

" THE SUN. TIMES, 31 JANUARY 1990 |

APy 1t 8]

Commercial \

drive to get its own publications
comes after a failed attempt by the organisation to purchase the Sowetan newspaper.
It is unhappy at what it regards as the over-concentration of ownership of the press in South Africa. It has said that an ANC government would introduce legislation to bring about the unbundling of ownership of

the value; less.

the ANC is sinking considerable capital of its own into the project - an estimated R20-million - it is planning the publications as commercial ventures.

In addition to a daily newspaper and 3 weekly news magazine, it is planning an up-market women's magazine targeted at the black market and another magazine directed at the coloured community.

" The ANC has begun accelerating the launch date of its publications, in particular the newspaper, with an eye to the elections which are expected to take place early next

year.

The project is being headed by ANC director of information Pallo Jordan and Cosatu media expert Moleketi Mbeki

The two travelled to London with Mr Dali Tambo, son of the ANC chairman, 2 fortnight ago, when they met Mr Rowland and a number of other businessmen, including Liberty Life chairman Donald Gordon.

" Liberty Life deales that it is investing in the project. But Sanlam spokesman Andre e oetsee said his COMEES

had been approached to help with financing the

newspaper as an investment proposition, but a final decision has not yet been taken.

Chie! Abiola attended last week's SA Development Co-ordination Conference in Zimbabwe. He is almost wholly funding the news magazine, which will have an all-Africa focus.

The management board

of the publications will include

ANC and Cosatu

and also representatives

of international

w are be-

include Lonhro,

Time-Warner, US News

and World Report, and SA
companies.

An undertaking by Mr
Rowland in London 10 days
ago to support the project
has ensured that publica-
tion dates can be brought
forward.

!â\200\230TEADFAST

A GREAT deal has been made by the Government and others of the alleged manipulation of the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangesuthu Buthelezi, by â\200\234whitesâ\200\235 and â\200\234international advisersâ\200\235.

If there is one thing that this country, and especially the Government, should know from long experience, it is that Dr Buthelezi â\200\230cannot be manipulated by anybody.

The Government need only look at its own unsuccessful record of trying to coerce Dr Buthelezi into accepting so-called â\200\234independenceâ\200\235 for KwaZulu.
:How short are memories of various

{abortive attempts to lure him into co-operating with non-starter Government

â\200\234Cabmet Councilsâ\204? :

i +The racist overtones in these allegaâ\200\224
tions are tramparntâ\200\230 as is the attempt
|to divide Inkathaâ\200\231s multiracial con-

Bl Buthelezi refused â\200\234independvder}ceâ\200\235

Buthelezi canâ\200\231t
be manipulated

stituency, using apartheid-type tactics.

As a democrat, Dr Buthelezi actively seeks diverse viewpoints and constructive input from IFP members (black, white and brown) for debate and decision-making. No black, white or brown South African, within the Party or abroad, can claim credit for his perspicacity, -

If the Government and others object to â\200\234whitesâ\200\235 and â\200\234international advisersâ\200\235" supporting Dr Buthelezi, perhaps they

â\200\234should tell us whether they intend to re-

enact the Political Interference Act m
the â\200\234newâ\200\235 South Africa. - -~

Inkatha benefits from the advxce of
members and supporters who happento -

. be white. Perhaps the NP, and indeed - ;

the Government, could be. wellâ\200\224served

b}, â\200\234adwsersâ\200\235who happen tobeblack (%)

-~ = Suzanne Voâ\204ç

Member Centm!Comnttte IFP..

Johanneshurg

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THE SUN. STAR, 31 JANUARY 1993 Â\$

DIVISION SPELLS no negotiations with NP deadlock

Democracy for

. Nat crisis: Confusionin
â\200\234the ruling/National Party
â\200\230threstens negotiations just
- ag it begins to look like all
8ystems go for the new
â\200\234South Africa. %3

Bv Davio BrEier

POUTICAL CORRESPONDENT

" SERIOUS divisions in Governmest over

~ threat to democratic rule this year.
~ ANC spokesmen told-the Sunday Star
they had been alarmiad to discover in
' recent talks that Government negotia-
tors had no clavity among themselves
on their own bottom line when it came
to power-sharingâ\200\235 -

nave revealed that the Government is
increasingly aware that its official line
:;iqg;powmf;haâ\200\230:"in% i antenable. If has
failed to sell ifs â\200\234traikaâ\200\235 ldea that lead-
ers of the top three parties in the first
slÃction be equal parmers in a revoiv-
ing presidency, giving @ minority party
such as Tnkatha the same power as the
Incredibly the Nats
now In effect bave no
power-sharing policy
w put 16 the negotia-
â\200\234tion table.
Hawks such as Min

negotiations have emerged as a major

Sources oclose to the negotiations

More Nats

SA under threat

_ to be a symptom of growing confmsion

in the NP as the moment of truth ap-

proaches.. 5 S aoven e e
~ Hard bargaining on other crunch

" issues lies ahead, which could also set

back timetables - the ANC wants
nooracial elections this year, the Gov-
- arnment by April next year.

The Government wants the elertions
to be held on a regional basis, which
means determining borders and agree-

ing on regional powers before elections.
The ANC wants the elected constitn-
tion-making body to decide on regional
r\$ and borders. e

The drawing of new regional bean-
daries, especially in the Transvaal is
regarded by negotiators as a highly
complex and contentious task.

A compromise could take months to
thrash out. This could involve holding
some elections on a regioval basis -
for example in KwaZuly, "Natat and Bo-
phuthatswana The rest of the country
could vote on 2 nationad st %

Complex negotiations still he ahead
on the incorporation of the TBVC â\200\234inde-

pendentâ\200\235 bomelands in time for an
election. There is also the therny ques-
tion of registering millions of voters.

It emerged this week after the latest
taiks that the wall exists in the Govern-
meat and ANC to
stick a{ least to the
Governmentâ\200\231s time-
table

But ANC and Gov-
ernment negotiators

Coetsee, Mintster of

â\200\234Law; > and - Ovder
Hernos Kriel and Min
ister of Local Govern-
ment Tertius Deipor,
are said to be lnereas
ingly out of step with
cusf Government ne
gotiator Roelf Meyer
and his semor offi
eials.

Unless they find a
new policy, there Âçan
be no meaningful ne-
gotlations, acvording
0 kev sowces,

The ANC haz ex
pressed willingness Lo
share power Âçven be
yond the interim
phase.

This week's defex-
tivs of veteran Nat

i Vryheid MP .lurle
. Mentz to the Inkatha
i Freedom Party is sald

ister of Justice Kobie i

JURIE MENTZ, the veteran Natal politician who shocked his colleagues by joining the IFP, has forecast that other Natal Nats could follow

his as the first democratic election

the province will be between the ANC and the IFP and everybody else is likely to be ground 1610 pas

One political observer said; "This is a warning fight. If the government and the ANC get too close together it will

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trigger more defections.

Riotions LR e

are only now beginning to deal with the crunch issues.

Their sheer scope could cause serious delays, despite the sense of urgency due to the economy.

The Government and IFP have not yet even begun to talk about constitutional details after the bad blood of the past few months. Their current talks centre only on the convening of a planning conference

talks about talks,

Informed political and diplomatic sources are now steeling themselves for a

much longer and dirtier negotiation process than had been

1" hoped for recently.

INKATHRA

" Deal on black .

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-yote a fingerâ\200\231s

breadth away

BEHIND the cautious state-
ments by President F. W. de
Klerk and ANC leaders, it is
clear last week's talks have nar-
rowed the gap between the two
. sides to a fingerâ\200\231s breadth, and
* that South Africa is well on its
. way to transitional government,
writes Allister Sparks.

This will hold the ring while
â\200\230the first democratic elections
are held, probably in Novem-
ber, with the major parties then
forming a coalition â\200\230government
of national unityâ\200\231 to run the
country for about five years
before there is full majority
rule.

â\200\230Success is being recorded on
â\200\230an incremental basis,â\200\235 the
ANCâ\200\231s chief negotiator, Cyril |
Ramaphosa, told guests at a
(German foundation function on
Thursday night after the six-
day talks in an isolated Cape
nature reserve. They seem to
have produced a measure of
mutual understanding if not
actual fellowship. â\200\230There was
not the breakthrough we had
hoped for, but we reached some
common ground on some
issues,â\200\235 Ramaphosa said.

When opening what will
almost certainly be the last ses-
sion of South Africaâ\200\231s white

parliament the following day,

de Klerk, though equally cau-
tious, spoke of a â\200\230broad consen-
sus that is beginning to develop
in respect of the course we have
to takeâ\200\231.

These old antagonists still jab
and spar at one another, and
political violence continues to
gutter across the land, but
insiders on both sides make it
clear that they are now very
close to agreement. The two
teams of negotiators, 20 a side,
agreed on a set of recommenda-
tions covering most of the out-
standing issues between them.
These must now be approved

by De Klerk and his full cabinet and Nelson Mandela and his 100-strong National Executive Committee.

Some of the compromises may be difficult to sell, But endorsement will mean the government has dropped its demand for permanent â\200\230power-sharingâ\200\231, and the ANC its demand for immediate majority rule, â\200\230They will have agreed on a temporary period of multi-party coalition rule.â\200\235

The Government also appears to be backing away from its plan for a rotating presidency in which each of the three main parties takes turns at having its leader serve as Head of State. It now seems likely that the leader of the party that wins the first election will become president, but his powers during the period of interim government and after the election have yet to be agreed,

There are still some differences. The most serious is over integration and control of the security forces. The ANC wants its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), to be merged with the South African Defence Force but the government insists Umkhonto must be disbanded and its members made to apply individually to join up.

There is still argument over constitutional principles which would bind the elected constituent assembly, and over control of broadcasting services during the election campaign.

Another round of talks to resolve these issues will be held in 10 daysâ\200\231 time, followed by a planning conference which, in Ramaphosaâ\200\231s words will â\200\230open the way for a resumption of Codesaâ\200\231, the multi-party constitutional convention that broke down last May. e

Codesaâ\200\231s job will be to get multi-party endorsement of the Agreements reached. â\200\230Then, according to De Klerk on Friday, a multi-party Transitional Executive Council will be installed in June.

In effect this will be an interim government. Although De Klerk will still be president and his cabinet in office, they will merely rubber-stamp Transitional Executive Council decisions. :

An interim constitution will come into effect in September, providing for the one person one vote election, the constituent assembly to serve as an interim parliament, and the major parties to form a joint government. Then the election; South Africa's real moment of transition.

