the region's popular will.

It is this central fact that will frustrate any attempted repeat of Bophuthatswana here, just as it has frustrated the ANC in the past. That is why the overthrow of Ulundi is no more than a pipe dream. Not only that, attempts to implement such a policy would merely strengthen, rather than weaken the IFP's hand, as the anti-democrats will be perceived for what they really are — political bullies of the nastiest type.

Our advertisement in last week's Sunday newspapers urged people to "vote IFP when the time comes". We hope this is soon, and if those parties comprising the Transitional Executive Council were to devote more time to finding solutions to the crisis rather than trying to ignore them or trying to create a new crisis of vast proportions, then we could get on with the task at hand — holding elections for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Bophuthatswana? Let me assure you, it will not happen in kwaZulu/Natal.

Inkatha trains troops to wage guerrilla war

By Liz Sly

TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

UMFOLOZI, South Africa—Most visitors to this remote wilderness come in tour buses with the hope of seeing the rhinos. They are probably unaware that in a corner of this game reserve, cordoned off with barbed wire, about 1,000 young men loyal to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are being trained in the arts of war.

On one recent morning, a group of several dozen recruits stood in the shade of a tree practicing firing handguns. Another group was receiving instruction on the relative merits of R-1 and R-4 automatic rifles. Another was learning bush survival tactics.

The goal of the training is defensive, insists Philip Powell, a young aide to Buthelezi who runs the camp.

In response to the African National Congress' "self-defense units" formed in the early 1990s to protect communities against attacks by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the police, it was decided to form "self-protection units" to protect Inkatha communities against ANC attacks, he said.

But the tactics learned would be equally useful for waging guerrilla warfare. There is widespread fear that is precisely what Buthelezi is planning, now that he has decided to assume the role of rebel during South Africa's transition to democracy.

The skills also would be applicable to the kind of low-intensity civil war being waged in the province of Natal between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC.

With Inkatha boycotting South Africa's first democratic election April 27, the battle lines are drawn for a full-blown conflict over whether people in Natal should vote. Buthelezi would seize on a low turnout as evidence his opposition to the new constitution enjoys majority support.

The recruits have been coming to the camp in batches since October, and by the time of the election it is hoped that 5,000 will have been trained, Powell said.

Each of Natal's 350 or so chiefs has been asked to send 10 volunteers for the training, although some will send more, he added. Several hundred Inkatha supporters also have been sent to the camp by the *indunas*, or leaders, of hostels in the Johannesburg area.

When the recruits "graduate" after two months, they are qualified to obtain licenses for 9 mm pistols, pump-action shotguns and G-3 semiautomatic rifles.

They are trained by members of Buthelezi's KwaZulu police force, a semiautonomous force that has been implicated in death squad activity.

Fresh evidence has emerged recently that 200 Inkatha members trained in 1986 at a South African army base in Caprivi, near Namibia, were absorbed into the KwaZulu police to carry out hit murders.

The ANC believes the Umfolozi camp is an extension of that training operation, and that recruits are being returned to their communities to lead attacks against ANC supporters.

ANC officials call Powell a "white warlord," and say he has been responsible for organizing violence in Natal.

Powell, who spent four years with the South African police, denies the allegation. He describes himself as a would-be academic forced off the sidelines by "the sweep of history" to challenge South Africa's new constitution.

Powell insists the project is benign. For years, he said, shooting was a white-only privilege.

"It's part of the process of democratization in South Africa. Black people want the right to own arms," he said. "We're trying to contribute to the responsible ownership of guns."

Nonetheless, in the context of rising tension in Natal as the election approaches, it is difficult not to see the camp's purpose as ominous. The camp's recruits, combined with the KwaZulu police force, would give Buthelezi an armed force of 10,000 men.

Powell denies Inkatha is preparing for war. "We can't do it. We don't have the resources," he said.

And a guerrilla war? "That remains to be seen," Powell said. "You need more than 10,000 men. You need international support, you need bases."

There is no evidence that Buthelezi has international support. But he does have his stronghold, his capital (Ulundi) and the rolling hills surrounding it, where the training camp is located. This is remote, wild territory perfectly suited to guerrilla warfare.

Powell says the recruits may be called on if the South African government decides to send troops into KwaZulu to make sure the elections are held, as the ANC is demanding.

Whatever the intentions behind the training camp, Powell, like everyone else in this blood-stained province, is deeply pessimistic about the chances for peace.

"I see a great sense of resolve building around the [Zulu] king's demand for a Zulu kingdom," he said. "There's a full-blown civil war looming."

S. African whites burn new flag

FROM TRIBUNE WIRE

PRETORIA, South Africa—More than 6,000 white extremists dressed in khaki and packing guns burned the flag of the new South Africa and swore Saturday to fight for an independent whites-only state.

They symbolically proclaimed Pretoria the capital of the white "volksstaat" and unveiled a map

encompass two of South Africa's four provinces, the Transvaal and Orange Free State, plus part of northern Natal to provide a corridor to the Indian Ocean.

In Durban, South African President F. W. de Klerk said after a five-hour meeting with Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi Saturday he was more optimistic that fair and free elections could be held in the volatile Natal area.

Zulus: Halt vote

De Klerk may
send troops to
ensure election

... or else

By Liz Sly

TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned Tuesday that the African National Congress faces a fight to the finish unless elections are postponed, further raising tensions in the wake of Monday's carnage in Johannesburg.

"The only way to be sure of avoiding the degeneration of the South African situation into one of ungovernability and violence beyond control is to suspend the election date," said Buthelezi, whose decision to boycott South Africa's first democratic election April 26-28 already has led to sharply increased violence.

Hopes that Monday's bloodshed would catapult the country's leaders toward settling their differences dwindled Tuesday with the refusal of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to attend a crisis meeting this week and Buthelezi's bellicose talk.

The death toll from Monday's carnage has risen to 53, making it South Africa's worst single incident of violence in years.

As violence continued in the mainly Zulu province of Natal, the Transitional Executive Council, a government advisory body, began considering emergency powers to allow South African Defense Force troops to move into Natal to ensure voting there over Buthelezi's objections.

Buthelezi and his nephew, the king, want a sovereign Zulu kingdom established in Natal. It was during a march through Johannesburg by their supporters Monday that the bloodshed occurred.

Now, town Johannesburg was largely quiet Tuesday, though at one point a gunman in a mini-van fired shots at African National Congress headquarters, one of Monday's flashpoints where seven Zulus were shot dead by ANC guards.

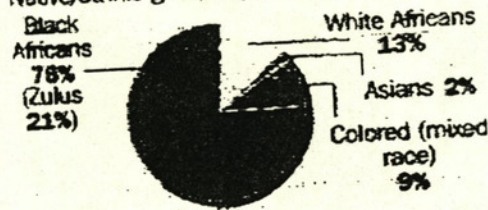
There were, however, scenes of panic throughout the city Tuesday as rumors spread that the Zulu

Zulus struggle for identity in new South Africa

Violent confrontations in recent days between Zulus and forces supporting the African National Congress have killed scores of people and wounded hundreds more. The Zulus fear losing their cultural identity in a unified South Africa and are demanding their own kingdom. They threaten to boycott the election set for April 26-28.

► Zulus are the largest native group in South Africa

Native/ethnic groups by percent of population



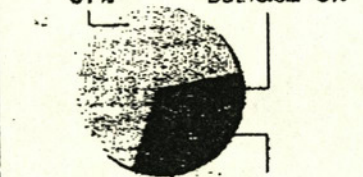
► Battle for political power

Zulu leaders fear ANC dominance will result in loss of their tribe's culture. Several of the nation's bloodiest conflicts have been in the KwaZulu-Natal region between ANC and Zulu-led Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

► South Africa

Political parties, their leaders and estimated support

Party	Leader	Estimated Support
African National Congress	Nelson Mandela	67%
Inkatha Freedom Party*	Mangosuthu Buthelezi	6%



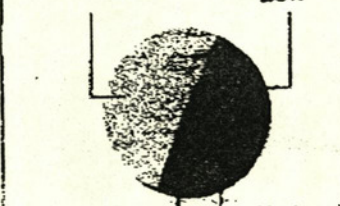
*Boycotting election

Sources: News reports, Institute for Multiparty Democracy opinion survey, South African Institute for Race Relations
Chicago Tribune/Ken Marshall and David Jahntz

► KwaZulu-Natal

Political parties and estimated support

Party	Estimated Support
African National Congress	51%
Inkatha Freedom Party	23%



ANC may have erred — Sexwale

ANC PWV regional leader Tokyo Sexwale said last night he "did not like some of the characters" found on the organisation's election list, and the ANC might even have made a mistake in accepting some of them into its ranks.

Speaking at a public

GAVIN DU VENAGE

meeting in Johannesburg. Sexwale said in response to challenges from the floor on the ANC's inclusion of JN Reddy and Nelson Ramodike on the ANC's election list that "democracy sometimes meant accepting people who would normally have been ignored."

The ANC, he said, had come in for "unprecedented criticism" over its inclusion of former tricameral parliament member Reddy, and for accepting the nomination of former homeland leader Ramodike.

Sexwale said also he did not like some of the strategies used in election poli-

tics, but under the circumstances they were necessary. The ANC had accepted Reddy as it hoped he would draw support away from the NP and strengthen the alliance.

"We may have made a mistake," he said.

However, Ramodike was nominated and received enough votes from his constituency to legitimise his presence on the list.

The ANC had opened its nominations to the public, and would have had to accept the results even if it meant accepting people that it did not really want. "Some of them we may never trust," he said.

Report by G Duvenage. TML 11 Dispatch
St. Job

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk told a news conference yesterday he had been informed about a Goldstone commission investigation which, if the allegations were found to be true, would result in a "fairly serious" situation.

He was responding to speculation that the com-

Goldstone probes 'arms to political party'

mission was about to release a report about a senior security force member engaged in supplying arms to a political party.

De Klerk said he had asked Judge Richard Goldstone to complete the investigation as soon as possible.

Sapa reports Transkei

leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said he was awaiting a Goldstone commission report which links senior members of the SA security establishment to alleged drug trafficking and the supply of weapons to Inkatha.

Speaking at Natal Uni-

versity, Holomisa said information provided to the commission last year had implicated six generals in the illicit activities.

