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ANC cowboys

THIS nation has speed limits. Will someone tell the rulers-in-waiting? Mandela's roadshow burnt up Free State tarmac at up to 190 km/h — and injured two children. (Imagine if De Klerk had done that.) Now Walter Sisulu's escort navigates urban Durban at 160 km/h. The theory is safety. The reality is recklessness, and the implication is contempt for the citizenry. The odour left lingering, along with the smell of rubber, is of the kind of Third World arrogance which meant sirens and guns and closed streets for His Excellency to go visiting. The ANC should be above this.

The Star

Established 1887

47 SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG 2000

Homes, not squabbles

The need for low-cost housing is so great that politicians should not allow their differences to scuttle the proposed R90 billion scheme.

SOUTH Africa is desperately short of housing. Along with education, jobs and health care, it is one of the major problems confronting the country — a problem which has been exacerbated during the past decade by rapid urbanisation.

As long ago as 1986, the National Party government made its first major attempt to resolve the issue by allocating R750 million for low-cost housing — units which could then be built for R20 000 each. It was estimated then that 4,5 million additional houses would be needed by the year 2000.

Today, with just six years to go before the turn of the century, we are still discussing the numbers needed — with no one quite certain how many homes have already been built or just how effective the Government's plans have been in meeting what has always been a very urgent need. Little wonder the ANC is irritated that the Minister of National Housing, Louis Shill, should try to gain the political initiative by announcing a 10-year housing plan just weeks before the election.

The Transitional Executive Council has resolved that the plan should be temporarily suspended until the controversy is settled.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa believes the plan was unveiled in an attempt to boost the fortunes of the National Party. Shill, understandably, disclaims ulterior motives. He says the process has been under way for more than a year and that in fact the announcement of the plan was long overdue.

Whatever the rights and wrongs, those with the interests of the homeless at heart will want a start made. Housing has been a political football for far too long.

IEC to move out of World Trade Centre

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is planning to move out of the World Trade Centre in view of the infrastructural "chaos" which has afflicted the IEC since its inception.

IEC commissioners and directorate heads met yesterday to finalise the planning of the move. Most are in favour of occupying a building in the city centre.

The IEC and Independent Media Commission (IMC) personnel have been struggling against time to establish their structures in the WTC, but have been frustrated by several office transfers and changes of telephone numbers.

IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje confirmed that it was likely that the commission would move "in the near future".

The IEC had been considering the move "in order to safeguard its ability to manage and control the election."

Meanwhile, voter educationists are becoming increasingly frustrated by the "leaden feet" of the IEC, which they claim is being unco-operative.

Sources from the Independent Forum of Electoral Education and Institute for Democratic Alternatives in SA said yesterday that the IEC's voter education directorate was not providing the assistance needed to educate voters on the ground.

TEC to discuss housing plan next week

ANC fails in bid to condemn Shill

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The row over Housing Minister Louis Shill's announcement of a 10-year, R90 billion housing plan is to be carried over into next week's meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

An attempt by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to have the TEC condemn Shill's actions yesterday was defeated.

However, Shill has faced a wave of criticism over his announcement and may feel the TEC's full wrath next week.

He has been widely accused of making the announcement in an attempt to secure political gain for the NP.

Shill was summonsed to the

TEC sitting in Cape Town yesterday, but was denied an opportunity to put his case when it was decided that the National Housing Forum (NHF) should also be present, and the confrontation will take place next week.

The NHF claims Shill jumped the gun by announcing an initiative that was under negotiation.

Yesterday Ramaphosa called Shill the "most arrogant Minister I have ever met".

Shill said later it had "not been the most democratic experience I have ever had".

In a statement yesterday he also hit back at the NHF, saying it delayed discussions on the scheme: "If anything, we stand accused of allowing the National Housing Forum to delay the process for too long".

He said the suggestion that the Government should delay the process until the forum approved administrative arrangements was "preposterous".

He claimed that the National Housing Board — with six members from the Government, six from the NHF and six chosen by the two — had recommended the scheme.

Ramaphosa had earlier called on the TEC to order Shill to suspend the plan and account for his actions.

The TEC told Shill not to proceed with the plan until it had made its decision next week. However, the plan is scheduled only to go into action on March 15.

(Press Gallery, Parliament)

NP helpers attacked in Natal

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk's roadshow to Natal this week has already run into trouble with an attack on a group of National Party workers in Raisethorpe, Maritzburg, last night.

NP candidate Colonel Aaron Pillay, a retired police officer

and five helpers were putting up party posters and a banner in Greytown Road when they were attacked by a group of men.

Outnumbered

The NP workers were outnumbered. One was hit with a plank, a car tyre was slashed and NP street posters were ripped down.

One of the attackers was armed. The NP said police arrested four of the assailants.

President de Klerk is due in Natal on Thursday and Friday.

The NP has accused ANC members of attacking their workers.

(Report by M. Chaffin, 13 Osborne Street, Greyville)

Negotiations deadlock broken at 'summit'

◀ From Page 1

arising out of the Durban talks in time for today's last session of this special sitting. But a source said nothing specific had been forwarded to it and it could not act.

Later this morning Parliament passed those amendments to the Interim Constitution and Electoral Act agreed to by the Negotiating Council last week. They had been designed to bring the FA parties into a settlement, but were rejected by the dissenting parties as insufficient.

The CP and IFP voted against the amendments to the Interim Constitution.

As the Durban announcement sent political shockwaves around the country and hopes for the election soared, General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront flew to Cape Town from Pretoria to discuss

the move with De Klerk and Conservative Party chief Dr Ferdinand Hartzenberg.

Mandela and Buthelezi, both smiling at a press conference after their talks, agreed that "solid progress" had been made in ending the crisis.

A "foundation for further progress and a possible breakthrough" had been laid, said Mandela.

"I came here in high spirits and I am leaving in even higher spirits... I feel warm inside."

Both recommitted themselves to seeking a "swift" end to the violence between their supporters and said they would fulfill the promise made at their last meeting in June 1993 to share joint public platforms.

It was also agreed to establish a special task group to strengthen peace committees and improve communication be-

tween the ANC and IFP.

Buthelezi said the "friendship, love and cordiality" he and Mandela displayed could set an example to people on the ground.

The two parties agreed to recognise the right of people to participate or not to participate in the poll.

The outcome was in stark contrast to the mood at the beginning of the talks when Buthelezi accused his counterpart of negotiating in bad faith.

But the IFP president last night agreed to ask the party's central committee to decide whether to provisionally register for the election — pending the outcome of further negotiations. The deadline for registration is Friday.

Buthelezi added, however, that the Freedom Alliance's bottom-line presented in December last year would have to be met

before the IFP could actually contest the election.

Although there are only three days for the IFP to register, Mandela said "in discussions such as this there can be no such things as deadlines — not even April 27".

"We will continue searching for solutions after April 27 if we don't reach it by then."

After the Durban announcement, Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said the homeland government would also consider registering for the election if there was international mediation on the constitutional disputes.

In Cape Town, news of the successful Mandela-Buthelezi sent hopes soaring that all members of the Freedom Alliance would register for the poll.

(Report by S. Matthews, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville and C. Whitfield, Press Gallery, Parliament.)



■ Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . 'It is important for us (Mandela and I) to address rallies together.'

■ Nelson Mandela . . . 'I came here in high spirits and I am leaving in even higher spirits. I feel warm inside.' PICTURE: AFP

IFP could register for poll following Mandela-Buthelezi meeting

Deadlock is broken

HOPES rise that CP and Bophuthatswana could follow IFP lead after progress at crucial Durban talks

POLITICAL STAFF

The Inkatha Freedom Party is set to register provisionally for next month's election — and international mediators may be called in to settle constitutional differences between it and the ANC.

This dramatic announcement came after an eight-hour summit between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela in Durban yesterday.

And there are indications that the Bophuthatswana government, and possibly the Conservative Party, would follow the IFP's lead and provisionally register for the poll.

President de Klerk today welcomed the progress, but thought the international mediation suggested by the two leaders could give rise to "major problems".

De Klerk said: "Time is of

the essence and if that is so I foresee problems with the concept of mediation, but I have an open mind and will look at specific proposals."

De Klerk appeared to be referring to the fact that parties have to register by midnight on Friday for the election and then submit their lists by Wednesday of next week — after which they cannot withdraw from the election.

This would leave very little time for mediation.

He added that he found the concept of provisional registration "very interesting" and urged other Freedom Alliance parties to consider taking the same route.

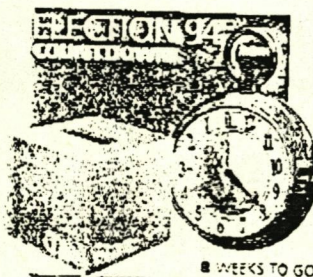
And De Klerk did leave the door open to further concessions being made right up to the election. He said agreements on outstanding issues could be made on a multiparty basis right up to the election.

He believed it was possible for progress to be made during the next week and said he was convinced intensive Government interaction with the Zulu king and Buthelezi had made yesterday's progress in Durban possible.

There was speculation in Parliament today that it might be recalled next week to process more amendments to the Interim Constitution.

The parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs met early today to see if it could process any agreements

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Peace force on strike

Members of the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) are refusing to continue training until a dispute over a disparity in salaries has been resolved, the NPKF's command council said yesterday.

An SADF statement said both the command council and the NPKF commander Major-General Gabriel Ramushwana took the matter "very seriously" and it had been referred to the Transitional Executive Council.

NPKF spokesman Colonel Connie van Rensburg said the decision to pay the men on minimum scales had been made by the TEC.

"The difference between the maximum and minimum salaries amounts to R5 000 a year for a rifleman."

Colonel van Rensburg said.

Yesterday the TEC decided the NPKF's budget will be R129 million — a massive drop from the original estimate of R405 million.

The TEC yesterday approved the budget and a member said the reduced figure was largely due to a thorough look at what equipment the force would actually have to purchase.

Vehicles

A breakdown of the budget indicates that R50 million will be spent on personnel and R79 million on logistics.

A major cost will be the purchase of vehicles, estimated at R27,6 million.
— Sapa, Political Correspondent.

March 2, 1994



7

NATAL MERCURY
2/13/94

Govern ourselves

SIR — The Basotho and Swazi peoples appealed to the British for protection and became British Protectorates (not colonies). They have their independence.

King Cetshwayo of the Zulu people did not wish to fight the Zulu War. His messages for peace were ignored. Sir Bartle Freer was determined to annex Zululand for the Great Queen.

Communication between Whitehall and South Africa took four months. No one heeded the Zulu King's overtures for peace. Zululand became part of the Colony of Natal. Lands in the west were claimed by the Boers.

In 1910, Natal became part of the Union of South Africa. The Zulu nation was no longer free. The Zulu people deserve nothing less than federal independence. The time is now right to address injustices.

Natal/KwaZulu should become a self-governing state within a Federal Central Congressional Government.

BILL HARDWICK
24 Lyndhurst Place
Widenham
Umkomaas 4170

Call to Mandela, Buthelezi

AN open letter to Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi:

I am writing to you because unless something is done to resolve the constitutional impasse, this country is headed for conflict that will destroy the hopes and dreams of millions of our people, especially in Natal. Millions of our people have suffered under the yoke of apartheid and even now still continue to groan, yearning for the day of liberation.

The violence that is currently sweeping our country is an indictment on your leadership. It takes two to tango and both of you have to be seen preaching peace, tolerance and democracy.

Millions of our people and future generations will not forgive you if you fail to usher in a non-racial and democratic South Africa. For far too long our people have been living in conditions of poverty and squalor. Many of our people are without houses and basic services. Thousands of school children are without textbooks, teachers and classrooms. In some townships there are running battles between residents and hostel dwellers.