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" Stoic whites awa

by Fred Bridgland
. in Cape Town

LIFE in Cape Town yesterday morning was strikingly calm following President de Klerk's warning at the opening of Parliament of a potential Yugoslav-style civil war in South Africa.

Newspapers devoted more space on the front pages to the big horse race of the Seumas, the R730,000 (ELG). buty Metropaltitaa Stakes over a mile at Cape Town's Keadworth track, than to the revolutionary change that is coming.

There were no signs of panic in spite of Klerk's warning that the African National Congress would share government by June, that the present white-dominated Parliament must now vote itself into oblivion and that within nine months legislation will be passed paving the way for general elections in which the black

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majority will be enfranchised :

Willem van Ryswik, a chartered surveyor, took breakfast tea with his wife and children on the lawn of their detached house beneath Table Mountain and vowed that he would not leave South Africa.

â\200\2341've watched Umbeki

(Thabo Umbeki, the foreign relations director of the * ANC) and Ramaphosa (Cyril Ramaphosa secretary-general of the ANC) on TV, and

they're actually quite nice
and they're very clever,"
said Willem, whose Afrika-
ner forefathers fought at
Blood River where a force of
less than 500 whites killed

A

it the

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some 3,000 Zulu \warderg.

â\200\234When we were brought up-
we were conditioned to think ~

all blacks were dumb."â\200\235

Like many intelligent,
pleasant whites, Willern, 40,
and his 36-year-old wife Li-
sette, a nursery school
teacher, admit that they have
balked at the rhetoric that
has spewed from the mouths

of politicians"since the
reform process began three
years ago with the release of
ANC leader Nelson Mandela
from 27 years imprisonment.
==+ don't think I understand
what is happening (in the
constitutional negotia-

tions),â\200\231â\200\235 said Lisette. Seltes
__been going on for such a long
time that I got bored with 14

.

â\200\234MOBUTU BLOCKS RESC

UE MISSION BY BELGIAN COMMANDOS

PRESIDENT Mobutu of Zaire yestec-
day refused to allow a team of comman-
to
Belgians caught up in a bloody
rampage by dissident troops in which
dozens of people have been killed. Bel-
gium sent 330 troops to Brazzaville, the
Congo Repub-
lic, with the intention of bringing out
countrymen who took refuge in the Bel-
gian embassy in Kinshasa, the Zairean
capital, writes Con Coughlin.

to allow the

the Congo River from
Beazzaville to Kinshasa, claiming Bel-
gium had not gone through the correct

dos to enter the country

capital of neighbouring

But officials cefused
troops to cross

rescue
two-day
trapped in Zaire.

regular army

violence which has

diplomatic procedures in seeking the
evacuation. As a goodwill gesture,
President Mobutu offered to
presidential yacht to release foretgners

Hundreds have sought refuge in
embassy compounds in Kinshasa after
troops went on an ergy of
left between 50 and
100 people dead. The French ambassa-
dor was among seven foreigners
reported killed and a number of Belgian
nuns were said to have been raped in the
Limete neighbourhood.

The violence appeared to have died
dow.n yesterday after AMobutw's prest-

gse his
calm.

allowed

But whie the

dential guaid restored ocrder. The retn-
forcement of France's embassy security
detachment and the impending arrival
of Belgian troops helped to restore

Zaire authorities
10 French paratrcopers into

Kinshasa tosupervise the evacuation of
French natonals, Mobutu
Belgians access,
they might ititempt to depose him. Zaire
televisionsiid the Belgians had no right
to enter
alobutu's permission.

ing to leave office even though his last
term finished more than a year ago.

refused the
apparently fearing

their former colony without
about is refus-

" said Willem.

"~ around them. =

revolution

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â\200\234{"mepretty philosophical
about the: futuge,.lneither
-optimistic Tor pessimistic;â\200\235
4T thigk*tbe
government and the ANC
will work ~something Å°out.
Anyway, bow bad can it get
really? The whites still.sur-
vive well in Zimbabwe.and
Zambia evern though the gen-
aral economy has collapsed
D a:~viÅ«;1Å¢â\200\230:
â\200\234I want to-stay io Shis
country even if we have abad
government. After all, we've
had bad government before
and ['ve survived.â\204¢
Lisette feared drastic
changes t the education sys-
tem that would be damagiag
ta her soa Andre, nine, aad
daughter Moonique, seven.
â\200\234â\200\234The standards of educa-
tion for wintes have beedl
qigh, and with the integra-
tian of thz education systems
(which were arganised on a
race basis) there will be a fall
in stapdacds. If Å\$ had ta
leave, it wou.d be because of
the ciuidreaâ\200\231s education,â\200\231
she said.

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amazed,â\200\235 she says. â\200\234She knows So | was sitting there with the she hecame c
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hes s*r'i-\202nÂ» wared. But' l Âçan't, My main
e | -}clâ\200\231 sroblom 18 that I've been landed
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â\200\23014 WORLD NEWS s

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3i JANUARY 1992- THE SUNDAY TIMES

- South Africaâ\200\231s â\200\230Saddamâ\200\231 stakes his claim

Communists win over

- disillusioned blacks

AS the duo dubbed Nelson de
Klerk and F W Mandela ham-
mered out power-sharing
-plans last week, one of the
most powerful figures in the
Afnican National Congress sat
in his run-down Johannesburg

office plotting a course that
would take South Africa down

â\200\230a very dfferent, lefi-wing
road.

Martitn Thembtsile â\200\234Chnisâ\204¢
-Hant â\200\224 communist chief. for-
~ mer head of the ANCâ\200\231s arimed

wing and, increasingly, the
' peopleâ\200\231s choice as alternative
leader â\200\224 revealed that he
would not participate in either
a power-shannng administra-
tion or an ANC government.
Hanzi, 50. chose The Sunday
Times to reveal a significant

- shift in strategy that is bound

to cause tension in the move-
ment once lt 15 known here.
He has decided effectvely to
â\200\230break away from the ANC
â\200\234after South Afnicaâ\200\231s first gen-
â\200\230eral election, expected early
next year, and to sel up an
alternative â\200\234socialist allianceâ\204¢
that might stand against it at
future elections.

-Hani and his fellow com-
- munists, who hold several of
the ANC's jeading posts, have
for a long ume faced white
charges that they are nothing

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

but a Trojan Horse within the
ANC. He has now laid himself

opea to accusations of split-
ting the movement. But he
gave a clear sign of ins inten-
fion 10 capialise on growing
black disillusion and to stake
his own clarm to power when
moderate ANC figures are in
government.

A friend of Fidel Castro,
Hani ls the white commu-
nity's most feared man. His
South African Communist
party (SACP) â\200\224 which exists
as a separate enuty within the
ANC â\200\224 boasts the fastest-
groming membership of any
such pariy in the world. A sur-
vey by an lodependent re-
seaith company has come out
with what 115 white director
called â\200\234shockingâ\200\235 news: 39%
of blacks might vote com-
munist at the forthcoming
election and that Hani is over-
whumingly the most popular
leader among blacks after
Mandela.

Taking the tactical decision
lo reveal his plans 10 a Bnush
newspaper, Ham said he was
not prepared 10 serve as a
memster 1lher 1n the pre-elec-

Fighting talk: the killing of ANC demonstrators by Ciskei troeps last year was blamed on th
e irresponsibility of Hani's communists

tion government of national
umity thai s bkely tw b
formed soon, or, afier the elec-
RO n S NG S e
gOVernment.

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t want 10 i Jp-
wvolved,â\200\235 he said. 1 want? 1the
freedom to crticise from out-
side, to Jead marches, 10 orl-
panise sinkes. 1Â¢ prossunse
the new povernmenâ\200\231 inte do-
ing the ngbt things

Ham stressed tha: Hie saw

no alternave te a 1lemporary

power-shannng deal. and con

fumed that the communisis

would rematr partners with
the ANC for the first clection
But political observers sec his
statemenits as a caloulated hid
to distance hunself from the
deal be.rg neponated between
IDx Klerk and Mandcela and o
estabask himself as the radical
conleiRdens tor paseall s post

N Ry SR S

cisyon follows
growing dissent
ANC and lthe

government

Nationalists
Fhe move wall alarm 4N

moderates bul wall cheer thos

who claim the ANC s selling

out lo the
kKo

rubing whiies
Foman be ertdisec &
some people who wall <,

hare toughbhl unge: ar

weeks of
within the
CODITUNS]
party. over the pians 10 form a
wiih The

banner.â\200\235 Hane adminted. Al
thouvgh ndividual {(SACP)
pasty members mav be ln the
government, my feeling s the
party will need o move 0
different directions 10 the new
povernment. We will have
achyeved the aim of our alh-
ance, which Â¥ o defear the
National Party â\204¢

Ham spoke of building a
new partnership bevaeen the
RAL P i

and lefiwimpens

radicals. This would embrace
disaffecied ANC members,
trade umionisls, members of
other parties and even Winnie
Mandela, who last week ac-
cused ANC Jeaders of getting
into bed wath the Nauonal
Party ln order 10 enjov the

luxury of â\200\234ilks silken sheetsâ\204ç.

Party insiders say the think-
g ls 10 play a waling game,
and let moderates hike Cynl
Ramaphosa and Thabo
Mbek, the top ANC figures in
hine to succeed Mandela. take
over. â\200\234We beheve they wall
nol want lo, or be able to,
meel the expectations of the
people,â\200\235 said â\200\234one. â\200\234Afier a
couple of years there wall be an
enormous backlash, which we
wall beneflt from.â\204ç

Asked whether he mmaght
lead his new â\200\234sociohst alb-
anceâ\200\235 against a moderate
ANC led by Ramaphosa or
Mbela at the countryâ\200\231s second
general elecuon in 1998 or
1999, Hani was guarded but
did not rule ll out.

His statements will be
considered by many as an
early bid for the hearts and
minds of rank and file ANC
supporiers. The former head
of the ANC's guerriila army
retains a larpe following and
recelved the largest number of
voles at elections lo the move-
mentâ\200\231s reling body in 199].

