BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

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JANUARY — MARCH.

Don't pander to the Right wing, chief tells PW

(118) N/M 3/1/87

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says he hopes President Botha will not indulge in too much 'posturing to the Right' in the coming general election.

He said President Botha could not hope to woo the Right to his camp.

He said he also hoped that Mr Botha and National Party candidates would not 'misuse' the elections to 'clobber' the United States, Britain or the countries of the European Economic Community because of their support for sanctions.

'I say this as someone who disagrees with the decision to apply sanctions', Chief Buthelezi said.

'I think we should remember that President Ronald Reagan and the American Administration and their partners in Europe have been "tarred with the apartheid brush" because of their opposition to sanctions.

'The same applies to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and her Government, and to Dr Helmut Kohl, the Chancellor of West Germany, and his Government and also to the EEC countries.

'They have all tried to be rational on this issue of sanctions and disinvestment,' the Inkatha president said.

Chief Buthelezi said President Botha, backed by his lieutenants such as the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, felt they needed an election to move in the direction of change.

If the State President needed the general election for more confidence which would enable him to move more boldly than he had managed so far, then the poll was welcome, the Zulu leader said.

'In the circumstances, one must not expect much, even during the start of the next Parliamentary session,' he said.

(11B)

Prisoner exchange at the Kei cooled the heat

Major-General KWANE SEBE, son of Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe, waits in a helicopter to leave Kei Bridge after being released in terms of a prisoner exchange agreement with Transkei. Gen Sebe, head of Ciskei's elite police unit, and his second-in-command, Colonel Z Ngwanya, were allegedly abducted from East London in October and then arrested in Transkei.

But many still argue for a united Xhosa nation

By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — The exchange of prisoners between Transkei and Ciskei this week has largely defused the heated animosity that existed between the two countries.

But it has done little to remove the deep-seated differences and rivalries that have existed for years.

Those differences go as deep as the existence of Ciskei as an independent country.

There is a strong feeling in Transkei — and among some in Ciskei — that there should be one large, united Xhosa nation.

That nation should rule over what is now Transkei and Ciskei — and East London and the so-called white corridor.

They feel betrayed by Ciskei's decision to opt for a separate independence.

But Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe has often pointed out that Transkei did not consult the Xhosas in Ciskei before it decided to become an independent country.

He has thus far been adamant that Ciskei must remain independent and sees his country eventually being a fully-fledged member of a confederation of Southern African states.

Such a long-term view is out of line with the thinking of the advocates of Xhosa unity.

The unity concept is supported by many Transkei leaders who will no doubt look for the support of the growing number of influential Ciskei exiles in their country.

These include five members of the Sebe family — two brothers of Ciskei's president and three nephews.

They are Ciskei's former head of state security, Mr Charles Sebe, former Transport Minister Namba Sebe, and the three former officers of the armed forces who were involved in this week's exchange, Khambashe, Toni and Koli Sebe.

Also in exile in Transkei are the former Vice-President, the Rev W M Xaba, and former Cabinet Minister Chief Lent Maqoma.

None of these exiles has any reason to harbour kind feelings toward the administration in Ciskei, and might be happy to see it swallowed by a unified Xhosa Government dominated by Transkei numbers.

So there are animosities, both reasoned and emotional, that would not have been wiped out by this week's prisoner exchange

At the exchange, leaders of Ciskei and Transkei made calls for peace, but there was an underlying awareness of the potential for further animosity.

Transkei Commerce, Industry and Tourism Minister, Mr T T Letlaka, offered to create a forum for consultation between the two countries.

This forum, he said, would allow negotiation for mutual benefit.

The forum obviously has potential for avoiding misunderstandings, and could lead to greater co-operation between the two countries.

But many people on both sides of the Kei River believe a final end to rivalries and antagonisms can come only through a unified Xhosa nation.

Prime Minister GEORGE MATANZIMA of Transkei

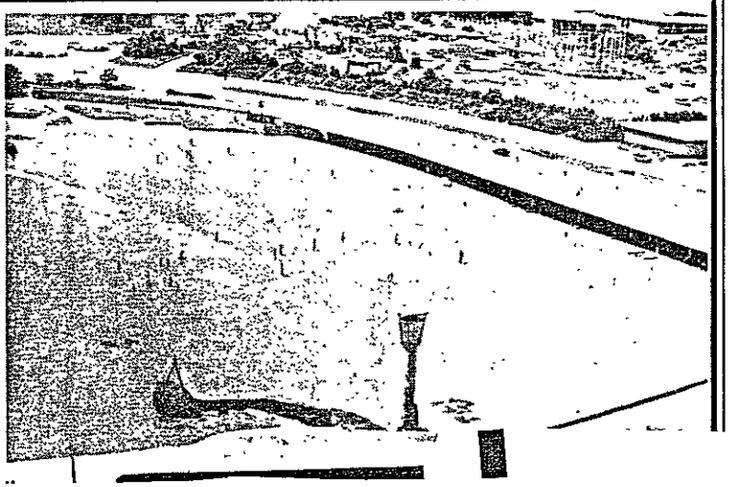
President LENNOX SEBE of Ciskei

Wind blows beaches bare

This year's East Cape holiday season has been one of the best in many years as far as weather and the number of tourists in the city are concerned.

But after a fortnight of ideal weather the New Year wind appeared to keep many people indoors.

Were the depleted numbers at Humewood (right) and the McArthur Baths (below) at



Disco boss taken for a wild 'spin' lands in hospital

RECORD BAR owner Mr Rashid Abass told this week of one "spin" he does not want to repeat.

It began with his answering an advertisement for a generator — and ended with him in hospital.

The drama took place when Mr Abass, of Planet Record Bar and Disco, in Kempston Road, clung to the side of a speeding car for about two blocks ur

Will it be third time lucky?

CITY PRESS 4/1/87

Chief KD Matanzima

By STAN MZIMBA

A THIRD version of the Methodist Church have been formed in Transkei.

The Methodist Church of Transkei was formed a few weeks ago at a meeting held at ex-President KD Matanzima's Qamata Great Place.

The new church was formed after cracks began showing in the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa, founded under the influence of Chief Matanzima in 1978.

At the time Chief Matanzima complained at a meeting held at Lay Centre Hall that the Methodist Church of South Africa – by resolving at a meeting held in Boksburg in 1977 not to send festive greetings to homelands – insulted the sovereignty of Transkei.

At a meeting held on November 20 last year, Chief Matanzima voiced his dissatisfaction with the way the church's office in Umtata was being run administratively and financially.

Chief Matanzima then banned the activities of the church in Western Transkei and also banned Rev Ezra Msezeli, chairman of the district under his jurisdiction as Paramount Chief.

At the Qamata meeting Rev WS Gaba was elected president of the new church and a number of clerics were nominated to serve at various circuits, including the Eastern Cape and the Reef.

Gaolathle Boinamo, of Dinokana in Bophuthatswana, whose car stickers were confiscated by soldiers in Bophuthatswana.

What's good for Jo'burg isn't for Bop

By SELLO SERIPE

A FORMER Bophuthatswana University Student Reprentative Council(SRC) member claimed this week that local soldiers confiscated banned stickers from his car.

Gaolatlhe Boinamo, 34, also claimed that the soldiers told him at a roadblock mounted at the entrance to "White City" in Mmabatho that he could only display the stickers in Johannesburg.

Boinamo, who was refused permission to register at Unibop this year, is now registered at Wits for a BA degree in African and European history.

The incident took place on December 14. The offending stickers read "Free The Children" and "I Love Kenya".

"Other stickers were removed from the cubby hole of the car and a soldier wanted to know what 'Free the Children' meant.

"Before driving off in a Casspir, the soldier told me that if I wanted the stickers back I should contact a Sergeant Maphule at the Gopane Military Base," said Boinamo.

A Bop police spokesman for Commissioner-General PJ Seleke's office said that as the incident occurred over twee weeks ago "it would be impracticle to begin a search for the culprit".

"The complainant should also have reported the matter to us immediately instead of running to the Press," he said.

Chief Buthelezi

'Lack of hope leads to unrest'

CITY PRESS (118) 4/1/87

UNREST in black townships could not be stopped by any action which the government could take within its present framework of stated aims and objectives, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at Ulundi this week.

He told the new United States ambassador to South Africa, Edward Perkins, who was in the KwaZulu capital on a courtesy visit, that there was no administrative remedy to the unrest.

The trouble was fuelled by economic as well as political forces, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said.

There was nothing in what the government now said which offered political hope and there was nothing on the economic horizon which promised relief from poverty.

This lack of hope had reached the point where unrest had become a way of life in many black townships. There was even a black sense of excitement – or a hankering after such excitement, he said.

6/1/87

T'kei examines call to unite

DD (118)

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Transkei Government was studying the call made by the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) for the unification of Transkei and Ciskei, Transkei's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr C. P. Songca, said yesterday.

Mr Songca was commenting on a statement made by the deputy leader of the DPP, Chief Ntsikayezwe Sigcau, at his party's congress at the weekend in which he urged Transkei and Ciskei to unite in order to claim their remaining land from South Africa.

Mr Songca said an official government statement, if any, would be released later either by himself or the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima.

Chief Sigcau had said the move was the only possible step towards repairing the strained relations between the two states.

He had also queried the "intervention" by South Africa in the Transkei-Ciskei dispute and said the two independant national states should have settled the issue themselves.

A spokesman for the South African embassy in King William's Town, Miss C. Slabbert, said the embassy would not comment on Chief Sigcau's remarks.

Group scours PE township for radicals

PORT ELIZABETH — Two black youths were killed on Sunday after a crowd of conservative residents went from house to house searching for black radicals, police said yesterday.

Police spokesman Major Eddie Everson said some 1 500 black adults marched through kwaNobuhle.

"They identified houses where they felt there were troublemakers, brought out furniture and burnt it in the streets," he said. Furniture was burnt at eight houses.

He said the bodies of two youths, aged about 18, were found on the same day but it was not known whether their deaths were connected with the march.

The deaths have not been reported in the daily unrest reports of the Bureau for Information.

Major Everson said youths identified as belonging to the United Democratic Front fled when the march began. — Sapa-Reuter.

7/1/87 STAR

2 Inkatha members killed

DURBAN — Two Inkatha members died recently following petrol-bomb attacks on their homes in kwaMakuta township, and at Umlazi, Durban.

The houses of four other Inkatha members in kwaMakuta, including that of the mayor, Mr Jerome Shabalala, were petrol-bombed.

Brigadier S M Mathe, deputy commissioner of the kwaZulu police said Mr Shabalala's house was destroyed, while the homes of Mr Gidion Ngema and Mr Edwin Mbatha were damaged.

A statement from Brigadier Mathe alleged the attacks were carried out by members of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The statement said Mr B M Dlamini, an Inkatha member and a councillor in kwaMakuta, died in King Edward VIII Hospital on Sunday after sustaining burns in a petrol-bomb attack. Mrs Sylvia Ntshangase died after her Umlazi home was petrol-bombed. It added that her husband, Mr Hamilton Ntshangase, was injured and admitted to King Edward VIII Hospital with serious burns.

The statement also said the praise singer of Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, Mr Ephraim Buthelezi, was shot at in kwaMakuta.

Mr Archie Gumede, UDF president said: "While we express our condolences and sympathy with the victims of the recent incidents of violence at kwaMakuta, the accusations levelled by Brigadier Mathe in his statement regarding kwaMakuta are not calculated to further the interests of peace and justice." — Sapa.

Weekend of violence in Leandra and Tembisa

Three men were killed in township violence in Tembisa and Leandra at the weekend.

Police say their deaths are unrelated but an activist says they were killed by vigilantes in a war on "comrades".

Two versions are given below (the accounts appear to differ, among other details, on the name of one of the victims):

Police say

Police have opened murder dockets following the deaths of three men, one of them a soccer player and prison warder, in separate incidents on the East Rand.

A spokesman for Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, said the deaths of Warrant Officer K S Mkonde, Mr Fixon Mashakgomo and Mr Medikanya Vowiywa were being investigated.

Warrant Officer Mkonde (32), a prison warder at Sonderwater Prison and a midfield soccer player, died of a gunshot wound at his Leandra home on Sunday.

He was apparently gunned down after an alleged argument with a man after a soccer match.

Mr Vowiywa (18) was stabbed and hacked to death by a group of men in Tembisa on Friday. Police said his body was doused with petrol and set alight.

Mr Mashakgomo (19) was killed in a similar way in Tembisa on Sunday.

Police said the incidents were unrelated.

A man has been arrested in connection with the death of Warrant Officer Mkonde. No further arrests were made.

Activist says

An activist, who asked not to be identified, said a group of "vigilantes" known as the Smart Centre had declared war on activists in the township.

He said the group, which operates from Emoyeni Section, Tembisa, started attacking activists in the township on December 14.

On Christmas Day the group attacked activists at Enxiweni and Baca sections, said the informant.

On December 27, nine homes were badly damaged at Emsifihlweni and Enxiweni sections and four people were injured, one seriously, when the owners failed to produce the "comrades".

The Smart Centre vigilantes are alleged to have killed one person the next day when they attacked patrons at the Zniko nightclub.

The informant said that on Sunday a youth, Fixon Mashakgomo, who stays at the Emfuyaneni Section, was allegedly forcibly pulled out of a taxi and hacked to death by the vigilantes between Emoyeni and Emfihlweni sections.

Another youth, Milton Manxasana, was necklaced at Emoyeni Section on Friday. It is not known who was responsible.

A youth who stays at Mqantsa Section was allegedly forced to drink petrol and was set alight by unknown people when he went to the toilet at his parents' home.

He was taken to Tembisa Hospital, where he is being treated for severe burns.

The Star's informant said the situation in most parts of the township was tense and many activists were on the vigilantes' hit list. He said the vigilantes wanted to control the township.

Inkatha 2 die after bombing

8/1/87 Sowetan (11B)

TWO Inkatha members died recently following petrol bomb attacks on their homes in KwaMakuta township near Isipingo and at Umlazi, Durban.

The houses of four other Inkatha members in KwaMakuta, including that of the mayor, Mr Jerome Shabalala, were petrol-bombed.

A statement from Brigadier S M Mathe, deputy commissioner of the KwaZulu police, to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, alleged the attacks were carried out by members of the United Democratic Front.

The statement said Mr B M Dlamini, an Inkatha member and a councillor in KwaMakuta, died in King Edward VIII Hospital on Sunday after sustaining severe stomach burns following a petrol bomb attack on his home.

Mrs Sylvia Ntshangase died instantly after her home in Umlazi was petrol-bombed on Monday.

The statement said her husband, Mr Hamilton Ntshangase, a school inspector based at Madadeni, was injured and admitted to King Edward VIII Hospital with serious burns.

A hospital spokesman described his condition as "stable and satisfactory".

South African Press Association

Statement

The statement also said the *Inyosi* (praise singer) of the chief minister, Mr Ephraim Buthelezi, was shot at in KwaMakuta, again allegedly by members of the UDF.

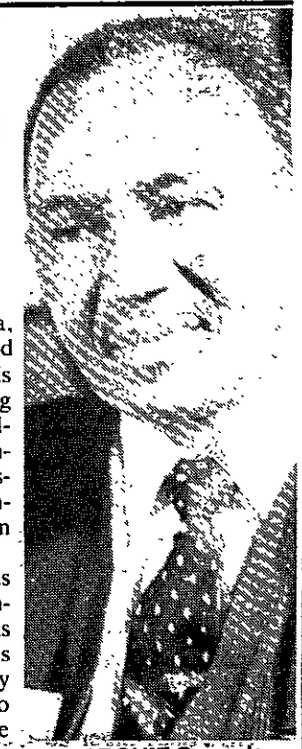
His house was petrol-bombed for the fifth time.

Brig Mathe said he understood the object of the attack was to "eliminate" Mr Buthelezi, because he was closely related to Chief Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, and so that the chief minister would "feel and suffer more pain".

Brig Mathe said Mr Shabalala's house was destroyed, while the homes of Mr Gideon Ngema and Mr Edwin Mbatha at KwaMakuta were damaged.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede, said: "While we express our condolences and sympathy with the victims of the recent incidents of violence at KwaMakuta, the accusations levelled by Brig Mathe in his statement regarding KwaMakuta are not calculated to further the interests of peace and justice or to reduce the tension that exists between the UDF and Inkatha.

"If the brigadier has evidence that any member of the UDF has committed these acts then surely it is his duty to bring the offenders to court for the law to take its course in the circumstances," said Mr Gumede. — Sapa.



Mr ARCHIE Gumede... 'accusations not in interest of peace'.

Witdoek war moves to the Eastern Cape

The Uitenhage township of Kwanobuhle is the latest to be hit by 'Witdoek' type vigilantes waging war on UDF members. PEGGY KILLEEN reports.

UNITED Democratic Front members in Kwanobuhle are still reeling from a *witdoek*-type raid on their homes at the weekend.

They were attacked by about 1 000 youths wearing white headbands who swept through the streets, setting fire to property and furniture as they went.

At least two people died and many were injured in what was later described as an attempt to destroy the UDF in the Uitenhage township.

At a press conference later in the week, Uitenhage UDF spokesman Mcedisi Stoto said many of those who managed to flee the youths were arrested by municipal policemen waiting nearby.

Stoto also said a police helicopter had hovered above the township for more than an hour before the attack.

Stoto said some activists had fled on foot all the way to Port Elizabeth—about 35 kilometers away.

He said he believed about 200 people had been arrested and there were a further 100 unaccounted for.

● Meanwhile a spokesman for a group formed shortly before the violence erupted, the African Persons' Concerned Committee, telephoned local newspapers to announce that his group intended "disbanding" all political organisations in the township, including the UDF and Azapo.

He said the committee had been formed spontaneously by "concerned people" who were "tired of the intimidation of comrades holding the township to ransom".

After the launch meeting on Sunday, he said, "some people decided spontaneously to attack comrades".

To add to the confusion, ousted Azapo leader Ebenezer Maqina released his own press statement warning white civil rights campaigners to stay out of Kwanobuhle.

Describing the weekend's clashes, he said he had seen "elderly people of about 60 marching through the streets with knobkieries. They were against the comrades, who were perhaps unfortunately UDF. It's there now for everyone to see."

The police responded by saying the violence was "not unrest-related".

SAP liaison officer Major Eddie Everson described the vigilantes as "just a group of concerned people".

He said about 1 500 people had marched through the streets "calmly". They had "tried to get hold of the troublemakers, removed the furniture from specific houses and set it alight".

When the group encountered an opposing band of men, he said, the two "thrashed it out" and "the youngsters fled into neighbouring koppies".

He said police had not been able to stop the violence because of the group's size and the fact that it was operating over a large area. — East Cape News Agency.

Residents living in fear

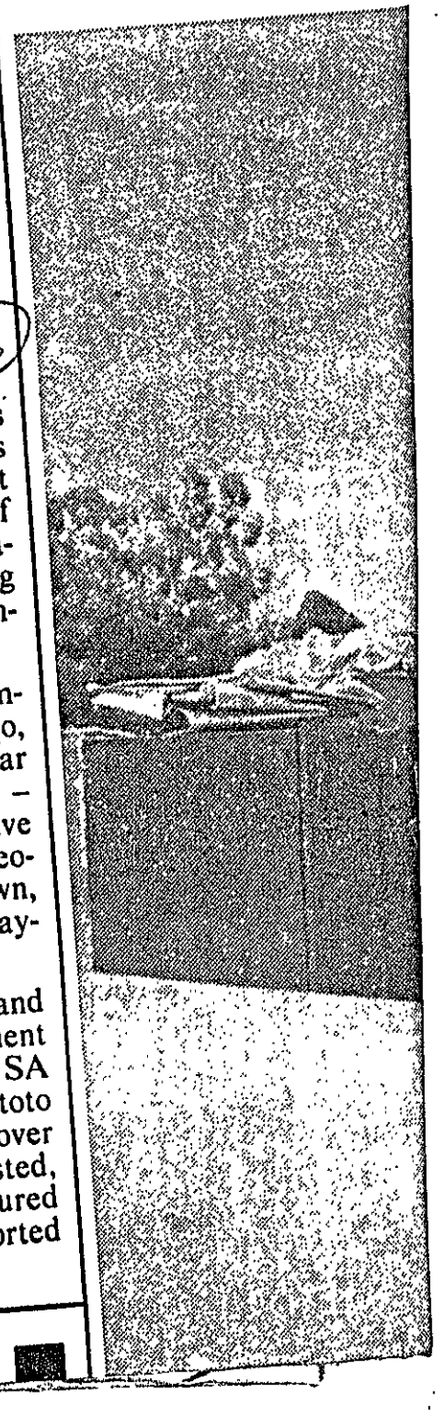
CITY PRESS (116) 11/1/87.

CP Correspondent

UITENHAGE residents are living in fear of groups of vigilantes who swept through the townships of Kwanobuhle and Kwalanga on Sunday, leaving two dead and many injured.

The group, calling themselves Ama Africa Poqo, urged people "to go to war against 'Amakwenkwe' – the young boys – who have been "intimidating" people from buying in town, attending school and paying their rent.

UDF spokesman and Motor and Component Workers' Union of SA member Mncedisi Stoto this week claimed that over 200 youths were arrested, while many were injured and some were reported missing.



T'kei sets sights on merging with Ciskei

11B DD 12/1/87

Dispatch Reporter

QAMATA — Transkei was forging ahead with its moves towards amalgamating with Ciskei, the Prime Minister of Transkei, Chief George Matanzima, said here at the weekend.

Speaking at a congratulatory function in his honour, organised by his brother, the former State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief George said Transkei would stick to its guns regarding Ciskei.

"We will never rest until Transkei and Ciskei are one state undivided by artificial boundaries," he said.

In a reference to the recent exchange of prisoners between Transkei and Ciskei at Kei Bridge, the Prime Minister said the exchanges involved only Ciskeians and no Transkeians.

He alleged that President Lennox Sebe had interfered with the free movement of Transkeians travelling through Ciskei.

"Everyone can see that Sebe is now showing the last kick of a dying horse because he himself can see that we are on the last thread towards amalgamation," he said.

Chief George appealed to all affected by the alleged interference to "calm down" as the matter was in the hands of himself, President Ndamase, ex-President K. D. Matanzima and the Transkei cabinet.

Referring to a resolution by the recent congress of the Transkei opposition Democratic Progerssive Party (DPP) calling for the abolition of the Transkei Foreign Affairs Department because it was "useless", Chief George denied it was useless.

He said a statement dealing with the call would soon be released by the minister of the department, Mr C. P. Songca.

Chief George said that, as far as he was concerned, if the DPP called for the abolition of the Foreign Affairs Department, the congress of the Transkei National Independence Party would in turn call for the banning of the DPP as it was "also useless".

Reacting to a call by the deputy leader of the DPP, Chief Ntsikayezwe Sigcau, for unification of the two Xhosa states, Chief George said the call had been made by the TNIP 10 years ago and repeated frequently since. There was "nothing new" in it.

Commenting on the remark by the DPP that peace could be achieved between Ciskei and Transkei only if all the Sebes and Maqomas were returned to Ciskei, Chief George said: "This surprises me because these people sought refuge in King Phalo's main house because they were not satisfied by the treatment at King Phalo's right-hand-house. They are also sons of the Xhosa house and are as good as anybody at home".

Chief George also lashed at councillors and members of the public for "meddling in the affairs of brothers".

The Prime Minister was apperantly referring to alleged diferences between him and Paramount Chief Matanzima in the run-up to the Transkei general elections in September last year.

Chief George, leader of the TNIP, had announced that nominations for election candidates would be made by district committees whereas his brother advocated that everybody should be free to contest a seat irrespective of party affiliations.

Consequently some members of the TNIP who were not nominated by district committees ignored the party's instructions and stood as independents. At least 15 of them were elected.

In his reply to tributes paid to his contributions to the development of Transkei, Chief George called on councillors and members of the public to "desist from engineering a misunderstanding" between himself and his brother.

He accused the councillors of causing the misunderstanding and said: "Please understand that no-one will ever separate me from my mother's child".

He said he and his brother had respected each other for over 60 years and he regarded the ex-President as his father.

In his vote of thanks, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima congratulated the Prime Minister on his role in the country's development.

Bophuthatswana bars traffic from Botswana

12/1/87 NM (11B)

GABORONE—The South African black homeland o Bophuthatswana, seeking diplomatic recognition a an independent state, has begun barring Botswan citizens from entering its territory.

Analysts said the move, choking off Botswana traffic o its main road and rail routes to South Africa, could threat en the arid, sparsely populated nation with economi collapse.

Botswana's official news agency Bopa said the the bor der clampdown took effect at the weekend when Bophu thatswana immigration officials turned back severa Batswana, as Botswana's citizens are known, including a train driver and supporting staff.

Others affected by the move were Batswana busines people as well as ordinary passengers going either to th homeland or to South Africa, it added.

Bopa, quoting witnesses, said many Batswana parent whose children studied in Lesotho and Swaziland and hac to travel through the homeland, flocked to the border t inquire about the new regulations.

The border crackdown follows an announcement b Botswana in December that the homeland had demandec recognition and threatened to block movement o Botswana's exports and imports through to South Africa the main route of Botswana's trade.

As a result, Botswana cancelled a planned take-over of a railway line moving through its territory, now managed and owned by Zimbabwe, which had been scheduled for January 1 this year.

'Heavily dependent'

Regional economic analysts have said Botswana, which has until now refused to recognise Bophuthatswana, could collapse within weeks if its border with the homeland was closed.

Most believe the homeland is acting at the instigation of South Africa, upon whom Botswana is heavily dependent economically, to dramatise Pretoria's economic power now that global economic sanctions are being imposed on South Africa to try to force it to end apartheid racial laws.

'It's a way to show the world that South Africa holds the economic lever in this region and will not suffer alone',' commented an analyst in Zimbabwe's capital Harare yesterday.

Botswana has frequently stated that it has no capacity to impose sanctions on South Africa, but that it would also not stand in the way of those states wishing to take measures against that country.

In the past 20 months, South Africa has allegedly launched two military strikes on Botswana, killing at least 13 people, in what Pretoria said were raids on terrorists. Botswana has always denied habouring the terrorists and said those killed were either Batswana or South African refugees.

Last January Pretoria imposed a border siege on the tiny kingdom of Lesotho, encircled by and totally dependent economically on South Africa. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Call for fully united Xhosa states

12/1/87 EVE Post 11B

Post Correspondent

UMTATA — Transkei was busy negotiating for a full and final settlement for the amalgamation of Ciskei and Transkei, Transkei's Prime Minister Chief George Matanzima announced here at the weekend.

Chief Matanzima was addressing a large congratulatory function at Qamata Great Place in Cofimvaba on Saturday.

The function was arranged by his brother former Transkei State President Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima who is the ruler of Western Tembuland.

In his statement, Chief George Matanzima said Transkei and Ciskei were one state but were now divided by artificial boundaries.

"We shall never rest until the two Xhosa states were fully united," he said.

Chief Matanzima said the recent exchange of prisoners between Ciskei and Transkei at the Kei Bridge involved only Ciskeians and no Transkeians had been exchanged.

He alleged that President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei had interfered with the free movement of Transkeians travelling through Ciskei.

"Everyone can see that President Sebe is now showing the last kick of a dying horse because he himself can see that we are on the last thread towards amalgamation," he said.

Chief Matanzima appealed to all affected by the alleged interference "to cool down" as the matter was being handled by the Transkei Government.

Ciskei says it will resist amalgamation

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Transkei's plans to amalgamate with Ciskei would be resisted with all the forces Ciskei had at its disposal to defend its autonomy, the Directorate of Communications at Bisho said in a statement yesterday.

The statement, titled The Absurdities of Amalgamation, said the basis for amalgamation espoused by Transkei was "incomprehensible and puzzling" and said it appeared that Transkei, as stated by the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, was forging ahead without any intention of consulting Ciskei.

"Once more, that arrogant and bullying attitude of Transkei in her dealings with Ciskei is apparent. This gives a lie to the claims of sincerity in the cause for amalgamation.

"The implicit intention is annexation of the Republic of Ciskei," the statement said.

"It must be stated unequivocally that, as far as Ciskei is concerned, amalgamation has been relegated to the dustbin of history and is a closed chapter."

The statement referred to a referendum in which people in the Glen Grey area rejected incorporation into Transkei and said the outcome was sufficient proof that amalgamation was a "claim which can only be justified by avarice and self-aggrandisement".

The fact that the demand for amalgamation was not made on a "normal platform", but at a function arranged by Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima in honour of Chief George Matanzima, was also arrogant, and reflected disrepect for Ciskei's sovereignty and independence.

"A warning is given to Transkei, namely, that Ciskei will use all available forces at her disposal to defend her autonomy. The cheap propaganda against Ciskei at parties of this type should come to an end.

"It is regrettable that this occasion, which was organised to paper the cracks over sickly relations between the two brothers, was used to discuss a matter which requires a diplomatic platform. It is quite clear that the diversion from the main purpose of the party is a camouflage of the major problem which faces George Matanzima in his dealings with Kaiser Matanzima," the statement said.

The allegation that Ciskei was interfering with Transkeians travelling through Ciskei was without substance, the statement said.

"These are normal routine check-ups and Ciskei reserves the right to protect its borders and in this respect it will not be intimidated."

The statement said it appeared that the "imperial aims of George Matanzima have been influenced by Bismarck who unified Germany by blood and iron."

"However, we take this opportunity to remind him that he is not a Bismarck and he is operating under different circumstances. He should know about the downfall of all imperialists. It is hoped that he will divest himself of all imperial hallucinations.

"We wish to recall that Transkei and Ciskei were present at a meeting of self-governing states which took a stand against independence. However, it was Transkei which betrayed the stand when it opted for independence unilaterally. Where were the feelings of fraternity and brotherhood when this was done?

"Those Ciskeians who remained at Herschel and Glen Grey have had to rue their decision because, since Transkei took over, those areas were neglected as shown by the deteriorations of hospitals, roads, schools, clinics and business places.

STAR 16/1/87

kwaNatal Indaba rejection a 'slap in face' for Buthelezi

Chief Buthelezi .. "a reasonably reliable ally of Pretoria."

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The kwaNatal Indaba was so far "the most promising reformist option" in South Africa and Pretoria's rejection of the plans to merge Natal and kwaZulu was a slap in the face for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Mozambique News Agency (Aim) said yesterday.

An article on recent development in South Africa Aim added that the South Africa Government had been "refreshingly honest about their reasons for giving 'kwaNatal' the thumbs down".

"The National Party was not going to accept anything, no matter how mild, that smacked of 'one man, one vote'. Naturally an added dose of democracy in Natal might have led blacks in South Africa's other three provinces to demand the same," the agency said.

"The leader of 'kwaNatal' would almost certainly have been Chief Buthelezi ... hitherto a reasonably reliable ally of Pretoria. The rejection of 'kwaNatal' is a slap in the face for Buthelezi, which shows the Government still treats all black leaders, even ones that it has appointed, with contempt," it added.

Aim said that the Government's decision to call an election was "to extract a further mandate for President Botha's National Party."

"The Government thinks that it can only beat the ultra-right by stealing some of their clothes," Aim said.

"Hence the strong note of xenophobia, and anti-Americanism, that has crept into speeches by Mr P W Botha and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha," it added.

The agency said once the election had been won "the two Bothas will probably move rapidly to re-open bridges with the United States administration".

"They will also attempt to inject a fresh dose of 'reform' into the system," it said.

"Contrary to their public utterances the Bothas are well aware that sanctions can do immense damage to the South African economy."

Blood baths tiny township

CITY PRESS 18/1/87

116

By SB'U MNGADI

CHESTERVILLE township is bleeding to death.

Its 15 000-strong community is at war with "A-team" vigilantes.

About 40 people died violently in this tiny township last year because of the seemingly unending conflict.

And hardly three weeks into the new year, eight more people have died because of the fierce political battles.

Natal Coast PFP director Roy Anslie has said that the small community was slowly bleeding to death and that many residents feared another Crossroad-type saga.

This week, the strife-torn township – one of the smallest and oldest in the Durban region – saw the fatal burning of a young mother and her sister's two children, aged two and six – following fire bomb attacks on three homes.

A King Edward VIII Hospital spokesman confirmed that Nokwazi Mdluli, 24, and her sister's children, Brenda, 2, and Sibonelo, 7, died at the weekend from severe burns.

The other Mdluli family members, Thabisile, 1, and Nompumelelo, 18, both suffered severe burns and are in a serious condition in hospital.

The Bureau for Information said in a statement that seven people were injured during attacks on the private homes late at night and that a child had to be rescued from a blazing house by two security force members.

Two women were seriously burnt and four children, between the ages of two and six, were injured in one of the attacks.

"Constables A Venter and M van Loggenberg had to break down a door to rescue a child. All three houses were extensively damaged," said the bureau spokesman.

Other members of the family – some of whom are activists – were in hiding after receiving death threats from the notorious "A-Team".

Anslie said at least eight people have been killed in the past two weeks.

Since clashes between community members and the "A-Team" erupted, hardly a weekend has gone by without someone dying.

Living a normal existence in Chesterville has become virtually impossible – and it's the children who suffer most.

One family is typical of so many others in the torn township.

N is the head of her family. One son was shot dead late last year. She was unable to attend his funeral for fear of persucution. She has been in hiding for the last eight months, constantly worrying about a daughter whose house, she fears, is a target for a fire bomb attack.

Her other son is also on the run.

Natal PFP leader Ray Swart has made attempts to meet with members of the "A-Team" and community leaders in an at-

Her other son is also on the run.

Natal PFP leader Ray Swart has made attempts to meet with members of the "A-Team" and community leaders in an attempt to reconcile the warring factions.

"We are convinced that such a meeting, although it might not resolve the crisis, would result in a significant reduction of violence. However, we have been unable to arrange such a meeting," said Anslie.

"Though difficult to prove, I am convinced that agent provocateurs are active on both sides in an effort to ensure a divided community," he said.

Chesterville, which is surrounded by white suburbs, is about 6km from Durban. Residents strongly opposed plans to resettle them at Ntuzuma, about 30km away, although about half the township was resettled before the 1984 government reprieve.

According to the Black Sash's Anne Colvin harassment, murder, arson, the disruption of funerals and schools, the sight of children and community leaders in hiding and the despair of mothers and wives, were daily occurrences in the township.

SA

a Standard 7 class, it aims at an enrollment of 300 by 1990.

English, Afrikaans and Zulu are all treated as official languages which should be learned by everyone at school.

The principal said non-racial education is "without question the answer in this country and should be developed if we are to cope with the needs of the fu-

"We're going to see many more of this type of school in South Africa."

The fees at Uthongathi are R2 200 for day pupils and R5 500 for borders.

Buthelezi castigates UK newspaper editor

9/1/87 N/M

London Bureau

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that the vast majority of black and white South Africans were decent people who were crying out for a non-racial, democratic system of government.

He told Britons there was overwhelming evidence that they wanted to bring about radical and peaceful change by negotiation.

Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, made his views known in a letter to the Sunday Telegraph.

The letter attacked a recent leading article in that newspaper in which its editor, Mr Peregrine Worsthorne, suggested fascism might solve South Africa's race problems.

Chief Buthelezi strongly attacks this view, saying it ranks as one of the 'most appalling' attempts at analysis he has ever read about his country.

He writes: 'To suggest that I could ever be involved in a fascist state or that Inkatha has the makings of an "SS-type force" is calumny of the worst kind.

'Furthermore, much of the article was racist drivel.'

Precisely what did Mr Worsthorne expect black South Africa to conclude when he glibly sketched the scenario 'authoritarian it would be, but non-discriminatory, like other African dictatorships'?

Chief Buthelezi continues: 'I could have assured Mr Worsthorne (if he had ever bothered to ask me) that committed as we are to non-violence, Inkatha's 1 300 000 members and I are prepared to lay down our lives for democracy. We would resist to our last breaths any attempt to introduce a fascist state in South Africa.'

For Mr Worsthorne to ask whether fascism 'could be the way forward, the only viable way forward, to a non-racialist South Africa' revealed a total lack of understanding of the dynamics of black politics. The word contempt also came to mind.

It was up to the people of South Africa to democratically decide what system of government was appropriate to their needs. Mr Worsthorne had insulted the people of South Africa by postulating that fascism was an option that would ever be considered.

'Apartheid is evil and it has left a legacy of heartbreak and despair. It has stunted generations of my people and deeply divided South Africa.'

Prominent whites' honesty is praised

ULUNDI—KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has praised prominent whites who have admitted publicly that they were wrong in supporting President Botha's tricameral Parliament.

'I want to record my respect for Dr Chris Saunders, Professor Marius Weichers and Dr Louis Luyt and the Financial Mail for admitting that they erred in supporting Mr Botha when he set up his tricameral monstrosity,' he told the Inkatha Central Committee yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said that at this stage it seemed to him that Mr Botha's script for the coming general election had already been written.

The State President was committed to retaining the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the tricameral parliamentary system and to trying to make the proposed national council work without full black participation.

'These commitments author disaster,' Chief Buthelezi said, 'and we must look very seriously and soberly at our response to them as black South Africans.' — (Sapa)

Buthelezi won't oppose Tutu in Australian visit

While kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would accept an invitation to visit Australia, his office said at the weekend he would not use the opportunity to oppose Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The office was reacting to suggestions by Australian Senator Don Jessop that "non-communist, moderate" blacks be invited to counter Archbishop Tutu.

"The Chief Minister has said he has no objection to visiting Australia. But Australian people should not think he would oppose Archbishop Tutu. He would be going there as he would to any other country," a spokesman said.

Archbishop Tutu, who returned to South Africa on Thursday, has shrugged off the criticism levelled at him during his Australian tour.

Inkatha launches election appeal

17/1/89 BUSDAY 116

INKATHA'S central committee yesterday called on all white political parties to put SA first in contesting seats in the coming election.

It decided at an Ulundi meeting to remind them that only a multiracial response to SA's problems had any chance of succeeding.

It urged them not to make black political aspirations "sticks with which to beat one another".

It called on its president, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to do all he could to make the voice of black SA heard during the election campaign.

He was asked to remind whites that the only hope for the future lay in translating what the committee called "the already irreversible total inter-dependence between black and white in the economic sphere" into meaningful political inter-dependence.

The committee voiced its deep dismay over the continued vilification of Buthelezi by the external ANC and its internal surrogates.

It was concerned, it said, that SA might rapidly be approaching that point in history where the divisiveness of such attacks against Inkatha and its president could be eradicated only by violent confrontation. — Sapa.

Appeal to business leaders

2/11/87 BUS DAY

Own Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on South African business leaders to throw their weight behind the KwaNatal Indaba and exert "considerable influence" on State President P W Botha, and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Speaking yesterday during a meeting with Brian Hill, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, the Kwazulu Chief Minister said white business leaders now needed to tell the Government that the politics of prescription should end.

"The (Indaba) proposals have been laid before Chris Heunis and every business leader, and all organised mining, banking, commerce and industries should right now begin directing their considerable influence at Heunis and the State President in defence of the kind of politics which emerged in the Indaba'"

He said the Indaba "would not survive" if its conditions of survival were his acquiescence to the present constitution and the Regional Services Councils.

"Talking shops which acheive nothing are anathema to me. Such talking only amounts to fiddling while Rome burns . . unless the State President now begins talking in earnest, history will thrust on him and the whole country a position in which the time for talking has passed."

Cosatu, Inkatha, Uwusa and KwaZulu declare a 'truce' in stormy Natal

21/12/86 Cape Times

116

By S'BU MNGADI

DELEGATIONS representing Inkatha, the KwaZulu government, the United Workers' Union of SA and the Congress of SA Trade Unions declared an uneasy "truce" in the faction-torn Mandini township of Sundunbili in northern Natal this week.

The peace talks – held at the local Cosatu branch's request – came at the height of an alleged "armed siege" by vigilantes against Cosatu members.

Cosatu's local office was this week forced to close down after it was occupied by armed men.

Inkatha, KwaZulu government and Uwusa delegates at the meeting charged that Cosatu members – particularly Metal and Allied Workers' Union members at a local steel factory – had insulted Chief MG Buthelezi. They had said their authentic leader was Nelson Mandela, but Mandini was "Buthelezi's territory".

After stormy deliberations, delegates agreed to call on their unions to suspend attacks pending further peace talks next month – where Cosatu's 12-man delegation should include Mawu organiser Michael Mabuyakhulu.

Mabuyakhulu narrowly escaped death at the weekend when a heavily armed group tried to overturn his car as he sped off from a disrupted union meeting held in the office.

The same crowd allegedly proceeded to his brother's house where four shots were fired at the door.

The Cosatu delegation at the meeting alleged that Cosatu members who have been attacked include local Mawu chairman Jerry Mbonambi, Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union shopsteward Cyprian Mzimela, workers and shopstewards at a local paper factory "and generally everyone in the street wearing T-shirts of Cosatu-affiliated unions".

The Inkatha, KwaZulu and Uwusa delegations were led by Cedric Ndaba, Inkatha central committee member NE Zulu, and Alpheus Mtshali. Cosatu's delegation was led by Vincent Mthembu.

● Meanwhile – barely hours after the peace talks – resident Nathi Nkabinde, 23, was shot dead and his girlfriend Hlengiwe Mkhize, 19, injured when they refused to give a lift to a crowd of about 20 armed men, according to the Northern Natal police.

But residents alleged Nkabinde was mistaken for a Cosatu supporter who drives a similar kombi and that barricaded roadblocks were set up by vigilantes throughout the township.

Newcastle police spokesman Major J Brand said Nkabinde was teaching Mkhize to drive when 20 men approached them, carrying sjamboks and knobkieries.

When they asked for a lift and were refused, one of the men shot Nkabinde dead and wounded his girlfriend.

Police said she was taken to Stanger Hospital with head injuries, but her condition was not yet known.

Later Brand said 21 men have been arrested in connection with the incident and were expected to appear in court soon.

MASSACRE

12 shot dead in cold blood

22/1/87 Sowetan 22/1/87.

POLICE have launched a massive dragnet for a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles who gunned down 12 people, including seven children, in KwaMakhuta near Amanzimtoti yesterday.

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information in Pretoria confirmed that 12 people had been shot dead in cold blood at about 2am at the home of Mr Willie Ntuli after the house had been petrol-bombed.

Mr Ntuli's son, Victor is a leading member of the KwaMakhutu Youth League, a UDF affiliate

Police said that 10 of those killed were Mr Willie Ntuli (50), Mrs Phumale Ndlovu (22), Mr Jaba Ndlovu (17), Mrs Mbusu Ndwalani (50), Nunu Ntuli (7), Mavoko Ntuzhini (5), Bashi Ntuzhini (3), Savile Ntuzhini (4), Mrs Isabel Khubeka (50) and Phumsele Ntuzhini (7). The identies of two other women have not yet been established

The two injured are Mrs A Khumalo (34) and Miss Nomosado (10) They were admitted to the Prince Mshiyeni Hospital at Umlazi

A 10-year-old boy, Ernest Ntuzhini, whose four brothers and sisters were killed, escaped unharmed

The Bureau's spokesman said that AK-47 shells were found outside the house and said that police had not ruled out the possibility that guerillas were responsible for the killings.

AK-47s

Early yesterday morning senior police officers were at the scene of the killing and police with tracker dogs were following every possible lead.

It is believed that the group travelling in a vehicle were seen near the home of Mr Ntuli shortly before the attack

It is also believed that the house was first petrol-bombed and that as the occupants fled the blazing home the gunmen armed with AK-47s opened fire

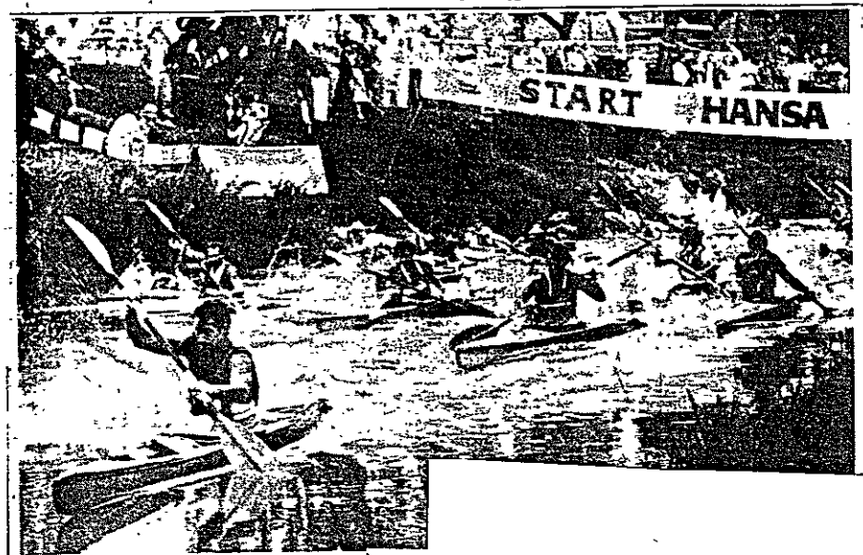
Commenting on the shooting, KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "shocked by the dimensions which violence between the African National Congress/United Democratic Front Alliance and Inkatha is assuming"

Officials of the UDF have accused Inkatha of staging the attack in revenge for recent killings of Inkatha followers.

HOUSE OF DEATH . . . mourners outside Mr Ntuli's bullet-riddled home.

Kwamakhuta: All-out bid to find killers, Vlok vows

ARGUS 24/1/87



THEY'RE OFF: Contestants race across the 1987 Hansa Duzi canoe marathon startline.

The first leg of the three-day race, from Maritzburg to the Duzi Bridge today, was won by John Edmonds, who led home a determined Graeme Pope-Ellis in a time of two hours 55 minutes 42 seconds.

"I'm not home and dry yet," said a happy Edmonds afterwards. "The second day is always Graeme's best. I expect he'll pass me tomorrow."

Edmonds had a three-minute lead midway through the leg, but "Duzi King" Pope-Ellis pulled him back steadily and the gap was reduced to a mere 67 seconds.

"It'll take a supreme effort to beat him (Edmonds)," said Pope-Ellis.

André Hawarden cruised into third position in 3:06:06. An unlucky Mark Jameson broke his canoe in half at the first weir, 400 m from the start, and he will help second Edmonds during the remainder of the race.

Membership:

Political Staff

EVERYTHING possible would be be done to track down the killers of 12 people, including seven children, at Kwamakhuta on the Natal south coast yesterday, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adrian Vlok said today.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP law and order spokesman, said the killing was an alarming example of lawlessness and the sort of anarchy that was starting to affect township life.

Wardrobe

"It is symptomatic of the ever-increasing spiral of violence."

Mr Vlok said he would like to express his condolences to the family of those killed and gave the assurance "that everything possible will be done to track down the killers".

identity of the
ll not known.
were used in the
Amanzimtoti.

A police spokesman said today that investigations were continuing and that all leads were being followed. However, the motive for the killings was still unknown.

The 12 people, including seven children of whom the youngest was three, were gunned down at the home of Mr Willie Ntuli.

A 10-year-old boy, Ernest Thusini, whose four brothers and sisters were killed, escaped unharmed by hiding in a wardrobe.

Police said those killed were: Mr Willie Ntuli, 50, Mrs Phumale Ndlovu, 22, Mr Jaba Ndlovu, 17, Mrs Mbusu Ndwalani, 50, Nunu Ntuli, 7, Mavoko Thusini, 5, Bashi Thusini, 3, Savile Thusini, 4, Mrs Isabel Khubeka, 50, and Phumsele Thusini, 7. The identities of two other women have not yet been established.

Prominent

The two injured are Mrs A Khumalo, 34, and Nomosado Thusini, 10. They have been admitted to the Prince Mshiyeni Hospital at Umlazi.

Meanwhile, residents in the township said they believed the attack was aimed at Mr Victor Ntuli, a prominent member of the United Democratic Front-affiliated Kwamakhuta Youth League.

He was not at home at the time of the shooting and is believed to be in hiding.

Township massacre: accusations fly

Star 22/1/87

Officials of the United Democratic Front and the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha movement, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have each accused the other of responsibility for yesterday's massacre in kwaMakhuta township, near Amanzimtoti.

The attackers rushed into the house of Mr Willie Ntuli (50) and opened fire on the occupants with AK-47 assault rifles, said Major Charl du Toit, the Durban police spokesman.

Mr Ntuli, father of a UDF member, was killed along with 11 others, including seven children.

Two other people were wounded and a 10-year-old boy escaped unhurt, Major du Toit said. He said police used tracker dogs to hunt for the killers.

Durban UDF official Mr Joseph Gumbi said Mr Ntuli's son, Victor, was a leading member of the kwaMakhuta Youth League, a UDF affiliate, but he was not at home at the time of the attack.

"There is no doubt at all, from what we have gathered, that the attack was launched by Inkatha," Mr Gumbi said.

Chief Buthelezi said he was shocked by the dimensions which violence between the ANC/UDF alliance and Inkatha was assuming.

In a statement issued in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said he was saying this on the assumption that the massacre in kwaMakhuta was probably a continuation of the clashes that had been going on for some time in this particular township.

He added that it was clear that this violence was bound to lead to counter-violence and the whole bloodbath could go on indefinitely.

"I cannot see it being resolved short of the president of the external mission of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, calling off the vendetta which his organisation and the UDF are waging against me and Inkatha."

Acts 'block' racial sharing of parties

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, in Ulundi yesterday that there was no prospect of blacks and whites sharing political parties while the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act remained law.

He warned, during a three-hour meeting, that there was every prospect of white parties being careless about black feelings in the run-off to the coming whites-only election.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed that black and white organisations which shared ideals could best serve South Africa by running parallel courses.

He anticipated that, in the present election climate, President Botha would stick to his position, 'tell the outside world to go to hell' and give the electorate a false sense of his being sure-footed.

Chief Buthelezi said he was particularly concerned that black political rights were going to be a football kicked around between contending parties.

'I am particularly concerned that the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals will be bandied back and forth here in Natal in electioneering debate,' he said.

Mr Eglin said at a Press conference in Durban last night that he had charged Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the PFP, with the responsibility for seeing that the Indaba was handled in a sensitive way by the party in the election.

He said the Chief Minister had emphasised that the PFP was playing not only to a white audience but also to a black audience.

'It is not wise winning white votes if we alienate black support,' Mr Eglin said.

He forecast that, by the time the election came round, the PFP/NRP alliance would be the 'overwhelming political force in white politics in Natal'.

Mr Eglin said he regarded the resignations this week of former NRP members as the consequence of a shake-up in a party 'finding its feet'.

These resignations still represented a small minority when weighed against the people who were still supporters of the NRP or who were NRP-orientated.

Mr Eglin said many of the defections in the NRP were 'predictable'. They concerned people already known for their conservative views.

Weekly Mail

23/1/87

(11B)

The improbable allies and the impassive foe

On the anniversary of the KwaNdebele war, a new study explains the extraordinary alliance of princes, comrades and white farmers

By CHRIS VICK

FEW would imagine that such diverse forces as a "homeland" civil service, local "comrades", a royal family and local white farmers could join forces in a popular alliance aimed at resisting government policy.

But, according to the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, that's just what happened in KwaNdebele last year when the local population opposed a common enemy — independence.

Their united action is described by Trac as "a popular uprising which shook the foundations of the entire homeland system"

In a war which started just over a year ago this week, "they took on the KwaNdebele government, its Mbokodo vigilante group as well as the might of the police and the SA Defence Force".

In the course of that war, says Trac, 100 people died, the Mbokodo (its name, also spelled Imbhokoto or Mbokotho, means "grinding stone") was decimated, the entire civil service went on strike, well over 300 people were detained under Emergency regulations, and most of the shops in the area were burnt.

"Most importantly," says Trac, "the population became politicised and was able to take power into its hands."

That politicisation began on New Year's Day, 1986, when the recently-formed Mbokodo invaded the villages of Moteti and Kgobokoane in the Moutse area The villages formed part of a region that was vehemently opposed to incorporation into KwaNdebele.

Although the local population was well-organised, and was aware of a pending attack — they had even warned the local police chief, according to Trac — they were unable to resist the vigilantes.

Armed with pangas, sjamboks and kieries, the vigilantes swarmed into the two villages at 4am, breaking into houses, attacking the occupants and looting property.

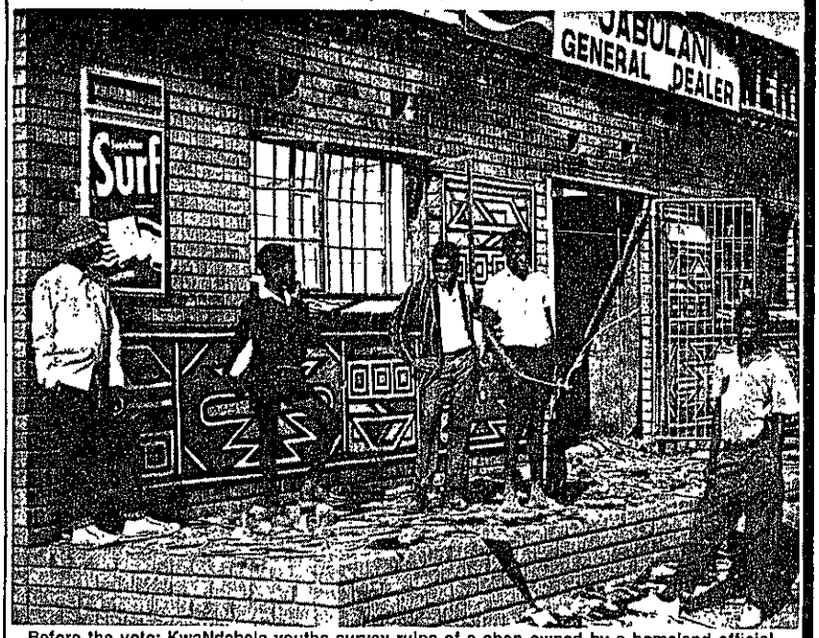
"They then took prisoner any men they could," says Trac. "They were loaded onto trucks, many of them seriously wounded, and taken to the community hall in Siyabuswa.

"Here they were held captive, tortured and humiliated for up to 36 hours before they were released. At least one man is known to have died before reaching home, and there may well be others who died in hospital because of their injuries," says Trac.

Moutse residents told Trac they were forced to stand in soapy water while they were beaten. As they fell, they injured themselves even further, until they were virtually sitting in pools of their own blood.

And during this time, says Trac, they were watched by senior members of the homeland government — including Chief Minister SS Skosana and Minister of the Interior Piet Ntuli.

"Ntuli participated in the beatings, and charges of assault were subsequently laid against Skosana, Ntuli and two other cabinet ministers. There was no visible police action or response to these charges."



Before the vote: KwaNdebele youths survey ruins of a shop owned by a homeland official as the legislative assembly prepares to reject "independence". Picture: Walter Dhladhla, AFP

Trac says the upheaval at Moutse was, in many ways, the forerunner to the revolt that swept KwaNdebele.

It was only on May 12, though, that this revolt burst into the open, when a meeting was called at the Mahlangu royal family's kraal to discuss how to deal with Mbokodo.

By this time, the organisation had been linked to numerous attacks on people opposed to independence, and had gained a reputation as a ruthless, vicious group of thugs.

Trac estimates that about 20 000 people attended the meeting, and drew up demands which still apply today among groups opposed to independence.

These were:

- That Mbokodo be disbanded.
- That there should be no independence.
- That the KwaNdebele legislative assembly and the cabinet should resign because they agreed to independence without a mandate.

One of the two cabinet ministers who attended the meeting — both arrived in Casspirs — promised to report back within two days, claiming Mbokodo had already been suspended.

But the next day, Mbokodo was proved to be far from dead.

The "spark" was the funeral of Vlaklaagte village resident Jacob Skosana, allegedly kidnapped by the Mbokodo and killed, according to Trac, after questioning the arrest of his daughter

The local magistrate placed numerous restrictions on the funeral, and mourners — angry at the way Skosana died, and being told they couldn't bury him properly — responded by setting fire to shops owned by legislative assembly members and Mbokodo members. This continued for several days, with numerous large-scale battles between Mbokodo members and local villagers.

As Trac says: "These confrontations continued on a daily basis until August, when the decision to take independence was finally abandoned.

"In the media, these events were portrayed as a series of random acts of brutal violence without purpose or logic.

"In unrest reports issued by the Bureau for Information, KwaNdebele featured prominently as an area whe necklacings, lootings and stonings instilled fear into the population"

Trac adds: "This perception, however, in no way characterises the complexity of both the events and the political forces participating in the anti-independence war"

The primary force was the local youth, who "took on the full might of both Mbokodo and the security forces"

They sustained close relationships with parents, other local villagers and the KwaNdebele royal family, even using tribal authority offices with the agreement of the headmen.

Trac says of them: "The youth who participated in the war were mostly unorganised. They were mobilised in response to a situation of extreme repression and fundamental social upheaval."

The involvement of the civil service was also important, however. More than 2 000 civil servants joined a general stayaway in the first week of June in protest against Mbokodo, and just a month later they went on strike again — this time for two weeks, crippling the entire homeland administration.

"The judiciary did not function, pensioners could not be paid, and even teachers were on strike," says Trac.

"This action was unprecedented ... it was an important pressure on the KwaNdebele government"

Just as unprecedented was the support of white farmers on the edges of KwaNdebele, who joined in opposition to the Skosana government.

"Part of the reason for this was their long-standing relationship of co-operation with the royal family, who opposed independence and Mbokodo.

"But their opposition was also out of self-interest," says Trac. "They could see that as long as Mbokodo existed and independence was being promoted, there would never be peace in KwaNdebele

"This threatened the stability of the area, including their access to labour

"The Elands River Farmers' Association in particular ... made strong representations to both the South African government and the security forces in an effort to ensure that popular demands were won and peace would return"

Finally, there was the participation of the royal family, which pioneered the ultimate legislative assembly debate on August 12 at which independence was finally rejected

"From early April they were hearing grievances related to Mbokodo, and set in motion a process of consultation with the local population," says Trac

"The royal family was the only group with access to all the different forces involved in the struggle. Members met with comrades, they had contact with the civil service, they had long-standing relationships with the white farmers, and had the authority to meet and make representations to senior South African government and security force members"

For this reason, says Trac, the family played a criticial — and unique — role in KwaNdebele

But what of the South African government?

According to Trac, its attitude was predictable — a failure to see the widespread and spontaneous opposition to independence, or to acknowledge that this was responsible for the unrest in KwaNdebele

"Nor could it recognise that it is the homeland system itself, and its inherent authoritarianism, that generates groups like Mbokodo."

And what of the future?

Although it says there has been a dramatic downturn in unrest, and detainees have been released, "it is clear that there is still likely to be a long, drawn-out struggle over the direction politics in KwaNdebele will take"

Trac predicts that the incorporation of Moutse will once again become an issue now that independence has been shelved

"It may well become a flashpoint again Should it do so, this will be under the banner of an anti-bantustan campaign

"If this happens, it is an open question whether the KwaNdebele youth and other groupings politicised by the anti-independence war will join"

Trac concludes: "The KwaNdebele war may well not be over The independence victory may turn out to have been a first step in a protracted struggle against the homeland structure itself.

"But one thing is clear: the struggle of the people of KwaNdebele has been a critical turning point in the capacity of the bantustan system to sustain itself."

The shadowy vigilante chief

(LIBR)

ONE man in particular stands accused for his part in provoking KwaNdebele's "war against independence" which left 100 people dead.

That man is former Minister of Interior Piet Ntuli, who died in a car bomb attack on July 29.

According to the Trac booklet on KwaNdebele, it was the homeland government's Mbokodo vigilante movement, under the direct control of Ntuli, that provoked the people of KwaNdebele into responding so actively to plans for independence.

"The KwaNdebele war started as a spontaneous reaction to the brutality and violence of Mbokodo," says Trac.

In six months, Mbokodo's random attacks, abductions and assaults had transformed the people of KwaNdebele from a relatively apolitical and unorganised group into "a militant force which spontaneously counter-wiped it out".

Trac adds: "Ntuli featured prominently in reports of Mbokodo attacks and was said by everyone to be the real power behind the movement.

"In particular he seems to have masterminded the attacks on Moutse residents and was known for his virulently racist statements about Sotho people," who constitute the majority of Moutse residents.

Trac accuses Ntuli of leading a particularly vicious attack on the village of Tweefontein, on June 12 last year — the day the State of Emergency was declared.

"Mbokodo, under the leadership of Ntuli, viciously attacked and massacred villagers ... in response to the death of one of Ntuli's guards at the hands of the villagers.

"Ntuli himself shot the victims, and at least six people died," says Trac.

The Trac booklet describes Ntuli's death as a turning point in KwaNdebele's struggle against independence, saying: "He was widely regarded as the mastermind behind both independence and Mbokodo. His death was interpreted by the local population as meaning victory could not be far off.

But who killed Ntuli? Although the African National Congress claimed responsibility late in August, Trac says it is "widely believed" in KwaNdebele that "agents of Pretoria" were responsible.

But what purpose would it serve to eliminate the head of Mbokodo, which had been partly successful in suppressing anti-independence campaigners? According to Trac, Ntuli's death opened the road "for those functionaries whose hands were not so directly tainted with the blood of the KwaNdebele population to go ahead and take independence".

Mixed parties ruled out

RDAY 23/1/87 (116)

Own Correspondent

THERE was no prospect of blacks and whites sharing political parties while the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts remained law, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told PFP leader Colin Eglin yesterday.

During a three-hour meeting in Ulundi Buthelezi warned there was every prospect of white parties being careless about black feelings in the run-up to the election.

Buthelezi said he believed black and white organisations that shared ideals could best serve SA by running parallel courses.

He expected President P W Botha would stick to his position, "tell the outside world to go to hell" during campaigning and give a false sense of his being sure-footed.

"I am particularly concerned that the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals will be bandied back and forth here in Natal in electioneering debate," he said.

Ciskei bid to abduct Sebe alleged

23/1/87

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA—The special forces regiment of the Transkei Defence Force yesterday foiled an abduction-assassination attempt on Mr Charles Sebe, former commander-in-chief of Ciskei's security forces, and captured a Ciskei security force officer, Maj N Sandile, a Transkei Government spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Liston Ntshonmgwana said in a statement that Transkei had proof the raiders had been 'personally directed' by President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei.

'If the Ciskei Government denies their involvement, we will make this proof public,' he added.

Mr Sebe was recently granted asylumn in Transkei after being freed by an armed gang from a Ciskei prison.

In a related move, the deputy commander of the Transkei Defence Force, Brig H B Holomisa, has been detained by Transkei security police.

'Target' escapes death

Nthunzi Ndlovu shows the bullet holes on the wall of the room in which Reverend Ntuli was gunned down.

A MAN, thought to be the target of a pre-dawn attack on a home in KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti, has been in hiding for more than a month,and thus escaped the attack.

Victor Ntuli, who had lived at the house, is a leading member of the UDF-affiliated KwaMakhutha Youth League.

League members fled the township on Wednesday fearing more attacks.

KwaMakhutha has been a centre of conflict between the UDF and Inkatha. Earlier this year, councillor and Inkatha member, M B Dlamini, died in hospital after a petrol bomb attack on his home.

A member of the Ntuli family, Mthunzi Ntuli, who was not at home during attack, said he had been told that at 2.40am a mini-bus pulled-up outside the family home.

"A group of people then started shooting. They fired at anything that moved," he said.