Both of you fought for our liberation, each of you in your own style.

Madiba! You went to prison for us all, so that we may be free. You

came out without any trace of bitterness and continued negotiations which you initiated while you were still in prison.

Even now you are an inspiration to millions of our people who long for peace, democracy and freedom.

Shenge! You opted to fight apartheid from within the system. You refused to accept independence from the South African Government because you believed that South Africa is one country and that history made all of us South Africans. You started the Inkatha Cultural Movement and advocated change, Gandhi style.

You refused to take up arms against the South African Government. You refused to negotiate with the government until your brothers, Nelson Mandela and Zephania Mothopeng, were released.

Today the NP government has scrapped apartheid legislation and agreed to the holding of the country's first non-racial and democratic elections. On the other hand, there are racists who have always hated our people and will never

regard us as their equals, just because of the colour of our skin.

They will not listen to reason in their attempts to stop the demise of White baasskap and minority rule which you fought against valiantly. Yet there are millions of Whites who have embraced democratic principles and know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it.

There is no reason to turn this country into another Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia or Bosnia. Both of you claim to be democrats and true democrats subject themselves to the will of the people.

Neither of you has the right to deliberately plunge this country into civil war which will lead to thousands of people created in the image of God losing their lives.

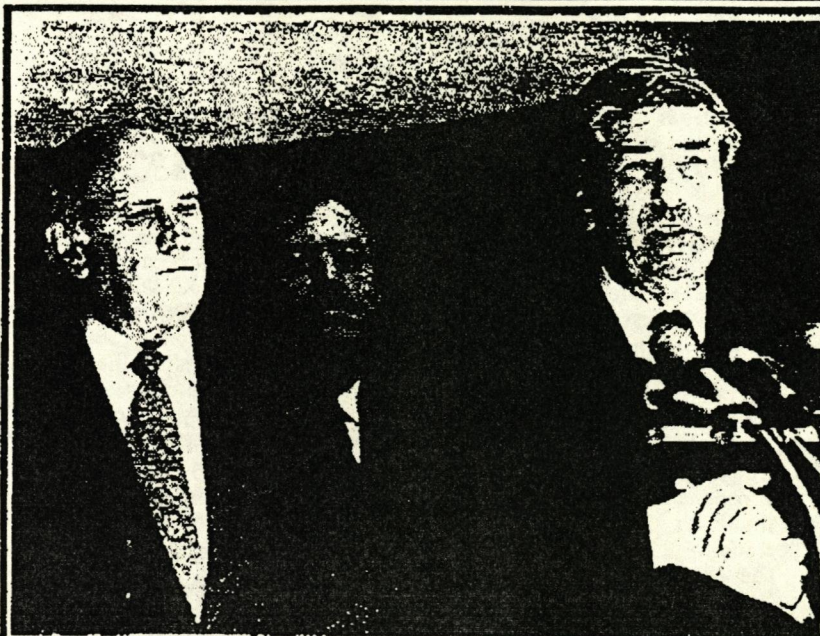
Both of you have to commit yourselves publicly to accept the outcome of democratic elections. Fear God and love your neighbour even if he does not agree with you.

Please give us hope by agreeing to listen to the verdict of our people and not fight on people's graves.

DANIEL BUTHELEZI
Johannesburg

THE CITIZEN

Wedne



State President F W de KLERK and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr PIK BOTHA, listen as the Dutch Prime Minister, Mr RUUD LUBBERS, addresses a Press conference at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, after a meeting yesterday between the two leaders.

• Picture by Wessel Oosthuizen

Govt to launch final bid to bring all into poll

Citizen Reporter

STATE President F W de Klerk said yesterday the government was to launch a final attempt to ensure that all parties become involved in the April election and he still hoped that these attempts would be successful.

Speaking at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after meeting with the Dutch Prime Minister, Mr Ruud Lubbers, Mr De Klerk said with the changes to the interim constitution, there was no excuse left for parties not to participate.

He said during the meeting, which lasted about 90 minutes, Mr Lubbers had been informed about the state

of negotiations, the challenges remaining, the problems and the government's determination not to postpone the election.

Negotiations were far from completed and he expected them to continue years after the election.

Yesterday's meeting also focused on the strong cultural and language ties between the Dutch people and Afrikaner in South Africa. Future relations between South Africa and other countries in southern Africa, were also discussed.

Mr De Klerk expected that an economic African union would become a reality in the near future and that

South Africa would play a leading role in it.

Mr Lubbers also saw stronger economic ties between South Africa and Europe after the election.

He expressed his disappointment at the fact that his visit was so short and that he did not have the opportunity to meet with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Turning to the Afrikaner Volksfront, Mr Lubbers said he also met with General Constand Viljoen yesterday morning and said he hoped Gen Viljoen would act responsibly in the new South Africa.

He hoped Gen Viljoen would be able to take part in discussions and negotiations in the new South Africa.

The Daily News

2/3/94
HELM

FOUNDED IN 1878

Brighter future for Natal

IF the step of the man-in-the-street is a little lighter today, so it should be, particularly in Natal. The political troubles heaped on us did not vanish overnight but they begin to look soluble following the Buthelezi-Mandela summit in Durban yesterday.

This political process has been too much of a roller-coaster ride for commentators to speak easily of a breakthrough. Yet it seems we are on the brink of one. Mr Mandela used the phrase "solid foundations for a possible breakthrough" and that is as we see it. The IFP having moved towards provisional registration for the election and both parties having agreed to explore the option of international mediation to settle the areas of constitutional deadlock between them, their senior lieutenants Frank Mdlalose (IFP) and Jacob Zuma (ANC) last night spoke of their willingness to accept the outcome of such a mediation. If that becomes the official position of the leaders then Natal will be heading for an election in which the IFP and ANC will finally test their relative strengths with ballots instead of bullets. What a positive difference that would make to future prospects for Natal governed under an elected authority in a strongly federal province.

Initial reaction on the stock exchange and currency markets late yesterday was immediately positive. We pray nothing will happen now to change that perspective. But huge and complex issues still remain to be resolved, not least of all the endemic Natal violence that jeopardises all post-election socio-economic programmes, and claims by the IFP's white-right Freedom Alliance partners to parts of Natal for their as yet uncharted volkstaat.

The events of yesterday bring the FA before an interesting challenge: will its right-wing elements accept international mediation over a volkstaat? We think not, for such mediation will not brook racism.

Free lunch

IT STARTED as a trickle. After February 1990, a handful of farsighted local businessmen quickly ditched their former National Party pals and cosied up to prominent ANC leaders who cheerfully accepted their hospitality and support.

It is now becoming a flood. Latest is the election media centre the ANC has established in Johannesburg's posh Carlton Hotel with donations from prominent companies, including the hotel's management itself. The Carlton offers a commercial rationale for contributing a plush banqueting suite to the ANC's election campaign. Not everyone may believe it. America's Nashua, Finland's Nokia, Holland's Philips and others that have donated equipment to the centre, too, may find

their motives being questioned.

But surely it is inconceivable that companies publicly involved in this and other similar projects with the future ruling party and its officials would expect any favours when the ANC takes over the national treasury. Surely, too, it is inconceivable that the ANC, publicly committed to clean government, would favour companies that support its election campaign.

The companies involved risk their reputations. The country's future government risks inheriting the sleazy reputation of its predecessor by accepting corporate gifts. In the circumstances, it becomes increasingly necessary for these transactions to be open and seen to be open. Transparency, in turn, will need to be underpinned by public vigilance.

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De Klerk rejects Afrikaner homeland

By correspondents in Johannesburg and Cape Town

THE President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, yesterday rejected the white Right's idea of an Afrikaner homeland as a hopeless illusion and said the Afrikaner Volksfront had "no right to speak on behalf of the Afrikaner people".

Mr De Klerk's comments came as the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, firmly repudiated any chance of a Zulu secession from South Africa hours before his crucial meeting with the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela ruled out postponing South Africa's first all-race election set down for April 26-28, while a senior ANC official warned of "bloodshed and disaster" if the poll was delayed.

Mr De Klerk was speaking in Cape Town during the opening of what must surely be the last session of the three-chamber apartheid parliament, called to amend the Constitution the members passed into law in December.

Mr De Klerk added the Government would "use all

The Alliance — which groups the IFP, the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Bophuthatswana black homeland — has rejected the Constitution and various Alliance leaders have warned of civil strife if the election proceeds.

The white right-wingers have called for their own homeland and Chief Buthelezi has said Zulus also need a sovereign territory.

"We cannot accept, we cannot compromise to any demands which in fact amount virtually to secession," Mr Mandela said.

Senior ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehus added: "The postponement of elections is a recipe for bloodshed and disaster."

In a late development last night, setting the scene for a frosty meeting with Mr Mandela in the port city of Durban, Chief Buthelezi said: "I hope he does not waste his time by trying to persuade me to accept this fatally flawed Constitution."

"There is no question of me being persuaded by him or anyone to ensure the IFP's participation in the elections on April 27."

He reacted angrily to Mr Mandela's statements on

South Africa returns port to Namibia

Walvis Bay, Namibia, Tuesday

Namibia won control from South Africa of the port enclave of Walvis Bay today in a ceremony that President Sam Nujoma said finally closed the book on colonialism in his country.

Residents of the black township of Kuisebmond danced and sang in the darkened streets after the midnight ceremony in the township soccer stadium in which the South African flag was lowered for the last time.

As a cannon fired a 21-gun salute, the Namibian flag was raised and Namibian Olympic sprinting silver medalist Frankie Fredericks lit a unity flame.

"This momentous occasion marks an emotional rendezvous with our history and destiny," President Nujoma, who led the South West African People's Organisation in a guerrilla war for independence from South Africa, said in a speech.

"At long last Walvis Bay has been returned to its rightful owners."

The South African Justice and Defence Minister, Mr Kobie Coetsee, standing in for President F.W. de Klerk at the handover ceremony, told the crowd: "The era of conflict and dispute between our two countries has finally come to an end."

President Nujoma said yesterday that the handover made his people masters of their destiny.

Walvis Bay, the only deep water harbor on the Namibian coast, remained South African territory when Namibia gained independence from Pretoria in 1990.

The enclave was annexed in 1878 by Britain, which administered it as part of the Cape colony. It became part of the Union of South Africa which was established in 1910.

— Reuter

Chief to talk peace, not polls

By ROSS DUNN,
Johannesburg, Tuesday,

The Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today dashed hopes for Inkatha's participation in South Africa's first multiracial elections when he arrived for a summit with the African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Shortly before the meeting in Durban began Chief Buthelezi said he wanted the talks to centre on violence between Inkatha supporters and ANC members.

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

The leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha organisation refused to answer questions about his party's plans to boycott the April elections, declaring that his views on the issue were well known.

"I don't expect concessions from Mr Mandela and he shouldn't expect concessions from me," he said.

Earlier Chief Buthelezi said he wanted to talk only peace with Mr Mandela.

"There is no question of me being persuaded by him or anyone to ensure the IFP's (Inkatha's) participation in the elections. I have nothing further to talk about on this issue, particularly with Mr Mandela ... I hope he does not waste his time by trying to persuade me to accept this."



Mr Nelson Mandela campaigning in Xhosa traditional dress.

However ANC officials in Natal want the meeting to focus on getting Inkatha's participation in the transition to democracy. The officials said they wanted to avoid a bloody poll, and pointed out that tensions between communities preparing to vote and those campaigning against the poll have already exploded into violence in some Natal townships and rural settlements.

Monitors fear further violence as the election date draws nearer.

On his arrival, Mr Mandela said he was hoping for a breakthrough at the

meeting. "We'll keep trying," he said.

Mr Mandela said at the weekend that he was prepared to "beg those who want to drag our country into bloodshed and to persuade them not to do so".