His tireless speech-making
and unwviolding radicalism
makes him a favounte among
the young, One township sup-

porter in Tokoza recently
described hom as â\200\234South Af-
ricaâ\200\231s Saddam Hussein,
because he stands up lo the big
guys and tells them where to
petoffâ\200\235. Told of this last week.
Ham laughed. â\200\234That's an wn-
fortunate companson, but l
know what he means.â\200\235

Any new grouping that in-
cluded him and the chans-
matic and still well-hked
Winme Mandela â\200\224 they are
close fnends â\200\224 would be a for-
midable electoral nival to the
ANC. paricularly if Nelson
Mandela were no Jonger there
to lend his populanty lo it
Ramaphosa and Mbeki barelv
featured in the recent poll by
Markinor, a Johannesburg-
based rescarch organisation,
that found Ham to be the
mest popular black pohtician
after Mandela.

The sheer scaie of the prob- ,â\200\230

blems facing a new ANC-led government would be likely to work in Hani's favour. Three years after De Klerk's historic speech promising reforms, most black South Africans continue to live in run-down townships with inferior education, poor health facilities, few jobs and low wages: just 15% of black school-leavers get a job

Should an ANC government fail to address these problems adequately, the chances of a more radical party doing well in the second general election must be good.

HHLIHANI

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CULATION of the only dally By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ne per in the Transket, the East |
London-based paily Dispatieb, stress that the PACs hght was not
ceased this week when PAC mem- with Daily Dispatch 1

bers padlocked the newspapers The Gight was with management stances .

Umtata oifices. who, unless ihey travelled to Umtata to report on PAC
to iroo out complaints, would force Transkei and one in
Lol which informatlon was allegedly re-

'lheyalsooccupiedthepren\isa D
e s â\200\230â\200\234"â\200\234â\200\234â\200\230Lâ\200\230;â\200\230nâ\200\230i~\201mâ
\200\230m cale: T : tayed to the SAP
â\200\234gelling & newspaper W be atist : .
a safe thing to oâ\200\231 y 10 i by DajlymspatchedlwrGlynnWil-

liams said some of the items had
beenpubiâ\200\230lshedâ\200\224one with a picture.

PAC regicnal secretary
Mkabile was at paios this week to

Ee s ! Â¢
PAC vows to

ry Zingisa believein
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THE SUN. 1 IMES, 31 JANUARY 1

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B) CHARLENE SHITH

THE ANC is to launch a dally

newspaper and three maga-

zines by June with massive
support from local and over-
saas businessmen.

One of the top backers of the scheme
is multi-millionaire Tiny Rowland, a
close friend of ANC chairman Oliver
Tambo and former head of Lenrho,
which owns the Observer newspaper in
London

A 15-member Nigerian qewgeuon headed
by Chief Abiola, head of the Nigerian stock
exchange, newspaper owner and head of
several companies, arrives in Johannesburg
tomorrow night to discuss final details of the
proposed weekly news magazine,

ANC sources say the newspaper was at
first envisaged as a weekly publication but,
on advice from mtamt.owlgackm, will be
a daily paper

A spokesman for Observer editor Donald

Trelford conî-\202rr*ed that he had had lunch
recently with â\200\234ANC people interested in a
newspaper projectâ\200\235, but referred all further
inquiries to Lonrho.

A number of top Soufh African companies
have been Approa.,hed tc invest in the busi-
neas. This wesak the Insurance giant Sanlam
confirmed it was considering a proposal to
invest in the project.

The venture has also been assured of
tinanetal and training assistance from some
foreign governments, including Sweden.

The ANC and its trade-union ally Cosatu
have been planning the launch for more than
tiwo years, but they still refuse to comment
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48 SUNDAY TIMES, January 31 1993,

A GREAT deal Is being made by the government and others of the alleged manipulation of the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, by "whites" and "international advisers". If there is one thing this country, and especially the government, should know from long experience, it is that Dr Buthelezi cannot be manipulated by anybody. The government need only look at its own unsuccessful record of trying to coerce Dr Buthelezi into accepting so-called "independence" for Kwazulu. How short are memories of various abortive attempts to lure him into co-operating with non-starter government "cabinet coun-

"where, nationally and

BOX 1080

JOHANNESBURG 2000

Buthelezi has

never been
manipula

ed |

tive black, white or brown South African within the party or others abroad can claim credit for his perspicacity.

Âf the government and others object to "whites" and "international advisers" supporting Dr Buthe-

lezl, perhaps they should
inform us as to whether
they intend to re-enact the
Political Interference Act
in the new South Africa.

Inkatha its from
time to time from the
â\200\234adviceâ\200\235 of members and 3%

rs who happea to
be white. Perhaps the
National Party and, in-
deed, the goverament,
could be well served by 3
â\200\234sdvisersâ\200\235 who happen to
be black. â\200\224 SUZANNE
VOS, member, IFP central

newspaper editors
throughout the country at
the time, who attempted to
urge him to comply).

The racist overtones in
these allegations are trans-

â\200\224 23 is the attempt
to divide Inkathaâ\200\231s multi-
racial coustituency using
apartheid-type tactics.

As a democrat, Dr
Buthelezi not only actively
seeks diverse viewpoints -
and constructive input
from party members for
debate and decision-mak-
ing, but also from else-

internatiomally.
Nevertheless, as 2
Jeadar, he leads as he is
required to do. He holds his
elected positions precisely
because his political in-
sights and instincts are so

: pibï¬\201@ppmm,iâ\200\234_mli¬\202gmgp&w. commuittee.
tally, by _Val'[Olls â\200\234white i W'
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W3

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI: His â\200\230political insights
and Instincts are valued and respectedâ\200\231

Nl imeen=an

&

" Launch of ANC paper o

BY SunStar Reporter i

THE ANC has been holding talks
Wwith multi-millionaire Tiny Row-

- land and a number of foreign and .

local business leaders in a bid to
facilitate the taunching of 3 â\200\234demo-
cratic dailyâ\200\235 newspaper.

- But, according to ANC ij}kaper-__ T
Marcus,

son Gill talks are still at 2y
â\200\234exploratory stageâ\200\235 and no firm
_ deals[haye ÂYet been conclided,
- Reacting to reports that the ANC
was to launch a3 daily paper by June,
she said that this was not possible, -

â\200\234Talks are still at a very early ,

Â¥
stage. No firm date has been setâ\200\235
Marcus said. â\200\234Furthermore, it is
wrong to call it an â\200\230ANC news perâ\200\231.

- tate the launch of a democratic

Mbakl.med:aexpex-tofa:sahn

. ing firmh at this poin in timeâ\200\235
daily.â\200\235 . , S0 Rowland, who is the former head
She said ANC director of informa-

- of Lonrho, could not he cantacted for |-
tion Pallo Jordan had e

e Coment laskiiphts 5 -
two weeks st The'm;leetiug' â\200\230with Rowland was
- apparently facilitated by Donald
â\200\234They Trelford, â\200\230editor of the Observer,

: - which is owned by Lonrhg, - - - . .

paperâ\200\231.

The ANC is merely trying to facili. |

. Trelford confirimed last night that
he had met an ANC delegation. .
. - "Some ANC

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stim of drought, recession

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s and stand by their voik,â\200\231
ls explains. #

wthough he talks enthusias-
Ly of the advantages of
ducing food in the high-
ifall regions to the nerth,
t is the soil scieatist sp2ak-
- as an Afrikaner and a rght-
g politician he is quick â\202¬0

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disclaim any responsibility for
promoting a second Great Trek.

Whatever the complexity of
the farmers's emotions, it is the
reality of their plight that is
shaping their decisions.

As opne drives through the
grain beit of the Orange Free
State, this plight 15 evidenc
Abandoned farmhouses dot the

and violence: Orange Free State farmer Jereme Combrinc

veld, their boxy shapes and pul-
lared fromt s.oeps (pocches)
beginning to crumble and the
red corrugated iron roofing
sliding into disacray.

Sad relics of an age and a
lifestyle that is on its way oul.
These farmers have a tawdry
record of maltreating their
black warkers and riding the

gravy train of Afrikaner
Nactionalist rule, yet it is hard
not to sympathise with them
now in their fear for the future.

The recession, Sanctions, a
series of disastrous droughts, 16
per cent inflation and high
mntegest rates have plunged
most inte debt and many o
bankruptcy.

k is one of hundreds of Boers planning to move to Zambia./Photograph by Andy Hail.

Now the attacks are adding
paaic to the economic demoral-
isation. They began about a
year ago, and 30 farmers and
members of their families have
died as nameless gangs have
launched gun and grenade
atgacks on lonely farmsteads
Sametiraes the motive has
clearly becn robbery. Other

times it has appearzd -airnless.
The attacks have ewraged the
farming community. Hundreds
gathered at a meeting . Ficks-
burg to threatea retaiation.

But as the new Bor wekkers
head north, there isa sense of
irony. â\200\230I think Africiâ\200\231s ready to
be recolonised,â\200\235 Gou observed
wiyly.

â\200\224

Talks to resume but
they'll be very tough

The mood of the people is palpable. There is a wide-spread belief across the political spectrum that 1993 is a watershed year because people desperately want tangible signs that the country is breaking out of the negative mould that it has been trapped in for too long.

But this does not mean the democratic goal we aspire towards will be made or broken by any particular party's timetable for change. The question that should be exercising people's minds is not whether it is now or never, but whether we are on the right track.

If 1992 is anything to go by, the answer to this is in large measure depressing.

- * Levels of political violence in 1992 were disastrous. Neither the Peace Accord structures nor the Goldstone Commission was able to arrest this trend.

- * The economy was a shambles in 1992 with yet another year of miserable growth, crippling drought, rising unemployment and declining productivity. The only positive trend was declining inflation.

- * But 1992's worst failure was the collapse of negotiations. 1992 started out with great hopes with Codesa 1 and Codesa 2 initially appearing to be making great strides. Instead of seeing it through however, the ANC brought Codesa to an end, mass action and violence was intensified, and the Government appeased the ANC in a bilateral deal on the transition. In reaction, other parties, including the IFP, started their own initiative, culminating in the adoption by KwaZulu, of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal. The year closed with a total stalemate on what was to come next.

South Africa faces a traumatic 1993, whose greatest priority is to ensure a transition process that succeeds in producing a democratic constitution from which the country's first truly legitimate governments will be formed. This will not happen of its own accord, but will come only from a bitterly contested struggle. Fortunately, there are signs that negotiations proper will resume in the near future.

Though there are many sub-themes and many diversions, the contest is ultimately to determine whether South Africa becomes a federation or a unitary state. While other issues are by no means peripheral, on this federal/unitary division, so much hangs in the balance.

It is the IFP's prime responsibility to see to it that South Africa becomes a federation, because only federalism can produce the peace, economic growth and democracy the people of South Africa need. 1993 must be the year in which federalism triumphs.