"(The) number two of one of your security forces" is involved, he said.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb and J Walters, Sapa, 141 Cornhill, Silver St, Jhb

THE BUS.DAY, FRIDAY 18 MARCH 199

Election monitors

IEC commissioner Peter Harris yesterday said 4 500 election monitors had been recruited so far and 750 observers from 19 foreign organisations had volunteered to monitor the elections.

NEWS

**Mangope thanks
Buthelezi for
intervention**

OUSTED Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday that intervention by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had led to the restoration of his freedom after a day under house arrest.

In his first public appearance since fleeing Mmabatho, Mangope said Buthelezi had personally discussed the matter with President FW de Klerk.

Mangope said he wished to thank Buthelezi "for standing up to the dictatorial actions of the SA government". He repeated that he intended to challenge his removal from office. Page 2

NP campaigns to woo domestic workers

PRETORIA — The NP has begun a campaign to get domestic workers to vote for it in the elections.

"Are you going to vote against the ANC/SACP ... are you going to vote for the NP?" the party asks householders and their servants in 160 000 pamphlets

distributed in Pretoria, Verwoerdburg and Bronkhorstspuit.

"Please approach your neighbours, friends and employees to vote for the NP," it says.

It adds that intimidation could be prevented if employers enabled their work-

ers to vote at polling stations nearest to their homes or businesses.

ANC spokesman Baleka Kgositsile described the campaign as "disgusting".

"Here you have a party calling itself the new NP, but this just shows up their old, arrogant, racist approach ... blacks are simply included in the baggage."

The DP's Rob Harper said he did not see anything unethical in the approach.

Carel Swanepoel, of the NP's Pretoria election office, said the party had not had any feedback yet.

— Reuter.

Report by O Orobouna, Reuter, 1 Park Rd, Richmond, Jhb.

Teargas thrown at De Klerk meeting

AFTER an incident-free day visit to Soweto, President FW de Klerk's penultimate roadshow before the April elections ended in Vereeniging in the Vaal Triangle yesterday night with a teargas canister being lobbed into the packed Civic Centre, where at least 1 300 NP supporters had gathered.

NP spokesman Jan Bosman said the canister was thrown into the hall, presumably by right-wingers who had threatened to disrupt the meeting, shortly before the end of the gathering at 9pm, Sapa reports.

A witness said two teenagers carried the canister outside and threw it into a fountain. Police took charge, but no one was arrested in connection with the incident.

During De Klerk's address a stink bomb was let off in the hall.

TIM COHEN reports Soweto residents offered the NP leader a sympathetic hearing during his low-key tour of the township.

Speaking at a news conference during his one-day tour of the Johannesburg region, De Klerk said the openness and friendliness shown by Soweto "gives me hope for the future".

De Klerk said if his visit to Soweto was an example of what the country could expect in the future, then it was a good omen.

"It proves once again that we can have free and fair elections provided party leaders discipline their followers."

De Klerk said he hoped SA had seen the end of disruptions, but his confidence was not borne out at his next meeting in the coloured community of Toekomsrus, where about 400 evenly matched ANC and NP supporters came close to drowning him out during his address.

Despite the rowdiness, the mood was one of friendly competition, in contrast to his Soweto walkabouts, where most residents were more intrigued than enthusiastic.

Both meetings were in sharp contrast to his reception earlier in the day at RAU University, where he was applauded and politely listened to by students, who gave him a huge cake for his birthday today.

He told RAU students that events in Bophuthatswana demonstrated how reviled the AWE was by blacks and it also showed how futile it was to attempt change by violent means.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Oregonsi St. Jhb and M. Schmekege, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St. Jhb.

The new order in SA takes its cue from the old

FEW people will mourn the demise of the homeland system. Represented by the NP as an exercise in decolonisation to give people their "separate freedoms", it was in reality a Machiavellian scheme to strip millions of black people of their SA citizenship in violation of human rights and international law.

The best that can be said of President Lucas Mangope is that he sincerely believed in the freedom supposedly on offer, wanted to establish a racism-free enclave, and was naive enough to trust the NP. The worst that can be said is that he colluded with the NP in the denationalisation of 1.8-million Tswana-speaking South Africans — 600 000 inside Bophuthatswana and 1.1-million in the white-designated area outside — so bringing that much closer Connie Mulder's infamous dream of a SA that would one day have no black people who were citizens.

The whole basis of the apartheid system would thus change. Black South Africans outside homeland areas would in future be denied the parliamentary franchise on the grounds that they were foreigners rather than because they were black.

Though this was madness, there was method in it.

When Mangope realised the full implications of the denationalisation policy, he almost decided to break off negotiations with Prime Minister John Vorster. However, he was persuaded by his constitutional advisers to accept "independence" and then attempt to bargain back the SA citizenship of Tswanas living outside Bophuthatswana.

Even before the advent of independence (on December 6 1977) Mangope was the focus of protest. His legislative assembly building was burnt down in August 1976, and there were arson attacks on schools. Mangope's regime became more and more repressive and it was revolutionary violence that ultimately brought it to an end.

Although its political institutions were set up in the furtherance of a nefarious political design, Bophuthatswana did chalk up some successes, notably in education — where it obtained the highest matric pass rates among black schools for the past four years, including, in one year, a rate of 73%. Most of these achievements will now be forgotten.

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

Also forgotten — or rather simply ignored — has been the law. Following the military coup executed by the SADF in Minabatho last week, Tjaart van der Walt and Job Mokgoro were placed in office by means no more lawful than those by which Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, Brig Oupa Gqozo and Brig Gabriel Ramushwana assumed office.

It is argued that Mangope brought his fate upon himself by refusing to commit himself to the elections in April, and that there was a "power vacuum" which had to be filled.

This may or may not be so. What is incontrovertible — and has been admitted to the SA Institute of Race Relations by the President's office and the Foreign Affairs and Constitutional Development departments — is that there was no legal basis either for his removal or for the dismissal of members of his parliament. An official in Roelf Meyer's department told the institute that if

Mangope were to go to court he would probably win.

President FW de Klerk says he has been advised that last week's actions were permissible in international law, but this is a red herring, for they were in violation of SA law.

Even though Bophuthatswana was rightly refused recognition by the international community, it was in SA law a "sovereign and separate state" — to quote the Status of Bophuthatswana Act of 1977. This Act was not due to lapse until the transitional constitution comes into effect at the end of April.

Moreover, the Transitional Executive Council Act is quite explicit that its provisions do not apply to Bophuthatswana unless incorporated into that territory's own law. Although government law advisers say the Independent Electoral Commission's intervention was lawful, the TEC exercised authority it did not have.

This week officials in various government departments were scratching around in an attempt to find some means to legalise last week's illegal acts, and the result is a decree which, inter alia, suspends Bophuth-

atswana's constitution.

Unlawfully placed in power by government and the TEC, Van der Walt and Mokgoro have, it would appear, used their unlawful power to validate retroactively the unlawful actions of those who put them there. Retroactive proclamations were one of the hallmarks of the security system introduced by John Vorster.

The real victim of the action by government and the TEC is thus not Mangope, but the "Rechtsstaat" — one in which the law is supreme — that the NP promised would be established in SA. The principles of legality that were supposed to distinguish the new SA from the old have been violated at the very start of the transitional period, and the notions that "might is right" and "the end justifies the means" established as guiding principles of the new SA.

All South Africans have been given notice that a government of national unity is unlikely to allow inconvenient laws to get in its way. This is probably the best bit of voter education we have yet had.

© Kane-Berman is SA Institute of Race Relations executive director.

LETTERS

DP vehemently opposed cosy deals

Dear Sir,
I WISH to protest at the gratuitous insult to the DP by John Kane-Berman in his otherwise excellent article in Business Day on March 16. He says the biggest strategic blunder was that government agreed to ANC calls for constitutional negotiations to become a bilateral affair ... and "to their shame, the DP and others lent respectability to this state of affairs".

What rubbish! The DP was itself excluded from this shabby undemocratic process of bilateral deals and protested most vehemently and frequently. The problem was that the media did not bother to report this, as so often they publicise only what the big and the bad say and do. The DP only reluctantly supported the passing in Parliament of the defective interim constitution in Decem-

ber to avoid delaying the elections -- with all the possible disastrous consequences that might bring.

The DP stayed in the Kempton Park negotiations in spite of the obvious weaknesses and, by doing so, was able to expose much that was wrong, including the emasculation of federalism, which has been a cornerstone of DP policy since the days of the former Progressive Federal Party. If the Inkatha Freedom Party, (and the CP and Bophuthatswana) had stayed in the negotiations, they could have blocked the ANC/SACP/Nat deals and achieved a much better interim constitution.

The "whites only" referendum showed the stupidity of the CP opting

out, but Inkatha and the CP have, with their confrontational attitudes, now cut themselves off from taking part in the election, although they were given every chance.

Postponing the election date would have the gravest consequences for SA, and the only sensible option left for Inkatha and CP members is to vote massively for the DP and get the kind of SA which will ensure their freedom and economic survival.

PAUL ASHERSON
Johannesburg

□□□□

Dear Sir,
THE use of the phrases "staunchly

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libertarian" and "almost everything controlled by government should be privatised" in Tim Cohen's article on the Federal Party (Business Day, March 17) is misleading.

The Federal Party is not libertarian; its central plank is to devolve decision-making powers to regions, municipalities, communities and even to residents' associations.

One of the most important powers that should be devolved to regions is economic policy, and we do not pre-

scribe that policy. On the contrary, we believe that a variety of competing policies, ranging from interventionist to laissez-faire, should coexist so that different areas can learn from each other what works best. We will fight in the constituent assembly for a constitution that allows this.

In their personal capacities many of the candidates and members of the Federal Party believe that freeing the market is the most effective way to stimulate rapid economic growth. No doubt they will argue for those policies in their own regions should our constitutional ideas prevail.

FRANCES KENDALL
Norwood

O While pseudonyms are sometimes acceptable, correspondents should sign letters and give their names, a street address and a daytime contact number. The Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.

Not a word

I HAVE listened carefully, but the silence is deafening! Not one word of condemnation for the brutal murders of two wounded, helpless men in Mafikeng was heard from Archbishop Tutu, Bishop Storey, the Roman Catholic Church, Dr Alan Boesak, the Rev Frank Chikane, Ds Heyns, or other church leaders.

What has happened to their Christianity? Are they too frightened of the ANC to stand up and be counted and heard? Or were the victims the wrong colour?

Let me state emphatically that I do not support the AWB movement, nor do I approve of its activities.