Police have not yet established a motive for the killings.

Those who died were: Mr Willie Ntuli, 50; Mrs Phumula Ndlovu, 22; Mrs Jabu Ndlovu, 17; Mrs Mbuso Ndwalane, 50; Nunu Ntuli, 7; Mavoko Thusini, 5; Nhasi Thusini, 3; Savile Thusini, 4; Mrs Isabel Kubheka, 50, and Phumzile Thusini, 7.

The identities of two other victims have not yet been established.

The two injured are Mrs Anita Khumalo, 34, and a 10-year old girl, Nomshado Thusini.

A 10-year-old boy, Ernest Thusini, whose four brothers and sisters were killed, escaped unharmed.

The Bureau for Information said AK-47 shells were found outside the house

No arrests have yet been made. – Sapa.

'Horror' from US

THE United States said it was "horrified by the massacre of 12 black people in a poor South African township."

The State Department said it had told the US Embassy in Pretoria to look into reports that unknown gunmen sprayed a house in the township of Kwamakhuta with bullets, then went to a nearby hut and massacred sleeping children.

'Witdoeke' now on the rampage in PE

CP Correspondent

TWO Port Elizabeth Youth Congress members and a railway worker died in New Brighton on Sunday when a band of over 60 vigilantes ran amok in PE townships.

They attacked suspected UDF supporters with various weapons, including pangas, axes and guns.

Three people were also abducted in the hit-and-run attacks which started early on Sunday morning, setting off fear and massive turmoil among residents.

Peyco members Molly Majuza and Mzikayise Tshabalala, of Boastville and both in their 20s, and Thembikile Gode, a railway worker from Red Location, were killed outside their homes in the early hours of Sunday.

Residents and family of the dead accused a new group formed in Uitenhage, known as "Ama Africanist", for the attacks.

In the same regard, the chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation in the Eastern Cape, Ngcobo Nguna, accused a group known as the "Third Force", for being responsible for the killings.

The injured victims told *City Press* that some of the vigilantes wore white bands reminiscent of the rightwing "witdoeke" who attacked Crossroads residents last year. Others had masked their faces with women's stockings, while some wore blue overalls.

Other terrified residents said the vigilantes had woken them up and tried to force them to join their group in making war against the "Amabutho", township youth sympathetic to the UDF.

Willem

Chief Buthelezi: "Fair game."

Inkatha gets ANC literature

Star 25/1/87

11B

Special report: S'BU MNGADI

ALTHOUGH almost all Press comment or news on the ANC has been banned by the latest government restrictions, Inkatha central committee members have been supplied with ANC literature by their president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing the central committee meeting at Ulundi at the weekend, Buthelezi quoted from the literature which he said declared him "fair game".

Buthelezi said threats on his life were no longer masked. If anyone doubted this, he advised them to look at one of the transcripts of Radio Freedom broadcasts which were distributed at the meeting.

He then quoted a passage from one of the broadcasts which said: "It is clear that this puppet (Buthelezi) is being groomed by the West and the racist regime to become a Savimbi in a future, free SA. The onus is on the people of SA to neutralise Buthelezi."

He said these comments were contrary to the ANC's internal commission report "on strategy and tactics" – also supplied to central committee members and recently distributed to the Press by the Law and Order Minister.

This report stated: "The openly counter-revolutionery role that Chief Buthelezi has assumed was noted. He, unlike Mphepu, cannot be dismissed as a mere puppet of the racists.

"He projects the illusion of autonomy from the enemy and pretends to pursue national aims. His counter-revolutionary role must be exposed and we must work to win over his supporters and deprive him of his social base."

"For years I have warned that the going is going to get tougher. I did this to enable those who wish to save their skins to live and let those of us who are truly committed to the ideals of Inkatha face these challenges," said Buthelezi.

He warned those central committee members who did not command real leadership positions in their constituencies to be wary of the politics of the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF, the NECC and the SACC.

Spate of Durban political deaths

(11B) 29/1/87 B/Day

HAMISH McINDOE

POLITICAL violence in Durban's townships has risen alarmingly over the past nine days, during which 15 people were killed and at least seven injured in four petrol-bomb attacks on homes and a mass shooting.

Neither the police nor the Bureau for Information has identified who was responsible.

Clashes between Inkatha and the UDF have led to a spate of unsolved killings of UDF members and the petrol-bombing of Inkatha homes in recent months.

A Durban police spokesman said yesterday he had no idea who was behind the killings in the kwaMakhuta area.

Police reportedly found about 150 spent AK-47 rifle shells after attackers petrol-bombed a house in kwaMakhuta and gunned down its fleeing occupants on January 20. Thirteen people were killed, including seven children.

The house-owner's son belonged to a UDF affiliate in the area and UDF officials have blamed Inkatha.

Four days after Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for an end to the bloodshed, a child was burnt to death when her Umlázi home was petrol-bombed.

On January 26, a man was killed and five injured when petrol bombs and a grenade were thrown at a house in Mpumuza.

The bureau yesterday reported a grenade attack on a house in Chesterville on Tuesday. "No-one was injured," it said.

Our bloody Sunday rampage

Reluctant 'witdoeke' tell of panga violence

Union officials recount how they were press-ganged into joining a roving band of panga-armed vigilantes who led them on a bloody rampage through township streets.

FRANZ KRÜGER interviewed them in EAST LONDON

UNION officials say they were forced to join a band of *witdoek* vigilantes for a crazy rampage through Port Elizabeth's townships last weekend in which at least two people died.

And, in a startling inside account of how vigilantes operate, they claim to have come into contact with security forces three times — and not once were they stopped from attacking people.

The police have denied any collusion with the vigilantes, saying: "We are used to such allegations".

But members of the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Pwawu), who say they were forced to join the vigilantes, insist that the band was seen by security force patrols, but were able to continue unhindered.

The Pwawu members — 14 shopstewards and officials — had gone to PE for a union meeting.

David Mabengeza, East London organiser for Pwawu, said they were confronted at a party early on Sunday morning by vigilantes from Uitenhage armed with "pangas, sticks, home-made swords, and pick handles".

"They wore stockings or balaclavas over their faces, and white sweatbands around their heads," Mabengeza said.

"Almost all of them were wearing two-piece blue overalls like those worn by the *kits-konstabels*."

They told the unionists to go with them to a party for boys emerging from circumcision school.

"We said we couldn't go ... but they took us anyway, telling us to walk in front of them."

As they left the house, one unionist said: "No comrades, leave us. We are visitors" — but the vigilantes became angry and said: "We are not comrades, we are Africans. We are looking for the 'comrades' who burn people."

Mabengeza said: "We thought they must be Azapo people, but there was no-one to help us.

"They made us run to a group of about 20 people, also wearing white armbands."

A woman in the group pointed out a house allegedly belonging to a "comrade".

"They kicked open the door, dragged out a young man, and started beating him, asking him where they could find a man called Moli.

"The man took them to another house, where they did the same thing.

"Moli came out, and they started hitting him. He fell down and they carried on hitting and stabbing until he died.

"They were shouting: 'We will clean up Port Elizabeth, there will be no more charterists, no more UDF'."

Mabengeza said he had thrown away a stick h. ad been given as Moli came out of the house, and pretended to look for one to avoid being forced to participate.

Another of the shop stewards had also been given a stick and was beaten when the vigilantes saw he was not participating.

The band left the body where it lay, and moved to another street where another house was pointed out to them.

"They did the same thing, kicking the door until a young man of about 24 came out. They beat him as he came out, but stopped when one of the leaders said they needed some information from him.

"They asked about some other 'comrades', and he pleaded with them — but they hit him again. I saw him try to escape, but they caught him and killed him in the street," Mabengeza said.

He said the band moved through Boast Village, Red Location and White Location, raiding houses and beating people.

Mabengeza said he realised the only way to escape would be to disguise himself as one of them.

"I gave one of them a cigarette and asked him for a white rag. I tied it around my arm, and went across to two vigilantes searching another house. When I saw they were both inside, I went around the back, jumped across the wall and ran away."

One of his colleagues, shop steward Hamilton Soga, stayed with the vigilantes, and said they had spoken of other bands acting at the same time, and they might have murdered other people. He said he had heard of a total of five deaths, but could give no details. The police have said only two bodies were found after the weekend's events.

Soga said they had come across security force patrols on three occasions, but the patrols had done nothing to stop them. On the first occasion, Mabengeza said he had told the vigilantes: "Here are the police," in the hope they would flee. "But they asked why I was afraid, and said I should just move out of the road as they wouldn't do anything."

Soga said there was another encounter with a Casspir, in which he claims the police had asked what they were doing and taken away one of the UDF supporters flushed out by the band.

Later on, the vigilantes were confronted by a large group of township residents.

"People started throwing stones, and many of those who were forced to join the vigilantes fled. But then we saw the vigilantes had guns, because they took them out and started firing."

The people still attacked, though, and the vigilantes also started to flee.

Azapo has denied its members were involved in the incidents. A statement issued by Port Elizabeth branch chairman Ngcobo Nguna said: "We would like to advise the groupings that undertook such missions not to shield themselves by using the name of Azapo.

Major Eddie Everson, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the police were "used to allegations of police complicity".

He said the police "did not even know of the existence of vigilante groups".

"If there had been any encounters between such a group and the security forces, I would know about it," he said.

Murder dockets have been opened because two bodies had been found, he added, but nothing was known about the circumstances. — Elnews.

Ciskei carrying out its threat

CP Correspondent

THE CISKEI government has detained two Transkeians working for the Department of Education in its first step of carrying out its threat to repatriate all Transkeians in Ciskei.

C/Press 1/2/87

Ciskei also told its citizens living and working in Transkei to return home within a month or forfeit their citizenship.

This was announced by Ciskeian spokesman Headman Somthunzi.

"We have been provoked by Transkei on several occasions despite providing Transkeians with job opportunities. To our amazement, the Transkei government seems not to appreciate that generosity," he said.

Somthunzi said returning Ciskeians would find jobs and houses available and emphasised Ciskei bore no grudges against Transkeians.

Eglin slams Government on Indaba, NGK move

2/2/87 Eve Post

11B

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Kwa/Natal Indaba had been one of the few positive developments in South Africa in the past few months, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Opposition, said in the No Confidence debate today.

But, as with other positive developments, the Government had had nothing to do with it.

"The Indaba has been an object lesson to all South Africans," he said.

"It showed how, in an atmosphere of trust and with the recognition of mutual inter-dependence, people of different races holding diverse political views could reach consensus on a future free from apartheid and on a constitution free from apartheid structures."

Mr Stoffel Botha, NP Natal leader and Minister of Home Affairs, had done the people of Natal and South Africa a disservice with his summary rejection of the Indaba's recommendations.

"The State President's response when opening Parliament was equally distressing.

"While he endorsed the concept of negotiation, he rejected the non-racial philosophy which is at the heart of the Indaba proposals.

"He has indicated that, irrespective of what the people of Kwazulu and Natal may want, his Government will only allow them to have a future on the basis of NP principles."

Other encouraging developments which the Government had nothing to do with was the "momentus declaration" of the General Synod of the N G Kerk on apartheid and its decision to open its church to all people.

Another was the way in which South Africans had settled down in a shared society once aspects of apartheid had been removed.

Kicked out!

(11B) Cape Post 3/2/87

Ciskei warns: We will root out all Transkeians

By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — The Ciskeian Government, led by President Lennox Sebe, has started a "continuous process" of removing thousands of Transkeian citizens from its soil.

This was disclosed today by Ciskei's Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi.

Confirming that 49 Transkeian families had been deported from the country at the weekend, he said all the Transkeians were from Zwelitsha and Mdantsane.

"They were not chosen for specific reasons, but simply because they were Transkeians.

"There will definitely be more. This is now going to be a continuous thing and our ultimate goal is to uproot them all.

"Even Transkeians who are working as officials in our Government must go.

"They will go when the Government decides they must."

Mr Somtunzi said many Transkeians would also be uprooted from the Ciskeian countryside.

"Many have come here because there are no services in much of Transkei, where they have to walk long distances for a bucket of water.

"In Ciskei, many areas now have piped water.

"When laying on these services we are directly or indirectly subsidising Transkeians."

Mr Somtunzi said many Transkeians had bought subsidised houses in Mdantsane.

"We have subsidised everybody, even the Transkeians. Why should we be so generous if the Transkeian Government won't come to its senses?"

● The Transkeian Goverment recently claimed to have captured a Ciskeian officer, Major N Sandile, attempting to abduct or assassinate the former head of Ciskeian state security, Mr Charles Sebe.

The Ciskeian Government has taken exception to this and other statements.

President L SEBE

Heunis called to account after Indaba statements

(118) N/M 4/2/87

Mercury Reporter

THE KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals were a guideline and still needed to be worked on if they were to be implemented, Prof Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, said last night.

Prof Clarence was reacting to yesterday's comment on the proposals by Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Stoffel Botha during the no-confidence debate.

Mr Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the proposals for regional government in Natal did not make provision for effective power-sharing and also offered inadequate guarantees to minority groups against domination.

Reacting to this Prof Clarence said: 'He must define what he means by effective power-sharing.

'The proposals did not allow one small group to veto something put forward by the majority.

'Proportional representation is a very strong element of power-sharing. But, as far as language, religion and cultural affairs are concerned a very small number of people do have an absolute veto because it affects their lives so closely.'

Luxury

Turning to the issue of the one-man-one vote proposal, Mr Heunis said most Third World countries — of which South Africa was largely one — 'cannot afford the luxury of a one-man-one-vote democracy according to the Western model'.

Prof Clarence agreed saying Natal needed help and that things would be no different once the proposals were implemented.

'The Government has already accepted and committed itself to the De Lange committee report and it will have to make a political decision on how much support to give Natal/KwaZulu. To see peaceful change in the province we will need support.

'We are asking for no more than that. As far as other economic calculations are concerned the committee has given an indication of what is needed.'

Mr Heunis said he believed it was clear that the composition of the Indaba, with the presence of interest groups that had no way of consulting their power base on the proposals, only hampered the consultation and negotiation process.

But this was dismissed as 'completely untrue' by Prof Clarence who said representatives had had the opportunity to consult with their constituents.

A referendum, not tied up to the election, on the Indaba proposals would once and for all prove the legitimacy of the representatives, he said.

He also pointed out that the Indaba proposals had been formulated with the belief that 'a stable future will be got not by forced group participation but by voluntary association'.

Prof Clarence said the stipulations put forward by the proposals were only a hopeful guideline rather than a reality.

'It states specifically that these things should happen in a year, but if implemented, he said, the general aim is to work towards it as quickly as possible.'

Prof Clarence said that all the proposals asked for was local option to show that 'what was suggested could work'.

● See also Page 6

Lovely Lee-Anne is no blank cheque

A Durban bankteller will be in for quite a surprise when Kingfisher Canoe Club chairman Alistair Peter (right) tries to cash Lee-Anne Nell. Lee-Anne found herself wearing a R20 000 cheque last night at a function launching this year's Hansa Umkomaas canoe marathon. More than 600 canoeists will take part in the 130 km marathon, the premier wild water event of the season. The race starts at Hella Hella on March 7, finishing 18 km from the Umkomaas River mouth the following day. This year, a R500 prize is being offered to the Press photographer who takes the best action picture of the event. Handing over the 'cheque' to Mr Peters is SAB representative Mr Harvey Wannenburg.

Five men

(211) N/M 4/2/87

(113) DD 4/2/87

Bickering would destroy Indaba says Buthelezi

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Amid strong indications that the KwaNatal Indaba will be a bitterly-fought issue in the forthcoming general election, prominent Indaba figures put a dampner on attempts to forge an electoral alliance in support of the proposals.

They warned that inter-party hostility would sink the Indaba.

The Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned that "party-political bickering would be the surest way of destroying the proposals".

He said he appreciated the outgoing ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall's "positive way in which he has spoken about the Indaba as a possible channel for peaceful change". However, Dr Worrall had not spoken to him about the Indaba, he added.

Chief Buthelezi's warning echoed that of the chairman of the Indaba support group, Mr Dirk Kemp, who yesterday ruled out the prospect of the Indaba steering committee endorsing candidates in the election.

"We want to make sure that the proposals are clearly understood and that they are not limited to information provided by party-political candidates.

"As far as the Indaba is concerned it is wrong to suggest that the proposals could be judged by the white community in isolation from the rest of society. There is the danger that the black community will get the impression that whites are deciding the Indaba issues themselves."

Meanwhile, the breakaway National Party MP, Mr Wynand Malan, said yesterday he supported the "Indaba concept" but indicated he had no plans to stand on an Indaba ticket.

"I have not been approached by any candidates to support the Indaba concept. The Indaba is not my main issue although in principle I do support the concept.

"I am personally in favour of any initiative to find consensus, including regional initiatives. I do favour this type of negotiation."

Mr Malan said the government was aware of the need to bring about change but was incapable of "altering its own dogmatic and rigid views" in its approach to the Indaba.

● The Conservative Party is considering fighting more than 100 seats in the forthcoming House of Assembly election in the hope of becoming the next government. The seats including 10 of the 20 Natal constituencies.

Observers feel this could help the New Republic Party and Progressive Federal Party win three seats between them from the NP in Natal.

The PFP's Natal Coast director, Mr Roy Ainslie, said CP candidates would not greatly affect the election.

CAPE TIMES 5/2/87

Blacks urged to work for 'realpolitik'

11B

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says black South Africans are entitled to be "deeply sceptical" about the government's inability to lead in the process of reform.

Responding to negative statements made by cabinet ministers about the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in Parliament on Tuesday, Chief Buthelezi said black South Africans were only too keenly aware that the government shied away from establishing a real democracy in the country.

"I call on every black South African who is angered by the National Party's politics of prescription to redouble his or her efforts to bring the kind of pressure to bear on the government which will make them succumb to the real demands for democracy," he said.

"The Indaba exercise showed yet again that non-violent, democratic opposition to apartheid and the seeking of consensus about alternatives to apartheid can be the foundations for *realpolitik* in this country".

Chief Buthelezi said he made these remarks within an over-riding awareness that no one in South Africa had any real idea of how much time was left before the continued inability of the government to lead in the reform process destroyed the goodwill on which the politics of negotiation ultimately depended.

He said the government's "swift rejection" of the Indaba proposals in the no-confidence debate was evidence that the National Party regarded its own party political position as more important than South Africa itself.

"It is just not possible for the South African government to have made a detailed and responsible analysis of the proposals before rushing off to the no-confidence debate to reject them", Chief Buthelezi said.

He said it was a case of the National Party not wanting any real test of public opinion on issues which fell outside their party political framework.

Chief Buthelezi said he was "angered" by this government intervention in the democratic process whereby the people of KwaZulu and Natal were reaching out for consensus.

He emphasized that while the Indaba had flowed out of his initiative in establishing the Buthelezi Commission, it was blacks and whites across a significant political spectrum who began running with the ball.

He said he would give the Indaba proposals the consideration they merited, and would not "be stampeded into premature action".

Govt slammed by angry Buthelezi

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AN ANGRY Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday slammed the Nationalist government for its "politics of prescription" and warned he would turn to violence if government destroyed negotiation politics as demonstrated by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals.

Buthelezi appealed to "every black South African who is angered by the NP's politics of prescription, to re-double his or her efforts to bring some sort of pressure on government which will make it succumb to the real demands of democracy".

Ciskei strikes and hurts itself

By FRANZ KRUGER, East London

GOADED almost beyond endurance by the Transkei, the Ciskei government this week struck out at Transkei citizens — but the wounds it inflicted seem to have been chiefly on itself.

President Lennox Sebe's government issued a threat to repatriate all Transkeians living and working in the Ciskei, and less than 24 hours later had detained the first two Transkeians destined for deportation: two of its own civil servants.

The latest episode in the ongoing row between the two Xhosa "homelands" began when Transkei announced it had captured a Ciskei security officer, Major N Sandile, a member of the Rharhabe Xhosa royal family.

Transkei claimed the major was leading a gang bent on killing or capturing Charles Sebe, the former Commander-General of Ciskei security who has been in Transkei since his dramatic jailbreak last October.

A senior adviser to the Transkei Prime Minister, Liston Ntshongwana, said Sandile would not be handed over until Ciskei commented on the matter. He said there had been no bloodshed in the capture of Sandile and his gang. It was merely a matter of "hands up, guns down", he said.

Asked what had happened to the other members of the gang, Ntshongwana said only that it was "like in a chess game — if the leader is captured, his men follow suit or are destroyed".

Ciskei, stung by the capture of yet another of its people so shortly after the humiliating prisoner swop just before New Year, lashed back. The Transkei claims of an assassination squad were "blatant lies", it said.

Only Sandile was missing — so Transkei should explain where the alleged gang was, demanded Ciskei government spokesman Headman Somtunzi. Linking the officer's release to the issue of a statement by Ciskei was ludicrous, Somtunzi said: if he had been found with illegal arms, he should be brought to trial.

Addressing Ntshongwana directly, he said: "Of concern to us is the destabilising effect of his loose tongue, hindering the urgently desired development of the region, not to mention his total commitment to create panic, insecurity and uncertainty among the peace-loving community." — elnews

Now the 'Kei war reaches the hospitals

By FRANZ KRUGER, East London

THE latest victims of the Ciskeian campaign against the Transkei government are people seeking medical treatment in the Ciskei and students and pupils of all ages.

The latest decision, to close Ciskei hospitals and schools to Transkeians, seems to come from the same special government committee that recommended the deportation of all Transkeians living in the Ciskei.

The committee was investigating "all avenues where the Ciskei has been assisting the Transkei government in the past", Ciskei government representative Headman Somtunzi said in announcing the decision to close hospitals.

Further steps are being considered, Somtunzi said, but he would not elaborate.

"Over the years, the Ciskei government has been aware of the fact that it has been helping the Transkei government run its administration," he said. "But the Transkei responded by threatening the sovereignty of the state."

As an example of this "help", Somtunzi referred to the situation at Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane hospital, where 58 cancer sufferers from the Transkei received treatment last year.

Somtunzi said: "The Transkei government has been told as a matter of courtesy that no more of its patients will be admitted to Ciskei hospitals for treatment."

Patients already being treated will, however, be allowed to recuperate fully. Emergency cases will be handled "accordingly".

This week's decision is the third major step taken against Transkeians in the Ciskei. Transkei cars are being refused entry into the Ciskei, and several families have been deported by President Lennox Sebe's "homeland" government.

The dispute started when Sebe's brother Charles was freed from a Ciskei prison and allowed to set up base in the Transkei. — Elnews

The two issues: Inkatha and ANC

PATRICK LAURENCE on the key election issues

THE Indaba, with its proposals for non-racial government for Natal and KwaZulu, has crystallised as a key issue in the May 6 general election for whites.

So, too, has the question about whether there should be negotiations with the outlawed African National Congress and, if so, on what conditions.

White elections in the past have been dominated by debate over what policies the white community should adopt toward the black majority.

The present election is no exception. Relations with Inkatha and the ANC have emerged as core issues in the election.

Inkatha was, of course, a major participant in the Indaba. Its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was the driving force behind the idea of joint non-racial government for KwaZulu and Natal. Its secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, was a co-convenor of the Indaba conference.

It was hardly accidental that the outgoing ambassador to Britain, Denis Worrall, was identified as an "Indaba candidate" soon after the news broke of his decision to quit and return to South Africa to stand against the National Party.

Equally significantly, Worrall is tipped to stand against either the NP's Natal leader, Stoffel Botha, or its Cape leader and Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Chris Heunis.

Botha was the man who rejected the Indaba proposals for a non-racial legislature for Natal and KwaZulu based on universal adult suffrage because, he said, they did not protect minority rights adequately.

His rejection came within days of the publication late last year of the broad outline of the proposals. Faced with a chorus of criticism in Natal, Botha backed away, explaining that he was speaking for the Natal NP but not the government *per se*.

By then, however, he had been identified as an anti-Indaba man — despite his protestations that he was not opposed to the Indaba *in toto*, only to some of its conclusions. His anti-Indaba profile was confirmed when he repeated his criticisms in parliament.

The defeat of Botha in Port Natal by the pro-Indaba Worrall would clearly be a major blow to the NP. So, too, would be the defeat of Heunis in the Cape seat of Helderberg.

When the final Indaba report was handed to Heunis last month he maintained a judicious silence, declining to comment until he had studied it in detail.

But Heunis has now broken his silence, declaring in the no-confidence debate: "The proposals do not provide for effective power-sharing and do not offer sufficient guarantees to groups against domination."

Heunis, the man charged by President PW Botha with responsibility for negotiating a new constitutional deal with blacks, denied that he was anti-Indaba. "I believe the Indaba proposals must continue," he said. "I see the Indaba proposals as a start, not as an end in themselves."

But Heunis has been tagged as an anti-Indaba man. He will thus be an ideal target — and a coveted scalp — for a pro-Indaba candidate.

In his opening address to parliament last week, PW Botha left no doubt about his opposition to the Indaba proposals. He prefaced his remarks on the Indaba with a rejection of "so-called one man-one vote, non-racial democracy", declaring that it was unsuited to South Africa and would not lead to a just society.

Of the Indaba proper, Botha stressed that constitutional agreements "at every level of government" must provide for the protection of minority groups and their right to self determination. Significantly, Stoffel Botha used the same language when he rejected the Indaba proposals.

Commenting on PW Botha's speech, PFP leader Colin Eglin said: "While he endorsed the concept of negotiation, he rejected the non-racial philosophy which is at the heart of the Indaba proposals. Irrespective of what the people of KwaZulu and Natal may want, the government will only allow them to have a future on the basis of National Party principles."

The most important of these is group representation on the basis of race, with — judging from the tri-racial parliament — built-in control for whites.

The Indaba apart, another issue is the question of negotiations with the ANC. The NP, fearful of its ultra-right foes in the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties, has adopted a tough anti-ANC line.

PW Botha set two conditions for talks with the ANC in his opening address: it must renounce violence and it must sever ties with the South African Communist Party.

Addressing foreign correpondents in Cape Town, Foreign Minister Pik Botha made it clear the government would adopt a strong anti-ANC stance in the election campaign.

Lambasting the ANC for its violence and accusing it of wanting to seize power, he insisted that its *de facto* leader is "a real white man", Joe Slovo of the SACP.

"He has received two or three awards from Moscow," Botha said. "He is — or was — a colonel in the KGB."

NP leaders have signalled their determination to crush dissent on the ANC from the party's *verligtes*.

Wynand Malan, the Nat MP who resigned from the NP in protest against President Botha's defence of the Group Areas Act, specifically called for talks with the political — as distinct from the armed — wing of the ANC. He thus implicitly recognised that talks could take place even without a formal renunciation of armed struggle by the ANC.

But another NP rebel, Albert Nothnagel, was rounded on for deviating from the party line by declaring that it was a myth to think there could be a lasting political settlement in South Africa without the ANC and without the release from jail of its leader, Nelson Mandela.

Faced with threatened expulsion from the party, Nothnagel, who represents the conservative Pretoria constituency of Innesdal, crumbled, recanting in writing (even though a secret Broederbond working document made essentially the same point last year as the humble rebel Nat MP).

The NP Transvaal leader, FW de Klerk, released the full text of his letter for publication. The headline in the Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Burger*, read: "Nothnagel submits." Worrall can expect a tough fight when he returns home.

Pik Botha meanwhile has given a taste of the verbal onslaught to come. He charged the PFP — which the Nats say stands for "packing for Perth" — with wanting to talk to the ANC so that they can surrender the country to them, "the sooner the better".

Voters queue to register at the NP tables in the PFP stronghold of Yeoville Picture: AFP

Highway to nowhere: Refugees sit in the damp at the side of a South African road
Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

In the pouring rain, hundreds of refugees flee across the border to SA

Even homelessness in South Africa seems preferable to living in fear in the Ciskei

By FRANZ KRUGER and LOUISE FLANAGAN, East London

THE Ciskei added to South Africa's refugee problem this week, when hundreds of squatters crossed the border to escape "homeland" police raids.

Yesterday morning, after a wet first night on the roadside, the group remained determined they would not return to Ciskei. One member said: "We can't go back to Ciskei, we put our lives in danger." He said the Ciskei now saw them as "people who are overthrowing the government".

There were no shelters, and only a handful of cooking fires were burning when we visited the scene yesterday. One pregnant woman had been taken to hospital, and members of the group said several babies were sick, but there was no money for taxis to take them to hospital.

Overnight, the numbers had grown to about 2 000, an official of the South African embassy to Ciskei had said. But by the morning, with some people going back to work or school, numbers were down in the hundreds again.

It was the third time in a year that Ciskei had presented South Africa with a refugee headache. Last year in February, Ciskei government trucks loaded up thousands of families from Kuni village and dumped them at the roadside just beyond the South African border.

Later in the year, a small group of families was evicted from their farm at Rala, but South African soldiers prevented Ciskei from dumping them across the border.

Now, in the small hours of Wednesday morning, a group of about 400 people left their Potsdam home outside Mdantsane to walk the 12km to the closest South African border.

Men, women and children trudged through the outskirts of Mdantsane to the old East London/King William's Town road, many with only the clothes they were wearing.

On a small patch of veld squeezed between the old road and the new highway, a stone's throw away from the Ciskei border, they simply sat down: "We are not moving from here, we are not going back to Ciskei," they told us.

A member of the group said: "We left our homes and everything in Potsdam. If somebody is hitting you, you must run away."

Ciskei police arrived in Potsdam on Friday night and began mounting continual raids on residents. Hundreds of people were arrested for not paying tax, people were beaten, and police had threatened to beat them to death, a refugee said.

"They demand poll tax of R10, but if you don't pay, the fine is R50. But many of us do not have money, we don't have jobs. So how can we pay R50?The other thing is that Transkei citizens are not allowed to be in Ciskei."

The police were arresting people for damage done to the schools a long time ago. "They promised to kill everyone here, because they say we are stubborn because we don't follow the Ciskei government. They had raids in the early morning, and late at night, every day.

"We couldn't manage to stay like that." He said they had come to seek protection and assistance from the South African government: "We want a place to stay, and we want the South African government to escort us to our homes to fetch our things."

Another member of the group: "We are not fighting, we are clean people. We are not against the Ciskei government, but they're ill-treating us."

Asked to comment on the situation,

● To PAGE 2

THE TOPSY-TURVY GEOGRAPHY OF WHAT THE PUBLIC MAY NO

Hundreds flee across border

●From PAGE 1

the Ciskei government representative, Headman Somtunzi, said the fact that only part of the community had fled showed "it is a blatant lie".

There had been a lot of disturbances in Potsdam, and the police had decided to set up a post in the tribal authority hall, he said. From there, a series of late-night raids had been mounted, but these had been aimed at people who had stolen school furniture from damaged school buildings, and others who had not paid Ciskei taxes. He denied people had been beaten.

About 300 people had appeared in court on Wednesday for not paying taxes, he said. "When they were charged, they said it would be better to settle in South Africa."

Somtunzi said the group had left of its own accord, and there had been no confrontation with Ciskei authorities. Somtunzi said if the group objected to the activities of the police, this was an "indirect defiance of law and order". It meant they were "supporters of a criminal element".

The Ciskei had not evicted them. Somtunzi said: "Their plight rests on them."

How to settle Indaba issue

Mercury Reporter

A REFERENDUM, where the people of Natal could voice their feelings on the Indaba proposals would once and for all settle the issue on whether the Indaba was truly representative or not, Indaba chairman Prof Desmond Clarence said last night.

Prof Clarence also criticised the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, for playing 'petty party politics' with an initiative which had raised interest locally and abroad.

Reacting to Mr Heunis's statement that the PFP had 'hijacked' the Indaba for its own purposes Prof Clarence said the Indaba wished to avoid entering the political arena.

'Too much is at stake to allow this serious constitutional initiative to be used by politicians for short-term gain,' he said.

Avoided

The manner in which Mr Heunis had proposed (in a television interview this week) that the opinion of the people of Natal be canvassed by approaching virtually every farmers' organisation, local authority or business house appeared to be far too complicated and unsatisfactory, said Prof Clarence.

In the interview Mr Heunis had avoided directly discussing the merits of the Indaba proposals, he said, and had simply used the smokescreen of the Government having had to reject the proposals because they were being used as the basis of an election alliance between two political parties against his own.

'This is simply not true,' said Prof Clarence. 'Within two days of the proposals being made public they were rejected by the Minister of Home Affairs.'

DD 7/2/87

Indaba director: Heunis erred

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal Indaba director Prof Dawis van Wyk has expressed "dismay" at what he terms Mr Chris Heunis' latest attack "on a serious constitutional initiative which has captured the imagination both locally and internationally."

The attack, Prof Van Wyk says, was made by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning on SABC television last night.

"The indaba has no wish to enter the party political arena, least of all in the current election campaign.

"However, at least six points raised by, Mr Heunis were so grossly inaccurate and misleading that I am forced to respond," he said.

Prof Van Wyk said the Natal Agricultural union did not alter its status as an indaba delegation, as Mr Heunis had said. The indaba was not drawn into the political arena by other parties, as claimed by Mr Heunis.

They were at pains to prevent this happening, and it was the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who had first made the indaba a political issue. — Sapa

Ciskei/Transkei dispute worsens

(116)
8/2/81
Cape Times

CP Correspondent

FORTY-NINE Transkeian families working and living in Ciskei were repatriated to Transkei at the weekend.

Other families are expected to follow soon as relations between the two homelands deteriorate by the day.

Deputy Director-General of the Ciskei Department of Foreign Affairs and Information Headman Somthunzi confirmed the move this week and added that Ciskei had stopped talking to Transkei.

The new move comes barely a week after another retaliatory action by Ciskei. Last week, two Transkeians working for the Ciskei Department of Education — Lindela Sonca and Nancy Cokazi — were detained and are being held pending repatriation to Transkei.

Meanwhile, another six people told newsmen this week that they had been removed from a railway mini-bus while travelling through Ciskei and taken to the Ciskei/Transkei border where they were told to go back to Transkei.

They said they were travelling from Queenstown to East London on their way to Frere Hospital when the bus was stopped at a roadblock outside Bisho.

We won't heal you – Ciskei

C/Press 8/2/87 (116)

IN the latest move in the cold war between the two Xhosa homelands, Ciskei hospitals have now been ordered to turn away Transkeian patients.

And further steps against Transkeians are being considered, Ciskei government spokesman Headman Somtunzi has warned.

But he would not say what steps.

Somtunzi said a special Ciskei government committee was investigating all Ciskei assistance to the Transkei government – with a view to cut it.

Announcing the move against patients, Somtunzi said the Ciskei government had "been well aware" for years that "in several ways we has been helping the Transkei government to run its administration". But Transkei had responded by threatening "the sovereignity of the Ciskei state".

Transkei had referred patients to Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital because of its modern equipment and facilities. Last year, 58 Transkei cancer sufferers spent 1 969 days there.

Somtunzi said: "The Transkei government is informed, as a matter of policy and courtesy, that no more patients from Transkei will be admitted or referred to Ciskei hospitals for any treatment."

Patients already being treated would be allowed to recuperate fully. Asked about Transkeians involved in accidents, Somtunzi said emergency cases were "technical" and would be "handled accordingly".

The step against Transkeian patients is the third major move against Transkeians in the Ciskei. For months Transkeian-registered cars have been turned back at roadblocks at various points on the Ciskei border.

Last weekend, the special committee's recommendations led to a decision to deport all Transkeians living and working in Ciskei. Already, 49 families were deported last weekend.

Somtunzi said there was no difference between the Transkei government and its people: "They voted the government into power, and they are therefore actively involved in the Transkei government's absurd decisions against us."

The dispute between the two homelands began when armed raiders freed the Ciskei President's brother and other former Ciskei government members who had fallen from grace. Ciskei has accused Transkei of supporting the group as it has ambitions to annex the Ciskei. – Elnews.

Apartheid's feuding offspring

THE South African Government has moved to reduce yet again the simmering tensions between Ciskei and Transkei, its fractious apartheid stepchildren.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, wrote to Ciskeian President Lennox Sebe yesterday expressing concern at the harassment of travellers at Ciskeian roadblocks set up ostensibly to intercept Transkeians.

The continued presence of thousands of Transkeians in Ciskei is meanwhile in jeopardy and fears have been expressed that the feuding homelands will scuttle the area's economic prosperity.

Sunday Times Reporters

Mr Botha's letter follows a spate of incidents, including one in which a Stutterheim baker, Mr Kurt Oosthuizen, was shot at by Ciskeian security forces manning a roadblock between King William's Town and Stutterheim.

S/T 8/2/87

(116)

Bullets

A number of bullets struck the vehicle Mr Oosthuizen was driving.

A statement issued by the SA embassy in Ciskei before the letter was handed to Mr Sebe said the embassy had held high-level discussions on a number of occasions with Ciskei about the inconvenience experienced by South Africans at the roadblocks.

"The Ciskei authorities have noted our position, as well as the feelings of a number of organisations and individuals who have voiced concern and who have offered their views as to possible improvements.

"Following our representations, certain improvements have been implemented by the Ciskeian authorities.

"For instance, a senior officer has been stationed at the Kei Road border post, with the necessary authority to approve admissions to Ciskei," the statement said.

Ciskeian officials have insisted the roadblocks were necessary to stop Transkeian "saboteurs".

This week 49 Transkei families were repatriated and Ciskei's Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs said: "There will definitely be more. Our ultimate goal is to uproot them all"

Squabble

A vice-president of the East London Chamber of Commerce and Progressive Federal Party candidate in East London North, Mr Errol Spring, said: "This is a squabble between politicians and doesn't reflect the attitudes of people in Ciskei and Transkei to another.

"It's up to the South African Government to sort out the situation."

8/2/87 11B SOPA S/T

Saatchi touch for Indaba

Reagan image makers in bid to sell plan for KwaNatal

By DENYSE ARMOUR

A HIGH-POWERED Washington-based image-making company has been engaged to sell the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals to the public.

This is the latest shot to be fired at the National Party's rejection of the Indaba.

In a statement released yesterday, Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk said that a four-man team from the communications and advertising company Hay Group Inc is in South Africa and will present a preliminary report to the Indaba's steering committee tomorrow.

The team, headed by the company's executive vice-president, David J Wimer, was asked to devise an aggressive strategy to enable the Indaba to communicate its findings to the public.

All four members of the Hay Group team in South Africa have direct links to the White House and the Republican Party. Mr Wimer was special assistant to Presidents Nixon and Ford and has worked extensively in Mr Reagan's campaigns.

Greg Lebedev, the Hay Group's senior vice-president, also worked in the Reagan campaigns and has served as deputy special assistant to the President and in the US State Department.

Tom de Cair has experience as assistant Press secretary to the President and in other US Government departments. The fourth member, David Wolstenholme, has worked as a communications specialist for corporate and public services in SA.

The Hay Group is a subsidiary of Saatchi and Saatchi, the company which helped British premier Margaret Thatcher win office.

Referendum

Professor van Wyk said the Indaba's communication campaign would aim at informing the public about the Indaba, prior to a referendum on its proposals.

"If the Government refuses to hold a referendum, we will organise the most sophisticated public opinion poll South Africa has ever seen," he said.

"We are determined to succeed, however hard and however long we have to work."

He said some politicians seemed to have the impression that, because the majority of Indaba delegates were not politicians, the Indaba would "roll over and wag its tail" the moment they started shouting at it.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," he continued.

"The Indaba organisation will not get involved in the white general election, but will give a bloody nose to politicians who seek to attack the Indaba or use it for their short-term political ends."

He added that the Indaba's potential contribution to a peaceful solution in Natal and SA as a whole was "too important to allow it to be derailed by short-sighted politicians".

ARGUS 5/2/87

'Hold referendum or else' Indaba

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — The Kwazulu-Natal Indaba is to strike back at Government intransigence to its proposals with a multi-million-rand publicity campaign spearheaded by the same consultancy that masterminded the huge "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

And a direct challenge will be issued to the Government to either test the wishes of the people of Natal with a referendum or else the Indaba will do it for them.

The Indaba steering committee is meeting members of the successful Hays Management Consultants today to discuss the best methods of selling the Indaba after the Government's rejection of its findings.

The Washington-based consultants are responsible for promoting President Ronald Reagan's popular appeal and are also subsidaries to the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency, best known for their success in engineering Mrs Margaret Thatcher's landslide victory in 1979.

They are no strangers to African politics as they spearheaded the re-election campaign of Nigerian President Shehu Shagari, and they were also largely responsible for the overwhelming "yes" vote in favour of the South African Government during the tricameral referendum.

Ironically, in handling the Indaba account, their opponents will be their former clients.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has warned the Kwazulu-Natal Indaba that if it goes ahead with its own referendum on the proposals "they will kill the initiative".

Mr Heunis emphasised that a Government-sponsored referendum would be considered only if the proposals were acceptable to the Government.

And Mr Heunis made it clear that proposals acceptable to the Government would have to be based on group representation and protection.

Eviction of Transkeians condemned

Star 9/2/87 (11B)

EAST LONDON — City councillor Mr Errol Spring yesterday urged President Lennox Sebe to "intervene personally" to stop the eviction of Transkeians from Ciskei.

Mr Spring, the PFP-NRP alliance nominee for East London North, said in a statement the actions of the Ciskei Government, as they affected East London, were unacceptable.

"Everyone, including the Ciskei Government, is fully aware that many of these people are Transkei citizens who were and remain an integral part of East London's economy. To persist with people removals with no thought of the implications and the destabilisation this will have on the region is short-sighted."

Meanwhile, more than 30 Transkeians were reported to have been removed from the men's hostel in Zwelitsha, near King William's Town at the weekend. — Sapa.

DD 9/2/87

Indaba organisers to fight rejection

DURBAN — The organisers of the KwaZulu—Natal Indaba are preparing to fight back against government rejection of the Indaba proposals with a multi-million rands advertising campaign run by a Washington-based management consultancy.

Four members of Hay Management Consultants will present a preliminary report to the Indaba's steering committee today.

The consultancy is a subsidiary of the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency which helped the Conservative Party take power in Britain in 1979.

The Indaba director, Professor Dawid van Wyk, said the advertising campaign was intended to informing people about the Indaba before a referendum on its proposals.

Prof Van Wyk said it was hoped the government would run a referendum, but if not, the Indaba organisers would run an opinion poll. — DDC

top admen report on Indaba today

FOUR consultants are already in Durban to launch a multi-million-rand advertising campaign to keep the KwaZulu/-Natal Indaba out of party politics during the forthcoming House of Assembly election.

Political Reporter

The members of Hay Management Consultants will present a preliminary report to the Indaba's steering committee today.

Two of the men have helped US President Ronald Reagan in his election campaigns and the consultancy is a subsidiary of the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency which helped the Conservative Party take power in Britain in 1979.

Procedure

Indaba director Prof Dawid van Wyk said, based on suggestions from the Hay Group, the Indaba organisers will run a multi-million-rand fund-raising and advertising campaign.

Prof van Wyk said the organisers wanted to stop the impression that supporting the proposals was the same as supporting the NRP and PFP and rejecting the proposals was the same as voting for the NP.

He said NP members who wanted to support the Indaba proposals would not do so if this was perceived as supporting the PFP.

'We want to create the possibility for all supporters to support the Indaba.'

Prof van Wyk said 80% of the Government's qualified rejection of the Indaba proposals was based on procedure and 20% on substance.

'They say there is not enough protection of minority rights and too little power sharing in the proposals, but they don't say why.

'Some politicians seem to have the impression that because the majority of Indaba delegations were not politicians, the Indaba would roll over and wag its tail the moment the politicians started shouting at it.

'Nothing could be further from the truth.

'The Indaba and its potential contribution to a peaceful solution in the province and South Africa as a whole is too important to allow it to be derailed by short-sighted politicians.'

Prof van Wyk said he hoped the Government would run a referendum, but if not, the Indaba organisers would run a massive opinion poll.

● Picture: Page 2

'It was OK to shop at the OK'

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

THE KwaZulu government has come out in full support of Inkatha members' shopping spree at Ladysmith OK Bazaars last Saturday – in open defiance of the OK strikers.

Five busloads of Inkatha members – led by KwaZulu Pensions and Welfare Minister and local Inkatha chairman Steven Sithebe – "invaded" the OK to shop – an obvious challenge to the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union.

A *City Press* corrrespondent reports about 400 people, mostly old women and children, made purchases.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief MG Buthelezi said: "The OK issue is a typical example of workers' legitimate right to strike being overtaken by thugs who not consult with the peo and use terror tactics to intimidate the public into supporting boycotts.

"I will always stand by workers and defend their right to strike. But when certain people try to undemocratically ram their views down the throats of others and demand dictated unity, then others also have the right to express their opinions."

Peter Davidson, PRO of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA, said their members employed by the OK were not on strike because they were not consulted.

A Ccawusa spokesman said: "Very little spending was done by Sithebe's group, who were jeered by our members and supporters. His stunt was completely unsuccessful.

"Our members have decided to condemn unreserverdly Sithebe and the Inkatha leadership's actions in trying to break the strike.

"It's shocking that Inkatha used school-going youths – when they are the very people who so stridently condenm other organisations for using youths for political motives."

● Meanwhile in Port Elizabeth, over 450 fired General Motors strikers have called on the Congress of SA Trade Unions' new Eastern Cape wing – launched on Saturday – to support them in their effort to get reinstated.

Next week 16 GM strikers will appear in the PE Supreme Court on charges of attending an illegal gathering arising from an anti-scab picket outside the GM gates on November 17.

ARGUS 9/2/87 (116)

AFRICA

Listen to the people, Zulu King Goodwill says in US

WASHINGTON. — King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus has appealed to Americans and to world church leaders to listen to ordinary black South Africans and not to the "babble of voices" from "celebrity leaders" who claimed to speak for them.

Speaking in Washington he singled out South African church leaders. They were not promoting reconciliation when they travelled abroad seeking Christendom's support for any one particular line of political action, he said.

King Goodwill spoke at a seminar following a prayer breakfast given by church groups.

He said the babble of black voices from South Africa caused confusion in Western minds and this was made worse because it became difficult for poor people to speak for themselves, he said.

King Goodwill

"Celebrity" leaders and revolutionary leaders claimed to speak for them.

"My message to the people of the United States and indeed to the whole world is: listen to the people themselves," he said.

The king, who advocates non-violent means of ending apartheid, said that black South Africans rejected the armed struggle.

They did this in defiance of efforts by revolutionaries, when they kept factories open, queued for jobs and rejected disinvestment.

There was a yearning for freedom of movement and political association and equality before the law.

They yearned for economic prosperity in which unemployment would be banished "for the mass evil that it is". — Sapa.

"Fishing? Who, us? No man, we're just teaching our worms to sw m."

counse. at that time.

Heunis blames opposition for Indaba rumpus

10/2/87 Star

Bruce Cameron of The Star's parliamentary staff interviewed the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, after his controversial appearance on TV1's "Network" programme. Opposition politicians and the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba administration accused him of making misleading or incorrect statements.

Mr Heunis was adamant that the Indaba proposals did not protect group rights and as such were not acceptable to the Government.

He denied that this amounted to the Government setting down firm parameters for any negotiations, but was not prepared to deal in specifics because negotiations on any future dispensation for a joint legislature for kwaZulu and Natal would still take place.

He would not even commit himself to a single legislature for the region.

Mr Heunis conceded that his claim on television that the Government had not rejected the Indaba applied to the concept and not to the actual proposals.

Neither would he comment on indications that the kwaZulu/Inkatha delegates had been cautious about signing the proposals because there was too much emphasis on group rights.

He could only comment on what had been handed to him.

Repeated accusations

Throughout the interview he repeatedly swung his answers into accusations that the PFP and NRP had bedevilled chances of success because they had made it an election issue.

He rejected arguments that the first person to make it a political issue had been the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, who gave the proposals the thumbs down within 48 hours of the majority of the delegates signing the Indaba report.

Mr Heunis said Mr Botha was entitled to comment as the National Party of Natal was an Indaba delegate, even though only, by choice, with observer status.

Heunis . . . "proposals represent majority rule".

He maintained he had been quite prepared to agree to the request of the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not to make an election issue of the Indaba, but the NRP and PFP had made this impossible by forming an election pact on the basis of the Indaba.

His view had been until then that the Government should not comment before the initiators of the process, the kwaZulu Government/Inkatha and the Natal Provincial Executive, had commented on the proposals.

Challenged on how he could claim that the current Provincial Executive, which had been appointed by the Government, could be considered to be the same as the elected Natal Provincial Executive which was scrapped by the Government, Mr Heunis replied: "It makes no difference."

He said the appointed Provincial Executive was "not an agent of the Government" and there were only two National Party members serving on it.

If the new Executive could not be seen as the legal successor it should not be party to the planned Joint Executive Authority for Natal and KwaZulu.

Mr Heunis said the Government could not be expected to give approval to a set of proposals that "by their own definition are incomplete".

The economic consequences of the Indaba proposals had not been fully assessed.

"The proposals imply additional expenditure that they say Natal hasn't got." This could prove to be a problem if every province made similar recommendations.

The proposals were also incomplete because no recommendations were made on how the proposed legislature would fit in with central government.

Mr Heunis questioned the fact that the proposals were a majority report, saying delegates had signed in their personal capacity and not on behalf of their organisations.

He lauded the concept of the Indaba but "deplored the political parties which for their own expediency put the initiative, which had great promise, into jeopardy".

If the proposals remained as they were they were rejected as the Government believed in "equal group participation. The proposals represent majority rule".

Sociologist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer had said that the proposals amounted to black majority rule.

Mr Heunis ruled out the suggestion that the Bill of Rights and the second chamber provided any significant protection for group rights.

Group rights were excluded on general affairs and applied only to cultural issues such as language. Other group issues, including residential areas (Group Areas), were excluded.

"The proposals as such give no guarantee for the self-determination of cultural affairs and do not include a formula for ensuring group participation in the process of government.'

Asked about his previous undertaking to consider a public testing of the proposals, Mr Heunis stressed that only proposals which were acceptable to the Government would be tested by a referendum or referenda.

He indicated that any attempt by the Indaba to initiate its own referendum would not be acceptable to the Government: "It doesn't have the capacity."

Mr Heunis repeated his undertaking to discuss a joint legislature after he had received the input of kwaZulu and the Provincial Executive — not only with those two bodies but with all political parties.

Indaba could stave off U S sanctions says prof

Political Reporter

THE KwaZulu/Natal Indaba may become a force that could save South Africa from total sanctions by the United States.

This was said yesterday by Prof Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, at a Press conference in Durban.

The conference was called to outline recommendations made at the request of the Indaba to its steering committee.

Prof Clarence said members of the Washington-based Hay Group of management consultants had said they would talk about the Indaba to Congressmen before Congress next considered sanctions in July.

'They (the Hay Group) are of the opinion that the proposals are highly saleable, both internally and internationally, and hold real prospects of saving South Africa from total sanctions.'

The four-man Hay Group team, which has had links with the political campaigns of President Reagan and British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher, flew out of Durban yesterday after presenting a three-phase advertising campaign to the Indaba steering committee.

Prof Clarence said the committee had already been publicising the Indaba proposals and their implications but the consultants had crystalised the advertising campaign into three phases.

● See Editorial Opinion

TUESDAY, 10 FEBRUARY 1987

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†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Natal Indaba 118

*1. ~~Dr~~ W J SNYMAN asked the State President:† Hansard 10/2/87

Whether the attitude expressed by the Natal leader of the National Party on 1 December 1986 in respect of the Natal Indaba on the occasion of a news conference in Durban represents the official attitude of the Government in this regard; if not, what is the official attitude of the Government in respect of this matter?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

I refer the hon member to the address which I delivered on the occasion of the opening of the present session of Parliament on 30 January 1987, in which this matter was dealt with.

Speech at Day of the Vow

*2. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the State President:

(1) Whether the head of the National Intelligence Service made a speech at a Day of the Vow gathering at the Blood River Monument in Northern Natal on 16 December 1986; if so, what was the purport of his speech;

(2) whether any person or persons connected to the National Intelligence Service requested any journalists not to publish the contents of this speech; if so, *(a)* what are their (i) names and (ii) positions in the National Intelligence Service, *(b)* why, *(c)* on whose authority and *(d)* in terms of what statutory provisions;

(3) whether the publication of the contents of this speech was prohibited; if so, *(a)* why, *(b)* by whom and *(c)* in terms of what statutory provisions; if not,

(4) whether any action is to be taken as a result of this incident; if so, *(a)* what action and *(b)* against whom;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) Yes, that moderates in South Africa must stand united to resist the revolutionary onslaught and to seek solutions for the country's problems.

(2) Yes.

(a) (i) In terms of the Protection of Information Act, No 84 of 1982, the names of members of the National Intelligence Service may not be disclosed.

(ii) Security personnel.

(b) Following a wish expressed by the Director-General of the National Intelligence Service.

(c) Based on the wish expressed by the Director-General of the National Intelligence Service that was wrongly interpreted as an order.

(d) In terms of no statutory provision.

(3) *(a)*, *(b)* and *(c)* Falls away.

(4) Steps have already been taken.

(a) Rectification of the situation was done by means of statements to the press and disciplinary action was taken within the ranks of the National Intelligence Service.

(b) The personnel member concerned.

Transkeians told they must get out of Ciskei

Feb. 1987

Mercury Correspondent

EAST LONDON—Ciskei yesterday issued an ultimatum to all Transkeians to get out of the country by August 31.

Transkeians were told to leave voluntarily because 'no stone will be left unturned', and those who had not left the country by the deadline would be arrested and repatriated.

The ultimatum was contained in a statement issued by the Ciskei Directorate of Information.

The statement also said the country was on 'full alert awaiting the planned invasion of Ciskei by fugitives from justice, backed by the Transkei Battalion'.

Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, has said Ciskei and Transkei would amalgamate whether Ciskei 'liked it or not'.

DAILY DISPAT

Mulder warns Natal against Indaba

DJ 12/2/87

(11B)

DR MULDER

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals were not marketable and Natalians should be alert to the plan to soften them up for eventual black-majority rule.

This was said by the Conservative Party's spokesman on information, Dr Connie Mulder.

He claimed the proposal by the Indaba to "import high-powered Washington-based public relations executives" was ominous because the men in the group had extensive contact with the State Department in the United States.

"Where is the money coming from for the exercise? Operations like this cost millions and we challenge the chairman to state his source of funding.

"No amount of Madison Avenue-hype can convince white Natal voters to negotiate their own demise.

"Foreign contrived solutions have never solved South Africa's problems," Dr Mulder said.

The Indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, said he found it ironic and amusing that "Dr Connie Mulder of all people" should ask "innuendo-laden" questions about funding.

"There is no secret about the Indaba funding.

"We are conducting a massive fund-raising campaign aimed at the people of Natal and KwaZulu, and elsewhere, who support the Indaba's principles and are anxious about the future."

Prof Clarence said if Dr Mulder believed the Indaba proposals were unsaleable he should support the idea of a referendum to test public opinion.

However, he agreed that solutions could not be contrived by foreigners.

Motorists cautioned against travelling through homelands

Post Reporter

THE AA has advised motorists against travelling through Ciskei and Transkei because of simmering animosity between the homeland states.

The general manager of publications, Mr Ben Matthee, says motorists travelling between East London and Durban are advised to take the Free State route to avoid delays at roadblocks.

This involves a significant detour via Aliwal North, Ladybrand and Bethlehem.

In addition to encountering roadblocks, motorists have to adhere to a 10pm to 5am curfew in Transkei, unless in possession of a special permit for overnight travel.

Motorists travelling from Port Elizabeth to East London cannot avoid Ciskei.

There are two routes — through Grahamstown or through Port Alfred, but both pass through Ciskei.

Political strife between the two states had led to the mounting of roadblocks where motorists had been delayed and harassed, said Mr Matthee.

The location of roadblocks, both in South Africa and neighbouring territories, varied according to facts known only to authorities and the time of operations.

A special note on Ciskei and Transkei said personnel at roadblocks were usually heavily armed with automatic weapons and motorists disregarded instructions "at their peril".

Persons should have with them ID books, drivers' licences and firearm licences if weapons are carried.

The area manager for the AA in Port Elizabeth, Miss Rhoda Fourie, said no reports had been received of motorists being harassed.

She said motorists travelling through the two states should co-operate and not react aggressively to officials.

(113)

EVE POST 12/2/87

No South African tears for roadside refugees

13/2/-19/2/-87 WM/Mail

Pretoria's ambassador to Ciskei gave a fair indication of the South African attitude to the Ciskeian refugees who fled in pouring rain across the border: 'They need a nice damn thunderstorm to wash them back to Ciskei,' he said. FRANS KRÜGER reports

CISKEI refugees — who fled their village because of raids by the "homeland" police — may be forced back home by the South African government.

As East London aid organisations rallied to the cause of the squatters who fled from Potsdam last week, there were accusations that the government was deliberately withholding assistance from the group in the hope they would return home.

However, the makeshift roadside camp the refugees have erected continues to grow as more Potsdam residents flee the village.

Members of the group said not a single government official had been to the site to talk to them since they established their makeshift camp on the side of the old East London/King William's Town road last Wednesday.

The South African ambassador to Ciskei, Christiaan van Aardt, gave a good indication of Pretoria's attitude when he said he had no sympathy with the refugees.

"The whole thing" was politically motivated, he said, and the group should go back to Potsdam.

He then said: "As far as I'm concerned, what they need is a nice damn thunderstorm to wash them back to Ciskei. The whole thing is politically motivated — you just can't have people deciding to leave their country and going to another."

The refugees pointed to other instances which they believed were attempts by the authorities to force them back home:

● The owner of a quarry and farm nearby had offered to let them move onto his land, which is adjacent to the roadside site they now occupy. However, police had warned them that if they accepted the offer and there was any "trouble" on the site, they would be evicted. As a result, they were afraid to accept the offer, members of the group said.

● They had posted people with red flags at either end of the camp to warn traffic of the people spilling into the road. However, the police had stopped this, giving as a reason the fact that they were on a national road.

● The refugees said Ciskei authorities were also trying to force them back. People leaving Potsdam to join the refugees were being turned back by Ciskei police, they claimed.

● At the weekend, 15 refugees went into Mdantsane to fetch water, which remains a major problem in the camp. Ciskei police caught them with their plastic canisters of water, and poured the water into the gutter. The refugees said the police had told them to go back to Potsdam if they wanted water.

Despite the harassment, people are continuing to leave Potsdam to join the refugees. Last weekend, numbers almost doubled: according to records kept by the refugees, there were 152 families at the camp on Friday, but by Monday the group had swelled to 277 families, and continued growing steadily throughout the week.

Representatives of the group said they were only allowing people from Potsdam to join them, however. Others from Mdantsane had wanted to join them too, but they were afraid that outsiders might "cause trouble" for the tightly-knit group.

Meanwhile, there is mounting concern at conditions at the camp. Water remains a major problem, although a construction company is delivering two tanker-loads daily.

There is a shortage of food, and shelter is still inadequate, despite the provision of plastic sheets and some tents.

But most concern centres on health conditions at the overcrowded camp. There are no toilets, and the incidence of sickness is rising. On Wednesday morning, after a rainy night, residents said they had sent 28 people to hospital. Most of them were children, suffering from gastro-enteritis and respiratory infections.

Top of the list for a crisis committee co-ordinating relief work is the provision of toilet facilities. The committee was set up at a joint meeting of a number of local groups, ranging from the UDF-affiliated Gompo Womens' Congress to church groups, the Black Sash and World Vision.

The group has issued an appeal for blankets, plastic sheets and any other material that could be used to build shelters, and has begun organising food, pots and other essentials.

It has also decided to help the refugees find a new place to live, but the attitude of the South African authorities has made it clear this will be a difficult task.

● The Potsdam exodus started two weeks ago, when Ciskei police raided the village and arrested hundreds of people for not paying tax. Residents — who said they could not afford the tax — said they had fled because "if someone is hitting you, you must run away".— ělnews.

Transkei tells Ciskei, we're absorbing you

UMTATA—Transkei and Ciskei would amalgamate soon, whether Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe liked it or not, the Prime Minister of Transkei, Chief George Matanzima, said.

He was addressing a rally of the ruling Transkei National Independence Party at Ngqeleni district at the weekend.

Chief Matanzima quoted the Ciskei Government as saying amalgamation was out of the question.

He added there would be no more requests and amalgamation would continue.

Ciskei's people supported moves to form one Xhosa republic, Chief Matanzima said.

Ciskei also indicated it would never be able to accommodate members of the 12 tribes from Transkei.

Many Transkeian families living in Ciskei had been repatriated in the past three weeks.

Chief Matanzima said those repatriated from Ciskei had to make statements to their nearest police station, which would be used as the basis of claims for compensation against Ciskei.

Chief Matanzima said Ciskei had no right to kick Transkeians out of Mdantsane, a place built by the South African Government to accommodate Transkeians and Ciskeians who worked in East London. — (Sapa)

Botswana scores in rail row

HAMISH McINDOE

BOTSWANA has won the first round in the rail row between Bophuthatswana and its northern neighbours.

But a permanent solution to the crisis that threatens severely to disrupt the flow of rail traffic between Frontline states and SA is nowhere in sight.

Sats last Friday started collecting south-bound rolling stock from the Botswana border town of Rakhuna instead of Ramatlabama in Bophuthatswana.

On the same day the Department of Foreign Affairs mediated at talks in Gaborone to bring the two sides to settlement over Mmabatho's visa demands for Botswanans and Zimbabweans.

No details of the meeting emerged and a Foreign Affairs spokesman would only say that talks were continuing at a "technical level".

Pretoria, however, is caught between honouring its commitments to Botswana in terms of the Customs Union Agreement and recognising the sovereignty of Bophuthatswana.

Under a previous agreement scheduled to last until mid-May, Sats was to use Ramatlabama as the collecting point after Botswana and Zimbabwe said they would no longer use Mafikeng in protest over the visa demand.

Amalgamation on the way — Matanzima

UMTATA — Transkei and Ciskei would amalgamate soon, whether Ciskei President Lennox Sebe liked it or not, Transkei Prime Minister Chief George Matanzima said at the weekend.

He told a Transkei National Independence Party rally at Ngqeleni district that the Ciskei government had said amalgamation was out of the question.

Mantanzima said there would be no more requests and amalgamation would continue. Ciskei's people supported moves to form one Xhosa republic.

Ciskei had also indicated it would never be able to accommodate members of the 12 tribes from Transkei. Many Transkei families living in Ciskei had been repatriated in the past three weeks.

Matanzima said those repatriated from Ciskei had to make statements to their nearest police station, which then would be used as the basis of claims for compensation against Ciskei. And he said Ciskei had no right to kick Transkeians out of SA government-built Mdantsane. — Sapa.

CAPE TIMES 17/2/87 11B

Minister organizes defiant shopping

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — About 500 shoppers arrived in five buses at the OK Bazaars in Ladysmith last Saturday in a show of public support against a call for the boycott of OK shops, where workers are on strike over a wage dispute.

The demonstration was organized by KwaZulu's Minister of Welfare and Pensions, Mr Steven Sithebe, who is also chairman of the local branch of Inkatha and member for Emnambithi of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Sithebe said he was strongly opposed to the call by striking OK workers not to buy at the OK.

"The boycott is not the will of the people. The strike is a domestic matter between OK management and staff and the strikers must not get the public to boycott," he said.

The defiant shoppers arrived in five buses, which were parked opposite the supermarket where they did their shopping.