- EIGHT MONTHS after Codesa was brought to an abrupt halt, agreement has

finally been reached on the establishment of a planning conference to revive multi-party talks. Does this mean that the acrimony of the recent past is now history and that rapid progress is inevitable?

so, but unfortunately, no matter the media hype following the series of bilateral Government/ANC and Government/IFP talks, the road ahead is still very uncertain. Certainly, all that has been agreed upon is that multi-party talks should resume and that a multi-party planning conference should expedite this. But progress won't be as smooth as some appear to think (see pg 3). Furthermore, there has been absolutely no agreement on any-

It would be ideal if this were

thing else, either constitutional or relating to the process of transition.

MISPLACED EUPHORIA

And since it is precisely these issues upon which there is not even broad consensus, it is difficult to escape the feeling that present euphoria may be a little premature. There are at least two matters that are guaranteed to bedevil progress.

First is the complex matter of the powers of the regions in the new South Africa in relation to those of the central government.

The IFP and many others favour a federal constitution, while the ANC and allies are arguing for a unitary state.

WAVERING

- The Government, which supported the IFP on this at Codesa, and whose own Department of Constitutional Development proposed a constitution in September last year similar to that adopted by KwaZulu on 1 December, now appears to be wavering.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi and FW de Klerk - daunting difficulties remain

In fact, there are strong indications that one result of the

bosberade between the Government and ANC has been their growing convergence on "regionalism" - which is a euphemism for a unitary state with certain powers devolved to regions.

The fact that the term federal has now totally disappeared from the NP's lexicon is hardly

. coincidental suggests the IFP,

but if the Government and ANC believe they can bulldoze any bilateral accord through multiparty talks, they are likely to be mistaken.

In the circumstances, whatever the format of multiparty talks when they are revived, this is going to present negotiators exactly the same difficulties it did at Codesa which was split 50:50 on this matter.

The second issue relates to the means by which the new constitution is to be

drafted.

As far as the ANC is concerned, a sovereign constituent assembly is to perform this function. This was never agreed to

at Codesa, and was certainly rejected by both the Government and the IFP, but once again, it is difficult to know the extent to which the Government and the ANC have reached a recent understanding on this.

BINDING PRINCIPLES

Codesa thinking was that Codesa would produce a set of constitutional principles binding upon those drafting the final constitution, but since the key principle dividing negotiators is the powers of the regions, this route takes us straight back to

the primary impasse.

But irrespective of this, as IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on 28 January, "we are not going to rubber-stamp a process centred around a constituent assembly unless that process has been agreed

through a multi-party planning forum by a truly multi-party effort of negotiation which has taken into account and discounted alternative options and new ideas."

Both these problems illustrate the futility of resuming multi-party talks as Codesa 3 simply taking over from where Codesa 2 left off. The fundamental issue relating to progress is the fact that by its very nature, a Codesa-type forum cannot succeed in providing consensus on the way forward.

PRECONDITIONS

In fact, even if there were now to be multi-party agreement on the transitional executive structures mooted at Codesa - which is what the Government and ANC believe should be implemented without delay - this could not happen in terms of the Codesa documents unless and until certain preconditions were first finalised. These include consensus on constitutional principles and the drafting of an interim constitution which itself has to identify the powers, functions and duties of the regions. g

How then, do the Government and ANC imagine that these transitional structures and

... to page 2

The game is
about to begin
election candidates
see page 8

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Page two

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... from page |

subsequent elections are going to be put in place in the immediate future?

ince it is highly impro-
bable that the preconditions

ill be satisfied, yet the
Government and ANC remain
adamant about returning to
Codesa (whose package of
agreements the ANC initially

tough negotiations ahead

Thiswascertainlythe ANCâ\200\231s ~ standing suggests it had ac- the IFP suggested that Cod
esa
decision after it withdrew from cepted the legitimacy of the Shoul_d B eparea', set ofbmd.l
ng
Codesa, when its National Ex- ANC's position - this of course, conetlmtlonalpnm:lp&s., whi
ch,
ecutive Committee stated: led to the IFP withdrawing from having been approved in a ref-

"Onc: a settlement is agreed talks with the Government. erendum, }voeld be i-\202eshed out
within the bilateral forum [ie, ; b}taConstltutmnDraï-\202:mg Com-
Government/ANC], this settle- RETRACTED? mittee. 4
ment would then be taken into a However, the experience of
multilateral forum. But this = Though the Government ap- CÂ°desa 2 provided a salutary

multilateral forum should not
be allowed to undermine the

multi-party review - the ques-

tion still goes begging on how
the Government expects Codesa's
recommendations to be
implemented in the near future.

In its Codesa 2 submission,

lesson on just how difficult it is
for a forum, under the constant
scrutiny of the public eye and

appears to have finally retracted
its position - in its early January

THE DEFECTION to the

the spark that ignites
further defections, particu-

Page three

rejected), could it be that they basic bilateral agreement." meeting with COSAG, the Gov- :
: IFP of NP Natal Chair-
have agreed to dispense with or The Government's duplicity ernment agreed that the Under- s
potllog,hts, 9 echxeve reeu!te e :
water down the preconditions? insinuating the Record of Under- standing would be subject to an
ything that is deeply divisive. | T, parllamentar)f frouty
2 = = J This, of course, is the sup- | bencher and Vryheid MP
posed rationale behind the se- | Jurie Mentz, has shocked

ries of bilateral talks that have

the NP.

larly, though by no means
exclusively, in Natal.

For a party whose
present position is in large

Multi-party Planning Conference:

"Following a series of bilateral

talks, consensus has at last
been reached by the Govern-

characterised the process since [long the archtypical measure dependent upon
Â\$ May. But these talks have been [party stalwart, Mentz's English-speakers and for
O u r e w r O n a c directed at getting Codesa res- |, ,ve on 28 January was whom Natal is a
key
â\200\231 it AU O not only totally unex- constituency, any haemor-
same problems will return to y g ; ke
; : S o bedevil progress. pected, but has signalled to rhaging of support is a
hearticleby DrZacDe ble for the evils of the inquisi- omy, anda constitutional state the p
arty leader and State cause for deep concern.
Beer following upon tion inno way invalidates the with an independent judici- BRETTON WOODS
President, that there is This was underscored by
the decision of Mike divine truth and message of ary. Snide cocktail party re- growing unea
se within the IFP National Chairman Dr
Tarr to resign from the DP in ~ Christianity. marks about the unlikelyhood This was why the
IFP sug- | NP on the direction the FT Mdlalose, who, in
order to 1019 Inkatha makes Nevcrthelees, the fact mpst onuluwamors.becomlngthe gested that
a multi-party forum | Government appears to be welcoming Mentz into the
for sad reading. be faced that in Soyth Africa defenders of liberal demo- be established to
review the | talino in necotiations TRE pteak bt thiery Wik
This is because the com- as well, the contribution of cratic values will get us no- entire
negotiating process and & g Ay M R 3
ments made by the leader of liberal democracy in provid- where. to findamechanism anda mean
s That much rank and file others in ?us parsy d'lsen-
the DPreflect thesad chapters ing some of the intellectual ~ The same was said about by wh
ich positive results are | SUPPOTt for the NP has chanted with the policy
of liberal democracy initsre- weapons against apartheid the Japanese Samurai before most li
kely to be produced. diminished of late was being pursued by the top
lations with black people, not must onno accountbeusedto we all depended on the Japa- One
suggestion by the IFP in | demonstrated in the most hierarchy of the NP,"
only in South Africa but conceal the failures and dis- nese Yen to sustain the un- Septembe
r was that we emulate | recent HSRC poll, but the Those "committed to our
throughout the world. tortionsinduced byracism and manageable deficit of the the process tha
t resulted in the | signal to De Klerk, heading liberal democratic values",
oppressionofthe Africanpeo- United States. The crisis We | Bretton Woods agreement-viz, |
a traditionally monolithic ~ he said, "and who believe
EXORCISE THE PAST ple.. g face in South Africa demands | that each party designate a set |
and tightly unified party, is in our vision" were wel-
Libesal damocracy, likethe | anend to dilcftantism upali- | of experts who should meet in |
ol Wankzs fllove could b comed'in the TP \
Liberal democracywillonly free enterprise system, de- tics. seclusion and negotiate a docu-
| s _
flower and come into its own pends for its survival on the ment agreeing upon all the
when it is able to intellectu- black masses of South Africa. COOPERATE WITHIFP agreed const
itutional principles.
allyexorcisethelegacyofslav- Justasthe Japanese, with their There are sure to be other
ery, colonialism, racism and ancient and oriental culture, The DP must find a way to option
s. That resulting in the
oppression of the black peo- have become a major centre co-operate with its natural al- sp
eediest transition to democ-
ple. of liberal democracy, so we lies in the Inkatha Freedom racy, remains, of course, the
Attheverymomentthatthe can in South Africa do the Party. The notionthat the des- IFP's orig
inal Codesa submis-
| tenets of liberal democracy same on an African cultural tiny of this country depends sion
(see below), which would
were flourishing in intellec- base. on co-operation between the seetheentire process conipl

eted
tual circles, the slave trade, It is not a matter of style. It National Party and the ANC is
by September 1994 - there would
mercantilism and colonialism is not a matter of policies as naive as expecting the ANC be no comp
lex transitional ar-
were bringing untold wealth which are "similar on paper". to tolerate DP meetings in range
ments, no interim consti-
to Europe and the Americas. It is a reality and challenge Gugulethu. tution, no "power-shar
ing"
The dark history of the treat- that the DP must honestly con- The time has come to real- deals, an
d no sunset clauses.
ment of Black people in no front. ise that to predicate the lead- Perhaps this should be re
vis-
way detracts from the validity The IFP stands for federal ership of liberal democracy ited.
of the liberal democratic mes- principles, a multi-party, non- on the basis of European de- S
o while 1993 is starting off I
sage. Just as much as the fact racial democracy, a bill of scent is to cling to precepts wi
th the promise of resumed o ; | ,
that Christians were responsi- rights, a market driven econ- that are as dead as apartheid.
multi- talks, the difficul- : '
s ahl;:g}; emsin daunting. Jurie Mentz, first IFP MP

ment, ANC and IFP on the need to
set up a multiparty planning confer-
ence to review the negotiations proc-
ess. That the Government and ANC

native?

emocracy in 15 months

r continued impatience,
confusion and even anger?
Politicians, political par-
ties and the entire negotiation proc-
ess are the target of ordinary people
sick and tired of the morass the coun-
try is falling into. Is there any alter-

the Government and ANC have dug in
their heels over a negotiations process
that cannot produce quick results.
South Africa could have a new con-
stitution and new government in 15
months. But if the Government and
ANC have their way, this will not

happen before 1996. So said IFP Presi-
dent Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a 24
January public meeting in Stanger,

"At that time general, fair and free
elections should be held under the
terms of the new and final constitu-

Natal: tional dispensation for South Africa.