P ROBINSON

Uvongo

PAC broke but unbowed, Makwetu says

PAC president Clarence Makwetu yesterday said his party was broke and officials were living from hand to mouth on donations of R5 to R50 from supporters.

He said arrangements had been made to restore the PAC's telecommunications, disconnected this week after a R94 000 bill went unpaid. The lack of funds plus the effort to meet these arrangements was going to seriously hamper its chances in the elections.

Makwetu said PAC officials from the president down had not been paid for nine months. "If we don't find the funds we

BILLY PADDOCK

might find ourselves in trouble.

"Some of our posters are handwritten on cheap paper and done in townships and squatter camps."

He blamed the PAC's problems on the business and international communities, accusing them of withholding funding to the PAC to ensure an ANC election victory.

"Big business and the overseas community is determined to ensure that these are one-sided elections."

He said the US had given at least \$10m to

the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The Scandinavian countries had donated R25m to the ANC. The French had also donated to the ANC. "The PAC and other organisations have been ignored and our efforts to get the same kind of assistance have fallen on deaf ears," he said.

He argued that all international funds should be placed in a common pool for all parties to use in proportion to their support. "But we are not pulling out of the elections. We are not throwing in the towel and creating excuses in case we lose."

Report by W. Paddock, TML, 11 Dapoon St, Job

ANC small business loan guarantee plan

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE ANC wanted to establish a "national enabling fund" that would guarantee loans for small and medium enterprises, ANC deputy economics head Tito Mboweni said last night.

Speaking in Johannesburg at a conference to put the ANC position on small business, Mboweni said collateral for loans was the single biggest factor preventing blacks from raising capital for businesses.

The enabling fund would provide lending institutions with a certificate of guarantee after the applicant had been screened.

Legislation would have to be introduced penalising discriminating lending practices which, although they were not the policy of lending institutions, still resided "in the guts" of many bankers.

He said institutions were hesitant to lend to black entrepreneurs despite claims that criteria were the same for all races. Legislation would ensure banks' lending practices were based on economics only.

It would also be necessary to provide training, Mboweni said although most entrepreneurs flourished without formal qualifications, they should have access to skills upgrading programmes.

Responding to a question, he said tax breaks for small and medium enterprises would have to be negotiated. Taxation on small businesses "would not be left up to bureaucrats in Pretoria".

Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa

☐ To Page 2

Small business

☐ From Page 1

told the conference it was not true that small business and labour were in conflict. He said the trade unions, although for the most part active in big business, recognised the value of small businesses in creating employment.

However, it was important that employees in all sectors of the economy be protected. He said Cosatu rejected following

the Asian route to economic growth, which depended on cheap labour.

Shilowa said legislation encouraging small businesses, and active participation by this sector, were necessary for growth. "Big business claims to speak for all business. Small business must not stand back, even under a new government, and allow others to make decisions for it," he said.

ANC fears 'assassination plot'

Mandela's meeting with king called off

THE landmark summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini scheduled for today is off because of fears for Mandela's safety if he goes to Ulundi.

Meanwhile, a further attempt by government to gain a "form of participation" for the Inkatha Freedom Party in the election was dismissed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday.

The ANC announced the postponement of the first meeting between the two — called to discuss the king's demand for a Zulu kingdom and his fears of the new constitution — after Buthelezi invited "all the king's subjects" to attend.

ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said in a letter to Buthelezi the ANC had received "firm reports that an attempt will be made on our president's life should he visit Ulundi" and requested a postponement.

The postponement of the meeting — crucial to the constitutional process and which would take a long time to set up again — could harden the attitudes of Buthelezi and the king in the proposed mediation.

Zwelithini said yesterday he would not encourage his people to vote in the April elections under the current constitution, but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott. He would do that only if and when mediation had failed.

Speaking in Ulundi at a lunch in honour of Land and Regional Affairs Minister André Fourie, who had opened a session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he referred to meetings with President FW de Klerk at the Union Buildings and at the Durban City Hall. "When the crowds became excited, all I had to do was to go out

BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

to a place where I could be seen, and hold up my hand, and command the dignity of quietness, and a great quietness indeed settled upon the crowd.

"What I am now saying when I speak as king of the Zulus is that I urge you to convey to the President the rank foolishness of believing that you can have a free and fair election in KwaZulu, when the election is being foisted on people without their approval," he said.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose indicated ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma had sought to shift the meeting to Durban after the ANC heard that it would take place amid a mass meeting. Buthelezi had refused.

Mbeki said the ANC appreciated assurances given by Mdlalose that additional security measures would be instituted, as well as the invitation to the ANC to send an advance team of its own security staff to Ulundi. "We are, however, of the view that, given the nature of the threat as it has been communicated to us, the time is insufficient to make satisfactory security arrangements."

ANC and police spokesmen said last night they had no knowledge of the threat having been reported to the authorities.

Mbeki added: "It is only fair to indicate that our own expectation was that the president would be afforded an opportunity to discuss, in depth, with the king in a closed meeting, legal and constitutional matters of concern to the king."

De Klerk told a news conference during

□ To Page 2

Meeting

□ From Page 1

an electioneering visit to Soweto that he had spoken to Buthelezi on Wednesday night to make specific proposals that would lead to "a form of participation" for Inkatha.

He would not specify what the proposal was, but said it would not upset any of the time frames. Buthelezi had undertaken to discuss the proposal with his ministers.

It was speculated that the proposal would entail a kind of election alliance between Inkatha and the NP.

De Klerk said he found a suggested negative response from Buthelezi at the legislative assembly "upsetting".

In the assembly yesterday, Buthelezi warned of unparalleled resistance should action be taken against opposition to the April election. "If the current election does actually run its course, and is finally declared a free and fair election, it will be because democratic opposition has been

stifled by the might of the state."

There would be no peace or democratic settlement until there was a settlement of KwaZulu issues.

He warned of an "uncontrolled and unorchestrated internal political spontaneous combustion" in KwaZulu.

He claimed government was party to the violence that had ousted Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, and asked whether it was government's intention to do the same in KwaZulu.

He repeated that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would take part in the April poll if mediation could take place swiftly; certain amendments could be made to the constitution; and the party registration deadline and election date were reconsidered.

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 3

Directed by J. Chelmona, 1724 11 Divisadero St., P.O. Box 507, Berkeley
 EAL, 122 St. George's St., Cape Town.

TEC will crack the whip to keep government finances in check

THE Transitional Executive Council has cracked the whip on government finances as more evidence emerges of profligacy in the dying days of the current government.

The TEC finance subcommittee yesterday indicated it would keep a watchful eye on the management of self-governing territories' overdraft facilities.

It also announced it was setting up a "high-powered" fiscal control and monitoring committee to ensure public funds were properly spent and accounted for. ANC deputy economics head Tito Mboweni told a news conference: "We want to en-

sure the family silver is still there when the new administration takes over."

The TEC did not announce borrowing guidelines for the next fiscal year as was expected, but said an announcement would be made in due course.

The subcommittee expressed "extreme displeasure" at Budget overruns during the 1993/94 fiscal year in four self-governing territories. The council was forced to recommend more than R478m in central government guaranteed overdraft facilities. The biggest spender was Letowa, which was granted additional facilities of

GRETA STEYN

R339m. The other three were Gazankulu, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele. The amounts represented salary payments, social pensions and contractual commitments.

In a memo to the Regional and Land Affairs Department, the subcommittee said it was "extremely perturbed". It instructed the department to monitor the management of the overdrafts and said all further overexpenditure would be considered unauthorised. The territories' accounting officers would appear before the subcommittee

to account for their management.

Mboweni said more details would be made available next week on the new fiscal control committee as there was a growing sense that "everything goes" in the transition. Subcommittee member for government Theo Alant acknowledged there were many rumours of asset-stripping in self-governing territories.

Turning to other matters on the subcommittee's agenda, Alant said the US had requested negotiations on a double tax treaty be started immediately. SA had already responded and the US was considering its

"opening statements". He hoped SA would have double tax agreements with all the G7 countries by the end of the year. Inland Revenue policy chief Trevor van Heerden and private tax experts Dennis Davis and Michael Kalz had been drawn into negotiations.

On negotiating favourable tariff treatment from the US in terms of the Generalised System of Preferences, Mboweni said a joint committee would be set up by the subcommittee, the National Economic Forum and the Trade and Industry Department.

Report by G. Steyn. TEL: 11. Copyright: S. A. P.

Hopes fade for free elections in kwaZulu

Weekly Mail 18/3/94 HE/IN
Farouk Chothia and Estelle Handah

PROSPECTS for free elections in kwaZulu/Natal are darker than ever, as peace structures hover on the brink of collapse and the Independent Electoral Commission struggles to assert its authority over a recalcitrant kwaZulu security force.

Catastrophe was narrowly averted in the Durban township of Umlazi on Sunday, in an ominous example of how efforts to ensure free political activity are foundering.

When IFP supporters occupied the main King Zwelithini Stadium on Saturday — the day before the ANC was due to hold a rally there — IEC officials were powerless to prevent the Inkatha "protest" from continuing into the next day.

Tensions mounted as ANC supporters turned out in their thousands to hear their national chairman, Thabo Mbeki, to find heavily armed IFP supporters occupying the venue. Only police stood between thousands of political opponents, keeping the peace toll to five.

Since Umlazi falls in kwaZulu, IEC staffers relied more on the KZP than the South African Police to act against the IFP supporters.

But despite hours of negotiations, the KZP refused to take instructions from IEC officials. This raises the question: How will the IEC exert

its authority in kwaZulu?

The deadlock could be partly broken if IEC chairman, Judge Johann Krige, secures a written assurance from Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as kwaZulu minister of police, and his commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy During, that their forces will co-operate with the IEC.

ANC Natal Midlands secretary John Jeffery said the SAP had to take control of KZP areas.

Other sources said the Transitional Executive Council was planning a transitional Inspectorate with regional components. Natal was seen as a priority for such an Inspectorate, which will have powers to investigate and monitor all policing agencies.

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He added that the secondment system — the IFP and ANC provide officials to work for the peace committee — had stopped in January because "some seconders began to protect party interests".

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ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus responded: "I don't understand how they can blame the ANC. This is a clear-cut legal case and the law demands that the state must respond."

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SOUTH African Police deputy commissioner Lieutenant-General Basie Smit is at the heart of an investigation by the Goldstone Commission into a major gun-running operation to "one of the parties to the conflict in Natal".

The commission's report — which was due to be handed to President FW de Klerk on Wednesday, but was delayed at the last minute — could contain the hardest evidence to date of an organised third force within the security forces.