There was a strong police presence. No incidents were reported.

Feb. 1987

Bop roadblock in SA

By SOL MORATHI

DAILY COMMUTERS between Pretoria and GaRankuwa were this week stunned by a massive roadblock set up by Bophuthatswana Security Forces four kilometres outside their boundaries.

The forces, comprising heavily armed policemen and soldiers, manned the roadblock between Dorothea – three kilometres from Medunsa and four kilometres from GaRankuwa hospital – and Hornsnek.

The area where the roadblock was set up falls under South Africa. All vehicles driving into and out of GaRankuwa were stopped and searched thoroughly.

Security forces also checked road transportation certificates and drivers licences and demanded identification cards and documents from everybody.

The roadblock surprised many people who say they know where the Bop and South Africa territories adjoin.

Bop police pro, Colonel David George, said yesterday he was not aware that the security forces had set up roadblocks outside their jurisdiction. He said maybe they did not realise where their boundary ended.

Col George promised to put the matter up for discussion with the Odi Divisonal Commissioner.

Pres

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Ciskei tells Transkei citizens to leave

Star 18/2/88

EAST LONDON — Ciskei yesterday issued an ultimatum to all Transkeians to leave the country by August 31.

The Transkeians were told to go voluntarily because those who had not left the country by the deadline would be arrested and repatriated.

The ultimatum was contained in a statement issued by the Ciskei Directorate of Information. It said the country was on "full alert awaiting the planned invasion of Ciskei by fugitives from justice, backed by the Transkei battalion".

The names of the "fugitives" were not mentioned.

The statement was issued in response to a claim by Transkei's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Caleb Songca, that amalgamation of the two Xhosa states was the current thinking in Southern Africa and to remarks by Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, that Ciskei and Transkei would amalgamate whether President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei "liked it or not".

PREPARED TO FIGHT

Ciskeians, the statement added, would "fight to the last man" rather than amalgamate with Transkei.

The statement said Mr Songca's claims were "off the mark" and that "ludicrous and totally unfounded" statements by Transkeian Cabinet Ministers were further indications that Chief Matanzima's Government was "incapable of political reasoning".

The lack of experience and knowledge of foreign policy on the part of Mr Songca had rendered him a dismal failure in three of his latest Press statements it said.

Criticising the calls for amalgamation, the Ciskei statement said "One wonders whether this ceremonial head (Mr Songca) knows and can make any difference between amalgamation, which is based on the tribalistic mentality of politicians, and a confederation, which is a brainchild and hallmark of statemanship." — Sapa.

Indaba put under the microscope in university debate

(116) 19/2/87 NM

Mercury Reporter

THE recommendations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba represented no more than an attempt to 'hijack' the democratic struggle in South Africa, a spokesman for the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Farouk Meer, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at a debate at the University of Durban-Westville as part of the Orientation Week organised by the Students' Representative Council, Dr Meer said that Indaba representatives had given the impression that they were seizing the initiative.

However, the Congress of Democrats had formulated the Freedom Charter as far back as 1955, and this was the blueprint for a democratic South Africa.

Dr Meer said the Indaba was the initiative of Inkatha, an 'elite' Zulu organisation, and the New Republic Party. Neither body had any power base elsewhere in the country.

Professor W A Ramsden, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Durban-Westville and the man who drafted the Bill of Rights of the Indaba, said the idea of drafting the constitution was to obtain legitimacy, both on the internal and external front.

He said he believed the people of South Africa were poised on the point of liberation and the Indaba was trying to assist that process in a peaceful way.

Mr Gerry Mare, of the Development Studies Institute at the University of Natal in Durban, said the Indaba had to be taken seriously because it was going to affect politics in the KwaZulu/Natal region at central level.

He said the Indaba was often presented as the last chance of peaceful change.

Dangerous

'For the majority of the people in South Africa, there are many steps around the corner,' Mr Mare said. 'It is a step, but within a small and dangerous area'.

The proposals were dominated by capitalist and conservative political interests, he said.

The chairman of the Indaba Support Group, Mr Dirk Kemp, said the Indaba had never set itself up as an alternative to first-tier representation by all the people of South Africa.

He said he did not understand Dr Meer when he claimed the Indaba was trying to 'hijack' the democratic forces in South Africa.

The Indaba was competing in the market-place of ideas and it was up to the people of Natal and KwaZulu to decide whether they wanted it by way of a referendum.

No vote was taken but the 1 000 students in the audience were vociferous in their support of the anti-Indaba speakers.

Courts cannot stop the fighting — official

MGN 5 17/2/87

(114) (307) (286)

Supreme Court Reporter

COURT interdicts would be ineffective in stopping faction violence in Khayelitsha, according to an affidavit filed in the Supreme Court by black affairs official Mr Graham Lawrence.

Mr Lawrence said faction fighting was unfortunately common in South Africa.

In affidavits before the court yesterday members of the "conservative" Lingelethu Committee, which was recognised by Government authorities as representing the residents of sites B and C in Khayelitsha, admitted demolishing a community hall and the homes of three members of the rival "radical" Joint Action Committee (JAC).

A temporary order restraining Mr Mali Hoza, president of the Lingelethu Committee, and nine others from attacking anyone or damaging any property in sites B and C was granted in December 1986 following an application by Mr Mtati Ruben Fulani, chairman of the JAC, and six supporters.

"Intimidated"

Yesterday Mr Justice King postponed the matter for trial on March 19.

Mr Hoza said in an affidavit that members of the JAC intimidated residents of Site C and B to force them to support the JAC.

The intimidation and violence became so bad that in mid-November 1986 the Lingelethu Committee "delivered an ultimatum to the JAC that if they didn't stop their disruptive activities their houses would be broken down and they would be driven out of the area", Mr Hoza said.

This warning was ignored and on December 2 the houses of Mr Fulani, Mr Thomas Ngwane and Mr Bonsile Benson Jonga and a community hall were demolished by supporters of the Lingelethu Committee.

"I believe the action was justified and I expect supporters of my committee will take similar steps to protect themselves in future if the applicants (Mr Fulani and seven others) persist in their unlawful conduct," he said.

In an affidavit Mr Lawrence, director of housing of the Western Cape Office for Community Services, Cape Provincial Administration (formerly the Western Cape Development Board), denied allegations by Mr Fulani that he favoured Mr Hoza's committee.

"On the contrary, I was in the process of mediating between the two committees when the application was launched.

"Phenomenon"

"To have shown favour to one faction or the other would have been counter-productive to the mediation process and I am as anxious as anybody else that there should an end to faction fighting in Khayelitsha and elsewhere," Mr Lawrence said.

Mr Hoza's committee was considered to be conservative and Mr Fulani's radical, and intimidation by both groups had been reported to Mr Lawrence.

If members of Mr Hoza's group were interdicted from attacking people and property in the area, others would step into their shoes and the factional rivalry would continue. The same was true of Mr Fulani's group, Mr Lawrence said.

Interdicts would not remove rivalry or violence of factions.

"Unfortunately, faction fighting is a common phenomenon in this country."

SA warning over Bisho attack

20/2/87 B/Day

Own Correspondents

SA has again stepped into the conflict between Transkei and Ciskei to warn Umtata that Pretoria will not allow its territory to be used for violent attacks on Bisho.

A Transkei soldier was killed in an armed raid on Lennox Sebe's palace in Bisho before dawn yesterday.

Late last year SA troops patrolled the 50km corridor between the two countries after the escape from prison of President Sebe's brother, General Charles Sebe. He has since been given asylum in Transkei.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night both governments had been informed SA could not take sides in their dispute and that their differences jeopardised SA interests.

SA has asked Ciskei to allow Transkeians who had fled across the border to return. "At the same time, the Transkei government has been informed the South African government will not tolerate the use of its territory for launching violent acts against Ciskei."

Ciskei police seized arms left behind by the raiding party and a Transkei-registered military truck. Sebe's security forces yesterday hunted for members of the raiding party who escaped.

Ciskei's deputy director-general for communications and information, Headman Somtunzi, said one of the aims of the 25-strong raiding party was to hold President Sebe hostage so that Ciskeians would panic and agree to the union of Ciskei and Transkei.

A French professional soldier, Jean-Michael Desbele, has been named as playing a role in the attack. IAN HOBBS reports from London that Desbele is a battle-hardened fighter. Aged about 47, he served in the Rhodesian Army and Selous Scouts for about six years up to independence in 1980.

Desbele's family in Paris say they have heard he had moved to SA and believe he is associated with Transkei's armed forces. An old friend, Ron Reid Daley, former Selous Scouts commander, is in charge of Transkei armed forces training.

Sebe attack restarts five-month feud

HAMISH MCNIDOE

YESTERDAY'S attempt to kill or abduct Ciskei President Lennox Sebe, which the Bisho government immediately blamed on the Transkei, has reignited tensions between the two impoverished Xhosa states.

The feuding began with last September's snatch from a Ciskeian jail of President Sebe's half-brother and former security chief Charles Sebe. In the same action, the president's son, Major-General Kwane Sebe, and another officer were abducted from outside a Bisho hotel.

Pretoria failed to cool tempers by acting as mediator in talks between the two governments after the Ciskei threatened reprisals.

Ironically, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha urged President Sebe three years ago to show leniency towards his brother but the call was rejected on grounds that Pretoria was meddling in Ciskei's affairs.

Former Ciskei Transport Minister Namba Sebe, who fled to the Transkei in 1984, claimed sole responsibility for freeing his brother, Charles, and said neither the Umtata government nor Pretoria were involved.

Beneath the often farcical events which have characterised the power struggle in the Sebe family since last September, smoulders Transkei's 20-year-old mission to unite the two states into one Xhosa homeland.

But President Sebe has made it clear the Ciskei would rather suffer a Stalingrad-style siege.

Matters eased last December when the two governments agreed to an exchange of prisoners and the establishment of a "forum for consultation".

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen: Newsbills by Michael Allwright. Headlines and sub-editing by Gordon Amos. All of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and *(b)* I do not consider it in the interest of public safety to reveal information of this nature.

Management centres

114. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many joint management centres had been established as at 31 December 1986, *(b)* where are these centres located and *(c)* who (i) is the chairman and (ii) are the members of each of these centres?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) Eleven.

(b) Bloemfontein, Brig R Otto (SADF)
Durban, Brig J H Pretorius (SADF)
Johannesburg, Maj gen M van Eyk (SAP)
Cape Town, Brig R N van der Westhuizen (SAP)
Kimberley, Brig D C Benade (SADF)
Nelspruit, Maj gen J J Bisschoff (SADF)
Pietersburg, Maj gen G L Meiring (SADF)
Port Elizabeth, Brig W G Kritzinger (SADF)
Potchefstroom, Brig J G du P Coetzee (SADF)
Pretoria, Brig J P M Möller (SADF)
Walvisbaai, Acting Cdr I J Manning (SADF)

(c) (i) As in *(b)* above.

(ii) The members of each centre are regional representatives of State Departments present in the region or represented there and which have an interest in the activities of the management centres.

Internal Security Act

129. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many persons were being detained under section 28 (1) of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(2) whether any such persons had been detained for longer than three months; if so, *(a)* how many and *(b)* for what period in each case?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) None.

(2) *(a)* and *(b)* Fall away.

Internal Security Act

157. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many visits to detainees held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, were made by *(a)* inspectors and *(b)* magistrates in 1986?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 2 738.

(b) 3 143.

20/2/87 Hansard

Detainees

159. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether he received any written representations in 1986 from detainees held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, relating to their detention or release; if so, *(a)* how many and *(b)* in how many cases did the representations result in the release of the detainees concerned?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

(a) 64 persons.

(b) None.

Bophuthatswana/Ciskei/Transkei/Venda

162. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether any South African officials had been seconded to the Government Service of *(a)* Bophuthatswana, *(b)* Ciskei, *(c)* Transkei and *(d)* Venda as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Yes. The number of seconded officials as at 1 February 1987 was as follows:

(a)	Bophuthatswana	331
(b)	Ciskei	525
(c)	Transkei	103
(d)	Venda	232

Hansard 20/2/87

Infant mortality rate

197. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

What was the infant mortality rate for *(a)* Blacks, *(b)* Coloureds, *(c)* Indians and *(d)* Whites in the Republic in 1985?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

*(a)** 80,0

(b) 40,7

(c) 16,1

(d) 9,3.

Hansard 20/2/87

Rates are expressed as per 1 000 of the population.

The lower rates, compared with the rates of previous years, are attributed to an advanced closing date as declared in paragraph 2.3.1.1 in the 1985 annual report of Central Statistical Service.

*Estimated because of incomplete registration of deaths.

Commuter services

230. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What was the total loss incurred by the South African Transport Services on commuter services in the *(a)* Vaal Triangle, *(b)* Cape Town/Peninsula, *(c)* Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage and *(d)* Durban/Pinetown areas in the 1986-87 financial year?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

The total estimated loss in respect of each of the areas is as follows:

R – million

(a) 314

(b) 157

(c) 11

(d) 153.

Hansard 20/2/87

Government-subsidised passengers

232. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What percentage of *(a)* first-class and *(b)* second-class long-distance rail passengers travelled at Government-subsidised fares in 1986?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

For the financial year 1985-86:

(a) 3,9 per cent

Hansard 20/2/87 PTO

S A warns Transkei after Bisho attack

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—South Africa has warned Transkei that it will not allow its territory to be used for assaults against Ciskei, following yesterday's raid on President Lennox Sebe's palace in Bisho.

A Transkeian soldier is reported to have been killed during the armed raid on the palace just before dawn in the latest of a series of events which have heightened tension between the two homeland governments in recent months.

Ciskei launched follow-up operations after the 2 a m attack on the home of President Sebe by a 23-man force which later fled, leaving behind two Transkeian-registered military vehicles, writes the Mercury's Bisho correspondent.

Two men, said to have been positively identified as Transkeian soldiers, were shot and a Ciskei security officer, Maj N Sandile, who was said to have been with the raiders, was captured.

Sapa reported late last night that four more armed men believed to be involved in the attack had been captured near Bisho.

Identified

The deputy director-general of Ciskei's Department of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi, said the raid was an attempted coup by Transkei's Port St Johns-based special task force under the command of Capt Raymond Jombolo.

The dead soldier's identification showed he was Rfn Mbuyiselo Templeton Nondela.

The wounded soldier fighting for his life in the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital, Mdantsane, was identified as Rfn A Ndulu.

Yesterday morning President Sebe and his Cabinet visited the scene, about 500 m from his home, where the dead man lay near a cache of arms, camouflage uniforms, food rations and a confiscated troop carrier, field car and saloon car.

A statement from the Ciskei Government said a group of gunmen had approached the president's residence near the National Assembly.

'These people were travelling in army vehicles with fake Ciskei Defence Force registration numbers.'

'There was an exchange of fire and the attackers were forced to retreat and eventually fled from the scene, leaving one armoured vehicle and a Mazda car bearing Transvaal registration numbers.

'Ciskei security forces were mobilised and during follow-up operations two Transkei Defence Force riflemen were found, one dead and the other critically injured.

'The identities of these men were obtained through documentation found in their possession.

'A lot of ammunition, explosives, camouflage uniforms, ration packs, one light machinegun and two R-5 rifles were discovered in all.

Airlifted

'Four vehicles have been confiscated.'

Mr Somtunzi said South Africa would have to answer for the fact that Transkeian vehicles had passed the Kei Bridge border post.

At a later Press conference, Mr Somtunzi linked a French-born professional soldier, Jean-Michael Desble, with the raid.

He said a car abandoned at the scene was allegedly hired by a person who identified himself as a French journalist when he

■ TURN TO PAGE 2

The dead raider, identified by the Ciskei as Rfn Mbuyiselo Templeton Nondela, lying at the side of the road near the home of President Sebe.

21/2/85 (11B) N/M

SAP denies arrests after Bisho raid

BISHO—A South African Police spokesman denied reports yesterday that raiders of Ciskei President Lennox Sebe's residence here had been arrested by South African forces.

The police liaison officer for the Border, Lt Dot Vyver, said there was no knowledge of any arrest in connection with the attack.

Reports said four men had been captured on Thursday.

Lt Vyver said South African security forces were involved in tracking down the attackers as it was common to assist a neighbouring state when asked to do so.

The spokesman for the Ciskei Police Directorate, Col Avery Ngaki, declined to comment on the issue but said follow-up operations were under way. — (Sapa)

SELOUS SCOUT LED ATTACK, CLAIMS CISKEI

Mercury Correspondent

BISHO—Ciskei authorities yesterday claimed 'concrete and sufficient evidence' to implicate a former Selous Scout, Maj Peter John van der Riet, as the mastermind behind this week's abortive attempt to assassinate President Lennox Sebe and stage a coup in the Ciskei.

The claims came from the deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs and Information in Ciskei, Mr Headman Somthunzi, during a Press conference.

Rank

In support of the claims, Mr Somthunzi showed a briefcase to reporters which he said was found at the scene of attack.

Documents allegedly contained in the briefcase were also produced, which indicated that Maj van der Riet rose to the rank of staff sergeant in the South African Defence Force — No 002156PP — then became a member of the Selous Scouts in what was then Rhodesia, and was finally appointed to the Transkei Defence Force as a major.

In the briefcase, said Mr Somtunizi, was R1 400 in cash and maps of King William's Town, Queenstown and Bisho.

Meanwhile an international car hire firm has contacted the Ciskei Government in connection with a hired vehicle allegedly used in the attack.

A Frenchman, Mr Michael Desble, posing as a journalist, who has been identified as a battle-hardened ex-Selous Scout, hired the vehicle almost three weeks ago.

The manager of the car hire firm, Miss Sarah Kennedy, said yesterday that Mr Desble had telephoned on Thursday afternoon, several hours after the attack, reporting the car stolen.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria: 'The Defence Force is not aware of a Maj van der Riet with the identity number quoted in the statement.

Jurisdiction

'No person can be a member of the S A Defence Force and another military organisation at the same time. Even if this person was a member of the Defence Force at some stage, we would have no jurisdiction over him once he had left its service.' — (Sapa)

PFP calls for Natal Indaba referendum

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A referendum on the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba proposals was now more necessary than ever, the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart said yesterday.

Reacting to President P. W. Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament, Mr Swart said he had effectively endorsed the negative attitude of Natal's Nationalist leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

"It is clear the Nationalist government is only interested in negotiations of its choosing and only if they result in recommendations which comply with the guidelines of the National Party," Mr Swart said.

"Mr Botha wants to perpetuate group divisions on race lines and his commitment to power sharing goes no further than this.

"It now becomes more imperative than ever that the Indaba proposal be tested by way of a referendum involving all the people of Natal and KwaZulu.

"In the meantime, it is equally important that candidates in support of the Indaba process and ideals are supported by the white electorate in Natal in the election."

The leader of the NRP, Mr Bill Sutton, believed that leaders such as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not accept a "group" concept Mr Botha was insisting on.

"The Indaba was a base for groups to come together to show that group protection can take several forms not only by separating the groups," he said.

There was general agreement yesterday that Mr Botha had dashed hopes that the Indaba would go much further.

Mr Botha said the government's point of view was that there should be consultation and negotiation on matters of common concern between all communities at all levels of government. There was no objection to the establishment by the governments of self governing states and neighbouring provincial authorities in Natal or elsewhere of joint executive authorities to deal with matters of common concern. Enabling legislation had already been passed.

Feb 1987 (11B)

'Why did SA not stop raid?'

By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — Ciskei wants to know how Transkei forces passed through South Africa territory this week to attack Chief Lennox Sebe's presidential palace in Bisho.

Ciskeians believe it possible that collaborators either helped the task force or ignored its presence.

Mr Headman Somtunzi, Ciskei's Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs, said today it was incomprehensible that the task force was not detected in South Africa.

"I am not pointing fingers and I am not saying there was collaboration between Transkei and South Africa, but there are certainly questions to be answered," he said.

"The Transkei task force received a coded message from Kei Bridge that all was clear.

"Does that not suggest some kind of collaboration with somebody?"

Mr Somtunzi said the task force's vehicles crossed the bridge with "XM" registation plates of the Transkeian military.

"People must have seen these foreign army trucks carrying a lot of men.

"Why were they not detected and questioned?

"The greater part of their journey was through South African territory and they kept their Transkei plates until after they had left East London".

Mr Somtunzi said that, after leaving East London at 10.30 on Wednesday night, the force fitted fake Ciskei military plates over the genuine ones.

He said Ciskei was expecting the attack because of information received through its intelligence services.

"We even codenamed the attack and had men waiting for them.

"As a result their best soldiers ran away, leaving all of their equipment behind."

Mr Somtunzi rounded on the Transkei Government for denying knowledge of the soldiers killed and wounded at Bisho.

"It is horrible that they can deny those who fought for them."

Ciskei has claimed that former Selous Scout Major John van der Riet had masterminded the plan.

Mr Somtunzi said the plan was to take over the Government and install Chief Lent Maqoma — whose chieftainship had been summarily terminated — as President.

Evidence to this effect was recovered from the scene of the gun battle where incriminating documents were recovered from a briefcase dropped by the attackers.

Mr H SOMTUNZI

● The Commissioner of Police for the Border, Brigadier D P Badenhorst, said today: "As far as I am aware, we have not been officially approached with facts we can follow up.

"Until we have facts about how the force got to Bisho, we must regard the reports as speculation.

"There is no strict control at Kei Bridge, where only a simple record is kept of passing vehicles as well as the number of passengers they carry.

"The vehicles might have come through empty while the men came on another route.

"There are many uncontrolled roads between here and Transkei and between here and Ciskei."

E Cape Chinatown could attract 50 new factories

QUEENSTOWN — Plans for a luxury R10-million "Chinatown" here could lead to 50 Taiwanese factories being established in the town in the next two years.

About 20 factories are already listed as "probables" for the near future.

Outline plans for the Chinatown were announced by two former Mayors, Dr Theuns Schlebusch and Mr Tony Shadiack, the senior Town Councillor in charge of the municipal finance portfolio, Mr Ernest Littleford, and the Town Clerk, Mr Peter Gerber.

Initial plans provide for traditional type houses, an artificial lake, a school, a recreational resort, a golf course, a theatre, traditional style gardens, shops, a Chinese beerhall and even pagodas.

The president of the Queenstown Chamber of Commerce, Mr Peter McEwan, said today the proposed new "Chinatown" would be open to everybody, subject to the provisions of the Group Areas Act, although Taiwanese businessmen and their families were expected to move in first.

Mr McEwan is also the managing director of a firm of consultants commissioned by the Queenstown Municipality to promote industrial development in the city.

At the end of last year Mr McEwan went on a promotional tour of Taiwan and the visit was reciprocated by a team of Taiwanese industrialists this month.

The plan to build the suburb emerged after talks with various interested parties.

Mr McEwan said the industrialists had promised to build four or five show houses in the proposed "Chinatown" in June.

The suburb would initially have 200 Chinese-styled houses, built by local labour.

The first residents would be industrialists and their families from Taiwan.

Co-operation with Taiwan, he said, was a great opportunity for attracting industry to Queenstown.

The benefits in Queenstown included an abundance of labour, first class schools for the education-orientated Taiwanese people and export incentives, he said.

About 50 people of Chinese descent already live in Queenstown.

All the new buildings will be designed by a leading Taipei architect, Mr Ying-Kuei Hsu.

● Turn to Page 3

Transkeians to leave by end of August

THE Ciskei this week issued an ultimatum to all Transkeians to get out of the country by August 31.

Transkeians were told to leave as "no stone will be left unturned," and those who had not left the homeland by the deadline would be "arrested" and repatriated, Sapa reports.

The ultimatum was issued by the Ciskei Directorate of Information. It said the homeland was on "full alert awaiting the invasion of Ciskei by fugitives from justice, backed by the Transkei Battalion."

Meanwhile, STAN MZIMBA reports that the Transkei government has set up a special committee to deal with the problems faced by Transkeians repatriated from Ciskei.

To date, about 60 Transkeians have been detained and deported from the Ciskei – mostly teachers and general labourers. Those reaching Umtata have pathetic stories such as not being given enough time by police to collect their belongings, or even to fetch more money to enable them to reach the Transkei.

Transkei Foreign Minister Caleb Songca told *City Press* that those who left their movable and immovable properties in the Ciskei should solicit help of lawyers in order to get their belongings.

Songca said a committee known as the Ciskei Crisis Committee, made up of representatives from Government Departments, and would meet soon.

Unitra Authorities have also extended their hands to Transkei students at Fort Hare to come and seek enrolment. But Ciskei Deputy Director of Information Headman Somtunzi told *City Press* Unitra authorities were mere "alarmists". He said Transkei students at Fort Hare can remain without fear and worry.

Telephone: Johannesburg (011) 493-3552 Durban (031) 301-4636 THE PEOPLE'S PAPER Price: 45c (Plus 5c GST) plus tax February 22, 1987

SEBE HOME HIT

CPress 22/2/87 (116)

Amakhosi danger men . . . Ace Ntsoelengoe and Marks Maponyane

It must be Chiefs

By BOIKI MOTHEI

KAIZER CHIEFS have all but won their seventh BP Top Eight trophy – and they're looking forward to giving Rangers another thrashing in the second leg of the final at Ellis Park tomorrow.

"We'll give them another soccer lesson," said Amakhosi coach Theo Dumitru, whose team takes a seemingly unassailable 3-0 lead into the game.

Rangers can only hope they are able to put last Sunday's nightmare behind them – and try to salvage some of their lost pride.

Ace Ntsoelengoe and Marks Maponyane – the two men who destroyed Rangers in the first leg – are looking forward to another goal feast.

It was Maponyane who banged in the sensational hat-trick against Rangers in Durban last Sunday.

And this week there is the added threat to Rangers of Trevor Mthimkhulu, who was at a funeral last weekend.

● See Back Page

CP Correspondent

ARMED raiders operating from the Transkei attacked Ciskei President Lennox Sebe's private palace in the homeland's capital, Bisho, yesterday.

One man was killed and another seriously injured. A third man was captured when Ciskei forces repulsed the attack at about 3.30am yesterday.

The captured man – identified as the raiders' leader – was named as Major N Sandile, a senior officer in the Ciskei defence force who was recently detained by Transkei authorities.

Ciskei police at the scene said a further 11 had escaped and a massive manhunt was underway yesterday.

The attack follows only a day after the Ciskei had announced that it had information that an invasion plan had been formulated in the Transkei

Relations between the Ciskei, the Transkei and South Africa seem set to plummet further with indications that Transkei soldiers were involved in the attack.

SA has also been accused of not making any attempt to stop the raid.

Transkei Foreign affairs Minister Caleb Songca said his government knew nothing about the attack and no statement could be made until full information was received

Transkei Army Commissioner General Zondwa Mtirara said he was "surprised" at reports that a truck with Transkei military markings was used in the attack, because no truck from any Transkei military base would cross borders without his knowledge.

He said no military men were missing from Transkei army bases.

A military truck and a landcruiser – both with Transkei military registration – and a private hired car were shown to reporters at the scene as having been involved in the attack. Ciskei goverment spokesman Headman Somtunzi said the truck had been recovered 500m from the President's palace

A man dressed in military browns (believed to be from the Transkei army), who had been shot dead was left lying in the road for several hours until reporters had seen him. He was finally taken away after President Sebe and his Cabinet had inspected the scene.

A large amount of military hardware – including grenades, assault rifles, uniforms and food – was laid out for inspection.

Among the documents captured was an emergency pass issued to a man at the Kei Bridge border post on Wednesday night His occupation was listed on the pass as a Transkei Batallion member – leading Ciskei police to believe that SA border authorities had waved the raiders through despite knowing they were Transkei soldiers

Ciskei sources said the group had driven from Kei Bridge to Bisho via East London.

Major Sandile had approached the guards at the president's palace, pretending he was back in the

Major Sandile had approached the guards at the president's palace, pretending he was back in the Ciskei – but the guards opened fire when the other raiders emerged.

The attackers – believed to number about 25 – were driven off after a fierce gunbattle. The attack failed to penetrate the new, fortified Bisho palace.

Amid yesterday's tension the Ciskei again charged the Transkei was planning to invade it.

● The Ciskei-Transkei tension burst into the open last week when about 2 000 refugees fled across Sebe's homeland to escape constant raids by police. The refugees came from the Potsdam area near Mdantsane township, not far from East London.

The attack on Sebe comes in the wake of deteriorating relations between the two Xhosa homelands. This week the Ciskei issued an ultimatum to all Transkeians within its borders to leave by August 31.

The Transkei's Chief George Matanzima in turn this week called on Ciskeians to "defy" President Sebe's rule and opt for almagation between the two homelands to create Greater Xhosaland.

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shortly before the hearing of an urgent court application by her lawyers.

Lawyer Amichand Soman got a call on Monday informing him that his client had been released at the weekend.

A spokesman for the SAP Directorate in Pretoria confirmed Soman had told police headquarters about the imminent court application.

But he would not comment on whether her release was prompted by this

Soman said police SAP headquarters in Pretoria said she was arrested and detained after intensive police investigation.

He said police and added that SAP replied to a telex inquiry that "Mrs Cele's detention arises from police investigations into activities of the banned ANC and her involvement in the transportation of terrorist weaponry in the Republic of South Africa for use by members of military wing of the ANC, Umkhomto we Sizwe."

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Ciskei travel hassles

Uhlep 24/2/87

TRANSKEIANS wishing to travel through Ciskei have been told to obtain travel permits from Bisho, the Ciskei capital.

This move has been pointed out by Port Elizabeth residents who have links with the Transkei to be illogical.

Headman Somtunzi, Deputy-Director General of the Ciskei Department of Foreign Affairs and the head of the Information Directorate said this might cause "problems" for the group, but this was not intended. – East Cape News Agency

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strains found in South Africa in previous years.

This strain has been included in vaccine available locally which is based on a new formula recommended by the World Health Organisation.

Professor Barry Schoub, director of South Africa's National Institute of Virology, said March was the best time to be vaccinated.

Sapa

Bop visas: hints of collusion

Star 3/2/87 (11B)

Political Staff

Pretoria appears to be acting in collusion with Bophuthatswana, which insists that Zimbabwean railwaymen carry Bop visas on their way to South Africa, says the research director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, Mr Andre du Pisani.

The strategy may be a Pretoria ploy to point out to Frontline States the cost of anti-South African sanctions.

At the same time, it could also be aimed at pressuring Frontline states into de facto recognition of "independent homelands" such as Bophuthatswana, he believes.

Mr du Pisani is researching the threatened disruption of rail traffic from Zimbabwe, moving through Botswana and Bophuthatswana, to South Africa.

Pretoria has denied any involvement and insists the initiative was taken entirely by Bophuthatswana in order to receive de facto recognition of its independence by Frontline states.

But Mr du Pisani believes the South African Government has common interest with Bophuthatswana in the visa issue.

Firstly, both South Africa and Bophuthatswana are anxious to make the point that South Africa is central to the economy of the whole Southern African region, he said.

Secondly, both South Africa and Bophuthatswana want to receive de facto international recognition for the independent homelands, which the rest of the world refuses to acknowledge.

The homelands were created by Pretoria as a vital part of its separate development policy.

He pointed out that Botswana may build a detour line to South Africa, bypassing Bophuthatswana, rather than give in on the visa issue.

South Africa has accepted this, and on the face of it this appears to indicate no Pretoria involvement in the visa row.

However, Mr du Pisani believes the cost of building a new rail link will help to drive home to the Frontline states the message of South Africa — namely, the high cost of anti-South African sanctions.

CPA Community Services, Khayelitsha.

Tsitsikamma toll road

278. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What was the total amount *(a)* collected by the concessionaires, and *(b)* paid to the State by them after retaining the amount due to them for their expenses and/or commission, in respect of the Tsitsikamma toll road in 1986?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(a) R1 117 434,29.

(b) R489 339,28.

Black Transport Services Act

279. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What was the total amount collected in terms of the provisions of the Black Transport Services Act, No 53 of 1957, in contributions from employers in the 1985-86 financial year?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

R55 757 634,43.

Lorries impounded

283. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any lorries were impounded in 1986 by the South African Railways Police and the South African Police; if so, how many in each month?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes. In Terms of the Road Transport Act, 1977.

January	10
February	10
March	10
April	10
May	6
June	5
July	6
August	10
September	9
October	3
November	8
December	10

Lorries impounded

284. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether any lorries were impounded in 1986 by officials of the Department of Transport; if so, *(a)* how many in each month and *(b)* for what reason in each case?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) Month	*(b)* Number	Reason
January	0	Not applicable.
February	0	Not applicable.
March	0	Not applicable.
April	2	No road carrier permit on the one vehicle and no invoices in respect of goods on the other vehicle.
May	3	Ownership of vehicles could not be determined.
June	0	Not applicable.
July	2	To determine destination of goods.
August	0	Not applicable.
September	1	Owner could not be identified due to false numberplates on vehicle.
October	0	Not applicable.
November	0	Not applicable.
December	0	Not applicable.

Ciskei/South Africa: joint operations

287. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the police forces of South Africa and Ciskei undertook any joint operations in 1986; if so, *(a)* on what dates, *(b)* where and *(c)* what (i) was the purpose and (ii) were the results of each joint operation;

(2) whether any persons were arrested or detained on these occasions; if so, *(a)* how many, *(b)* by whom, *(c)*, where, *(d)*, when, and *(e)* in terms of what statutory provisions, in each case?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2) I am not prepared to make known information of this nature because co-operation between the South African Police and the police force of this independent State takes place on a continuous basis on different levels of command, which information are not centralised. I do not consider it in the interest of security to comment upon the actions of a police force of another State.

Police Reserve Force

288. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many persons joined the Police Reserve Force at police stations in each province of the Republic in 1986;

(2) how many reservists retired from service in that year?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1)

Cape Province	1 034 persons
Transvaal	1 930 persons
Orange Free State	382 persons
Natal	748 persons
Total	4 094 persons

(2) 2 969 reservists.

Note: Retirements from duty are mainly attributed to the prescribed age limit being reached and the fact that other members became inactive.

Police vehicles in accidents

289. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any police vehicles were involved in accidents in 1986; if so, *(a)* how many and *(b)* what was the total cost to the State of such accidents?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 5 417 vehicles.

(b) R3 035 270,42 of which an amount of R558 092,90 was claimed from third parties and members of the South African Police. The total expenditure thusfar amounts to R2 477 177,52.

Note: Because all calculations in respect of damages to vehicles and the determining of responsibility for damages in each case, coupled with civil actions which might follow, are not yet completed, the actual and ultimate damages for the State will be a lower amount which can not be determined at this stage.

Policemen

290. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) *(a)* How many policemen of each rank resigned from the Police Force from 1 January to 31 December 1986 and *(b)* how many new recruits were there during this period;

(2) what was the shortage of policemen of each rank in each province as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

Parents' bid to visit son in Ciskei jail fails

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei Attorney-General, Mr W. F. Jurgens, yesterday turned down an application by a French couple, Mr and Mrs André Albertini, to visit their son who is being held in protective custody in Ciskei.

Mr Pierre Albertini, 27, is being held under Section 28 of the National Security Act.

In a statement from the Directorate of Communications on behalf of Mr Jurgens, the Attorney-General said Mr Albertini would give evidence for the state in the trial of Mr Makhenkesi Stofile and four others on March 16 in the Supreme Court in Bisho.

The accused face charges relating to security legislation and possession of arms.

Mr Jurgens said Mr and Mrs Albertini had visited their son during December last year and January this year while he was still an awaiting trial prisoner.

Charges against Mr Albertini of smuggling arms for the African National Congress had subsequently been withdrawn. He had been visited regularly by the French consul-general based in Cape Town.

Mr Jurgens said he had been approached by the couple through the office of the consul-general to obtain permission to visit their son about two weeks ago.

He turned down the request after considering many factors.

Mr Jurgens said he later learned that the Albertini couple were planning to come to Ciskei to renew their requests. He made it clear that while he was prepared to entertain further requests and was prepared to see the Albertinis personally, he cautioned that it seemed fruitless for them to travel from France to Ciskei to make an application which could merely be done by letter or telephone, bearing in mind the outcome of the application was doubtful.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the Albertinis claimed yesterday that they were being used as pawns in a political game in an attempt by the South African Government to force France to recognise Ciskei.

The couple said they had visited their son in Mdantsane Prison in December last year and had had no trouble in obtaining visas.

"We simply cannot understand why there is all this fuss now. It is a political game and we are caught in the middle," Mrs Albertini said.

Pierre, who was lecturing in French at Fort Hare when he was detained, was seconded to Fort Hare under a cultural agreement between the South African and French governments, she said.

Yesterday, South African officials said the couple would be forced to return to France on the next UTA flight if France refused to regularise the visit with the Ciskei Government.

The next flight to France leaves on Friday, but the couple said they had not been informed whether they were to return.

Mrs Albertini, a communist councillor for a suburb in Paris, said she was in the country as a mother. "My political beliefs have nothing to do with this."

Her son was not a member of the ANC or the Communist Party.

The couple said they feared for their son's well-being. "I know my son is physically and morally strong, but four months' isolation can be seriously harmful," Mr Albertini said.

Mrs Albertini, who has been in contact with her family in France, said the affair had generated international interest.

"The political repercussions could be enormous. The French have not yet imposed sanctions against this country, but an incident of this sort could turn public opinion," she said.

Some of the 1 000s of Ciskeian refugees, now living along the roadside in South Africa.

Kei's 'roadside people' wait for a miracle

113

15/2/87

C/Press

Report from CP Correspondent

REFUGEES are continuing to flee from Ciskei despite SA and Ciskei government attempts to persuade them to return home.

About 400 Potsdam people were the first to leave Ciskei about 10 days ago in a face of alleged continuing harassment by Ciskei police.

But by Monday, there were over 1 000 – and numbers are still growing.

Members of the group said they were only allowing Potsdam residents to join them, as they fear people from outside the community may cause trouble.

As people continue to arrive, more shelters of plastic sheets and blankets are being erected at the roadside emergency camp.

But there is growing concern at the camp's unhealthy conditions.

Members of the group said many were falling sick. On one morning alone, after a rainy night, a total of 28 people had been taken to hospital. Most were children suffering from gastroenteritis or respiratory infections.

Meanwhile eight refugees have charged that both SA and Ciskei authorities are intent on making things as uncomfortable as possible for them in the hope they will return to Postdam.

Last weekend 15 refugees were caught by Ciskei police getting water in Mdantsane. The police spilled out their water, the refugees claimed, and told them they should go to Potsdam if they wanted water. Refugees have also accused the homeland police of preventing them from fetching their belongings.

So far the official South African standpoint has not been seen to be publicly sympathetic. The future of the group is uncertain as it will need government agreement to remain in SA, which the authorities appear unwilling to give at present.

Refugees have charged that SA authorities have done nothing to help them, and private organisations had come to their aid.

A Crisis Committee has been formed from concerned organizations ranging from the UDF-affiliated Gompo Women's Congress to church groups, and the Black Sash.

The committee has appealed to the public to donate such things as blankets, sheets, and plastic.

The refugees are adamant they will not return to the Ciskei, despite pressure from both governments.

Their representatives said they regarded promises that nothing would be done to them if they returned as "a trick".

Indaba would make whites slaves, says CP

M.M. 26/2/87

Political Reporter

UNDER the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba whites would be economic slaves in the service of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, senior Conservative Party official, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said in Amanzimtoti last night.

Mr Derby-Lewis, who is standing for Parliament in Krugersdorp, was speaking to about 300 people at a meeting for the CP candidate in Amanzimtoti, Mr Chris Londt.

Mr Derby-Lewis said it would cost Natal taxpayers R470 million to finance the equalising of education in KwaZulu and Natal as provided for in the Indaba proposals.

He said the Rhodesian Indaba led to Rhodesia having a non-racial constitution, two parliamentary chambers and a bill of rights, as proposed by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

'How much more do you need to hear to convince you that the Government plans to do with South Africa exactly what happened in Rhodesia.'

Mr Derby-Lewis said it was the Left and not the Right who were on the lunatic fringes of politics.

He said Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was a traitor because film made by American television crews which showed South Africa in a bad light was relayed through the SABC of which Mr Botha had been in charge.

He said Mr Botha did not do anything to help 'South Africa's friends overseas' or defend South Africa by providing appropriate pamphlets at embassies abroad.

CISKEI-TRANSKEI (11B) FM 27/2/87

The feud goes on

SA has read the riot act to its errant offspring, Transkei and Ciskei, warning them that their fratricidal quarrel is jeopardising South African interests.

Transkei has been told sharply that Pretoria will not tolerate further forays on Ciskei by raiding parties which must perforce pass through South African territory.

Pretoria's stern rebuke came after last week's nocturnal attack on the sumptuous residence in Bisho of Ciskei President Lennox Sebe. The armed men were identified by Ciskei as members of the "Transkei Special Task Force." It was the second suspected assault on Ciskei sovereignty by Transkei commandos in less than six months. The first was the raid which freed former Ciskei generalissimo Charles Sebe from jail last September.

SA's reaction to last week's attack on Sebe's palace was different from its response to the flare-up last year of the simmering quarrel between its client states. It tried to act as a peacemaker after the unscheduled release of Charles Sebe and the almost simultaneous abduction to Transkei of President Sebe's son, Major General Kwane Sebe. Pretoria sent Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller and, later, former Chief Justice F S Rumpff to mediate in the squabble.

Rumpff was partly successful. Between Christmas and New Year two sets of prisoners were exchanged at the Kei River Bridge, on the border of Transkei, in an apparent rapprochement between the two sides. In the second exchange, Kwane Sebe and a fellow Ciskei officer abducted with him, Witness Ngwanya, were released from custody in Transkei in return for release from prison in Ciskei of three younger generation Sebes imprisoned in 1984 together with Charles Sebe, for their role in a suspected bid to topple Lennox Sebe.

But the prisoner exchange — which appeared to reward the raid to free Charles and kidnap Kwane by securing the release from jail of the trio of younger Sebes — brought only a temporary halt to the feud.

In mid-January Ciskei rejected Transkei plans for amalgamation of the two supposedly independent Xhosa states into a single Xhosa territory. Accusing Transkei of "arrogant bullying," Ciskei declared: "Amalgamation has been relegated to the dustbin of history."

Two further events formed a backdrop to last week's raid. First, the reported capture in Transkei of another Ciskei security force officer while on an alleged mission to assassinate two members of the Sebe clan living in exile in Transkei. Then the expulsion of Transkeians living in Ciskei, starting with the arrest and "repatriation" of two highly qualified Transkeians in the Ciskei Education Department in retaliation for "repeated provocation by Transkei."

The attack on Lennox Sebe's palace was carried out by more than 20 "Transkei commandos," according to Ciskei spokesman Headman Somtunzi. Former Selous Scouts serving in the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) are alleged to have master-minded

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the attack, which was repulsed by Ciskei security forces. The former Commander of the Selous Scouts, Ron Reid-Daly, was until recently commander of the Transkei Defence Force. He still serves as an adviser to the TDF. One attacker was killed and at least five captured, Somtunzi said.

Ciskei named two Selous Scouts allegedly involved in the attack as Major Piet Van der Riet and a Frenchman, Jean-Michel Deseble. It somewhat incongruously quoted an SADF identity number for Major Van der Riet, presumably implying that he had served in the SADF between leaving Rhodesia and joining the TDF. Deseble is said by Somtunzi to have posed as a journalist in a bid to get an interview with President Sebe shortly before the raid.

Neither man, however, was among the five captured members of the raiding party. The SADF was unaware of "a Major Van der Riet with the identity number quoted." A car hired by Deseble in East London was said to have been used in the raid. Deseble reportedly phoned the car hire company after the raid to report that it had been stolen. He has not been seen since. Tension remains high and peacemaker Rumpff clearly has a tough job on his hands.

However, he remains far from despondent. "The first phase was successfully completed," he tells the *FM*, "the next phase depends on whether the parties want to proceed. I am waiting on the sidelines." ■

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KWANATAL INDABA

Everyman's guide

One of the major criticisms of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba is that the electorate does not yet have a proper grasp of the implications of its constitutional proposals. If the Indaba is to become an election issue, it is important that they do.

According to the Indaba Steering Committee, whose task it is to see that Natalians are kept informed, there is good reason for this. The short notice given for the election, they explain, left insufficient time to embark on a proper information campaign, which is only now getting under way.

Moreover, much of the criticism from government has been directed at the somewhat emotional level of whether or not groups enjoy sufficient protection or whether there is effective power-sharing, rather than any serious discussion of the merits or demerits of the Indaba constitution.

Thus, to help broaden understanding of what the Indaba is about, the *FM* offers this synopsis.

The Indaba constitution provides for a governor and provincial executive consisting of a prime minister and 10 Cabinet members. The legislature comprises a first and second chamber, made up of 100 members and 50 members respectively, as well as standing committees for each executive portfolio.

Outside the legislature are cultural councils for participation in the protection of specific group rights and interests. Local and traditional authorities form the third and final tier of government.

The mechanics of the constitution are such that everyone over the age of 18, regardless of race, has two votes — one for the first chamber and one for the second.

Representatives in the first chamber (100 seats) will be elected proportionally. Since 90% of the Natal-KwaZulu population is black, it follows that blacks will be the dominant group in this chamber.

The prime minister, usually the leader of the chamber's majority party, will be elected by the first chamber. He will appoint half the Cabinet members, the balance being appointed by the minority parties in the first and second chambers — with the proviso that there should be at least one Cabinet minister from each of the five "background" groups in the second chamber.

The second chamber (50 seats) will be made up of 10 members each drawn from the five specific background groups: African, Asian, Afrikaans, English and a general South African group. Similarly, voting will be on the basis of a simple majority but members may vote within or across background group lines.

The second chamber will deal with all legislation, but an important distinction is that any legislation affecting the rights of any background group will have to be approved by a majority of the representatives of that group. In other words, each group has an effective veto over matters directly affecting it.

Strengthening this aspect are the cultural councils overseeing matters of cultural interest such as language, history, religion, traditions and custom. They have the right to view all draft legislation and make representations to the standing committees. Among them, too, will be an economic advisory council which will vet all money and economic bills passing through the legislature.

The ultimate protector of the rights of the individual, however, remains the Bill of Rights. Enforceable by law and part of the constitution, the Bill of Rights enshrines, among other things, the right of anyone to own property anywhere, to seek administrative justice, the right to public education as well as the protection of ethnic, linguistic or cultural rights.

In the legislative flow, legislation will be initiated by the Cabinet, introduced to the first chamber from where it will pass to the relevant standing committee, of which there is one for each ministerial portfolio.

Standing committees will consist of members drawn from both chambers and will include representatives of each political party. No party may have more than 60%, or 9 out of the 15 members of any standing committee.

Standing committees must hear evidence from cultural councils if they oppose particular legislation, and co-operation between parties is assured by the requirement that a majority of more than two-thirds is required for Bills to pass out of the standing committees.

Legislation approved by the standing committee goes back to the first chamber for approval by a simple majority. If it is approved it passes to the second chamber where, again, it must be approved by a simple majority — unless it affects the rights to any background group in which case it must also be approved by the majority of members in that group.

Competing demands

Constitutional expert Professor Dawid van Wyk, who helped draft the Indaba constitution, says it forms a package which satisfies competing demands of the various interest groups and is consequently finely balanced.

Government's major criticisms apparently revolve around the lack of group protection as well as what it perceives to be unequal power-sharing inherent in the proposals. But Van Wyk notes that the consultative and democratic nature of the proposals is evident throughout. It is visible in the over-representation of minority groups in the second chamber, standing committees, the Cabinet and the way the system works in requiring consensus as far as possible in voting.

"There is no provision for the first chamber to ultimately have its way," he says. "Even in the second chamber, blacks could not get a full majority — even with the collusion of others.

"The consensus building mechanisms built into the system make it impossible for the majority to have its own way. Yet it leaves the system flexible enough not to frustrate the majority into becoming obstructionist."

Essentially, where the Indaba and government policy part company is that government sees the country's constitutional future developing along fixed group lines, vis à vis the tricameral constitution, with maximum self determination coupled with an absolute veto in all group own affairs.

The fact that the Indaba has "made the quantum leap from a racially-based constitution to a non-racial one," he says, could account for some of the hostility being directed towards it, "even though government may ultimately be forced to tread a similar path."

Arguments that a unified Natal-KwaZulu with its own regional constitution would be out of kilter with the other provinces, and would ultimately prove to be a costly burden to the exchequer, hold no water either, claims Van Wyk. The region could simply be treated as a "larger, non-racial homeland" and run and financed through existing structures.

Research done for the Buthelezi Commission showed that the majority of Natalians of all races would support a non-racial, compromise constitution on the lines of the Indaba.

Without a proper referendum to test opinions, Van Wyk observes, he has no way of knowing what support there is for the proposals in the region. But people certainly want to know more about what the Indaba will mean to them and what it represents. Steering Committee members have been drawing capacity audiences everywhere they have been to explain the Indaba's workings. ■

2/3/87 B/Day

Bornman to chair new Rand RSC

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

FORMER NP member of the Transvaal Provincial Council Gerrit Bornman will take up his position as chairman of the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council (RSC) on June 1.

That is the target date when the RSC is expected to become operational.

Bornman, a businessman who serves on the President's Council's economic committee, said at the weekend it was "early days" to comment on the RSC's budget.

But much preparatory work had been done by the local authorities as far as the budget and preparation for the raising of funds and levies was concerned.

As council chairman he will be responsible to the Administrator, who appointed him for a five-year period.

He sees his job as co-ordinating the RSC's activities and budget, and liaising with government and local authorities.

"I hope to promote the activities of the council and see to the extention of services of the council. We have 22 listed services and will gradually expand on them," he said.

He will report directly to the Finance Minister on the budget and levies, as well as liaising with the "own affairs" Ministers of local government, the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government, and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Asked if he viewed his appointment as a full-time job, Bornman said: "It's still early days. I will probably retain my directorships and involvement in business. I imagine it will be a full-time job."

Buthelezi, Inkatha speak out

2/3/87 B/Day

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

A BOOK, which sets out to explain what makes KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement tick, has been released.

Intended to "let Inkatha speak for itself", author and *Cape Times* news editor Wessel de Kock records Buthelezi's policy statements and tries to compare Inkatha strategy with that of the ANC.

Usuthu! Cry Peace! says Inkatha is rooted in ANC ideals and today has a considerable number of ANC members in its ranks.

It says Buthelezi sees himself as taking over the mantle from the last constitutionally elected president of the ANC, Albert Luthuli.

And it also says Buthelezi and Inkatha are "at the forefront of a war for peace in SA".

AIRLINE MOVEMENTS

0800 0955 SA304 Johannesburg to George

Hospital ban on T'keians

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — No Transkeians will in future be admitted for medical treatment at Ciskei hospitals and anyone seeking treatment will have to provide proof of identity.

A government spokesman, Mr Headman Somtunzi, said yesterday the ruling was in line with an earlier statement that only Ciskeians would be treated in the country's hospitals.

South Africans would still be given attention "but it is essential that anyone seeking medical care at a hospital in Ciskei be in possession of documentary proof of their citizenship," Mr Somtunzi said.

"It is hoped that this request will not impair anyone's dignity," he added.

Mr Somtunzi said there had been confusion about previous statements concerning hospitals and travel permits.

"These statements all apply to Transkei citizens only," he added.

Ciskei releases body to widow

Dispatch Reporter

BISHO — The Ciskei Government will release the body of a Transkei Defence Force soldier who was killed in an attack on President Lennox Sebe's residence in Bisho, to his widow this morning.

The move follows an out-of-court settlement reached between the Ciskei Government and the widow of Rifleman Templeton Mbuyiselo Nondela.

The case was due to be heard in court today.

Mrs Zoliswa Sylvia Nondela's instructing attorney, Mr Jonathan Clark, said yesterday the body had not yet been transferred to Transkei.

Last week, the Supreme Court in Bisho granted an order preventing the burial of Rifleman Nondela in Ciskei.

The deputy director general for Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi, had said earlier if the body was not claimed by February 27, it would be given a pauper's burial.

In her file application, Mrs Nondela cited President Sebe, Ciskei's Commissioner of Police and the head of the security police as respondents.

Rfn Nondela's body is at the Mdantsane mortuary.

Mr Somtunzi said Mrs Nondela had identified the body yesterday.

He emphasised it had not been the intention of the Ciskei Government to incovenience the Nondela family.

"The events that led to the delay in handing over Rfn Nondela's body are regrettable for the family," he said.

Ciskei's main aim had been to prove the falseness of the Transkei Government's denial that Rfn Nondela had been a Transkei Defence Force soldier.

"Ciskei did not intend to bury Rfn Nondela in Ciskei, but such action would have been done on humanitarian grounds," Mr Somtunzi added.

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Indaba is becoming election football

11B

Star 31/3/87

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Natal/kwaZulu Indaba is as expected fast becoming an election football, but it is being distorted into the most amazing shapes.

The National Party (NP), aided by the Conservative Party (CP), is doing everything to discredit the proposals.

But there is widespread public support for the indaba and the NP fears it will lose votes if it dismisses it out of hand.

The NP rejection is based primarily on its narrowly defined view of group representation and its apartheid policies.

Initially the NP vacillated for weeks before deciding (and only then after pressure from business) to enter as observers.

Now it claims it is fully committed to negotiations. President Botha, stuck with his as yet unsuccessful National Council concept, is trying to give it new life by saying it could be an indaba.

The NP accuses the PFP of politicising the indaba, but has taken the initiative to drag the Indaba into the political arena.

The ink was hardly dry on the signatures to the proposals when Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, rejected them.

It appears one of the reasons for his rapid reply was to stop prominent Afrikaans business men adding their signatures.

The NP is paying scant attention to the consquences and seems to have forgotten that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is seen as a key individual in any successful negotiations for equitable change.

ABSURDITY

One absurdity of the Nationalist campaign is to criticise elements contained within their own tricameral system.

They say the proposals allow a minority Minister to be appointed by the majority. Exactly the same position exists within the tricameral system.

Using tactics reminiscent of Nazi propaganda Minister, Josef Goebbels (bending the truth and then repeating it incessantly), the NP has trotted out the claim that the PFP had hijacked the indaba.

This is patently untrue. The PFP was one of 35 delegations. After eight months of negotiation 82 percent of the delegates signed, nine percent abstained and nine rejected them.

Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk had said the proposals had been endorsed by Inkatha and kwaZulu. The NP said this was untrue.

The point Professor van Wyk was making was that the Inkatha and kwaZulu representatives had already signed.

The indaba proposals contain many of the key issues of the election. They propose a real sharing of power, group protection and the scrapping of group areas. They are the result of negotiations the NP has not been able to get underway.

The NP, the CP and the HNP have lined up to varying degrees, maintaining whites would lose everything.

The PFP, NRP and independents maintain the proposals give sufficient protection to minority interests and are one of the last chances white South Africans will get to show they are prepared to share power.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

Inkatha accused of unrest incidents

Own Correspondent

INKATHA members were responsible for nearly a quarter of the Natal and KwaZulu unrest incidents last year, says a senior lecturer at the University of Natal, Durban, Michael Sutcliffe.

The report released recently found that of 358 unrest incidents in 1986, 36% were caused by unknown people. But Inkatha initiated 24% after the security forces (11%), youth (11%), vigilantes (7%) and UDF affiliates (4%).

Sutcliffe said: "In contrast to those initiating the unrest, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the UDF and the youth appear to be the main targets."

He found that most of the incidents attributed to Inkatha involved attacks on people.

Sutcliffe said the report was compiled mostly from Press and Bureau for Information reports.

Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Sutcliffe's research appeared to be highly selective.

"The Staff Association of the University of Natal, of which Dr Sutcliffe is a member, is an affiliate of the UDF. Dr Sutcliffe's sympathy for the UDF is well known. "How he can so categorically apportion responsibility in each case is beyond me," he said.

Buthelezi said that contrary to Sutcliffe's findings that no attacks were initiated by Cosatu, United Workers' Union of SA members had alleged the opposite.

He said hundreds of attacks on Inkatha members in Natal/KwaZulu in the past three years had gone unrecorded because no-one was killed and many of the incidents occurred in rural areas.

REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS

KwaZulu on the warpath

The KwaZulu government is refusing to have anything to do with the proposed regional services councils (RSCs) for Natal/KwaZulu because it claims it was not consulted when the legislation was drafted.

Understandably, its stance is causing some agitation among provincial executives in Maritzburg, who now see the programme for implementing the councils in the region being set back indefinitely.

Delegations from province aimed at getting Ulundi to change its mind have come away virtually empty handed and the parties are no closer to agreement on the establishment of RSCs than they were before the Act was promulgated.

KwaZulu has fundamental differences of principle with the legislation, which it sees as essentially another example of apartheid-based lawmaking. But even more irksome, explains KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister Oscar Dhlomo, is that it was not consulted in its formulation.

KwaZulu's Dhlomo ... Pretoria failed to consult Ulundi

"We are not going to allow our area to be part of RSCs," Dhlomo says flatly. "We are demanding nothing short of a total re-negotiation of the issue with the central government." Referring to the contact between Ulundi and the Natal provincial authorities, Dhlomo adds: "We are not interested in talking to the province, we want to talk directly with the minister."

Clearly RSCs in Natal-KwaZulu are a non-starter without the co-operation of the Zulus. The two areas share a geographic and economic interdependence which is unparalleled elsewhere in SA. Most of the black "cities," for example, are in, or abut, white Natal.

Peter Miller, MEC in charge of local government, admits the problem is delicate. "We are handling matters very circumspectly and delicately in our desire to elicit KwaZulu's co-operation," he says.

Government has the authority to delineate RSC areas, without including national states, if it so desires. The Act makes provision for recognised black authorities, such as community councils, to negotiate their own form of representation on the councils and to contract with them for the supply of services.

However, it is unlikely that the Natal executive committee will use the legislation to bludgeon KwaZulu into submission. Aside from KwaZulu's attitude towards RSCs, for which committee members privately express some sympathy, relations between the two administrations are generally good. A Strategic Policy Group already oversees joint planning, and the new Joint Executive Authority, which will raise co-operation to an even higher level, is only months away from implementation. It is unlikely that the province would do anything to jeopardise that.

Miller confirms that tough action is not an immediate option. "We don't want to foist anything on anybody," he says. He concedes that without the support of KwaZulu, unilaterally declared RSCs would be "less effective" and would probably end up being "stillborn."

Although Miller observes that KwaZulu's reticence has "contributed to the perception that we have not made as much progress as other provinces," he says work on delimiting RSC areas is continuing. The biggest challenge now is to talk KwaZulu into co-operating. ■

☐ See *Leaders, Economy* and page 51

THE ELECTION

Independent moves

The latest addition to the ranks of "New Nat" independent candidates for parliament, Esther Lategan, is confident of victory.

In what is bound to be a tough battle in the volatile Stellenbosch constituency, the 43-year-old academic turned businesswoman will be attempting to unseat the Nationalist MP, Piet Marais.

In neighbouring Paarl, meanwhile, a meeting of about 160 disillusioned farmers and businessmen this week resolved to find an independent to fight the sitting Nat MP Kobus Meiring. An action committee was formed whose members significantly include Lategan's brother, the former top middle-distance athlete, Danie Malan.

The Paarl meeting was addressed by Stellenbosch professor Julius Jeppe, who urged an independent to come forward. If one does, it seems likely that the Paarl independent will be aligned to the Denis Worrall group, although word from the Worrall camp is that there has not yet been contact with the Paarl group.

Lategan quit the National Party (NP) last week after 27 years of membership. Her father, Wynand Malan (no relation to the independent candidate in Randburg) was the Nat MP for Stellenbosch before Marais. He retired to concentrate on his farming enterprise. She is married to Stellenbosch theology professor Bernard Lategan and they have three children.

Among her backers who have emerged publicly so far are 19 Stellenbosch academics, including professors Sampie Terreblanche (see page 57) and Julius Jeppe, and one of the town's top businessmen, Oudemeester MD Michiel le Roux.

She has a doctorate in social work which she studied under Erika Theron — one of her staunchest supporters. Lategan lectured at Stellenbosch for eight years before starting her own chain of sports clothing shops.

Her reasons for quitting the NP are similar to those of Worrall and Malan, although she appears to be far more emphatic than the other two in her rejection of Nationalist ideology.

She says she has lost faith in the determination and credibility of the NP to be an instrument of meaningful reform. Her disillusionment goes beyond the leadership of the party. She believes the unacceptable ideology is deeper than the current leadership.

Lategan's candidature follows Worrall's highly successful inaugural public appearance in the Stellenbosch town hall last week, where 1 500-2 000 students responded in overwhelming favour to his challenge to government. He is, of course, opposing Cape NP leader Chris Heunis in neighbouring Helderberg.

The Worrall meeting, which was held in the Stellenbosch constituency and attended mainly by local voters, was clearly aimed at boosting the image of the independents before the announcement of Lategan's candidacy.

Ironically, Worrall, Malan and Lategan are taking on three of the most verligte Nats in the ruling party.

Meanwhile, the NP Cape machine has thrown all it can into fighting the independents. The Cape NP mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, tried desperately this week to play down the significance of further academic defections from the party and, through Heunis, accused the Progressive Federal Party and the "so-called" independents of a "trans-

KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with the scroll presented to Mr Y S Chinsamy at a ceremony in Verulam on Saturday to mark the conferring of the freedom of the town. Looking on is Mr Baldeo Dookie, own affairs Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Delegates.

Chief says no separate destiny for 'black' groups

9/3/87 (11B) NM

Mercury Reporter

THE Indian, coloured and black communities in South Africa could not forge separate destinies for themselves, KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Verulam at the weekend.

Speaking at a ceremony at which veteran politician and community leader, Mr Y S Chinsamy, 71, received the freedom of Verulam, Chief Buthelezi said if the white 'politics of co-optation' succeeded in taming and swallowing up coloured and Indian politics, coloured and Indian leaders would bear the burden of having authored racial antagonism between the groups.

'The vast majority of black South Africans reject racism in all its aspects. But other race groups must now be made aware of the fact that racial antagonism begets racial antagonism and racial hatred begets racial hatred.'

In a tribute to Mr Chinsamy, he said the Indian community was deeply indebted to Mr Chinsamy for the valuable links he forged between blacks and Indians.

'I myself have a very substantial Indian constituency and receive solid support from a great many influential Indians. I can sit down with them and discuss the dilemmas that some of their Indian brothers and sisters create for me when they ride on the back of protest politics with a holier-than-thou attitude towards me and black South Africans and who posture there in front of us as being our political saviours.

Verulam's first mayor

'We have our own black pride; we walk tall in the knowledge of who we are; we have a deep-down knowledge that those Indian and coloured leaders who entered the tricameral parliament on the pretext of going there to do something for us amounts to no more than a smokescreen hiding their real intentions.'

Mr Chinsamy, leader of the Reform Party and vice-chairman of the South African Black Alliance, was the only Indian to serve on the Buthelezi commission and is now a representative on the KwaZulu/Natal indaba.

He has a career spanning many decades of public service and served as Verulam's first mayor in 1966 and as a town councillor for 21 years.

Referring to the 1949 riots, he said it was social, economic and political factors which underlied the violence: 'I know my people; they are a peace-loving people but they are human beings following the pattern of human behaviour world-wide.