: "Thereisnoreason why a Multiparty

"As the Government and the ANC Forum of Negotiations should not be

able to produce a constitution for our
country in 15 months time."

are putting it, the final constitution
may not be finalised before 1996. For
this reason they are envisioning the

TARDY PROGRESS

Three years after President De
Klerk's fateful 2 February 1990 ad-
dress before Parliament, South Af-
rica is still unsure on how long it will
take before the country becomes a
democracy. They ask what on earth
is going wrong and why progress is
so tardy.

The answer, says the IFP, is to be
found in the absurd manner in which

Dr Buthelezi at Staner meeting

creation of transitional arrangements
consisting of a transitional constitu-
tion, an interim government of na-
tional unity and a Constituent Assem-
bly.

"The IFP has opposed this further
delay in completing the process of
transformation of our society. There
is no reason why we should not have

â\200\234the final constitution for South Africa

by September 1994 when we will be
called for elections under the present
constitution.

ONE STAGE PROPOSAL

The IFP's original proposal at
Codesa 1 was for a very speedy tran-
sition. Flowing from Codesa, a con-
stitution-drafting body would be cre-
ated to formulate the new constitu-
tion. Once approved, elections would
be called, and the new government (s)
elected.

If consensus could be found, it was
envisagedthattheentire process would
be completed long before the imple-

Buthlezi says the Government & the ANC delaying moves to democracy
mentation of proposals emanating from
either the Government or the ANC.

FINAL CONSTITUTION IN 19967

This was not to be, however, and the hugely complicated proposals that flowed from Codesa 2 were the result. The effect of following this process will be a new constitution in about 1996 instead of at the end of the present Government's term of office in September 1994.

The Government/ANC timescale goes something like this: after the planning conference has sorted out certain details, multi-party talks reconvene in March this year, and unresolved Codesa 2 issues are finalised. This complex task includes the drafting of a full interim

To page 7

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have conceded to this key IFP demand potentially sets the stage for real progress.

After its second round of bilateral talks with the Government on 27 January - which IFP National Chairman Dr FT Mdlalose decribed as an "improvement" on the previous meeting - the IFP agreed that this planning conference should meet in mid-February and that if all goes well, full-scale multiparty negotiations will

resume in March. -

Current negotiations are therefore centred around the planning conference and its agenda, but whether the envisaged time-scale is adhered to is really dependent on the planning conference making sufficient progress.

The IFP sees this conference having to tackle the following four areas:

KITCHEN ARRANGEMENTS

First are the "kitchen arrangements", including the venue for the negotiations forum, administrative matters (such as minute-taking and distribution), and security.

These were not handled very well at Codesa and caused problems.

THOSE INVITED

Second is the matter of who is to be invited to the negotiating forum. One of the IFP's major difficulties with Codesa was that it was insufficiently representative.

At its meeting with Cosag in early January, the Government agreed that invitees include parties declining to

governing territories, such as KwaZulu which were excluded.

The ANC and its allies in Lebowa,

Kngwane and KwaNdebele are resisting this, but it is an issue that has to be settled once and for all prior to multiparty negotiations being resumed. :

REGIONAL INITIATIVES

Third is the complex question of regional initiatives. The IFP is not

NOTHING was going to eclipse the drama of February 1990, but in a generally weak address at the opening of Parliament this year, State President FW de Klerk appeared to be mostly concerned with restoring his image among his constituency - thus the touch of old-fashioned kragdadigheid in the emphasis upon law and order. On negotiations, he was surprisingly cautious on the details of precisely what happens next. But no matter his reticence, the IFP has very specific expectations of what is to follow.

happy with an exclusive top-down approach to negotiations, and believes bottom-up regional initiatives

should also be on the agenda.

One obvious item is KwaZulu's Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/

islative Assembly on 1 December last year.

only to the ANC which wants everything constitutional to be formulated by a constituent assembly, but also

PRIVATE ARMIES

and especially the ANC's Mkhonto we Sizwe. The IFP believes this question must be sorted out prior to the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

What happens next?

* transitional arrangements, including the Transitional Executive Council and sub-councils;

* constitutional principles; and

Many of these remain contentious, and

this body is going to have to agree cult. The fact that parties are resum-
on the agenda for the new negotiat- ing negotiations is an advance upon
ing forum. the past eight or nine months, but

be present at Codesa (such as the 'PAC, CP, Azapo) as well as the self-

Pietermaritzburg North MP
Mike Tarr crossed the floor of

Parliament and took his seat
alongside the IFP's first MP, Jurie
Mentz.

Just as the NP must be wonder-
ing just how prescient IFP
National Chairman Dr Mdlalose
was in his comment that there are
others in the NP waiting in the
wings likely to follow Mentz's
example, so too, will the DP be
looking over its shoulder.

There is no party less secure in
its future than the DP. Compris-
ing an uneasy amalgum of the
Zac de Beer's PFP, Wynand

Are there still
more to come!

political contribution to Natal,
"the IFP is the best place."

Malan's National Democratic
Movement and Dennis Worrall's
Independent Party, the DP has
always struggled to maintain its
identity against rival sections,
exemplified by one group's en
masse shift to the ANC.
Whether this is about to be
repeated is unknown, but what is
certain is that as we get closer to
election time, whatever internal

. tensions there are, are likely to
intensify. :

Tarr's joining the IFP is thus a
perfectly rational choice because
DP and IFP policy is very similar
(IFP policy "does not differ in
any major aspects from the DP
policy proposals", he said).

DP leader Zac de Beer said he
couldn't "pretend to understand
Mr Tarr's action" - but as Tarr
noted, it "makes little sense
having two parties propagating
similar views".

Since he wanted to make a

Mike Tarr, second IFP MP

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HE unvethng and subse- These fears are not founded in
quent adoptlox} bÂ¥ Kwa- any real substance however, and

Zulu of the Constitution for e the IFP has gone to great lengths

THE State President and
his chief negotiator Roelf
Meyer are no longer will-
ing to publicly commit

themselvesto federalism, oth-
ers in the NP are a little less
reticent.

The 16 January meeting be-
to me (not telephonically):
standpoint.

M Falck, Sherwood, Durban.

Mr Falck asks two questions,
which, in the light of the great
debate on so-called regionalism
and in the light of KwaZulu's
constitutional initiative and its
implications for the population
of any region, are very impor-
tant. ;

THE TYPE OF
CONSTITUTION

The extent to which regions/
States enjoy constitutionally

entrenched legislative powers
determines whether a country
has a unitary, a federal or a
confederal system of govern-
ment.

The mere act of "devolving" power to regions does not in
itself make for a unitary or

Federal system - what matters is

The trouble is, in the absence of

The defection of the Chairman of the National Party in Natal to the IFP signals
more than a general dissatisfaction with the negotiations process. It is also
premised on a deep appreciation of the importance of federalism to the
country's future constitution.

instance, states that it appears

as if "differences between significant unhappiness over de-

government and the ANC tails of the transition. Over policy matters such as But when it comes to the consti- v imous on the accept-
regionalism may be narrow- tutional future of South Af- ability of KwaZulu's consti-
ing". rica, De Klerk has a real prob- tution, There were a few quib-

strong and unambiguous

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Thank you for The Democrat which I have found in my post box the last few months. I find
your newspaper interesting if somewhat confusing. I wonder whether you could explain the
Following to me, either in the October or November issue of your paper or directly by lette
r

1 What exactly does The Democrat see as the great differences between a federal and
confederal system for South Africa (your first and second options according to your article
"Federalism - or else" in your September issue)?

2 On what basis does the IFP lay claim to sovereignty over the whole of Natal, eg historica
l,
present population, etc. (your article "Whites always a minority")?

In order for you to adequately answer these questions I shall not ask any more just yet. Yo
u

must admit that you have not defined these underlying matter and bit would therefore be
wrong to deduce your answers which could lead to an incorrect evaluation of your

It would appear that although I obtained a BA degree from the University of Natal with
political science as one of my majors, that university did not provide me with all the
knowledge which you now attribute to the ordinary man in the street!

Thanking you in anticipation, yours faithfully

whether the States/regions have
autonomous powers in respect of
those functions of government

- that they enjoy.

UNITARY SYSTEM

A unitary system of government

is one in which the supreme law making power is vested in a single, central body or legislature, usually called a parliament. France is a classic example.

In an archetypical unitary system, powers delegated to the regions are not constitutionally entrenched, but are delegated and

- can be given or taken away at the discretion of the central government.

This characterised the old South Africa, whose provincial councils were abolished by ex-State President PW Botha in

go - for instance, there is signal if the party is seriously considering a unitary state

But will all Nats automatically support their leaders' rejection of KwaZulu's initiative? No, if the meeting between Natal's Nats and the IFP is anything to go by.

The NP delegation headed by George Bartlett and that of

bles from the Nats on some of the detail - "technical

tween the IFP and the Natal statements laying down NP with limited powers devolved things", said Bartlett - but NP showed a high degree of policy, the government is to the regions - the ANC's overall, they were fully be-consensus on the shape of the open to charges that it is model. hind the proposals. George Bartlett future constitution. vascillating and caving in to ; But is this shared by the rest of the ANC under pressure. espite poll after pql1 FIRST ISSU E have - a unitary or federal the NP hierarchy? : demqonstrating l?ls . system." There was no doubt Part of the problem facing State CREDIBILITY GAP eonstltuel.lcy's belief Bartiatt said thif when avaltis B hls Lindiof b wih President FW de Klerk, and % in federalism, the NP negotiations B ide probably party responsible But as the transition gets and Government.appw tobe I,, the) firs t issue that!n eedsnl to "TheNational Partyand the IFP for his declining popularity underway, it is .increasingly wavering'- thus %ts z.attaclcâ \200\230 on B e it het fouh af ARG G S T SUNS e coing sigusle ;:lldear tha;:ltlwere 3 tzltlesllbstan; tli(avtviîr\201ulusconsututlo nal " constitution we are going to regionalism concept". He he and his party are giving gap een the partyâ\200\231 . Sk 3 out. grassroots support and its This is all the more ironical One difficulty with bilateral leadership. Last year's March given the Department of Con- Wh . t h s/ s l talks behind closed doors is referendumisbeingtakenby stitutional Development's a t LS e o 0jJllcla thatno onereally knows what De Klerk as a blank slate to technical report submitted to ? type of agreements are being lead his flock where it may Fhe Conference on Federal- N o l P l Â°

reached. Business Day, for have no particular desire to ism last year. a t l0 na ar po lcy d

Despite the NP leadership's present reluctance to laud the virtues of federalism, party followers are certainly under the impression that federalism constitutes the official line.