The Goldstone report could blow the police general staff right out of the water, said sources inside the SAP. Several other police generals are understood to have been under scrutiny in the case, which has been under investigation by the commission since mid-February.

Sources close to the investigation expect De Klerk to move against Smit within days.

Smit is widely believed to have survived an attempt by De Klerk to purge the SAP of conservative generals in August 1992, because it was felt that Smit's previous positions on the highest state security councils had given him access to information which would be damaging to the government and SAP if released.

Smit is the former head of the 12 000-strong Crime Combating and Investigation Unit, which amalgamated the Special Branch with other detective branches of the SAP. As senior deputy-commissioner he is the number two policeman in South Africa after SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

He is currently in charge of staff functions in the SAP which include all administrative and auxiliary services. The other deputy commissioner, Lieutenant-General Johan Swart, heads the executive branch in charge of police

Goldstone links SAP No 2 to gun-running

The Goldstone Commission is investigating the role of SAP Deputy Commissioner Basie Smit in Natal arms deals, report **Stephen Laufer and Paul Stober**

on the ground.

Smit has headed the security police in the Northern Transvaal and was chief of the SAP Special Branch. He has been described as "harsh" and as having "political ambitions".

Judge Richard Goldstone said on Wednesday the report into gun-running by senior figures within the security forces had been delayed because "the commission has been conducting further related inquiries".

But the delay may also have been the result of threatened legal action by some of the generals the commission was planning to finger, said one source.

Revelations of a high-level gun-running operation and a plan to instigate political violence could help explain violent incidents which have cost thousands of lives in recent months.

Van der Merwe was in emergency meetings with members of the general staff late this week. Smit was said by his secretary to be "in very urgent meetings until Monday. He is in the commissioner's office." Swart was on annual leave for three weeks, according to his office.

The Goldstone Commission is believed to have delayed its report in order to give De Klerk time to fire the SAP generals involved. "That would allow De Klerk to seize the initiative in

time for the election," said one senior source.

ANC intelligence is understood to have co-operated with the Goldstone Commission's investigation. A senior ANC source said: "This involves very high-level police officers, including generals."

The investigation was made public early this week by Transkei leader Major General Bantu Holomisa, who is number 13 on the ANC's list of candidates for the national assembly. Judge Goldstone confirmed an investigation had been underway since mid-February, saying he had kept both De Klerk and Nelson Mandela informed throughout.

A highly placed source described one of the generals involved in the gun-running operation as "the second-in-command of one of the security forces", but refused to name him. The number two slot in the South African Defence Force, chief of Defence Force Staff, is currently unoccupied after the departure late last year of Lieutenant General Pierre Steyn.

It is understood Holomisa forced the commission's hand over the results of the investigation because of continuing ANC suspicion that Goldstone is vulnerable to pressure from De Klerk.

Aller Hengrove's resignation, ANC representatives on the TEC had proposed two senior legal academics from the University of the Witwatersrand, Edwin Cameron and Gillbert Marcus. Both of these were vetoed by the NP, which countered with the proposal of Judge Fleming, deputy judge-president of the Transvaal and a noted conservative. Compromise was eventually reached on Leon, a former supreme court judge from Natal who has a strong human rights record.

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its authority in kwaZulu?

The deadlock could be partly broken if IEC chairman, Judge Johann Kriegler, secures a written assurance from Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as kwaZulu minister of police, and his commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy During, that their forces will co-operate with the IEC.

ANC Natal Midlands secretary John Jeffery said the SAP had to take control of KZP areas.

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But the ANC seems to be bearing the brunt of violence, with supporters involved in election preparations dying in three major massacres this year. McLean said that of the 424 people killed this year, 50 were known IFP members and 161 known members of the ANC.

Police general linked to gun running

Goldstone's most
explosive report will
name Basie Smit

THE country's second most powerful policeman, Lieutenant General Basie Smit, is at the heart of an investigation by the Goldstone Commission into a major gun-running operation.

The Commission's report, due to be handed to President FW de Klerk this week, is believed also to name several other generals.



Basie Smit

The report may contain the first hard evidence of an organised "third force" within the highest police ranks, report **Paul Stober** and **Stephen Laufer** on **PAGE 3**

Why I quit: By Constand Viljoen

IN a remarkably frank fax to his close supporters this week, General Constand Viljoen explained why he quit the Volksfront, blaming the ill-discipline of the AWB, constant nitpicking, and the misguided belief that armed might will bring about a Volkstaat

PAGE 2



PLUS: How the bragging right fell apart. The Bop "kaffir-shooting" spree and the mutual recriminations

PAGE 2

WEEKLY MAIL 18 - 24 MARCH 1993

Viljoen lambasts the wild right

Explaining his reasons for quitting the Volksfront, Constand Viljoen lashes out at fellow rightwingers in a fax to supporters, reports Jan Taljaard

BUREAUCRATIC foot-dragging and nitpicking inside the Afrikaner Volksfront, the misguided belief that a *volksstaat* can be sustained after being seized by military force and lack of discipline within the Afrikaner Weerstandsweg are among the key reasons given by General Constand Viljoen for quitting the AVF.

In a remarkably frank "message on AVF developments" faxed to some of his closest supporters this week, which has been acquired by the *Mail & Guardian*, Viljoen attempted to explain his actions.

The fax comes against the background of the growing fragmentation of the right. Yesterday Viljoen's Freedom Front registered a number of breakaway Conservative Party leaders on its 30-strong national and 168-strong regional lists, including CP MPs Corné Mulder, Pieter Mulder, Carl Werth (the party's Natal leader), Pieter Groenewald and Leon Louw. CP boss Ferdi Hartzenburg insisted that CP MPs standing as election candidates for another party would be automatically expelled.

Viljoen is blunt in his condemnation of the AWB: "It is known that I am taking a strong stand against the AWB, especially because of the effect of some of their actions on the image of the AVF and because of their refusal to obey military leadership and orders."

Viljoen laid the blame for the military failure of the rightwing forces in Bophuthatswana at its doorstep: "It has come to my attention the

military personnel of the logistics base of Bop mustered when they heard that the AWB was involved and the weapons were intended for the AWB. Because of this a great number of the best forces did not receive weapons and could not be deployed."

Also taking a beating were AVF supporters who advocate armed resistance in order to attain a *volksstaat*. Viljoen reasoned that the rightwing will not be able to hold on to such a *volksstaat*.

"Holding on to what you have conquered — not only on a military level, but also on financial and other levels — is something that has to be considered carefully. Many members of the controlling structures differed with me... and were feeling the time had come for us to use our military power to gain what we could not attain on the political front."

"Even though we are strong on the military level, it is necessary that this strength be exercised as a last resort and that cognisance be taken

of the misery that could be the result of military violence, as was the case in Bophuthatswana."

The fax makes it clear that Viljoen remains a fervent advocate of the *volksstaat* ideal. He nevertheless cautions that even if a sovereign *volksstaat* could be negotiated, it would be economically and constitutionally linked to the larger South Africa.

He gives this as one of the reasons he favours a negotiated option and participation in the election.

It also becomes apparent that differences on this issue were the major bone of contention between himself and other members of the AVF.

"If we were to establish a *volksstaat* on a legal basis, there is a legal requirement: we have to prove our support among the Afrikaners. The government refuses a referendum before April 27. A referendum after April 27 is unthinkable. The only alternative open to us at this stage is to take part in the elections and then to use the votes for the AVF as indication of this support."

"This is a difficult idea to accept, but our critics gave us no choice."

The frustration felt by the military man of action when confronted by the bureaucratic foot-dragging of professional politicians becomes apparent: "My sense of urgency, the government's speeding up of the process and a heavy workload could most certainly have created the impression that I acted on my own with the situation always changing, and without always meeting with the appropriate committees and governing bodies."

Viljoen ends the four-page message on a rather despondent note. "Naturally, it is not easy to argue clinically about something that was so important to me during the past year. To me, achieving our aim is an ideal — our *volksstaat* an all-consuming obsession. I cannot continue when I feel that constraints are rendering me ineffective."

"There comes a time when it is best to make a decision. I am committed to achieving our life's aim and hope to lead the *Voetsiedersfront* parallel with the AVF to do that."

Poll code breaches probed

■ BY JUSTICE MALALA

The Independent Electoral Commission is investigating 70 complaints of breaches of the electoral code, and two complaints will be heard in court soon.

The first case to be heard is between the Democratic Party Youth League and the University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council following an incident at the university. The case will be heard at the Bellville Magistrate's Court soon.

The second will deal with the alleged occupation of the Umlazi Stadium by Inkatha Freedom Party members shortly before the ANC held a rally there. The IFP was summonsed yesterday.

Other cases are under mediation by the IEC's mediation department.

The IEC also announced it was train-

ing 2 500 monitors weekly in a bid to meet its goal of training up 10 000 monitors by April 8.

IEC monitoring directorate chief Peter Harris said yesterday the training of monitors was proceeding well and that provincial co-ordinators had been appointed in all regions.

The co-ordinators would assist in the recruitment and training of monitors in the different regions.

Harris said monitoring teams had already been deployed at political meetings. He said 14 monitoring teams were deployed in the Transvaal at the weekend, including three at the Messina meeting addressed by President de Klerk at which stones were thrown and rubber bullets fired.

(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)

300 000 people to help run election

Ballot paper for the big day is unveiled

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

Options, options! This is a specimen of the National Assembly ballot paper that voters will be confronted with on election day.

One choice must be made from the 18 political parties reflected on the ballot paper, which will be 60 cm long in its actual form.

A cross or tick must be placed next to the chosen party in the empty space at the far right. Any other mark or marks will be considered a spoilt ballot.

Every voter will be presented with a second ballot paper reflecting only the parties competing for seats in the voter's regional legislature. There will be nine regional legislatures, one in each of the nine new provinces.

The regional ballot papers will all be A4 in size, and will follow the same presentational formula as the National Assembly ballot paper. Again, only one party must be chosen on the regional ballot paper presented to the voter.

**FROM PAC to NP, with
KISS and Soccer thrown in,
the new South Africa is just
around the corner**

Some 80 million of these colourful documents are currently being churned out on printing presses in England, to be flown back to South Africa by April 17.

They will then be distributed under strictest security to the 9 000 voting stations around the country.

■ There will be 9 000 voting stations and no fewer than 126 000 ballot boxes and 81 374 voting compartments for the election, the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday.