'I raise this question of the ever-present potential for violence in race-bound societies in the same breathe as I pay tribute to Mr Chinsamy,' he said, adding that it was because there were people like Mr Chinsamy in the Indian community that Inkatha members were defending Indian families during the recent violence in the Inanda area.

Referring to the experiences of Indians in other parts of Africa in other white societies, he said: 'I ask you to remember what happened to them after majority rule.

'Whole Indian communities became threatened, finally to lose their place in the broad development of a country's social, economic, political and moral development.

'I venture to suggest that it was finally the persistence in serving immediate vested interests by a few which led Indian communities into the dark days they experienced after liberation.'

(Report by M Vengtas, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Motivation for regional plan

EAST LONDON — The new regional government plan for the Border area will lay emphasis on more participatory rather than representative democracy.

This emerges in the motivation for the plan which was unveiled here yesterday and which is being considered by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The motivation says that in future constitutional development in South Africa, there will have to be greater emphasis on regionalism to give expression to the diversity of the various regions in Southern Africa and also to bring government closer to the people.

"This regionalism will go hand in hand with the devolution of power and the formation of upgraded regional governments with legislative and executive powers that are just below the central authority."

It says that the provincial level, as the third phase of constitutional reform will have to be adapted to fit in with the other levels of government and to give expression to greater regionalism.

"The proposed structure endeavours to further this approach and takes into consideration the peculiarity and uniqueness of the Border area in relation to other areas in South Africa."

Dealing with relations with Ciskei and Transkei, the motivation said: "It is vitally necessary for the Border area to establish direct links of communication over national boundaries. Only by doing so can it ensure purposeful development of the region as a whole.

"The definite economic interdependence between the Border area and its neighbours make it absolutely essential that a local structure be established to deal on equal footing and direct basis with the two adjoining national states.

"A government structure based within the Border area is a prerequisite for this to happen and for the area to move into a Kwa-Natal indaba situation. In respect of the latter, this was facilitated by the existence of a provincial authority and the fact that KwaZulu is self-governing and not independent placing the two parties on basically equal footing."

The motivation said improved communication was also essential with the South African authorities. Most situations requiring government action now are channelled through regional offices and from there to the seat of government.

"Decisions taken are then channelled back to East London. This is a time-consuming exercise that requires duplication of staff and which hampers effective government."

The motivation notes that the new structure "will provide commmunication, co-ordinating and monitoring of activities and that it will be ancillary to and co-operate with existing government departments and authorities and not usurp their powers or interfere with their line function."

The chairman of the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee, Mr Errol Spring, left, and the co-authors of a plan for restructuring the decision-making process in the region, the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the chairman of the constitutional development sub-committee, Mr Allister Lightbody.

Regional govt plan for Border

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The government is considering a new regional structure of government for the Border area which will entail having a cabinet minister with a special portfolio for the region.

The new plan to expedite government decision-making on the region and enable the management structure to transcend political boundaries to negotiate with Ciskei and Transkei was devised by the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee.

The wraps were taken off the plan, which could facilitate the progression toward a KwaZulu-Natal type of indaba, by the the Greater East London Co-orindating Committee chairman, Mr Errol Spring, together with the two co-authors of the plan, the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the chairman of the constitutional development sub-committee, Mr Allister Lightbody.

It comes against the background of problems experienced by local authorities as well as other bodies being unable to negotiate with Ciskei or Transkei because all negotiations with the national states must be done through Pretoria's Department of Foreign Affairs in terms of protocol.

Mr De Pontes said at the press conference that the new regional management structure had already been discussed with President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei, who had welcomed it in principle.

Outlining the background to the document, Mr De Pontes said: "For some time there has been a growing feeling that we need a structure which can do two things: it must be able to make fast and effective decisions on matters pertaining to this area; and it must provide a structure which can liaise directly with our neighbouring states."

He said most of these matters fell within the ambit of the first tier of government and the motivation with the department was that a structure be set up here to cater for the plan.

Mr De Pontes emphasised that the plan would be supplementary and not a replacement of existing government structures.

The idea was that the cabinet minister with the Border portfolio would advise the cabinet on everything appertaining to the area and with his staff would have delegated authority from the various other ministries to act as their agent on their behalf in the area.

The proposed regional management structure envisages a regional functionary in the form of a cabinet minister, a small permanent secretariat to assit him administratively with his co-ordinating, monitoring and advisory functions, and an advisory committee.

The outline of the plan says it is aimed at providing an effective autonomous regional management system within a broader constitutional framework. It also aims at ensuring that the Border area remains an integral part of South Africa while giving expression to the regional differences and requirements resulting from its unique characteristics.

See also page 2

sented.

CAPE TIMES 10/3/87

Buthelezi seeks full police control

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday called on the South African government to speed up the handing over of police stations to KwaZulu.

Speaking during a visit to Ulundi yesterday by Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, Chief Buthelezi said that although he was Minister of KwaZulu Police, in times of violent crisis his hands were tied as he did not have control of police stations in troubled areas.

The Inkatha president said he held apartheid responsible for the root cause of the "national crisis" into which South Africa had been thrust.

"I blame the ruling National Party for not grappling with the kernel issues of violent unrest, namely fundamental black political rights.

"I believe the State President is well intentioned, but the pace and scope of his reform programme has thus far proven to be woefully inadequate," he said.

Chief wants control

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on government to speed up the handing over of police stations to KwaZulu.

The chief told Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that people turned to him in times of violent crisis, but his hands were tied largely if he, as Minister of KwaZulu Police, did not have control of police stations in troubled areas.

The KwaZulu government and its police had to be put in a position to eradicate the kind of brutality now inherent in intimidatory politics, the chief said.

Report by M Vengtas, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.

(IIB) DD 10/3/87

Lecturer deported

EAST LONDON — A social science lecturer at Fort Hare, Mr Basil Somhlahlo, has been deported to Transkei.

This was confirmed yesterday by Ciskei's deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi.

Mr Somtunzi could not say when Mr Somhlahlo had been deported.

Mr Somhlahlo's daughter, Miss Yoliswa Somhlahlo, said earlier that her father had been detained by Ciskei police on January 30 and had not returned home.

The detention was not confirmed by the Ciskei Police public relations directorate. — DDR

Cape Times 16/3/86

Hammarsdale 'celebrity' told of fears for his life

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The president of the Hammarsdale Youth Congress, Mr Vusi Maduna, who was killed by a mob near Pinetown at the weekend, had two weeks ago spoken of the fears he had for his safety.

Mr Maduna, 23, a first-year BA student at the University of Natal, Durban, was stabbed to death and his body set alight.

On February 28, after a funeral for three Hayco members who were murdered in political violence in Mpumalanga, Mr Maduna told our correspondent of his fears.

He said he was embarrassed at having become a celebrity and feared his high profile would place his life in danger.

Mr Maduna said he did not believe his life was in immediate danger.

"(The conflict) is at an early stage, but in time I might have to go into hiding."

The previous day Mr Maduna had held four-hour "peace talks" with the local chairman of Inkatha, Mr Zakheli Nkehli.

He said he hoped conflict between the United Democratic Front-affiliated Hayco and Inkatha would end.

"We understand the constitution of Inkatha. They think we are one of the groups which the ANC predicted would make this country ungovernable, but we are not."

Buthelezi: give us police stations

DURBAN — An appeal for police stations in KwaZulu to be handed over to his government was made at Ulundi yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Chief Minister also said he wanted to point out that the vast majority of black South Africans did not want a bloody revolution which could lead to a race war — they simply wanted the means to defend themselves.

He told the Minister of Law and Order, Mr A. J. Vlok, who was in Ulundi for a meeting with Chief Buthelezi: "We face arson and murder, and we are expected to combat the threat to our lives, limbs and property with our bare hands.

"AK rifles, hand grenades and bombs have maimed and killed Inkatha members and even members of the KwaZulu legislative assembly.

"We need to be put in a position where we can defend that which so badly needs to be defended."

Chief Buthelezi restated his opposition to apartheid which he termed "the root cause of the national crisis into which South Africa has been thrust".

He blamed the National Party for not grappling with the kernel issue of unrest — the lack of fundamental rights for blacks.

"I believe the State President is well intentioned and he has, as I have said publicly before, pointed his feet in the direction of statesmanship. However, I also believe that the pace and the scope of his reform programme has thus far proven to be woefully inadequate."

But he added that he found himself unable to agree that the South African government must be destroyed through military and revolutionary means.

He also was totally unable to accept that the politics of negotiation could now not succeed.

"I believe that the South African parliamentary system can be reformed to give blacks a meaningful stake in their country. I believe that those who are committed to the employment of the politics of violence as a first option, are employing that violence as much against politics as against apartheid." — Sapa

10/3/87 DD

Edlmann calls for ANC participation in Border indaba

DD (11B) 11/3/87

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — A Queenstown election candidate last night called for a Border "indaba" to work out the political future of the region and urged that the African National Congress be invited to attend.

The New Republic Party-Progressive Federal Party alliance candidate, Mr Robert Edlmann, said all political parties with a significant following — the Herstigte Nasionale Party as well as the ANC — should be asked to take part.

Mr Edlmann was speaking at an election meeting at Cathcart.

"These organisations were invited to the Natal Indaba, but did not accept. Well, I would invite them to a similar exercise here, too.

"I am no extremist, but if you exclude any body with identifiable leaders and a genuine following, you are not going to get the full range of opinions necessary to make such a meeting meaningful."

Mr Edlmann, a 59-year-old farmer from the Hanover area who has fought three previous elections, said that those invited to the indaba should include, beside political parties: business organisations, farmers' associations, municipalities and divisional councils, and representatives of the black, coloured and Indian communities.

"The government too should be involved," he added.

The National Party had "sat on the touchline" in Natal — which was wrong because it represented a large body of opinion in the area, as well as being the country's governing party.

"The indaba executive in Natal now want a multiracial referendum to be held to gauge support for the indaba proposals.

"If local people vote overwhelmingly in favour of them, and the government continues to veto the proposals, there could be some kind of confrontation. I am fearful of that confrontation."

To organise an indaba in the Border area, Mr Edlmann added, it would first be necessary to identify which blacks wished to remain citizens of South Africa and which preferred to belong to one of the neighbouring independent states.

Only in this way would identifiable natural leaders emerge, he declared.

"With our special problems, the Border area is in many ways unique. In a speech at Stutterheim this week, I spoke of the possibility of a national federal cantonal system, along Swiss lines, reflecting the needs of differing areas.

"Each region in this country has its own needs and problems, so we have to find a solution unique to each region. The Natal indaba was so important because it showed how peaceful negotiation in this direction could take place."

He called for "maximum devolution of power and responsibility to the lowest level of government" — and added that the most efficient means of government was of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Referring to a speech earlier this week by the National Party's Transvaal leader, Mr F. W. de Klerk, in which he said the government's plans for black political rights were "on the rocks", Mr Edlmann said:

"No one should be surprised at this. The whole concept of their race policy has foundered in spite of the fact that those of us in opposition have warned time and time again that apartheid could not work."

(News by A. Monteath, 64 Cathcart Street, Queenstown)

Buthelezi slams disinvestment

Pull-out hurting black workers

DD 12/3/87

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

ULUNDI — The KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday disinvestment was hurting blacks who were losing their jobs "in droves".

"Black workers, who were politically duped into supporting a tactic they barely understood, are now facing the brunt of yet another failed ANC (African National Congress) strategy," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement.

"Now we are all being faced with the facts of what was obvious to me a long time ago: disinvestment is hurting black workers. Black workers are losing their jobs. Black workers are losing their homes. It is the families of black workers who are now starving.

"The very people who travelled the world campaigning for disinvestment and sanctions still have their jobs, while the victims of disinvestment and sanctions are losing theirs in droves."

He accused leaders such as the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, of turning their backs on the "ripples" of disinvestment.

"In the past week I have been amazed at the hypocritical manner in which vociferous proponents of disinvestment have been attempting to disassociate themselves from something which, clearly, is turning sour on them," the Inkhata leader said.

"It is truly sickening to read the statements of people like Dr Boesak and Mr Chris Dlamini (vice-president of Congress of South African Trade Unions) who now appear to be trying to squirm out of their former stances."

Chief Buthelezi, who has persistently opposed economic pressure against South Africa, reiterated his stand, saying:

"I oppose disinvestment and sanctions as vehemently as I oppose the South African Government. I despise apartheid and all that the racist government stands for, but in all conscience I cannot call for tactics and strategies which will further economically enslave my people.

"I have been pilloried over many years for opposing sanctions and disinvestment." — Sapa

Disinvestment hurting blacks, says Buthelezi

12/3/87 (116) (28)

ULUNDI—The Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in a statement yesterday that disinvestment was hurting blacks who were losing their jobs 'in droves'.

'Black workers who were politically duped into supporting a tactic they barely understood, are now facing the brunt of another failed ANC strategy,' he said.

'Now we all are being faced with the facts of what was obvious to me a long time ago: disinvestment is hurting black workers. Black workers are losing their jobs and their homes. It is the families of black workers who are now starving.

'Yet the very people who travelled the world campaigning for disinvestment and sanctions still have their jobs.'

He accused leaders such as Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, of turning their backs on the 'ripples' of disinvestment.

'In the past week I have been amazed at the hypocritical manner in which vociferous proponents of disinvestment have been attempting to disassociate themselves from something which, clearly, is turning sour on them,' he said.

'It is sickening to read the statements of people like Dr Boesak and Mr Chris Dlamini (vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions) who seem to be trying to squirm out of their former stances.' — (Sapa)

SHOTS AT UMLAZI

Tops projects get a big boost

Mr K A BROOKE of the Timken (SA), hands over a cheque donated by his company to Dr J G Murphy, the national Teacher-Opportunity Programmes director at a ceremony held at Isidingo Technical College to officially open Tops Daveyton Centre. The money is for helping Tops in its projects.

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Inkatha man is fatally hit

(113)

AN INKATHA man was killed early on Wednesday morning in Umlazi near Durban when men firing AK47 rifles attacked the car he was travelling in, the Bureau for Information reported yesterday.

The Bureau said four Inkatha members stopped their car in the township just after midnight to investigate a vehicle without number plates.

Shots were fired at them from the vehicle and a handgrenade thrown. The Inkatha men fled, leaving behind a fatally wounded colleague.

Handgrenade

Police discovered the dead man's body at 6.45am as well as the safety ring of a handgrenade and a number of AK47 cartridges. The Bureau identified him only as Mr Mkize.

Police investigators are continuing and no arrests were reported. — Sapa.

Inkatha wants right to be armed

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week asked Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for more powers to arm his supporters.

Vlok was holding talks in Ulundi with Buthelezi when the KwaZulu chief minister made his demands for more powers, including control of KwaZulu police stations and the right to issue firearm licences.

In a speech to Vlok, Buthelezi said there was "a growing repugnance for the politics of intimidatory violence which claims the lives and physical well-being of ordinary everyday people".

"The thought I convey to you is that you will do South Africa a service if you help the ordinary black person to help himself in the circumstances which prevail.

"I am not here talking about helping people to take the law into their own hands.

"I am talking here about the need there is for the KwaZulu government and the KwaZulu police to be put in a position to rally to the cause of the people to eradicate the kind of brutality that is now inherent in intimidatory politics and particularly for the black community to be in a position to protect themselves from such brutality within the law."

He added: "We face arson and murder and we are expected to combat the threat to our lives, limbs and property with our bare hands. AK rifles, hand-grenades and bombs have maimed and killed Inkatha members and even members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. We need to be put in a position where we can better defend that which so badly needs to be defended."

Supporters of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and those of the United Democratic Front are clashing almost daily in Natal, and each group blames the other for the violence and its escalation.

Reacting to reports of Buthelezi's demands, Natal UDF publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli said it would not help the problems of the region if one section were given additional arms and police powers.

"The National Party strategy of granting powers to sections of the community through the homelands and the tricameral parliament has been disastrous. Instead of resolving the present conflict these powers have actually intensified it.

"It is also no secret that the homelands themselves have been severe in their repression and intolerance towards legitimate opposition.

"The UDF therefore totally rejects this devious scheme, especially because we are committed to national unity which will not be served by this kind of plan."

Inkatha man dies in attack

13/3/87 STAR

Pretoria Bureau

An Inkatha member died when four members of the organisation were attacked in Umlazi, near Durban, on Wednesday, the Bureau for Information said yesterday.

The Inkatha members had stopped to investigate a car which had no number plates. Shots were fired and a hand-grenade was thrown at them, said the bureau.

One man, a Mr Mkhize, had been fatally wounded. The police found his body yesterday morning near the safety ring of a grenade and 15 AK-47 cartridges. No arrests had been made.

There were isolated incidents of stone-throwing yesterday. There were no injuries or arrests, and damage was minimal, the bureau said.

'Distorted' NP pamphlet on Indaba slated

N/M 14/3/87 (11B)

Municipal Reporter

A NATIONAL Party pre-election pamphlet casts reflections on the integrity of those involved in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and 'seriously distorts' its proposals, Indaba director Prof Dawid van Wyk said yesterday.

Prof van Wyk said the Indaba had no intention of entering the election campaign and would do its utmost to avoid becoming a party political issue.

Appealing to all political parties 'for no more than simple, decent honesty' when discussing the Indaba during the election campaign, Prof van Wyk said too much was at stake for it to be put at risk 'for the sake of a few votes'

However, he had no option but to react to the pamphlet titled *It's Your Indaba/Dis Jou Indaba*, he said.

The Indaba, which represented a wide spectrum of interests, was not susceptible to hijacking and took orders from nobody. It had not been hijacked by the Progressive Federal Party, the New Republic Party or anybody else.

Insult

'Any suggestion to the contrary is an insult to the 24 other organisations which signed the final report,' he said.

Outlining 'distortions' in the NP pamphlet, Prof van Wyk said financial demands implicit in the Indaba proposals were 'no more than would be made on central Government anyway if it is to upgrade health, social and educational services to an acceptable standard, as it says it will.

'The costs are negligible in comparison with the cost of quadruplicating Government services as happens at present.'

Prof van Wyk said there was 'no justification' for suggesting in the pamphlet that the Indaba's educational proposals could result in educational standards being lowered or private schools losing their subsidies.

It was 'absolutely misleading' to say that under the Indaba's constitutional proposals existing group rights could be sacrificed overnight.

'The constitutional proposals provide explicitly for each group to have a veto over legislation affecting its particular language, religious and cultural rights.

'Any group with a reasonable degree of electoral support would have direct representation in the Cabinet, which is not the case at present.'

Prof van Wyk said it was simply untrue to say that the Indaba proposed 'forced integration' of residential areas.

Nobody would, or could, be forced anywhere People would be free to live where they chose and where they could afford to live.

'It is unlikely that existing residential patterns would be much disturbed. Even the National Party Government was toying with similar ideas before it called an election,' he said.

(Report by Anne Maggs, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

'We want more power'

By S'BU MNGADI

KWAZULU Chief Minister MG Buthelezi this week called on the SA government to give him more police powers to "eradicate brutality and intimidatory politics".

Speaking during a visit to Ulundi by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Buthelezi appealed for the rapid handing-over of all KwaZulu police stations to the KwaZulu police.

He said Inkatha and KwaZulu legislative members had been killed and maimed, yet the government did not deem him fit to issue firearm licences.

The Inkatha leader said there was a need for the homeland's government and police to be in a position "to eradicate the kind of brutality that is now inherent in intimidatory politics and particularly for the black community to be in a position to protect themselves from such brutality within the law".

But other organisations, "notably the United Democratic Front and the Congress of SA Trade Unions", had accused the homeland's police of siding with Inkatha, he said.

The SA government had agreed in principle to hand over police control but KwaZulu wanted this speeded up, he said.

Namda condemns Ciskei

CP Correspondent

THE NATIONAL Medical and Dental Association has condemned the current Ciskei refusal to treat Transkei patients.

The decision, taken at the beginning of February, is one of the many results of the ongoing Ciskei/Transkei feud.

The statement, issued by Namda general-secretary Rob Dyer, said the current ruling required patients who could not produce Ciskeian identity documents to sign a statement denying that they were Transkeians.

Urgent cases were exempt from this ruling.

The statement condemned the ruling as unethical, as the attending doctor was required to decide whether or not the patient should be treated.

"Namda rejects this ruling as grossly unethical and in direct contradiction to the Geneva Declaration, which calls on members of the medical profession not to allow religion, or nationality, to impede their duty to their patient" said the statement.

The statement further condemned the decision and called on the Ciskei authorities "to open their hospitals to all patients, irrespective of their nationality".

(118) CPress 15/3/87

(1B) (88) C/Press 15/3/87

'Disinvestment enslaves'

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week disinvestment was hurting blacks who were losing their jobs "in droves".

"Now we all are being faced with the facts of what was obvious to me a long time ago – disinvestment is hurting black workers. Blacks workers are losing their jobs. Black workers are losing their homes. It is the families of black workers who are now starving," he said.

He accused leaders such as Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, of turning their backs on the "ripples" of disinvestment.

"It is sickening to read the statements of people like Dr Boesak and Chris Dlamini (vice-president of Cosatu) who now appear to be tryng to squirm out of their former stances."

Buthelezi, who has persistently opposed economic pressure against South Africa, reiterated his stand, saying: "I despise apartheid and all that the racist government stands for, but in all conscience, I cannot call for tactics and strategies which will further economically enslave my people." – Sapa.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Kwa-Border plan slammed

CP Correspondent

A "KWA-BORDER" regional government plan for the Border area has been attacked only a day after its announcement this week.

The plan, proposed by the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee, aims to create a Kwa-Natal situation for Transkei, Ciskei and the Border area.

The plan was slammed by chairman of the Border Regional Development Association, Cyril Manthe, who queried the standing of the GELCC, which is linked to the National Security Management System.

He also accused the man named as co-author of the plan, Peet de Pontes, Nat MP for EL City, of "hi-jacking the new Border regional government plan to use it as a political platform". De Pontes is currently defending his seat in the general election.

The plan calls for a Cabinet Minister to act as a regional functionary and draw together private sector leaders, local government department heads, public representatives and the city council.

MP casts doubt on Border plan

DD 17/3/87

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The plan for home rule for the Border was a welcome start but it had "terrible Nationalist government overtones," the MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, said yesterday.

He was commenting on the plan for a new regional structure of government for the Border area which is being considered by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who will address a public meeting here next Monday where he is expected to make reference to the plan.

The plan, submitted to Mr Heunis by the Greater East London Coordinating Committee, envisages a cabinet minister for the Border to facilitate swifter decision making in the area and to be able to transcend the boundaries of national states for regional planning without breaking protocol rules of negotiations between independent states.

Mr Rogers said he had supported the plan out of necessity in order to improve on it as he was an absolute protagonist of a totally independent region in terms of administration and regional development.

"Any move toward separation deserves support but I am concerned about the proposed structure because it is simply a conduit to cabinet. The appointed minister will have to do the bidding of the cabinet and exercise government policy.

"I doubt whether an indaba will have the same credibility and flexibility as the KwaNatal one if it is held under the auspices of the National Party. The NP had observer status at the KwaNatal indaba and then later rejected it.

"I think this plan is too closely structured to the government structure. It is structured to get past Chris Heunis and not tailored to the needs of the region."

Mr Rogers said he was strong on the point of separation and that it was nonsense for people to argue that the region is too small.

"We have only to look at the size of a place such as Qwaqwa to discount that argument. I say small is beautiful when it comes to getting government back to the people.

"And we've got to start with people in the corridor before we think of jumping into indabas with Transkei and Ciskei. The plan is seriously flawed if it does not have the support of the people in the corridor."

Mr Roger's National Party opponent, Mr Ray Radue, said he did not want to comment on the plan at this stage.

"There's a lot involved and I would like to make an in-depth study of the matter first as there is considerable argument for and against," he said, and promised to make his views known at a later stage.

(News by M. Moonieya, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

Minister: face of SA must change

DD 17/3/87

UITENHAGE — There would have to be fundamental reform in South Africa before "we can sit back", the leader of the Transvaal National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, told an audience of about 300 here last night.

That would mean changing the face of South Africa and not just creating a new form of apartheid.

However, Mr De Klerk

Cape Times 17/3/87 (116)

Hammarsdale killings: 5 held

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Five young men have been arrested in connection with the murder of three members of the UDF-affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress (Hayco) last month.

Police said a 17-year-old youth had been arrested after investigations into the murder of Mr Sithembiso Mngadi, who was shot once in the head in Mphumulanga township, and that two youths, aged 17 and 18, had been arrested in connection with the killing of Mr Arnold Ngubane.

Another two teenagers have been detained in connection with the death of Mr Michael Mbatha in an alleged UDF/Inkatha clash in the area.

All five are expected to appear in separate court hearings.

Investigations are continuing into the murder of Hayco president Mr Vusi Maduna, 23, who was stabbed and burnt to death by a mob of about 40 men near Pinetown at the weekend, but no arrests have been made.

Last week the chairman of the Woodyglen branch of Inkatha, Mr Mcoleni Nicholas Shange, was shot dead by an unidentified attacker at the home of a fellow Inkatha member in Hammarsdale's Mphumulanga township.

No arrests have been made in connection with his death.

Sapa reports from Ga-Rankuwa near Pretoria that 27 buses and several cars were badly damaged when rioting Medical University of Southern Africa (Medunsa) students went on the rampage on Saturday.

According to the Bophuthatswana police, the rioting occurred after the Mabopane inter-school athletics competition which was held at Medunsa.

Several people had to receive medical treatment at the Ga-Rankuwa hospital for injuries received in the rioting.

Meanwhile, the Bureau for Information reported yesterday that a 24-year-old man was wounded and arrested after a security force vehicle was stoned in Alexandra on Sunday, and a 40-year-old man received slight burn wounds when his house near Pinetown was petrol-bombed. Damage to his house was minimal and no arrests have been made.

King Zwelithini (right) and Chief Buthelezi at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly session.

Chief warns of 'mass explosion'

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The 'foisting' of Regional Services Councils on the Zulu community could have the effect of sparking off a 'mass explosion of black anger'.

This was said here yesterday by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, when he thanked the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, for opening the fifth session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed it was possible for the South African Government to delay the final introduction of RSCs and to make some interim arrangements so that there could be negotiations about what should be happening to first- and second-tier government structures of KwaZulu/Natal.

'If the South African Government does not afford us this time, it will be precipitating another crisis which will be of its own making,' he said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said South Africa and the world were greatly encouraged by the emerging ferment in the National Party.

Every white voter who supported the challenge being thrust at President Botha by senior members of his party acted to 'legitimise' the South African political system.

Chief Buthelezi said the South African Government would have to learn that it was more important to look over its Left shoulder than it was to look over its Right shoulder.

'The lunatic Right will never harness internal and external forces which will make them powerful,' he said.

'It is only people to the Left of the National Party who can do so.'

Chief Buthelezi said the ferment in white political circles held out a promise which was encouraging.

It was the tip of an iceberg which would sink the National Party if it did not take cognisance of the deeply-rooted and wide-spread demand that South Africa be normalised as a modern, Western-type industrial State.

He said the KwaZulu authorities had opened the Assembly to oppose apartheid.

They would continue to legitimise non-violent opposition to apartheid and continue to legitimise the pursuit of the politics of negotiation during this session.

Joint authority 'by end of year'

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, said yesterday that by the end of the year a joint executive authority would be controlling aspects of common interests in KwaZulu/Natal in functions such as planning, roads, health and environmental conservation.

Opening the session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Cadman said the region would have no need to talk of shared power in respect of these functions. This would be power-sharing in action.

Mr Cadman said the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba was a significant exercise in constitution-making which had demonstrated the value of different political interests sitting down, and negotiating.

Seven youths found dead in Kwa Mashu

NM 18/3/87 (11B)

Crime Reporter

SEVEN UDF-affiliated Kwa Mashu Youth League members have been found dead in the township near Durban.

Capt Reg Kruger of the police's directorate of public relations in Pretoria identified five of the youths as Bheki Nqwabe, 15, Mdu Mkhize, 17, Boy Thulani Mkhwanizi, 16, Siphiwe Ndlovu, 15, and Boysi Mbhele, 16.

One of the youths has not yet been identified and the family of the seventh had not yet been informed of his death.

The victims, who had been stabbed, were found dumped in a ditch in Kwa Mashu.

The Bureau for Information said it was not known whether or not they had been killed elsewhere and then dumped in the ditch.

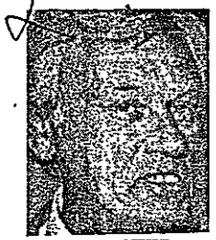
There was tension in the township yesterday and the bureau said: 'Security forces are on stand-by, but so far no unrest-related incidents have occurred.'

The bureau said yesterday: 'Senior police officers in a police helicopter were watching the situation.'

On Monday an Inkatha Youth Brigade member, who had allegedly taken part in the disruption of the funeral of a Youth League member, was allegedly stoned to death at Nqabakazulu Secondary School.

Then early yesterday morning the bodies of seven pupils were found dumped together in a ditch near a road in Kwa Mashu.

Row over origins of plan



MR MANTHE

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A row blew up here yesterday about who the authentic authors are of the plan for a new management structure to bring home rule to the Border area

The president of the Border Regional Development Association (BRDA), Mr Cyril Manthe, said at a press conference yesterday that his organisation's plan "had been hijacked by a bunch of people who were stuffed by their own self-importance"

The MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, claimed the idea to increase government presence had been mooted long ago by himself, among others, in an address to Rapportryers.

"It was discussed by and with various people and organisations and the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee (GELCC) took a leading role in getting the plan formalised," he said

"I was involved with academics of stature in drafting proposals which were then presented to the BRDA at a meeting in Kei Mouth. Before that, the outline of the proposals was discussed at a meeting in King William's Town "

However, Mr Manthe insisted that the GELCC had nothing to do with the plan and the organisation had no jurisdiction in the area but merely functioned in relation to the joint management system.

"That plan came from the BRDA and I want to emphasise that it is incomplete and has been submitted prematurely to the minister. We are still awaiting input from various municipalities "

He said that, as a member of the East Cape Strategic Task Force Committee, it was on his recommendation that the GELCC had been asked for comment on the proposals, together with other municipalities.

Mr De Pontes said the proposal had been sent to the minister as a matter of urgency and that "it is too important for it to become bogged down in petty point-scoring and politics It is non-political, as witnessed by the fact that two members of the GELCC are standing for different political parties in the May 6 election"

He was referring to the Progressive Federal Party alliance candidate in East London North,

MR DE PONTES

Mr Errol Spring, who is chairman of the GELCC Mr Spring had also said that his organisation had sent the proposal to the BRDA for comment.

Mr De Pontes said the document was not final

"The detail is not important It is the principle. We want to bring government closer to the people and make it more effective by having someone with the necessary official status to deal with neighbouring states.

"The BRDA were also sent a document with the request that they channel it through their channels."

He appealed to people to stop knocking the plan and to support it.

(News by M. Moonieya, 33 Caxton Street, East London)

Home rule plan stems from BRDA says Manthe

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The president of the Border Regional Development Association, Mr Cyril Manthe, yesterday raised the question of whether there were not two proposals being put forward for a new management structure for home rule for the Border area

An angry Mr Manthe earlier rejected claims by the MP for East London, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the chairman of the Greater East London Coordinating Committee (GELCC), Mr Errol Spring, that they had drawn up the proposals

He said the plan had been bandied about for several years but had been galvanised into a formal proposal by his organisation

On May 28, 1986, a BRDA executive meeting had discussed various ways of bringing central government closer to the Border and also create effective communication with Ciskei and Transkei

"Various ideas came to the fore such as a KwaNatal-type indaba for the Border and I and the BRDA secretary, Mr Bernard Aucamp, approached Mr De Pontes with an idea of convincing the government to appoint a representative for the Border area

"The secretary visited Mr De Pontes' office on June 6 1986 where Mr De Pontes, after listening to the ideas, presented him with a copy of an address he was due to deliver that same night at a meeting of the Senior Rapportryers of East London "

Mr Manthe said part of the speech coincided with the ideas on government representation put to him by Mr Aucamp

It was then agreed that a meeting be arranged with a political scientist, Dr Dawe Joubert. The meeting was held in King William's Town and was attended by Mr Allistair Lightbody

The framework of the management structure for the Border was put together at this meeting and the document was finally drafted by Dr Joubert and Mr Aucamp

"It was also agreed that the document be circulated to all local authorities in region 21 and then be channeled to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis "

Mr Manthe said on August 5 1986, Mr De Pontes addressed a BRDA executive meeting in Kei Mouth where he paid tribute to Mr Aucamp for the work he had done in drawing up the document

The document was later circularised to all local authorities as decided at the meeting. It was also circulated to the GELCC but no reply had been received to date.

Mr Manthe said local authorities response was presented to a BRDA executive meeting on February 13 1987 in Queenstown where it was resolved to forward it to Mr Heunis.

Rogers attacked by De Pontes over new plan

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, has been criticised for casting doubt on the plan for a new management structure to bring home rule to the Border area

Yesterday the MP for East London, Mr Peet de Pontes, who said he had co-authored the plan with Mr Allistair Lightbody, urged Mr Rogers to read the whole proposal before he commented

He said the matter was devoid of party politics and that Mr Rogers should confer "with his partner in the so-called alliance"

He was referring to the chairman of the Greater East London Coordinating Committee, Mr Errol Spring, who is also the alliance candidate in East London North

Mr Rogers said he welcomed the plan being studied by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, but that "it had terrible Nationalist government overtones".

He said it was too closely structured to the government structure and that it had been tailored to get past Mr Heunis and not to the needs of the region.

The chairman of the Border Regional Development Association which claimed that it was their plan which had been hijacked, Mr Cyril Manthe, said Mr Rogers should comment on the final plan as a lot of new input had gone into it since Mr Rogers last saw it.

"This should nullify his fears and I invite him to make fresh input. My previous invitation to him in October drew no response "

Meanwhile, several prospective candidates for the May 6 election have commented on the plan

The MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said insofar as the scheme involved devolution of area and should be divided in smaller provinces

He said the rest of the mechanics of the plan could be worked out later

The New Republic Party alliance candidate in Queenstown, Mr Robert Edlmann, said his political philosophy was based on the democratic process and he felt strongly that bodies must be elected

"I feel you do not have representation unless you have bodies elected "

Mr Edlmann reiterated his call for Border indaba, which must include the African National Congress, to work out the political future for the region.

He said all parties with a significant following must invited to the indaba but that it would first be necessary to identify blacks who wished to remain in South Africa rather than in one of the neighbouring states

"I don't think we can negotiate across borders until we have identified our people and worked out a structure of government for the region."

He said cross border negotiations would have to take place later but he did not think negotiations could take place until there was a structure which represented the region

Mr Edlmann said the idea of cabinet minister for the Border might work administratively "but we are getting to a situation with our provincial executives who are totally nominated by the government. We are going right away from the democratic principle of elected leaders."

He said in the long run such a situation could only lead to trouble as the representatives were not elected by the people.

Mr Edlmann said he also wanted to clarify a headline in the Daily Dispatch that he had called for participation of the ANC in the Bor- disqualified from any negotiation

"As a volunteer member of the Hantam Commando in Colesberg for the past 11 years, I obviously demand that law and order be maintained in South Africa. I have nothing in common with any organisation which stands for destabilisation and anarchy."

The rightwing independent candidate in East London City, Mr Nic Slabber, rejected the plan and asked who was going to pay for it.

"The National Party seems to like the word structure lately. Who's going to pay for these structures? The salaries of ministers are high while that of the average white man is low We just cannot afford to have a man to carry the Border portfolio. Other areas will also want such a minister."

He said the government should do something constructive for the white worker who was highly overburdened

He said coloureds had had thousands of houses built for them and he asked what had been done for the white man.

"Mr De Pontes fights for houses in Duncan Village. What has he done for the whites in East London?"

Mr Slabber said the only new structures needed now was an old age home for white pensioners where they could live the last days of their lives in comfort and peace. There should also be low cost-housing for other whites who could not afford to pay high rents "

The other independent rightwing candidate in East London North, Mr Bazil Niemand, said the plan was no secret to the NP.

"This could be the master plan, as I see it, to hand East London over to Ciskei and Transkei at the lowest cost

"However, I will like to make an in-depth study of the plan. I am

with Mr Alistair Lightbody, urged Mr Rogers to read the whole proposal before he commented.

He said the matter was devoid of party politics and that Mr Rogers should confer "with his partner in the so-called alliance".

He was referring to the chairman of the Greater East London Coordinating Committee, Mr Errol Spring, who is also the alliance candidate in East London North.

Mr Rogers said he welcomed the plan being studied by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, but that "it had terrible Nationalist government overtones".

He said it was too closely structured to the government structure and that it had been tailored to get past Mr Heunis and not to the needs of the region.

The chairman of the Border Regional Development Association which claimed that it was their plan which had been hijacked, Mr Cyril Manthe, said Mr Rogers should comment on the final plan as a lot of new input had gone into it since Mr Rogers last saw it.

"This should nullify his fears and I invite him to make fresh input. My previous invitation to him in October drew no response."

Meanwhile, several prospective candidates for the May 6 election have commented on the plan.

The MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said insofar as the scheme involved devolution of power to local areas, it was in accord with Progressive Federal Party policy.

"Our federal policy would go even further in terms of ascribing a greater authority and autonomy to the region. We believe East London knows better than Pretoria what is good for East London."

The National Party candidate in Albany, Mr Jannie van der Vyver, said he supported the plan in principle as it could only benefit the Border and the Eastern Cape.

"We will be able to improve our relations with Ciskei and Transkei. We are all inter-dependent in the region."

He was all for devolution of power and championed the idea that the Cape was too large an

strongly that bodies must be elected.

"I feel you do not have representation unless you have bodies elected."

Mr Edlmann reiterated his call for Border indaba, which must include the African National Congress, to work out the political future for the region.

He said all parties with a significant following must invited to the indaba but that it would first be necessary to identify blacks who wished to remain in South Africa rather than in one of the neighbouring states.

"I don't think we can negotiate across borders until we have identified our people and worked out a structure of government for the region."

He said cross border negotiations would have to take place later but he did not think negotiations could take place until there was a structure which represented the region.

Mr Edlmann said the idea of cabinet minister for the Border might work administratively "but we are getting to a situation with our provincial executives who are totally nominated by the government. We are going right away from the democratic principle of elected leaders."

He said in the long run such a situation could only lead to trouble as the representatives were not elected by the people.

Mr Edlmann said he also wanted to clarify a headline in the Daily Dispatch that he had called for participation of the ANC in the Border indaba.

He said the indaba was the cardinal issue and not the participation of the ANC.

"Anyone who read the report in the March 11 issue of the Daily Dispatch will know that I called for the participation of every realistic organisation and party in the Border region and I trust that my bona fides have not been prejudiced as a result of the headline that I feel was misleading.

"I have a genuine desire to find negotiated settlements to the problem of our country at every level of government, based on trust, respect for one another and goodwill.

"In the light of this it is obvious that while the ANC espouses violence, they are automatically

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The other independent rightwing candidate in East London North, Mr Bazil Niemand, said the plan was no secret to the NP.

"This could be the master plan, as I see it, to hand East London over to Ciskei and Transkei at the lowest cost.

"However, I will like to make an in-depth study of the plan. I am 100 per cent behind any development in the area, as long as it is in favour of all people and not an at increasing cost to the taxpayer.

"All South Africans want reform. One must just ask oneself how long, at what price and at what cost. Those are the three important factors.

"The NP and the PFP must realise that their days of bulldozing their plans through parliament is over. The only recipe I feel for reform and prosperity in the country is to reinstall law and order immediately and then to take all people into consideration when government decisions can interfere with lifestyles of the people or their children."

(News by M. Moonieya, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

New bid to heal Ciskei-Ciskei rift

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DD

19/3/87

By MATTHEW MOONIEYA

EAST LONDON — Three senior South African cabinet ministers will be in Bisho today for talks on the Ciskei-Transkei conflict which is having major regional repercussions.

The trio will be led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who requested the talks, and includes the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Ciskei's deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi, confirmed that the ministers were scheduled to have talks with President Lennox Sebe and his cabinet this morning.

Last night the three vehicles left behind after the February 19 early morning attack on the home of President Lennox Sebe, in which a Transkeian was killed and another man injured, were moved to the government buildings where the talks will be held.

The South African ministers will probably inspect the bullet-riddled hired car, the Transkei-registered troop carrier and land cruiser as well as the bakkie.

After the talks they are expected to fly to Umtata for further talks, presumably to try to patch up the differences between the Xhosa states.

Besides the squatter problem created on South African soil by people either fleeing or being evicted from Ciskei, the talks are expected to focus on the attack on President Sebe's house.

At a function to raise money for the National Development and Security Fund in Bisho on Tuesday, President Sebe referred to "the common known enemy" and said there were many outstanding questions "regarding the violation of Ciskei airspace".

Observers said he was referring to the use of aircraft in the raid on his home which, if they came from Transkei, had to pass through South African airspace and could have been picked up on radar.

At the time of the incident, Ciskei said South Africa had a "lot of questions to answer".

Today's high-level meeting will be the first between Ciskei and South Africa since the raid.

The South Africans' difficult quest for peace comes against the background of severe recriminations by Ciskei which has given all Transkeians in its territory a deadline to return home and has refused Transkeians medical treatment at hospitals under its jurisdiction.

The South African trio's attempt to resolve the differences follows a similar attempt by a retired South African judge, Mr Justice Rumpff, which led to an exchange of prisoners and a peace pledge on the Kei Bridge early this year.

Transkei supports regional plan

Dispatch Reporter

UMTATA — The Prime Minister of Transkei, Chief George Matanzima, said here yesterday that he would support the new regional management structure for the Border-Transkei-Ciskei being considered by the South African Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

After a ceremony here where an agreement was signed to establish a major cash and carry wholesaler in the city, the Prime Minister was asked to comment on the proposed plan which has gone to Mr Heunis to investigate its feasibility.

Chief Matanzima added: "Without co-operation we can do nothing."

The MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, who attended the ceremony, said co-operation was essential between the three independent constitutent bodies in the region.

He said frank discussions had been held on the present tensions in the region.

See also page 2

KwaZulu RSC will spark mass anger, says Buthelezi

Chief minister warns crisis will be of govt's making

Dispatch Correspondent

ULUNDI — The "foisting" of regional services councils on the Zulu community could have the effect of sparking off a "mass explosion of black anger".

This was said here yesterday by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, when he thanked the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, for opening the fifth session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed it was possible for the South African Government to delay the final introduction of regional services councils and to make some interim arrangements so that there could be negotiations about what should be happening to first and second-tier government structures of KwaZulu-Natal.

"If the South African Government does not afford us this time, they will be precipitating another crisis which will be of their own making," he said.

The KwaZulu chief minister said South Africa and the world were greatly encouraged by the emerging ferment in the National Party.

Every white voter who supported the challenge being thrust at Mr P. W. Botha by senior members of his party acted to "legitimise" the South African political system.

Chief Buthelezi said the South African Government would have to learn that it was more important to look over its left shoulder than it was to look over its right shoulder.

"The lunatic right will never harness internal and external forces which will make them powerful," he said.

"It is only people to the left of the National Party's centre who can do so."

Chief Buthelezi said the ferment in white political circles held out a promise which was encouraging.

It was the tip of an iceberg which would sink the National Party if it did not take cognisance of the deeply-rooted and wide-spread demand that South Africa be normalised as a modern, Western-type industrial state.

He said the KwaZulu authorities had opened the assembly to oppose apartheid.

They would continue to legitimise non-violent opposition to apartheid and continue to legitimise the pursuit of the politics of negotiation during the session.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI ... left shoulder

Chief raps UDF as 'ANC wing'

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the United Democratic Front operates as the internal wing of the banned African National Congress and its aim is to make the country ungovernable by fomenting violence.

In a strong attack on both the UDF and the ANC in the Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that he had applauded the emergence of the UDF three years ago.

However, at the movement's first Press conference, a spokesman had said the UDF would welcome affiliation by anybody except Inkatha.

'They went out of their way to declare us the ultimate leper,' the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

Members of the UDF had travelled to Swaziland and to Lesotho for crash courses in the use of arms of Soviet origin, he said.

He had always warned that it was a natural thing that people would retaliate when attacked.

Chief Buthelezi said he had encouraged Inkatha members to defend themselves against UDF attacks and had emphasised that it was the inalienable right of every person to defend himself.

'I also warned that, in the circumstances, Inkatha members should operate on the basis of an eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the current violence and counter-violence in the country suited the UDF down to the ground because the organisation was committed to making South Africa ungovernable.

Our Political Reporter reports that UDF spokesman, Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, said he suspected Chief Buthelezi's 'ranting and raving' was intended to persuade people to accept the banning of the UDF.

'There seems to be desperation in Ulundi and Pretoria to create a climate in which we will be finally closed down as an effective opposition to the National Party.

'This sort of thing is intended to divert the attention of South Africans from the failure of the NP and its supporters to resolve the crisis for which they are responsible,' Mr Tsenoli said.

See also Page 6

Two youths die in Kwa Mashu clashes

NTM 20/3/87

Mercury Reporters

POLICE confirmed last night that they are investigating the deaths of two more youths in Kwa Mashu, bringing to nine the number of deaths in the violent confrontations between UDF and Inkatha supporters that have convulsed the township this week.

Yesterday more than 15 000 Kwa Mashu high school pupils stayed away from school for the third successive day.

Police were unable last night to give more details of the latest deaths, which come after the discovery on Tuesday of seven youths stabbed to death. However, investigations were continuing, a police spokesman said.

Handful

A Mercury team which visited Kwa Mashu's eight deserted high schools yesterday was told by one headmaster, who did not want to be named, that the pupils were scared to come to school in case of further attacks by people he described as 'the warriors from Lindelani'.

At Isibonelo High School, a handful of pupils was present and the headmaster said some lessons had taken place earlier in the day.

At five other schools only teachers and the headmasters were in attendance.

One headmaster said that on Monday mini-buses had been seen driven by men from Lindelani going around the streets of Kwa Mashu 'picking up' pupils.

Mini-buses

'One of the pupils was from my school. He was later found stabbed to death among the seven bodies dumped in a ditch the next morning,' the headmaster said.

The mini-buses had been seen in Kwa Mashu since then but although they were no longer picking up pupils their presence was causing fear, the headmaster said.

Police have made no arrests in connection with the killings, but a spokesman for Durban's Murder and Robbery Unit said a number of people were being questioned.

The discovery of the bodies followed reports from the UDF-affiliated Kwa Mashu Youth League that several of their members had been abducted after armed youngsters disrupted a funeral in Lindelani on Saturday.

The funeral was that of Mr Simon Mdlalose, 23, a Kwa Mashu Youth League member who had been killed when his house was attacked and set alight two weeks ago.

One of the youths allegedly abducted from the funeral, Mr Mfanfuthi Patrick Nsibande, is in a serious condition in King Edward VIII Hospital, suffering from stab wounds in the chest.

A police spokesman said another youth, thought to be Mr Masinga Mthembu who was allegedly abducted while walking in the street on Monday, was also in hospital recovering from stab wounds. Hospital staff were not able to confirm this last night.

Govt 'sides with ANC on Indaba'

Political Reporter

THE Government had sided with the African National Congress by rejecting the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals, independent candidate in the forthcoming House of Assembly election, Dr Denis Worrall, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at the end of a two-day visit to Natal, Dr Worrall said that by rejecting the proposals the Government made it impossible for Inkatha to hold formal discussions with them.

'I return to Helderberg more determined than ever that (the Indaba) must be an issue in the election, especially as Mr Chris Heunis (MP for Helderberg and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning) more than anybody else in Government is responsible for the rejection of the Indaba.

'The voters of Helderberg fully understand the importance of the Indaba.

'They also recognise that its rejection was an embarrassment to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is recognised by most of my voters as one of South Africa's most powerful and effective critics of sanctions and disinvestment.'

Dr Worrall said he believed Mr Chris Heunis had 'closed the door' on a referendum on the Indaba but might be persuaded to change his mind by the election result.

He said there was tremendous determination in Natal and KwaZulu for the Indaba proposals to be implemented.

'Its a cop-out and crocodile tears for the Government to say they like the method but not the result.

'The two go together. The Government can't simply like a process because its result accords with its particular constitutional principles.'

He said the Government's rejection of the proposals because there was not enough protection for minority rights was a 'fig leaf' for very narrow and sectarian beliefs.

Dr Worrall said the Indaba was made an election issue with the publication of the proposals.

'They (the Indaba organisers) must have realised it would be a hot potato.'

He said the Indaba went a long way towards creating mutual trust without which talks between blacks and whites would never get started.

'While the proposals may not be applicable nationally, the method could be applied in other parts of the country.

'The proposals represent a very careful marriage of the majority principle with minority protections.'

He said the NP would have to come around completely to the independents' point of view before they returned to the NP.

'We sense there is a leading element which is closed to the kind of ideas which we are talking about.

'There is a feeling in this country, shared by most population groups, that the time has come for moderates, committed to peaceful change, to come together and create a movement which will take us into the 21st century,' Dr Worrall said.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Sebe raid: SA gets realistic account — Pik

Many mistakes were made by the raiders

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The South African Government now had "a very realistic account" of the night raid on President Lennox Sebe's home, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said after inspecting the arms, ammunition, clothing, food and army vehicles left behind by the raiders.

The items and vehicles were displayed in an open lot near President Sebe's offices and were inspected by the South Africans before their talks.

During the inspection and explanation of the arms and ammunition by Lieutenant-Colonel L. W. Yoli, commander of Ciskei's No1 Battalion, two new factors emerged which Lieut-Col Yoli claimed "were slips by the Transkei raiders".

These were:

- A false number plate allegedly used over the XM number plate on the troop carrier, GC 111, did not exist in Ciskei; and
- The raiders had sprayed the army vehicles used, in the same colour as the Ciskei army vehicles, but had forgotten to spray the tyre rims as well.

Mr Botha also questioned Lieut-Col Yoli about the private cars parked next to the army vehicles and was told one belonged to an alleged French mercenary, Michel-Jean Desble, and had been found abandoned near the scene of the raid, while the other was also used in the raid and had been abandoned at a casino in Bisho.

During the inspection, Mr Botha asked several questions about the origin of the arms and was shown an alleged Transkei Defence Force log book which was said to have been found in one of the vehicles.

"The latest date of entry in the log book is the day before the raid," Lieut-Col Joli told Mr Botha as they paged through the log book. "It was issued in Port St Johns."

Lieut-Col Joli told Mr Botha the raiders had crossed the Kei Bridge in civilian clothing and travelled to Breidbach on the new road to Zwelitsha where they changed into a khaki uniform which resembled the Ciskei army uniform.

Pik hopeful after Ciskei, T'kei talks

DD 20/3/87

(118)

Dispatch Reporter

BISHO — After a three-man South African ministerial delegation visited Ciskei and Transkei yesterday, hope was expressed that the region's problems would be resolved through discussion.

The South African delegation comprised the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Commenting on the outcome of his talks with Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe, Mr Botha said he was leaving Bisho encouraged by the president's renewal of confirmation that "he is fully committed to resolve the region's problems in talks, discussion and understanding. I leave here with much hope after this commitment."

Asked whether other matters — such as the squatter problem spilling into South Africa and the Ciskei's threat to repatriate all Transkeians by August 31 — had been discussed, Mr Botha said such matters would follow "if we can succeed in the objective we have put to each other and which I hope we can also obtain from Transkei.

"As far as I know, the big problem of Potsdam has been solved and I trust we will be able to solve the others as well."

A statement issued after 35-minute talks in Umtata with a delegation led by the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, said the meeting had gone off smoothly and matters had been resolved amicably.

Stability in the region was accorded high priority and ways and means of achieving that objective would be the subject of future meetings involving the relevant parties, the statement issued by the Transkei director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Vuyisile Dube, said.

At a press conference in Bisho, Mr Botha said South Africa had sent Transkei a diplomatic note after the raid on President Sebe's home in Bisho on the night of February 19.

Asked about a statement by President Sebe earlier this week that there were many unanswered questions regarding the violation of Ciskei air space, Mr Botha said: "I explained the South African position very clearly to President Sebe. There is no South African Government or defence force involvement at all.

At an earlier press briefing immediately after his two-hour talks with President Sebe and members of his cabinet, Mr Botha also made reference to the violation of air space and territory.

Dealing with South Africa's role in mediating between Ciskei and Transkei, Mr Botha said: "I will not say we are playing a mediatory role between two independent countries. South Africa has direct interests here because we are in between. Our territory is involved; the squatters move across the border into South Africa. Our interests are directly affected.

"If aircraft enter our air space, we are interested. If vehicles cross into our territory without permission, we are interested. It is our interests which are affected.

"The three countries are affected directly by this dispute. We are here to protect our interests but we are also here to protect the interests and security of the whole region.

"We simply cannot afford to fight each other in the light of an attack by a common enemy."

Mr Botha said the South African Government regarded the conflict in the region "in a very serious light" and the delegation had been sent by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

A statement issued by the Ciskei directorate of communications said the talks were carried out in a sincere spirit of concern from the three ministers and Ciskei was impressed with the constructive exchange of ideas on "a highly volatile and inflammable problem.

"Both parties were frank with a deep understanding of the crippling economic effects that the attacks would have on the whole Region D which is riddled with the highest number of unemployed," the statement said.

See also page 7

Inspecting the weapons allegedly left behind by the raiders who attacked President Lennox Sebe's home last month were (from left) the South African Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Christiaan van Aardt, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the commander of Ciskei's No 1 Battalion, Lieut-Col L. W. Yoli.

Arrow through mother's neck

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — A Durban North woman was admitted to hospital here this week with an arrow through her neck.

The woman, Mrs G. Pretorius, was accidently shot on Wednesday by her child who had been playing with a bow and arrow.

An Addington Hospital spokesman said: "It's a miracle she wasn't killed."

She was taken to hospital by family members and was conscious when she was admitted.

The arrow, which went through her neck and protruded about 10 cm, was removed in an operation.

Yesterday, she was transferred from the intensive care unit and was in a "stable" condition in a general ward.

It is understood she is having great difficulty speaking.

And now, talk of home rule for 'KwaBorder'

By FRANZ KRÜGER: East London

A NEW plan for "home rule" in the Border is being touted in the region as a possible first step towards a "KwaBorder" indaba involving the Ciskei and Transkei.

The proposal, under the title "A regional management structure for the Border", calls for the appointment of a cabinet minister with specific responsibility for the Border. It is hoped that such a functionary will have the necessary seniority to talk directly with the governments of Ciskei and Transkei, and would be able to draw them into talks modelled on the KwaNatal Indaba.

The release of the plan has brought some unusual political alignments.

Among its main protagonists are two opposing candidates in the May 6 election: Errol Spring, standing for the PFP in East London North, and Peet de Pontes, defending his seat of East London City for the National Party.

Reservations about the plan have been expressed by two NRP election candidates, with whom the PFP has an election pact. Pat Rogers, MP for King William's Town, said the plan had "terrible Nationalist Government overtones", and seemed more designed to get past the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, than tailoied to the needs of the region.

And another NRP candidate, Robert Edlmann, who is contesting the Queenstown seat for the alliance, expressed reservations on the grounds that it was not democratic.

Edlmann said the idea of an appointed cabinet minister might work administratively, "but we are getting a situation with our provincial executives who are totally nominated by the government. We are going right away from the democratric principle of elected leaders."

In terms of the plan, the "Minister for the Border" would advise the cabinet on all matters affecting the region. He would also represent all departments in the region itself, and be able to deal directly with the govenments of the Transkei and Ciskei.

There is also provision for an advisory committee appointed from "all interest groups in the area", in practice likely to be chiefly business bodies.

The plan first became public at a press conference called by the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee (GELCC) last week. The GELCC draws together business leaders as well as the local heads of government departments into a body linked in with the National Security Management System.

Spring is the chairperson of the GELCC, and the press conference was also attended by De Pontes and Alistair Lightbody, a senior executive with sweet manufacturer Wilson Rowntree and who heads the GELCC's constitutional development sub-committee.

The proposal, which is to go to Heunis for consideration, is motivated by the need for direct contact with the Ciskei and Transkei. At present, local problems often have to be dealt with through the Department of Foreign Affairs if they involve the two homelands.

This is often a lengthy and cumbersome process. A motivation presented at the press conference said: "Definite economic interdependence between the Border area and its neighbours make it absolutely essential that a local structure be established to deal on an equal footing and direct basis with the two adjoining states.

"A government structure based within the border area is a prerequisite for this to happen and for the area to movd into a KwaNatal Indaba situation.

"In respect of the latter, this was facilitated by the existence of a Provincial authority and the fact that KwaZulu is self-governing and not independent, placing the two parties on basically equal footing."

A furious row immediately developed over authorship of the plan, with the Border Regional Development Association (BRDA) claiming it had originated the plan.

At a press conference, the president of the BRDA, Cyril Manthe, said the plan had been "hijacked by a bunch of people who were stuffed with their own self-importance".

The plan's submission to Heunis was premature, Manthe said, as input from various municipalities was still being awaited.

The GELCC had nothing to do with the plan, he said, and had no jurisdiction in the area but merely functioned in relation to the joint management system.

Chief blasts 'violent' doctors

21/3/87

African Affairs Correspondent

THERE is no place in KwaZulu hospitals for activists in violent politics, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said at Umlazi.

Opening the Prince Mshiyeni Memorial Hospital, Chief Buthelezi said it defied his imagination how any doctor could possibly survive the experience of throwing a hand-grenade one night and next morning finding himself or herself tending the wounds of the man who was the victim of the explosion.

He said there was something 'very repulsive' about doctors hiding hand-grenades under white cloaks.

'We all know that some black doctors are now known to have been actively involved in perpetrating violence in this region of South Africa.

'They have been convicted in court and there is no possibility that evidence against them in their particular cases is suspect,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said he understood those whose courage failed and whose frailty drove them to violence.

He could not, however, understand failed courage driving people to the kind of inhuman acts occurring in the internecine black-on-black violence.

Excluded Inkatha would 'go to the bush' says chief

25/3/87

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday said he would 'go to the bush' if the Government excluded him and Inkatha from negotiations at the national level.

Delivering his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said such exclusion would be the final act of de-legitimising non-violent, democratic opposition to a Government which the black people of South Africa did not want.

'We would then not be held responsible (for what happened) after whatever settlement is put into practice,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said there was too much 'glib talk' about the ANC's involvement in the settlement of the South African issue, which only served to legitimise the politics of violence.

'There will never ever be only two parties at the negotiating table,' he said.

'It is wishful thinking to contemplate mediation by bringing only the ANC mission-in-exile and the South African Government together as the only prime actors in the politics of negotiation.'

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said the black people should decide for themselves who would negotiate on their behalf.

Chief Buthelezi asked why the ANC mission-in-exile did not abandon their violence for long enough to return to South Africa and set up a legitimate democratic base from which they could prove the extent of their support.

War was not a once-only option, he said, and the ANC could return to the armed struggle if negotiations failed to gather the total backing of the international community.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC mission-in-exile had never been mandated to do what they were doing.

Sapa reports Chief Buthelezi as saying he would not be prepared to negotiate over South Africa's future with anybody who was maiming and killing Inkatha members while the negotiations were taking place.

The Inkatha leader said there were some who came away from discussions with the ANC's national executive convinced that the mission in exile could be drawn into negotiations, he told the Legislative Assembly.

If this were indeed so, the ANC would not keep insisting that it would continue acts of violence while negotiating.

It had been seen all over the world that it was necessary for violence to cease before negotiations began.

'Right now,' he said, 'We need to be negotiating about negotiations while we remain in the midst of violence, but I for one, Mr Speaker, would not be able to negotiate with anybody who was maiming and killing Inkatha members while the negotiations are taking place.'

Cape Times 25/3/87

Buthelezi appeals for an end to the violence

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday appealed to leaders of "all organizations to come together in an attempt to defuse" the violence tearing the country.

In a general response to media queries concerning the death of seven youths in KwaMashu in Durban recently, Chief Buthelezi said: "I deplore all violence and earnestly appeal to leaders of all organizations to come together in an attempt to defuse the situation — not only in Natal/KwaZulu but elsewhere in the country."

However, while addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said: "I for one, Mr Speaker, would not be able to negotiate with anybody who was maiming and killing Inkatha members while the negotiations are taking place."

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said: "There is little doubt in my mind that this spiral of death and destruction was initially politically motivated and it is now clearly out of control.

"The time is long overdue for organizations to sit down and work out ways and means of encouraging peace and decent and civilized behaviour.

"If all those caught up in this ghastly situation do not want the terror to continue, if they do not want to score bloody political points, then now is the time for hard work by all for the common good," he said.

It was simply wishful thinking to consider mediating to bring only the ANC and the government together as prime actors in this regard. The government was not elected by blacks and could therefore not negotiate for the future on their behalf.

"Just as we have not elected the National Party, neither have we elected the ANC into being the legitimate government of South Africa in exile. There will be no negotiations with the government in which we are not involved."

This was why he called for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners. Blacks had to decide for themselves who would negotiate on their behalf.

He said he found the violence "appalling and reiterate once again that Inkatha is not committed to making South Africa ungovernable and is committed to non-violence and negotiation".

He said Inkhata's stand had always been that of encouraging all political groups to work in a multi-strategy approach against the evils of apartheid and the racist policies of the government.

"I have also held the belief that Inkatha's 1,3 million members have an inalienable right to defend themselves and the aims and objectives of the movement," said Chief Buthelezi.

"In the past years I have found myself leading Inkatha in the midst of violence vigorously stimulated by the external mission of the ANC and its internal surrogates. Many, many members of Inkatha, their families, supporters and their friends and families have lost their lives (in the past three years) and the acts of horror have gone on and on."

He said he had written to African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo "offering to meet him anywhere to discuss peaceful coexistence", but that he had "not had any response". — Sapa

Bodies found of 2 hacked to death

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The death toll in township violence here rose to four this week after the bodies of two men were found yesterday.

The Bureau for Information said yesterday that Mr Vivian Mbamba, 26, was hacked to death after a group of youths ransacked his KwaMashu house on Monday night.

A member of the Chesterville Youth Organization, Mr Johannes Nzimande, 24, was found hacked to death in Road One, Chesterville, early yesterday.

Township sources said Mr Nzimande's home in Road 8 was attacked shortly before midnight on Monday and Mr Nzimande had been heard screaming.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said the incident was not unrest-related. "An unknown person was killed by unknown people in Chesterville. His body was found by police at 3am on Tuesday in Road 1," Durban police said.

But the bureau did report that a man, "who has been identified as a comrade", was arrested after he fired two shots at an Inkatha member, wounding him in the head, in Chesterville.

The bureau also reported that police have arrested three teenagers and two men following the rape on Monday of five schoolgirls in Dinkiestrust near Graskop.

According to the report about 50 people threw stones at the broken-down bus of Nkoshilo School. Five schoolgirls were taken from the bus and raped while a schoolboy was stabbed in the back with a knife.

[Goldstein. JSE assistant GM and head of the

South Africans clawing their way out of debt

B/Day 26/3/87

GERALD REILLY

SOUTH AFRICANS seem slowly to be clawing their way out of massive debt that piled up during three years of recession.

Economists say this is a reasonable conclusion to draw from the latest debt figures released in Pretoria yesterday by Central Statistical Services.

They show that in the three months to end-January, the number of summonses for debt decreased by 12,4% to 189 404, compared with 216 075 for the November-January period in 1985-86.