In his reaction, Chief Buthelezi criticised the ANC president: "The insinuation ... that I am responsible for the bloodshed, I throw at him with the contempt that it deserves."

Mr Mandela yesterday ruled out any possibility he would agree to postponing the April poll or the creation of separate states for Zulus and white right-wingers.

However in Parliament, President F.W. de Klerk said his ruling National Party supported the view that the Zulu kingdom should be given constitutional recognition.

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

But while he respected their right not to take part in the election, he said no one should be under any illusions about the size of the right-winger and Inkatha support bases.

"They constitute a minority of the total South African population and within each province. If they disagree with this contention, participation in the election would be the best way of proving their real support," he said.

AWB LEADER SAYS HE HAS 60,000 SOLDIERS READY TO FIGHT

Cape Town, Tuesday

White extremist leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche claimed yesterday that his Afrikaner Resistance Movement had 60,000 armed soldiers ready to fight for a separate white homeland. Mr Terre'Blanche told a rally that the AWB also had the support of the majority of the defence force and police. "We are

the strongest," he said. Mr Terre'Blanche accused the African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, of rejecting just claims for a white homeland comprising 14 per cent of South Africa's total area. "If Mandela does not give us a volkstaat (white homeland) ... then we will fight until we get all of South Africa," he

said. He lashed out at President F.W. de Klerk for "betraying" the whites in the multi-party negotiations, calling him a "dehydrated jelly tot". The speech came hours after Mr de Klerk told Parliament the Government would use the security forces to crush parties bent on violent opposition to the election.

— AFP

The Age

2/3/94

WORLD NEWS

Inkatha may register for election

By ROSS DUNN,
Johannesburg, Wednesday

The Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is set to register provisionally for South Africa's first multi-racial elections next month and has called for international mediators to settle his differences with the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi, head of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, made his decision during a marathon summit yesterday with the African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela. He emerged from the meeting holding Mr Mandela's hand and saying he would consider registering for the 26-28 April election in an attempt to end political violence.

In return, the ANC said it would support international mediation to try to resolve disagreements with Inkatha over the country's new constitution.

The ANC is expected to win the first South African vote to include the black majority. Chief Buthelezi had formed the Freedom Alliance with right-wing whites who shared his fear of ANC domina-

tion and demands for greater regional autonomy. Members of the alliance have said there could be civil war if their demands were not met.

The chief's statement marked a retreat from his past, fierce opposition to the vote. It was not immediately clear whether other members of the Freedom Alliance would follow suit.

The outcome of the talks drew a mixed response from the South African Government. The Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, said there was no guarantee that Inkatha would take part in the April polls.

The President, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said he was pessimistic about the prospects for successful international mediation so close to the election date.

But the Home Affairs Minister, Mr Danie Schutte, who is known to have close links with Inkatha, said Chief Buthelezi's announcement was a momentous decision, and a strong indication that he intended to contest the elections.

Mr De Klerk said he remained



Rival smiles: At a news conference in Durban, Chief Buthelezi (left) and Mr Mandela showed none of the bitter rivalry that has plagued Zulus and the ANC.

ready to reopen negotiations. "My Government's attitude is that negotiation doesn't end today," he said.

The deadline for the election registration is Friday.

On the proposal for international mediation, Mr Mandela said the idea was still under consideration and had to be taken to party leaders.

He said later it was a mistake to think the problems faced by the parties could be resolved overnight. But both leaders said they would meet again soon to try to

resolve their constitutional differences.

"In discussions of this nature there can be no deadline. Not even April 27 (the election date) is a deadline," Mr Mandela said. "We'll continue searching for solutions even after April 27 if we don't reach a solution now."

Chief Buthelezi said his party's stance on provisional registration "means it leaves our options open. If a solution is found, it makes it possible for us to participate."

● Later, addressing the KwaZulu homeland Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said the position of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in post-apartheid South Africa had not yet been resolved and called for a separate Zulu kingdom.

"We need to separate the kingdom of KwaZulu from the rest of South Africa," he said. He made no mention of his tentative offer on Tuesday to register his Inkatha Freedom Party for South Africa's first all-race poll in April.

— with Reuter and AP

Canberra Times 3.3.94

Inkatha, ANC agree to work for peaceful polls



AP picture

Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela: all smiles after their meeting on Tuesday.

From JOHN CARLIN in Durban

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, went into a meeting with Nelson Mandela on Tuesday morning snarling, warning of war, and walked out nine hours later smiling, committed to peace and freedom of political expression.

— However, he said he was not ready to take part in South Africa's democratic elections next month.

Mr Mandela, the president of the African National Congress, had said before the meeting that he was prepared to go down on his knees before Chief Buthelezi to prevent bloodshed. Metaphorically, that was what Mr Mandela did.

Identifying Chief Buthelezi's complex personality as the cog around which the Inkatha machine turns, the ANC president mollified and praised, eventually persuading him to agree to what amounted to a peace treaty.

In a joint statement released after the all-day meeting at Durban's Royal Hotel, the two leaders said their two parties "recognised the right of people to participate or not to participate in the forthcoming general elections".

"After a constructive exchange of views," the statement said, "the parties agreed to work together to ensure that canvassing for respective views should be able to take place without let or hindrance".

This went to the very heart of the dilemma in Natal province, where there is fear that Inkatha, still refusing to take part in the

elections, will mount a violent campaign against the ANC.

Amid evidence that white right-wingers are training Inkatha Zulus to wage war against ANC Zulus — the latter being in the majority in Natal — the spectre has been raised time and again of civil war.

On paper at least, as satisfied ANC officials remarked, Inkatha is now committed to ceasing hostilities against those who campaign for the ANC.

Tuesday's statement went further, Chief Buthelezi having said that Inkatha would consider "provisional registration" for the elections. International mediation was also raised as an option to resolve outstanding differences.

Mediation

Although no details were provided as to who the mediators might be, Chief Buthelezi pointed out that he and Mr Mandela had received a joint message of encouragement from the US President, Bill Clinton, and the British Prime Minister, John Major, before the meeting.

Questioned, however, as to whether he had undergone a dramatic change of heart and had decided now to take part in the elections, Chief Buthelezi replied, "definitely not". If Inkatha decided provisionally to register, it was only in order to leave the door open in case the ANC made sufficient constitutional concessions in the coming weeks to persuade

them to take part in the poll. This, in essence, meant granting Natal de facto sovereignty, as Chief Buthelezi made clear in an address at the start of the meeting.

Berating Mr Mandela for having engaged in "farce" with his "so-called concessions" 10 days ago, he defined his chief demand as "Zulu sovereignty". The alternative was "disaster" and "a potent mix for increased violence".

Not long into the meeting, however, Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela withdrew from their delegations and disappeared for a private exchange in an upstairs room. When they emerged 45 minutes later they were smiling and holding hands. In fact, they held hands for two minutes before the cameras and then strolled down a corridor, still holding hands.

Back inside the chamber, Mr Mandela, according to an ANC insider, delivered a 20-minute eulogy of the Inkatha leaders.

When the two leaders appeared again at the evening press conference, the smiles remained as broad as they had been in the morning. Mr Mandela spoke of "my friend Chief Buthelezi"; "in spite of all our political differences we are very close friends"; the meeting had been "unforgettable". Chief Buthelezi began the press conference in slightly less generous mood, but by the end said the encounter had been characterised by "friendship and love".

De Klerk rejects Afrikaner homeland

By correspondents in Johannesburg and Cape Town

THE President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, yesterday rejected the white Right's idea of an Afrikaner homeland as a hopeless illusion and said the Afrikaner Volksfront had "no right to speak on behalf of the Afrikaner people".

Mr De Klerk's comments came as the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, firmly repudiated any chance of a Zulu secession from South Africa hours before his crucial meeting with the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela ruled out postponing South Africa's first all-race election set down for April 26-28, while a senior ANC official warned of "bloodshed and disaster" if the poll was delayed.

Mr De Klerk was speaking in Cape Town during the opening of what must surely be the last session of the three-chamber apartheid parliament, called to amend the Constitution the members passed into law in December.

Mr De Klerk added the Government would "use all the means at its disposal, including the security forces, to deal with any..."

The Alliance — which groups the IFP, the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Bophuthatswana black homeland — has rejected the Constitution and various Alliance leaders have warned of civil strife if the election proceeds.

The white right-wingers have called for their own homeland and Chief Buthelezi has said Zulus also need a sovereign territory.

"We cannot accept, we cannot compromise to any demands which in fact amount virtually to secession," Mr Mandela said.

Senior ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehus added: "The postponement of elections is a recipe for bloodshed and disaster."

In a late development last night, setting the scene for a frosty meeting with Mr Mandela in the port city of Durban, Chief Buthelezi said: "I hope he does not waste his time by trying to persuade me to accept this fatally flawed Constitution."

"There is no question of me being persuaded by him or anyone to ensure the IFP's participation in the elections on April 27."

He reacted angrily to Mr Mandela's statements on Sunday and Monday that he was prepared to "go down on my knees to..."

Wim 2/3/94

HB/Im

Election process

AS President F.W. de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have indicated in their different ways, the April elections must go ahead as planned, no matter who attempts to tamper with or derail them. It is, of course, those who have opted out of the democratic process who are trying to interfere with it. Thus, though the IFP refuses to participate, the Inkatha parliamentary caucus has asked for the Natal elections to be postponed to "prevent spiralling violence": is this a valid threat, or a simple request from worried men? The white right wing has a much cruder approach, blatantly threatening war to secure the volkstaat it claims, and AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche boasting that 60 000 "soldiers of God" are trained and ready to do battle.

The NP and ANC leaders are right to resist these menaces from minorities refusing to be part of the democratic process. True democracy — government by the population through elected representatives — is a precious thing, and for that reason it may be difficult and painful to attain. Indeed, as the 1939-45 struggle to defeat Nazism confirms, the conquest of tyranny may lie along a road of suffering, a *via dolorosa* of sweat, tears and the blood of innocents. But democracy is worth it, and South Africa's leaders must see to it that no group is permitted to hold the election process to ransom or point a gun at its head.

Negotiations will take years

PRETORIA — Negotiations between elected parties will continue for years after the elections, President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking after meeting Dutch premier Ruud Lubbers in Pretoria, he said he hopes parties planning to boycott the elections will see their way open to participate now the interim constitution has been altered.

De Klerk said he is determined the election will be held in April. — Sapa.

Report by N. Paparone, 1st Commissioner

ANC 'could use existing taxes for development'

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress could finance more than half its Reconstruction and Development programme out of current taxes and raise an additional R3 billion to R5 billion without any radical change of the tax system.

This is according to ANC tax and legal adviser Dennis Davis who told delegates at a tax conference in Johannesburg yesterday that this money is available in the present system.

"The Department of Inland Revenue is sitting on a goldmine, which government seems totally oblivious to."

Major changes are needed in the department. A new government needs to pump money into the area of revenue collecting and renew the relationship between highly narrow-minded, bureaucratic department officials and the taxpayer.

Davis said it is estimated that for each inspector, R1.4 million in additional net revenue is collected. Revenue has fallen in certain offices of the department since the South African Defence Force scheme — where commerce graduates were placed in Inland Revenue rather than spending two years in the army —

came to an end.

But the economy would have to grow at between three to four percent a year and company tax could not be lowered below 40%. If tax revenues are to continue to grow as equal tax for married women will see a fall in payments to the exchequer.

While there are not likely to be any major changes in the 1994-95 Budget, the 1995-96 Budget will see the introduction of a capital tax — most likely a capital transfer tax. He said it would be "insane" to have more than one kind of capital or land tax and the ANC would choose one that is likely to

contribute the most to government coffers.