■ Sapa reports that the commission will employ nearly 300 000 people — provincial electoral officers, deputy officers, assistant deputy electoral officers, presiding officers, voting officers and enumerators — to run the election.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Police seize arms at out-of-town Mayekiso's home

Police raided the home of ANC election candidate Moses Mayekiso early today and seized illegal arms and ammunition after receiving a tip-off.

Mayekiso was not at his home

early West home at the time of the raid.

A couple at the house at the time were arrested, police said.

A hand-grenade and a G3 rifle with three magazines were con-

fiscated.

Police said they searched the house after receiving information from a "reliable source".

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mosepe said the organisation had

noted with concern the raid at Mayekiso's home. He said Mayekiso was out of town and the ANC was trying to contact him to investigate the matter. — Crime Reporter

CP crisis grows as 9 opt for poll

BY KAIZER
NYATSUMBA and
JOHN SODERLAND

The crisis facing the Conservative Party deepened yesterday — with confirmation that as many as nine of its 34 MPs will contest next month's election on a Freedom Front ticket and that most whites approve of the FF's participation.

The confirmation, made by FF leaders yesterday, means more than a quarter of the CP's MPs will follow General Constand Viljoen, who recently resigned from both the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Freedom Alliance.

They will automatically be expelled from the CP.

And a survey conducted among 911 whites in traditionally conservative areas in the PWV showed that Viljoen gets the thumbs-up from the majority of whites for taking the FF into the election.

Conducted by the Market Intelligence Resource Group, the survey found that up to 72,5 percent of whites approached thought Viljoen was doing the right thing. This contrasts with only 11,6 percent of the respondents who were against participation.

Significantly, 63,9 percent of the respondents said they disapproved of

a volkstaat for Afrikaners, while only 25 percent were in favour of it.

The FF's election lists, submitted to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) this week, have the names of 206 people standing for the National Assembly and the regional legislatures.

Prominent names are former CP Natal leader Carl Werth, Free State leader Abrie Oosthuizen, Transvaal deputy leader Dr Pieter Mulder and Cape deputy leader Willem Botha. Viljoen heads the FF list for the National Assembly.

Meanwhile, the North West Christian Democratic Party — which for-

mer Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope last week said he would lead into the election — yesterday appeared to have failed to submit its lists of candidates.

Among the CP MPs on the FF list are Dr Corne Mulder (Randfontein), Joseph Chiole (Pretoria West), Leon Louw (Welkom), Dr Willie Botha (Rustenburg), Piet Groenewald (Stilfontein). Also on the lists are General Kobus Visser, former CP and AVF Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz, Afrikaner Freedom Foundation chairman Professor Carel Boshoff and former NP MP Roger Whiteley.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

I will use courts, says Mangope †

BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Motswedi — Ousted Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope is to use the courts to challenge his removal as president.

"I still regard myself constitutionally as president of Bophuthatswana," he said in Motswedi yesterday.

Mangope also repeated his allegation that he had been placed under house arrest on Monday by the SA Government.

"It was apparently because of my insistence that I am still president.



Lucas Mangope . . . 'I'm still president'

They thought I was planning to mount a coup.

"Instead of a coup, I

am consulting with my legal advisers in order to take the South African

Government to court to protect the constitutional interests of Bophuthatswana.

"I am not seeking reinstatement as president but rather clarity on the legal position."

Speaking at a community centre about a kilometre from his family home, Mangope maintained that the Government had no legal right to remove him.

He also said the Government and the ANC were in the process of "raping the constitution of Bophuthatswana".

Inquiry urgently sought ✕

The Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe has asked the Goldstone Commission to hold an urgent public inquiry into accusations that senior SAP officers were involved in acts of violence and gun-running.

In a statement released today, General van der Merwe said he was aware that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone was conducting an inves-

tigation into the acts of violence and gun-running.

"Personally I have no reason whatsoever to believe that any senior member of the SAP is involved in such activities.

"Although I am aware of certain allegations being investigated by the Goldstone Commission against Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, I am convinced that any proper investigation will clear

him and that his honour and professional reputation will emerge unblemished from this episode.

"It is a matter of the greatest possible importance to both the SAP and the future of the judicial system that this matter be dealt with in such a manner that justice is seen to be done and that the basic principles of justice are strictly adhered to," Van der Merwe said.

Top SAP generals accused

◀ From Page 1

the security forces, "had been involved in, among other things, ... the supply of weapons to Natal — to the IFP".

Speaking at an election meeting in Chatsworth, Natal, on Wednesday night, Mandela claimed violence was being fuelled by senior of-

ficials in State structures, Sapa reports.

"When we are in power we will weed out the criminal elements in the security forces.

"I hope that before April 27 there will be sufficient evidence to show that there is a third force," Mandela said.

Contacted in Pretoria for comment, SAP public

relations headquarters spokesman Captain Nina Barkhuizen said it would be "impossible" to get hold of the generals last night.

She said SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe was likely to make a statement after the Goldstone report had been released and studied.

Goldstone probe implicates top policemen in supply of weapons to Inkatha

SAP generals accused

BY SEAN JOHNSON,
ESTHER WAUGH
and RONWYN LITTLETON

IMMINENT report will allege "third force" in police ranks, say sources

Top South African Police generals — including the SAP's number two man — are understood to be directly implicated by the Goldstone Commission in the supply of weapons to members of Inkatha.

Intelligence sources told The Star yesterday that an imminent commission report will accuse the generals of involvement in an arms-supply network and other violence-related activities since 1990.

Large amounts of money are allegedly involved.

It is understood that among the men named in the report are Deputy Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, SAP intelligence chief Major-General "Kraapies" Engelbrecht and another SAP general.

The sources say the report on the Goldstone Commission's investigation into, among other matters, arms smuggling and

distribution, provides unprecedented evidence of the existence of "third force" activity within elements of the police.

The Star understands the report will also make further far-reaching allegations.

Asked last night how long it would be before the report was handed to President de Klerk, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said: "A very short period — and I mean short."

He would not comment on any other aspect of the commission's report.

In a statement on Monday, the judge responded to remarks by Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Ho-

lomisa "concerning an investigation by the commission into the supply of weapons involving senior members of one of the security forces".

Mr Justice Goldstone said, "Since 13 February 1994, the commission has been conducting an investigation which re-

SAP response - Page 3

lates, amongst other matters, to arms smuggling and distribution. The inquiry does involve limited elements in one of the security forces."

He added: "From its inception I have kept the State President fully informed... and at

my request he has given the commission the fullest support and co-operation."

"The president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, has also been kept fully informed."

At that stage the judge said the commission's report on the investigation would be handed to De Klerk "within the next 48 hours".

In a follow-up statement on Wednesday, he said the report would be "delayed for a further short period" as the "commission has been conducting further related inquiries".

The Star's independently gleaned information about the

report and its import comes after a week of intense speculation in political circles about imminent sensational disclosures.

This week Holomisa said publicly he had information about an investigation which pointed to a security force general and a member of the State Security Council supplying weapons to "a black political organisation in Natal".

Yesterday, at the University of Natal in Durban, Holomisa went further. He said it had been "confirmed" that some South African generals, including the number two in one of

► To Page 3



Deputy Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Basie Smit.

MERCURY 18/3/94 HE/IM

NEWS

Electoral Act: Two violations to be dealt with

Court to settle IFP stadium occupation

JOHANNESBURG—Two complaints of violation of the Electoral Act will go to court next week, the Independent Electoral Commission announced yesterday.

IEC head of adjudication Mojanku Gumbl said the dispute between the Democratic Party and the University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council would be heard in the Bellville magistrate's court on Monday, while the dispute between the IFP and the ANC over the IFP's occupation of Umlazi's King Zwelithini stadium on Sunday

would be heard in the Umlazi magistrate's court next Friday.

The commission had received 70 complaints of violation of the Electoral Act but some were being submitted for mediation.

Summonses had been issued for the disruption of State President FW de Klerk's meeting in Postmansburg in the northern Cape, and in Venda, allegedly by ANC supporters.

The IEC would meet the Transkei government, the Farmers' Association in the Border region and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa on Monday to discuss the

political activity.

IEC commissioner in charge of Bophuthatswana the Rev Frank Chikane said he was confident the commission's machinery in the homeland was on course.

IEC commissioner Zac Yacoob said the criteria set out in the legislation would determine parties' eligibility for electoral funding.

Parties had the option of using credible opinion poll surveys or 10 000 signatures to show their support in order to qualify for funding. — (Sapa)

Hopes fade for free elections in kwaZulu

Weekly Mail 18/3/94 HELM.

Faruk Chothia and Estelle Randall

PROSPECTS for free elections in kwaZulu/Natal are darker than ever, as peace structures hover on the brink of collapse and the Independent Electoral Commission struggles to assert its authority over a recalcitrant kwaZulu security force.

Catastrophe was narrowly averted in the Durban township of Umlazi on Sunday, in an ominous example of how efforts to ensure free political activity are foundering.

When IFP supporters occupied the main King Zwelithini Stadium on Saturday — the day before the ANC was due to hold a rally there — IEC officials were powerless to prevent the Inkatha "protest" from continuing into the next day.

Tensions mounted as ANC supporters turned out in their thousands to hear their national chairman, Thabo Mbeki, to find heavily armed IFP supporters occupying the venue. Only police stood between thousands of political opponents, keeping the death toll to five.

Since Umlazi falls in kwaZulu, IEC staffers relied more on the KZP than the South African Police to act against the IFP supporters.

But despite hours of negotiations, the KZP refused to take instructions from IEC officials. This raises the question: How will the IEC exert

its authority in kwaZulu?

The deadlock could be partly broken if IEC chairman, Judge Johann Kriegler, secures a written assurance from Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as kwaZulu minister of police, and his commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy Doring, that their forces will co-operate with the IEC.

ANC Natal Midlands secretary John Jeffery said the SAP had to take control of KZP areas.

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"Most local peace committees have fallen apart." Sources said the Umlazi peace committee came under severe strain this week, and attempts to hold a meeting failed.

After an ANC march on Tuesday — which saw streets barricaded with burning tyres in scenes reminiscent of the 1980s — the IFP has threatened to organise a counter-march. Sources said that the regional IFP and ANC leadership were locked in bitter disputes.

They said the regional peace committee was badly understaffed, with only two full-time coordinators for Natal. "The RPC finds it difficult to appoint people acceptable to both sides," said one source.