Civil summonses for debt also declined — by 10,5% to 92 846, against 103 767 in the previous November-January period.

Amounts involved in civil default and consent judgments for debt on business enterprises and private persons in January this year decreased by R5,347m to R53,210m, compared with January last year.

Amounts involved in judgments on private persons decreased by R11,125m to R46,730m.

B/Day 26/3/87

Sanctions attack

ULUNDI — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday criticised the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) over the sanctions issue.

He accused UDF patron Allan Boesak and Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini of first promoting disinvestment and then back-tracking when it became clear that most blacks were disenchanted with the policy.

Buthelezi said: "The victims of apartheid had never clamoured for disinvestment and it was tragic that they had to continue paying the price for it while time matured in their favour.

"Cosatu and the UDF knew this, but they had had the liberty of saying what they wanted to without referring to the people. They were basically affiliate organisations and were not dependent on endorsement by individual membership.

"Dlamini's political shallowness was revealed when he said Cosatu had never called for companies to pull out, but that it did support sanctions," said Buthelezi. — Sapa.

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N/M 27/3/87

SABC won't let Indaba reply on TV

Mercury Reporter

THE SABC will not provide television air time for a KwaZulu/Natal Indaba representative to correct 'blatant misrepresentations' made about the Indaba on the *Network* programme this week.

Indaba director Prof Dawid van Wyk made a call for air time in a telex to SABC director-general Riaan Eksteen, but yesterday Mr Eksteen said: 'The (programme in question) wasn't a programme to discuss the merits or demerits of the Indaba.

'If that had been the aim, naturally we would have given the pros and the antis.'

He referred the Mercury to the SABC's senior news director, Mr Sakkie Burger, who explained the intention of the programme had been to consider the Indaba as a political election issue, not in its own right.

He said: 'To get to the bottom line, we can't accede to Prof van Wyk's request.'

He said the SABC was sympathetic to the Indaba's sentiment that it would be better to keep the Indaba out of the political arena.

But, he said, 'the fact is that it has become a political issue.

'All we did was present a programme in which we addressed the Indaba as a political issue and not in its original context as a forum for negotiation and constitutional proposals.

Documentary

'But we did exactly that on February 5 this year, when we presented a documentary on *Network*, when we dealt in depth with the proposals of the Indaba.

'At the time it wasn't an election issue. We were approached after the programme by Indaba representatives for copies on videotape to use for their own purposes.

'Now we are busy with election issues.

'We presented the Indaba proposals in a political context, specifically in the Natal context.'

(Report by D Bayley, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

From brotherhood to broedertwis

The convoluted jealousies and family quarrels that lie behind the Ciskei-Transkei conflict. By FRANS KRUGER

WHEN the Transkei and Ciskei ceremoniously exchanged prisoners at Kei Bridge border post two short months ago, there was a lot of talk of Xhosa peace and brotherhood.

Cabinet ministers from both sides spoke of the beginning of an era of peace and co-operation between the two, and announced the establishment of a "forum for consultation" to settle any disputes.

The exchange symbolised "the good faith and trust upon which our mutual respect and the dignity of sovereignty are constructed," said the Transkei Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, TT Letlaka, during the first stage of the exchange on Christmas Eve.

"Ciskei hopes there will be no acts of aggression, no wild statements to spark tension and bad blood between our two countries," said the Ciskei Minister of Public Works and Water Affairs, Chief DM Jongilanga, a week later, when the second part of the swop was executed.

It was not long, however, before there were both wild statements and acts of aggression, culminating in last week's attack by Transkei soldiers on the palace of Ciskei President Lennox Sebe.

In late January, Transkei announced it had captured a Ciskei security force officer, Major N Sandile, while he was on a mission to "kill or abduct Charles Sebe", brother of the Ciskei president, who had found refuge in the Transkei after he was sprung from Middeldrift jail in October.

There was some doubt about the claim. As Ciskei quickly pointed out, the Transkei was unable to produce or account for other members of the unit it had claimed Sandile was leading.

But it has been quite content to let the Transkei and Ciskei slug it out with only the mildest of rebukes.

The massive dependence of the two homeland administrations on South Africa in almost every respect would give Pretoria enough leverage to put an immediate stop to the squabbling. But despite the fact that the row is beginning to affect investment in the region, South Africa has allowed it to continue.

In response to last week's attack, Foreign Minister Pik Botha merely issued a statement that South Africa would not allow its territory to be used by one "state" against another.

And his deputy, Ron Miller, said soothingly that "rivalry was endemic in Africa.

"We must remember we are part of Africa and these things will happen from time to time," he said.

Even during the prisoner swop, it was clear that despite the protestations of Xhosa brotherhood, the dispute between the two homelands was far from over. The Transkei had forced the Ciskei into accepting a humiliating defeat, and it was only a question of time before it would try to score further points.

During the first stage of the swop, conducted on Christmas Eve, Ciskei freed three detainees and Transkei handed back the head of the Ciskei Peoples' Development Bank, Cecil Vanda — ironically a Transkei citizen — and another bank official.

In one of many ludicrous sideshows that have marked this dispute, the exchange was delayed when one of the Ciskei detainees refused to cross the border. Diliza Khunjuzwa, a retired school inspector from Keiskammahoek, pointed out he was a Ciskeian and would much rather return to his Ciskei home instead of going to the Transkei.

After a brief consultation in the middle of Kei Bridge, it was decided he could go home if he preferred.

The second part of the exchange, on December 30, was almost entirely a Sebe family affair: Transkei handed over President Sebe's son, Major General Kwane Sebe — the head of the Ciskei Police Elite Unit — as well as his deputy, Colonel Zandisile Ngwanya.

The two men had been abducted from an East London hotel on the same night in October that Charles Sebe was sprung from Middeldrift jail.

In return, Ciskei released three nephews of President Sebe, who had all been serving jail sentences for their role in an earlier attempt to overthrow their uncle.

What Sebe had gained through the swop was primarily the return of his abducted son. Umtata, on the other hand, had managed to strengthen the group of Ciskei dissidents who have found refuge and support in the Transkei.

The roots of the current row are to be found in the artificial division which is the basis for the existence of the two 'Kei "states." But however marginal the conflict seems to the real issues facing South Africa, it cannot be ignored completely.

The recent decision by President Sebe's government to deport every Transkeian working in the Ciskei was an important reminder that the contenders have the power to make the effects of their squabble felt beyond the ranks of the Sebe and Matanzima families. — Elnews.

No other members of the Ciskei Defence Force were missing, said Ciskei government spokesman, Headman Somtunzi, and it is unlikely Sandile would have been sent on such a mission alone.

The mystery around Sandile, a member of the Ciskei royal family, deepened when he was captured as a member of the raiding party on Sebe's palace.

First reports claimed he had approached the palace guards while the other raiders hid, in an attempt to dupe them.

Ciskei authorities were preparing to introduce him to the press only hours after the attackers had been put to flight. But at the last minute they announced he could not be produced, sparking speculation that his involvement may not have been as straightforward as first thought.

It is still not clear whether he helped the raiders voluntarily or under duress.

A feature of the bantustan dispute has been the low profile adopted by the South African government.

Pretoria has never been slow to apply pressure on neighbouring states if it felt its interests demanded it: air strikes on foreign capitals, support for rebel groups and full-scale invasion are well-used weapons in the Foreign Affairs armoury.

Buthelezi shares Tutu's worry

28/3/87

1/B

African Affairs Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he shares Archbishop Desmond Tutu's apparent concern about his failure to talk the ANC out of violence.

Referring to the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town's recent talks with ANC president Oliver Tambo in Lusaka, Chief Buthelezi said he wondered if this had made any difference to the cleric's previously stated support for the ANC's aims, as opposed to its methods.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister regretted that the external mission of the ANC had again confirmed that it was still committed to violence and the so-called armed struggle.

Dealing with the archbishop's call for brotherly love and Christian commitment to play a role in defusing the violence in Natal/KwaZulu, Chief Buthelezi said he would like to see this as a sign that he had future plans to play a significant reconciliatory role in South Africa between black and black and between white and black.

Tears

'In the past I have been hurt and distressed by the actions of church leaders who, for instance, reduced Mrs Coretta Scott King, the widow of slain United States civil rights leader and Nobel Prize Laureate, to tears and forced her to cancel her requested appointment to meet with me,' he said.

'These same men were also involved in a move to exclude me, KwaZulu and Inkatha, from participating in a multi-million-rand trust set up by Coca-Cola.'

Chief Buthelezi said if all this was to be 'behind us' and there was the hope of church leaders effectively bringing God's message of peace and love to all, there was no doubt that it would augur well for the future.

Indaba plans mixed suburbs, says Nat

NM 28/3/87 (118)

Mercury Reporter

INTEGRATION of all residential areas in Natal and KwaZulu would become legal if the Indaba proposals were implemented, Mr Renier Schoeman, director of information for the National Party in Natal, said yesterday.

Mr Schoeman, who is the NP candidate for the Umhlanga constituency in the House of Assembly election, was responding to criticism by Prof Dawid van Wyk, director of the Indaba, of an article on the proposals in the National Party's latest newsletter for Natal.

He said that, in terms of Clause 7 (1) of the Bill of Rights, it would be illegal to refuse anyone the right to buy or occupy property anywhere in Natal.

Mr Schoeman said the National Party viewed the 'inaccurate information' put out by Prof van Wyk about the Indaba as 'disturbing, to say the least'.

He said Prof van Wyk had recently stated in the Press that the Indaba proposals had been endorsed by Inkatha.

'Dubious'

This was simply not true, Mr Schoeman said. He said the central committee of Inkatha had resolved to appoint a sub-committee to prepare an assessment of the proposals which could be laid before the annual conference of the movement later this year.

Prof van Wyk owed the public an explanation about this and other dubious claims he was making almost daily.

Mr Schoeman said there was no guarantee in the Indaba proposals that the people who represented the majority of any group would serve on the Cabinet.

(Report by P Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

(118) (109)

Bop opposition battle with BDP

By SOL MORATHI

TWO Bophuthatswana opposition parties are locked in separate court battles against the ruling Bop Democratic Party.

The National Seoposengwe Party is seeking an interdict from the Mmabatho Supreme Court restraining the BDP, "in conjuction with the homeland police" from harassing and victimising its members.

And the People's Progressive Party has taken the BDP to court for allegedly refusing to grant it the status of an official opposition party, or alternatively to recognise it.

The two cases, though running separately, both began last week, as campaigning for Bop elections gain momentum.

Seoposengwe, led by Victor Sefora, claims that homeland police, instructed by the BDP, have:

- Disrupted its meetings.
- Arrested its members.
- Generally victimised and harassed its members.

"The way we have been torn from pillar to post in the last 10 years can give one the impression that we are not an official opposition party. We are. This has only been done to frustrate and demoralise us," said Sefora.

"The BDP must not expect us to drop the matter. We will fight to the bitter end," he said.

Sefora said his party, whose objectives were to achieve a non-racial society and strive for non-discriminatory, peaceful, and prosperous co-existence of all, was officially registered in 1977 as an opposition party.

Since then, he said, the party has never received fair treatment from the BDP.

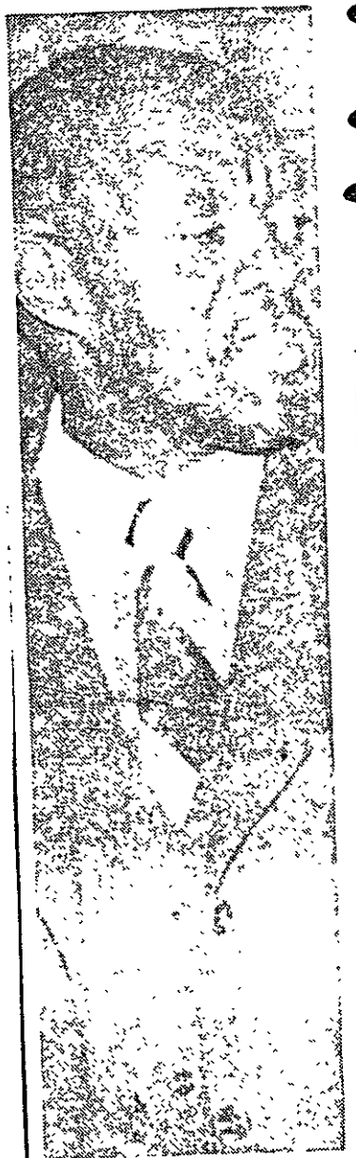
Subsequently it was forced into oblivion in the past seven years and was not represented in the last two Bop parliamentary sessions, claimed Sefora.

Rocky Malebana, leading the People's Progressive Party, is worried that the PPP will not be able to contest the elections as because of lack of recognition.

Malebana said his party had all the qualities necessary to be an official party, but the BDP did not want to give it recognition status as it feared opposition.

The Party has been battling for almost two years for recognition.

BDP elections are scheduled for August. Voter registration will close on April 1.



Lucas Mangope

C/P 23 29/3/87 (109)

More delays in Bop inquiry

By SOL MORATHI

THE findings of a commission of inquiry into the fatal shooting of 11 Winterveld residents last year have still not been completed.

The delay, according to the secretary of the commission's chairperson, Judge EAT Smith, has been caused by the "usual" court duties the judge was faced with.

"He has such a load of work to do," said the secretary yesterday, "but hopefully, he will be through in the next few weeks, most probably at the end of the month."

The commission was appointed by Bop President Lucas Mangope to look into and ascertain circumstances and incidents relating to the shooting.

It also had to look into the extent of involvement of the homeland security forces in the incident.

Smith is expected to refer the findings and his recommendations to Mangope for a final decision.

Eleven people were killed and 28 others suffered gunshot wounds following the incident.

Over 50 other people had to be hospitalised for allegedly being assaulted by security forces.

The inquiry began in May and ended in October.

SHEER CHEEK

That's how we view PW's manifesto, and this is why

By MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI

MAY 6 will be the culmination of a whites-only election campaign about black politics.

This election is about reform and we are now watching white political parties squabbling and vying with each other about how they think black politics should be handled.

The State President is urging whites to give him a mandate to negotiate with black leaders and yet blacks have never been asked whether they want their future in the hands of Mr P W Botha and those blacks with whom he chooses to consult.

I will now attempt to explain to whites how blacks see the sheer political audacity of the State President's election manifesto.

In the opening remarks of my policy speech delivered last week to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, I asked the following: When a great tree grows on the Ulundi plain, it sinks deep tap roots into the bowels of the earth. Is it an Ulundi tree or is it a South African tree?

Black South Africans have dug their roots deep into our earth and when the State President still persists in calling KwaZulu a "national state which has not yet accepted independence" one knows that he still does not conceive of us as being South Africans. And that goes for all black South Africans.

And this is why this country is in such a state of turmoil. This is why whites must think very, very carefully when they go to the polls on May 6.

Mr Botha and others of his political ilk still perceive the political destinies of the various population groups in South Africa as being separate.

I ask: Does the great tree on the plains of Ulundi make its own rain? Does it create its own climate and I ask whether the bits and pieces of land which the South African Government calls KwaZulu is a God-created patchwork of human quilt in which He intended us to seek our destiny?

The fact is that the trees that grow in Ulundi are part of South Africa. The rains that keep them alive are created by a vast set of meteorological forces which sweep the length and breadth of the whole of South Africa. Above all, the huge geological eruptions which created the Ulundi plains and all of KwaZulu were the same eruptions which created the whole of South Africa.

We are talking about one thing — our Motherland was created by the Almighty as one totality.

The National Party attempts to tear South Africa apart to recreate God's world in the image of Dr Verwoerd's dreams. Our land is wounded and thus rent apart and day by day we watch with horror as South African blood seeps into our soil.

When I write about this election and about unity in South Africa I am writing about life and death issues.

I am writing about issues for which people are prepared to die.

I have based my whole political career on my perception of the reality of South Africa being one country, created by one history, with one people who have but one destiny.

For a long time now blacks have watched whites play their party political democratic games as a smokescreen to hide their dictatorial social, economic and political oppression of blacks.

However, times are changing and we are now watching the emerging ferment in white politics very carefully because it holds out a promise which is encouraging.

For the first time in the National Party's history as a ruling party, it has been challenged from within by both its left and its right.

The South African Government must simply learn that it is more important to look over its left shoulder than it is to look over its right shoulder.

The lunatic right will never ever harness internal and external forces which will make them powerful. It is only people to the left of the National Party's centre who can do so.

What we are now seeing is the tip of an iceberg which will sink the National Party if it does not take cognisance of the deeply rooted and widespread demand that our country be normalised. And that means power-sharing in a united, nonracial and democratic South Africa.

I make no extravagant claims about the effect the National Party rebellion is going to have on the election, but every white voter who supports the challenge being thrust at Mr Botha by senior members of his party will act to legitimise the South African political system.

The crisis through which the South African Government is now going is tragically more than a party political crisis. It is a crisis for opposition political parties.

The National Party is now thrust into an election because it could not make good the promises it gave South Africa and the world during the referendum campaign.

This very under-achievement has stoked the fires that are now raging in our troubled land. Only sane politics will put out these fires.

In an interview conducted by Mr Andre le Roux on February 18 this year, the State President was asked "Have we actually started to slow down reform as a result of the security situation?" The State President responded by saying, inter alia "It depends on what we mean by reform. To some people reform is the granting of political rights."

And there we have it — the nub of the crisis.

This statement was a slap in the face of every black South African. It is unbelievable that in this day and age Mr P W Botha actually still talks like this.

At times I totally despair.

It is crucial that whites understand that blacks are watching them very carefully. Whites must know that the results of this election will have an impact on black political thinking.

White voters must know that the way they mark their ballot papers in this forthcoming election is going to influence black politics.

I believe I sum up black feeling when I say that a white parliamentary session will come which must be the last. This must be the last whites-only election.

If whites don't come to their political senses, black politics will be radicalised and all hell will break loose.

There is hope of very real and fundamental change in this country through non-violent, democratic means. But I also know how deeply we are penetrating into the eleventh hour of this country's crisis. When I write about the hope of democracy, I write urgently.

Quite frankly only time will tell how long I can bottle up the deep disgust which is welling up in me as a consequence of suicidal, white political recalcitrance.

It is the National Party which has bred black political anger.

It is the National Party which has radicalised black politics.

It is the National Party which has made South Africa the pariah of the decent and civilised world.

It is the National Party which has brought about the terrible economic circumstances in which we are struggling.

It is the National Party which is alienating South Africa from every friend she ever had abroad.

Our future remains dangerously insecure as long as the National Party remains in power.

Whites need black allies if we are ever going to have democracy in this country. I hope they do not finally come to this conclusion at a time when they will have no allies left.

There is no better time than now for the white electorate to come to its senses.

Whites must meet us half way: Chief

30/3/87 N/M (116)

ESTCOURT—If whites did not meet half way with those committed to peaceful change, the future of their children and those of blacks would be destroyed by the forces of violence and anarchy, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He warned that blacks would never be governed willingly without universal adult franchise and that their cherished ideal was one-man one-vote in a unitary state.

Compromise was possible, however, if an alternative could be found which served the essentials of democracy, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said in opening the Lions Trade Fair here.

Chief Buthelezi said that, whatever its critics might say, the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba had shown that much goodwill was still being generated in this region by people of all race groups.

Natal people were often portrayed abroad as more liberal than whites in other provinces. Now was the time for them to show whether or not this was a fallacy.

'Let us see the so-called liberal whites of this region put their money where their mouths are as far as commitment to human rights and to the Christian ethic is concerned,' he told the large audience.

There were people committed to destroying South Africa economically, 'and unless we rally and stand together as one people in one land they will succeed.'

The options were either to ensure that they did not succeed or to make it easier for them to do so.

Mr Duncan du Bois, the Conservative Party's candidate for Mooi River in the General Election, had portrayed him to the white electorate of Natal as a danger.

'I am not a danger to anyone in this province or in South Africa,' Chief Buthelezi said 'It is racists of Mr Duncan du Bois's ilk who are a danger to us all.

'Whites of Natal have known me and my politics long enough to judge for themselves.'

Over the years this region had not burned as much as elsewhere because of his and Inkatha's stabilising force.

Chief Buthelezi said: 'We need to search for a formula in which the principles of democracy are not destroyed in the compromises we each make to meet the other half way.'

It was suicidal for South Africa to try to rediscover democracy for itself.

(Report by R Rudden, 30 Masonic Grove, Durban.)

Ciskei rejects regional proposal

EAST LONDON—Ciskei has rejected a call by Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, for a new regional government for the Eastern Cape, calling his suggestions insulting and insincere.

In a statement released yesterday, the Ciskei Government said Transkei would first have to sign a peace treaty guaranteeing regional security.

The statement said Ciskei would reject any attempt by Transkei to amalgamate with, or annex, Ciskei, and said any plan for regional co-operation should not interfere with the sovereignty of states in the region.

Calling on Chief Matanzima to 'reconcile the statement on the regional plan with his refusal to sign a peace treaty involving Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa', Ciskei said it strongly believed there could be no fruitful regional co-operation without security.

'Chief Matanzima owes southern Africa an explanation for the aborted raid and attempted murder of Ciskei's president,' the Ciskei statement said.

On Friday, Chief Matanzima told more than 20 000 people at a Tembu commemoration service that his Government was considering a new regional constitutional plan for the area between the Umzimkulu and Gamtoos rivers, including Port Elizabeth.

He said his Government advocated 'dialogue between the leaders of the region to negotiate a constitutional dispensation.' — (Sapa)

30/3/87 N/M

Bok lifesavers take first test against Kiwis

Mercury Reporter

IN a three-way lifesaving event the Springbok team beat the touring Plascon Kiwis and a junior Springbok side in the first test at North Beach in Durban yesterday.

The Springboks won eight of the 13 events to end on 21,5 points while the Kiwis and junior Springboks tied for second place with 17,5 points.

Surf Lifesaving Association of South Africa's executive director Mr Derrick Whitting said the event was very close and exciting and was held in

C'kei rejects call for new regional govt

Dispatch Reporter

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Calling on Chief Matanzima to "reconcile the statement on the regional plan with his refusal to sign a peace treaty involving Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa", Ciskei said it strongly believed that there could be no fruitful regional co-operation without security.

"Prime Minister Matanzima owes Southern Africa an explanation for the aborted raid and attempted murder of Ciskei's President. He must address himself to this issue before venturing into this so-called regional plan," the Ciskei statement said.

On Friday, Chief Matanzima told over 20 000 people at a Tembu commemoration service in the Gqebenya hills that his government was considering a new regional constitutional plan for the area between the Umzimkulu River and the Gamtoos River, including Port Elizabeth.

He said Transkei had no expansionist designs and his government advocated "dialogue between the leaders of this vast region to negotiate a constitutional dispensation that will be acceptable to all our people as a point of departure in the process of restructuring a new Southern Africa."

He appealed "to our brothers in Ciskei to perceive our aims objectively as we have no designs of annexation," adding that should the people of the region so wish, Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe could head the new dispensation.

"We shall pledge our support and loyalty to him, provided President Sebe uses his brains," Chief Matanzima said.

He added that there was more at stake than personal considerations and called on all those of the "greater Xhosaland, irrespective of race or tribal affiliations, to converge on the negotiation table to put our house in order".

In its reaction, Ciskei said that when a new regional plan had been announced in East London a few weeks ago Chief Matanzima had admitted that he did not have details of the plan.

"Surprisingly enough, when ultimately he got a briefing, he comes so excited and nasty to a degree of wantonly puffing insults."

Ciskei said Chief Matanzima had shown he had no previous comprehensive plan for his country's future participation in a broader Southern Africa, while Ciskei had a well-formulated plan which had been presented to the South African Government in February 1980.

"What is therefore being hailed as a breakthrough by late-comers and non-planners is to Ciskei dead wood."

Ciskei said Chief Matanzima would have to be specific about his agenda, "if he has any", otherwise Ciskei would regard his announcement as insincere.

Transkei's "policy of destabilisation" made it an unsuitable partner in such a plan.

"The treaty which has not been signed because of Transkei's attitude is an important preliminary to any regional plan, irrespective of who the initiator is."

11B

BLACK SASH OPENS SOWETO OFFICE

By ALI MPHAKI

Miss MAKHOTSO Pholosi ... runs Sash office.

THE Black Sash has opened an office within a building that is still under construction along the Old Potchefstroom Road in Mofolo South, Soweto.

The offices were opened early this year. The building belongs to the National Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro).

Both organisations are playing a sterling role in the lives of many troubled black souls.

While Nicro is concerned chiefly with criminals, the Sash helps people who are turned into criminals by influx control regulations.

But few people have visited these offices. This is worrying Miss Makhotso Pholosi who runs the offices.

Help

"We open at 9am and close at 4pm on weekdays. We appeal to all people with problems falling within our scope of work to please come forward for help," said Miss Pholosi.

Help for people who are turned into criminals

The opening of an office in Soweto was mooted because of the number of desperate Soweto people who seek help at the main office in Johannesburg.

Miss Pholosi said they help people with problems like:

- The difficulty Xhosas and Tswanas face in obtaining the new ID;
- Late registration of births and birth certificates;
- Underpaid workers and those dismissed unfairly;
- Consumer problems; and
- Tax problems.

Miss Pholosi said many people were ignorant of the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and urged them to come forward.

Their telephone number is (011) 984-8307.

UK aid for Mozambique

LONDON — The Government announced an emergency aid package worth £8,3-million (R27-million) yesterday to ease Mozambique's food shortage and refugee problems.

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1987

APRIL — ~~SEPT.~~ → DECEMBER

'Kei meets 'Kei in neutral Natal

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

SENIOR Transkei and Ciskei policemen met on ironic neutral ground yesterday — at a two-day symposium in Durban on faction fighting.

Colonel GA Ngaki of the Ciskei police and General Jacob Mantutle, Head of Transkei's civil defence and former commissioner of Transkei police, were both scheduled to speak on faction fighting in their respective states.

However, Ngaki, after outlining a history of the Ciskei people, claimed "the Republic of Ciskei has since the big border wars (of the 19th century) been free of all tendencies that may be seen to be warlike".

He said, "There have since been no tribal clashes in the Republic of Ciskei.

"I do not mean small faction fights by young uncircumsised boys who used to fight with sticks. Even these have since disappeared because there are no idle sections of the society in the Ciskei. Everybody everywhere is involved in the development of his being."

Ngaki then listed the factors "deemed to be contributory to the peaceful situation in Ciskei" and concluded "even the discussion of army situation that one reads about presently in the news media is not warranted because it does not form part of the inter-tribal clashes. It may most probably be referred to as inter-statal or inter-national clashes which, truly speaking, does not form part of my paper whatsoever."

His Transkei counterpart was less optimistic about the disappearance of faction fighting in his area, and Mantutle listed a number of contributing causes: struggles for power and leadership and family feuds.

The conference was held at the end of a week in which 19 people were known to have died in faction fighting at Tugela Ferry in the Natal Midlands.

Conference organiser and opening speaker, Professor GL Ndabandaba who heads the Department of Criminology at the University of Zululand, said it was estimated that one man dies every week of every year in Zulu faction fighting alone.

erated from all blame, irrespective of the duration of the strike," it added.

According to Sats, loss of earnings of striking workers is in excess of R5m so far. Says Sats: "It is ironical that the strike has been called in support of a single employee who has been fined R80 and who has failed to exercise his democratic right of appeal."

Sats expressed anxiety over the number of cases of alleged intimidation of employees, and said "the handling of such cases falls under the jurisdiction of the security forces."

Sats has not in the past been in the forefront of recognising black unions. But although a special *Government Gazette* recently enabled Sats to dismiss the strikers, it chose not to act. The reason could well be political, as the consequences of a mass dismissal might have seen Cosatu hit back in one way or another — which could have meant unnecessary turmoil on the eve of the white election. ■

HOMELAND CITIZENSHIP

No easy route

All indications are that it will no easy walk back to SA for the citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (the TBVC states).

The question of restoring SA nationality to TBVC citizens is subject to continuing negotiations between the South African and homeland governments. According to a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs "the governments of these states have reservations about their citizens holding South African citizenship as well."

Only Bophuthatswana has made its position clear: last year it enacted legislation prohibiting dual citizenship.

The homelands have doubts on the matter for "a variety of political reasons," explains Foreign Affairs. "In one case, the reason given was that the homeland in question does not want its citizens to be residents of SA where they would be subject to discriminatory legislation." This is Transkei's stance.

The position of the Ciskei and Venda governments is not clear. However, in 1985 when President Botha first offered to renegotiate SA citizenship for blacks, Venda Life-President Patrick Mphephu welcomed Botha's dual citizenship offer. Ciskei's attitude was thought to be similar to Venda's, although there are now indications of second thoughts.

Some 9m people were stripped of their South African citizenship and forced to become citizens of the TBVC states when these opted for independence. Since the abolition of influx control in July last year, they are regarded as aliens and their right to work and be in SA is subject to the labour agreements signed at independence (See *FM* March 13). This effectively means they must remain migrant workers and have permission to work. For the moment, however, pending the outcome of negotiations, TBVC citizens and those who employ them are exempt from prosecution under the Aliens Act and its adjunct, the Regulation of Admissions of Persons to the Republic Act.

The gist of Botha's announcement last year was that all South Africans *permanently resident* in SA would be granted one citizenship and would all carry the same identity documents.

In effect this has created two classes of TBVC citizens. First, those who can have their SA citizenship restored to them under the Restoration of SA Citizenship Act, 1986, because they are permanently or lawfully resident in the Republic. This would include, for example, people born in the urban areas and those living on white farms and in "black spot" areas. Less than 2m people will qualify by taking this route, and the onus is on them.

The second group is the remaining 7m TBVC residents who, under existing legislation have no chance of securing SA citizenship. It is the future of these people which is subject to the discussions between Pretoria and the homelands.

According to Matthews Lombard of the Department of Home Affairs, the governments of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei have accepted that their citizens who qualify under the Restoration of SA Citizenship Act may apply. Bophuthatswana however, does not. It want its citizens — even if they have never lived or even set foot in the homeland — to formally renounce their Bophuthatswana citizenship. Negotiations on the matter have been taking place and an announcement is expected within the next three weeks.

The Home Affairs department tells the *FM* that up to last week 3 648 342 people had applied for the new ID documents. It is not known how many TBVC citizens are among them. However, a number of TBVC residents have been refused SA citizenship, and a number of court cases challenging the intepretation of the Act are to be launched. ■

JOHN WILEY'S DEATH

Mystery over motive

As election nominations closed on Tuesday, rumours were rife about the circumstances surrounding Environment and Water Affairs Minister John Wiley's death.

His Simon's Town constituents were no less shocked than the National Party (NP), which now faces a measure of uncertainty over the seat on polling day.

In the same week, the NP's candidate in Pretoria Central, sitting MP Louis Nel, suddenly withdrew from the election to become "an international business consultant" following reports of his involvement in the mooted sale of South African diplomatic land in Japan; and 301 more Stellenbosch academics publicly registered their disapproval with Pretoria.

Speculation about why Wiley apparently committed suicide last weekend is likely to continue until an official explanation is proffered or an inquiry established. Constituents who saw him last Saturday say he did not appear depressed. "He was buoyant and full of confidence," says one source, "so it appeared to be an impulsive act."

One rumour, that Wiley was visited by two police colonels early on Sunday morning, has been denied by a police spokesman. Lt Attie Laubscher of the SAP public relations office refused to comment and angrily referred the *FM* to the State President's office.

Nonetheless, Wiley's death could affect voting patterns in the constituency, which he represented for the last 21 years. In the last election, Wiley won the seat from Progressive Federal Party (PFP) candidate Eddie Barlow by a margin of 891 votes. "Many voters were voting for the man, not the party," claims one PFP supporter. "Many of his

John Wiley ... speculation about his untimely death

constituents had great personal allegiances to him, so his disappearance from the campaign is likely to be fairly helpful to us. Having served the constituency for many years both as an MP and MPC, he had built up a reservoir of personal loyalties which will no longer be a factor in voting. The new NP candidate, Mayor of Simon's Town, Harry Dilley, isn't well known throughout the constituency."

However, as chairman of the NP in Simon's Town in recent years, Dilley has been actively involved in the Wiley campaign, as well as in community work in the area — particularly with the Simonsrus old age home. "It's my very personal opinion that Wiley had his eye on Dilley and was grooming him to stand for an election some time in the future," says long time Simon's

The *FM* brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.
It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.

F/M 3/4/87 (116)

KWAZULU-NATAL

Executive fall-out

Tactical exchanges between the KwaZulu and South African governments over the future of the Natal Indaba appear to be continuing.

The scene of the latest verbal skirmish was the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on March 17 by the Administrator of Natal, Radclyffe Cadman.

Officiating on behalf of the South African government, Cadman extolled the virtues of the proposed Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for Natal — which is expected to be promulgated in the *Government Gazette* shortly.

The JEA, he said, unlike "conjectural" Indabas, represented "real" and immediate power sharing — a notion which met with a sharp response from KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Replying to Cadman, Buthelezi said while the JEA did represent some progress, it did not entirely square with KwaZulu's "idea of power sharing."

For all that, Natal and KwaZulu are expected to become the first two administrations to make use of the legislation approved by parliament this year to establish joint, executive, decision-making regional bodies.

This follows some 30 months after the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Provincial executive committee met in Ulundi and agreed to form two high-level but informal and non-statutory joint committees: the KwaZulu-Natal working group and strategic policy group (SPG).

The working group comprised departmental heads and secretaries from each authority, and was established to advise the SPG, which consisted of KwaZulu's Cabinet ministers and Natal's MECs (excluding the administrator). The matters of mutual concern envisaged for discussion by the SPG included health services, education, roads, planning, environmental conservation, local government, finance, and traffic control.

From these tentative beginnings, there evolved proposals for a statutory JEA consisting of an equal number of representatives from the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal executive committee. Proposals were submitted to government on March 11 last year and the enabling legislation, the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act was passed five months later.

Opinions, however, vary over whether the JEA is an end in itself or a means to an end. The KwaZulu government has periodically emphasised that the JEA represents a beginning of effective power sharing, and not the end. The point was driven home again this week when Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, noted that the JEA provided only for co-operation at executive level.

Cadman

Buthelezi

"Without the acceptance and implementation of the Indaba proposals for the establishment of a single *legislative* authority, the work and effectiveness of the JEA would be minimal," he claimed.

Phase three, he said, would be to provide this executive, policy making body with a legislative arm — and this should be provided within a constitutional framework envisaged by the Indaba.

Just how far government and the KwaZulu authorities diverge on this issue was evident from Cadman's address. He claimed the Indaba had made a "significant if somewhat incomplete" contribution towards power sharing. Moreover, he added that while such exercises were conjectural, a structure for power sharing, the JEA, already enjoyed statutory authority. This meant, Cadman said, "we shall not merely be talking about power sharing, we shall actually be exercising it; it will be real."

That is apparently not a view shared by Dhlomo. Commenting on Cadman's remarks, Dhlomo said: "The JEA obviously does not provide for genuine power sharing because underlying it are two separate authorities simply co-operating in carrying out certain limited responsibilities."

Differences in interpretation there may be, but they are apparently not serious enough to halt implementation of SA's first JEA. In pursuit of their ultimate objective of a single legislative authority for the province, Dhlomo assures the *FM* that KwaZulu will be a partner in the venture. (See "Battles for Natal.") ■

SATS STRIKE

On the edge

As the *FM* went to press, the SA Railway and Harbour Workers Union (Sarhwu) met to consider an offer made by Sats management to end the 18-day strike which affected freight and passenger services throughout the southern Transvaal. But it was hard to see an early, let alone amicable, settlement — especially if the Cosatu-affiliated union decided to stick to its demands.

These call for: the unconditional reinstatement of a worker, Andrew Nedzamba, whose dismissal over a minor "cash irregularity" precipitated the strike; pay for the duration of the dispute; and no disciplinary action against the strikers.

The dispute, which management estimates involves 12 000 workers at its 23 Witwatersrand depots, and those in Standerton and Vereeniging, has now turned into a classic recognition struggle.

Sats stood by its refusal to negotiate directly with Sarhwu. Claiming that management "is capable of coping for a lengthy period," it said more permanent arrangements would have to be made.

Consequently, Sats gave notice that it is to appoint whites on a permanent basis at, for example, City Deep. And, "those employees will not be transferred elsewhere once the strike has been called off."

Sats went on: "The action of employees on strike will determine to what extent management will act . . . It has become evident at certain centres where employees have been striking that the number of employees is in excess of the demand, and Sats will be able to cope with fewer employees forthwith."

Sats also said that "spokesmen for the employees on strike" undertook at a meeting with its chief negotiator, Brian Berndt, on Monday to "give an indication when strikers will return to work." They had also asked management "to consider appointing a mediator" to deal with Nedzamba's case.

The latter issue, according to a Sats spokesman, never arose at Tuesday's discussions, at which the main topic was the R80 fine imposed on Nedzamba by Sats. The strike representatives, he added, said they'd have to refer the Sats proposals to their leaders, before requesting a further meeting.

Sats says it remains management's "viewpoint that the matter had thus far been strictly dealt with in accordance with prescribed procedures and Andrew had to make full use of channels of appeal. If he fails to do so, his case cannot be reconsidered."

Sats maintains it cannot unilaterally change or deviate from existing disciplinary and grievance procedures "in Andrew's case." Yet, it is prepared to re-negotiate this at a later stage with the *recognised* unions.

Further, management is "unyielding" in its stance that employees on strike will not be paid for the period they do not work. "That will also be the case should Andrew be exon-

Umlazi land carve-up

(116) CP Press 5/4/87

By S'BU MNGADI

WHILE the shortage of black housing in the Natal-KwaZulu region has reached a critical point, KwaZulu councillors, MPs and senior Inkatha officials have been allocated almost every unoccupied piece of land in Umlazi.

Umlazi's central committee member and KwaZulu MP, Winnington Sabelo, has been allocated 81 sites in Sections G, H, J, K, D and BB – including a building material business site at N1276, by the Umlazi Township Council over the past five years. Sabelo is KwaZulu's appointed delegate on the council.

High on the list of councillors who got a big slice of the cake was sections R and N councillor, Garnet Ngubane, who trades under the name Somashi Contractors.

Ngubane has 136 residential sites to his name in four sections – and most of them are huge. These allocations were made by the council between September 29, 1982 and September 23, last year.

According to documents in possesion of *City Press*, Umlazi mayor and regional Inkatha chairman RES Mfeka got four residential sites – including flat sites and two sites for a butchery and a creche at BB1490 and D386, respectively.

Deputy mayor MJ Ngcongwane was given an unspecified site for "selling herbs".

Councillor Zithulele Ngcobo got two residential sites and two for businesses, and Councillor S Ntuli was awarded 16 residential sites and a general dealers site at BB 186.

Kwazulu MP Adolfus Mkwanazi got the entire DI508 shopping centre, on top of several other businesses that he owned.

Others councillors to benefit were TN Ngcobo, SE Shozi, A Mathenjwa, J Cele and P Zulu, who were allocated both business and residential sites

In some cases, the sizes of their plots were not specified in the council minutes – but the minutes simply referred to them as "a portion of land", "a piece of land" or remarked "huge".

The plots can hold as many as four houses each.

Some councillors, senior Inkatha members, influential businessmen and in some cases senior township officials remained anonymous and used consortiums as land or property developers and traded under several unregistered companies.

Under these guises, they acquired large tracts of land without anyone, except the township council and manager, noticing.

For instance, the obscure Edgars Enterprises bagged 352 sites while the Aga Devco-ASP Nxumalo alliance got 69 sites

Another developer, EC Maphumulo, got three sites and was awarded the Umlazi Golf Course.

Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of South Africa national treasurer and KwaZulu delegate to Umlazi Township Council, Peter Davidson, was allocated unspecified "areas A and B – remaines of W15" – which is also massive.

Scores of other favoured individuals and companies got their slice of the cake. Usually the sites would sell between R150 and R200 at the township office but their price could increase up to R3 000 when resold by the original buyers.

In some cases the owners would wait for their value to rocket before selling them.

City Press sources contend that many of the business allocations in the area were contrary to the standing regulations of black local authorilties of 1982, which requires that business sites be advertised to give interested individuals outside the council an opportunity to apply.

Furthermore, no one is allowed to own more than one residential site in the township.

This housing scandal comes in the wake of an announcement by Natal-KwaZulu Council planning co-ordinator Prof Louis de Clercq that Umlazi alone had a waiting list for houses of about 3 000.

Observers believe this was a conservative estimate.

De Clercq believed the situation was nearing a critical point.

Meanwhile, Sabelo, Mfeka and Davidson were appointed by the KwaZulu government in 1984 to investigate claims of a housing racket in the area. Even though the findings of the inquiry were not made public, it culminated in the transfer of then township manager PR Viljoen to KwaMashu.

Council of South African Transport Services Staff

Peter Davidson ... land grant

Rhodesian hero Reid Daly and top advisers seize

GENERAL AT GUNP

Their families were said to be unharmed and allowed to remain in Transkei.

Apart from General Reid Daly, others who were held include Sebous Scout Association chairman Lt-Col Tim Bax, Capt Ben Botha, Capt Mike Kerr, W/O Peter McNeilage, W/O John Ashburner, W/O Chris Miller, W/O Peter Wilson, W/O Brian Pearse, Major Carl Bosch, W/O Peter Hammond, and Lt-Col Deon Kriel.

All are believed to have gone to East London except Mr McNeilage who is thought to have gone to Maritzburg.

It is believed the reason for the "night of the long knives" was Transkeian army unhappiness over the recent "bungled raid" on the home of President Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, and arch enemy of Transkei's Prime Minister George Matanzima.

The Prime Minister is understood to be out of the country this weekend.

Last night Mr Keith Samler, formerly in charge of Military Intelligence in the Transkei, said the "purge" was staged by "mid-ranking" officers in the Transkei Defence Force. They call themselves the Transkei Action Committee.

Mobilised

"They wanted to change the command which they considered unsatisfactory and impose their own command," he explained.

It is understood they had the "tacit approval" of the senior ranks and were going to execute a plan to remove the Minister of Defence and Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, the commander of the Defence Force Zondwa Mtirara, as well as General Reid Daly and the army's advisory core comprising 27 former Rhodesians.

Mr Samler said on Friday at 2pm, the army mobilised in full battle-dress, and the troops surrounded the suburbs of Umtata and arrested all the white advisers at gunpoint.

Mr Samler said the troops threw them into detention cells in the military barracks and they were "humiliated and degraded".

He said the army acted without the support of the police force and "outside the law".

Mr Samler said during the early hours of Saturday morning four advisers were released and deported to South Africa. The remainder were later released in small groups.

He said the reason for the arrest and detention of the advisers "was not fully understood", but appears to be "vindictive and partly politically inspired".

He said the Transkei Action Committee assured the advisers of the men that they THE come to no harm.

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Page 2

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Political Correspondent

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(News by L Venter, 11 Diagona
Street, Johannesburg)

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ANC ignores Inkatha

DD 6/4/87

DURBAN — The African National Congress ignored a recent request for a meeting with Inkatha to resolve the increasing number of political faction fights among blacks in Natal.

This was said by the Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at a two-day symposium on faction fighting which ended at the University of Zululand's Umlazi campus yesterday.

Asked what was being done to end violence between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said he had written to the UDF's president, Mr Archie Gumede, who had subsequently declined to meet Chief Buthelezi.

"Dr Oscar Dhlomo (the secretary-general of Inkatha) also sent a telex to Dr Alfred Nzo (the secretary-general of the ANC) last year asking for a meeting but they did not have the decency to reply," Chief Buthelezi said.

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka said yesterday the organisation had no comment on the remarks.

Chief Buthelezi also accused Western donor agencies of fuelling the fires of black on black violence by giving faction fighting "Christian sanction" by working through the offices of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in funding development projects.

He said it was impossible to find support from a donour agency except through the SACC's joint screening committee, which he alleged was linked to the United Democratic Front and the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi said the fact that the people who handled the money coming into South Africa for development were opposed to Inkatha made the projects impossible and instead generated more resentment which was followed by conflict. — DDC

ARGUS 7/4/87 (113) (109)

Bophuthatswana opposition wants to come back into SA

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The opposition party in Bophuthatswana, the National Seoposengoe Party (NSP), has pledged to dismantle the "independent" status of the Tswana state.

It will "reintegrate the territory into South Africa" should it come to power in the expected general elections later this year, says Mr Jeremiah Mokotong, leader of the party in the Odi region.

President Lucas Mangope is yet to announce a date for the elections.

But the NSP, which has no member in 96-seat legislature, has already set its campaign machinery in motion to wrench power from the ruling Democratic Party.

The NSP has released a schedule of 42 campaign meetings to be held in the Odi district — which includes Mabopane and Garankuwa — after a successful application to the government for permission to hold the public meetings.

Homeland

The party will campaign on the slogan "One South Africa, one nation, one citizenship."

"We maintain South Africa is a homeland for all its people," said Mr Mokotong.

"The policy of independent homelands is a fraud that deprives blacks their political rights in this land."

"Should we win the elections we shall destroy the independence document and revert back to South Africa to claim our right to be in the Cape Town parliament," he said.

Mr Mokotong called on Tswanas to register to vote to help his party win.

Confident

"We call on organisations in South Africa and Bophuthatswana to assist us as we climb this ladder towards prosperity," he said.

He said he was confident his party could upset President Mangope's party.

"We have a strong mandate to contest each of the 96 seats."

Mr Mokotong and other leaders of the party will speak at a series of meetings at the Garankuwa community hall.

Chief, Nafcoc row over ANC

B/Day (11B) 2/4/87

SIPHO NGCOBO

A MAJOR row has erupted between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) over the chamber's meeting with the ANC in Lusaka last year.

Buthelezi is accusing Nafcoc of trying to buy immunity from ANC reprisals against black traders and further describes Nafcoc's president Dr Sam Motsuenyane as supporting the ANC.

The row, ignited by Buthelezi in his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this week and taking the form of a scathing attack on Motsuenyane, drew sharp reaction from Motsuenyane. He said Nafcoc would continue talking to black organisations "whether they are banned or not".

Motsuenyane said: "We are not going to engage in political mud-slinging with Buthelezi through the media. We would, however, re-iterate that Nafcoc is committed to building the black community

● To Page 2

Buthelezi, Nafcoc row over ANC meeting

● From Page 1

(11B) 2/4/87 B/Day

and, for that reason, we have opened ourselves to discussions with any political grouping irrespective of ideology or whether that organisation is banned or not."

In his Legislative Assembly attack on Nafcoc, Buthelezi said the ANC mission in exile had applied strong pressure on Nafcoc to create illusions that black South Africans supported disinvestment.

Buthelezi said: "It was clear from the statement issued by Nafcoc after its summit meeting in October that the ANC mission in exile got their pound of flesh from Nafcoc.

"It appeared that Dr Motsuenyane, who has so long been respected for the independence of his mind and for the strong leadership he has given to the black trading community, was intimidated into trading horses with the ANC mission in exile."

CAPE TIMES 9/4/87

Ex-Inkatha chairman in court after killing

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Former Inkatha chairman Mr Thembinkosi Nyameni appeared with two other men in the Supreme Court here yesterday in connection with an allegation of murder.

Mr Nyameni, Mr John Shoba Thusi and Mr John Nyathi were not asked to plead when they appeared before Mr Justice Leon and the hearing was adjourned till May 25.

It has been alleged that on March 16, 1985 there was a shooting incident involving Mr Caiphas Mazibuko and Mr Thembinkosi Makhanya in which Mr Makhanya was fatally wounded.

Mr Mazibuko was disarmed and Mr Thusi and Mr Nyathi took him and the dead man to Mr Nyameni's home where it is alleged Mr Mazibuko was beaten with a sjambok, kicked and stabbed with an assegai.

An angry crowd prevented the Inanda police from removing the dead man or arresting Mr Mazibuko.

Mr Mazibuko was forcibly removed from the house by Mr Thusi and Mr Nyathi and assaulted with bush-knives, an assegai and a stick. He was left lying on the ground. Later his body was allegedly removed and hidden in a tunnel.

TRANSKEI (113) F/2/10/4/87

SA cracked the whip

The gunpoint deportation from Transkei at the weekend of 28 former Selous Scouts, including their vaunted commander, Major-General Ron Reid-Daly, marked another twist in the bizarre affairs of Transkei and its political sibling, Ciskei.

The expulsion of Reid-Daly and his men, all of whom were advisers of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), came within a fortnight of the visit to Ciskei of three senior South African Ministers — Pik Botha of Foreign Affairs, Magnus Malan of Defence and Adriaan Vlok of Law and Order.

They undoubtedly went there to hear directly from Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe of the night attack on his residence by armed men in February (*Current Affairs* February 27).

Sebe had already charged that the raid was master-minded by the Selous Scout advisers to the TDF, naming two of the raiders as Jean-Michel Deseble and Piet van der Riet. Deseble is currently in jail in SA, facing charges of kidnapping.

The charges are understood to relate to the abduction in October of Kwane Sebe, son of Lennox Sebe. Kwane Sebe was taken to Transkei and only returned to Ciskei in a New Year prisoner swap arranged by former South African Chief Justice, F S Rumpff, who was appointed by Pretoria as mediator in the fratricidal dispute.

But after the February raid — in which one raider was killed and five captured — South African patience apparently ran out, particularly as the attack was launched across the corridor of South African territory which separates Transkei and Ciskei.

The visit to Ciskei last month clinched the issue. The Selous Scouts were seen by Pretoria as a destabilising factor in the already turbulent eastern Cape and, according to *FM* sources, the decision was taken to persuade Transkei to rein them in and ultimately phase them out.

Meanwhile in Transkei itself events were brewing which precipitated the sudden exodus of the ex-Rhodesians. There was resentment in the TDF at the prominent role played by Ian Smith's former soldiers. They were seen as obstacles to Africanisation. The man who articulated these feelings was the TDF Chief of Staff, Brigadier H B Holomisa.

His position was strengthened after February's botched raid on Ciskei. To forestall any move by him the Selous Scouts, acting through the pro-Selous Scout Commander of the TDF, General Zondwa Mtirara — and apparently with the agreement of Transkei Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Police, George Matanzima — had him detained.

Botha **Matanzima**

But resentment continued to fester. Matanzima got wind of it. He ordered the release of Holomisa last Friday. Within hours black soldiers were rounding up their former white advisers-cum-bosses and escorting them across the border. A shocked Reid-Daly, who was awarded a contract to reorganise and vitalise the TDF six years ago, later expressed regret that six years of hard work had "ended in such a debacle."

The exit of Selous Scouts as a potent factor in the Transkei-Ciskei feud has left some unanswered questions.

The contracts of Reid-Daly and his men were renewed late last month by Matanzima. That meant that Matanzima changed sides in the nick of time. It is not clear whether his position has been undermined.

Mtirara is reported to have resigned immediately before Reid-Daly was ousted, complaining that the TDF was receiving instructions from a "certain politician other than Prime Minister Matanzima."

That suggests the re-emergence as a direct political force of George's elder brother, the brooding Kaiser Matanzima. He was Transkei's president until February last year, when he supposedly retired from politics. His power and ambitions today are, like the man himself, difficult to fathom. ■

CAPE TIMES 11/4/87

Matanzima backs Nats

Political Correspondent

TRANSKEI's Chief George Matanzima yesterday became the first and only black leader to publicly back the National Party.

At the signing ceremony of a non-aggression treaty between South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei yesterday he told President P W Botha he did not know what would happen to Southern Africa if the NP was defeated in the election.

Chief Matanzima noted that the NP had recently encountered some difficulties with "defections" but expressed the hope that the party would be returned on May 6 with an even bigger majority.

"Many people may not expect that. But that is my wish."

☐ Pact signed — Page 2

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, CT.)

Rumours has it that she is in Argentina.

Insult costs R2 000

CP Reporter

A CARETAKER of a building who called a senior official of a recording company a "kaffir" and then assaulted him, was ordered this week in the Rand Supreme Court to pay the man R2 000.

The court order followed after Moso Hamilton Nzimande, a music director of Gallo Recording Company, took his claim on appeal to the Rand Supreme Court. His claim against Gilbert Daniels and Daniels' employer, the Nukerk Company, failed earlier in the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court.

It was testified that the incident took place in the foyer of the Nukerk Building in Johannesburg where both men were employed.

On December 4, 1984, while Nzimande was talking to a cleaner, Daniels came out of an elevator and said that Nzimande was making a noise. He repeatedly referred to him as "kaffir" and also assaulted him by hitting him.

Judge Goldstone said the use of the word was unwarranted and unjustified.

It was aggravating to have said this to somebody who held a senior position in a large company and in the presence of a cleaner in a building where Nzimande was employed, he said.

Johannesburg Station as strikes continue.

Zambian strike ends

ZAMBIAN post and telecommunications workers ended a two-day strike this week after management offered to pay a daily transport allowance in place of the free transport the workers were demanding.

A statement from the State-owned Posts and Telecommunications Corporation said that after discussions the corporation had agreed to pay the allowance, back-dated to November 1.

The statement made no mention of the demand for salary increases.

Postal Workers on the northern copperbelt also went back to work after the new agreement was announced. – Sapa.

Man has no ties with Uwusa

THE deputy secretary-general of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of South Africa, PS Ndlovu, sent a complaint regarding the council land sales story in last week's first edition of *City Press* which referred to Peter Davidson as the treasurer of Uwusa.

Ndlovu brought it to the attention of *City Press* that Davidson resigned as Uwusa treasurer on Agust 16, 1986.

Ndlovu said in a telex note. "He was replaced as treasurer by NS Thabethe We would appreciate it if you would print the correction in the same prominent position as the original article.

Ndlovu's note concluded: "Uwusa has nothing to do with land sales."

City Press ran a story exposing certain KwaZulu MPs, councillors and senior Inkatha officials for having allocated themselves land in Umlazi

The report mentioned Davidson as Uwusa's national treasurer and KwaZulu delegate to the Umlazi Township Council.

Cinnabar Arcade, Shop No 6.

CAPE TIMES 13/4/87, 118

'Support the pro-Indaba'

THE secretary-general of Inkatha and a member of the KwaZulu cabinet, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, has called on white voters to support pro-Indaba candidates in the election.

Speaking in the homeland's legislative assembly, he also urged the government to arrange a referendum on the Indaba proposals in the KwaZulu-Natal region.

Dr Dhlomo, a key member of the Indaba, said its proposals were in keeping with the policy of the KwaZulu government and of Inkatha to seek to dismantle the homelands policy in favour of a united SA. So was the provision to accord voting rights to all residents of the region who were 18 and over.

Num asks mine bosses to ban Inkatha union

By MOIRA LEVY

THE National Union of Mineworkers has called on Goldfields to ban the Inkatha-linked United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) from its Zincor mine on the East Rand after six mineworkers were shot in a clash last Sunday. Five were hospitalised.

Num spokesperson Marcelle Golding told SOUTH 590 workers were on strike at the mine in protest against the Uwusa presence and "management's encouragement of worker conflict".

In another mining dispute, 195 workers at Chroombrone Mine in Rustenburg, downed tools in protest against the retrenchment on Tuesday of another 110 mineworkers.

Golding said the entire labour force was out on strike to demand a properly negotiated retrenchment procedure.

These disputes follow Num's threat of a massive strike over May Day. Workers have rejected the Chamber of Mines demand that they apply for the day off.

A dispute has already been declared, and Num has applied for a Conciliation Board hearing.

In the past week, 40 mineworkers have died in mining accidents.

On Monday, in the latest incident, six black mineworkers were killed when part of a shaft collapsed at a gold mine in Randfontein.

Last Friday 34 miners were killed in a methane gas explosion at a Ermelo coal mine. Num has called for a full investigation into the incident.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, head of Num, described the owner mine company as a "butcher" because of poor safety precautions.

According to the International Labour Office 8 500 miners died in mining disasters in South Africa between 1973 and 1984.

South 1113 15-21/4/87

(11B) South 15-21/4/87

Using poll for non-race campaign

THE all-white elections, scheduled for May 6, has brought about an alliance of organisations which are to use it to campaign for a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

Details of the non-racial alliance and its programme of actions and objectives were disclosed at a Press conference in Durban last week.

The organisations inlcude the United Democratic Front (UDF), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), South African National Students Congress (SANSCO), Detainees Support Committee (DESCOM), Daikonia, Black Sash, Catholic Justice and Reconciliation, Natal Indian Congress, Joint Academic Staff Association, Action Group against Apartheid, Maritzsburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, Students Union for Christian Action and National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA).

The alliance is to call on white voters to subscribe to the principle of one people, one country — one person, one vote .It also aims to get white voters to accept that South Africa is facing a crisis and that the elections will not solve the country's problems.

The Natal publicity secretary of the UDF, Lechesa Tsenoli, said the minority elections would only escalate the problems instead of bringing about peace and security for all South Africans.

For peace and security to be restored, the state of emergency must be lifted, the Security Forces must be withdrawn from the townships, political organisations must be unbanned and exiles must be allowed to return home.

All political prisoners and detainees must also be released immediately.

Not prescribe to voters

Asked whether the alliance would call on whiites to vote or not, Mr Tesnoli said they would not prescribe to white voters.

"But what we will be doing is pointing out that the crisis we are facing has been caused by National Party misrule, and then show them our alternative for a non-racial, democratic, unitary society.

"They will then have to choose whether voting in an all-white election is the best security for them," he said.

Paul Daphne of the Action Group Against Apartheid, said the issue was not whether whites should vote or not, but whether white South Africans would commit themselves to peace and security for all South Africans.

"The issue is whether white South Africans are prepared to commit themselves to the struggle for justice and freedom that is being waged by the extra—parliamentary forces who represent the majority.

"We would like to think that during this time white voters are re-assessing their situation in South African politics and the possibility exists that people are becoming sufficiently disillusioned with the charade of parliament to in fact take that step and identify with organsisations representing the majority in the country.

Mewa Ramgobin of the Natal Indian Congress said they would try to persuade white voters that the initiative for change so far had not come from the all-white parliament, but from extra-parliamentary forces, especially during the past three years.

"We are intervening at this stage primarily because the House of Assembly is the seat of power in the country in terms of govenment. We are not taking a stand to say to white voters whether they should vote or not," said Mr Ramgobin.

(News by M Subramoney, 332 West St, Durban)

Dhlomo appointed new MD of Ilanga

W/Mail 16-23/4/87 (243)

● From PAGE 1

editorship had not yet been settled. He denied Inkatha intended to run a "party political rag" and said stories critical of Inkatha could still be run in *Ilanga* under its new owners.

He said Inkatha had been looking around for a long time for a newspaper and had the option of crippling *Ilanga* by producing a rival, or buying it out.

Booth said his company was motivated by business considerations; they were happy to sell to a company under which the paper would improve and gain readers.

Natal Newspapers will continue "servicing" *Ilanga*, providing printing and distribution and other assistance under contract.

Booth said the paper had "always had close links with Inkatha" and there would be no difference to the paper now that it had been taken over.

Ilanga journalists, who were officially informed yesterday morning about the deal signed at 9am, said they were "very bitter".

Father of the *Ilanga* chapel of the SA Society of Journalists, Mdu Lembede, said many of the roughly 20 editorial staff wanted to be accommodated by one of the Argus sister papers, rather than work for an Inkatha-owned *Ilanga*...

"They say this because they do not want to work for any paper with party political affiliations — left or right," Lembede said.

"They feel it will completely undermine their professional objectivity. Apart from ethical considerations, there are many who fear for their lives under the new system."

An *Ilanga* staffer at the news conference where the announcement was made told Booth: "We on the staff stay in the townships and now we are going to be seen to be aligned to one political organisation. How are we going to cope with this? Our lives are at stake."

Booth: "They can resign."

According to July-December 1986 figures, Ilanga has a circulation of well over 105 000 (down six percent on previous six months), but its readership statistics of well over 1,2-million make it the third most widely read paper in the country.

At the end of 1985, there was a brief strike by reporters at the paper.

Reports quoted dissatisfied journalists as saying they were on strike over the paper's "pro-Inkatha bias".

After the issue was settled the staff issued a statement denying the strike was politically motivated.

Ilanga was founded in 1903 by John Dube who collected cattle from *kraal* heads and money from "working Zulus" to start the paper.

In 1976 Inkatha helped bring out *The Nation*, but it was wracked with problems and "closed indefinitely" in June 1980.

Inkatha buys newspaper

DURBAN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha has bought Ilanga newspaper from Argus-controlled Natal Newspapers for an undisclosed amount.

Natal Newspapers MD Ed Booth and Kwazulu Education Minister Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday only the editorial section of the newspaper — which first appeared in 1906 — was involved in the deal.

The newspaper would be transferred to Mandla Matla Publishing, which was headed by Dhlomo, in a deal retrospective to April 1..

All services such as advertising control, printing of the newspaper, and its distribution, among other headings, would remain with Natal Newspapers.

Ilanga, a newspaper started by one of the country's illustrious conquerors of adversity, had ended up like many other black newspapers — under white financial and editorial control — Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"In this country of ours where black voices are muted by the hand of oppression, and where black freedom of political expression is crushed by the many bannings and acts of intimidation we want to speak for ourselves," he said.

"I do not even envisage that Ilanga can now be run without white expertise, which we blacks do not yet have.

"I am simply expressing the yearning that is in all black hearts and minds, the yearning for freedom to speak their minds the way they themselves want to speak it."

The transfer of ownership would bring into question the independence of the professional journalists who worked on the newspaper, South African Society of Journalists president Pat Sidley said in Johannesburg.

The Media Workers Association of SA expressed its "disbelief and disgust" at the decision. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 17/9/87

Ilanga staff ordered off premises

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Editorial staff of the Ilanga newspaper, who yesterday voted overwhelmingly to stop work following the sale of the newspaper to the Inkatha-controlled company Mandla-Matla (Pty) Ltd, were last night ordered to leave the premises by the company chairman, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who is also secretary-general of Inkatha.

"Dr Dhlomo told us that if we were not prepared to work and bring out the paper on Tuesday we would have to move out to make way for people who would," said Mr Mdu Lembede, Ilanga chapel father of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ).

In a statement yesterday morning, Ilanga staff said they decided by an overwhelming majority to stop working immediately in protest at discovering "that we were now working for a political organization, Inkatha".

□ Sapa reports that demands by Ilanga staff, that the company reverse its decision to sell the newspaper, have been backed by the International Federation of Journalists, the Eastern Cape branch of the SASJ, the Cape Times chapel executive of the SASJ and the Association of Democratic Journalists.

Cape Times 17/4/87

Indaba 'too limited' for SA?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE KwaNatal Indaba may yet turn out to be too limited to make a national impact — and it must still show it can attract significant black support, according to an editorial in a special edition of Leadership.

However, it goes on to note that "at very least it could become an important partner in a vigorous centrist alliance holding new hope for South Africa's embattled moderates".

The special edition — which contain 19 separate assessments by supporters and critics of the Indaba — is due for release next week.

The editorial said that 37 organizations which agreed to a multi-racial constitution for the area would need "great fortitude" in their bid to sell the Indaba's proposals as a practical compromise in an increasingly polarized society.

"... already, Indaba is providing sustenance for the white right and the black left, enabling them to consolidate support against the politics of compromise.

'Beacon'

"The right says Indaba means an end to group protection and the starting point for majority rule. The left says Indaba is simply a more sophisticated way of shoring up white privilege and that, in any case, it has little to do with black liberation because it is nothing more than an attempt to entrench Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, in alliance with Natal's sugar barons."