It has been found that a capital gains tax does not bring in much revenue as the country's Gross Domestic Product is too small.

"However, it seems its now on the (ANC) menu and I can't discount the possibility that a capital gains tax won't be introduced in South Africa."

Davis warned a land tax will probably be introduced in some regions of federal South Africa as only three regions — Western Cape, PWV and Eastern Transvaal — will be viable. — Sapa.

Report by J. Waters, 1st Commissioner N. Jhb.

Greytown death: 4 get bail

FOUR men charged with the murder of Greytown African National Congress leader Solomon Mzolo appeared in the Greytown Magistrate's Court yesterday. Nkosi Nathi Zondi (30), Mduzani Dladla (27), Innocent Ntanda (22) and Themblinkasi Dladla (31) appeared before the magistrate. They were granted R5 000 bail each. The case was postponed until March 31.

— Witness Reporter.

ANC, AVF to confer

STANDERTON — The African National Congress and the Afrikaner Volksfront are to form a joint committee to deal with problems between the Standerton town council and residents of neighbouring townships. Matthew Phosa of the ANC said the ANC will not take action in the town today and will decide later whether to arrange a consumer boycott or not. The ANC, the Volksfront and Standerton residents will meet tomorrow. — Sapa.

Pensions: govt 'has 9 days'

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Health and Public Service Workers Union has given the government three days to pay out pensions and unemployment investment funds. The decision was taken at the union's annual meeting on Saturday. The finance ministry is to respond today. — Sapa.

Hani grave: R5 000 reward

BOXSBURG — A R5 000 reward has been offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the people who vandalised Chris Hani's tombstone. A piece of the Hani tombstone was found in front of the Boxsburg City Hall on Monday. Hani, the SACP secretary-general, was shot dead by Janus Wessels last year. — Sapa.

Witness 2/3/94 HE/IM

On the Line

What the future holds for all of us

THE tragic irony about our future is that a large slice of our population is against what is lying ahead. It's not only King Goodwill Zwelithini, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and assorted belligerents on the right who are bitterly set against being ruled by what may be an ANC-led new government.

In my part of the woods there are people who are ironically delighted that the Freedom Alliance is putting a spoke in the wheels of the coming dispensation.

That the Pan Africanist Congress has reluctantly agreed to take part in the elections only makes the boycott by Azapo that more poignant.

The fact is the black organisations outside the Freedom Alliance are as opposed to the ANC's sweeping the boards

and walking it to power as the white Right.

It therefore seems almost like the judgement of the gods that things are not going as smoothly as they should. It is likewise poetic justice that the route to the new South Africa should be like walking through a minefield blindfolded for all of us. After all, the history of apartheid cannot end like a fairy tale, where we live happily ever after. No. We are paying and we are still going to pay for the sins of our fathers.

This makes the role of editors even more intriguing. The conventional wisdom expects newspapers to back a particular horse in the run up to the elections. It is the normal process in most democracies. We are forced — in some ways almost happily — to shift out of this paradigm.

It is going to be difficult for the most doctrinaire, if that is the

right word, editor to place his money on a particular party. Even the right wing Johannesburg *Citizen* newspaper will have problems about backing a specific party. There are as many difficult choices to make to the Right as there are to the Left. If you read the conservative papers you will find they sometimes back the National Party, often they are behind the Conservatives and sometimes they will bat for the extreme loonies to the right.

Those English newspapers which were traditionally opposed to the government are not too certain where they should put their money. I know some editors of the more conservative papers in Natal and indeed other parts of the country will be tempted to vote for the Democratic Party.

There is nothing wrong with that choice except the DP does not have the kind of contention

that makes the adrenalin flow. People are not madly against the DP nor are they terribly in love with it. They elicit a type of bland reaction at best.

The other choices, if you have to use your heart and not your head, are easier to vote for. You might cast your vote for the National Party because you believe they are the architects of apartheid now struck blind to miraculous conversion. They are also the devil you know, odious as their track record is.

You might vote for the ANC because of the Mandela factor or because they are after all the oldest liberation movement in the world. You could cast your vote for any of the parties on the Right because they appeal to the kind of emotion that makes you go out into the streets and fight.

It brings me to the happy conclusion that newspapers like

Aggrey Klaaste

mine do not have to support any party. I know that sounds bland and almost cowardly. I know that is fence-sitting. But if you look at it coldly, it is probably the best way. Rather than go into the hustings bursting a vein or two, we editors can sit back and like sages suggest the choices our readers are faced with.

We know most South Africans love their country. We know most of us have certain liberal and even racist antipathies towards one another. I do not think we would wish to go to war over such normal proclivities.

Compared to the rest of the world, Africa is a disaster that cannot be allowed to continue into the next century.

This kind of chaos belongs to the Dark Ages, not the 21st century.

Aggrey Klaaste is editor of *Sowetan*. In which this article has appeared.

ELECTION

'94

Witness 2/3/94

Helen Briefs

NP electioneers attacked

FIVE National Party members including a candidate — retired Colonel Aaron Pillay — were assaulted while putting up banners and posters in Greytown Road, the NP said last night.

According to midlands media liaison officer Yuri Phumpran, the five men were putting up posters on the corner of Greytown and Bambo roads at about 8.30 pm when they were approached by seven men who were chanting "Viva Mandela! Viva ANC!" and who attacked them. One of the NP members was treated by a private doctor for cuts and bruises. The others were mildly injured.

The incident was reported to the Mountain Rise police station and a charge was laid. Four men have been arrested and one of the suspects had a firearm, Phumpran said.

After the assault the NP members returned to the scene and put up the posters and banners. Midlands NP organiser Pieter van Pletzen said, "The same guys who were attacked went back and put up the posters and banners. Nothing will stop the NP reaching everybody out there." — Witness Reporter

Report by J. Banfield, 244 Longmarket St. Fm

Detention without trial could go within 10 days

HELM

WITNESS 2/3/94

FW must force Bop to open up — TEC

CAPE TOWN — The Transitional Executive Council agreed to ask the state president to force the issue of access to the voters of Bophuthatswana by proclamation.

It decided on a palpable challenge to what ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa called "this unrealistic dream of these little entities believing they are independent".

The TEC approved a motion at its meeting yesterday calling on President F.W. de Klerk to bring certain constitutional provisions into operation by proclamation. — Sapa.

Right wing 'will not win guerilla war'

CAPE TOWN — A lightly-armed and divided rightwing is preparing for a guerilla war it cannot win, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in Parliament yesterday.

In debate on constitutional amendments, he said:

"You'll never get your 'volkstaat' by means of guerilla or civil war, or secession. You can come and negotiate it."

The CP cannot stop Afrikaners from going to the polls, and Kriel predicted great disillusionment for the right after the election. — Sapa.

Hundreds being armed in Natal, ANC claims

CAPE TOWN — Between 500 and 1000 people were being trained and armed in northern Natal every fortnight, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the Transitional Executive Committee yesterday.

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

The only objective could be to serve the stated goal by certain parties that there will be no election allowed in the

Kriel to explain claims against ANC — TEC

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel will be asked to submit the information and intelligence reports on which he based his claim that the ANC is the main threat to the democratic process.

He was challenged by the Transitional Executive Council at its sitting yesterday, which also wanted to discuss legislation to force disclosure of General Louis Makenzie, the Media Liaison head, in returning due to health reasons.

The decisions were taken after motivation by Frank Gordon of the Transvaal African Congress and the Rev. Cyril Ramaphosa. Kriel is also to explain failures to act against the AWP.

Gordon referred to statements Kriel made to the media on Monday in which he said the intelligence and evidence fomenting the AWP was the biggest threat to democracy with the other reason being its opposition.

As far as Makenzie is concerned, it must be established if this is not a move to escape serving under an ANC government, in which case he must resign, not return for his health, Gordon said.

Ramaphosa said Kriel has singled out the ANC and this presupposes that he has information. — Sapa.

JOHANNESBURG — A senior African National Congress official said yesterday detention without trial, one of the most hated instruments of apartheid, could be outlawed within 10 days.

As human rights groups expressed outrage at the continued use of the detention clause "to defend democracy", ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said in Cape Town its repeal will be weighed by a multi-party committee today.

"We have always been opposed to detention without trial. We have fought against it and we continue to demand its immediate repeal," he said.

Maharaj said a law and order sub-committee of the all-race Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will finalise a report today suggesting a date for the repeal of the detention law.

Maharaj said the TEC will consider the report next Tuesday and, if immediate repeal is ordered, could have it scrapped by President F.W. de Klerk before the end of next week.

But Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Monday Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which permits suspects to be detained for 10 days without access to lawyers, family or doctors, is needed because of threats from extremists on the left and right.

"It is amazing how talkative people become after three days in which no one talks to them. We need Section 29 to achieve democracy," he said at a news conference.

Human rights organisations reacted bitterly to his announcement, saying it recalled the worst days of apartheid.

"Detention without trial is against fundamental human rights," said Patrick Kelly, from the Independent Human Rights Commission. "We would like to see it removed from the statute books as soon as possible."

Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said the retention of Section 29 is "in the best interests of democracy. There is burgeoning right-wing terrorism and left-wing terrorism which has to be dealt with."

Jody Kollapen, from Lawyers for Human Rights, said it is bizarre that a piece of legislation used to silence the National Party's political foes is now being trumpeted as the protector of South Africa's fledgling democracy.

— Sapa-Reuter.

HE/Im

Wednesday, March 2, 1994

Witren

South Africa

by Nick Olivier

On nationalism

THE concepts "Afrikaner" and "nationalism" are highly controversial and difficult to define, yet they represent a phenomenon of crucial importance.

The concept of nationalism entails the existence of a "group" who lend substance to it. But such a group is more than the combination of a number of unconnected individuals. The term "people" is often used to signify such a unit of persons as opposed to the concept of a "nation", which can be seen as a collective for all the citizens of a state, and which implies subservience to a single public authority.

A people, in contrast, can be defined as an individual-transcending corporate entity that has its own identity and whose survival is not dependent on the comings and goings of individual members. Such a people is often referred to as an "ethnic" unit. An own, discernible "ethnicity" is probably an essential component of this concept. But this does not imply that each and every "ethnic" unit is necessarily a "people".

For our purposes we can describe a "people" as an historically-based entity with a common sense of a shared heritage and own language, "culture" and religion, perhaps an own way of life and a value system, and in most cases a territory regarded as its "own" will also be involved.

"Nationalism" would then mean that a "people" not only regards itself as a separate entity, but is inspired by an urge for political self-determination. The "people" would strive to preserve those characteristics it regards as its own: it would be prepared to fight and die for them. It would resist those forces it perceived as a threat to its survival and self-assertion as a people.

Such a threat could take the form of an assault on its political freedom, language, religion, territory, etc. The conditions under which a people turn to active resistance, as well as the nature and intensity of such resistance, would be determined by circumstances.

Not every member of such a people would participate in resistance, the freedom of choice is, however, often made more difficult by the fact that those leading the resistance are usually intolerant of those who do not want to "join in the struggle". Such resistance, no matter what its outcome, often has the effect of reinforcing the sense of nationalism since it adds another chapter to the historically shared heritage.

In this sense we have to deal mainly with two "nationalisms": Afrikaner and Zulu. Personally I do not believe there is such a thing as "black nationalism" in South Africa.

This does not mean all Afrikaners necessarily see themselves as "Afrikaner nationalists" or as supporters of such nationalism. There are those among them who label their compatriots who do profess their Afrikaner nationalism as old-fashioned. Among many younger and professional Afrikaners and business people especially, there is a lack of dedication to and warmth for the concept of an "own" people and for what it claims for itself.

This may be due, in part at least, to the exploitation of Afrikaner nationalism by politicians for their own purposes, as well as

to the fact that Afrikaner nationalism and identity became associated with apartheid. Furthermore, there are indeed some who believe that, in the process of building a new nation, South Africa cannot afford separate and divisive loyalties.