He added that the secondment system — the IFP and ANC provide officials to work for the peace committee — had stopped in January because "some secondees began to protect party interests".

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But the ANC seems to be bearing the brunt of violence, with supporters involved in election preparations dying in three major massacres this year. McLean said that of the 424 people killed this year, 50 were known IFP members and 161 known members of the ANC.

I don't know squat about whether federalism will do any good in this country. Maybe it will. But the practical examples of Buthezi and Mangope and Gqozo, or for that matter Holomisa and Ramushwana land Hartzenberg?, suggest that the DP's belief that regional governments are automatically pretty pretty

Smuts, Democratic Party

Abortion remains above all an ethical, a moral right to life issue, however, and in addition the rights of fathers simply cannot logically be ignored. To argue it as a women's rights or "pro-choice" issue is in my personal view to duck the real debate, to reduce it to a Reconstruction and Development issue as the ANC has done puts you on the slippery slope to state intervention in reproductive rights and erodes the entire concept of human rights. — Denise

The *Afton* & *Guardian* article also notes that Mabuza "has been nominated to a safe position

I have to tell my father now that in this country high social, business and academic position gives access to television, radio, and also that those who are professionally engaged in the media are, themselves, relatively well off and highly educated. No one, after reflection, can conclude that organisations which render public service should be accessible only to the élite. My father enjoys watching his favourite politician on television, but he would like to understand what he says. — Sipho Ndlovu, Imbali

Letters should be addressed to: The Letters Page, Weekly Mail & Guardian, Box 32362 Braamfontein 2017. The editors reserve the right to edit for clarity and space

Tribesmen in rival political camps fear hit squads will provoke an all-out conflict

Zulus train for war on each other

On the third leg of his South African odyssey, Sam Kiley finds that friends are preparing to become foes if that is necessary to gain their political ends

GRUNTING a war chant in unison, the company of 400 Umkhonto we Sizwe Zulu volunteers pounded the dust into a smoke around them until a single pistol shot rang out. At the signal, they fell to the ground and leopard-crawled for 100 yards.

At another command they did 20 press-ups in a routine repeated for three hours every day by the African National Congress's military wing in Mpumalanga, 20 miles west of Durban. On the other side of the township fellow Zulus, but members of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party, were doing much the same.

Since 1991 Mpumalanga has been held up as an example of peaceful coexistence between the two parties. In the run-up to next month's first post-racial elections, however, leaders on both sides know they face being swept into war by the paranoia that has engulfed their neighbours.

The squads, allegedly from Inkatha or the ANC, account for a daily death toll of about

five in the region. "I have been so worried that last week I was admitted to hospital," said Mshikak Radebe, the local ANC branch chairman.

The announcement that Inkatha would register as a party, allowing it to take part in the elections, may have served to reduce some tensions in Mpumalanga, but peace was slow in coming. The first attempts by the two local leaders to reach an accord fell apart in 1989 at the height of Natal's intercommunal violence.

"It was not right that Zulu should kill Zulu. We got together with the ANC and made another deal in 1991. That one has held so far, but now, with the election coming, if we stay away I am sure that the ANC will use their soldiers to force people to vote," said Sipho Malaba, the Mpumalanga Inkatha chairman.

But for pro-Inkatha Zulus the central question remains: Will they get their own kingdom? Using King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus as his trump card in stirring up Zulu

nationalism to combat the ANC, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, has unwrapped a powerful totem.

"I will die for the kingdom," said Mr Malaba, who runs several supermarkets in the area. He joined Inkatha after one of his shops was set alight by ANC supporters in 1989. He admits that he has been a member for several months before he found out what the party's policies were.

"If they [the ANC] do not respect the king, there will be war, we will die," Mr Malaba

who, as it happens, is a friend of Dr Radebe, added. "The ANC are training. You don't train for nothing."

As the sun began to set through the dust thrown up by the ANC "comrades", Sergeant Bongane Khoza, their leader, explained that the training was mainly to keep radical youths off the streets and teach them discipline. A graduate of military academies in Tanzania, he looks every inch the martinet, despite his torn T-shirt.

Although, like all his men, he is a Zulu, his approach is

simple. The ANC expects to win the election. Any attempt to secede, by right-wing members of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the Zulu King, or anyone else will, he says, be crushed.

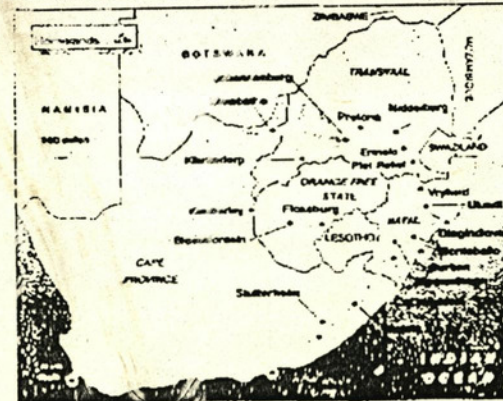
Ullandi, KwaZulu: Chief Buthelezi gave a warning here yesterday that South Africa faces widespread conflict in a "Bophuthatswana-style explosion" if the ruling National Party and the African National Congress meddle in the affairs of KwaZulu government and the constitutional demands of the Zulu people

the post-mortem. Gilmore writes. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu was addressing an audience of businessmen, police generals, diplomats and Inkatha politicians at what is likely to be the last annual opening ceremony of the homeland's assembly before it is reincorporated into South Africa after the elections.

Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, yesterday called off today's proposed meeting with King Goodwill because his aides claim that they have received a direct threat on his life if he visits Ullandi.



New Zulu recruits to Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress, taking part in a gruelling training run at Mpumalanga in the Valley of a Thousand Hills in Natal



Arms row threatens deputy police chief

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

A LEGAL battle has developed behind the scenes in South Africa over whether the second most senior policeman, General Basie Smit, should be named in connection with arms smuggling deals involving the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The arms scandal threatens to erupt amid high political drama in KwaZulu. A scheduled meeting in the Zulu capital of Ulundi today between the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, was called off last night. The ANC claimed there was a plot to assassinate Mr Mandela.

The Goldstone commission of inquiry into political violence continued secret hearings yesterday on the police weapons scandal. Gen Smit is believed to have brought in his own defence lawyers.

President F. W. de Klerk told the Guardian yesterday that if the allegations were true: "It

will bring forth a situation which will be fairly serious."

Mr De Klerk dismissed as a "flight of fantasy" allegations this week by the Transkei leader, General Bantu Holomisa, that he had tried to discourage Judge Goldstone from making his findings public, by warning it could precipitate a rightwing coup.

"My request is that the investigation must be carried out in the quickest possible time," Mr De Klerk said.

Gen Smit, the senior deputy commissioner of police, was head of the security branch at the time of its involvement in the Inkathagate scandal. There was some surprise when he survived a 1992 purge of top police commanders by the De Klerk government.

The cancellation of the Ulundi meeting was announced last night in an open letter to the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, from the ANC chairman, Thabo Mbeki. It said the ANC had received "firm reports that an attempt will be made on our president's life should he visit Ulundi".

President De Klerk yesterday made a historic but low-key campaign tour of Soweto, the country's largest township.

Lunching in a local park with black National Party officials, he said: "Go and tell the people that this election is not about liberation. The National Party has already liberated South Africa. This election is about the future."

Meanwhile, the white extremist leader, General Constand Viljoen, has explained his break with the Afrikaner Volksfront in a leaked fax to his political confidants.

The former commander of the South Africa Defence Force explained that differences had arisen within the Volksfront on whether "the time had come for us to use our military power to gain what we would not attain on the political front".

Gen Viljoen yesterday emerged as the top candidate on the list for his newly formed Freedom Front. The list included prominent members of the Conservative Party — which is boycotting the election — and farmers' leaders.

The Guardian - London

18/5/94

LONDON

18/3/91

'Assassination plot' halts talks with Zulu king

By Christopher Munnion
In Johannesburg

NELSON MANDELA, the African National Congress president, last night postponed a meeting with the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelinkhi, after "firm reports" that he would face an assassination attempt in Ulundi, the Zululand capital.

The decision came after Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Premier and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, made a bellicose speech to his homeland parliament, warning of disaster if demands for some form of autonomy for the traditional Zulus were not met.

Inkatha has refused to register for South Africa's first democratic elections. In April, a decision that has sharply increased the tension between the mainly Zulu party and the ANC in Natal and the Transvaal townships.

In a letter to Chief Buthelezi last night, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Mandela's right-hand man, said that there was insufficient time to make the necessary security arrangements for Mr Mandela's visit to Ulundi "given the nature of the threat as it has been communicated to us".

In his speech to parliament, Chief Buthelezi gave warning that there would be violence if the government acted against Inkatha over its opposition to the elections.

"If the current election does actually run its course and is declared free and fair. It will be because democratic opposition has been stifled by the might of the state," he declared.

Mr Buthelezi was speaking at the opening of what is likely to be the last sitting of the KwaZulu parliament before the state is reincorporated into South Africa.

Mandela's visit fails to win over fearful Indians

Chris McGreal in Durban

A YOUNG black man with a 10 cent coin knocked on Lily Nateker's door this week and asked her daughter for a glass of water. In return he handed over the money, saying it was a deposit on their home for the day when the African National Congress took power and the house would be his.

As Nelson Mandela rolled into Durban to campaign for the Indian vote, a rash of similar incidents sent a shudder through the community. It too has been victimised by racial discrimination. Now the fear that ANC rule will mean oppression by a new master has driven many Asians into the arms of apartheid's architect, the National Party.

Mr Mandela's efforts in Durban were focused on telling the Indian community not so much what the ANC would do for it, but what ANC supporters would not do to it.

The opinion polls consistently show the ANC trailing far behind President F.W. de Klerk among Asians. They are expected to account for a mere 5 per cent of the turnout in next month's ballot. But with the ANC's support hovering close to the two-thirds majority it requires to govern without forming coalitions, every vote counts.

Addressing a rally in Durban city hall, Mr Mandela at first claimed the polls were wrong. Then he accused the National Party of winning support through dirty tricks, by spreading stories that an ANC-led government would restrict religious freedoms and seize property.

"The fact that the Indian community is so easily swayed by these dirty tricks is an indictment against [its] opinion-makers. It means the leaders of thought in the Indian community have not done their work," Mr Mandela said.

One leader of thought, Sunil Brandaw, editor of the *Leader* newspaper, is an ANC supporter. "What turns everything on its head is the violence. Fear stalks the land and just as the whites are afraid the Indians are afraid."