While the NP's September 1991 document - Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy - avoids using

"divided among various authorities", but that:

"functions must be distributed among the different tiers of government in such a way that the constitution confers autonomous authority on every tier. (That is, original and entrenched authority with which the other tiers of government may not interfere)."

This is the hallmark of federalism, and contrasts vividly with the notion of the regions being granted certain powers by the constitution, but which may still be over-ridden by the central government ~

| the term federal, it accepts not only that power should be â\200\230

Nats split on federalism!?

added that federalism was the only constitutional model capable of securing peace in

- South Africa, and this entailed States enjoying autonomous powers.

ONE SHARED VISION?

Did Bartlett go out on a limb here and is he now being reigned in? Many are asking whether Bartlett and others have the same vision as the Meyers of the NP.

It is interesting that Mentz, for instance, left the NP immediately after having attended a Natal caucus, and did not attend the national caucus which followed immediately thereafter. Is this because Bartlett had been given instructions to take a harder line on the IFP?

PRESSURE ON NP

Where does this leave the NP if indeed, its negotiators are moving closer towards the ANC?

* For one thing, it weakens the hand of those in the NP (headed by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer) trying to cut a deal with the ANC.

* In addition, it substantially increases internal pressure on the NP and Government to state unequivocally, their commitment to federalism.

* Third, it strengthens KwaZulu's position and that of the IFP in seeking acceptance of

~ the constitution.

* Finally, it might well also | prompt the Nats' other provincial organisations to rethink their positions. :

/All in all, it constitutes a useful rejoinder to the party's leadership to take both federalism in general and KwaZulu's proposals in particular, a lot more seriously than it is apparently doing at present.

the State of KwaZulu/Natal on December 1 last year, drew strong reaction and wide-ranging comment from political commentators and parties.

While many people applauded KwaZulu's initiative, some were highly critical and even hostile. What credence can be given to their claims that the constitution is a disastrous unilateral move and/or a recipe for secession?

CRUCIAL DOCUMENT

These criticisms need to be addressed, because this document is going to play an important role in negotiations. It is thus significant to note that in our view, the criticisms are based either on political malice, or ignorance.

Many initial reactions concentrated upon the supposedly "unilateral" nature of KwaZulu's actions. The Government responded (it later turned out without even having read the constitution or more importantly, the KwaZulu resolution) by bluntly warning IFP

leader Dr Buthelezi "not to take any unilateral steps".

DE KLERK & MEYER

State President FW de Klerk warned that any unilateral initiative would be incompatible with the agreed 'goal that constitutional reform should be the result of multi-party negotiations. _

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer reportedly threatened that Dr Buthelezi should "re-enter negotiations or face the risk of being excluded" (though he later denied saying this). He added that if the timescales for transitional government which had been broadly agreed on by the government and the ANC could not be met then "we might proceed ... without the participation of all parties".

Meyer said that the IFP\200\231s

Constitution of
the State of
KwaZulu/Natal:

is it unilateral?

autonomy were not feasible because the structure of regionalism had to be decided from the top-down, rather than from the bottom-up.

IFP National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose described Meyer's stance on federalism as inane and undemocratic, pointing out that the process of dictating a federal formula from the top by a unitary government had never happened.

The ANC's response was characteristically militant, with ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala claiming his organisation was "not going to take this lying down. We are going to organise the people against it... Buthelezi is not the person to decide a referendum. This can come from central gov-

ble if this is allowed to go on." Asked whether the referendum would cause violence if it

went ahead, Gwala said: "Of

The SACP went one step fur-

course - weâ\200\231ll use any method ther with Central Committee to reject it."

member Jeremy Cronin issuing
adirect threat of unprecedented
industrial action should the ref-
erendum proposal be "flirted

~ with". He issued a stern warn-
ing to "white monied interests"

not to accept "this sordid pro-
posalâ\200\235 orelse "youwillcome to
regret that you ever even heard
the word federalism in your
life...We will fry your (busi-
nessâ\200\231s) backsides," he said.
Lauding Dr Buthelezi's fed-
eral credentials, DP MP Tony
Leon said the Buthelezi Com-
mission and the KwaZulu/Na-
tal Indaba truly promoted the
concept of shared power and
federalism. But he expressed
concerns over any unilateral
action which might be taken in

to allay them. Far from intend-
ing to go-it-alone, Dr Mdlalose
stressed that the envisaged proc-
ess was totally reliant upon a
consensus approach.

CONSENSUS APPROVAL

Having been approved by the
KwaZuluLegislative Assembly,
the constitution would then be
put before the region's Joint Ex-
ecutive Authority. Thereaf-
ter there would be very wide-
ranging, inclusive and thorough
public debate in the region, fol-
lowing which a referendum
would be called.

Since the referendum itself
would require the endorsement
of the present government, uni-
lateral action is impossible.

Furthermore, since it is the
people of the region that will be
deciding on their constitutional
status within a united South Af-
rica, neither the KwaZulu Gov-
emment nor the IFP could do

anything unilaterally.

If this were not enough, the
constitution, once approved,
would then be placed before the
national negotiation forum for
further multi-lateral endorse-

ment.

And finally, for the constitution to transcend its present status as what Dr Buthelezi described as a "discussion document", and to become a legal document, it would have to be ratified by Parliament.

In other words, these are anything but unilateral acts.

If the intention of the IFP and KwaZulu were truly secessionist, the constitution would not have been drafted as a federal constitution.

Unfortunately, shabby reporting that took absolutely no notice of the content of the document, whipped up a hornet's nest that robbed the public of a sober debate of the merits and demerits of federalism.

That the constitution is genuinely federal will be taken up in

1986. FEDERAL SYSTEM

Somewhat weaker is a unitary system in which regions do have In a federal system, such as is constitutionally entrenched advocated by the IFP, legislative "original powers", but regional power is divided between different legislatures exercising these different levels of government within powers are not permitted to one country. contravene policy determined by This is constitutionally entrenched in such a way that each This is the ANC's model. In authority exercises responsibility effect, only administration is for a particular set of functions devolved, since regions's policy/ and maintains its own institutions laws are only valid if they do not to discharge those functions. contradict national laws determined by Neither central or regional mined by the dominant party in government is subordinate to

the central government.

In both cases, there is only one

each other - each is subject to the constitution which marks out the

Unitary, Federal & Confederal

defence, national monetary and fiscal policy, currency, etc.

The constitution also grants a State government sovereignty or autonomy over its set of specified functions, including health, housing, education, economic development, state taxation, etc.

A federation ensures a balance

of power between the Federal
and State governments, but
clearly there is a sliding scale in

which certain federations have
stronger State governments than
others.

There are also examples of

Federations in which certain

supreme legislature since central spheres of authority for the States enjoy greater autonomy

government can override central and State governments. than other States within the same

sions taken by the regions. The central government has Federation - Quebec in Canada
The IFP rejects a unitary system autonomy of those functions over and Catalonia in Spain.

For South Africa because it is too which the constitution grants it Classic examples of federal

centralised and fails to accommodate exclusive authority - usually :

date political pluralism. , including foreign affairs, national To page 5

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P =

See R A g .

- * powerful central government

- * only one supreme legislature

- * subordinate regions

- * centralised rule

- * strong central government, but also

- * strong State governments

- * shared legislative powers

- * relative autonomy between centre & States

* extremely weak "central government"

* almost total legislative and executive autonomy for the constituent countries

* not a united country

State of KwaZulu/Natal, is to put this reality on the table. In a federation with its federal constitution, each State also has its own constitution.

KwaZulu has proposed such a constitution for this region as a State within the federation. It is envisaged that other regions could do likewise.

unilateral demands for quasi-government only. There will be no order to implement it. our next issue.

From page 4 In a confederation, countries, For this to become a reality, SOI/RE. IG NT Y Blt the key point is that there is by agreement, delegate certain parts of South Africa nothing unilateral about this. systems include: the USA, powers to a joint administration would have to become independent. KwaZulu and the IFP have

Canada, Germany, Switzerland, or a confederal government. ent before forming a joint body - stressed that the formal adoption Spain, India, and Australia. The Southern States of the USA for some level of co-operation . The IFP does not "claim of this constitution (or any other constituted themselves as a The IFP does not support the sovereignty over Natal, and has ~ Jor that matter) for KwaZulu/ CONFEDERAL SYSTEM confederation in the civil war confederal system as an option .00 done so . Natal is dependent upon the : / against the northern states. Jor this country because it But the IFP is saying that the people of the region first agreeing

The essential difference Present European integration believes in a united and democratic South Africa .00 done so via a referendum.

between a confederal system and shares many confederal characteristics South Africa. must reflect regional interests, and ~ Clearly, if the referendum _ a federal system is that a confederal characteristics. Confederation here represents ., master the areas of disagreement - Tejects the constitution, then it eration usually consists of A confederation of Southern nothing less than balkanisation, e nt among the various parties, ~ Will not be. : different countries while a African states is the official which is unacceptable to the vast majority is at least agreement that Furthermore, the party envisaged federation is only one country. policy of the Conservative Party. majority of South Africa ns. Natal and KwaZulu constitute a 'process' of very thorough logical unit of second-tier government and wide-ranging discussion, s ment. It is commonly accepted debate and consultation prior to Unilateral Federal Confederation also by the people of the region, the referendum. i :

' that KwaZulu and "white" Natal The net result is that the future must merge into a single unit. constitutional status of Natal and What KwaZulu has done in KwaZulu will be determined by adopting the Constitution of the ~ the people of the region.

In fact, what the IFP is really saying is that it is the people of the region who are sovereign. It is their will that should prevail.

The party merely believes that it is closer to the political pulse of

KwaZulu and Natal than any other party, and that the vast majority are likely to support the IFP come election time. EDITOR.