I have no doubt that Afrikaner nationalism is a living reality and that it would be a fatal mistake to disregard or deny it. My concern is that in the decision-making process at Kempton Park, this fact was not taken seriously enough. The National Party which historically has been the political personification of Afrikaner nationalism, no longer fulfils this role — and the behaviour of some right-wing elements who are trying to claim the concept "Afrikaner" for themselves has certainly not contributed to a clearer understanding of the Afrikaner as nationalist.

It is characteristic of most nationalisms that they manifest themselves only when what is seen as "belonging to the people" comes under threat. When all is well — in the sense that there is no real or perceived threat to the survival of its people politically or physically or its distinctive elements — the need for resistance and aggressive action will not be present.

But when the conviction takes root that events represent such a threat, the people will usually rebel and join forces in an effort to withstand the threat. In particular circumstances that resistance may be expressed democratically as, for instance, through the ballot box.

However, when it is clear that such action will not have the desired effect there will certainly be a temptation to turn to other less democratic means. And if a group such as the Afrikaners find themselves in a perpetual political minority and therefore in a situation where, in a Westminster-type dispensation of majority rule they will consequently never be able to escape the tyranny of the majority, it is highly probable that they will consider other means of action.

I cannot discuss in this article what could be done to prevent or limit possible Afrikaner rejection of and resistance to a new dispensation. There is a widely held belief in Afrikaner circles that those who will probably call the tune in the new South Africa do not comprehend or accept the existence of Afrikaner nationalism and also do not realise the potential danger that it may hold for the political, economic and social stability of our society.

If this interpretation is correct, and if nothing is done to accommodate Afrikaner nationalism and Zulu nationalism in the new dispensation, there is, I believe, a strong possibility that increasing attention will be given to a campaign of civil disobedience, with the option of violence. Whether or not this may take the form of full-scale civil war, no one can at present predict with any measure of certainty, but the results of this would be catastrophic. Our political leaders are facing what is conceivably the most serious and difficult challenge in the whole of South Africa's history.

• Professor N.J.J. Olivier is former head of the Democratic Party's Research Department. With acknowledgements to South Africa Foundation Review.

The Star

Established 1887

47 SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG 2000

Homes, not squabbles

The need for low-cost housing is so great that politicians should not allow their differences to scuttle the proposed R90 billion scheme.

SOUTH Africa is desperately short of housing. Along with education, jobs and health care, it is one of the major problems confronting the country — a problem which has been exacerbated during the past decade by rapid urbanisation.

As long ago as 1986, the National Party government made its first major attempt to resolve the issue by allocating R750 million for low-cost housing — units which could then be built for R20 000 each. It was estimated then that 4.5 million additional houses would be needed by the year 2000.

Today, with just six years to go before the turn of the century, we are still discussing the numbers needed — with no one quite certain how many homes have already been built or just how effective the Government's plans have been in meeting what has always been a very urgent need. Little wonder the ANC is irritated that the Minister of National Housing, Louis Shill, should try to gain the political initiative by announcing a 10-year housing plan just weeks before the election.

The Transitional Executive Council has resolved that the plan should be temporarily suspended until the controversy is settled.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa believes the plan was unveiled in an attempt to boost the fortunes of the National Party. Shill, understandably, disclaims ulterior motives. He says the process has been under way for more than a year and that in fact the announcement of the plan was long overdue.

Whatever the rights and wrongs, those with the interests of the homeless at heart will want a start made. Housing has been a political football for far too long.

Free lunch

IT STARTED as a trickle. After February 1990, a handful of far-sighted local businessmen quickly ditched their former National Party pals and cosied up to prominent ANC leaders who cheerfully accepted their hospitality and support.

It is now becoming a flood. Latest is the election media centre the ANC has established in Johannesburg's posh Carlton Hotel with donations from prominent companies, including the hotel's management itself. The Carlton offers a commercial rationale for contributing a plush banqueting suite to the ANC's election campaign. Not everyone may believe it. America's Nashua, Finland's Nokia, Holland's Philips and others that have donated equipment to the centre, too, may find

their motives being questioned.

But surely it is inconceivable that companies publicly involved in this and other similar projects with the future ruling party and its officials would expect any favours when the ANC takes over the national treasury. Surely, too, it is inconceivable that the ANC, publicly committed to clean government, would favour companies that support its election campaign.

The companies involved risk their reputations. The country's future government risks inheriting the sleazy reputation of its predecessor by accepting corporate gifts. In the circumstances, it becomes increasingly necessary for these transactions to be open and seen to be open. Transparency, in turn, will need to be underpinned by public vigilance.

De Klerk rejects Afrikaner homeland

By correspondents in Johannesburg and Cape Town

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Mr De Klerk's comments came as the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, firmly repudiated any chance of a Zulu secession from South Africa hours before his crucial meeting with the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

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Mr De Klerk was speaking in Cape Town during the opening of what must surely be the last session of the three-chamber apartheid parliament, called to amend the Constitution the members passed into law in December.

Mr De Klerk added the Government would "use all the means at its disposal, including the security forces, to deal with any and all threats to the stability of the country".

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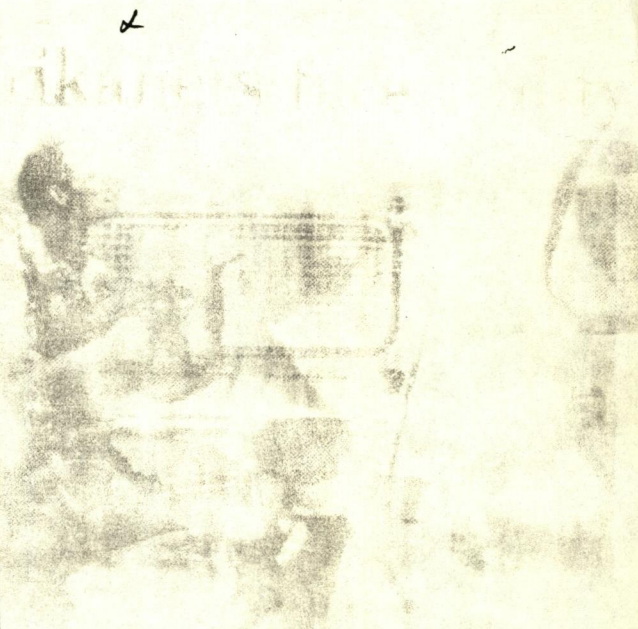
"We cannot accept, we cannot compromise to any demands which in fact amount virtually to secession," Mr Mandela said.

Senior ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehus added: "The postponement of elections is a recipe for bloodshed and disaster."

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"There is no question of me being persuaded by him or anyone to ensure the IFP's participation in the elections on April 27."

He reacted angrily to Mr Mandela's statements on Sunday and Monday that he was prepared to "go down on his knees" to ensure the



IEC to move out of World Trade Centre

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is planning to move out of the World Trade Centre in view of the infrastructural "chaos" which has afflicted the IEC since its inception.

IEC commissioners and directorate heads met yesterday to finalise the planning of the move. Most are in favour of occupying a building in the city centre.

The IEC and Independent Media Commission (IMC) personnel have been struggling against time to establish their structures in the WTC, but have been frustrated by several office transfers and changes of telephone numbers.

IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje confirmed that it was likely that the commission would move "in the near future".

The IEC had been considering the move "in order to safeguard its ability to manage and control the election."

Meanwhile, voter educationists are becoming increasingly frustrated by the "leaden feet" of the IEC, which they claim is being unco-operative.

Sources from the Independent Forum of Electoral Education and Institute for Democratic Alternatives in SA said yesterday that the IEC's voter education directorate was not providing the assistance needed to educate voters on the ground.

TEC to discuss housing plan next week

ANC fails in bid to condemn Shill

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The row over Housing Minister Louis Shill's announcement of a 10-year, R90 billion housing plan is to be carried over into next week's meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

An attempt by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to have the TEC condemn Shill's actions yesterday was defeated.

However, Shill has faced a wave of criticism over his announcement and may feel the TEC's full wrath next week.

He has been widely accused of making the announcement in an attempt to secure political gain for the NP.

Shill was summonsed to the

TEC sitting in Cape Town yesterday, but was denied an opportunity to put his case when it was decided that the National Housing Forum (NHF) should also be present, and the confrontation will take place next week.

The NHF claims Shill jumped the gun by announcing an initiative that was under negotiation.

Yesterday Ramaphosa called Shill the "most arrogant Minister I have ever met".

Shill said later it had "not been the most democratic experience I have ever had".

In a statement yesterday he also hit back at the NHF, saying it delayed discussions on the scheme: "If anything, we stand accused of allowing the National Housing Forum to delay the process for too long".

He said the suggestion that the Government should delay the process until the forum approved administrative arrangements was "preposterous".

He claimed that the National Housing Board — with six members from the Government, six from the NHF and six chosen by the two — had recommended the scheme.

Ramaphosa had earlier called on the TEC to order Shill to suspend the plan and account for his actions.

The TEC told Shill not to proceed with the plan until it had made its decision next week. However, the plan is scheduled only to go into action on March 15.

(Press Gallery, Parliament)

NP helpers attacked in Natal

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk's roadshow to Natal this week has already run into trouble with an attack on a group of National Party workers in Ralsethorpe, Maritzburg, last night.

NP candidate Colonel Aaron Pillay, a retired police officer

and five helpers were putting up party posters and a banner in Greytown Road when they were attacked by a group of men.

Outnumbered

The NP workers were outnumbered. One was hit with a plank, a car tyre was slashed and NP street posters were ripped down.

One of the attackers was armed. The NP said police arrested four of the assailants.

President de Klerk is due in Natal on Thursday and Friday.

The NP has accused ANC members of attacking their workers.

(Report by M. Chateau, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

Negotiations deadlock broken at 'summit'

◀ From Page 1

arising out of the Durban talks in time for today's last session of this special sitting. But a source said nothing specific had been forwarded to it and it could not act.

Later this morning Parliament passed those amendments to the Interim Constitution and Electoral Act agreed to by the Negotiating Council last week. They had been designed to bring the FA parties into a settlement, but were rejected by the dissenting parties as insufficient.

The CP and IFP voted against the amendments to the Interim Constitution.

As the Durban announcement sent political shockwaves around the country and hopes for the election soared, General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront flew to Cape Town from Pretoria to discuss

the move with De Klerk and Conservative Party chief Dr Ferdinand Hartzenberg.

Mandela and Buthelezi, both smiling at a press conference after their talks, agreed that "solid progress" had been made in ending the crisis.

A "foundation for further progress and a possible breakthrough" had been laid, said Mandela.

"I came here in high spirits and I am leaving in even higher spirits... I feel warm inside."

Both recommitted themselves to seeking a "swift" end to the violence between their supporters and said they would fulfill the promise made at their last meeting in June 1993 to share joint public platforms.

It was also agreed to establish a special task group to strengthen peace committees and improve communication be-

tween the ANC and IFP.

Buthelezi said the "friendship, love and cordiality" he and Mandela displayed could set an example to people on the ground.

The two parties agreed to recognise the right of people to participate or not to participate in the poll.

The outcome was in stark contrast to the mood at the beginning of the talks when Buthelezi accused his counterpart of negotiating in bad faith.

But the IFP president last night agreed to ask the party's central committee to decide whether to provisionally register for the election — pending the outcome of further negotiations. The deadline for registration is Friday.

Buthelezi added, however, that the Freedom Alliance's bottom-line presented in December last year would have to be met

before the IFP could actually contest the election.

Although there are only three days for the IFP to register, Mandela said "in discussions such as this there can be no such things as deadlines — not even April 27".