"There are the massacres, but there's other intimidation."

You see it at the hustings there. ANC supporters don't give people they don't like too much of a chance. They get shouted down; meetings get disrupted. Then there is the business with the houses. These are ugly sums. The fear factor is going to decide a lot of votes."

The large crowd that greeted Mr Mandela in Chatsworth, an Indian township, provided some of the pandemonium that heralds his visit to a black township. People arrived in cars, not *toy-loying* along the street or crammed into buses. Most were not fans and many had also turned out for Mr De Klerk's successful visit to the same area a fortnight before.

Danny Govender, an Indian metal trader, voiced their doubts. "The first and foremost thing is if they can control the violence in the townships. That's what everybody is fearing. If the ANC takes over, can we have peace?"

He went on: "Then, can they give everybody job opportunities? Can they manage the financial situation? They haven't given us the proof they know what they're doing."

The ANC lined up a host of community leaders to endorse Mr Mandela. But the audience wanted to know how the ANC was going to protect them from the youths waving the 10 cent coins, when it had done nothing to remove black squatters who occupy 800 new houses paid for by Indian families and seized just before they were completed.

Mr Mandela was also asked to allay fears that the ANC's affirmative action plan meant Indians would again fall victim to discrimination, this time at the hands of Africans.

"Affirmative action is not meant for Africans only. It is meant for blacks, all blacks. And when we talk about blacks we are talking Africans, Coloureds and Indians," Mr Mandela said. The crowd was not reassured.

The ANC also did itself no favours by replying political debts to Indians who collaborated with apartheid. The ANC included reviled figures, such as Jan Reddy, on its candidates list in return for their support at the multiparty constitutional negotiations. But bitterness within the Indian community this week finally forced the ANC to dump Mr Reddy.

Blundering towards calamity

SOUTH Africa is staring calamity in the face. Any people think the April election will mean a beginning of the end of violence which has claimed nearly 20 000 lives, but it may spark off Afrikaner and Zulu nationalist resistance and renewed state repression.

Now that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has led to deliver a federal constitution providing for Zulu self-determination, there seems to be a new factor in the equation — Zulu nationalism under King Goodwill Zwelithini. The British ruled the Zulus by right of military conquest, the king says, but the people likely to win election in April have never conquered the Zulus and therefore have no right to rule them.

We now face the prospect that the first black government, like its white predecessor, will be confronted with extra-parliamentary violence. This could mean sending units of present defence force and Umkhonto we Sizwe to crush "the Zulus" who are training "protection-units". It would also mean arming white and black security forces against militant groups on the right, some of whom are allegedly responsible for 40 recent incidents of sabotage.

None of this need have happened. It has happened about through strategic blundering.

The biggest strategic blunder was that government agreed to ANC calls for constitutional negotiations to become a bilateral affair. This ended the multiparty talks, which had been such high hopes in December 1991, and the rubber stamp. To their shame, the DP and the NP lent respectability to this state of affairs.

The ANC achieved its objective by walking out of Codesa in May 1992, embarking on "roll-

ing mass action", and refusing to return to the negotiating table until government signed a bilateral agreement which conceded the ANC's key strategic demand — that the constitutional assembly should have sovereign authority.

A major consequence of the shift from multiparty to bilateral negotiations was the Inkatha Freedom Party's walk-out from the talks. Buthelezi's major strategic blunder was in thinking he could emulate the ANC by bringing negotiations to a halt until he was wooed back on his own terms. With no rolling mass action, no press support or international backing, and the likely support of only a minority of the new electorate, he could not succeed in this, and he damaged himself in the eyes of many by forming alliances with the white right.

Even if international mediation gets off the ground, for the ANC and the government now to accept Inkatha's demand for postponement of the election would hand Buthelezi a major political victory, which is not the kind of thing political parties do for their opponents with elections looming. It is the kind of victory that would allow Inkatha and the Freedom Alliance to portray themselves not only as the deliverers of federalism but also as the only real opponents of the ANC, so eating into the NP's support. This goes to show the folly of setting an election date before agreement on a constitution was reached.

It is impossible to predict how far Inkatha resistance will go or what methods will be used. Last year when the ANC was threatening a march on Ulundi, Inkatha members said they could hardly wait for them to come. Inkatha has already shown a capacity to use violence, for Inkatha supporters have slaughtered innocent people in the same way the ANC has. Whereas

the ANC had massive international support, the backing of churches, and the moral high ground, Inkatha does not.

Buthelezi claims "the Zulu drive for self-determination will develop into an unstoppable force", but it is impossible to predict the consequences of the Zulu monarch's political intervention.

Precisely because government for so long used ethnicity as a divide-and-rule tactic, the subject has become taboo in liberal circles. But the editor of *City Press* wrote recently: "Whether we like it or not, the rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC has been turned into an ugly ethnic war between the Xhosas and the Zulus. And we at this newspaper have been at pains to dismiss these allegations as nothing but a perpetuation of mischief by colonial whites who still want to divide and rule blacks on tribal grounds. We have underplayed and in some instances ignored these on the ground who screamed that the Xhosas or the Zulus were killing them."

How far white resistance will go is difficult to predict, the right is divided and there is little sign of support from trade unions or the other institutions of civil society which on the black side played such an important part in the ANC's campaigns.

One of the most tragic things about South Africa is that nobody ever takes other people's fears or aspirations seriously. In 1980 the NP government tried to crush black resistance by banning orders and detention without trial. In 1984 it imposed the tricameral constitution upon the country despite all the warnings of disaster this would precipitate.

When Buthelezi refused to sign the declaration of intent at Codesa on the grounds that

it did not provide for federalism as an option — nailing his colours to that mast on day one — a newspaper editorial dismissed this as a "quibble".

While government and the ANC arrange to put through Parliament a constitutional amendment supposedly for self-determination for Afrikaners who want a volkstaat, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says the only option for a volkstaat is Robben Island.

All along there has been a tendency among gang-ho journalists to urge the government and the ANC to bulldoze their deal through.

When Joe Slovo quietly placed the election date on the agenda at the World Trade Centre, the objections of the smallest parties were dismissed as squawking and flapping. Said one editorial: "Yes, the Freedom Alliance has the power to create chaos in the elections. Violence can increase exponentially. The morning after the elections may well reveal a smouldering wasteland. But it will also reveal the election results. And if the Freedom Alliance parties have boycotted the election, one thing is absolutely certain, they will have absolutely nothing left — no bases, no MPs, no nothing."

If South Africa descends further into ethnic or racial strife, or even faces secessionist moves that plunge the country into even greater conflict, we will have done so with our eyes wide open.

• John Kane-Berman is executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an excerpt from an address to the International Society of Human Rights annual meeting last weekend. With acknowledgement to Business Day.

New idea to draw IFP in

by WYNDOHAM HARTLEY
Political Editor

THE KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's last session opened in Ulundi yesterday amid dire warnings of resistance to a "Bophuthatswana option".

However, President F.W. de Klerk announced in the Transvaal he has discussed a proposal which could secure Inkatha's participation in the election with Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

KwaZulu chief minister Buthelezi, in his speech to the assembly, said any attempts to adopt a "Bophuthatswana-type" option to overthrow the government of KwaZulu will meet with "unparalleled" resistance in a struggle against the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

Buthelezi said he is aware of plans to destabilise KwaZulu through its civil service. He again sought to reassure the public service in the homeland that their jobs and pensions are safe.

He also lashed out at the government for siding with the ANC and warned that this is pushing conflict between the ANC and Inkatha to the point of no return. He accused the government of being involved in the violence which brought down the government of Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana.

FW's NEW PLAN

At a press conference in the Transvaal, De Klerk said that he found Buthelezi's remarks upsetting. He said the government played no role in Bophuthatswana other than to stabilise the region after Mangope lost control.

He said he hoped that Buthelezi was not referring to a late plan that he suggested to the Inkatha leader on Wednesday night and which he hoped could still see some form of participation by Inkatha in the election. De Klerk offered no details of the proposal, but said the Inkatha leader expressed interest in the new angle on resolving the deadlock and said IFP advisors would seriously study them.

The KLA's proceedings were disrupted when Inkatha chairman Frank Mchale announced that this morning's meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini has been postponed due to ANC fears that an attempt would be made on Mandela's life.

ANC FEARS PLOT

A letter from ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki to Buthelezi said that, while they appreciated the arrangements made in Ulundi for the meeting they were seriously concerned about reports of an assassination plot against Mandela.

Apparently a suggestion that the meeting be moved to Durban was not approved and the meeting was postponed. Buthelezi slammed the ANC's decision as a deliberate ploy to create the impression that there is no free and fair political activity in KwaZulu.

Earlier, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie opened the sitting of the legislative assembly, widely expected to be its last, with a plea for KwaZulu to take part in the election.

Fourie said the process towards democracy is far advanced and "I appeal to you on behalf of the South African Government to seriously consider participation in order to ensure an all-inclusive election".

It is understood that, with Inkatha's failure to submit election candidates lists, its name has been removed from the ballot paper which is already being printed.

Report by W. Hartley, 244 Lonsdale St. Durb

Witness 18/3/94

HE/PM.

2 complaints of poll Act violation to go to court

TWO complaints of violation of the Electoral Act will go to court next week, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) announced yesterday.

IEC head of adjudication Mr Mojanku Gumbi said the dispute between the Democratic Party and the University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council would be heard in the Bellville Magistrate's Court on Monday.

The dispute between

the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress over the IFP's occupation of the King Zwelithini Stadium in Umlazi last Sunday would be heard in the Umlazi Magistrate's Court next Friday.

The commission had received 70 complaints of violation of the Electoral Act, but some were being submitted for mediation.

Summonses had been issued for the disruption of State President De Klerk's meeting in Postmansburg in the Northern Cape, and in Venda, allegedly by ANC supporters.

The IEC would meet the Transkei Government, the Farmers' Association in the Border region and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of

South Africa on Monday to discuss the right of political parties to free political activity.

IEC commissioner in charge of Bophuthatswana, the Rev Frank Chikane, said he was confident the commission's machinery in the homeland was on course.

IEC commissioner Mr Zac Yacoob said the criteria set out in the legislation would determine parties' eligibility for electoral funding.

Parties had the option of using credible opinion poll surveys or 10 000 signatures to show their support in order to qualify for funding.