In his contribution, KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he hopes the Indaba "will serve as a beacon of political light and inspiration in our polarized society".

"It has the potential to harness all that is excellent in democratic and non-racial government while we continue with our national endeavour to rid the country of the evils of apartheid."

Author Mr Alan Paton says it would be "disastrous" if the National Party were to reject the Indaba proposals. "It would be the final proof for many South Africans, including an increasing number of Afrikaners, that the National Party has lost its way."

In presenting Cosatu's case against the Indaba, the education secretary of the 706 000-strong union, Mr Alec Erwin, argues that "a clever political sleight-of-hand" was being effected "designed to promote a particular type of negotiated political change, and elevate Inkatha onto a national negotiating platform".

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

POLITICAL comment in this issue by A H Heard, G Q Kling, G E Shaw, A Johnson and B Streek. Posters, headlines and sub-editing by J Levy. All of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

Ilanga in battle to meet deadline

Cape Times 20/4/87 (283) (11B) (232)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Staff members from various KwaZulu government departments have been brought in to replace protesting Ilanga journalists in a bid to meet the Durban newspaper's deadline tomorrow.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary-general and chairman of Mandla-Matla, which recently bought Ilanga from Natal Newspapers, said yesterday that most of the staffers had had some kind of past journalistic experience.

They had been working around the clock to put a newspaper together and would know only late tonight whether it would be ready in time, he said.

"I'll see if the ship sinks completely. We are still battling but our bottom line is the readers and we are trying to ensure that they are not disappointed," he said.

The entire editorial staff of Ilanga were asked to leave the premises on Thursday after they stopped work to hold discussions on their future in the light of the sale.

Their main fear is that the newspaper will merely become a mouthpiece for Inkatha views.

The newspaper advertised for staff yesterday.

CAPE TIMES 22/4/87 118

Buthelezi backs independents

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

EVERY vote cast for the independents in the May 6 election is a vote cast for hope in the future of South Africa, according to KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The rejection of the independents would not only be an endorsement of the "snail's pace" President P W Botha had set about introducing what he called "reform", but would also be seen as an "accolade" throughout the world for those arguing for a violent solution to South Africa's problems.

In his speech — read to about 250 people at Stellenbosch campus by Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo — Chief Buthelezi was highly critical of Mr Botha, the chancellor of the university, who will be addressing a meeting there tonight.

The largely student audience gave Chief Buthelezi's speech an enthusiastic round of applause. There were no hecklers and no hostile questions afterwards.

Dr Dhlomo yesterday

Independents Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan shared the platform with Dr Dhlomo at yesterday's lunchtime meeting and both candidates spoke briefly but warmly about Chief Buthelezi's commitment towards negotiation.

Chief Buthelezi said the independent movement was specially important because "the very future of our South Africa will hang on which shoulder (left or right) Mr P W Botha looks over after the election".

Whites needed signals from Afrikaners as much as blacks did. For this reason it was important for the white electorate, particularly Afrikaners, to send a signal that they are committed to immediate and fundamental changes to save the country from "sliding into catastrophe".

"White voters are given the opportunity through this election to give hope, by voting for the independents, to those of us who are still committed to a negotiated future and to the strategy of non-violence," he said.

"That is why I say that even if the independents could not restructure the government they need to be supported. Every vote cast for the independents is a vote cast for hope."

Chief Buthelezi said that if the independents were voted into Parliament "we would all be inspired to believe that reform could in fact win the day".

"Mr Botha," he said, "must now really be made to look over his left shoulder."

The Inkatha president said no black person would come to the negotiating table under the existing situation which is based on apartheid and oppression.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

CAPE TIMES 22/4/92

Ilanga appears despite dismissals

118

DURBAN. — The Zulu newspaper Ilanga was on the streets yesterday in spite of the effective dismissal of the entire editorial staff.

The paper, which appeared in the same format as when it was published by its previous owners, Natal Newspapers, also carried a front-page employment advertisement for journalists.

The previous editorial staff were ordered out of the building last week by Inkatha secretary general Dr Oscar Dhlomo after they had refused to work for a newspaper owned "by a political organization".

Though the staff have as yet not been officially dismissed, they have been temporarily replaced by a handful of journalists from Inkatha's in-house publications, who — against expectation — managed to bring out the first edition yesterday.

The former Ilanga journalists will meet Natal Newspapers manager Mr Ed Booth today. They demand to be re-employed by Natal Newspapers.

Meanwhile, in the first editorial comment under Inkatha ownership, Ilanga said it would not become a political mouthpiece for Inkatha.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that Ilanga had been returned to its rightful owners by being bought by blacks.

Botha firm on Council of State

CP 23/4/87

STELLENBOSCH — The Government was determined to pursue its concept of a Council of State and to provide communities with an opportunity of electing their leaders for negotiation, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

He spoke in a packed Stellenbosch City Hall, where a National Party rally in support of candidates from surrounding constituencies overflowed into adjoining rooms.

He said that the ultimate struggle facing the country was to grant political rights to blacks at the highest level of government.

Reacting to an interjection from the floor, he said that the issue of the Kwazulu-Natal Indaba had not yet been given the approval of the Kwazulu Government and the Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had asked that this issue be kept out of the political electoral arena.

"Only when we receive the Kwazulu Government's response at the highest level of government can we express our view. That is my answer on the issue of the indaba," he said.

Mr Botha said that the legislative plans for a Council of State, as a negotiating forum with black leaders, had not been shelved but had been made available for comment and would be continued with after the election.

"We will continue with the national council and give black leaders an opportunity to come forward and also give communities who do have leaders an opportunity to elect them," he said.

"This Government stands willing to negotiate, but is not prepared to hand over."

He said one of the attainable goals was the Government's guarantee that white minority rights would be maintained.

Regarding security legislation, he favoured the principle laid down by Mr Justice Rose-Innes that at times the safeguards of liberty might be disregarded in order to protect liberty itself.

"When the State's liberty is compromised, you sometimes have to curb it to ensure that freedom is protected. That is what this Government does."

The State President said he had no intention of retiring before his term of office expired.

He was responding to a questioner who asked whether, like a Springbok cricketer, President Botha would retire while he was still at his peak.

"I will retire in my own good time. I was elected for a five-year term and I intend serving my full term.

"If I feel like I do tonight, you are likely to see a great deal more of me in the future," he said.

(Report by P Claassen and A Braid, both of 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

11B

Matanzima holds thumbs for the NP

By PATRICK LAURENCE

TRANSKEI Prime Minister George Matanzima has put it on record: he hopes South Africa's governing National Party is returned to power next month with a bigger majority.

By publicly expressing that wish he joined his former arch-enemy, Ciskei President Lennox Sebe, in the belief that the National Party holds the key to the solution of South Africa's problems — or, at the least, stands between South Africa and revolutionary chaos.

It was Sebe who broke ranks with most black leaders during the 1983 referendum by urging white voters to support the new tri-racial constitution, even though it specifically excluded blacks.

Long before that, however, George Matanzima's mentor and elder brother, Kaiser Matanzima, had shown the way when he pledged that Transkei would fight to the last drop of blood to help defend South Africa against military attacks.

To complete the quartet there is Willie Xaba, Ciskei's deposed vice president who confessed that he — an ordained minister of religion — had prayed for a National Party victory in the 1981 election.

But their common allegiance to the National Party did not prevent them from indulging in a fierce fratricidal quarrel, which erupted into violence last October and again in February when raids were launched from Transkei on Ciskei.

The October raid resulted in the springing from a Ciskei jail of Charles Sebe, the former Ciskei generalissmo (and before that South African security policeman and spy) and the abduction of Lennox Sebe's son, Kwane.

The February raid saw an attack on Sebe's presidential palace. It was repulsed by Ciskei security forces. One attacker was killed and several wounded and captured.

South Africa, however, brought its warring political progeny to the peace table late last week, where all three polities signed a tri-partite non-aggression pact.

It was at the Tuynhuys conference room in Cape Town that Matanzima Jnr declared his hope for a bigger National Party majority after the May 6 election.

He was less hopeful about the treaty that he had just signed restoring peace between Transkei and Ciskei, noting that Munich Pact did not bring peace between Hitler and Chamberlain.

The tri-partite non-aggression treaty, however, restored peace temporarily at least. It came less than a week after the gunpoint expulsion of Transkei's ex-Rhodesian military advisors. The advisors were headed by the founder of Rhodesia's counter-insurgency Selous Scouts, Ron Reid-Daly.

The juxtaposition of events — the signing of the treaty in Cape Town last Friday and the expulsion of the ex-Rhodesians the weeker before — pointed to South African involvement in the unceremonious booting out of the ex-Selous Scouts.

Only a few weeks before the expulsion three senior South African cabinet ministers — Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok — visited Ciskei to discuss the February raid with Sebe, who openly charged the ex-Rhodesians of complicity in the raids.

Botha disclosed that the trio of South African ministers had been in contact with Transkei as well, providing further circumstantial evidence that they had given Transkei a nod to get rid of the ex-Selous Scouts.

There is little doubt that the ex-Rhodesians upset the balance of power between the two designated Xhosa states. Their military expertise gave Transkei an advantage. It offered the Matanzima brothers the means to overthrow Sebe and fulfil their long-cherised dream: dissolution of Ciskei as an independent state and the creation of a Greater Xhosaland under their leadership.

Reid-Daly declined to comment on the allegations of ex-Rhodesian involvement in the October and February raids.

But he was on contract to the Transkei government as a military adviser. If his paymasters wanted to disrupt Ciskei politically by military means, he as a contracted military adviser — his foes use the blunter word "mercenary" — would presumably help them achieve their ends, particularly if renewal of his contract might depend on it.

The botched raid on Ciskei in February, however, earned the enmity of South Africa who saw the ex-Rhodesians as a de-stablising factor.

It also made them vulnerable to their foes in the Transkei Defence Force itself, who, led by Brigadier Bantu Holomisa, the proud son of a chief, did not take kindly to being ordered around by whites.

The two factors, South African concern at the disruptive influence of the ex-Rhodesians and indigenous Transkei resentment at their dominant role in Transkei, converged and culminated in the hasty departure of Reid-Daly and his men.

Ilanga talks deadlock

CAPE TIMES 23/4/87 116

DURBAN. — The Ilanga editorial staff crisis remained deadlocked following talks yesterday between Natal Newspapers and the South African Newspaper Press Conciliation Board.

But Mr Ed Booth, managing director of Natal Newspapers, said discussions had been "amicable".

The talks followed the unanimous decision of the 23 black journalists employed by Ilanga not to continue working for the Inkatha-controlled company that recently bought Ilanga from Natal Newspapers.

Mr Booth expressed confidence that Ilanga would appear on the streets today, despite the stay-away by its editorial staff.

Ilanga's future is "absolutely safe", the managing director of the company that purchased it last week, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said yesterday.

Dr Dhlomo said the first issue of the Zulu-language newspaper produced by the new owners on Monday "sold more copies than ever before in the history of the paper".

The Times Media Johannesburg and the Freelance and Allied chapels of the Southern African Society of Journalists have condemned the sale.

The chapels fully supported the demands by the Ilanga staff to have the sale rescinded. — Sapa

Ilanga sale move to counter UDF

THE sale of the Natal Zulu-language Ilanga newspaper by the Argus group's Natal newspapers to Inkatha, was a move to counter the growing influence of democratic organisations such as the UDF in the townships of Natal.

The chairman of the Natal branch of the Association of Democratic Journalists of South Africa, Mr Khaba Mkhize, said the whole deal was part of the overall scheme "to deny people the right to know".

Meanwhile, an Ilanga journalist, Mdu Lembede, who has been accused by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly of being a "fetch-and-carry" boy of the ANC, has challenged the chief to repeat his accusation outside the precincts of the assembly.

"If the Chief thinks I am a puppet of the ANC by just visiting Lusaka twice on behalf of Natal newspapers, then I wonder what he calls the journalists who regularly cover the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly."

23-28/4/87 South

The 'poor brother' who became an orphan overnight

President of the South African Society of Journalists, PAT SIDLEY, explains why the editorial staff at Ilanga aren't, despite Argus Company expectations, at all thrilled at being bought by Inkatha along with the furniture.

THE Argus Company executive addressing the staff of *Ilanga* on Thursday last week was clearly startled at the strong feelings expressed by a united editorial staff.

He believed, he told them, that Argus had protected their interests by ensuring medical aid, pension, salaries and "work-siting" would remain the same.

In any event, he added, he believed the paper basically supported Inkatha — and so did its readers.

And then when the protests became voluble, he conceded he neither spoke nor read Zulu, and did not really know what line the newspaper took — if any.

If lives were not at stake, the debacle may even have been funny.

Even his admissions had missed a vital point: no self-respecting journalist striving to appear independent and credible would work for a political organisation — even if she or he supported it.

That point was driven home by the fact that even the few Inkatha supporters on the staff were not working for the new owners.

They had all stopped work in protest against finding that Argus had given them a new management — and that their new bosses were a political group active, as the staff put it, in the battle for the hearts and minds of the people. The staff contended they were still working for Natal Newspapers.

A statement from the *Ilanga* chapel of the SASJ said in part: "We are journalists, and as journalists we want to ply our trade in the accepted sense of the word 'journalist', and we feel with this deal we can no longer do our jobs properly.

"It places us in a position where we can never report objectively or practise our profession objectively. We as journalists committed to our profession feel we cannot serve the communities under the control of a political organisation, especially with the political climate the way it is in the towships, where every political movement is fiercely fighting for the hearts and minds of the masses."

Media coverage of the sale and work stoppage has tended to confirm the worst fears about the deal. Little of it has fully covered events. No critical editorial comment has been made about the issues the journalists were worried about, and the public has been given no idea of the depth of anger and the breadth of all the issues in the dispute.

Short of straight racism — a possibility not easily dismissed — the deal gives the impression of a desperate wish on the part of the deal-makers to believe the myth that Inkatha = the Zulu people = black aspirations. Amplifying those fears was the fact that the Argus executive used all three terms virtually interchangeably while talking to Ilanga staff.

Racism was the bogey raised by one staffer who noted that not a single white employee of Natal Newspapers (the Argus subsidiary company involved in the sale) was affected by the move. Only black staffers landed up being "owned" by Inkatha. The rest would continue to be employed by Natal Newspapers. This would have profound consequences for journalists in their own communities which, another staffer commented, could never affect white employees in the same way.

The physical appearance of the newsroom has lead to a long-standing feeling that the Argus company has practiced racial discrimination among its own editorial staff. Sited in an industrial area, *Ilanga* has never had the modern technology which has graced all the "white" newspapers in Natal Newspapers. Moreover, until very recently salaries were much lower than those paid to whites on other newspapers.

But by far the most serious problem is the possible risk to the lives of the editorial staff.

At last year's SASJ congress, the *Ilanga* chapel presented a harrowing and detailed account of the risks to journalists in the area. They told the congress that political groups in Natal — not confined to one group — wished to claim journalists as "theirs". This meant if something a journalist wrote identified him or her with a political grouping, a rival group might attack the journalist or his or her family and property. Black journalists in Natal (and elsewhere) had become cannon fodder in the battle for the hearts and minds of the masses.

Just a fortnight ago, at the request of the *Ilanga* chapel of the SASJ — which had asked Natal Newspapers to investigate getting them firearms licenses — the company put three journalists and their families up in a Durban hotel after they had been threatened by forces not hostile to Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

The journalists had written an article about corruption in high places in the KwaZulu government — and *Ilanga* had printed this in the tradition of an independent newspaper.

A mere three days later, these journalists were among those startled to discover that — according to the retrospective nature of the deal — they had been employed by Inkatha for a little over two weeks.

The new owners, who apparently bought a newspaper without editorial staff, nevertheless managed to get an edition out on time. However, according to Zulu-speaking Argus employees, it looked as if it had been brought out by non-journalist employees of the KwaZulu government.

That is precisely what happened.

Inkatha apparently believed it was buying a paper complete with staff, a theory backed up by its statement that it was buying a paper instead of starting one because it did not have the expertise it needed to start a paper from scratch.

The contrite Argus executive told *Ilanga* staff the company expected one or two staff members to be uncomfortable; he had earlier told a press conference that those who would not work for the new company had the option of resigning.

Nevertheless on Thursday, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, managing director of the Inkatha-owned company, Mandla-Matla, which now owns *Ilanga*, was trying to talk staff into working for him.

He was adamant that Inkatha would respect independence and would not use *Ilanga* as a party mouthpiece, and was undeterred by the rhetorial question asked repeatedly by staffers: "Why then, spend so much money, buying an already independent newspaper?"

And the questions still stand If *Ilanga* was basically Inkatha supporting, why spend all that money? And if it was not, and was going to be allowed to remain independent, why spend money on a potential enemy?

The answer shines painfully clearly to most journalists. After all, did *The Citizen* ever lose its taint from its unsavoury party political origins?

The front page of the first Inkatha edition of *Ilanga*, including job offers for journalists and the entire text of a Buthelezi speech

Ilanga's on the streets, but the row continues

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER, Durban

AFTER seven hours of talks on Wednesday, the deadlock between Natal Newspapers management and the South African Society of Journalists over the sale of *Ilanga* to Inkatha is still unresolved.

The work stoppage by the *Ilanga* editorial chapel continues while Inkatha prepares to hire new staff to run the paper. However, another session between Natal Newspapers and the SASJ is planned for next week.

"There is no indication yet whether the negotiations will break down or succeed," SASJ national organiser John Allen said following Wednesday's talks, which he described as "fruitful".

Shortly after Ilanga's sale to Inkatha was announced, the journalists began a strike, reacting both to the announcement and to an unequivocal statement by Natal Newspaper managing director, Ed Booth, that they would not be offered work on any other NN publication.

The strike has produced a stinging attack on officials of the SASJ and *Ilanga* staffers from Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Most of his anger has been directed at the *Ilanga* SASJ chapel father, Mdu Lembede, whom he has labelled a "fetch and carry boy" of the ANC.

He accused Lembede of encouraging journalists to strike because he objected to the new ownership, saying Lembede was motivated by concern that the UDF could no longer use the paper for its own political ends. He added the paper's previous owners could not see the role Lembede had been playing.

"I ask what (Lembede) has done to make black journalists down tools in the City Press, which is owned by the owners of the National Party newspapers of the country.

"They were not shy to take Afrikaner money for their salaries, and now they have become super-righteous, saying they do not want to take money from a black-owned newspaper."

Buthelezi said the paper had at last been returned to its "rightful owners" now that it had been bought by blacks.

The logo of Mandla-Matla, the Inkatha company now running South Africa's largest vernacular newspaper, *Ilanga*, filled a large part of the first edition under its new owners.

On the front page was a story offering work to would-be journalists — a reminder of the reporters on strike because of the paper's handover to Inkatha by Natal Newspapers.

The paper led with a report about an accident on the South Coast in which 17 people were killed The second story was the first part of what turned out to be the entire text of the speech made by Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, when the sale to Inkatha was officially announced.

Inside, in an editorial in English and Zulu, the sale was welcomed as "historic" and as "marking the dawn of a new era in South Africa".

The writer says: "All black hearts and minds yearn for freedom to speak their minds the way they themselves choose to.

"Thanks to Mandla-Matla and Inkatha, the dream we all cherish will now materialise."

Referring to the motives of the strikers, the editorial comments that most South African newspapers are owned by "powerful white capitalist interests". However a "Marxist-Leninist" could still work for such a paper.

MNR linked to rural vigilantes

W/Mail

24-29/4/88

BY THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE Northern Transvaal Youth Congress (Notrayoc) has called on the youth in the Frontline states and other neighbouring states to mobilise against "South African aggression".

The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) affiliate, which claims a membership of 120 000, has made the call in the wake of the growing vigilante threat in the area, the coming white elections and moves by the KwaNdebele government to opt for "independence".

Notrayoc considers the youth in the Frontline states as part of "us". The organisation says in a statement that the youth in the Frontline states are also "subject to SA intimidation" and therefore the youth in the region should prepare to form "partisan fronts" to counter South African "aggression".

They added that any leader of a neighbouring state who stands in the way will be seen as "betraying the South African struggle".

Notrayoc, one of 160 affiliates of Sayco, representing the youth in Venda, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and Gazankulu, will counter efforts by vigilante groups in the area to recruit from the unemployed.

Notrayoc president, Ephraim Mogale is reported as saying there were eight vigilante committees in the area and some of these were masquarading as youth organisations. One such group calls itself "Abafana bakaBotha" (Sons of Botha).

Notrayoc claims the vigilante movement is backed by the Mozambique resistance, Renamo.

The organisation, whose life presidents are Bobby Tsotsobe, a former ANC guerrilla whose death sentence was commuted to life, and Theresa Ramashamola, a Vaal woman who has been sentenced to death, is also mobilising against moves by KwaNdebele to opt for independence.

DAWID VAN WYK

The show must go on

Professor Dawid van Wyk, as the new "Indaba" director, will be responsible for getting its constitutional message across to the country and, in particular, Natal and KwaZulu.

A constitutional lawyer, seconded to his new position from the University of South Africa, Van Wyk (40) is confident that the majority among his audiences will welcome the Indaba proposals for second-tier government of Natal. His team has now begun explaining the details at meetings in Natal.

However, judging from some early commentaries, it won't be easy to keep the Indaba show on the road. Heavy fire can be expected from critics to the Left and Right. One of the casualties, say Indaba supporters, may be the vanishing of a final hope for achieving inter-racial accord in SA.

How did Van Wyk — a white Afrikaner academic, a graduate of an uncompromisingly Calvinist university campus, and a Transvaaler with a strongly conservative heritage — come to be conducting this campaign? His job, after all, is to persuade Zulus and predominantly English-speaking whites and Indians to support the complex power-sharing formula proposed by the Indaba.

With understatement which proves typical, Van Wyk says he was invited, during a chat in a Unisa corridor in May last year with colleague Marinus Wiechers, to "take minutes" during Indaba think-tank sessions.

In fact this was a prelude to becoming secretary of the Indaba's academically impressive constitutional committee, and simultaneously acting as secretary to the Indaba itself. There followed an extension of the initial nine-month secondment for a further year, so that Van Wyk could continue, now as director of the Indaba.

Van Wyk ... driven by a Christian imperative

The position means he is responsible for managing the Indaba information campaign (now underway) which, the organisers hope, will be followed later this year by a government-sanctioned local referendum on the Indaba proposals. If this is refused, as seems likely, another method must be found to test public opinion. Either way, Indaba organisers believe, they will get incontrovertible evidence that Natalians wish to "do it their way." Whether any such test of opinion will be allowed by government is another matter.

Having matriculated at Windhoek High School, Van Wyk obtained a BA at Potchefstroom University, an LLB from Rand Afrikaans University, and an LLM and LLD from Unisa. He has worked at Unisa as lecturer (1971), senior lecturer (1973), associate professor (1978), and, since 1979, as Professor of Constitutional Law. He is presently head of the Department of Constitutional and Public International Law at Unisa.

So much for the credits, but it was primarily an intense personal interest in constitutional law, evidenced by numerous publications, which explains Van Wyk's involvement in the Indaba. A glance at what he terms his "mundane" interests reveals a shirt-sleeves student with a social conscience.

A member of the verligte Lynnwood Ridge Dutch Reformed Church in Pretoria, Van Wyk played a role in organising reading classes for illiterates. He was also instrumental in running an advice centre — a joint undertaking with the Baptists which offered advice to "indigent people" on such controversial matters as the administration of pass laws.

Van Wyk remains a committee member of Lawyers for Human Rights, was acting chairman of the Unisa Legal Aid Clinic, and is a former secretary and president of the Society of University Teachers of Law, for which he played a central role in organising several key conferences.

His active participation in such organisations he attributes to a social conscience, "and since there's little direct contact with students at Unisa, if you do have a social conscience you should make direct contact with real people in the world off the campus," he explains.

How did all this add up to the position of director of the Indaba? "Sometimes I wonder why it came my way. But it's a unique opportunity truly to get involved, to see things from the heart of the matter, and to follow them through to their conclusion. It makes one humble.

"Another thing that strikes me. From the beginning, only one man has challenged me to explain what I, an Afrikaner, was doing here — and he was an Afrikaner. This stands to the credit of the people involved, who did not make me feel like a foreigner. It has been an enriching experience."

And has he answered his own question — why he should have arrived in this position? "Oh yes. It's Grace. You may say God-given. It is a claim sometimes made too easily. But I do feel it's a Christian imperative. A duty to be reconciled with God and one's fellow man. It is my opportunity to make a contribution to the future, to a better life in this country." ■

11B

ELECTION — DURBAN METRO

Indaba testing

Few major upsets are anticipated in Durban's metropolitan constituencies on May 6.

At issue among the 26 candidates contesting the 11 greater city seats (56 candidates in all are fighting the 20 seats allocated to the province), are such issues as the KwaNatal Indaba proposals for second-tier provincial government; the Group Areas Act and racial zoning of the city's beaches; and the PFP-NRP alliance, which faces the first major test of its "marriage of convenience."

Barometer city seats include:

☐ Umhlatuzana, secured in the last election on a slender 90-vote majority by the Nats (3 802), in a three-cornered contest against the NRP (3 712) and the HNP (779);

☐ Port Natal, where Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha defends his anti-Indaba posture against the PFP's Warwick Webber and CP hopeful Pat Mohr; and

☐ Durban North, where Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller defends a 787-vote majority in a straight fight against the PFP's Mike Ellis. It is Miller's first general election since defecting to the NP from the NRP in 1984.

"Invisible" players in the election are the KwaZulu government and the Indaba. In an unusual step, KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister and Indaba co-convener Dr Oscar Dhlomo, has appealed to voters in the whites-only election to support "pro-Indaba" candidates.

Another unusual element in this election is the size of the undecided voting lobby. Party canvassers estimate that 32% of voters at this stage still "don't know" who they will vote for.

With 20 567 registered voters, Umhlatuzana is second only to Greytown in size in Natal. However, since there are only three polling booths in the constituency, results may be expected early.

NP candidate Johann Steenkamp, who represented the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings at the Indaba, has come out firmly against its constitutional proposals. He defends the vulnerable 90-vote hold obtained by retired NP Senator Nico Pretorius, against former Durban mayor and current chairman of the council's management committee, Sybil Hotz, who is widely tipped to unseat the Nats.

Crucial to this prediction, though, is the decision of NRP supporters, who polled 3 712 votes in the last election. Common wisdom is that province-wide some 60% will favour Nat candidates, and the balance will support the alliance. Strictly applied, the ratio suggests the NP will retain the seat. The unquantifiable factors, however, are the personalities involved and their positions on the Indaba.

In the predominantly working-class constituency of Port Natal, the NRP-PFP alliance faces its sternest test. It is here, given an outside chance, that it may reap its greatest rewards.

At the last election, a five-way split saw a combined 4 152 votes to the PFP-NRP; an independent came within 155 votes of the 4 307 recorded by Stoffel Botha; while the CP's Pat Mohr polled 1 914. On the basis of the 60:40 forecast on NRP voters' allegiance, however, the seat looks safe for the Nats. This time round they face only the PFP and the CP.

NRP defector Ron Miller appears to be on a hiding to nothing in his Durban North seat; and in Durban Point, where the PFP have withdrawn in favour of old stalwart of Natal politics Frank Martin — standing for the NRP — the alliance looks likely to retain the seat.

The major parties enter the elections for Durban's 11 metropolitan seats, showing the following form: NRP-PFP alliance, nine seats (Amanzimtoti, Durban North, Durban Point, South Coast, Umbilo and Umhlanga held by the NRP; and Berea, Durban Central, and Pinetown held by the PFP); and the Nats two seats (Port Natal and Umhlatuzana).

NRP defector Aubrey Thompson is likely to keep the South Coast seat for the Nats. But against this is the prospect of victory to the alliance in Umhlatuzana, and a remote chance of unseating NP leader Stoffel Botha. ■

24/4/87

ILANGA SALE

Political fall-out

All 23 editorial staff members of Durban's *Ilanga* newspaper have been ordered off the premises by Inkatha-controlled Mandla-Matla Publishing, the new owners of the Zulu language bi-weekly.

The order followed a strike by the staff, called in response to last week's announcement that Natal Newspapers had sold *Ilanga* to Mandla-Matla. This week's editions are being produced by journalists drafted from various KwaZulu government departments.

The fate of the striking journalists — who declined appeals by the new owners to continue working for *Ilanga* — is now likely to be decided at meetings scheduled this week with former employers Natal Newspapers, an Argus subsidiary.

The Argus is tight-lipped about the price its Natal division put on *Ilanga* and the fee it will collect for continuing to manage and print the 105 672-circulation newspaper on behalf of the new owners.

Advertisers and ad agencies invited to a function in Durban on Wednesday last week to hear the news were generally impressed by the deal, which restores ownership to Zulus of a Zulu language newspaper launched in 1906.

Less enthusiastic were *Ilanga* editorial staff, who charge that politics rather than commerce shaped the sale and immediately downed tools.

Another accusation was that Natal Newspapers failed to keep them informed of development, which retroactively (from April 1) left them employed by a party political organisation. Neither new chairman Oscar Dhlomo nor Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in an address at last week's function, could persuade them that Inkatha would resist the temptation to influence editorial content and policy.

It is indeed a reasonable assumption that Inkatha's interest in the deal went beyond profit. Argus assures *Ilanga* is in the black. The new owners maintain this was the sole consideration and insist they will not turn *Ilanga* into a "party political rag." As a key player in the Indaba, though, KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi was without an unambiguous mouthpiece in the vernacular. Ownership of *Ilanga* changes this.

In terms of the deal Natal Newspapers will continue to print, distribute, sell advertising space, and generally manage *Ilanga*. Mandla-Matla is, meanwhile, advertising for new staff, says Dhlomo.

□ All the directors of Mandla-Matla Publishing (Pty) Ltd are members of the central committee of Inkatha. Dhlomo, KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, is chairman.

Fellow directors are: Senzele Mhlungu, member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA), board member of Barclays Bank in Durban, and managing director of Khulani Holdings; Melchizedeck Khumalo, a director of Khulani Holdings; Peter Davidson, owner of a construction company; and Mudliwamafa Nzuza, who is also a member of the KLA.

Hal Miller, executive chairman of Argus, expressed delight with the deal but cautioned it came together in a unique set of circumstances that will set no precedents for other "black" newspapers controlled by Argus. ■

Cape Times 25/4/87

Buthelezi warns of 'violent rampage'

118

LONDON. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the Royal Commonwealth Society here yesterday he led a "very angry people liable to go on a violent rampage" which could leave previous conflicts as pale reflections of what levels violence could reach in South Africa.

The Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister said he and his people were disgusted with the SA government's intransigence and were not going to wait for State President, Mr P W Botha, to have a change of heart.

Chief Buthelezi outlined programmes by which negotiated settlement could be achieved by South Africans and the international community "even at this late stage":

- Preliminary negotiations at other regional levels, akin to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba;
- The introduction of a form of shuttle diplomacy via a "club of embassies" which would have a permanent presence in SA, and
- Foreign participation in a negotiating process in the form of, for example, Britain and Malawi undertaking to carry a "Pretoria perspective" to Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The well-intentioned Commonwealth EPG group had failed by setting demands as preconditions instead of end products of negotiation.

An alternative to the EPG's approach was needed in which pressure was continually applied to government while negotiations worked from the bottom upwards. — Sapa

Education for all based on Indaba Bill of Rights

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

DURBAN — The report of a committee on a non-racial, single education system for kwaZulu and Natal has been based on the Indaba Bill of Rights that every person shall have the same right to public education.

The committee, under the chairmanship of a former head of education at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), Professor Jack Niven, has called its report a Charter for Education.

It concedes the proposals would not be immediately attainable but would form the basis of policy in a future educational dispensation.

The capital costs would require R82 million to provide an additional 4 530 classrooms.

Many of the principles and objectives are similar to the Government-appointed De Lange Report on Education, its most importand being:

- All education be brought under one department and not, as now, administered by six.
- Equal education be assured irrespective of race, language or religion, with the only differences being made in the provision of facilities being based on language or sex.
- There should be a transitional programme to upgrade education to acceptable standards.

Priority would be placed on reaching a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:30.

- The appointment of school committees serving geographic areas which would contribute to decisions on language medium, curriculum and staff selection.
- The system would be flexible to allow schools to serve particular language, religious, cultural and philosophical values.
- Formal education should be child-centred, providing for cultural identities but seeking to promote universal values.
- Non-formal education as a supplement to formal education should be recognised and encouraged.
- Private schools, on a subsidised basis, would be retained.
- The region's education department would co-ordinate policy with the Department of National Education. This would include salaries, teachers' qualifications, examination standards and core curriculum.
- The province would continue to receive financial support from central Government on at least the same formula basis as other education departments.
- Additional sources of financial support would have to be found to improve and extend services, and eliminate backlogs.
- The full use of existing school and teacher-training facilities.

The committee said: "Careful arrangements will have to be made to ensure a smooth transition from the present divided system to one of unified control. While it will not be possible to achieve this overnight, there should be no undue delay in commencing the process.

"While there is undoubtably scope for rationalisation, there are also such glaring shortcomings in parts of the present system that there can be no question of continuing retrenchments or the closure of facilities which are at present under-utilised.

It points out that the Government has acknowledged that there would be an enormous growth in funding in education to reduce teacher:pupil ratios to acceptable levels.

DEPARTMENT FACES TWO CHALLENGES

Concern is expressed over the many qualified teachers not being used. A major area of further investigation is how many hundreds of qualified teachers could be moved to deprived areas.

"In short, the new single education department in Natal faces two pre-eminent challenges: the supply and deployment of trained power and the raising of adequate finance.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

Low-level decisions proposed

Political Staff

DURBAN — The managament structure of a single non-racial education department for Natal/kwaZulu would reflect the Indaba's commitment to devolving decision-making and administrative power to lower levels, says the report of the Niven Committee.

A major part of the proposed structure would be a provincial education council representing the entire education community.

Members of the council would be indirectly elected representatives of school committees, departmental nominees and other members representing users of education and teachers' organisations at provincial level, important religious and cultural interests and local government.

The council would advise the provincial Minister of Education and co-ordinate and monitor education planning.

It would have the right to be consulted on any proposed legislation or regulations dealing with education, the power to initiate its own investigations while playing a watchdog role on the maintenance of education standards.

The Niven Committee recommends that education control should be broken down to a regional level and then a district level.

The regions should not be seen as a separate level of government but as an administrative feature.

The responsibilities of the recommended regional co-ordinating committees would include physical planning, the provision and monitoring of educational services, financial control and the administration of bursaries.

The district committees were recommended for high population areas to ensure, among other things, proper representation on a geographic basis with the regional co-ordinating committees.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

The signatories

The signatories to the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba education report were:

Professor Jack Niven (chairman), emeritus Professor of Education, University of Natal, Mrs Nicky Armstrong, a teacher and former Mayor of Westville, Mr Roger Burrows MP (PFP Pinetown) former secretary of the Natal Teachers' Society, Mr Ray Haslam, former Natal MEC in charge of education, Dr P Hiddleston, principal of the Durban Girls' College and representative of the Association of Private Schools and Principals Conference, Dr Gerald Hosking, former Natal Director of Education and current white own affairs education Ministerial representative for Natal, Professor Andre le Roux, Rector Edgewood College of Education and former president of the Natal Teachers' Society, Mr Morris Lewis MP (LP Natal Mid-East) former president Natal Society of Teachers. Professor Shan Maharaj, former professor of Education, University of Durban/Westville, Mr M T Moerane, former editor of *World* and vice-president of the Black Allied Workers Union, Mr J E Ndlovu, former KwaZulu Secretary of Education and Culture, Mr S M Rahman, Islamic Council of South Africa, Mr Dave Ryman, secretary Natal Teachers' Society, Professor Alex Thembela, vice-Principal of the University of Zululand and president of the Natal African Teachers' Union, Mr J Twynham, school principal and former secretary of the Society of Natal Teachers, and Mr Colin Webb, vice-principal of the University of Natal.

Indaba plan to desegregate Natal schools

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

The Natal/KwaZulu Indaba has recommended major changes to education in the region which would make schools multiracial and controlled by a single education department.

However, entrance woule be restricted on a geographical basis and exceptions made for cultural and language differences.

The Indaba proposals for equal education contradict National Party claims that standards would be reduced.

Major recommendation of the report are:

- The scrapping of the six departments that control education in Natal and KwaZulu to bring it under a single controlling body.
- Race no longer a criterian for admission.
- Schools serve specific geographic areas.
- Committees help decide language medium, curriculum and staff appointments.
- A system which would satisfy language, religious and philosophical needs of all.

Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk said: "These documents show clearly it is false to suggest that the Indaba proposals require an equalising of education in one year."

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

● See Page 17.

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Buthelezi to meet Chirac in Paris

The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — A meeting with French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac is expected to be the highlight of a week's visit to France by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which begins today.

The Kwazulu leader will also have talks with Senate president Mr Alain Poher, who ranks No 2 in the country, and former President Valery Giscard d'Estaing.

It is understood that Chief Buthelezi's visit is being made at the invitation of Mr Chirac. Diplomatic sources say the French government is expected to give wide support, including generous financial aid, to the chief.

Publicity for the visit is being handled by Mr Pierre Salinger, formerly President Kennedy's Press counsellor. Mr Salinger has lived in Paris for the past 10 years, and has top-level political, financial and industrial contacts.

The chief has already gained valuable publicity through the showing here at the weekend of the fourth episode of *Shaka Zulu*. Millions of viewers also saw a clandestine film *Rock Against Apartheid* on South African musician Johnny Clegg, who also starts a tour of France this week.

furniture international

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

Indaba urges major changes in education

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Natal-Kwazulu indaba has recommended major changes to education in the region, making schools multiracial, putting them under a single education department and restricting entrance on a geographical basis with exceptions on cultural and language grounds.

The indaba has released proposals for equal education in the region and has repudiated National Party claims that standards would be reduced.

Major recommendation of the education report are:

- Six departments which control education in Natal and Kwazulu would be scrapped and a single controlling body formed.
- Race would no longer be considered a criterion for admission.
- Schools would serve specific geographic areas.
- School committees would play a major role in deciding language medium, curriculum and staff appointments.
- A school system would be instituted to satisfy the language, religious and philosophical needs of all communities.

In a statement accompanying the report indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk firmly rejects claims by the National Party in the election campaign without mentioning the party by name.

He said: "These documents show quite clearly that it is false to suggest that the indaba proposals require an equalising of education in one year.

"Nor do they involve a lowering of standards or a withdrawal of subsidies from private schools."

Professor van Wyk said discrimination in education is to be removed by the systematic improvement of what is inferior until it reaches acceptable standards.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

Cape Times, Wednesday, April 29, 1987 (11B)

ELECTION COUNTDOWN

Demand for change 'can oust Botha'

STATE PRESIDENT Mr P W Botha's time was "running out" and he was left with the choice of chaos and destruction or of addressing vital issues with black leaders commanding real support, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Paris yesterday.

He said the groundswell of demand for change was so widespread among blacks and whites it would remove Mr Botha from office if needs be.

In a series of meetings with influential French politicians and journalists, he said South Africa faced inevitable "liberation", which would at once make it the world's most powerful black nation and the greatest economic force on the continent.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha was failing in his "desperate attempts" to achieve his political ends through negotiations with blacks. This was because he had not yet tabled an agenda for negotiation acceptable to black leaders commanding mass support.

Mr Botha could "fall back on Africa's most powerful army" and make a last-ditch stand which would lead to scorched-earth policies, or he could address the real issues with black leaders.

The chief's exposure to a wide cross-section of whites and blacks made him aware of a vast groundswell for meaningful change which would remove Mr Botha from office if necessary.

The break-aways by Dr Denis Worrall and others represented traditional NP support beginning "to shake its finger under Mr Botha's nose".

He said analytical journalism would show that strategies adopted by those favouring violence as a solution would not bring about the kind of democracy hoped for in SA.

Yet in Europe and elsewhere revolutionaries were painted as romantic freedom fighters "exercising the option of removing tyranny by justifiable violence".

He said violence did not produc positive results. Revolutionaries saw democratic opposition and negotiation as threats.

Analytical journalism would show that apartheid's weak base was best attacked through non-violent democratic means.

He said violence attacked Mr Botha where he was strongest, which made no tactical sense, as he controlled Africa's most powerful army and an efficient internal-security system.

It was Mr Botha's recalcitrance that should be attacked, for it rested on very shaky foundations which now had become as offensive to a very large body of Afrikaner opinion-makers as they were to the West.

"Now is the time for responsible journalism to present the facts which will help the democratic process in SA," Chief Buthelezi said.

(Report issued by Roy Sudgen, the Chief Minister's Office, Ulundi.)

(116) Sowetan 29/4/87

'Race must not count'

THE Natal KwaZulu Indaba education proposals would not force schools to be mixed, Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, said yesterday.

Professor Van Wyk said any impression which might have been created by a headline and opening paragraph in a newspaper on Monday that the indaba proposals on education implied that all Government schools in Natal would have to be mixed or multi-racial was incorrect.

Criteria

The indaba proposals will not force schools to be mixed. They take no position of whether schools should or should not be racially mixed, merely that race should not be a reason for excluding a child who qualifies on other criteria.

"Schools should serve geographic communities, which might or might not be racially mixed and should cater for the language, religious and cultural needs of the communities they serve, by way of elected school committees with much greater control over their schools than at present."

(Report by B. Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban).

Tambo can't come to Buthelezi, so Buthelezi will go to Tambo

☐ British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and Chief Buthelezi in Pretoria last year

STANLEY UYS in London

(113) B/Day 29/4/87

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI came to London last week on a mission: to tell the international community that, after SA's May 6 elections, they had better start putting the pressure on President Botha because the situation is deteriorating fast. And also to try to make his peace with the ANC.

It was a high profile visit, with an address to the Royal Commonwealth and Royal African societies, radio and television interviews and a round of meetings.

I happened to take part in a BBC Africa Service discussion programme with Buthelezi and Gora Ebrahim, the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs — Ebrahim was given permission by the PAC's Dar es Salaam headquarters to appear on the same programme with Buthelezi.

But no ANC. There were ANC members at Buthelezi's public meeting who listened intently, but said nothing. They did not ask a single question.

Whether the ANC will yield eventually and meet Buthelezi is still to be seen. The omens at present are not auspicious — not after the recent slaughterings in Natal. And even if the ANC is willing to meet Buthelezi, the UDF no doubt will voice its protest.

Yet Buthelezi is determined to press his case. He said he has met ANC leader Oliver Tambo "countless" times — in various countries — since Tambo's exile in 1960. They were fellow-Anglicans.

The last occasion was in 1979, when Buthelezi and a 16-member Inkatha delegation met Tambo and an ANC delegation at a hotel near London's Heathrow airport for two-and-a-half days of discussion on unity.

That was the parting of the ways. The full story of the breakdown of those talks has never been told (or if it has, I have not heard it).

Tambo, according to Buthelezi, was supposed to respond, but he failed to do so. The next thing was a blistering attack on Buthelezi by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo. The ANC no doubt has its own version of what happened at that fateful meeting.

Now, eight years later, Buthelezi wants to pick up the pieces. Tambo, of course, cannot go to SA, so Buthelezi will go to Tambo. "I am prepared to meet him anywhere in the world," Buthelezi declared.

In 1984, Buthelezi says, he received a long telegram from Tambo concerning the bloody strife in SA between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF. Buthelezi responded with a long letter, in which he offered to meet Tambo.

He repeated this offer a few weeks ago, and has also extended it to the UDF — who turned it down. So, as Buthlezi puts it, "the ball is in Mr Tambo's court".

For a second time, therefore, Buthelezi is waiting for the ANC to respond. But can Tambo respond after the bitterness and violence between the ANC/UDF and Inkatha, particularly during the past three years?

That then was Buthelezi's message to the ANC. His message to the international community was to repeat the proposal he made almost a year ago — that the community should initiate "an on-going shuttle diplomacy" as a way of "stimulating an on-going negotiating process in SA".

Buthelezi explained: "Shuttle diplomacy will have the advantage of keeping the countries involved constantly in touch with developments as they occur ... A shuttle diplomacy by selected countries ... who have embassies in SA would be serviced by those embassies."

In this way — through "a club of embassies" — shuttle diplomacy would have a "permanent presence" in SA. It would require a full-time secretariat "as a functional meeting point between the representatives of foreign countries when they meet with each other in SA".

Inputs to the negotiating process in SA "would then be given the diplomatic protocol and link the work of shuttle diplomacy to bilateral diplomatic relations between SA and the countries involved".

Buthelezi's point is that, before negotiations begin in SA, the preparatory work must be internationalised. He notes the intriguing suggestion that Britain and Malawi, say, should undertake to convey a "Pretoria perspective" to Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Rumania, who in turn would table an ANC position.

So besides waiting for an ANC response, Buthelezi is also waiting for an international response. Like waiting for Godot? Buthelezi hopes not.

But do SA's trading partners relish the responsibility of breathing down Pretoria's neck morning, noon and night? Yet they, too, must start to pick up the pieces now.

Buthelezi made some challenging assertions in his speech. First, SA is nowhere near a Lancaster House-type conference. Such conferences take place "only after the will to remain obdurate is eroded by a real inability to carry on". Lancaster House-type negotiations are "out of the question for SA".

Second, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (CEPG) was an example of how not to negotiate with the South African government. The demands stated by the CEPG for negotiations between President Botha's government and the black opposition (release of Mandela and political prisoners, unbanning of ANC, etc) should have been perceived as end products, not as preconditions. The SA government will have to be negotiated into accepting these demands.

The CEPG had in mind "an OAU-type formula which supports the ANC's Mission in Exile, in its assertion that the only thing to negotiate about is the handing over of power to them.

"This formula failed the CEPG White South Africans will adopt scorced earth policies to meet revolutionary scorched-earth policies before they capitulate."

Third, if violence wins the day in SA "any future government will have to attempt to rule not only over a deeply polarised SA, in which there will be no consensus amongst the country's population groups about how South Africans want to be governed, but will also have to attempt to do so with a destroyed economy which will leave it incapable of making liberation meaningful to ordinary people in terms of improved standards of living".

Finally, Buthelezi made it clear that however much his opponents might dislike him and his six million Zulus they are not going to be written out of the political script. "I am not going to vanish like the mist," he said.

Buthelezi is not denying the ANC its right to have chosen the path of armed struggle. In similar circumstances, he said, he might well have chosen the same path himself. But his role — using the KwaZulu homeland as a power base — is different from the ANC's, and the ANC should respect this.

Buthelezi is right, of course, that there is not going to be a titanic struggle between the black liberation movement and then, suddenly, victory and a transfer of power. But then does any serious black leader think it will? I doubt it. It's a bargaining posture.

What Buthelezi is doing is trying to narrow the gap between himself and the liberation movement. The methods may differ, he says, but not the objectives.

He abominates apartheid, he would not touch President Botha's as yet unborn national council "with a barge pole" unless political prisoners like Mandela are released, and he recognises that if he accepts the parameters in which President Botha wants to negotiate, his black constituents will simply "endorse us out of political existence".

So how wide is the gap between Buthelezi and the liberation movement (leaving aside the internecine conflict which is a sympton, not a cause, of the gap)? And can it be bridged? What will the response be of the ANC, UDF, PAC, Azapo, etc?

Or are Inkatha and the other black organisations locked into permanent and murderous combat?

Cape Times 29/4/87 (118)

New Ilanga bosses

DURBAN. — Former journalist Arthur Konigkramer has been appointed general manager of Mandla-Matla, the Inkatha-backed company which took over the Durban Zulu-language newspaper Ilanga this month. Former Ilanga acting editor Mr T G Mthembu has been appointed editor. Five other former Ilanga journalists have been re-employed.

Joint rally for ASB rebels and Inkatha

By JO-ANN BEKKER

YOUTH for South Africa — a multi-racial moderate body formed after the *Afrikaner Studentebond* split last year — staged a convention with the Inkatha Youth Brigade last weekend.

National organiser Suzette Labuschagne said 50 members from each group met at the Rand Afrikaans University to thrash out common ideals on a future South Africa.

These included, according to publicity secretary Cedric de Koning:

- A constitutional model which would include one legislative body based on universal franchise but with adequate provision for the "devolution of power". While all citizens would have the vote, provision would be made for "effective power sharing". There would be adequate representation for all different interest groups and a bill of rights to safeguard individual rights.
- The scrapping of all discriminatory practices in the marketplace.
- Equal education under one education department. Schools would be based on mother-tongue rather than race, although pupils would be free to attend any school of their choice.

If the constitutional guidelines adopted by the convention seemed to endorse the KwaNatal Indaba proposals, a subsequent motion seemed to bear this out — the Indaba was acclaimed as "unique", "exemplary" and an example of effectively barring race and colour from political processes. The motion concluded that for these proposals "South Africa will be eternally grateful".

Labuschagne said Youth for South Africa — which aimed to improve race relations — celebrated its first birthday last weekend. It was funded by Anglo American, the Gencor Development Fund, Federale Volksbeleging, Nedbank and several smaller companies and employed two full-time and three half-day workers. She said it was impossible to be specific about the size of the organisation's membership, although it had branches on all Afrikaans university campuses and schools and among working people of all races throughout the country.

Africa. South

CAPE TIMES 30/4/87 (~~329~~) (118) (120)

Mahlangus dismissed

JOHANNESBURG. — Two of the members of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly who were dismissed this week are in detention, while the third is missing. Mr James Mahlangu and Mr Solly Mahlangu, who were dismissed after a unanimous decision by the assembly, have been held in detention since last year. Mr Andries Mahlangu, James's brother, who was also held for a lengthy period and later released, was also expelled from his seat in the assembly this week.

Reports by Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

CAPE TIMES 2/5/87

Buthelezi on his French visit

JOHANNESBURG. — Although the French government acknowledged the African National Congress as a political party, they did not favour it as the next viable government of South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

At an airport news conference on his return from France, where he was the guest of the Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, he said it was clear from his reception they wanted to "hear the other side" and that they "had done their homework very well".

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu said his message to Mr Chirac and other leading French politicians was that South Africa would not destroy what it had in order to get what it did not have.

However, he had said there could never be peace till people were governed by whom they chose and in the way they chose.

National Front

He had told them the "pot at the end of the rainbow" after continued violence was not gold, but poverty. Democracy and poverty did not co-exist, Chief Buthelezi said.

Throughout his contacts, the politicians of all France's political parties — except the communists and the rightist National Front — responded by asking: "What can we do?"

He said heads of government departments had spoken of humanitarian aid to South Africa.

He said he pointed out to them the danger of the limited effect previous aid from the European Economic Community had had because of its selective application. — Sapa

'Time running out for Botha'

PRESIDENT PW Botha's time was running out and he was left with the choice of either chaos and destruction or addressing vital issues with black leaders commanding real mass support, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Paris this week.

In a series of meetings with some of France's most influential politicians and journalists, he painted a picture of a South Africa facing inevitable liberation.

"This would make it the most powerful black nation in the world and the greatest economic force on the continent," he said.

Buthelezi said Botha was failing in his desperate attempts to achieve his own political ends through negotiations with blacks.

"He is being held to ransom by leaders such as myself who know that he cannot do what he wants to do on his own," said Buthelezi.

He said that Botha could fall back on the most powerful army in Africa and make a last-ditch stand - which would inevitably lead to scorched earth policies - or he could move towards addressing the real issues with black leaders like himself. - Sapa.

3/5/85 Argus

INKATHA IN NSL GRAB

3/5/87

(118)

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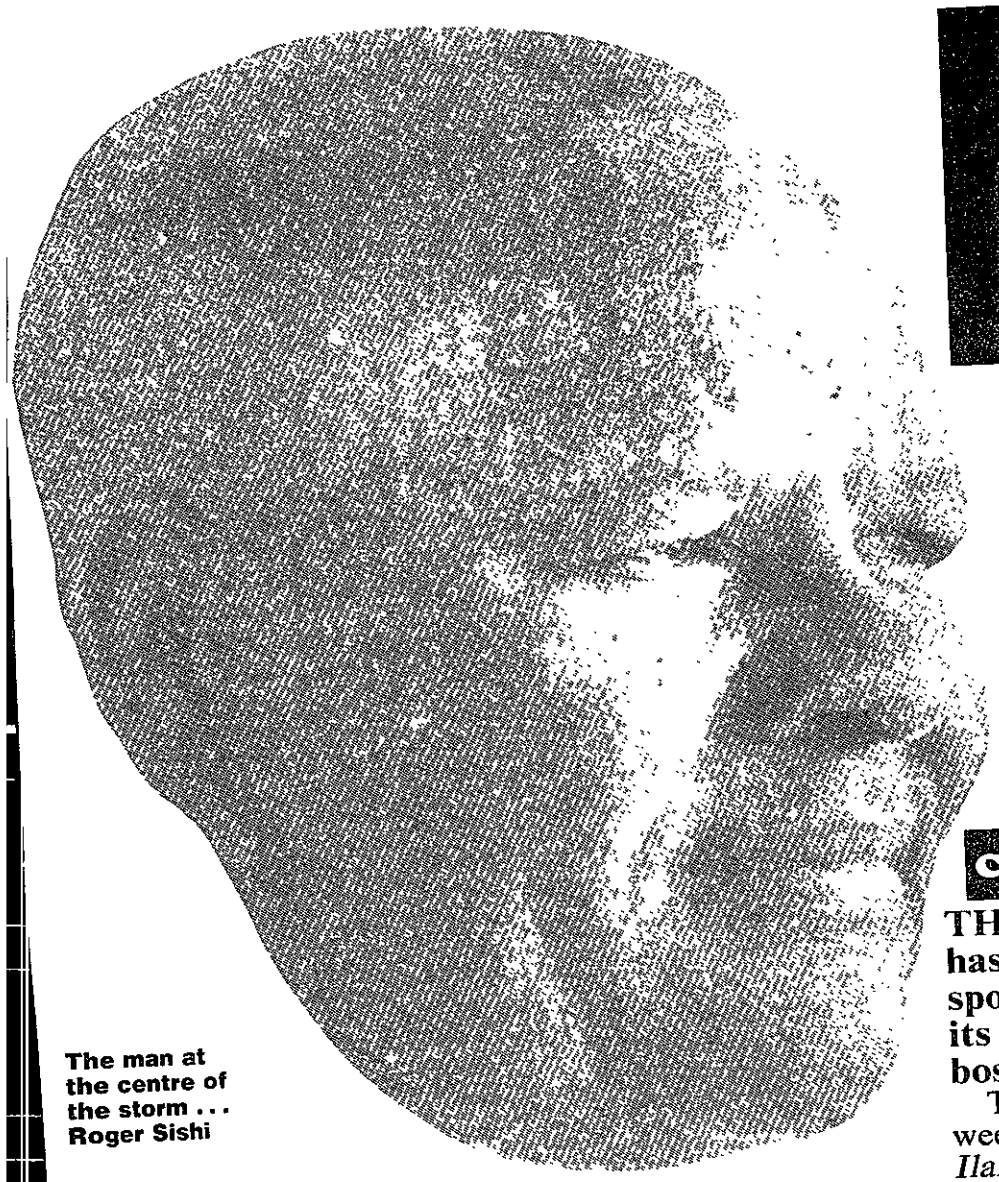


The man at the centre of the storm . . . Roger Sishi

CITY PRESS EXCLUSIVE

THE INKATHA Liberation and Cultural Movement has clawed its way into control of the biggest spectator sport and money spinner in the country – football – when its high-ranking official, Rodger D Sishi, was elected boss of the National Soccer League.

This is bound to be Inkatha's second major scoop in as many weeks following its take-over of the Natal-based Zulu newspaper *Ilanga* – the bible of sport in the province.

Although Sishi's election as NSL chairman appears not to have been ochestrated by Inkatha, it is criticised by bodies that do not see eye to eye with Inkatha.

The bouncing back into big-time soccer after 10 years of obscurity for roly-poly Sishi is sure to have a profound effect on Inkatha's apparent expansionist program aimed at grabbing whatever it can lay its hands on in the political and economic arena.

Sishi's influential positions in the predominantly Zulu Inkatha will certainly rub off on millions of soccer fans throughout the country.

The new soccer El' Supremo seems to have too many irons in the fire and it is yet to be seen how he will cope with the big league, especially because he is reported to have missed some important NSL meetings as vice chairman because of business commitments.

Sishi, among other things, is the chairman of the KwaZulu Local Government Association, which is an equivelant of the United Municipalities of South Africa and the Urban Councils of South Africa.

He is also the mayor of E[illegible]malanga (Hammersdale), general-secretary of Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, an affiliate of both Inkatha and National Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and a businessman.

Sishi is also a close confidante of KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The tricky question facing the NSL is how they will be led by Sishi who participates in govern[illegible]tutions.

Open secret

It is an open secret that the NSL abhors the apartheid system and its institutions.

It is on record that NSL PRO Abdul Bhamjee said in June 1985 that team officials who were involved in bodies with apartheid ties would leave a "tremendous stigma on the league".

As a demonstration of its determination to denounce any apartheid-related body the NSL broke its ties with National Panasonic early this year for its sponsorship of the rebel Austrialian cricket tour of South Africa.

Sishi's ascent to the high pedestal of soccer came at the expense of leading sports administrator and educationist Leepile Taunyane, who was at the helm of the soccer body since its inception two years ago.

Interesting

It would be interesting to see how Sishi, the former Alexandra Young Fighters defender, will dribble himself out of the NSL's moratorium on his involvement in government-created institutions.

However, Sishi, who was for several years general manager of the National Professional Soccer League, is known to have successfully managed some of the NPSL's stormy issues.

Civil war 'has reached cities'

(11B) STAR 5/5/87

South Africa is worthy of a greater love than blind adherence to policies that have wrecked the economy and seen thousands die in townships and now on city streets, the Black Sash said in a statement yesterday.

"The actions at Cosatu House (trade union headquarters in Johannesburg raided twice by police in the past two weeks) and the shootings on the campus of the University of Cape Town should have shocked South Africans to the core," the statement said.

The civil war the country had experienced for nearly three years had come out of the townships and into the cities, the statement said.

"How much longer before white South Africans sit up and say 'Apartheid must end, the shooting must stop?'"

"Children need peace, we cannot detain them or fill their minds with fear and hatred.

"Our children have to be protected and taught to love. None of this will be achieved unless we have justice for all, and government by consent," the Sash said.

The Black Sash said its aim was to see "One South Africa, one people" so that the country's "ironic" motto, "Unity is Strength" would be fulfilled.

These issues had been ignored in an election "pockmarked with trivia and astonishing racial hatred", the statement said.

The "lie of apartheid reform" had been exposed.

"White voters think of your children and the encroaching war," it said.

About 30 Black Sash women picketed Oxford Road and Jan Smuts Avenue at rush hour yesterday. — Sapa.

been able to enter Soweto. city bills because the council had

Indaba backed by Durban Chamber of Commerce

B/Day 5/5/87

DURBAN — The KwaZulu-Natal Indaba was strongly supported in Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce president Brian Hill's annual report, released yesterday.

Hill said the Indaba was "a unique event which motivated the special nature of the moderate people in Natal-KwaZulu and still holds the initative for the time being".

He had been privileged to be the chamber's official representative at the Indaba and for almost eight months, assisted by fellow officers of the secretariat, had witnessed "genuine negotiation between people of different racial groups, different cultures and political beliefs".

They had drawn up a set of constitutional proposals for second-tier government in Natal in which all people could participate and which addressed the sharing of power and the reasonable fears of group domination.

Mention was also made in the chamber's annual report of the research the chamber had commissioned into the cost implications of achieving fiscal parity in health and education within the Natal/KwaZulu region.

The research was done by Senbank chief economist J A du Pisanie in co-operation with Pretoria University.

"Unfortunately the report has subsequently been misrepresented as suggesting that the whole Indaba initiative is unrealistic and that the cost of implementing the proposals would bankrupt the province.

"This is, of course, not so. Whatever governmental system is in place at second-tier level, these identified needs will have to be addressed.

"All the report was intended to do was to inform and illustrate that unless there is a high level of economic growth, parity in the fields of education and health would be seriously constrained," Hill said. — Sapa.

could

EDUCATION

KwaNatal blueprint

A blueprint for nonracial education in Natal was released last week by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's education committee.

In a covering statement, Indaba Director Dawid van Wyk says the recommendations do not envisage racial equality in education within one year. Nor would they result in lower (white) education standards, or threaten subsidised (white) private schools. Such allegations, he says, are false, as are suggestions that the Indaba favours bussing to enforce racial integration.

In terms of the recommendations, race would cease to be a criterion for admission. However, schools would continue to serve specific geographic communities "which might, or might not be racially mixed." Elected school committees would effectively decide the composition of schools, since they would have authority over language medium, curriculums and staff appointments.

Established by resolution of the Indaba in May 1986, the committee was instructed "in the first instance" to pen a paragraph for the Indaba's proposed Bill of Rights for Natal.

This was done at the committee's first meeting on June 19 last year and the paragraph reads: "Every person shall have the right to public education in an institution that will cater for his interests, aptitudes and abilities and the Province shall make provision for this right without discrimination: Provided that . . . it may, in providing facilities, distinguish between persons on grounds of language or sex."

It was this paragraph, and a clause in the Bill of Rights which provides for the scrapping of all racially discriminatory laws, that led to misconceptions about the Indaba seeking instant equality in education says Van Wyk. Inequality, he observes, is an outcome of past policy. "The truth is that it is not possible to upgrade all schools overnight. But there will be steady and meaningful progress toward equal education of a high standard."

The committee, chaired by former professor of education at the University of Natal (Maritzburg) Jack Niven, met 18 times and submitted five interim reports during the Indaba's deliberations. Its final report recommends:

☐ A single ministry bound to principles and objectives broadly similar to those contained in the 1982 Human Sciences Research Council report on education. These include the provision in Natal of "open-ended, nonracial, public education which respects and protects the language and cultural rights of all its inhabitants;" priority to eliminating racial inequality in the training of teachers and continued assistance to private schools;

☐ An administrative hierarchy consisting of a Provincial Education Council, which must advise the minister and co-ordinate and monitor education planning; regional co-ordinating committees responsible for physical planning and financial control; and school committees, which may decide on the language of instruction, participate in selecting staff and the subjects to be taught.

☐ Private schools which "conform to criteria determined on educational grounds" would be entitled to operate and claim a State subsidy.

Natal's pupil population is estimated in the report to be 1 713 568, of which 69% is Zulu. Total expenditure on education in the province last year amounted to R959,4m. Per capita expenditure ranges from R2 127 a year on white pupils, to R255 on black pupils and teacher/pupil ratios from 1:17 for whites to 1:48 for blacks.

The report notes that 85% of expenditure on education goes towards salaries, and that government itself is committed to equal pay for equal work. Excluding salaries, an estimated R405m would be required annually to upgrade current expenditure on items such as books, stationery, maintenance, hostels and teaching loans to standards enjoyed by whites. Meeting the estimated shortage of 9 472 classrooms for Zulu pupils would cost some R470m.

According to Van Wyk, the committee concerned itself with "the principles to underpin a new system" rather than precise detail. "Such things as the precise composition of the council and detailed powers of school commmittees should be matters for a new Education Act to be passed by the Provincial Legislature.