"We will continue searching for solutions after April 27 if we don't reach it by then."

After the Durban announcement, Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said the homeland government would also consider registering for the election if there was international mediation on the constitutional disputes.

In Cape Town, news of the successful Mandela-Buthelezi sent hopes soaring that all members of the Freedom Alliance would register for the poll.

(Report by S. Matthews, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville and C. Whitfield, Press Gallery, Parliament)



■ Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . 'It is important for us (Mandela and I) to address rallies together.'

■ Nelson Mandela . . . 'I came here in high spirits and I am leaving in even higher spirits. I feel warm inside.' PICTURE: AFP

IFP could register for poll following Mandela-Buthelezi meeting

Deadlock is broken

HOPES rise that CP and Bophuthatswana could follow IFP lead after progress at crucial Durban talks

■ POLITICAL STAFF

The Inkatha Freedom Party is set to register provisionally for next month's election — and international mediators may be called in to settle constitutional differences between it and the ANC.

This dramatic announcement came after an eight-hour summit between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela in Durban yesterday.

And there are indications that the Bophuthatswana government, and possibly the Conservative Party, would follow the IFP's lead and provisionally register for the poll.

President de Klerk today welcomed the progress, but thought the international mediation suggested by the two leaders could give rise to "major problems".

De Klerk said: "Time is of

the essence and if that is so I foresee problems with the concept of mediation, but I have an open mind and will look at specific proposals."

De Klerk appeared to be referring to the fact that parties have to register by midnight on Friday for the election and then submit their lists by Wednesday of next week — after which they cannot withdraw from the election.

This would leave very little time for mediation.

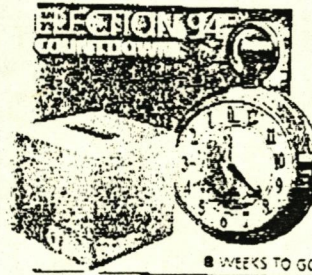
He added that he found the concept of provisional registration "very interesting" and urged other Freedom Alliance parties to consider taking the same route.

And De Klerk did leave the door open to further concessions being made right up to the election. He said agreements on outstanding issues could be made on a multiparty basis right up to the election.

He believed it was possible for progress to be made during the next week and said he was convinced intensive Government interaction with the Zulu king and Buthelezi had made yesterday's progress in Durban possible.

There was speculation in Parliament today that it might be recalled next week to process more amendments to the Interim Constitution.

The parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs met early today to see if it could process any agreements



► To Page 3

Peace force on strike

Members of the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) are refusing to continue training until a dispute over a disparity in salaries has been resolved, the NPKF's command council said yesterday.

An SADF statement said both the command council and the NPKF commander Major-General Gabriel Ramushwana took the matter "very seriously" and it had been referred to the Transitional Executive Council.

NPKF spokesman Colonel Connie van Rensburg said the decision to pay the men on minimum scales had been made by the TEC.

"The difference between the maximum and minimum salaries amounts to R5 000 a year for a rifleman,"

Colonel van Rensburg said.

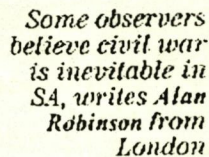
Yesterday the TEC decided the NPKF's budget will be R129 million — a massive drop from the original estimate of R405 million.

The TEC yesterday approved the budget and a member said the reduced figure was largely due to a thorough look at what equipment the force would actually have to purchase.

Vehicles

A breakdown of the budget indicates that R50 million will be spent on personnel and R79 million on logistics.

A major cost will be the purchase of vehicles, estimated at R27,6 million. — Sapa, Political Correspondent.



Toeing the Buthelezi line, Aspinall writes: "The bloodshed that seems inevitable could have been avoided if only all the talk had been about dispersing power from the centre, instead of concentrating it in one place."

King issue unresolved

Political Correspondent

Cape Town: The Zulu monarchy has still not been accommodated in the 1994 Constitution.

There is the chance that Parliament could meet again in the next few weeks to process

agreements reached between the ANC and the IFP. Marathon negotiations between the South

African Government and KwaZulu to reach agreement on wording to

officially recognise the Zulu monarchy in the 1994 Constitution came to naught.

Parliament's Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs met early today to see if it could reach last-

minute agreement on recognition of the Zulu king but were not successful.

President F.W. de Klerk told Parliament today that the NP's Natal

chairman, Danie Schutte, had forwarded proposals to the KwaZulu

Government on accommodating the Zulu monarchy. KwaZulu had

described the proposals as promising and interesting.

However IFP MP Farouk Cassim told Parliament that "absolutely no

progress has been made in accommodating the Royal House."

Report by R.M. Chellaboe, Press Gallery.

ANC, IFP youth agree to meet

Political Reporter

ANOTHER significant meeting between the ANC and IFP takes place in Durban on Friday, this time between the national executives of the ANC youth league and the Inkatha youth brigade.

It follows a marathon meeting between the leaders of the two parties, Mangosuthu Buthe and Nelson Mandela, which resulted in an IFP decision to consider provisional registration for the April elections.

A joint statement from the ANC youth and the Inkatha youth said their meeting would explore the role of youth in terms of negotiations and to identify possible areas of co-operation between them.

Areas for discussion included peace, education, youth development and youth structures in the future, the statement said.

National organiser of Inkatha youth Otto Kune and deputy secretary-general of the ANC youth, Febe Potgieter, said the meeting was necessitated by a recognition by both organisations that they had a crucial role to play in the process unfolding in South Africa.

"As youth organisations it is even more important to ensure that the outcome of the process benefits all South Africans," they said.

Report by V. Angemuthu, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.

Political comment in this issue of The Daily News is by M. van Schoor. Headlines and posters are by H.A. Harcourt. Political cartoons are by J. Leyden. Political reports, unless otherwise stated, are by staff reporters all of 18 Osborne Street, Durban. The Daily News is printed and published by H&H Newspapers (Pty) Ltd, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.

Daily News 2/3/94

HE/IM

TEC to protect voters in Natal/KwaZulu

Political Correspondent

Cape Town: Members of the Transitional Executive Council are to ensure that voters in Natal and KwaZulu are protected and that the election is free and fair.

They took this decision to "support and protect the transition process and the election" yesterday.

Leading the discussion, African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said effective steps had to be taken at the political and security levels to ensure free and fair voting in Natal.

"The situation in Natal is deteriorating on a daily basis.

"Massacres have become the order of the day. People are being slaughtered on a weekly basis.

"It is quite clear that there is an agenda that is being played out in Natal particularly to prevent the elections from taking place," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"Certain parties opposed to the election" were churning out between 500 and 1 000 trained people every two weeks, deploying them around Natal. People opposed to the elections "are being equipped with weapons of war", Mr Ramaphosa said.

Conservative white farmers were helping to train people opposed to the election. Fully armed people were ready "to launch attacks against people who might want to vote", Mr Ramaphosa said.

It would be difficult to hold free and fair elections in Natal as some people had already said that if the elections took place they would do so in an environment of bloodshed.

"We believe that the TEC has a responsibility to make sure that our people in Natal exercise their God-given right to vote for the first time."

Natal was the biggest challenge to the TEC to demonstrate its powers to ensure a free and fair election, Mr Ramaphosa said.

Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi told the TEC that some people in Natal were stockpiling food for April. Some people would stay away from the polls for fear of a bloodbath and in fact would not leave their homes for the week.

Praveen Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress said people in Natal expected that the TEC had the capacity to intervene and protect them.

Report by R.M. Challenger, Press Gallery, Parliament.

Local investors still wary

Mixed response to IFP nod

Markets took a mixed view of yesterday's apparent easing of relations between the IFP and ANC, writes our Financial Staff.

THE JSE took little heed of the apparent easing of relations between the ANC and IFP today, despite signs of optimism in forex and bond markets.

JSE dealers said local investors were reluctant to

commit themselves to new acquisitions ahead of the April election and only out-and-out commitment to participation by the IFP would change their hearts.

But foreign investors are keeping the market buoyant, chasing quality scrip on the local market — in particular, their favourites De Beers and Anglo — and snapping up blue chips on foreign markets.

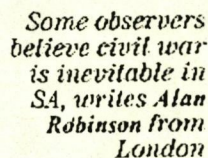
The sentiment is reflected in the indices; the all-market index was raised by De Beers-Anglo activity on the industrial board, while gold slipped lower in response to another drop below \$380.

In contrast to the muted JSE response, the finrand and bonds benefited from the IFP saying it may register provisionally for the election.

The financial rand firmed to an early R4,65 to the dollar before slipping back to trade last at R4,67/8. Yesterday it closed at R4,6875/6975. The commercial counter dipped against the dollar in erratic trade and was last at R3,4680/75.

Bond players found the movements encouraging and the Government's R150 bond dropped to 12,59% from 12,67% yesterday. Bellwether E168 stock was last at 12,61% from yesterday's 12,695%.

DAILY NEWS 2/3/94



The international spotlight is focused on South Africa as the country heads for its traumatic one-person one-vote election.

As overseas journalists pour into the Republic and start cabling back their impressions of a country at the crossroads of history, an early picture is beginning to form of 45 million people walking a swaying tightrope between democracy and disaster.

And although there is measured optimism that the universal franchise system will bring peace, it has to be said that the accent so far is on the looming possibility of civil war.

Richard Owen, foreign editor of The Times, warns of battle lines being drawn in the struggle for land in South Africa and says that apart

from the expected trouble from the Far Right and Inkatha, there is also "dormant black anger and bitterness in the sprawling black townships and shanty towns".

Writing from Pretoria, Owen says: "The resentment in black areas such as Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town or Katlehong near Johannesburg could spill over after the election if Mr Mandela and the African National Congress cannot meet their followers' high expectations. At the root of the black dreams lies an emotive issue: land and property."

lie says the white right and the Zulus are "obsessed" with land and adds that many ANC supporters feel they have been victimised by apartheid and want compensation.

Owen says many liberal whites are fearful for the future and reports writer Brian Malachuk as saying: "If the

new government fails to meet the expectations of poorer blacks, there will be a return to insurrectionary politics.

"Equally, if the new government caves in to pressure from below, rightwingers in the army and police will use their guns to protect their privileges. Either way, there will be civil war."

Many moderate whites believed FW De Klerk and Mandela had "a fighting chance" of succeeding, that if South Africa has to cope simultaneously with a violent right-wing backlash, a Zulu-ANC war and black frustration, hopes of a peaceful transition will be overwhelmed by bloody turmoil.

Writing in the Sunday Telegraph, SA-based correspondent Fred Bridgland warns of a possible struggle for succession within the ANC if Mande-

la stands by hints that he may want to quit politics in two or three years.

Bridgland says the two most likely to contest any such vacancy are Cyril Itaniaphosa and Thiabo Mueki.

In the Sunday Times, Richard Ellis writes of criticism of the ANC from within the ranks of its erstwhile supporters and adds that they are concerned that the April elections will replace the "tyranny of apartheid with the tyranny of the ANC".

Johannesburg-based Ellis quotes one former supporter as posing the question: "Are we simply swapping one set of crooks for another?"

He says the ANC's commitment to free speech, democracy, good government and free enterprise is now being questioned.

And millionaire zoo owner and casino boss John Aspinall predicts the break-up of South Africa into several

separate states joined in a loose confederacy within a common market. But, before that, he forecasts "a tragic drama" and inevitable bloodshed.

Aspinall makes no claims to objectivity. He is a committed supporter of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and proudly describes himself as a "white Zulu".

Writing in the tabloid Daily Star, Aspinall says South Africa is about to break up into its constituent parts and foresees the creation of self-governing states for the Western Cape, KwaZulu, the Afrikaner Right and others.