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Page six

THE CENTRAL feature of the political violence on the Natal south coast over the past few years was the campaign to overthrow traditional authorities.

This was the gist of the IFP submission by Muntomuhle Khawulato the Goldstone Commissionsitting in Port Shepstone on 25 January.

The report said that although there had been political violence during the mid-1980s, "this was severely intensified from late-1988 and early 1989 with a switch in emphasis from urban to rural areas."

And when it did break out, it was "particularly ugly and qualitatively worse than other rural areas." For instance:

ATROCITIES

* 1990 saw such horrors as an attack on an induna who was

after having had his genitals cut off. His "crime", accord-

he was a "spy" for the chief.

the only alternative.

he breakthrough came at
an historical peace rally

at Nyandezulu Primary
School in December, when
leaders of all interest groups
came together and spread the
message of peace on the same
platform.

Attended by about 2 000 peo-
ple, the meeting was arranged
to allow Commonwealth
monitors, the Local Dispute
Resolution Committee and
Ensimhjni Chiefs Aaron
Ndwalane and Samuel
Mavundla from Ensimbini
area to meet.

Representatives of both the

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP),
the African National Congress
(ANC), returning refugees
and local community mem-

assaulted and left for dead

ing to his attackers, was that

* Tn July 1990 a missionary

priest reported that one of his
parishioners was necklaced
by comrades who hacked her
to pieces and danced around
her body as she burned.

* In fact, 1990 was character-
ised by a string of necklacings,
whose low point was the burn-
ing alive of two young chil-
dren - a nine-year old girl and
a fourteen-year old boy - ac-
cused of having supplied
"muti" to the other side.
Since the Commission's brief

was limited to "non-IFP/ANC

rivalry" the IFP requested the

then
peace

After more than three years of bitter political violence and savagery, peace has at long last come to Natal's infamous South Coast region. As was the case in Mpumalanga, it seems people have become so sickened by violence, that peace was accepted as

bers were present at the rally. Dr Moses Anafu, a Commonwealth monitor from Ghana, said that the time for truth had come and to forget past events and face the future. He urged people to work together to end the divisions and to prevent disruption of education.

Cyril Shezi (ANC) said that both political parties had "lost out" with the killings in the area. He emphasised that now was the time to isolate those who instigating violence and senseless killings from those wanting peace. Only peace would lead to unification, he said.

-APOLOGY

Dr Siyabonga Cele, an execu-

Commission to investigate attacks on traditional authority structures, and attacks on communities.

17 AREAS UNDER ATTACK

In the four tribal regions of the south coast, 17 tribal authorities, each under a chief, were the target of militant youths. Because each chief had

~ between 6 and 30 tribal wards under his jurisdiction, each headed by an induna below whom were several councillors,

Since December, the sounds of bullets have been replaced by the sounds of silence
tive member of the ANC, apologised to those who had been vilified by his colleagues and said that the peace rally was a challenge to other chiefs and leaders.

ARE ALL MY CHILDREN

Chief Mavundla asked people

who had left their homes in his area, to return. Chief Ndwane said that he did not know why people were killing one another - "All the people in this area are my children, no matter the organisation to which they are affiliated." Chief Ndwane added that political toleration was the only answer to peace in the area.

After the speeches had ended, a committee was formed to look after returning refugees, the restoration of homes and structures damaged by the violence and future long-term development.

BRAAI
Members of the community re-

ported that for the first time since June 1992, there had

the youths did not lack targets.

The goal, stated the report, was "an attempted revolutionary overthrow of the traditional order and its replacement with a new order."

In 1989, Chief Ndwane lost complete control of his area and had to flee after being forced to watch the ritualised killing of one of his indunas. In 6 wards around Port Shepstone, comrades took total control, replacing tribal courts with "people's courts". These bodies dealt with their opponents in a totally ruthless

S e

been no sounds of shooting. The new peace initiative was cemented further when youths from the ANC-dominated Madagane area and youths from the IFP-dominated Mtengwane area met for a braai during the week after this historic peace initiative.

FURTHER MEETINGS

Foundations for peace continued to be laid when two further meetings were called by Chiefs Mavundla and Ndwane.

Amongst the 500 people who attended Chief Mavundla's meeting at Uvongo, were the

Rev Ron Brauteseth of the Port Shepstone Local Dispute Resolution Committee, Prince Madlala (a cousin of King Goodwill Zwelithini) and James Zulu (leader of the IFP contingent).

Chief Mavundla and Mr Zulu stressed the need for discipline and urged refugees to return home. They and refugeespokesman Simon Geaba, called on the community to work together for reconciliation and to rebuild homes de-

first war ...

less fashion. In 1990, the same thing happened to Chief Luthuli in Umnini.

In due course, traditional authorities rallied, and in most cases regained control.

The second area the Commission was asked to investigate was the attack on the communities.

The IFP report noted that this took many forms. In addition to violence brought about by stayaways, attacks on tribal courts and the disruption of schooling, there was:

stroyed through violence. Appeals were made for an end to the killing and robberies of the past few years. Mr Gcaba also called on the security forces to continue doing a service to the community, but to refrain from taking part in, or instigating the violence and for leaders to respect every-

one's views.

- Key speakers at Chief Ndwalane's meeting included

Dr Moses Anafu, the IFP's Mandla Shabalala and the ANC's Bheki Cele.

Doctor Anafu said that nothing was achieved by continued killings. With help from those who wanted

peace, the culprits and those

who disrupted schools, would not succeed.

Mr Cele urged the police to find

a method of stopping violence without killing people while Mr Shabalala emphasised that while politics was important, the youth should return to school since without education they would be nothing in the New South Africa. Education, he said, was the key to liberation.

+ Mobrule, geared towards "terrorising" whole communities. Necklacing, assaults, mutilation, "modelling" and murder were all typical "people's court's" punishments. Ndwanane's "Lusaka killing field" was the most infamous.

* Forced attendance at meetings, followed by "night camps" - with punishment for those not attending.

* Attacks on commuters en route to work - 8 people were killed and 4 injured in one attack in September last year.

* Random violence directed at communities. The report referred to five massacres on ordinary community members from August last year.

NOT ALWAYS ANC/IFP

The IFP said this campaign was not necessarily occasioned by ANC/IFP political rivalry, because the IFP was frequently not involved at all. But there was a clear political motive in the attempt to destroy a key IFP constituency.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE INITIATIVES

The peace initiative has led to the safe return of about 250 refugees to the Murchison area and the subsequent stabilisation of the area.

Levels of violence in the area have fallen drastically with 2 confirmed deaths recorded in that area since December. Last year an average of over 30 people were being killed in the same area each month.

RECONSTRUCTION

Work has already begun on rebuilding homes burnt down during the violence and funds

from the National Peace Secretariat may be used to help in the reconstruction process.

The positive attitude of the local police and political leaders in the area were highly praised during the first session of the Goldstone Commission sub-committee sitting in Port Shepstone.

However, concerns have been expressed at the activities of hit squads, functioning of the

judicial system and SAP bias.

Page seven

he Commissioners are not

likely to be impressed with

the IFP's response, but there are sound reasons for the IFP taking the line it has.

The bulk of the report deals with the Commission's findings resulting from its preliminary hearing (30 November - 4 December, and 14 December) into violence in Kwa-Zulu and Natal from May this year.

In the IFP's view, there was "practical merit in some of the recommendations made" in the report. These include the Commission's view that adequate notice be given to existing authorities of public meetings; that breaches of the Peace Accord be penalised; that the release of suspects on bail be reviewed; that parties refrain from inflammatory and

"partial", lacking "objectivity" and possessed of a number of "serious lapses" - this was the IFP's initial public reaction to Judge Goldstone's third interim report, submitted to the State President on 21 December.

confrontational attacks on authorities presently constituted; and that the role of tribal chiefs be defined and recognised.

However, the party also considered the report "partial" and condemned

"a number of serious lapses". In particular:

UNGOVERNABILITY

* A major cause of the violence, according to the IFP, was the on-going programme of ungovernability which, since 1989 has taken the form of a full-scale assault on rural communities and on the IFP's constituency. The report makes no reference to this at all - there is just one clause blandly requesting political parties to desist from making con-

agreed that the security forces and ANC are to blame for instigating recent violence in Bekkersdal.

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situated in a mining area west of Johannesburg, Bekkersdal is predominantly IFP and Azapo supporting, with ANC and PAC influences in the nearby hostel and informal settlement. Despite the political divergence of its inhabitants, the area had never been a major flash-point for conflict.

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The only notable violence was sporadic attacks targeted against Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In December 1992, the media began to focus attention on what it viewed as conflict between the IFP and Azapo. These reports led to increased polarisation between the two parties and rumours started to spread that the IFP

AZAPO AND THE IFP have

had been responsible for the deaths of 21 Azapo members since 1991.

ACCUSATIONS

Azapo began levelling unsubstantiated accusations at the IFP, which the IFP denied, saying that it was also being attacked.

The Bekkersdal Monitoring Committee, established to resolve differences between political organisations,

Mpr Justice Richard Goldstone

frontational political attacks on "authorities that are presently constituted".

* The Commission states that "little significant advantage is to be gained by it multiplying its enquiries into specific incidents of violence." Yet the Commission did investigate

the Boipatong and other single incidents, and despite IFP requests that it investigate the eight massacres of

set up a meeting for January 6 this year but did not invite the IFP.

The IFP leadership, only hearing of the meeting on the day, decided that in the interests of peace they would attend - this despite an IFP member being shot just before the meeting.

However, the IFP Chairman for Bekkersdal, Charles Loliwe, was prevented from addressing the meeting by demonstrating ANC and Azapo youths.

Douglas Commission

THE REPORT of the Douglas Commission's investigation into human rights violations in the ANC's Angolan camps was released on 13 January, implicating at least 70 ANC leaders - 14 of whom are senior - in the "litany of unbridled and

brutality, forced labour in concentration camps and mass murder.

IFP Central Committee member Velaphi Ndlovu said these acts were not an aberration, but reflected systematic and deliberate policy.

He said that the senior officials involved and those who "showed tacit approval of brutal meth-

From page 2

new constitution

constitution. A Transitional Executive Council is then established which, inter alia, prepares the country for elections sometime next year.

After the elections, and while the transitional government assumes responsibility for governing the country, the new constitution is drafted and then approved. Thereafter fresh elections are held and the new government takes office. :

process cannot be concluded in a short period.