"The educational criteria for subsidisation for private schools would obviously be the same as those which obtain today — syllabus and standards — and the extent of the subsidy would depend on transfers from central government."

Costs of equalising the system, he added, would have to be met by government. The extent of these costs will be directly addressed in the report of the Indaba's economics committee which is still to be released. ■

F/M 8/5/87

Thumbs down to 'racist cornerstones'

Blacks must be included — Buthelezi

B/Day 13/5/87

ULUNDI — The SA government was told yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he would have nothing to do with any future dispensation which did not include blacks in the House of Assembly.

● Buthelezi

He said that in a memorandum presented to Department of Constitutional Development and Planning director-general A van Wyk, when they met to discuss the new National States Constitutional Bill.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said the greater powers for KwaZulu which the Bill foreshadowed were welcome.

But, he objected to the form in which those powers were being devolved to KwaZulu.

The greater powers defined in the Bill emanated ultimately from an unacceptable SA institution.

Buthelezi said: "We will do nothing which even implies our acceptance of the tricameral parliamentary system and the racist cornerstones on which it was established."

He said there was no recognition by government of the fact that constitutional development would be meaningful to blacks only if it started including them in the House of Assembly, which was the "de facto government".

Other chambers of the Tricameral Parliament were props for white political power, and he would never agree to KwaZulu being used in that way.

Buthelezi rejected aspects of the Bill. These included the principle of taxation without representation and the President retaining "his total autocratic power" in the most major aspects of governmental responsibility to black South Africans.

Buthelezi said government's stated intention of now proceeding with the establishment of black city states would be a further divide-and-rule attempt by the NP.

He said unless the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba was taken seriously, and unless the greater evolved powers contained in the Bill could be used in the context of Indaba-type developments, they would backfire.

D.D. 13/5/87

Kaiser banished to Qamata home

Reports by LAWRENCE NGOZI and GAIL WALSH

UMTATA — The former State President and Transkei architect of the territory's independence, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has been banished to his Great Place at Qamata.

The order, which bars Paramount Chief Matanzima from returning to Umtata or from leaving the districts of Cofimvaba, Cacadu and Xalanga without the written permission of the Commissioner of the Transkeian police, was signed by his brother, the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, and the State President, Paramount Tutor Ndamase.

Chief George Matanzima refused to comment on the banishment because he said it was a security matter.

The order was signed on Friday, the same day President Ndamase signed the bill which amended the constitution and barred the reentry into politics of a person who had held the office of State President.

Paramount Chief Matanzima said: "I am today returning home with a pleasant conscience that I am not guilty of any subversion to my state. The whole matter will be contested in court."

He said although he would be away from Umtata, his supporters, under the leadership of Mr De Villers Qunta and the deputy leader, Mr Simon Burhali, would attack the government aggressively.

But last night Mr Burhali, an MP from Herschel, was detained while Mr Qunta, a former mayor of Butterworth and MP for Nqamakwe, was also believed to have been detained.

The head of the security police, General Leonard Kawe, confirmed Mr Burhali's detention in terms of the Public Security Act and referred inquiries about Mr Qunta to the head of the CID, General Gordon Nkalitshana.

General Nkalitshana could not confirm Mr Qunta's arrest or detention.

Before leaving Umtata, Paramount Chief Matanzima launched a stinging attack on his brother and the government in which he said the country was immersed "in mud".

Among his allegations were that:

- African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress "inspired thugs" were exploiting the situation and encouraging his brother to drift further from him;
- Chief George Matanzima took instructions from Ciskeian refugees in self-exile in Transkei.
- The Prime Minister took instructions from leftists in his cabinet who were communist inspired.

Chief George Matanzima said he had no comment to make about allegations of leftists in his Cabinet and that the Cabinet operated on consensus decision-making, not dictatorship.

He described the allegation that he took instructions from Ciskeian refugees as a "lie".

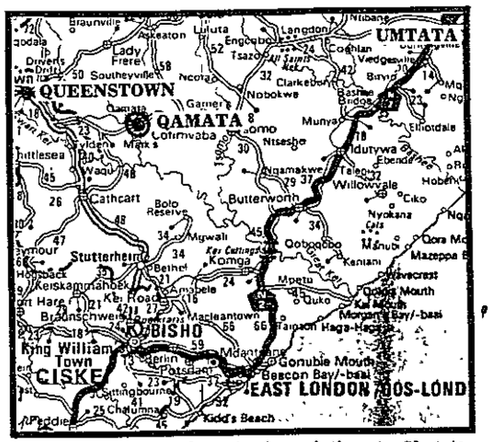
"This is wholly a lie. How can I take instructions from refugees with all my senses," the Prime Minister said.

Earlier in the assembly, where Paramount Chief Matanzima's seat next to the leader of the opposition remained vacant, the Prime Minister challenged the supporters of the former State President who had walked out of the TNIP congress with him to form the new party to indicate on which side of the House they stood.

"I do not think it is proper to sit with people we do not know," he said.

See also page 2

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima



A map showing Qamata in relation to Umtata, Queenstown and East London.

Chief George Matanzima

12/5/87

Ciskei borrows R56m from DBSA

Dispatch Reporter

BISHO — Loan agreements to the value of over R56 million for a variety of urban and rural development projects were signed here yesterday by the Ciskei Government and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA).

Ciskei's Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Chief M. E. P. Malefane signed on behalf of his government, while the chief executive of the DBSA, Dr Simon Brand, was the other signatory.

support programme, the Ciskei livestock pilot project, the Ithemba Training Centre, the Dr Rubusana college of Education, the Zwelitsha/Ilitha Road, the Bisho bulk and connector infrastructure, the Debe Nek regional water scheme and the Zwelitsha regional water scheme.

President Sebe said that the DBSA had been in existence for just a short period since 1982, and in that time had fulfilled "an urgent need".

Manhunt for rapist

PORT ELIZABETH. — Patensie police have launched an intensive manhunt for the person responsible for the brutal rape of a nine-month-old baby girl near Kwagga on Saturday.

The liaison officer for the police in the Eastern Cape, Captain Peet Grobler, said the girl, whose name is being withheld, was seriously injured in the incident, which happened at or near her parents' home on Saturday evening.

She was rushed to the Livingstone Hospital and police immediately launched a search for the person responsible, Capt Grobler said.

THE

 W/Mail 15-21/5/87

Strange company for Kaiser's reluctant guest

Kaiser Matanzima says he never jailed a political opponent. The president of the new progressive lawyers association has some personal — and painful — reasons to dispute that. FRANZ KRÜGER reports

Dumisa Ntsebeza ... from the condemned cells to national president

Picture: NEW NATION

UNDER the banner headline "Abuse of power: Kaiser warns PM" there were the handwritten words: *Et tu, Brute?* The newspaper lay open on the desk of Dumisa Ntsebeza, the Umtata-based first president of the newly-established progressive lawyers' body, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel).

Further down in the report, Ntsebeza had underlined the claim by former Transkei State President Kaiser Matanzima that he had "never caused the banning or arrest of opposition parties for political differences". In the margin was written: "1976!"

There can be few people in Transkei better equipped to see the irony in Matanzima's outraged response to his banishment this week than Dumisa Buhle Ntsebeza.

The 37-year-old lawyer is even now separated only by an interim interdict from the execution of his third banishment order in six years.

It was in 1976 that Ntsebeza was arrested together with his younger brother Lungisile and three friends, among them Matthew Goniwe, who was later to become well-known for his leadership in the Cradock township. After 103 days in solitary confinement under the Terrorism Act, the five were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act.

In what became known as "the poultry farm case", the fi.e were found guilty of operating secret Marxist cells. The farm was found to be a fundraising venture for their underground organisation.

"Our defence was that these were not cells, but completely open study groups. And the farm was a project to augment our income," Ntsebeza said.

One received a suspended sentence, the other four were sentenced to four years in jail. But Ntsebeza remains convinced the verdict could have been overturned if technical reasons had not prevented their appeal.

They started their sentence in September 1977: "We were kept in the female section of the condemned cells, which were so close to the male section as to make no difference. There were no women on death row at the time."

For two years the men were kept virtually incommunicado in the death cells.

"We knew who was condemned and when their time was to come. It was a clear attempt to terrorise us and make us mental wrecks," Ntsebeza said.

One of the friends was finally removed on the orders of a psychiatrist, Goniwe was removed because he contracted tuberculosis of the spine, and only the two Ntsebeza brothers were left.

It was only after the brothers went on hunger strike for 21 days, having spent some two years in death row, that they were moved elsewhere.

Remarkably, Ntsebeza emerged from jail in 1981 with his Llb, most of the work for which he had done on death row. On their release, they were immediately banished to Cala, their hometown, while Goniwe was sent to Cradock.

Ntsebeza then did his articles with an Umtata law firm, after having had to convince the Cape Law society to register his articles in spite of his conviction.

During this time, his banishment was relaxed, but a second order was slapped on him in October 1985. It came after he began investigating the brutal public shooting by the police of his cousin and adopted brother, Bathandwa Ndondo.

The order was set aside by the Umtata Supreme Court, but on March 3 this year he was once again banished "to the same derelict and uninhabitable hut in Tsomo that I was banished to before".

He has obtained an interim interdict which allows him to continue his work, but the final hearing is yet to come.

After serving as chairman of a steering committee representing eight progressive lawyers' bodies, Ntsebeza was elected chairman of Nadel at its founding conference in Durban over the May Day weekend.

The new body committed itself to strive for a "truly democratic and just society free from oppression and exploitation", and elected jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela as honorary member.

Ntsebeza sees the function of Nadel as being a pressure group against unjust laws. "We want to go further than the law societies, which are statutory bodies."

The organisation should "focus specifically on those issues affecting the oppressed.

"If, for instance, we see that the government is planning new laws against the union movement, do we wait for the legislation to be passed or do we make representations beforehand?

A controversial issue facing Nadel is whether lawyers should accept work in conflict with their principles. Ntsebeza said he could not see "that one can accept the principles outlined in the constitution and then, for instance, prosecute Group Areas Act offenders".

He concedes this may bring the organisation into conflict with sections of the legal profession, but if need be representations would have to be made to the law societies to change their code of ethics.

"We plan to act together as lawyers addressing the worsening security situation in the country.

"One has to concede that lawyers are drawn from different political backgrounds, but I have studiously avoided being identified with either the ANC or the Pan Africanist Congress or the Unity Movement or Black Consciousness." — Elnews.

Doonesbury BY GARRY TRUDEAU

KWANATAL INDABA

Bowed, not beaten

Indaba organisers this week publicly argued that the May 6 election results cast no shadow over their constitutional proposals — and produced the results of an opinion poll to make their point.

Privately, however, the mood was grim. The province's liberal tradition lay sacrificed to a security scare and the challenge of engineering an acceptable power sharing arrangement between 800 000 enfranchised but beleaguered whites and 5,5m voteless Zulus now appeared considerably more difficult.

Responding to this challenge, the Indaba drew attention at a press conference on Monday to one of the prerequisites for the success of its proposals: public opinion.

The election omelette, it argued, could not be intelligently unscrambled. However, an opinion poll commissioned from Markinor in March on the sole question of the Indaba provided a clear signal (Publication of the results was delayed by the Electoral Act.)

They showed, says spokesman Peter Mansfield, that 68% of whites who had heard of the Indaba supported it, against 83% of blacks and 55% of coloureds and Indians. The sample polled was 3 500 and a little under half had heard of the Indaba. Indications were that the ratio of those in favour would not significantly alter over time, added Mansfield.

Said Indaba chairman Desmond Clarence: "We're not downhearted. It is still our intention to continue with our awareness campaign and then ask the government to allow a referendum on our proposals."

But on the crucial question of government's likely response Clarence was equivocal. The Indaba represented the first significant attempt at genuine negotiation, he replied. Were government to repeat the exercise it would arrive at similar conclusions.

Clarence hinted broadly that government might try to revise aspects of the Indaba. Both Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party (NP), and Vause Raw, former leader of the NRP, tended to agree.

Botha is emphatic that the election results did not bury the Indaba. "Government has indicated it is prepared to talk," he tells the *FM*. But he adds that some of the Indaba's constitutional proposals are unacceptable "specifically those which mean majority government without effective protection of minority interests and without self-determination of the groups."

Raw's hope, now that the election is over, is that government will now "be prepared to negotiate ... perhaps there are modifications or compromises which will make it acceptable."

PFP Natal leader Ray Swart says he fears that having raised the racist bogy during its electioneering, government will now "find it very difficult to persuade Natalians to accept the moderate nonracial proposals contained in the Indaba."

And for KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi the election results merely underlined the historic necessity of the Indaba. The initiative should proceed, he reckons, since "reform dictated from above can never be acceptable to the majority of SA's population."

The dilemma now facing white political leaders in the province, who appear willing to join in a rescue operation, is how to launder the Indaba constitution to satisfy the triumphant NP, and at the same time enjoy continued support from Buthelezi. It sounds like a job for Solomon.

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(118) ARGUS 15/5/87

Buthelezi abolishes 'Chief' — to become 'Inkosi'

Inkosi Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi no longer wants to be known as Chief Buthelezi.

He will be officially referred to as Inkosi Buthelezi, the traditional Zulu form of address, once a Bill, introduced in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, is passed.

Also, the Zulu king, formerly known as King Goodwill Zwelithini, will be addressed as either Ingonyama, Isilo or Inkosi Yamakhosi — but for non-Zulu speakers the term His Majesty the King is acceptable.

The main aim of the Bill, Inkosi Buthelezi said today, was to abolish the "denigrating" colonial titles that for long have been despised by Zulus.

These also included Afrikaans terms of address such as *Hoofkaptein* and *Opperhoof*.

"The word 'chief' was superimposed by imperial conquerors on the rulers they had conquered," he said.

"It is, of course, the extent to which the imperial powers despised blacks that they imposed the title of 'chief' on hereditary rulers, when in the metropolitan countries such as Britain there were no equivalents of the title.

"Instead, there were lords, viscounts, viceroys and earls. These titles were apparently not good enough for the indigenous rulers who ruled what were then unashamedly referred to as the Kaffir tribes."

Inkosi Buthelezi said another denigrating aspect of the word "chief" was that it was a title "jocularly" used to refer to virtually anyone with a measure of authority.

"People sometimes flatter whoever is in charge of them, even at work, as 'chief' — for example, chief clerk, chief matron. While it was meant as an honorific term, it is used by some as a term of denigration.

"I am piloting this Bill (known as the Kwazulu General Law Amendment Bill), which will bury the ignominious title of Paramount Chief for our king and also the other colonial titles once and for all."

Cape Times 16/5/87

11B

Buthelezi to be billed 'Inkosi'

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu is to abolish such titles as "Chief", "Paramount Chief", "Kaptain" and "Hoofkaptein" and replace them with proper Zulu terms.

Piloting a Bill in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the existing titles as ignominious relics of colonialism.

In future, a chief will be called "Inkosi".

The King of the Zulus will be known as "Ingonyama", "Isilo" or "Inkosi Yamakhosi" in Zulu. — Sapa

What Winnie would have said to Wits (if they'd let her talk)

By MONO BADELA

IF police had not stopped Winnie Mandela from speaking at the University of the Witwatersrand this week, she would have told white voters that although this week's election was a non-issue, "each vote cast by white South African opposition will be a vote of hope, a vote to save the country from the Nationalist political quagmire".

A copy of Mandela's speech was given to the *Weekly Mail* after the meeting had been banned and she was prevented from speaking.

She would also have responded to reports that she has been breaking the rent boycott, praised First National Bank's MD, Chris Ball, and replied to recent criticism of the house she is building for her husband, Nelson Mandela.

In the written speech, Mandela said the elections were "only an issue insofar as they reflect white political trends — the only way we have to measure to what degree the *volk* is finally falling apart".

She said by making the oppressed people and the African National Congress an issue in these elections, the Nationalists had finally admitted that the real opposition to the government was the ANC.

She also said that "nothing was further from the truth" than the allegations that she had been paying her rent in the face of the boycott of such payments.

"Soweto people will not pay rent because Mandela's wife is said to have done so. I was the first to defy the concept of rent payment in May 1977 when I was exiled to Brandfort.

"In the nine years I tolerated that place, I never paid rent," she said.

She sharply criticised and threatened legal action against Nelson Botile, the mayor of Soweto, for claiming that she had paid rent.

She said the family lawyer, Ismail Ayob, started paying her rent when "we had the house reinstated to the family after its police occupation. Ayob continued to do so up to the period of the launching of the rent boycott."

She also sharply attacked *Frontline* magazine and the author of its recent report on the "palace" she is building for her husband.

Mandela said the house was being built with royalties from her book *Part of My Soul.*

"There are concerned fellow South Africans who believe that our leaders deserve even better than what I have done for Mandela. They formed a trust which has built Mandela's house."

These men, she said, included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak and Prince Thembumzi Dlamini.

She said "enemies of the people" were trying to drive a wedge between herself and United Democratic Front leader Albertina Sisulu.

Mandela also said there was "no greater patriot" than Chris Ball, the MD of First National Bank.

She described the Munnik Commission report that found Ball had known an overdraft he authorised was intended to pay for an advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC as a "desperate bid to attack the country's white business community by crucifying" Ball.

Winnie regretted being denied the opportunity to testify before the Munnik Commission. "I would have gladly testified before it if I had been called to do so. Mr Ball has done nothing and he knew nothing about the ANC advert."

She said white South Africa had been "hoodwinked" into believing that all was well in the township ghettoes and that the government was in complete control of the prevailing unrest.

"The killing of opponents of apartheid has become a way of life in South Africa, the security forces are running amok in the townships, shielded by the State of Emergency, they harass black communities daily, monitoring black lives for 24 hours a day, running funerals of their victims, assaulting bereaved families at graveyards as was witnessed recently at the funeral of the Matabane brothers of the Ventersdorp shoot-out with the security forces," she said.

Mandela also charged that the police had taken control of the country.

"Tragically the minority regime has lost control of the most important portfolio of any government, the police, who have taken over control of the land. There has been a quiet and subtle *coup d'état* by the police. We are formally governed by a police state in which the police are a law unto themselves.

"No democratic country in the world designate such powers as those vested in the hands of the present commissioner of the South African police, Johan Coetzee. The real State President of the land, PW Botha, is merely his master's voice," she said.

Deputy vice chancellor of Wits University, Mervyn Shear, informs Winnie Mandela she will not be reading her speech as Wednesday's campus meeting protesting the white election has been banned. Police later broke up the meeting and arrested 120 students

(116)

Matanzima lashes out over Kei's 'corruption'

S/T 7/5/87

By BILL KRIGE

PARAMOUNT CHIEF Kaiser Matanzima says he is not interested in becoming Prime Minister again — unless Transkei is in trouble and the people want it.

In a wide-ranging interview the beleagured ex-president, who led the homeland to independence in 1976, repeated his claim that corruption was rife in the Transkei.

As a result, teachers had been short-changed on their salaries and the homeland had been plunged into crisis.

He also sounded a warning to his brother, George, the current Prime Minister who has manouevred him out of Parliament and engineered a humiliating restriction order.

"He is a younger brother of mine and I can't avoid him. We belong to the same family, but I am head of that family. He must recognise it," he said.

One reason for the Matanzima split was Chief Kaiser's accusation that his brother took orders from "Ciskei refugees" — a claim dismissed by his brother as a "lie".

Determined

But Transkei's most celebrated restricted person seems determined not to allow his brother to become his keeper.

He has instigated a Supreme Court action challenging his exclusion from Parliament.

The deposed politician has also alleged massive corruption in the country's civil administration.

"Teachers have received only part of their salaries. This has never happened before. It is a crisis. The reason is corruption, not mismanagement.

"I am worried about the economic situation. There is no stability in the disbursing of public funds. It's not only the teachers, it has been reported that there is a shortage of R120-million in the budget of the Department of Commerce, and R140-million in another department".

Inkatha can't sue on clash deaths claims

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

W/Mail 22-28/5/87

INKATHA has lost its defamation case against the Sunday Tribune over a report on fighting at the National Education Crisis Committee conference held in Durban last Easter.

Two people were killed and 20 were hurt in clashes at the NECC meeting and the Tribune subsequently carried a story headed "Two killed as violence flares" with a sub-heading "Inkatha clash with conference delegates".

Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlomo said that from the article, readers would form the impression that Inkatha attacked the NECC with the intention of stopping the conference; that Inkatha had the intention of killing delegates and that Inkatha, contrary to its stated policy, sanctioned or condoned the use of violence to achieve political aims.

Dhlomo claimed R20,000 in damages on behalf of the organisation.

When the matter was argued last December, Malcom Wallis SC, for the Tribune, said that before the question of whether the report was defamatory could be argued, it had first to be established whether Inkatha, as a corporate body, could be defamed.

Both sides agreed the issue was a question which still had to be settled in South African law.

According to Wallis, if political organisations could be defamed it would create a situation where any critical comment directed at a political or quasi-political body could be the basis for defamation.

Archie Findlay SC, for Inkatha, argued there was no reason why, if a non-trading corporation had a measure of esteem which could be injured, it should not be protected by way of punitive damages.

In his judgement, handed down yesterday in the Durban Supreme Court, Justice van Heerden said the key issue was whether an "artificial person" could bring an action for defamation.

After reviewing a number of cases and authorities he ruled that "injuria" was concerned "with the person, dignity or reputation of a human being and not with that of an artificial person", and he dismissed the suit with costs.

Cape Times 23/5/87 (118)

Uwusa head retires

ULUNDI. — The secretary-general of Inkatha's United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), Mr Simon Conco, has retired "on medical advice". Uwusa president Mr S Magagula said it had been "cause for wonder" that Mr Conco — a diabetic — had survived the demands of his position since the launch of Uwusa a year ago.

KD's followers in the crossfire

By STAN MZIMBA

BAD blood from the Matanzima brothers' feud has spilt over to Kaizer Matanzima's followers. Three of his men have been detained and six others have fled to South Africa.

Transkei's representative in Washington DC, Jerry Zeka, was detained at his home at the weekend, a few days before he was due to return to America.

His wife, Nomacwera Zeka, told *City Press* that two security policemen called at their Umtata home with a warrant for her husband's arrest signed by the head of the security police, General LS Kawe.

City Press learnt that Zeka was questioned about a meeting he attended at Butterworth last Tuesday where former President Kaizer Matanzima was present.

Kawe confirmed that Zeka has been detained under Section 47 of the Public Security Act which provides for indefinite detention and no access to either a lawyer or members of the family.

At Butterworth about six followers of KD have fled their homes and businesses and are believed to be staying at a hotel in Queenstown, South Africa.

Among those who have fled are hotelier Hamilton Mayekiso, town developer Vulindlela Mbotoli, businessman Wakefield Makeleni and sales representative D Malotana. *City Press* learnt that they were tipped off about their impending detention.

A *City Press* contact in Butterworth said: "All we see are women behind the steering wheels of Mercedes Benz sedans. The manfolk are amiss."

It is believed that more clampdowns are in the pipeline on KD followers.

First to be detained were Chief whip of KD Matanzima's new party – the Transkei National Party – De Villiers Qunta and Simon Burhali.

Meanwhile, the Registrar of the Transkei Supreme Court, D Wiley, said that the date for the hearing challenging KD's banning order had not yet been set.

Last week, KD lost his bid to challenge the validity of the Bill which effectively kicked him out of the National Assembly.

In the National Assembly this week the Minister of Tourism, Commerce and Industry, reading a policy speech on behalf on Prime Minister George Matanzima, said that there were presently 100 people in detention in the Transkei on security matters related to furthering aims of banned organisations and harbouring terrorists.

Seems there's no solution to the Matanzima feud as George (right) pounces on KD's followers.

Students slate killing of Inkatha youth leader

DURBAN. — The Durban Student Alliance (DSA) has condemned the killing of Inkatha Youth Brigade's national executive committee member, Mr Welcome Sibusiso Hill, who was stabbed to death in Kwamakhutha township.

DSA spokesman Mr Jonathan Poole said he believed the killing was politically motivated.

"It is disturbing to see that some people go to extremes to stop others from putting across their opinions," he said.

He said the DSA was working with Mr Hill on a project to establish a clinic in Kwamakhutha.

Mr Poole said they regarded Mr Hill as a brave and courageous man who fought for democracy for all South Africans.

"Our memory of him will serve to motivate us in our common struggle against communism and for a peaceful post-apartheid South Africa," he said. — Sapa.

PW talks: Buthelezi warns failure would fuel more violence

STAR 2/6/87

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night he would negotiate "anytime, anywhere" with Mr P W Botha if he was sure the negotiations would not end in failure.

He told an audience of women at Mthunzini that the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba was an example of something which had all the ingredients for negotiating success.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was addressing the autumn school of the Federation of Women's Institutes of Natal and Zululand in a speech read on his behalf by kwaZulu's Minister of Health, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

"We dare not now fail again at the national political level and fuel the hideous flames of violence," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said South Africa dared not produce another constitution which needed a state of emergency to keep it intact.

The upward spiral of violence had to be broken and, to do so, "a quantum political leap into democracy" was required, he said.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"I am more than ever committed to the politics of non-violence and reconciliation through negotiation, but I cannot bring myelf to do that which I am convinced will end up as another failure."

Dr Buthelezi cited the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba as an example of successful negotiation at the regional level. He would drop everything to negotiate immediately about the indaba — something which could be made to work.

It had emerged at a time of rapidly escalating strife, when the whole world was bearing down on South Africa and when hope, in the public mind, was at a very low ebb.

History would yet show the real meaning of the indaba — all he knew was that its politics of give and take, with its search for reconciliation, had survived against terrible odds to produce a document of consensus.

Whatever the document's merits or demerits, it bordered on the miraculous that it had emerged at all.

"I will negotiate with the State President tomorrow about the indaba," Dr Buthelezi said.

It would be negotiating about that which could be added to in such a way that black, white, Indian and coloured people were drawn together in positive purpose for the land they love.

valued at R2 200 in Paarl on March 24.

Ilanga editor named

DURBAN. — Mr T G Mthembu has been appointed editor of the Natal Zulu newspaper Ilanga. He was formerly acting editor. This was announced yesterday by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of Mandla Matla (Pty) Ltd, which recently bought Ilanga from Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd.

PW switches attitude to homelands

CAPE TIMES 14/4/87

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Political Staff

THE government has adopted a significant change of attitude in granting homeland independence by, for the first time, publicly demanding a show of "broad support" for the move before giving the go-ahead.

The switch came yesterday after months of confrontation and an estimated 100 deaths in KwaNdebele between pro- and anti-independence factions.

Referendum

The State President, Mr P W Botha, said after two-hour discussions with the new Chief Minister, Mr George Mahlangu, and his cabinet, that he would not stand in the way of greater autonomy or independence for KwaNdebele "provided that certain requirements are met".

He did not specifically call for an election or referendum, but Mrs Helen Suzman, chief Progressive Federal Party speaker on Black Affairs, who has been monitoring the troubles in KwaNdebele, called for a "free and fair referendum, including women who do not have a vote at present".

A statement issued in Cape Town on Mr Botha's behalf said: "These requirements, about which the State President must be satisfied before the matter can be taken to the South African Parliament, comprise the following:

Chief George Mahlangu

- Greater autonomy or independence must be obtained in an orderly fashion and on the basis of the broad support of the Kwandebele population.
- A number of arrangements which can make independence possible, must still be negotiated by joint committees of the two governments.
- The government of KwaNdebele must consider some or other acceptable method of demonstrating that it has the support of the broad population in its striving for independence.

Reacting to the government's new approach, Mrs Suzman said: "It is quite obvious from the widespread civil unrest which has been plaguing KwaNdebele since independence was first mooted by the previous Legislative Assembly, that nobody can legitimately claim that the majority of people in KwaNdebele want independence.

"Indeed, the opposite is indicated as the unrest ceased as soon as the Legislative Assembly revised its original decision to ask for independence.

"It re-emerged when the then Chief Minister was replaced by the Present Mr George Mahlangu.

"There is only one way to ascertain the will of the people and that is by free and fair referendum including women."

Mrs Suzman said two vital issues were involved — the loss of South African citizenship after independence and the position of the 70 000 commuters who work in the PWV area and would need work permits.

KwaZulu police get more powers

By S'BU MNGADI

THE KwaZulu police took over police stations in the greater Durban area following powers granted to them by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, including detention without trial for up to 90 days.

This follows the passing last week of the KwaZulu Police First Amendment Bill and the KwaZulu Control of Access to Public Premises and Vehicles Bill.

In additon, a further two police Bills were expected to be read during this session of the KLA.

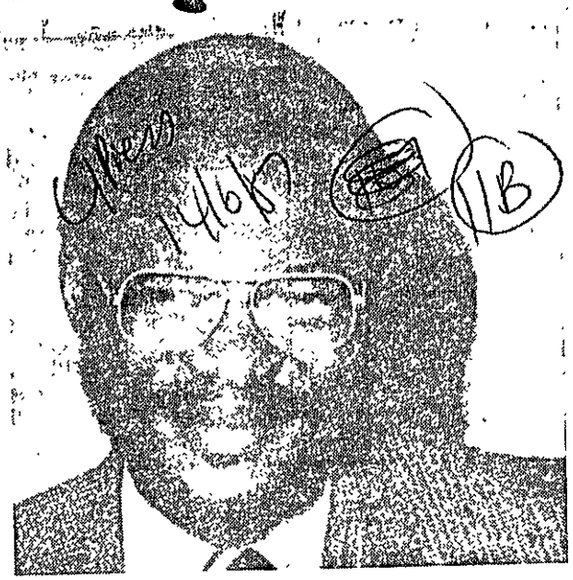
The first Bill permits police force members to erect road blocks and to stop and search vehicles on any public road.

It allows for a fine of up to R500 or six months or both.

The second stipulates that members of the public entering government buildings or vehicles must inform officers on duty if they possess any dangerous objects.

It also empowers officers to subject members of the public to an "examination" and to eject a person from a government building if this is deemed necessary for its protection.

Any person contravening the law faces a fine of R2 000 or two years or both.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... "terrorism is escalating."

A third Bill, providing for the arrest and detention of people suspected of violent crimes, illegal possession of firearms and ammunition and theft, was read for the second time in the assembly.

The Bill, on tracing and detention of offenders, allows for the detention of such an offender or someone suspected of withholding information about such a crime for up to 90 days.

In his speech on the second reading of the Bills, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Police Minister MG Buthelezi said it was necessary to take stringent measures to protect government property against bombing and attacks in the light of escalating "terrorism" in the country.

"If one pauses to think that some people have taken it upon themselves to destroy the lives of other people so mercilessly, it becomes more and more evident that stringent measures should be undertaken," said Buthelezi.

The passing of the Bills coincided with the takeover by ZP of police stations in KwaMashu, Umlazi, Ndwedwe and KwaMaphumulo and are to assume the policing of other townships in the future.

TONG YONG

15/6/87 B/Day

Dhlomo hits out at sanctions

NEW YORK — Apartheid could not be destroyed by remote control in the board rooms of New York, Paris, London and Bonn, Oscar Dhlomo said here at the weekend.

The Inkatha secretary-general and KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister was addressing the US Council for International Business' Task Force on SA at the Harvard Club.

Dhlomo said sanctions and disinvestment had pushed blacks back into the dark ages of SA politics.

And he presented a list of traumatic setbacks the anti-apartheid cause had suffered because of those policies.

Dhlomo said there was a full awareness of the pressures on US companies to withdraw and of the accusation that they were propping up the system.

But the view that foreign withdrawal would cripple the economy to the extent that government would dismantle apartheid and give blacks political rights ignored two crucial considerations.

The first was that, if sanctions and disinvestment did cripple the country, there would be no strong and vibrant post-apartheid economy capable of redressing the disparities caused by decades of apartheid neglect.

The second was the importance of distinguishing between SA ("the country black South Africans wish to govern in future") and apartheid ("the evil policy that must be destroyed if those black political aspirations are to be realised").

Dhlomo said simple logic dictated that those who supported the aspirations of the black people should help them destroy apartheid — and not SA.

The advocates of disinvestment had to be asked: "How do you expect to free prisoners from a cell by bombing the cell itself?"

Disinvestment lobbyists should be told: "We want to be liberated on our feet . . . not as corpses."

Dhlomo said Inkatha could not support any anti-apartheid moral indignation which fed on black unemployment and starvation.

And he said government had become even more intransigent and the white electorate had withdrawn into the laager. — Sapa.

'Good evidence' from Inkatha youth

THE report of the PC Committee on Social Affairs said unrest, rebellion and school boycotts "hardly occurred in areas where youth organizations functioned effectively".

MORE REPORTS PAGE 13

Political Staff

THE President's Council Committee on Social Affairs did not have free access to black, coloured and Indian youth when it gathered evidence for its report on the youth of South Africa.

The committee's chairman, Mr Nic Treurnicht, said this to journalists at a press briefing previous to the tabling of the report in the PC yesterday.

The introduction to the report said the committee regretted that "a certain section of the youth as well as certain organizations" were unwilling to testify before the committee.

However, he said the Inkatha Youth Brigade gave "very good" evidence.

"The Inkatha youth conversed freely with us — candidly," he said.

The report noted that it was significant that unrest, rebellion and school boycotts "hardly occurred in areas where youth organizations functioned effectively". It said evidence to the committee supported this view with regard to areas where the Inkatha Youth Brigade is active.

Mr Treurnicht said at the press briefing that youth groups in the areas of development boards like the Southern Free State, at Roodewal near Botshabello, were very positive.

The report gave quotations from a submission by the Development Board of the Southern Orange Free State on their youth programmes.

This included the identifying of youth leaders in "every town and school" and transporting them free of charge to the "Roodewal Open Air Centre" in groups of about 60.

The board had followed up these sessions by establishing 58 "Eagle Youth Clubs" in that area with usually teachers as presidents.

The constitutions of these clubs — who have their own emblems and T-shirts — include objectives like peaceful negotiation, better race relations resistance to school boycotts and violence

News in Brief Cape Times 19/6/87

Cosatu to sue Buthelezi

DURBAN. — A civil action involving more than R412 000 has been instituted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) against Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his capacity as Minister of Police in KwaZulu, and against two Inkatha officials. The claim relates to the killing, allegedly by members of Inkatha, of Mr Phineas Sibiya and Mr Simon Ngubane, both members of the then Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) and former BTR Sarmcol employees, Miss Flora Mnikathi, the daughter of a former Sarmcol worker, and Mr Alpheus Nkabinde, a member of the Mpophomeni Youth Congress in Mpophomeni Township near Howick on December 5 and 6 last year.

Buthelezi derides city states

MOVES to put the President's planned city states into operation would be "totally disastrous", KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned the Sandton Chamber of Commerce yesterday.

President P W Botha could bring them about only with the aid of police and army. No black group with mass support would lift a finger to help him.

Buthelezi said whites had given Botha blank cheques for change in 1983 and 1987, but there was still no sign of his proceeding with black constitutional development.

Botha had promised to involve himself in black political reform.

His success in this could be measured only in black people's acceptance of his steps, but there had been a vast black rejection of what he had done. — Sapa.

NATIONAL COUNCIL

26/6/87 116

Zulus in revolt

Inkatha and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has reaffirmed that he will keep SA's 4,5m Zulus out of the proposed National Council unless certain preconditions are met by government.

His comments came during his address to the annual SA Production and Inventory Control Society (Sapics) conference in Durban this week.

Chiding whites for superficially agonising over privileges they refused to relinquish and exclusive power they wanted to share without losing, Buthelezi nonetheless took a sanguine view of the May 6 election. Whites had voted for security, he said, and this was understandable in the current political climate.

But once the "chips were down" he expressed confidence that whites would demand reform leading to a "modern, Western-type, industrial, multi-party democracy." They would pay whatever price was necessary, he believed, because the alternative was a socialist, one-party State and increasing mass poverty which attended a mismanaged economy.

In a swipe at the proposed National Council, Buthelezi said he was invited to participate but had not been told what the council aimed to produce. "If I asked you to establish a new company to make a commodity and kept that commodity secret from you, how on earth would you set about your task?" he asked.

Outlining the circumstances in which he would participate, Buthelezi said P W Botha should: undertake to create in SA a modern, Western-type industrial democracy; "unshackle" black democracy and release Nelson Mandela; set in chain a process aimed at creating one country, one sovereign parliament, and one universal adult franchise system.

South African management enjoyed access to Botha, who "wants you to be his friend," said Buthelezi. "Go and speak to the State President and his Cabinet colleagues," he advised, "and carry with you the commonsense which must endorse what I have been saying today." ■

Buthelezi: Educate now for liberty

Cape Times 29/8/87

Own Correspondent

KWAKHANDISA. — Black students should use education to achieve black liberation and survival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said here at the weekend.

Addressing a public meeting, he criticized the "radical" slogan "liberation now, education later", citing graduates like Mr Nelson Mandela and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo as examples of blacks who had overcome the obstacles of black education in South Africa.

Mr Mandela's "heroic path" had "traversed those desolate places of black education and he came through it all triumphant", he said.

Calling on black students to "educate now for liberty tomorrow", he said black democracy was being threatened not only by apartheid, but also by the politics of violence and intimidation and mass poverty.

Buthelezi in thumbs down to RSCs

Sunday Times Reporter

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday served notice that he was prepared to face confrontation with the Government over the introduction of Regional Services Councils to Natal.

He also announced that unless the planned National Council was mandated to work for an entirely new constitution, President P W Botha could count him out of it.

In his presidential address to 8 000 delegates at Inkatha's annual conference in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi warned the Government that it would be "bashing its head against a brick wall" if it thought it could change the black liberation movement's stance on such issues.

Under the state of emergency, he said, the Government's de facto military and security power was increasing, but its political power was decreasing.

It was now in the position of having to use force against people and organisations which actually demanded careful handling and understanding.

Chief Buthelezi said that, as far as the tricameral Parliament was concerned, the power of the State "can take us to the water but we will not drink". And the same applied to the Regional Services Councils which were similarly being foisted on blacks.

Members of the Inkatha Youths' and Women's brigades clad in khaki uniforms emblazoned with black, yellow and green insignia crammed the conference site singing and chanting Inkatha songs and slogans hours before the conference began.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Cabinet and Royal Family also occupied the rostrum with Chief Buthelezi.

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STAR 5/8/85

Young challenge to Mangope

Malebane Metsing ... the People's Progressive Party leader.

Report: REVELATION NTOULA Pix: EVANS MBOWENI

PRESIDENT Lucas Mangope – certainly Pretoria's blue-eyed boy – seems set on a disasterous political course as time ticks on towards the Bophuthatswana homeland elections in October.

Mangope, who has sat firmly and comfortably in the saddle of the scattered homeland for the 10 years since it became "independent" of South Africa, has definitely lost a lot of support among Bophuthatswanas.

Hardly any Tswana inside or outside the homeland privately says anything good about him – albeit in whispers.

There are now unmistakable signs that the once "grand old man" has overnight lost popularity and that a change of goverment, if allowed to take its course, is imminent. And the stage seem set for a big showdown when general elections take place in four months' time.

Mangope's prospects of repeating the National Party's resounding election victory in May appear to be dwindling by the day.

His nightmare challenge will unmistakably come from the relatively new and less known People's Progressive Party, led by 42-year-old commoner Malebane Metsing, who until recently was an obscure figure outside his own Rustenburg constituency.

A lesser threat, the Seopasengwe Party – if permitted to contest the October elections – had to date been Mangope's only real cause for sleepless nights.

There is, however, a likelihood that Seopasengwe may not be allowed to participate in the elections in view of its stated stance that it does not regard Bophuthatswana as a sovereign state separate from the Republic of South Africa.

The Mangope government has made it known that it does not see its way clear to allowing a political party it regards as an "outsider" contesting elections in a "foreign country" (Bophuthatswana).

If the Bophuthatswana government succeeds in preventing Seopasengwe from taking part in the elections, the likely unwelcome effects of such an action would be the re-enforcement of the Progressives.

Such an alliance would most certainly pose a deadly blow for the already staggering Mangope's Democratic Party.

In an interview with little-known-about Metsing, believed to be a subject of a five-man Cabinet investigation, said his party was sure to topple Mangope if no obstacles were put in its way.

He noted, however, that if his party won the elections – an occurance which would automatically make him the homeland's next President because of his leadership of his party – he would probably be unable to succeed Mangope in view of his youthful age. (The Bophuthatswana Constitution requires the State President to be above 45 years of age.)

Although the Progressives appear to draw a lot of grass-roots support, its influence now seems to be particularly among the professionals, students and civil servants.

These groupings have been highly critical of Mangope's economic policies as well as his iron-fisted political actions.

He has, in particular, incurred the wrath of the professional Tswanas by using huge sums of money to built such white elephants as the Mmabatho international airport and the Mmabatho national stadium.

Other criticisms include allegations of him putting too much emphasis on the development of the Mmabatho capital at the expense of other areas.

Mangope has also been subjected to harsh criticism for his government's decision to impose visa requirements for Botswana nationals, although citizens of the two territories are bound by a common culture and have intermarried.

"I will put a stop to all these evils," said Metsing, who believes in a peaceful settlement of the present political dispute in South Africa. He said all relevant parties should be included in negotiating a political settlement in South Africa.

Asked if he would consider "returning" Bophuthatswana to South Africa if his party was put into power or after a peaceful settelement was reached, Metsing said that would be decided by the Tswanas themselves but that he himself would favour negotiations with whichever government would be in control.

'My party is sure to topple Mangope.'

Inkatha-UDF talks hope

6/7/87 B/Day 11B

ULUNDI — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he hoped talks with the UDF aimed at reducing conflict would gradually develop to the point where the organisations' national executives would talk to each other.

He had encouraged those Inkatha members engaged in dialogue with the UDF, and the ball was now more in UDF president Archie Gumede's court than in his, he said in his presidential address to the Inkatha annual conference at the weekend.

His offer to meet ANC leader Oliver Tambo still stood.

"Let us not tear each other apart like a pack of dogs over a meatless bone — fighting over who will take over Mr P W Botha's seat before we have won," he said.

White recalcitrance and the inability of the National Party to get going with really meaningful constitutional change should finally force together blacks who were now opposed to each other.

But it would be totally tragic if this happened only when it was too late and when the black unity produced was then unable to allow the people to be governed in the way they wanted.

In the wars in places like Mozambique and Angola, where change had come about through armed struggle, the divisions between black organisations had outlasted the toppling of oppressive regimes.

If the whites-only election results had any message for black SA, it was that it must close ranks.

And, he said, unless the planned National Council was mandated to work for an entirely new constitution, Botha could count him out of it.

There could be no real advances unless government worked with the 1,3-million-membership Inkatha and other substantial black groupings — Sapa.

Buthelezi call to churches

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on West German churches to consider giving their full support to those campaigning for non-violent solutions.

He suggested the dispensation of church funding was being influenced in favour of what the "overtly political UDF wanted".

Buthelezi made the appeal during talks with top West German church officials. — Sapa.

8/7/87

llie Fortuin steers his boat deep sea

s," Jacobs said.

ike the tradition of passing the skill yn from father to son, the old superstiis are also fading. Only some of the ermen from older fishing families still ise to invite bad luck by taking egg dwiches to sea.

hen a fisherman's line got tangled he d to say his wife hadn't combed her . And when the fish fell off the line y used to say his wife was still sleep-

ow they just say they're ving bad luck

Or when a man didn't get a catch, his e hadn't got up to wash her face.

ow they just say they're having bad ," Mrs Jacobs said.

e fish are so scarce that petty jeales have developed between fishermen.

hen you catch a lot, you are not the urite."

here's no money in fishing anymore. re are weeks when there's no fish. A ily can't cope like that," Jacobs said.

ne can say that the fishing may im- e again — but I doubt it very much," aid.

Inkatha, UDF talks confirmed

South Correspondent

DURBAN.— The co-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, has acknowledged holding talks with Inkatha members to lessen tensions between supporters of the two groups in Natal townships.

Gumede was responding to a statement by the Inkatha leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that the two organisations have for several months been engaged in talks to reduce conflict between them.

Buthelezi said talks between the two organisations must be developed to the stage where their executive committees "talked to each other".

Gumede said the talks with Inkatha members had been held primarily because "too many lives have been lost in senseless conflict".

9-14/7/87

The national treasurer of the UDF, Mr Azar Cachalia, said the talks held by UDF members in Natal with Inkatha were supported by other members.

He said the UDF had not yet received an formal invitation from Inkatha for talks to be held between the two executive committees.

"Going purely by our past relationships, I think it will be necessary to receive a formal invitation and the terms and agenda for such talks. Once we received this invitation then we can consider it thoroughly," he said.

South (11B)

KWAZULU-NATAL INDABA

Victory in spirit

Government has done its best to scotch the Indaba proposals. For one thing, they don't fit in with its regional services councils (RSCs) plans. But as an exercise in non-racial negotiation, the Indaba could well prove the forerunner of new constitutional developments.

What chance remains of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals achieving national acceptance — either as a debating point, or as a model? When the Indaba was launched on April 3 last year, it captured the imagination not only of white and black South Africans, but of the country's increasingly desperate Western allies.

With significant exceptions, notably United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates on the Left of the political spectrum, and "Boerestaat" ideologues on the Right, the Indaba's latter-day argonauts were universally wished *bon voyage*. They had dared to enter uncharted political waters while the country burned. In the process they displayed a commitment to genuinely negotiated constitution-making across racial divisions — a process described by veteran liberal politician and author Alan Paton as a "miracle."

On November 28 1986, eight months later, 28 of the Indaba's original 34 participating delegations endorsed the constitutional proposals. By their own admission the golden fleece, or "first prize," had escaped them. All were obliged in the spirit of compromise to accept second or even third prizes.

Four delegations opposed the proposals. They were the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigingе, the Junior Rapportryers, and Durban's Afrikaanse Sakekamer.

Hindsight may well prove that this rebuff from ruling Afrikanerdom (the National Party (NP) was present during the deliberations, but only as an observer), together with the outcome of this year's general election, signalled the death-knell of translating the Indaba's hopes into reality. Nothing has happened since May 6 to dispel this notion.

The word Indaba, from the Zulu, means a gathering at which important matters are to be discussed. The idea of holding such an all-race Indaba was a natural response to the central finding of the Buthelezi Commission of 1980. This urged that the province of Natal and the patchwork KwaZulu homeland be jointly administered by a single legislative assembly.

At its launch, under the glare of international TV cameras and attended by foreign diplomats in Durban City Hall last year, the Indaba adopted a six-point mission statement. It sought to unite Natal province in a political system which guaranteed political rights for all; in which the Rule of Law would be applied and racial discrimination outlawed; legislative and administrative power would be delegated as far as possible; and a "free economic system" would truly reflect the province's interdependence with

the rest of the country.

There emerged, after eight months of deliberation, a set of constitutional proposals. Attacked from Left and Right, the Indaba constitution departed significantly from the present South African model. Important features include:

☐ Universal adult suffrage and a system of proportional representation in a 100-member "first chamber" and a 50-member "second chamber."

Defenders of the complex lawmaking process, which includes ratification by standing committees, argue that numerous checks built into the system adequately safeguard the rights of minorities. Critics on the Left see apartheid in disguise, while the political Right looks no further than the Zulu community which makes up 80% of the province's population, and sees the white man losing control over his destiny;

☐ A Bill of Rights, endorsed on July 10 1986, which would empower the Natal Supreme Court to overturn those laws enacted in the province which it held to discriminate on the grounds of race, political opinion, or economic status; or which infringed the right to life, liberty and property.

Clause 8 of the Bill seeks to protect ethnic, linguistic, cultural and educational rights and provides that any individual or group may seek redress from the Supreme Court if such rights are impaired; and

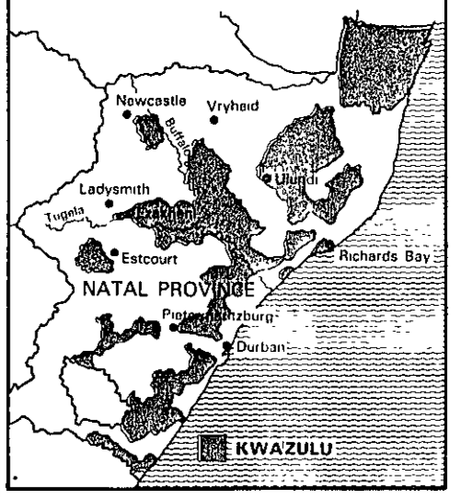
☐ A single education department committed to phasing in equal educational opportunities for all races in the province.

Race Classification and Group Areas would naturally be outlawed in Natal by the constitution and the Bill of Rights, though election to the second chamber would be on the basis of "background groups." Each of five such groups (African, Afrikaans, Asian, English and South African), would have the power to veto laws made in the first chamber if they felt these infringed on their religious, language, cultural or educational rights.

The proposals were submitted to Pretoria by Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence, the two co-convenors Frank Martin and Oscar Dhlomo, and Indaba Secretary Dawid van Wyk, on January 13 this year.

What followed is a matter of record. Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs and leader of the NP in Natal, made it plain that his party would not accept the Indaba constitutional proposals on the grounds that they did not adequately protect minority rights. Constitution-maker Chris Heunis echoed these sentiments in the no-confidence debate in parliament. And on May 6, Natal's erstwhile opposition voters abandoned their pretence of being the "last outpost" of British liberalism, and stampeded into Afrikanerdom's laager.

A region divided



Though Indaba supporters argued that their constitution was not at issue during the general election, it patently was. Mangosuthu Buthelezi acknowledged as much in an unguarded and bitter reaction to the election's outcome.

However, history may well demonstrate that the Indaba's hopes of launching its own regional government were scuppered well before the election. Twelve months earlier government had ignored the Indaba's appeal to put its proposals for regional government on ice and launched its controversial RSCs.

Grave doubts must now exist as to whether an Indaba-run Natal could mesh with the revised second-tier system of government now underway. Significantly, Buthelezi has indicated his complete opposition to RSCs (*FM* July 3).

Veteran Natal MEC and the man widely credited as "Father of the Indaba," Frank Martin, has summed up the RSC dispensation as follows: "You may hear fancy words like devolution of power, but don't be fooled. Centralisation will occur in three distinct areas: legislative control will move from the regions to parliament; key (nominated) decision-makers in the system will owe their allegiances to the State President and not the local electorate; and provincial officials will fall under the direct control of the Commission for Administration."

Correctly, in the *FM*'s view, Martin detected in this shift a cynical disregard by government for the comparatively democratic and autonomous provincial government institutions it is now replacing. Unaccountably, however, he continues to entertain the fond hope that this same government will allow Natal wide legislative autonomy irreconcilable with local government elsewhere in the country.

Indaba supporters now pin their hopes on a demonstration of support by all Natal's inhabitants for their constitution, either by way of a government-sanctioned referendum or a provincial opinion poll. While parliamentary approval for the Indaba is required, such popular support, they argue, would force government's hand.

Such hopes may have been justified when the Indaba began its talks A few months beforehand, P W Botha had told the 75th congress of the NP in the Cape: "New times demand new approaches ... the country is outgrowing apartheid." He went further and spoke of a collective South African citizenship and universal franchise within structures chosen by South Africans.

Today, with the State of Emergency in its second year, English-speaking whites having abandoned the political middle ground for the security of Afrikanerdom's laager, and deep divisions evident among Zulus, it is no foregone conclusion that such a vote will be won, even were it allowed.

But is the Indaba thus destined to become only another monument to intransigence? Though indubitably right for the times, it has voluntarily gone where ruling Afrikanerdom and its new English-speaking allies are too fearful to tread.

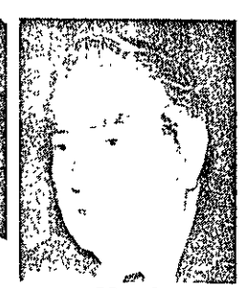
The fact that both may one day be forced along an even less acceptable route is cold comfort for those who have mapped out the Indaba's pioneering path. Is it too much to hope that, presented with the detailed Indaba proposals, government could at least bear them in mind when the time comes for real nitty-gritty bargaining with blacks? The proposed statutory National Council would be one body, for example, which could benefit from the Natal negotiations. At the least, it will have provided a model for how such negotiations can be achieved in a spirit of non-racial compromise. ■


Dhlomo


Van Wyk


Buthelezi


Clarence


Martin

ARGUS 10/7/87 (NB)

Natal, Kwazulu to have joint authority soon

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A JOINT executive authority for Natal and Kwazulu will be instituted within the next month or two, says the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

The new joint body will come about in terms of legislation passed last year. It will be a statutory body to co-ordinate co-operation between the two administrations and will have to account to the executive committee of Natal and the Kwazulu Cabinet.

Mr Heunis said today it would be the first time that a provincial administration and the government of a national state co-operated on matters of common concern within one legally created institution.

Referring to the Natal-Kwazulu indaba, Mr Heunis said the majority and minority reports had been handed to the Governmment early this year.

The Government had not taken an official stand on the proposals but had welcomed the indaba as an important regional initiative.

OFFICIAL VIEWPOINT

The Government had also felt it should keep back its official viewpoint until the Natal Provincial Administration and the government of Kwazulu had commented.

This was also the view of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu.

Mr Heunis said Inkatha had discussed the proposals at the weekend and the Government was awaiting the comment of the Natal Provincial Administration and Kwazulu.

When this was received the Government would study it and take an official stand on the proposals.

He indicated that further negotiations would follow. In general, the indaba had been an important exercise in the development of a concept for consensus. He thought it a pity that the indaba had been forced to take decisions by way of voting.

Buthelezi scorns joint plan

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

PLANS for South Africa's first Joint Executive Authority — in Natal/KwaZulu — may be heading for the rocks.

KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said he will reject the idea if it is coupled to Regional Services Councils (RSCs).

Link with Regional Services Councils is rejected

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, announced with great fanfare this week the imminent birth of the country's first JEA between a provincial administration and a national state — and in the process praised the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba for initiating the move.

But Chief Buthelezi, the kingpin in any future JEA administration in the region, warned he would have no part of the Heunis plan if it meant the imposition of the RSCs on the people of KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi's uncompromising stand on the RSC — to which the Government, on the other hand, is committed — casts a shadow on the whole JEA plan.

He said he would face insurmountable difficulties if the JEA was expected to "foist" the RSCs on the Natal/KwaZulu region.

"I would lose all utility to the land of my birth if I attempted to force black people in KwaZulu/Natal to accept RSCs," he said yesterday.

In his announcement Mr Heunis referred to the Indaba initiative, which favoured the JEA as an "important experiment in co-operation".

Important

He said the JEA for Natal and KwaZulu would be in operation within a month or two.

Mr Heunis said he had no doubt that further negotiations would follow. In general the Indaba had been an important excerise in the development of a concept for consensus.

Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, said yesterday he welcomed Mr Heunis's remarks on the Indaba concept for consensus.

They showed a constructive attitude towards further negotiations and discussions "which bodes well for the future of KwaZulu/Natal," he said yesterday.

Mr Heunis announced that the new JEA for the two regions would be implemented in terms of legislation approved last year after the Executive Committee of Natal and the Government of KwaZulu took the initiative for possible co-operation on executive and administrative levels.

Experiment

The joint body will be accountable to the Natal and KwaZulu Cabinet.

Mr Heunis said it would be the first time that a Provincial Administration and the Government of a National State would co-operate on matters of common concern within a constitutionally created institution.

It was an important experiment in co-operation, he said.

He also said Inkatha had discussed the Indaba proposals last weekend.

The SA Government was now waiting for comment on the proposals from the Natal Administration and the KwaZulu Government.

When comment was received, the Government would take an official standpoint on the matter.

Ultimately, long-term growth will de-

Buthelezi's plea refused by Sullivan

Own Correspondent

THE REV Leon Sullivan, the author of the Sullivan Code and one of the latest exponents of US economic withdrawl from SA, has decided to ingnore Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call to oppose disinvestment.

Buthelezi wrote to Sullivan shortly after the May whites-only elections, calling on him to withstand the temptation to join the call for US disinvestment from the country.

In a letter to the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Sullivan said he had taken a stand and called for the withdrawl of American companies until statuatory apartheid had been abolished, and government had made a clear committment of a vote for blacks after negotiating with authentic and representatives, such as Buthelezi.

"I took this position after deep, deep concentration and much prayer," Sullivan said.

"I thought it was necessary for me to take the next step with corporate force to help, hopefully along with other efforts, to move the South African government to meaningful changes in the elimination of apartheid, which I believe is the main cause of problems in your country."

Sullivan said he would never turn his back on the struggle for liberation in SA, and would somehow remain a part of it.

He added that he admired Buthelezi for his historic and extraordinary leadership — from which all of SA would benefit.

"Let us both keep in touch, because although we seem to be going in different directions, we are both converging on the same goals," Sullivan said.

UIF swells to R240m as net widens

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The strength of the Unemployment Insurance Fund has increased spectacularly recently.

Manpower director general Piet van der Merwe told Business Day yesterday the fund's assets had risen from R171,3m at the end of December last year to the current level of R240m.

He said were it not for the repayment of a R75m government loan at the rate of R10m a quarter, the fund would have exceeded the peak level of R270m reached in 1982.

The major reason for the well-filled fund was the raising of the beneficiaries ceiling to R30 000 from R26 000 and increasing employer and employee contributions to 0,9%.

Van der merwe said between R33m and R35m a month was being paid to beneficiaries.

Keep an eye

MOVES are afoot to weed out fake researchers.

People who sell door-to-door or telephonically under the guise of research are making an increasing number of people reluctant to be interviewed — and there are fears that this could distort research findings in some areas.

Research organisations have called on the public to report misrepresentations and have taken steps against "suggers" (people who sell under the guise of research).

The SA Marketing Research Association (Samra) is aggressively following up complaints reported to it and claims

DD 16/7/87

Black Sash calls for withdrawal of DV demolition orders

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The East London branch of the Black Sash has called for the withdrawal of notices ordering Duncan Village residents to demolish their shanties by tomorrow.

The president, Mrs Sue Power, said some 300 people would be left homeless if the orders were not withdrawn.

She also called on the authorities to provide site and service scheme arrangements for the residents in Duncan Village until proper housing was available.

The notices, issued by the Gompo Town Council on July 7, ordered shanty owners on 67 erven to demolish their dwellings.

Last week, the mayor of Duncan Village, Mr Eddie Makeba, said the residents had built shanties without permission on erven where houses had been destroyed in unrest last year.

The council wanted to clear the sites for new houses.

Mrs Power said the Black Sash had conducted a survey among 33 of the family groupings and found that 24 of the families had at least one, and often more than one, family member employed in the formal sector.

In the other nine groups, six people were employed in the informal sector.

Only three family groupings had no breadwinner.

"Sixty one children presently resident in the 33 shacks concerned are attending school in Duncan Village.

"A move at this late stage of the academic year would undoubtedly result in the loss of a year's schooling."

Mrs Power said it had also been established that 25 of the 33 heads of the households had lived in Duncan Village for over 10 years.

"Members of the group have said that they would be willing to move their shacks if they could be given an alternative site in Duncan Village, but are not willing to move away from their jobs and children's schools."

Mrs Power said the survey clearly indicated that the people were long-established residents of Duncan Village "who are living in shacks because of the lack of housing development for black South Africans".

Mr Makeba could not be contacted yesterday.

CAPE TIMES 23/7/87

116

Inkatha: Our peace bid failed

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha has tried to patch up its differences with the ANC "for quite some time", Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister responded to reports quoting Dr Alex Boraine — on his return from talks with the ANC in Dakar — as saying the ANC was suspicious of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and believed Inkatha was being "misused".

Dr Boraine said it was clear the ANC and Inkatha disliked each other and it would make better sense for the organizations "to resolve their differences".

Chief Buthelezi said: "Obviously Dr Boraine was not informed by the lower rungs of leadership of the external mission of the ANC that we in Inkatha have sought a rapprochement — to no avail — for quite some time."

Chief Buthelezi also rejected an ANC claim, reported by Dr Boraine, that the banned organization had been responsible for founding Inkatha.

He said it was an outright lie that Inkatha was not being used for the "liberation" of SA.

Transkei terror accused in court

UMTATA — Eighteen men, including a medical doctor, appeared briefly in the magistrate's court here yesterday on charges of terrorism.

The men, who had been detained by security police on different occasions since 1985, appeared briefly on July 23 and were remanded.

The accused are: Mr Ernest Ngxokolo Sotsu, 59, Mr Archie Mayekiso, 27, Mr Boy Jafta, 22, Mr Sivuyile Bam, 21, Mr Maqhashu Mdingi, 62, Dr Zolile Nombe, 58, Mr Mhleli Madaka, 27, Mr Ndibulele Ndzamela, 23, Mr Mcebisi Mjo, 33, Mr Justice Ndlangisa, 27, Mr Pasika Ntshobane, 32, Mr Malixole Gantsho, 30, Mr Sandile Nogxina, 33, Mr Tobile Ngxaku, 34, Mr Pumzile Mayapi, 30, Mr Teko Makhou, 30, Mr Mzukisi Gaba, 28, and Mr Mbeko Mnyatheli, 29.

The men have been charged under section 7 of the Public Security Act. They were denied bail in terms of an order from the Attorney-General dated July 8.

Counsel for the defence said that despite the fact that some of the accused had been arrested before October 1985, they were unaware of the charges to be laid against them.

It would be in the interests of justice to have a proper charge sheet drawn out, he said. — DDR

D.D. 24/7/87 (118)

New chief for AmaJingqi

DD 25/7/87 (118)

BISHO — The chieftainship of a former senior Ciskei cabinet minister, Mr Lent Maqoma, who left the country to form an opposition party to President Lennox Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP), has been conferred on his cousin, Mr Wati Maqoma.

Ciskei's directorate of communications said in a statement yesterday that Mr Wati Maqoma had won his battle to be the rightful heir to the AmaJingqi chieftainship in the Victoria East district.

The Ciskei executive council had approved an application by senior councillors of the AmaJingqi tribe that Mr Wati Maqoma, a cousin to Mr Lent Maqoma, to be appointed chief, the statement said.

The Great Place for the new chief would be established at the original Great Place of the late Chief Jongumsobomvu Maqoma in the Balfour district, the statement said. — DDR

OUPS

DD. 28/7/87

Lent Maqoma files state funds action

11B

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The former Ciskei Minister of Manpower, Mr Lent Maqoma, has filed an application in the Bisho Supreme Court for allegations of misuse of state funds for President Lennox Sebe's benefit to be investigated.

Mr Maqoma, who is living in exile in Transkei, has alleged in an affidavit that state funds were misused to enrich President Sebe's personal estate "and to provide him with certain financial advantages in an unlawful or improper manner and at the expense of the State of Ciskei".

He has claimed that the state funded certain renovations and improvements of the President's private properties — a house in Tshatshu near Zwelitsha, a holiday cottage at Hamburg, and the Two Rivers Farm, outside King William's Town.

The expenses were allegedly incurred by the Department of Works and the Department of Agriculture and Forestry through projects which included the construction of a sauna, bedrooms, and a study, and paying farm labourers' salaries.

The assistant registrar of the Ciskei Supreme Court, Mr M. B. Nqeno, confirmed yesterday that the application was filed on July 23.

The first respondent is the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, and the second respondent the attorney-general. The attorney-general has been cited "as he may have an interest in the outcome" and not for relief.

Mr Maqoma has applied for an order declaring that a directive or instruction issued by the Minister of Justice to the attorney-general on August 25, 1986, not to act on allegations of misuse of state funds be declared invalid.