Toeing the Buthelezi line, Aspinall writes: "The bloodshed that seems inevitable could have been avoided if only all the talk had been about dispersing power from the centre, instead of concentrating it in one place."

ANC cowboys

THIS nation has speed limits. Will someone tell the rulers-in-waiting? Mandela's roadshow burnt up Free State tarmac at up to 190 km/h — and injured two children. (Imagine if De Klerk had done that.) Now Walter Sisulu's escort navigates urban Durban at 160 km/h. The theory is safety. The reality is recklessness, and the implication is contempt for the citizenry. The odour left lingering, along with the smell of rubber, is of the kind of Third World arrogance which meant sirens and guns and closed streets for His Excellency to go visiting. The ANC should be above this.

ANC-Inkatha deal raises hopes for poll

David Boesford
in Johannesburg

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed yesterday to allow his homeland of KwaZulu to participate in South Africa's April elections. During an eight-hour meeting with Nelson Mandela, the Zulu leader also agreed to the provisional registration of his Inkatha Freedom Party for the election.

But, despite the apparent breakthrough in relations, there was scepticism over whether it heralded a peace settlement.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi emerged from their talks at a luxury hotel in Durban apparently the best of friends. They released a joint statement saying that "notwithstanding differences on constitutional matters" they recognised "the right of people to participate, or not to participate" in the election and for both sides to canvass "for respective views ... without let or hindrance".

To "resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks" they had also decided to "explore ... the possibility of international mediation".

The statement said they would be establishing a task group to try to strengthen the peace process and "to attend to communication between the parties".

Officials who attended the meeting said afterwards that Mr Mandela had made an emotional appeal for peace to Chief Buthelezi which appeared to have moved the Inkatha president.

Certainly, when the two men emerged, the chief looked at the ANC leader with an expression which could almost be described as adoring.

Despite this, the agreements between the two appeared less than significant. The Zulu leader stressed that provisional registration did not mean there was any greater likelihood of Inkatha participating in the election. Asked at a news conference whether Inkatha was closer to taking part in the elections, Chief Buthelezi replied: "Not at all, I am not close at all".

The proposal for international mediation is believed to have come from the Inkatha camp and is not viewed enthusiastically by the ANC. Resolutions to work together for peace are commonplace between the two sides and have not previously had a significant impact on political violence.

Chief Buthelezi's commitment to allow campaigning in KwaZulu doos, however, make it more conceivable that polling will take place in his stronghold on April 27 and 28.

At the same time the chief may still choose to take a stand against the election by proxy, through the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini. The king — who is widely believed to be under Chief Buthelezi's control — has claimed the election will amount to a denial of his "kingdom's" right to existence.

The cordial relationship which apparently developed between the two men during the day contrasted sharply with the bellicose stand which Chief Buthelezi adopted at the outset of the meeting.

Describing the constitution agreed at last year's multi-party negotiations as "a prescription for disaster", he warned the ANC president that "resistance is more accurately an arbiter of what the people want than the polls will ever be".

Accusing Mr Mandela of "bad faith", Chief Buthelezi told him that his "so-called" constitutional concessions "rested on premises that you knew had been rejected by the Freedom Alliance", the coalition front representing Inkatha, the homeland of Bophutatswana and rightwing Afrikanerdom.

Mr Mandela "could not have been so ill-informed" that he was not aware of this. But he had the "temerity" to talk as though "the Freedom Alliance were the spoilers".

"There will not be stability and democracy will not flow from what the ANC has done in an unholy alliance with the National Party and the government," the Inkatha leader predicted.

He added: "Zulus want their land back and they now lay claim to it and they will not listen to any ANC talk about anything to the contrary."

The home affairs minister, Danie Schutte, who held weekend talks with Chief Buthelezi, hailed the outcome of the meeting with Mr Mandela.

"This is momentous news because this will mean that it is an inclusive settlement. More than 90 per cent of the people in South Africa, or the leadership representing 90 per cent of them is prepared to participate in the election," he said.

The Freedom Alliance chairman, Rowan Crojle, said Chief Buthelezi's statement was "encouraging" and said the Alliance was particularly in favour of international mediation.

THE GUARDIAN

2/3/94 LONDON

THE TIMES WEDNESDAY MARCH 2 1994

-LONDON-

ANC sways Buthelezi to reconsider poll boycott

BY SAM KILLY IN DURBAN AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, said yesterday that his Inkatha Freedom Party would consider provisional registration for South Africa's first all-race election but keep its option of a final boycott open.

The chief and his main black rival, Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress, said in a joint statement: "In an effort to resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks, the parties agreed to explore with their principals the possibility of international mediation, and in this regard [Inkatha] would consider provisional registration in terms of the Electoral Act." The eight-hour meeting in Durban was their first for nine months.

The Zulu leader said participation would have to be put to Inkatha's policy-making central committee. "The provisional registration is only done if we find a solution. If there is no solution we won't participate ... It leaves out options open."

Both the chief and Mr Mandela made much of their



Buthelezi arriving for the Durban talks yesterday

"close personal friendship". The talks, Mr Mandela said, had laid solid foundations for future progress, and had been conducted in an atmosphere of harmony and mutual respect. But Chief Buthelezi also committed to maintain his position that Inkatha would not take part in elections unless its demands for a sovereign state, in which the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, was recog-

nised within a federated South Africa, were met.

Both men promised to double efforts to encourage their followers to participate in national peace initiatives. Chief Buthelezi, who is Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, said earlier that he was prepared to stand beside Mr Mandela in "any real endeavour" to end violence.

A gloomy picture of Natal was given yesterday by Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general of the ANC, who accused "certain political parties" of plotting to ensure that elections cannot be held there. "People are being equipped with weapons of war. There are reports of large consignments of weapons, which are coming into Natal," he told the Transitional Executive Council in Cape Town. Mr Ramaphosa also criticised Louis Shill, the Housing Minister, as arrogant after announcing a ten-year, £18 billion plan to eliminate the black housing shortage and kick-start the economy by providing a million jobs. Mr Ramaphosa accused Mr Shill

of "abusing his position to use a package which has been negotiated at multiparty level to try to boost the fortunes of the National Party".

The council passed a resolution that would force compliance with South Africa's election law in Bophuthatswana yesterday. The decree would enable the establishment of polling stations, the operation of the election commission and of political parties wishing to campaign there.

Inkatha and Bophuthatswana belong to the Freedom Alliance, which groups right-wing white separatists and black homeland leaders seeking a large measure of regional autonomy in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Members of the new peace-keeping force, which will police trouble spots, have gone on strike over pay, the force's command council said yesterday. The 3,500-strong group already stands accused of ill-discipline, drunkenness and ethnic squabbles. The council said that it viewed the decision to refuse training in "a very serious light".

The Daily Telegraph
LONDON 2/3/94

Buthelezi's election about-turn raises hopes

By Alec Russell in Durban

SOUTH AFRICA took a step back from the brink of conflict last night when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the mainly-Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, said he was willing to consider registering for next month's elections.

An eight-hour summit with Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, broke up on a distinctly optimistic note with a joint statement calling for international mediation to resolve the fighting between their supporters.

The fundamental differences over the new constitution appear to remain, leaving open the possibility of a blood-soaked transition to democracy. However, the fact that Chief Buthelezi has said he may register for the elections appears to signal a shift away from his hardline rhetoric of the past two months and may be the precursor to a major climbdown.

After what was only their third one-to-one meeting since Mr Mandela's release from prison in February 1990 the two leaders emerged smiling and gave no sign of their usual antipathy.

"We've laid the foundation for further progress and possible breakthroughs," said Mr Mandela. "Many problems remain but a lot of progress between the ANC and IFP has been made. I came in high spirits, I leave in even higher spirits."

The next step is for Inkatha's central committee to decide whether to register for the elections by Friday's deadline. Chief Buthelezi said that if it gives the go-ahead Inkatha will "provisionally" register to allow more time for a political settlement.

Chief Buthelezi, a key figure in the Freedom Alliance coalition of conservative black movements and white Right-wingers was still cautious, saying that the issue of the future of the Zulu king

Goodwill Zwelithini was unresolved.

He also said that he could not guarantee his participation and he would not agree to take part without considering the views of the other Alliance members.

Earlier in the day he delivered an uncompromising speech to Mr Mandela referring to recent concessions offered by the ANC on the constitution as a "farce" and the constitution as a "prescription for disaster".

The speech spoke darkly of possible "evils" to come, an apparent reference to widespread fears that in the eastern province of Natal supporters of the ANC and Inkatha are arming in preparation for an escalation of hostilities.

After the meeting Mr Mandela left no doubt that the day's developments were not a prescription for peace.

However, the overall tone of the summit at least offers South Africa grounds for hope that it can still, at this eleventh hour, avoid an increase in bloodletting in the countdown to its first all-race elections.

Chief Buthelezi did not explain his apparent concession but key factors were believed to be Mr Mandela's relatively emotive approach and the agreement on seeking international mediation.

The Inkatha leader said he and Mr Mandela had received messages from President Bill Clinton and Mr John Major "expressing support" for their meeting.

● A leading anti-apartheid campaigner is launching a group to put press the New Zealand government to stop the immigration of white South Africans. Up to 1,000 a month have been moving to New Zealand.

Mr Dick Cuthbert said white South Africans should stay in their own country rather than "run away" because they are frightened of democracy. — AFP

Zulus' Leader Hedges On Boycott of Election

After Talks With Mandela, Buthelezi Moves to End Deadlock Over Vote

By Paul Taylor

Washington Post Service

DURBAN — In a move that could make South Africa's first democratic election campaign less blood-stained, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said Tuesday that he would consider provisionally registering his party to participate in the April 26-28 vote.

Chief Buthelezi made the offer after a surprisingly fruitful daylong meeting with the president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela. In return, Mr. Mandela said his organization would consider submitting the two party's disagreements over a range of constitutional issues to international mediation.

Although the agreement is conditional and does not address substantive differences, it represents the most important step toward an all-inclusive election since Inkatha and a group of other white and black conservative parties known as the Freedom Alliance pulled out of multiparty constitutional talks in July. It will put pressure on other boycotting parties to reconsider their position.

"I came in high spirits and I leave in even higher spirits," a beaming Mr. Mandela told the press after talks with Chief Buthelezi. "We have laid the groundwork for future progress."

Chief Buthelezi, who had opened the talks with a severely worded, five-page statement that attacked "You, Mr. Mandela" for forcing a "fatally flawed" constitution through the multiparty talks, ended the day by extol-

ling the "cordiality, friendship and love" that had prevailed during the session.

The two men, whose once-respectful relationship has been poisoned by the thousands of lives lost in factional fights between supporters, spent the first 45 minutes of the meeting away from their respective delegations in one-on-one talks. When they emerged, they were smiling broadly and holding hands. "We're really very fond of each other," Mr. Mandela told the press, causing more than a few eyebrows to arch.

Chief Buthelezi's Zulu-dominated party has until Friday to register for the election, which will be the first in South Africa's history in which blacks as well as whites will be allowed to vote.

He made it clear that he did not consider the act of registering tantamount to agreeing to contest the election. That decision, he said, will be made closer to the balloting, when he and his party will be able to assess the progress made in international mediation or other forums.

By agreeing to have his party on the ballot, however, Chief Buthelezi knows he has undercut the credibility and effectiveness of any election boycott he may choose to invoke. "It's like being half pregnant," a diplomat said. "It doesn't work. Once you're in, you're in."

President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister John Major sent a joint appeal to Mr. Mandela and Mr. Buthelezi urging a successful meeting. Diplomatic sources said that the proposal for international mediation did not



Kalier Dhladhla-Agence France-Press

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, left, and Nelson Mandela on Tuesday in Durban, after their first talks in nine months.

come from them or other outsiders, but from Chief Buthelezi.