COSY ARRANGEMENT

Moreover, there are just so many suggestions from the Government and the ANC of joint rule, sunset clauses and "power sharing", that there are sound reasons for believing that what is envisaged by the Government and the ANC is nothing less than a cosy arrangement that denies the country ordinary parliamentary democracy for an extended period. .

sustained horror". Those who achieved political goals were "accomplices". The Commission stated that the "saga of the crimes committed in the name of the ANC/SACP in exile is one of tyranny, terror, freedom struggle. With the best will in the world, this Popular understanding is that since

both sides desperately need each other, they'll be compelled to share power for an unspecified but possibly extended period.

The IFP offers a vision that strongly contrasts with this - national consensus on the formulation of the new constitution followed by the election of the new government. Yet it is the IFP that is consistently painted as the spoiler and for seeking to delay elections.

The truth is, the IFP's vision is of democracy already firmly in place while others are still talking about it!

IFP rejects third Goldstone report . =

IFP members and supporters that have taken place since August 1992, and despite the majority of these taking place under decidedly strange circumstances, the Commission ignored them.

ASSASSINATIONS

* The IFP also found it strange that the Commission took absolutely no cognisance whatsoever of the continuing assassination of IFP lead-

ers, more than 240 of whom have

been in Natal/KwaZulu aspart of a long and deliberate strategy the IFP questioned

why the Commission failed to investigate this. Surely the serial killing of so many leaders of the IFP, it said, warranted urgent and major investigation. The party asked to whom responsibility for these killings should be ascribed.

* Indeed, there was absolutely no mention in the report, of the voluminous statistical evidence the IFP submit-

It was thus postponed and a multi-party committee was formed to take the matter further.

JOINT PEACE RALLY

The IFP and Azapo leadership then entered bi-lateral talks aimed at ending the animosity. These talks proved to be extremely fruitful and it was decided to hold a joint peace rally in the area to show their joint commitment to peace and reconciliation.

In a joint statement after the meeting, Azapo and the IFP said that third parties - namely the security forces and the ANC - had been responsible for creating and exploiting the animosity to their own advantage.

Goldstone repudiates IFP Renamo links

Goldstone Commission investigators have found no link between Renamo and the KwaZulu Police. Repudiating claims by the ANC of express KwaZulu Police and Renamo collusion in violence, Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone found on December 21 that such claims were based on nothing more substantive than the flimsiest of conjecture.

MERE RUMOUR

Commission investigations showed that the claims were based on the pres-

ented regarding attacks on and deaths of its supporters. There appeared to be an implicit view that since lives are lost

on both sides, there was no point in pursuing this. Yet the [FP was particularly asked to furnish the Commission with this evidence - in the IFP's eyes, some comment was deserved.

MKHONTO WE SIZWE

sion's failure to make any reference to Mkhonto we Sizwe and its role in the | violence. The announcement that the role of "private armies" was still to be looked at was considered useful, but the IFP saw no reason at all for the omission in this interim report, of proven MK complicity in violence, of cross-border raids, of Transkei training, and of its use of security force uniforms in attacks on the IFP. Yet the Commission found it important to make reference to G3 rifles issued (and being withdrawn) by the Kwa-Zulu Government to tribal authorities for their self-defence. { The IFP concluded that "some of the Commission's recommendations are weighted more heavily in favour of one party than the other and we thus feel the Commission has not reported as objectively as it should." The party also noted that it had prepared a more detailed response which would be communicated to the Commission itself.

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Copies of the IFP submission can be ordered from the IFP Information Centre (details on back page). Cost is R25 including p & p.

Mr Monwabisi Duna, Azapo deputy national organiser, also stated that certain ANC members had threatened to "come down heavily on us" should they negotiate with the IFP.

A very successful joint [FP/Azapo rally |, was then held on January 17, despite the refusal (endorsed by the UN Observer Mission) of sponsorship because the ANC were not involved. Notwithstanding this, the rally resulted in a dramatic improvement in relations between the two parties.

"No incidents of violence against or between the two parties have occurred since then and the area has been effectively stabilised.

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ence of 10 armed Portuguese-speaking men in a bar at Ntseleni township near Empangeni in August last year.

The presence of the men was the sole origin of the belief or rumour concerning an alleged relationship between the Kwa-Zulu Police and Renamo, Mr Justice Goldstone found. ;

In September reports said Northern Natal ANC leaders had claimed Renamo soliders were in KwaZulu and their presence was linked to hit-squad training.

But an extensive probe by the commission's team in Natal found "there is no justification for the allegations". -

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IFP and ANC meetings

Jvery tortuous progress

v

FP President Mangosuthu

Buthelezi's statement in mid-January that he was ready to meet the ANC leadership anytime and that they could make an immediate start on joint rallies to promote peace in violence-torn communities, received a typically guarded ANC response.

The two organisations, it said, were already engaged in negotiations intended to culminate in a Mandela/Buthelezi meeting - but only once a host of difficulties had first been sorted out.

Trouble is, the process is tak-

ing a long time; ANC expectations of guaranteed success might be unrealistic; and there is significant opposition in the Natal ANC to peace with the IFP.

ISSUES TO BE RESOLVED

Despite the fact that these in

particular, bilateral talks were agreed to, and the meeting of 9

December identified four areas | the conduct of multi-lateral ne-

that had to be resolved prior to the presidential summit:

- * Issues around the implemen-

- * Issues around the normalisation of political relations;

- * Issues around the effectiveness of the NPA and its structures; and

- * Issues around reconstruction work among communities.

Two further issues identified

at the meeting of 29 January

were the militarisation of politics in South Africa and the

Government/ANC Record of

understanding (which includes

negotiations in general).

Priority, however, was to be

realisation of the accord reached placed on free political activity

on 29 January 1991;

(and remedying the difficulties),

A CALL FROM PRESIDENT MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI |

as well as on covering enough ground so that the two presidents could nurture solidarity on them when they met.

TWO PROBLEMS

One problem identified was securing popular support for a joint presidential meeting.

The other problem was the ANC's insistence on guarantees of tangible results if it went ahead. The meeting agreed that sub-committees should be formed to deal with all the problems identified.

15 January saw the two par-

TO ALL REGIONS, BRANCHES, MEMBERS, SUPPORTERS AND

WELLWISHERS OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA.

Sisters and Brothers,
As you all know, constitutional

negotiations are proceeding, albeit

with difficulties caused by those who wish to impose bilateral agreements on the country instead of genuine national multi-party agreements.

Our cause is just. We fight for a United Federal Republic of South Africa; we are for freedom and multi-party democracy; we believe in a liberal democracy based on fundamental human rights, private enterprise and a market driven economy; social justice and equal opportunities for all our citizens; the provision of education, health care, food, clothing and shelter for all our people; we are for a government that cares for the people and is not prepared to sacrifice them on the altar of political expediency or failed economic experiments which have led to joblessness, famine and hunger all

over Africa.

A just cause is not enough. Whatever course the negotiations take we need right now to create an effective and well-oiled general election machine capable of mobilising

the electorate in support of the Inkatha Freedom Party. We need

such support at the State level and in the

general elections.

I call on all of you to ensure the following:

- * That all our supporters of 8

years and over possess identity books.

- * That all regional offices are functioning properly.

- * That all branches are working properly.

- * That where there are not formal IFP structures, active election committees must be formed throughout South Africa.

- * Where there is intimidation of our members and supporters,

means must be found to enable the message of the IFP to reach the mass of the voters.

* The Constitution of IFP provides for procedures for constituencies to select candidates for elections. But even before such procedures are put in place, regions, branches must search for the best candidates to represent our people in

chosen candidate and Party.

the National Parliament and in the State/Regional Assemblies.

* Persons wishing to be considered as candidates for the IFP must submit a detailed curriculum vitae and recent photograph by registered post to the IFP Head Office (PO Box 4432, Durban, 4000). Final decisions regarding candidates will await compliance with formal constitutional procedures and ratification by the leadership of the IFP.

That funds must be raised at local and regional level in strict compliance with the accountancy rules of the Party which will be communicated to all branches, regions, and election committees in due course.

Our opponents anticipate victory long before the electorate votes. If we work hard and selflessly we could together produce the biggest election up-set in recent history. Remember the only poll that counts is the one in which the people vote for their

ties meeting again to consider the reports of these sub-committees, none of which, however, had completed their work.

Having warmly welcomed the positive developments on the south coast_ (see page 6), both parties agreed that at the next meeting (probably 11 February), the preparation process should be completed, and firm recommendations will be made to the principals about the summit meeting.

Assuming these meet with their approval, the summit will then go ahead.

NATAL HOSTILITY

The trouble is, the ANC faces a serious problem in at least two of its Natal regions - the midlands and north coast - which have expressed grave reservations about the peace talks and the peace process.

The militancy of the midlands

as a Stalinist bastion is legion, and it was this region that stopped the ANC President holding joint peace rallies with the IFP President in February 1991.

But the north coast is not that different, and has become markedly more militant of late.

At the end of the day, no matter the dramatic impact joint Buthe/Lezi/Mandela rallies may have, they will not work unless this militancy is radically altered to a more conciliatory approach.

This equally affects the ANC's insistence on guarantees, because if its own supporters are sabotaging the peace process, then the whole endeavour may be an exercise in futility. As the Mpumalanga and Shongweni accords in particular and, hopefully, that of the south coast demonstrate, warring groups can find peace if they have the political will. This is really the issue at stake.

MEMBERSHIP |

All political parties should belong to their members and the IFP is no exception. If you subscribe to the principles of the party, -we urge you to join as a member so you can fully participate in the IFP's deliberations and share with your fellow South Africans in the shaping of the New South Africa.

IFP HEAD OFFICE

" PO Box 4432, DURBAN, 4000
Telephone: 031 - 3074962/3; Facsimile: 031 - 3074964

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Title (Mr/Mrs/Ms, etc)

Surname

First names

Residential address

Postal address

Telephone

Occupation

of my own free will.

Signature

| the undersigned declare that | subscribe to the principles of
the Inkatha Freedom Party and further that my application is

Date

SUBSCRIPTION:

ADULTS: Joining fee R10,00 + annual subscription R5,00, or
Joining fee + 5 year subscription R30,00

No peace yet in sight in troubled Natal Midlands

Optimism that 1993 would

ship expressed outrage at in- Systematic attacks on the IFP in
is now in the ANC's court.

YOUTHS:Joining fee R3,00 + annual subscription R3,00, or
Joining fee + 5 year subscription R15,00

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