Smaller parties which had registered for the elections had raised problems with these two criteria, pointing out that some were recently formed and had a very limited time to canvass the 10 000 signatures timeously, he said.

Mr Chikane said no funds had been allocated to any political party yet, adding that applications were being considered. — Sapa.

(Report by C. Molusi, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

THE CITIZEN COMMENT Levelled?

THE "levelling of the playing fields" depends, it seems, on which team is playing on them. Certainly for the African National Congress, the playing fields are in fine shape.

The ANC dominates the Transitional Executive Council and therefore gets its way on whatever issues it considers important.

The government cannot act without the approval of the TEC, which has outvoted the government on some major issues.

The TEC, through various bodies it has chosen, with the ANC well-represented on some, if not all of them, is virtually in charge of the election.

For the government, the playing fields formerly under its control are level as well.

True enough, the National Party has found some potholes in the form of voter intimidation that can be blamed on ANC supporters, but hopefully the Independent Electoral Commission will be able to fill some of the potholes, though the chances of filling all of them are not especially bright.

For others, the playing fields have been very rough indeed. We think particularly of Mr Lucas Mangope, who has been summarily dismissed by the government and was, for a while, placed under house arrest.

Bophuthatswana is now being jointly run by a verligte Nationalist and a bank man who, according to the Pan Africanist Congress, is a supporter of the ANC.

Since the government and the TEC are running Bophuthatswana, this is a fair distribution of administrative control between the government and the ANC.

Nevertheless, ousting Mr Mangope and ruling by decree is a pretty rough and undemocratic state of affairs.

As for Mr Mangope contesting the election through the North-West Christian Democratic Party, we wouldn't rate very highly his chances of success. Not on such a bumpy playing field anyway.

Yesterday Mr Clarence Makwetu, president of the PAC, which is strapped for cash, complained that the PAC has no money with which to fight the election.

Mr Makwetu accused Western governments and big business of withholding funding the PAC to ensure an ANC election victory. He claimed that the US had given at least \$5 million (R34 million) to the ANC and IFP, the Scandinavian countries had donated R1 million to the ANC, and the French had also given the ANC money.

We are not in a position to say whether the amounts quoted are correct, but it is known that the ANC is the Number One recipient of foreign funds and it is going into the election with enough money for a dazzling campaign. The National Party is also receiving large amounts of money, mainly from Big Business.

The DP has failed to get its customary backing; we doubt whether the Freedom Front will be able to engage in the same kind of massive advertising campaign undertaken by the ANC and the National Party; the smaller parties will all struggle like the PAC is struggling.

There is an electoral fund, which totals R22-million at present. The money will be paid out in three phases:

Before the election, 50 percent will be equally divided between all the parties which have shown at least two percent support by way of opinion polls. Alternatively, support must be shown through signatures, resulting in only half their allocation being given to them.

After the election, 25 percent will equally be divided between all parties which have at least one Member of Parliament.

The rest of the money will be paid out on a pro-rata basis to every party, based on the number of votes it draws.

So, although everybody will get some funds, the parties that get foreign and local financial assistance will be far better off.

It would, of course, be more satisfactory if there were limits on foreign assistance and even on the amount of money each party can spend — but there is no law to this effect.

In other words, the playing fields are more level for some than for others — but the outcome, we are sure, will still be declared free and fair.

Upsurge of violence in Natal feared

By Rodney Pinder

DURBAN. — A free and fair election looks like an impossible dream for thousands of Black people in Natal, trapped in a never-ending nightmare of blood.

Violence monitors and other analysts say political storm clouds are building fast before polling next month.

They fear an upsurge of killing and intimidation that will make a free vote impossible over large parts of the province, where 25 percent of all South Africans live.

More than 10 000 people have died in 10 years of warfare in Natal between Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress. An Inkatha election boycott will make things worse, regional experts say.

Inkatha is refusing to take part in the April 26-28 poll, which is expected to produce an ANC-dominated government, unless its demands for virtual regional autonomy are met.

Time runs out

The time for a deal appears to have run out. Chief Buthelezi vows to

fight "to the last man" against an ANC government and State President De Klerk says he fears a repeat in Natal of the popular uprising that last week ousted another Black homeland leader, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

"No way can there be a free and fair election in big chunks of Natal if Inkatha doesn't come in," says church peace activist Paddy Kearney.

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute, a research body, predicts that "the civil war, now contained and localised, will be stepped up" as a result of the boycott.

He says political turf wars and population shifts as people flee fighting in townships, villages and valleys have made 90 percent of Natal's Black communities — where most of its 3.5 million people live — no-go areas for one party or another.

"Secrecy goes out of the window" with an Inkatha boycott, says Karen MacGregor, editor of Natal University's Indicator South Africa research publication. "Anyone going to the polls will be seen as voting against Inkatha."

The situation would be acute in Inkatha's rural strongholds run by authoritarian chiefs, who see their traditional power structures threatened by ANC revolutionaries.

No escape

Voting would be impossible for those tied to their homes with no escape to the anonymity of the workplace — women, the unemployed, the ailing and the old, she said.

Monitors say the long conflict in Natal, where more than half of South Africa's political violence occurs, has produced a unique tapestry of death featuring warlords, drug lords, blood feuds, robbers, renegades and agents provocateurs as well as ANC-Inkatha battles and in-fighting even within these groups.

Hatreds and suspicions are such that even a Black commuter train crash that killed 61 people last week was widely perceived as being political. Many Blacks are convinced it was a sort of a kamikaze express — derailed by an extremist driver.

Peace monitors say actual deaths from violence are slightly down — at

least 330 killed in the first two months of this year — but violence is rising.

Some Inkatha chiefs in rural areas are confiscating their subjects' identification documents to prevent them voting and refusing to allow in voter education workshops by churches and other independent groups, some human rights activists say.

A concerned Inkatha official, who cannot be named for fear of reprisal, told a human rights group in a sworn affidavit that one powerful chief had told a clan gathering "there will be no voting in KwaZulu". He added that Inkatha loyalists would be given guns "to be used against people who will vote".

Mark doors

The Inkatha Institute's Woods said ANC thugs mark waverers' doors with ink blots and stroll down streets, rattling matchboxes in a sinister reminder of a favoured method of dispatching political enemies with burning tyres around their necks.

A sad-eyed woman at a hospital in Natal's hauntingly lovely but hellish

"killing fields" says Inkatha warriors killed her 14-year-old son two nights earlier, sliced off the top of his head and scooped out his brains.

A priest says similar tales are recounted by many refugees. Mythology has it that vital parts of youths and enemies impart strength to their killers.

Violence monitors say they have reports of White neo-Nazi training Inkatha fighters on farms and equipping them with weapons that are flooding into the province by sea and road.

The ANC, which polls show is followed by at least half the Zulu people, has vowed to resist any attempt to deny Blacks their first vote.

Southern Natal publicity head Demisani Makhayo predicted "unprecedented mass action" in support of a democratic election if Inkatha sought to deny voters their long-awaited rights.

"If the majority of South Africans' demands are disregarded through undemocratic means, then South Africa will experience violence it has never thought of," he declared. — Sapa-Reuters.

NP under fire over advert

THE National Party yesterday came under fire for an advertisement placed in the Johannesburg daily the Sowetan.

In the full-page advertisement the NP claimed it had "put R2.5 billion into a housing plan that has been approved by the National Housing Forum".

In the next line of the advertisement the NP says the plan makes provision for "R90 billion to be spent on housing over 10 years".

The African National Congress, the Democratic Party and the forum condemned the NP.

The ANC said in a statement the NP "has sunk to new depths of dishonesty and opportunism", and demanded an apology from the NP to the Transitional Executive Council and the forum which, the ANC said, was the real mover behind the housing plan.

The DP said it took "strong exception to the misleading, opportunistic and dishonest claim of the NP... that they be given credit for the housing package".

The DP said the "NP and (Housing) Minister (Louis) Shill must desist forthwith from using housing as a political football".

The National Housing Forum said the advertisement was "misleading and opportunistic". It said the forum had developed the housing plan.

The forum added that private sector funding, without which the plan is a non-starter, "is dependent on negotiations currently under way" between a number of parties, including "the government of the day". — Sapa.

(Report by E. Oelofse, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

ANC-king talks delayed

TODAY's meeting between African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Ulundi was postponed yesterday.

The ANC claimed to have received reports that an attempt would be made on Mr Mandela's

life.

In a letter to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said the party appreciated the assurances given by Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose to ANC Natal Premier des-

ignate Jacob Zuma that additional security measures would be instituted.

"We are, however, of the view that, given the nature of the threat as it has been communicated to us, the time is insufficient to make satisfactory security arrangements."

— Sapa.

NEW FW OFFER TO BUTHELEZI

IFP chief
to study
'new
angle'

STATE President De Klerk said yesterday he had presented Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi with yet another proposal on Wednesday night, which could lead to "a form of participation" by the IFP in the election.

Addressing a news conference at the Randfontein Mine, west of Johannesburg, Mr De Klerk said he hoped Chief Buthelezi's warning yesterday morning of unparalleled resistance should action be taken against opposition to the April election, was not in reply to his proposal.

Mr De Klerk said the

TO PAGE 2

IFP to face charges after occupying Umlazi stadium

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Parties have the option of using credible opinion poll surveys or 10 000 signatures to show their support in order to qualify for funding.

Smaller parties which have registered for the elections have raised problems with these two criteria, pointing out that some are recently formed and have had a very limited time to canvass the 10 000 signatures, he said.

Chikane said no funds have been allocated to any political party yet, adding that applications are being considered.

Sapa.

Report by C. Ndlovu, 141 Commissioner St. Job.

Witness 18/3/94

HE/IM.

IFP and the election

WHILE individual choices about the latest election deadline have shredded the Conservative Party, the IFP has held to its refusal to submit nominees. Speculation that IFP names might appear on NP lists has also proved false. Although at some point the last option really will be closed to Inkatha, even at this late stage it may not be the end of the saga. Negotiations about mediation between the IFP's Madlalo and the ANC's Zuma are still going on, and apparently making progress. The Zulu king is due to meet Mandela today, and the outcome could influence the stance of Inkatha. It is not inconceivable that, if a real prospect of participation in the vote emerges, the TEC could permit a presidential decree that would allow a late registration or (a less likely possibility) postpone the election itself. The situation of the IFP's Freedom Alliance partners is also radically different now to what it was when Inkatha bent so far as to make its provisional registrations as a party. So nothing is impossible, although the passage of time does make some decisions irreversible.