Shortly after the meeting ended, a spokesman for the black homeland government of Bophuthatswana said it would consider abandoning its threatened election boycott if its constitutional grievances could be submitted to international mediation.

The third major boycotting party, the Afrikaner Volksfront, has not yet commented,

but it, too, is on record supporting international mediation.

The ANC has until now resisted such a move, as it has been able to dominate the internal negotiating process by dint of its overwhelming popular support. But diplomatic sources said that submitting to international mediation was a relatively low-risk concession by the ANC. They enjoy the moral high ground with the international commu-

nity, while some of the boycotting parties are pushing for separate states based on race or ethnicity.

Whether Inkatha's half-step into the election campaign will substantially reduce vote-related violence is difficult to predict. Supporters of Inkatha and the ANC have been murdering each other for the past decade, long before a democratic election was a gleam in anyone's eye.



ANC and Inkatha agree to work for poll peace

Buthelezi and Mandela extol 'friendship and love' but Zulu chief says he is not ready to join election

MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, went into a meeting with Nelson Mandela yesterday morning snarling, warning of war, and walked out nine hours later smiling, committed to peace and freedom of political expression.

He said he was not ready, however, to take part in South Africa's first democratic elections next month.

Mr Mandela, the president of the African National Congress, had said before the meeting that he was prepared to go down on his knees before Chief Buthelezi to prevent bloodshed. Metaphorically, that was what Mr Mandela did.

Identifying Chief Buthelezi's complex personality as the cog

around which the Inkatha machine turns, the ANC president mollified, praised and soothed, eventually persuading him to agree to what amounted to a peace treaty.

In a joint statement released after the all-day meeting at Durban's Royal Hotel, the two leaders said their two parties "recognised the right of people to participate or not to participate in the forthcoming general elections".

"After a constructive exchange of views," the statement went on, "the parties agreed to work together to ensure that canvassing for respective views should be able to take place without let or hindrance".

This went to the very heart of the dilemma in Natal province, where there is fear that Inkatha, still refusing to take part in the elections, will mount a violent campaign against the ANC.

Amid substantial evidence that white right-wingers are training Inkatha Zulus to wage war against ANC Zulus — the latter being in the majority in Natal — the spectre has been raised time and again of civil war.

On paper at least, as satisfied ANC officials remarked yesterday evening, Inkatha is now committed to ceasing hostilities against people who campaign for the ANC.

JOHN CARLIN
in Durban

Yesterday's statement went further, Chief Buthelezi having said that Inkatha would consider "provisional registration" for the elections. International mediation was also raised as an option to resolve outstanding differences. Although no details were provided as to who the mediators might be, Chief Buthelezi pointed out that he and Mr Mandela had received a joint message of encouragement from Bill Clinton and John Major before yesterday's meeting.

Questioned, however, as to whether he had undergone a dramatic change of heart and had decided now to take part in the elections, Chief Buthelezi replied: "Definitely not" and "not at all". If Inkatha decided provisionally to register, it was only in order to leave the door open in case the ANC made sufficient constitutional concessions in the coming weeks to persuade them to take part in the poll. This, in essence, meant granting Natal *de facto* sovereignty, as Chief Buthelezi made clear in an address he delivered at the start of the meeting yesterday morning.

Berating Mr Mandela for having

engaged in "farce" with his "so-called concessions" 10 days ago, he defined his chief demand as "Zulu sovereignty". The alternative — even if most Zulus do not share his wish — was "disaster" and "a potent mix for increased violence".

Not long into the meeting, however, Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela withdrew from their delegations and disappeared for a private exchange in an upstairs hotel room. When they re-emerged 45 minutes later they were smiling and holding hands. In fact, they held hands for two minutes before the cameras and then strolled down a 30-yard corridor, still holding hands.

Back inside the chamber with the delegations, Mr Mandela, according to an ANC insider, delivered a 20-minute eulogy of the Inkatha leaders. "Buthelezi was almost reduced to tears," the source said.

When the two leaders appeared before the cameras again at the evening press conference, the smiles remained as broad as they had been in the morning. Mr Mandela spoke of "my friend Chief Buthelezi"; "in spite of all our political differences we are very close friends", he said; the meeting had been "harmonious", "fruitful", "unforgettable".

Chief Buthelezi began the press conference in slightly less generous mood. But by the end he said the encounter had been characterised by "friendship and love".

Excise deadwood — Govern ourselves

SIR — People that have benefited from the affirmative action practices of the National Party since 1948 have very short memories of the handicap that blacks endured to get a decent education and obtain employment. Much has been written in newspapers about the need for appropriate qualifications, experience and the need to maintain standards whilst ignoring the realities and legacies of apartheid.

Few people have written in when apartheid was the norm to protest against the appointment of unqualified people to top management (and other) positions in the civil service, municipalities and parastatals. One reason for complaints of inefficiency in the civil service may be directly attributed to the employment of people on the basis of skin colour instead of ability.

The appointment of black management in the civil service, municipalities and parastatals is essential to excise the deadwood and change the face of the civil service to reflect the community it serves.

MANO GOVENDER
5 Auburn Place
Bellevue 3201

SIR — The Basotho and Swazi peoples appealed to the British for protection and became British Protectorates (not colonies). They have their independence.

King Cetshwayo of the Zulu people did not wish to fight the Zulu War. His messages for peace were ignored. Sir Bartle Frere was determined to annex Zululand for the Great Queen.

Communication between Whitehall and South Africa took four months. No one heeded the Zulu King's overtures for peace. Zululand became part of the Colony of Natal. Lands in the west were claimed by the Boers.

In 1910, Natal became part of the Union of South Africa. The Zulu nation was no longer free. The Zulu people deserve nothing less than federal independence. The time is now right to address injustices.

Natal/KwaZulu should become a self-governing state within a Federal Central Congressional Government.

BILL HARDWICK
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Damned either way

SIR — At last we know how Inkatha are thinking, and I for one can only support their point of view. They think that they are between a rock and a hard place, damned if they do participate in "free and fair" elections, and damned if they don't.

A boycott seems reasonable. However, it denies the vote to countless millions who have sought this right, a denial which I feel is unfair to them. Boycotts or abstentions prove nothing. They only add to the numbers of those who cannot be bothered to vote, and as such are totally disregarded by all sides.

Surely it would be better for all IFF supporters to register their rejection of the election by spoiling their papers?

Spoiled papers are counted! If every IFF supporter registered their displeasure with the electoral process by spoiling their papers it has to prove a point, a point which external observers could not fail to see.

Let the IFF stand up and be counted, not amongst the "yes", but among the "no's". All their supporters would have the chance to feel that their vote counts.

D HENDRY
4 Madeleine Drive
Gillies

Contributors are reminded that a state of emergency exists and all letters of a political nature intended for The Forum must carry the writer's full name and street address. Names de plume and post box numbers are not acceptable.

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JUST ANOTHER TINPOT DICTATOR

Fergal Keane reports on the waning influence of Chief Buthelezi, once so assiduously courted by the West's leaders

THE MODELS entered from stage left, hands turning and hips swaying, to the delighted cheers of the delegates. They wore cotton wraps, on to which had been stencilled the grinning face of Prince Mangosuthu B. Buthelezi — chief minister and minister of police of KwaZulu, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, holder of the Star of Liberia. Along with the wraps, accessories were for sale: T-shirts and bandanas, coasters and aprons, pens and shopping bags, all bearing the leader's likeness. After the show, a black man with a vaguely American accent appeared at the microphone to tell the crowd that his company was happy to present this exclusive IFF

collection at extremely reasonable prices. The crowd roared its approval, and the object of the crowd's adulation allowed himself a broad smile.

He had every reason to be happy. After all, everywhere Chief Buthelezi looked he could see his own image; draped behind the stage on a long banner, stretched across the chests of delegates, pinned to the black berets which bobbed up and down in the sweating mass, to his immediate left and right, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu saw signs proclaiming him 'Prince of Peace' and 'Father of Negotiations'. Here in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu — the Zulu homeland created by the South African state — where visi-

tors arrive at the Mangosuthu Buthelezi International Airport, travel along the Buthelezi highway and visit the Holiday Inn with its Buthelezi conference rooms, is where the Chief finds the kind of audience he likes: no querulous voices, no doubts, no disloyal rumblings.

The fashion show was the climax of a congress of the Inkatha Freedom Party; at the post-congress press conference the Chief faced another sort of audience. On the way to the hall one of his supporters approached me and whispered, 'When I see journalists, I want to shoot. Do you understand, my friend?' That pretty much set the tone for what followed. The Chief told us he was sick of being portrayed as the nigger in the wood-pile and had had enough of the media trying to read his mind. Asked what he thought might happen if Inkatha boycotted the upcoming South African elections (which they have now decided to do), he replied, 'I am neither a guru nor a crystal ball gazer! But we should remember, he said, that the blood of warrior kings coursed through his veins and his people would never ever accept a constitution that was foisted upon them.

Hostility was the reigning emotion. A young woman reporter who asked whether Inkatha would trap its people for voting in spite of the boycott threat was told, 'No man's arse is big enough to ride two horses at the same time.' That was a relatively mild response to a relatively fair question.

WHEN I WALKED into the ward last week, I discovered that the patients had been divided, more or less, into two teams on opposite sides of the central aisle, the battered wives versus (as it were) the wife-batterers. Both teams had attempted suicide, or at least had taken overdoses, during the weekend, the former because they had had enough of their husbands' violence and could think of no other way out, the latter because their wives had had enough of their violence and had left them at last. No one is more bereft or angrier than a torturer deprived of his victim.

First the batterers. Captain of their team was a man with a perpetual 'Who, me?' expression on his face. For ten years, he had grabbed his wife by her hair every week or so and bashed her head against the wall. Sometimes he varied the procedure by squeezing on her wristpipe.

'I think there's something wrong with him, doctor,' she said to me. 'His eyes go all funny, staring like I really think he doesn't know what he's doing.'

'Would he do it in front of me?' I asked.

'Oh no, doctor.'

'Would he do it in front of a policeman?'

'No.'

If symptoms persist...

'Then he knows what he's doing, doesn't he?'

The vice-captain of the batterers was a 78-year-old man, righteously indignant at the decision of his wife, after 50 years of married hell, to leave him. Ever since they first set up home together, he would lude the groceries around the house to drive her to distraction. He would make her pick up her tea without using the handle of the cup so that she burnt her fingers. He would at once destroy any possession towards which she showed the slightest signs of attachment. He called her stupid for putting up with him.

His behaviour demonstrated that it's never too late to be vicious.

Now for the battered team. Captain was an Indian woman, who had had an arranged marriage two years previously, and whose husband's family had imprisoned her from the first in the home and incited him to beat her black and blue for the slightest dereliction of what they supposed was her duty. She had once tried to leave, but her husband had abducted her from the street in broad

daylight. Before her marriage, she had been a pharmacist.

Vice-captain of the battered team was a woman who had lived 15 years with her lover, ever since she was 16 years old, by whom she had three children. He was always extremely jealous, having accused her of innumerable infidelities. Every telephone number was that of a lover, every glance in the direction of a man an accusation and every 30-second delay in her return from the local corner shop (the only destination allowed her) a complete love affair. He beat her, generally with a lead pipe specially stored for the purpose, every time his suspicions were aroused.

Needless to say, he had seven children by four other liaisons which were, as the hospital management would no doubt put it, ongoing.

I spent a considerable part of my morning arranging for the captain and the vice-captain of the battered team to enter a women's refuge but when they arrived there, they changed their minds and returned to their husbands. Man (or rather woman) flies to misery like an iron filing to a magnet.

'I shall love him, doctor,' the lady of the lead pipe said. 'When he's nice, he's lovely.'

Theodore Dalrymple