He has also applied for an order declaring the attorney-general to be at liberty to take whatever action necessary to investigate the allegations and to prosecute anyone for any offence committed in relation to the allegations.

In his affidavit, Mr Maqoma said he had acquired certain files from the Department of Works and the Department of Agriculture and Forestry in 1986.

In a separate affidavit a Ciskei businessman, Mr Benjamin Nomoyi, who is also now living in Transkei, said he had obtained certain files from a clerk in the Ciskei Department of Works in August 1986. He had prepared information for Mr Maqoma from the content of the files.

Mr Maqoma said the files had shown that state money had been used to renovate and improve certain immovable properties owned privately by President Sebe, and to provide furnishings, curtaining, and other household and luxurious items for the dwellings on the properties.

"These homes are all utilised by the State President for his private purposes and the expenditure can never have constituted state expenditure."

Mr Maqoma said it appeared that state money was utilised to "fully equip the State President's said private homes with items varying from, for example, carpets, curtains and bedspreads in the sum of R10 986 for this coastal cottage in July 1984 down to minor items such as the supply of a doormat for his farm in 1985.

"Ciskeian State monies were also utilised in paying for various services rendered to the President in respect of his private homes, particularly in regard of repairs, maintenance and upkeep.

"Of great importance, however, is the fact that on 24 April 1986 the sum of R8 433,70 was paid as salaries to the farm labourers in the employ of the President upon his farm at Two Rivers."

Mr Maqoma also alleged that R11 952 was paid for the provision of a sauna, the extension of a garage and other works at Two Rivers Farm.

A total of R106 900,07 was also allegedly spent

MR LENT MAQOMA

on the construction of bedrooms, a study, a store, pool walls, and dining quarters at the farm.

A further R123 474 was spent on alterations and additions to President Sebe's beach cottage at Hamburg.

Mr Maqoma said the vast majority of the expenditure was authorised by the Department of Works. Certain items, however, were paid for by the Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

"The necessary inference which must also be drawn is, unfortunately, that the State President himself knew that the State funds were being used for his benefit.

"The President accordingly was either directly responsible for such improper use of State funds or was aware that State funds were being used for his personal benefit."

Mr Maqoma said as a result of the information he instructed his attorneys to contact the relevant authorities in Ciskei.

On June 29, 1986 letters were written to six highly-placed government officials detailing the information but no reply was received.

The information was then sent to the attorney-general who responded on September 5 last year that he had been instructed by the Minister of Justice not to take further steps in relation to any of the allegations.

Mr Maqoma said the "only reasonable inference" which could be drawn was that because the president was involved in the said misuse of funds, the Minister of Justice had issued his directive to the attorney-general.

The respondents have been given until August 31 to announce whether they intend opposing the application, and until August 13 to file answering affidavits.

If the application is not opposed it will be heard on September 18.

Why Indians ought to support Indaba

(118) STAR 29/7/87.

Take advantage of this unique opportunity to give all races a say in shaping a more prosperous and peaceful future, urges Dr Oscar D Dhlomo, co-convener of the kwaZulu-Natal conference.

The results of recent opinion surveys commissioned by the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba have been interpreted by various analysts as showing a surprising degree of Indian apathy towards the Indaba. They speculate that this is caused by the Indian community's self-perception as a "powerless minority" caught between black demands on the one hand and white power on the other.

Yet other analysts claim that this apathy is fuelled by fears of possible "African retribution" as happened in Uganda and other African countries, in the event of the Indaba proposals being implemented.

Knowing the Indian community of Natal as well as I do, I find it difficult to agree that there is Indian apathy towards the Indaba.

First, the Indian community was fully represented in the Indaba by both its political and cultural groups. Comparatively speaking, no other group in the Indaba was as fully represented as the Indian community.

The only notable absentee was the Natal Indian Congress, but judging by the comments of its spokesmen, this organisation kept itself fully informed about the Indaba proceedings. Moreover, all participating Indian groups signed in support of the Indaba proposals at the end of the negotiations.

Therefore, if there is "Indian apathy" now, there certainly was none throughout the deliberations.

Second, I believe that Indians in Natal, and indeed in South Africa, have nothing to fear. Besides being the second largest population group in Natal, they are on fairly good socio-political terms with the African majority in the country. Indians have contributed and are still contributing their share in all walks of life in the building of a free and prosperous South Africa.

South African Indian patriots, political leaders, scholars, industrialists and philanthropists are not few and far between. Who could ever wish for more illustrious fellow countrymen? However, if ever I came across a single Indian fellow Natalian who showed any apathy or suspicion about the Indaba, I would address him as follows:

"Through the Indaba I am extending my hand of friendship to the Indian community of Natal. I am doing so because I believe it is vitally important for all of us — Indian, African, white and coloured — to build our future in Natal and kwaZulu together. If we do not do so, we may all regret not having taken advantage of the unique opportunity before us.

"I recognise that our communities have had differences in the past and that even today some of our people feel angry towards each other and threatened or exploited by the other. As a black man I would like you to know that I have no desire to take from you what is yours.

"I have no desire to dominate or harm you. But, like you, I do demand to be treated as an equal.

"I am very conscious of the major contribution that the Indian community has made to building our province. I am sure that you will agree that we must all build on the good of the past and dedicate ourselves to ridding our communities of the causes of those things that divide us. We must all work together to build the future.

"I have yet to find a human being who wants to be discriminated against. We all want peace. We all want to feel safe and secure. We all want jobs. We all want a good education for our children. We all want a decent home.

A plan for everyone

"In addition, all people want to be able to share in determining their future. The kwaZulu Natal Indaba proposals offer you a real opportunity that may not come to us again.

"It is for this reaon in particular that I invite you and your family to support the Indaba and its plan for non-racial government in our province.

"The Indaba plan is not a plan for whites, or for Africans, or for Indians or coloureds. It is a plan for all the people of the region. It is not a plan that takes anything from anybody. It is a plan that gives us all better security, better education, more and better jobs, more housing and a say in shaping our future.

"I urge you to support it."

Cape Times 30/7/87 (116)

Claims against Inkatha

MARITZBURG. — Inkatha is facing damages claims amounting to R154 550, arising out of alleged attacks on residents at Mpophomeni near Howick by members and officials of the organization following a meeting in the township in December last year.

Surprise over ANC funeral

By S'BU MNGADI

THE widowed wife of former African National Congress official in London, Masabalala Bonnie Yengwa, 64, this week told *City Press* that her family in London was kept in the dark about the burial of her husband's ashes at KwaMaphumulo last weekend.

Speaking from her Vukayibambe home in London, Edith Yengwa, a schoolteacher, said that news that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government were also involved in arranging the symbolic funeral of Masabalala came as a surprise to the family and friends abroad.

This follows accusations that the funeral – expected to bring together warring Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters – was turned into political point-scoring by Inkatha.

This was sparked off by announcements that the KwaZulu government, represented by a senior Inkatha official, Simon Mthimkhulu, donated an ox and R1 000 towards funeral expenses.

"We don't know what transpired at the funeral. What was carried by the SA Press all seemed strange to us," said Yengwa.

She said she was aware that UDF people in Natal had set up a committee to arrange the funeral.

Meanwhile, a strong security force contingent at Kwamaphumulo last weekend aborted what could have been a historic UDF-Inkatha gathering.

The first bus carrying UDF supporters to the funeral was turned back by police at a roadblock not far from Yengwa's traditional home of Kwamaqumbi.

People wearing T-shirts of UDF-affiliated organisations and Cosatu unions were made to take them off and were helped by those who had jerseys and jackets to cover up.

Nevertheless, former ANC officials, Doroty Nyembe, Umlazi residents' association fugitive chairman Sponono Gasa, and UDF co-president Archie Gumede were allowed to go through after the Yengwa family had intervened.

They also gave speeches despite occasional interruptions, according to Gumede.

The funeral proceedings were chaired by Clermont Education Crisis Committee chairman Hendross Gumede.

Police barred 11 journalists from covering the funeral.

A Lt Van Rooyen read to the journalists the relevant clause from the Public Safety Act empowering them to bar newsmen.

(113) 30/8/87 (#) CPress

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Questions of choice

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, is the leader of the country's single largest ethnic group, the Zulus. The *FM* interviewed him in his office at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi.

***FM*: You speak historically of camaraderie between yourself and the ANC. Does this still exist, or is there now a tussle for status in a post-apartheid SA?**

Buthelezi: Black people in general like to start bickering about who gets what trophy before they've even accomplished what they're trying to achieve.

But who rules the country after liberation should be decided by South African people of all races, democratically. I've said publicly I'm prepared to serve even under Mr Botha if he is elected by all the people, or Dr Mandela if he is elected by all the people, or anyone else. But in turn, if I am the choice of the South African people, they, too, should be prepared to serve under me. And that is the long and short of it.

For anti-apartheid organisations the horizon of political success seems to have been pushed back by two factors — the State of Emergency and the May 6 election. Would you agree?

I have always said that Mr Botha, and before him Mr Vorster, should not be tackled where they are strongest. And that is in the area of violence.

When there was escalation of violence in the last few years people jumped to the conclusion that the only thing left to do was to kill and to bring about change through violence. It was really not on I said.

I would really pray God that there should now be a rapprochement between the forces for change. For instance, I mentioned at the Inkatha conference that for quite a while now there have been moves to try to bring about that kind of rapprochement between the UDF and Inkatha.

I think these talks are making progress. I don't want to exaggerate them. I realise Mr Gumede is in a difficult position and I think it is very tragic that certain members of the UDF, who in the main come from minority groups like the Natal Indian Congress, are the ones who don't want us as black brothers to get together.

We just have to have the common sense to realise it is in our common interests to have a coalition of some sort.

I believe this is the time for it and, in a way, the election of May 6 should have a salutary effect.

How do you explain remarks by Archie Gumede that the UDF might consider participating in the tricameral system?

I wouldn't think this possible because the UDF came about because it was opposed to the system. Unless there was a radical change of policy I couldn't see how it could participate now.

Of course there is an element of confusion. I wouldn't want to appear to denigrate them because I want to be constructive. But I would say that one must understand and sympathise with the UDF because it is a coaliton by nature. It is a situation in which the right hand wouldn't know what the left was doing.

What is your view on the Dakar talks?

Well I'm always for talks. I have spoken many times with ANC. I believe in the politics of negotiation. But at the same time of course the value of any talks is something which, as an historian, I feel will be judged by history really. I don't think I'm competent to judge this.

The Indaba would appear to have foundered as a result largely of the May 6 election and opposition from Afrikaner organisations and the National Party?

That is a very complex question. You are aware of the conclusions reached by the Markinor survey (the sample survey showed majority support among all race groups in Natal for the Indaba).

So I would not say that the election reflected a judgment of the Indaba. I say this too because of the correspondence which flows onto my desk now from many Afrikaners that I don't even know — who support the Indaba.

I would also say that even some of the noises, if I may call them that, that both Mr Heunis and Mr Van der Merwe are making, don't indicate that they have dismissed the Indaba proposals.

They seem to expect further negotiation on minority protection and I'm quite open to negotiations of that kind. But these things are so finely tuned that I just don't know what more can be done to satisfy them.

Personally I would say that when you have guaranteed civil liberties of individuals then you have guaranteed the security of groups as such.

What are the prospects of resolving violence in SA?

If people like Dr Nelson Mandela and others were released, the prospects of the politics of negotiation would be enhanced. Because Dr Mandela, you will remember in conversation with Mrs Suzman did not rule out negotiation. I mean he didn't, as it were, say that he would only negotiate about handing over of power as our brothers in the external mission of ANC in Lusaka say.

So I believe that his release would in fact enhance the chances of success.

As to the prospects of his release, your guess is as good as mine. But it is something I believe the government is bound to consider very seriously because I for one do not see how I can negotiate behind his back.

Black democracy must be unshackled. By which I mean there shouldn't be any black leaders who will not negotiate because they are not in a position to exercise their options.

So that then is your final position on the National Council?

Correct. I don't fear anybody. I don't fear my brothers in ANC in exile, I don't fear Dr Mandela. I mean they are my brothers.

They should be present too and decide whether they want to participate. I do not want accusations levelled at me that I was doing things behind their backs. There are other black leaders who disagree with me. But that is my view.

What economic system would you like to see in a post-apartheid society?

I have been dimissed by some people as the stooge of capitalists, though I have never said that capitalism or the free enterprise system as it operates in this country is perfect.

I have always said they have exploited my people in the past. But I said that it was unfortunate that just when my people attained economic bargaining power that we should now try to dismantle or destroy the system which has given them the power. I don't see there is any other economic system that has been devised by man which has the potential for development which the free enterprise system has got.

Buthelezi slates black supporters of new councils

3/8/87

B/Day

11B

Business Day Reporter

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised supporters of regional services councils (RSCs) as a "fifth column in the black body politic" at a mass rally in a Durban township yesterday.

In a statement released afterwards, Buthelezi said he had urged people not to tolerate civic leaders who tried to sell the RSC concept for their own "selfish purposes".

"They were introduced into legislation by a white Parliament which totally excludes us, and are being applied elsewhere by the hideous politics of prescription."

Buthelezi said he had called repeatedly for a moratorium on the introduction of RSCs, and would do nothing to support them.

"If these and other organisations undermine my opposition to RSCs, they strengthen the hand of their own enemies. They then act as a fifth column movement in the black body politic. They weaken black bargaining power. I appeal for black unity on the question," he said.

The speech was made at a ceremony at which Buthelezi received the freedom of Inyanda, a sprawling township on Durban's outskirts.

Don't support RSCs — chief

PEOPLE who supported Regional Services Councils were a "fifth column in the black body politic" which all black organisations should combine to resist, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told a mass rally near Durban yesterday. Swefan

He urged people not to tolerate civic leaders who tried to sell the RSC concept for their own selfish purposes. (113)

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was addressing a crowd of many thousands watching him receive the freedom of Inanda, the sprawling black township on Durban's border. 3/8/87

The award was a vote of confidence in Inkatha and its policy of negotiation as against the politics of violence, he said.

But, in an impassioned plea for black unity, he said that no one organisation could win the struggle for liberation.

The establishment of the RSCs was an issue in which black organisations should co-operate.

Anger over Bop uhuru party

By ALINAH DUBE

RESIDENTS of Temba, in Bophuthatswana, are up in arms following a directive that each household should donate R1 towards the homeland's independence celebrations.

According to pamphlets distributed by the local township manager's office, Bophuthatswana's tenth anniversary celebrations are scheduled to be held on Saturday at the local independence stadium.

"You are being reminded about the R1 you are supposed to pay in connection with Bophuthatswana's independence. We are behind schedule," the pamphlets read.

The people's feeling was that the money could instead be used to improve some of the things which the community lacks. Living conditions in the area, they said, did not warrant a celebration.

CHIEF Lucas Mangope . . . Bop president.

The R1, they said, was to be deducted from the money they paid for rent in case they failed to comply with the directive.

"We fail to understand how the authorities deemed it fit to impose such an amount without having consulted the people. This is a poverty stricken area with its inhabitants earning far lower than living wages at nearby factories," said a resident who asked not to be named for fear of reprisals.

Shot man's funeral

SOWETO businessman and man-about-town Mr Peter "Pietman" Sekwele (32), who was found murdered near the Rockville dam last week, will be buried on Saturday.

Mr Sekwele, of 617 Molapo, Soweto, was shot by unknown people. Police are investigating.

His funeral service will be held at his home starting at 9.30am. The cortege will leave for the Avalon Cemetery at 11am.

Mr Sekwele leaves three children.

W/Mail 7-13/8/87

The next king of the Tembus: Exiled, somewhere in Lusaka

By MONO BADELA

THE man who usurped the throne of "Comrade King" Sabata Dalindyebo, the popular king of the Tembus, is on his deathbed — and his successor is in exile in Lusaka.

He is Chief Albert Bambilanga Mtirara, a half-brother of King Sabata Dalindyebo who, helped by former Transkeian president Paramount Chief KD Matanzima, ousted him in 1980.

Rumours have been circulating in the Transkei that Mtirara has died, but *Weekly Mail* ascertained yesterday that the man may die any day. He is suffering from cancer in its terminal stage.

The Tembu tribesmen, especially former councillors of Sabata reckon that Sabata's elder son, young Buyelekhayi, now at school in Lusaka, should be recalled and be groomed to take over if bloodshed is to be averted in Tembuland.

Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo is 23 years old. He and his younger brother followed King Sabata soon after he fled the Transkei in 1980.

The prospect of him returning from Lusaka to take up one of the most powerful hereditary positions in the Transkei is one that will cause much embarrassment in Umtata.

Former counsellors said the "blood of King Sabata was now talking" ... that it predicted "Bambilanga will not enjoy his rule because it was not his and never will be his. The ancestors will meet him."

They believe if young Buyelekhaya is not installed on the Tembu throne there will be "frightening confusion"

"Comrade King" died in Lusaka early last year without fulfilling his long-cherished dream of returning as Tembu king once apartheid has ended.

Sabata had spent the last year of his life serving the African National Congress' external mission.

His long fight against apartheid and the pro-separate development policies of former president Matanzima will not be forgotten, particularly in the Transkei.

Although he was the king of the biggest Xhosa tribe, Sabata regarded ANC President Oliver Tambo as his leader.

"The chiefs and kings were defeated long ago by the Boers and so we must accept the new leaders," Sabata once said while in exile.

"The so-called Transkei independence means nothing for the people in terms of social and economic advancement."

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was Sabata's uncle. He was a traditional leader of more than one million people.

Sabata, a half-cousin of Paramount Chief KD Matanzima was born in Tyalara on November 25, 1928, only a month after the death of his father, Paramount Chief Sampu Jongilizwe Mtirara. Though he was born to be paramount chief, he grew up as an ordinary shepherd boy. Two of his uncles acted as regents before he was installed as paramount chief in 1954.

As a leader of the Democratic Party — the chief opposition in the Transkei — he was a symbol of opposition to apartheid and the homeland policy.

He fled the country on August 15, 1980, after being deposed by the Matanzima cabinet. Albert Bambilanga, his half-brother, was installed in his place.

Earlier Sabata had been fined R700 or 18 months for "injuring and violating the dignity" of Matanzima.

W/Mail 7-13/8/87

The next king of the Tembus: Exiled, somewhere in Lusaka

By MONO BADELA

THE man who usurped the throne of "Comrade King" Sabata Dalindyebo, the popular king of the Tembus, is on his deathbed — and his successor is in exile in Lusaka.

He is Chief Albert Bambilanga Mtirara, a half-brother of King Sabata Dalindyebo who, helped by former Transkeian president Paramount Chief KD Matanzima, ousted him in 1980.

Rumours have been circulating in the Transkei that Mtirara has died, but *Weekly Mail* ascertained yesterday that the man may die any day. He is suffering from cancer in its terminal stage.

The Tembu tribesmen, especially former councillors of Sabata reckon that Sabata's elder son, young Buyelekhayi, now at school in Lusaka, should be recalled and be groomed to take over if bloodshed is to be averted in Tembuland.

Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo is 23 years old. He and his younger brother followed King Sabata soon after he fled the Transkei in 1980.

The prospect of him returning from Lusaka to take up one of the most powerful hereditary positions in the Transkei is one that will cause much embarrassment in Umtata.

Former counsellors said the "blood of King Sabata was now talking" ... that it predicted "Bambilanga will not enjoy his rule because it was not his and never will be his. The ancestors will meet him."

They believe if young Buyelekhaya is not installed on the Tembu throne there will be "frightening confusion"

"Comrade King" died in Lusaka early last year without fulfilling his long-cherished dream of returning as Tembu king once apartheid has ended.

Sabata had spent the last year of his life serving the African National Congress' external mission.

His long fight against apartheid and the pro-separate development policies of former president Matanzima will not be forgotten, particularly in the Transkei.

Although he was the king of the biggest Xhosa tribe, Sabata regarded ANC President Oliver Tambo as his leader.

"The chiefs and kings were defeated long ago by the Boers and so we must accept the new leaders," Sabata once said while in exile.

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A snub for Mangope

Sowetan 7/8/87 (113)

RESIDENTS of Temba in Bophuthatswana have resolved to stayaway from the homeland's tenth anniversary celebrations following a directive that each family should donate R1.

Disgruntled residents told the *Sowetan* yesterday that 10 years of Bophuthatswana's independence have brought misery to thousands of people staying in the homelands. They vowed not to attend a party which is scheduled to be held tomorrow.

The celebrations came under heavy fire from the Temba Youth Congress. The movement said the results of indepencence had been:

- Increased rent;
- Pensioners qualifying for less money than their counterparts in South Africa;
- Lack of housing and recreational facilities;
- Exploitation of workers who are also being denied the right to be represented by trade unions of their choice;
- Harassment of youth and student bodies; and
- Lack of freedom of organisation among taxi operators and business people.

"We therefore view the occasion as the tenth anniversary for the exploitation of the masses. We cannot allow ourselves to be fooled by those who deny us the right to be represented fully by the people's leaders," the organisation said.

Parliament and Politics

'Buthelezi backs JEA — Heunis

CAPE TIMES 9/8/87

By BARRY STREEK

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was in total agreement with the establishment of the new Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for KwaZulu and Natal, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

"The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the Administrator of Natal, as well as I, are in total agreement and are convinced that this step will lead to an even better spirit of co-operation and realism in KwaZulu and Natal," Mr Heunis said in a statement.

The JEA would provide "a structured basis on which further negotiations and, in fact, joint decision-making on a regional level will take place".

"I regard it as a very important step towards greater structured regional co-operation as well as power-sharing between the black and white communities in that area," Mr Heunis said.

Regulations for the establishment for the KwaZulu/Natal JEA were published in the Government Gazette yesterday.

They provide for the JEA, which is to be based in Durban, to consist of five members of the Executive Committee of Natal, to be appointed by the Adminstrator of Natal, and five KwaZulu ministers.

The ten members will elect a chairman and vice-chairman at its first meeting.

The JEA will not have legislative powers, but the administration of laws and functions can be transferred to it by the State President, and it will have executive powers.

All decision-making will be by consensus. If there is a dispute, the matter will be referred to the Chief Minister and the Administrator and will be regarded as a JEA decision if agreement is reached between them.

In his statement, Mr Heunis said the set of rules for the JEA were drawn up by the KwaZulu Government and the Provincial Administration in co-operation with this department.

"A very important factor in this significant event is that the parties concerned took the initiative in working towards a co-operative mechanism, which would provide for getting the job done without entering into the thorny area of political rights, group domination and other pitfalls."

Hendrickse asks for

Minister condemns

Indaba: why Indians may be sceptical

Star 11/8/87 (11B)

In failing to broaden its base among the substantial black opposition, Inkatha is not addressing the real problem, argues Dr Karl P Magyar of the Department of International Relations, Witwatersrand University.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo's article, "Why Indians ought to support the Indaba" (The Star, July 29), requires a response to place his arguments into a greater perspective. His article has omitted many details which are well known to Natal's Indian community but of which the white community is generally ignorant.

Dr Dhlomo starts by citing the results of a survey commissioned by the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba which elicited greater reluctance by the Indian community to support the Indaba's proposals.

There are indeed reasons to question the Indaba's survey as it was hardly commissioned by a neutral body but was part of a massive and well-financed publicity campaign. That survey also referred to substantial support among the white community, yet we are at a loss to explain the recent white election results in Natal in which the Indaba-supporting NRP and PFP lost more than half of the parliamentary seats to the NP.

Observers only

The Nats were mere observers at the Indaba and Mr Stoffel Botha quickly distanced the NP from the Indaba's final proposals. This brings into question the Indaba's entire public support efforts. It has yet to be proven that a majority of the white community supports the proposals. Yet why did Dr Dhlomo single out the Indian community in his article?

Next, Dr Dhlomo notes that the Indian community was fully represented at the Indaba — with the Natal Indian Congress being described merely as a "notable absentee".

The NPP and Solidarity parties together were elected by only about 15 percent of the eligible voters in the election to the House of Delegates. And their participation at the Indaba was considerably less than enthusiastic. In fact, the Solidarity Party raised some very important objections to the proceedings which allowed the whites to gain twice the representation of the Indians in the second House, even though the Indians outnumber the whites in Natal.

And to say that the NIC "kept itself fully informed of the proceedings" without mentioning why is misleading. In fact, the NIC and its parent, the UDF, were adamantly against the entire Indaba.

It is ironic that Dr Dhlomo refers positively to the participation of the Indian political parties at the Indaba. In an article in August 1983, Dr Dhlomo warned that Indians who took part in the trichamber parliament "will be rightly regarded as co-oppressors". Later that year he repeated that the black struggle against oppression would be directed against "white, Indian and coloured oppressors".

Yet Dr Dhlomo observed that Indians have nothing to fear in Natal; they "are on fairly good socio-political terms with the African majority in the country". These are virtually the same words which Dr Dhlomo used in an article dated August 9 1985.

A few days later saw the Inanda affair in which blacks and Indians clashed violently for several days outside Durban. There were 65 deaths, hundreds of injuries, and vast destruction in that conflict. To this day it has not been explained who the perpetrators were; nor who the mysterious non-Zulu-speaking blacks were.

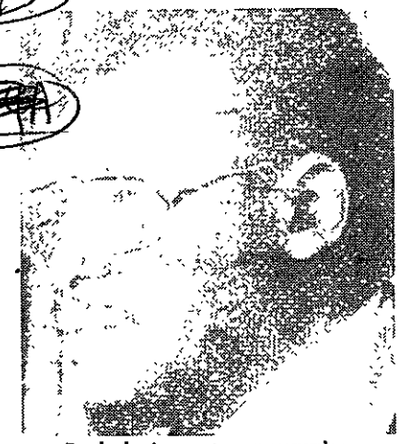
And does Dr Dhlomo not recall that Chief Buthelezi had warned Indians not to vote for the trichamber parliament — or face the consequences of a very angry black community?

Before the first trichamber elections, Chief Buthelezi spared no undiplomatic invective in warning Indians not to take part.

Then in 1985, a few days after the Inanda conflict, Chief Buthelezi observed: "There was a lot of resentment at the fact that some Indians had entered Parliament." He added: "I had warned that the new political dispensation was a recipe for violence."

The Indian community was not involved in the initiation of the Indaba. That was the product of the kwaZulu Administration and Natal's soon-to-be ex-Provincial Executive. As Mr R M Cadman, the Administrator of Natal, said in a speech in 1985 before the Indaba was launched: "The Natal Consultative Committee was a white initiative, the Buthelezi Commission was a black initiative, the current developments represent a joint initiative." That statement, more than any other, reflected the marginal role the Indians play in Natal, despite their numbers. This certainly cannot be described as extending the hand of friendship.

Dr Dhlomo ends with the usual promises that the acceptance of the Indaba's proposals will lead to a peaceful, integrated, non-racial and prosperous society. It will of course also put the heads of the kwaZulu Administration into the Chief Executive office in Natal, but this he does not mention.



Buthelezi . . . strong warning.

'How the rising expectations of the black masses will be realised is not explained.'

As for the certainty of prosperity, neither Dr Dhlomo nor the Indaba offer any hints on how this is to be done. In fact, the entire exercise concerned little more than constitutional juggling that seeks to broaden the traditional white-only elite by adding a new black elite. But how the rising expectations of the black masses will be realised in view of the prevailing nationwide economic malaise and kwaZulu's poor economic development record, is not explained.

Yet this is what the Indaba should have focused most of its attention on.

To be sure, Dr Dhlomo's call for friendship between blacks and Indians is welcomed. But it is not really necessary as Indians have hardly antagonised blacks nor posed any threat to them in the past. Are we to detect in this invitation perhaps yet another subtle reminder to this apprehensive community?

It is not only the Indian community which is apprehensive. Perhaps Dr Dhlomo would have addressed more potential supporters had he extended his hand of friendship to the much greater number of fellow-blacks who need to be converted to the Indaba cause.

Formidable sector

The kwaZulu Administration draws its support from the more rural and traditional sectors of Natal's black population. Opposed to kwaZulu leadership are members of the UDF, ANC, Azapo, significant urban areas and other organisations to the left of Inkatha — and most of them are. Their numerous members tend to be young, urbanised, educated and professional blacks — certainly a formidable sector that cannot be disregarded so easily.

Therein lies the Indaba's biggest failure. Inkatha and the kwaZulu Administration claim impressive numerical support but in failing to broaden its base among the substantial black opposition itself, Inkatha is not addressing the real problem. It is not the Indians who need conversion to the Indaba, but many blacks themselves. And by helping Inkatha to power in Natal, Indians and whites may well have to take part actively in resolving any emerging clashes among blacks in the future.

The Indian community is not the problem — nor the enemy.

Bantustans are biased

SIR — The apartheid classes in the homelands spoil the word independence and this starts at school where we are expected to respect, cower and kneel down before royal families, especially if the fathers are members of parliament or officials working for government.

At Umtata High School there is no space unless your parents can pay R1 200 a year. There are no scholarships. They practise apartheid in full and we are expected to respect independence.

In another bantustan, Mangope rejected children from other parts of Africa.

WORRIED STUDENT

Umtata.

CHIEF Lucas Mangope

CHIEF George Matanzima

Heunis sued over firing

11B

13/8/87 Sowetan

THE former Speaker of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly, Mr Solly Mahlangu, has made an application in the Pretoria Supreme Court to have his dismissal earlier this year set aside.

Mr Mahlangu said in papers filed in court that the decision taken by the Legislative Assembly on February 23 had no force or effect in law.

He called on the respondents, who include Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and Chief Minister George Mahlangu, to show cause whey he shou .ld not be re-instated as a member and Speaker of the Assembly.

The return date is August 31.

Mr Solly Mahlangu's removal from the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly followed his decision last year to call off the homeland's independence after members were deadlocked on the issue.

After his dismissal, the Chief Minister announced that he was going ahead with plans to opt for independence.

KWAZULU-NATAL

Joint authority

KwaNatal's Joint Executive Authority (JEA), which became reality last week after a proclamation in the Government Gazette, is not a "super-government" for the region, says Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis. Instead, it is an instrument for the KwaZulu and Natal provincial administrations to rationalise functions and eliminate duplication.

The formal go-ahead follows nearly three years of talks between KwaZulu, the former New Republic Party-controlled Natal provincial administration, and government.

In terms of the rules of procedure gazetted last week, neither KwaZulu nor Natal are deprived of any duties or powers; but they can ask the State President to authorise the JEA to perform, on a co-operative basis, tasks the two previously performed separately.

The president can, if he deems it advisable, transfer the administration of a law or a provincial law of either KwaZulu or Natal to the JEA.

The JEA will have an equal number of members from the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Executive Committee. Decisions will be reached by consensus. If there is no consensus, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the Administrator of Natal will jointly decide the issue. ■

FINANCIAL MAIL AUGUST 14 1987

ANC man's ashes come home at last

By S'BU MNGADI

THE symbolic funeral of a former London-based ANC commissar, Masabalala Bonnie Yengwa, 64, to be held at his traditional home of Kwamaphumulo, on the North Coast, tomorrow is poised to bring together warring Inkatha and UDF supporters.

Yengwa died peacefully at his home in London three weeks ago. His sisters, Khululiwe Mkhwanazi and Thumanina Vilakazi, arrived back in Durban this week with his cremated ashes, following a hero's funeral in London.

The funeral of Yengwa, who was instrumental in organising the historic meeting between ANC and Inkatha leaders in 1979, is viewed by many people in Natal as a challenge to the UDF and Inkatha to choose between burying the hatchet and turning the funeral into a bloodly showdown.

Inkatha has delegated its senior official and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's Deputy Speaker, Simon Mthimkhulu, to represent it at the funeral, while the UDF and Natal Indian Congress have pledged to give Yengwa a hero's funeral.

Yengwa was highly respected by a wide range of political organisations. To tribalists within Inkatha he was a representative of the "Zulus" in the ANC, while the UDF's Archie Gumede spent most of his recent stay in London at Yengwa's home.

Before fleeing the country in the 60s, Yengwa was Chief Albert Luthuli's close confidante.

He then left SA, settling first in Swaziland, then in London.

Yengwa was born in Kwamaqumbi, Kwamaphumulo, on December 5, 1923. He received his primary and secondary education there before matriculating at Indaleni.

He was involved in the trade union movement until he became a bookkeeper for the Lakhani Chambers' headquarters.

He then registered for a BComm degree at Sastri College in Durban, but was served with banning orders for his ANC activities.

16/8/87 Argus

16/8/87

Strange bedfellows

(113) S/Times

Sunday Times Reporters

LEADERS of the UDF and Inkatha, who have a bitter history of antagonism towards each other, met and shared a platform yesterday in what appeared to be a peaceful memorial service for an ANC member.

The ashes of Mr Massabala Yengwa, 64, former ANC secretary-general, were buried next to his father's grave at Mapumulo, Natal.

Mr Yengwa, a Durban attorney, who fled SA shortly before the ANC was banned, died in London two weeks ago. His ashes were returned to his home last week.

A senior Inkatha member, Mr Simon Mthimkhulu, was one of the speakers at the funeral, as was UDF president Mr Archie Gumede.

The joint attendance is the first time for months that UDF and Inkatha have been together and coincides with what appears to be a slight warming of relations between the two organisations.

Police manning a roadblock near Mapumulo, in the Stanger area, stopped a Sunday Times reporter and photographer from proceeding to the service.

A police captain, who refused to give his name, said journalists were not permitted to attend funeral services "in terms of the emergency".

The Pressmen and their vehicle were searched.

A bus load of Durban mourners on their way to the service were also turned away at the roadblock.

A man who attended the service said there had been no incidents at the burial.

9 riot policemen responsible for UDF man's death

11B

18/8/87

By Jo-Anne Collinge

SESHEGO — Nine members of the Lebowa riot unit have been found responsible for the fatal assault on United Democratic Front Northern Transvaal president Mr Peter Nchabeleng.

The finding was given yesterday by Seshego inquest magistrate Mr N C Nkoenyane.

Mr Nchabeleng (59) died on April 11 1986, within 12 hours of being taken into custody by the riot unit and held at Sekhukhune Police Station.

Medical evidence was that extensive bleeding caused by blows with hard instruments caused Mr Nchabeleng to lose consciousness and suffocate while in that state.

'Conspiracy to cover up events'

Chief State Patholologist Professor J D Loubscher testified yesterday that it was the extent of the beating rather than the force of any particular blow which proved fatal. "The cumulative effect is the deadly effect."

Mr Nkoenyane found: "The deceased's death was brought about while he was in the hands of the riot squad of which Sergeant Mokhudi Bernard Marokane was in charge.

"It was Sergeant Marokane and other members of the riot squad who assaulted the deceased."

Sergeant Marokane died before the inquest commenced. The other eight members of the riot unit are: Constables Mashilo Charles Maifo, Alfred Lecklos Chiloane, Lesteja Paul Ramaoka, Abraham Mokgopana Ratale, Segopala Simon Modiba, Malose Charles Seemane, Abel Motaletale Maboki and Molebogi Jacob Chueu.

Counsel for the Nchabeleng family, Mr Bob Nugent, submitted that a "conspiracy was hatched" by members of the riot unit to cover up the way in which Mr Nchabeleng died.

Mr Nugent said it had been shown that all of them had lied in written statements to the police, omitting the interrogation of Mr Nchabeleng from their affidavits.

He asked the court to declare two other policemen — riot unit head Captain Abraham Moloto and the officer investigating the death, Warrant Officer Maredi James Molapo — accessories to the criminal assault on Mr Nchabeleng.

Although Captain Moloto denied being at the police station on the morning Mr Nchabeleng was interrogated, the occurrence book and evidence of several other policemen stated otherwise, said Mr Nugent.

The captain was fully aware that an assault had taken place. If it had taken place while he was there this must have been with his acquiescence, Mr Nugent argued.

Warrant Officer Molapo, he added, was an accessory after the fact as his "conduct shows clearly" he was trying to avoid the truth about Mr Nchabeleng's death being revealed in the course of his investigation.

Mr J H Wessels, for the Lebowa Minister of Law and Order, submitted that only those who participated in the assault or who had been shown in court to have witnessed it could be held responsible.

taxes.

Government spending is dis- of responsible local authorities and a free economy. Saxonwold

Indaba: Indians were interested

I am at a loss as to why Professor Karl Magyar responded as he did to my article on Indian support for the Indaba (The Star, August 11). I can only conclude that he either missed the whole point of my article, or he is deliberately attempting to sow seeds of mistrust and suspicion between the blacks of KwaZulu-Natal and the Indian community.

For Professor Magyar's information, my article sought to challenge the assumption that the Indian community was apathetic towards the Indaba. It is in that context that I stated an obvious fact, namely, that the Indian community was the only group that was fully represented in the Indaba, both by their political parties and cultural organisations.

Professor Magyar tries to drag me into a debate about the magnitude of the support that the NPP and Solidarity enjoy as Indian political parties. I am not interested in that kind of debate. The point I was making is that these are Indian political parties and they were represented in the Indaba. Professor Magyar also conveniently omits to mention that these were not the only Indian organisations represented in the Indaba. I said that both the Islamic Council of South Africa and the SA Hindu Maha Sabha were represented. Will Professor Magyar claim that these two Indian cultural organisations also do not enjoy support from the Indian community?

I do not understand why the professor finds my description of the Natal Indian Congress as a "notable absentee" at the Indaba, and my observation that this party kept itself "fully informed of the proceedings." He complains that I did not mention why the NIC kept itself fully informed. Yet the purpose of my article was to show that there was keen interest in the Indaba from all sectors of the Indian community, for whatever reason.

The role of the UDF and the National Party in the Indaba was irrelevant to the purpose of my article. I was addressing myself to the specific question of alleged Indian apathy towards the Indaba, and unlike Professor Magyar, I do not regard the UDF and the National Party as Indian organisations.

It is true that both myself, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and many other black leaders in South Africa — including UDF leaders — warned that through the tricameral parliament, the National Party was trying to enlist Indian and coloured fellow citizens as co-oppressors of blacks. I do not understand why Professor Magyar feels that this warning was uncalled for. In fact, he admits that the warning did work because he claims that only 15 percent of Indian voters voted for Solidarity and the NPP. Was Chief Buthelezi wrong in warning that the tricameral parliament was a recipe for violence? Have we not had continuous violence in South Africa since the establishment of the tricameral parliament?

If Professor Magyar's mentioning of the Indo-black violence in Inanda in 1985 is an attempt to blame Inkatha, then he does not understand what exactly happened during that violence. Inkatha was the only black organisation in Natal which took the trouble to call a big Indo-black rally in Inanda to pacify the warring factions.

Dr O D Dhlomo
Secretary-General
Inkatha

Ulundi

KWAZULU-NATAL

All Natal's a stage

A third cryptic figure, the "JEA," has emerged on Natal's crowded political stage.

Most of the action remains offstage, however, and the powerplay in the province is unscripted. Natalians are thus having trouble distinguishing one player from the next.

Unique to Natal, the JEA or Joint Executive Authority has the advantage of substance. It is a statutory body (*Current Affairs* August 14) established by the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act, No 80 of 1986, promulgated in the (white) parliament on September 3 1986.

By contrast, so far both the Indaba, and, uniquely in the case of Durban, the RSC, enjoy theoretical status only.

Countrywide, RSCs, or regional services councils, have statutory foundation. Several have been established. Ironically, though Durban pioneered third-tier regionalisation of services — as the province did with the JEA — the proposed RSC there is checkmated by KwaZulu's opposition (*FM* July 3). To the chagrin of its backers, the Indaba is similarly stalemated.

Last September the JEA's non-statutory precursor, the Strategic Policy Group (SPG), began negotiating rules of procedure. These were gazetted on August 7. The JEA will hold its first meeting in October. Its seat, and a small secretariat, will be in the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) regional office in Mayville, Durban.

As with the SPG, established in October 1984, the JEA will have equal representation from KwaZulu and Natal. NPA's nominated five-man executive will represent it.

They are: Val Volker, former MP (NP, Klipriver) and now MEC responsible for roads and hospitals; Peter Miller, former MPC (NRP, South Coast) and now MEC for local government; and newcomers Abdul Joosub, former MP (NPP, Brickfield),

Dhlomo ... no more prescriptions

Shunmoogan Naidoo, a retired headmaster nominated to represent the NPP, and Clyde Pearce, former President's Councillor for the Labour Party.

KwaZulu has yet to appoint representatives, who will be five Cabinet ministers.

A feature of Exco's representation is that since the dissolution of provincial councils in July 1986, members are no longer elected but nominated by the State President.

The new dispensation has widened Excos' executive authority, but placed legislative control in the hands of provincial standing committees of parliament. This link with the tricameral system concerns KwaZulu. It was a mistake to abolish provincial councils, says Minister of Education Oscar Dhlomo.

What is the mission of the JEA? Miller says it is to "promote regional co-operation and the co-ordination of functions currently carried out by either the NPA or KwaZulu government, or both."

Functions would include health services, roads, physical planning, conservation, and shark protection. Notably absent are such matters as education and, of course, drafting a joint capital budget for a united Natal.

The JEA is thus essentially an executive debating chamber. Either of its racially-divided constituent bodies, the NPA or KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, may limit what may be discussed and veto any joint recommendations that require changes to legislation. It is not empowered to make laws. And, most importantly, it has no fiscal authority. Decisions with budgetary implications will still have to be approved independently in Ulundi and Maritzburg.

KwaZulu's criticism of the JEA is that it has no legislative power, is racially based, unrepresentative of the whole population of the province — since KwaZulu does not represent blacks in "white" areas who are also not represented by Exco — and will be responsible to two autonomous authorities.

As a quid pro quo for participating, KwaZulu expects progress towards implementing the Indaba, which, says Dhlomo, is a "natural evolution." Failing this, its representatives will withdraw from an "irrelevant" JEA.

KwaZulu's objection to the RSC runs far deeper. Most importantly, says Dhlomo, KwaZulu was not consulted. "The politics of prescription are past. On a point of principle we cannot allow it."

In addition RSCs represent an extension of the tricameral parliamentary system, perpetuate ethnicity in local authorities, and entrench economic apartheid, adds Dhlomo. While KwaZulu is willing to negotiate the "whole concept of third-tier government," RSCs as constituted will not be on the agenda, emphasises Dhlomo.

The deadlock has left the proposed RSC for greater Durban in political limbo. Miller disconsolately admits that the rest of the area may have to "go it alone."

This could be calamitous, widening the gulf between Third and First World economies in what Gerry Adlard, MD of Urban Foundation housing company Innova, calls Durban's "Greater Functional Region" (GFR).

The GFR's shackland is larger than the city itself, sprawling in a 50 km radius around Durban's formal limits and housing 1,5m people, mostly in KwaZulu territory. Servicing an estimated 15 000 sites would cost upwards of R450m, points out Adlard. ■

Kwanatal indaba — Govt talks start again

ARGUS 8/9/87 11B

Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and Kwazulu over the Natal/Kwazulu indaba have made a tentative start after months of delay and conflicting response.

The breakthrough was announced by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, general-secretary of Inkatha, at a dinner for political journalists in Cape Town last night.

But Dr Dhlomo said Kwazulu and Inkatha were not prepared to be the sole negotiators. The Government had to negotiate with the indaba itself.

He said they were not prepared to hold a whole new indaba, but would insist rather on negotiating specific points.

"Brief" response

Dr Dhlomo warned that the Kwazulu Government would pull out of the newly established Joint Executive Authority if progress was not made towards a single legislature for Kwazulu and Natal.

He said the Government had been informed recently that both the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha had accepted the indaba proposals in principle and wanted a Government response.

"A response has been received. It is brief," said Dr Dhlomo, who was not aware of the details as it had been recieved in his absence.

Government sources today indicated that the reponse was more "an acknowledgement" and an opening for proper negotiations to get underway.

In negotiations with the Government, Dr Dhlomo said the indaba would be seeking as a "first prize" a Government sponsored referendum. He felt this should be organised prior to proper negotiations as it would provide a sound base for the negotiations.

Developments

If a referedum was not held the indaba would organise a major opinion survey.

Dr Dhlomo also revealed a number of other political developments in Natal/Kwazulu:

Mr Tony Langley, Opposition foreign affairs, said the ex-de Jonge for Major Wynand du "good riddance to bad rubbish".

South Africa was strategically e West, especially in the light of e Persian Gulf.

a matter of blackmail, but as a pect and pride, South Africa wn that it will no longer tolera-

INDABA: Road open for talks

FOCUS

By BRUCE CAMERON

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and KwaZulu over the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba have made a start after months of delay and conflicting responses.

The breakthrough was announced by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, general secretary of Inkatha, at a dinner here for political journalists.

But Dr Dhlomo said KwaZulu and Inkatha were not prepared to be the sole negotiators. The Government had to negotiate with the Indaba itself.

He was not prepared to hold a whole new Indaba but would negotiate specific points.

And he warned that if progress was not made towards a single legislature for KwaZulu and Natal the KwaZulu Government would pull out of the newly established Joint Executive Authority.

Dr Dhlomo said the Government had been informed recently that both the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha had accepted the Indaba proposals in principle and wanted a Government response.

CHIEF Buthelezi . . . Inkatha boss.

PRESIDENT Botha.

"A response has been received. It is brief."

Dr Dhlomo said he was not aware of the details as it had been received in his absence.

Government sources, however, indicated yesterday that the response was more an acknowledgement and an opening for proper negotiations to get under way.

In negotiations with the Government Dr Dhlomo said the Indaba would be seeking as a first prize a Government-sponsored referendum.

He felt this should be organised prior to proper negotiations as it would provide a sound base for the negotiations.

If a referendum was not held the Indaba would organise a major opinion survey.

Dr Dhlomo also revealed a number of other political developments in Natal/KwaZulu. These were:

- Inkatha was still speaking to the African National Congress (ANC) despite major differences between the two.

He had personally discussed the proposals with the ANC, which had not been properly briefed.

However recent statements by the ANC and SA Communist Party that a black majority government was the aim of the organisations with guarantees for minorities did not differ much from the proposals.

He also claimed that Inkatha, which had sprung from the ANC, would revert to being the ANC in a post-apartheid society and would challenge the national leadership.

However he said a major difference between the Indaba and the Freedom Charter supported by the ANC was economics with one supporting free enterprise and the other socialism.

- Inkatha was prepared to negotiate on regional issues such as the Indaba but until its demands were met for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations and the lifting of the state of emergency it would not join the National Council.

Inkatha had been involved in negotiations on President Botha's recent announcement that the release of political prisoners was no longer tied solely to the renouncement of violence.

This was a step but he awaited developments

- Inkatha was speaking to the United Democratic Front about violence in Natal townships and was hopeful that the position could be resolved.

He had spoken to UDF president Archie Gumede but the position was being complicated by the structure of the UDF which was an "amorphous and incoherent organisation".

- A power-sharing government between the Afrikaner and the Zulu had been suggested by Afrikaners but this was not acceptable to Inkatha.

DR OSCAR Dhlomo . . . announced breakthrough.

Cape Times 15/9/87

Buthelezi call for new talks

11B

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday told black sugar workers on the North Coast he was demanding further talks with the South African government about the constitutional proposals of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Speaking to the workers after touring the giant Felixton sugar mill, he said he was relying on the "peasants and the workers" for their support.

Chief Buthelezi said he recognized there was only one South Africa and there should only be one sovereign Parliament.

"At the regional level I demand the full right of blacks to have a say in first- and second-tier levels of government."

● The Inkatha president has also been lobbying Commonwealth and Non-Aligned states and urging that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) should be reconstituted, Sapa reports from London.

W/Mail 11-17/9/87

Face-to-face on violence: Inkatha, UDF

THE president of the United Democratic Front, Archie Gumede, and Inkatha's general secretary, Oscar Dhlomo, have been organising peace talks in the violence-torn township of Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale, Dhlomo disclosed in Cape Town this week.

The issue of talks at a wider level is, however, still being canvassed among affiliates of the Front, according to Gumede.

He said he was recently approached by youth and other residents of the township where 16 people have died since February in fighting between Inkatha supporters and backers of the UDF or its affiliates.

"We must stop the killing," Dlomo said at a press briefing organised by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

A proposed plan had been submitted to the UDF who would "come back to us".

Asked if he thought the UDF and Inkatha would agree on a plan, Dhlomo replied: "I think we will." However, he also said the UDF was "unwilling to talk".

Gumede said several young people from the township came to see him with claims that there were plans for the systematic burning down of "UDF houses".

He phoned Dhlomo last week about the violence and a meeting had been arranged where he (Dhlomo) thought members of the Hammarsdale Youth Congress would be present, but only two young people, who were not even from Hayco, came to the meeting, according to the Inkatha man.

But Gumede said Dhlomo spoke to the youths while they were still at the Gumede home.

One attempt since then to hold "truce talks" came to nothing as there had not been enough time to organise the discussions, but Gumede is adamant they will go ahead as soon as he has been able to make the necessary arrangements.

The planned talks would only work if Dhlomo came himself "or sent someone senior enough to influence the local Inkatha people".

There has as yet been no comment on Gumede's proposed talks from any UDF affiliate or executive member.

Dhlomo said he had been in touch with the African National Congress, in spite of major differences, about the Indaba constitutional proposals but "we haven't had any positive response".

One way to break stalemate in SA

CAPE TIMES 17/9/87 (116)

By MANGOSUTHO BUTHELEZI
(kwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha)

ARMED revolution attacks the South African Government where it is strongest.

There is as yet no justification whatsover to believe that either the Government or the ANC mission-in-exile is reaching a breaking point where one or the other will have to sue for peace.

The armed conflict as we have known it can stretch into the indefinite future.

There is no liberated zone inside South Africa. There are no neighbouring states where revolutionaries can mass their strength and which can be used as springboards for attacks against South Africa.

The logistics of the armed struggle are prohibitive as far as revolutionaries are concerned. The movement of arms and men and the accumulative victories an armed struggle must have before they can even hope to succeed are just out of reach of the ANC. You can be quite sure that nothing has been left undone which could have been done to strengthen the armed struggle.

It sobers me to think that after a quarter of a century of trying to bring about the eradication of apartheid through the armed struggle the South African Government is, militarily speaking, stronger than ever. It controls the whole of southern Africa and reduces those involved in the armed struggle to indulge in hit-and-run tactics which gain no physical ground and bring no accumulative victories. After 25 years of endeavour every bridge in the country is still intact. Every railway route is still intact. Every system of electricity and water supply is intact and there is not one single factory out of production because of revolutionary activity.

The classical circumstances in which armed struggles win the day include a divided army and security service, a divided civil service and a massive support system on the ground for revolutionary activity. These are just not present in South Africa.

The South African government in turn can make no real headway against revolutionaries: if they could have done more to defuse the revolutionary climate they would have done more. It is still there ...

There will be no economic recovery unless the confidence factor again plays its definitive role. There will be no return of confidence in a situation in which there is only the prospect of the equilibrium between apartheid and the violence it solicits being raised to ever higher levels.

Each outburst of violence produces its new equilibrium of force and counter-force and each outburst of violence lays the foundation for a greater outburst of violence the next time around. This upward spiralling of violence could stretch into the distant future. We now need real reform to defuse the violent situation.

There is in many quarters abroad the fear that all that will happen is that the South African Government will invent one new version of apartheid after another. This it cannot do. We have reached the critical point in the history of South Africa where for the first time the economic interdependence of Whites is being translated into political interdependence.

It is just not sufficiently recognized that the State President can in all reality not move anywhere without Black support. Were this not the case he would not at last have resorted to conceiving the National Council which is now in the process of being put on to the Statute Books.

The most cynical of Western observers must surely by now be able to see that there will be no reform without Black involvement in it and that the South African Government has at last recognized this to be a fact of life.

Chief Buthelezi

While the State President stops short of creating the council in such a way that it is a real meeting place for Black and White, it will not be an instrument of really meaningful reform.

Black democracy must be unshackled before Blacks can be involved in the final negotiations about the future constitution of South Africa. Dr Nelson Mandela, Mr Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners must be released and there must be freedom of movement, of political association and of speech so that Black leaders who participate in the Council can sell to the masses that which is negotiated there.

Until the political circumstances of South Africa are re-orientated towards this end, I for one will not find it possible to negotiate in the Council.

I do not stand alone in this rejection of tokenistic [illegible] constitutional negotiation ...

The South African Government cannot successfully entrench a new version of apartheid for South Africa. There is hope that comes from the reality that the guts of politics in South Africa is about giving constitutionalized recognition to the political interdependence of Black and White which flows from economic interdependence.

The translation of economic interdependence into political interdependence provides the only real hope of making fundamental changes in South Africa relevant to the needs of the majority of the country's population.

After political victories, we have to achieve victories against poverty, ignorance and disease.

And we will never succeed in doing so unless we leave a government of the future in a post-apartheid South Africa with some prospects of raising the standards of living of the masses.

We just dare not destroy the basis of economic growth in South Africa. If we do so, spreading poverty will become the final enemy of democracy as it does everywhere where mass poverty robs people of hope.

[This is an extract of a statement made by Chief Buthelezi at Ulundi this week in a meeting with visitors from Germany.]

Majority says Govt should hold referendum on Indaba — survey

(118) STAR By Martin Challenor 17/9/87

Two out of every three people canvassed on the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba feel the Government should agree to a referendum on whether or not the plan be implemented.

This is one of the findings of a Markinor survey on behalf of the Indaba of 798 white adults in urban and rural parts of Natal in May and June.

About 67percent felt the Government should allow a referendum among all race groups in Natal to decide on implementing the Indaba plan, while 17percent disagreed.

The survey found that 89percent had heard of the proposals. Some 60percent felt they were either "a very good idea" or "quite a good idea" while 17percent believed they were "not a good idea" or rejected them. The rest were undecided.

A breakdown of respondents into voting habits showed that 42 percent of people who voted for the National Party in the election and who had heard of the Indaba, backed the proposals, 28 percent were opposed and 30 percent undecided.

Other findings were:

- 76 percent believed the people of Natal "should be allowed to decide how their province is going to be governed", 16 percent disagreed.
- 63 percent felt implenting the proposals would improve race relations, 19 percent disagreed.
- 62 percent felt that "a good thing about the Indaba is that it involves Chief Buthelezi in the government of kwaZulu and Natal", and 17 percent disagreed.
- 61 percent felt the Indaba proposals could serve as a good example to South Africa, 21 percent disagreed.
- 59 percent said implementing the proposals would lead to greater peace and stability in kwaZulu/Natal, 23 percent disagreed.
- 55 percent felt the proposal to get rid of the Group Areas Act in kwaZulu and Natal was a good thing, 30 percent disagreed.
- 50 percent felt the proposed Bill of Rights would "strongly contribute to protect the rights of individuals and groups", 21 percent disagreed.

Three out of four people had not changed their attitude towards the Indaba in the wake of the election. While 12 percent had become more favourable, the same portion had become less favourable, the survey found.

Cape Times 15/9/87

Buthelezi call for new talks

113

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday told black sugar workers on the North Coast he was demanding further talks with the South African government about the constitutional proposals of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Speaking to the workers after touring the giant Felixton sugar mill, he said he was relying on the "peasants and the workers" for their support.

Chief Buthelezi said he recognized there was only one South Africa and there should only be one sovereign Parliament.

"At the regional level I demand the full right of blacks to have a say in first- and second-tier levels of government."

● The Inkatha president has also been lobbying Commonwealth and Non-Aligned states and urging that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) should be reconstituted, Sapa reports from London.

20/9/87 C/Press (1B)

Nats support Indaba – survey

FAR more National Party supporters in Natal support the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals than oppose them, a survey conducted by a leading market research organisation has claimed.

The Markinor Survey, conducted on behalf of the Indaba, sampled opinions of white adults in both urban and rural areas throughout Natal.

It canvassed a "statistically representative sample" of 798 respondents, and corroborated results of a larger pre-election (May 6) survey of 1 200 whites.

The latest survey disclosed that 89 percent of the people canvassed had heard of the Indaba proposals, and that 60 percent of these felt the proposals were "a good idea".

Of the remainder, 17 percent believed the proposals were "not a good idea", and 23 percent were undecided.

The post-election survey, conducted in May and June, also showed an increased awareness of the indaba, with 89 percent having heard of the proposals, compared with 81 percent at the time of the March survey.

Other major points to emerge from the survey's findings included:

- 76 percent of respondents believed that the people of Natal "should be allowed to decide how their province should be governed", with 16 percent disagreeing.
- 67 percent felt the government "should agree to a referendum amonong all race groups in Natal to decide whether or not indaba recommendations should be implemented", with 17 percent disagreeing.
- 63 percent felt the implementation of the proposals would improve race relations, with 10 percent disagreeing.
- 59 percent felt the implementation of the Indaba proposals "would lead to greater peace and stability in Kwazulu/Natal", while 23 percent disagreed.
- 50 percent felt that Indaba's proposed bill of rights would "strongly contribute to protecting the rights of individuals and groups". Thirty percent disagreed.
- 55 percent felt the proposals to get rid of the Group Areas Act in Kwazulu-Natal "is a good thing", with 30 percent disagreeing.
- 62 percent felt that "a good thing about the Indaba is that it involves Chief Buthelezi in the government of KwaZulu and Natal", with 17 percent disagreeing.

"The survey findings bear out those of its predecessor in March, which so accurately predicted the result of the May election," said Prof Dawid van Wyk, executive director of the Indaba.

"What is particularly heartening is the confirmation that we have retained support across the political spectrum.

Van Wyk added: "This bears out our long-standing contention that the Indaba proposals transcend party political lines and affiliations.

"The findings underline the fact that the swing of support towards the National Party did not represent a swing away from the Indaba. They also clearly show that the so-called swing to the right by white voters has been grossly exaggerated," he said.

The latest findings showed, as far as National Party supporters went, that 42 percent who were undecided on the Indaba, while 27,9 percent either rejected the proposals or did not think them a good idea.

NP supporters who answered "Yes" or "somewhat agreed" to the question: "Do you believe the bill of rights would strongly contribute to protecting the rights of individuals and groups", was 40,4 percent.

There were 38,8 percent "Yes" votes, while 16,9 precent were undecided or did not agree, and 44,2 percent that "somewhat or totally disagreed" with the question: "Would the termination of a Group Areas Act in Natal/Kwazulu be regarded as a good thing".

Sixty-five point seven percent of NP supporters answered "Yes" to: "Should the people of Natal be allowed to decide how their province is to be governed".

The vast majority of PFP and NRP supporters supported all questions siding with the Indaba proposals.

HNP and CP supporters remain strongly opposed to all indaba proposals.

Only 13,7 percent of them were, in any degree, in favour of the removal of the Group Areas Act, 72 percent opposed it, with 14,2 percent undecided.

The Bill of Rights question saw 54,5 percent of the two right-wing party supporters against it, with 28,7 favouring it in varying degrees.

Reaction by HNP/CP supporters canvassed to: "Should Natal be allowed to decide how their province should be governed" was 60,2 percent totally or somewhat against, 9,4 percent "don't knows" and 30,3 percent disagreeing. – Sapa

(3) The power vests in the Administrator who is not in favour of such a neutral commitee. It will have a negative effect on the autonomy of the Town Committee.

(4) Yes.

(a) (i) 4 140

(ii) 700

(b) As result of the recent floods.

(5) This is a matter on which the Town Committee still has to decide.

Detainees

*19. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether his Department keeps statistics on persons detained in the national states in terms of the (a) Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, and (b) emergency regulations; if not, why not; if so, (i) how many persons had been detained in each national state from 12 June 1986 as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (ii) in terms of what statutory provision was each person detained;

(2) whether the lists of persons detained in terms of the emergency regulations for periods of longer than 30 days that were tabled in Parliament in terms of section 3 (4) of the Public Safety Act, No 3 of 1953, included the names of persons detained in the national states; if not, (a) why not and (b) (i) how many persons had been detained in the national states under emergency regulations for periods of longer than 30 days and (ii) for how many days had each person been detained?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER (Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

(1) (a) Yes.

(i) No persons.

(ii) Falls away.

(b) Yes.

(i) Complete lists of names of persons are tabled regularly in terms of section 3 (4) of the Public Safety Act, 1953 and include the names of persons detained in the national states.

(ii) In terms of the emergency regulations issued by virtue of Section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953.

(2) Yes, (a) and (b) Fall away.

Jan Smuts Airport: AWB supporters

*20. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

With reference to his reply to Question No 14, standing over, on 18 August 1987, at what time did (a) the group of AWB supporters assemble at Jan Smuts Airport on 21 July 1987, (b) the South African Police issue a warning to this group to disperse and (c) this group finally disperse?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(a) Because persons entered the airport building as individuals and not in identifiable groups, it is not possible to say at exactly what time supporters of leftist and rightist organisations assembled as identifiable groups.

(b) When leftist and rightist groups were, for the first time, at about 10h35 identified as groups with a common goal, a warning to disperse was addressed to them inside the airport building.

This warning was repeated at about 10h45 outside the airport building after which the groups dispersed.

(c) At about 11h05 the groups finally dispersed.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply and bearing in mind that in reply to a previous question that I asked, it was stated that the group of AWB supporters had in fact dispersed within a short period of time after they had been given a warning, may I ask

whether the hon the Minister does not think the police were extremely dilatory in giving that warning? In fact, the group was present in large numbers with the previously advised intention of meeting the group returning from Dakar . . .

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member is now making a statement.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Well, Sir, may I then ask whether he does not think that the police were very dilatory in not giving the order to disperse earlier, so much so that the leader of the AWB was even able to make a speech?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I will not pass judgment on the actions of the police, but to say that they achieved the intended results without any bloodshed or severe conflict taking place. This is proof of outstanding performance of duty.

Wavecrest township development project

*21. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 5 on 1 September 1987, a minority report was submitted by any member or members of the committee of inquiry into the Wavecrest township development project; if so,

(2) whether this minority report has been released; if so, when; if not, why not;

(3) whether he intends releasing this report; if not, why not; if so, when will it be released?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

(1) Yes.

(2) The recommendations contained in the minority report were tabled in the Provincial Council on 25 February 1974 for general information.

(3) Falls away.

Deputy directors of education

*22. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services:

(1) Whether the Commission for Administration has carried out any inquiry into the (a) number, and (b) scope of work, of the deputy directors of education in the provincial education departments and/or the central department of the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly; if so, (i) when was this inquiry carried out, (ii) when did the Commission report on this matter and (iii) what were the findings of the inquiry;

(2) whether any movement of staff has occurred or will be brought about as a result of the inquiry into the posts of deputy director in the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly; if not; why not; if so, (a) what movements have occurred or may occur and (b) when did these movements occur or are they to occur;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES:

(1) (a) and (b)— in respect of the provincial departments of education—No.

— in respect of the Department of Education and Culture: Administration House of Assembly—Yes.

(i) October/November 1986.

(ii) February 1987.

(iii) That the management echelon of the Department of Education and Culture: Administration House of Assembly be strengthened with three posts of Chief Director (Deputy Director

Funds monitored

27/9/87

CP Correspondent

IN the wake of growing concern at the misuse of South African funds in the homelands, come the news that Joint Financial Adjustment Committees have been set up between South Africa and each of the TBVC states – Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Apparently the JFAC's have been functioning since last year, but their existence only become public this week when the bank released a statement about the matter.

The four committees are all chaired by Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

"The JFAC's will construct multi-year adjustment programs to reinstate sound financial management and improving effective income and expenditure principles," said a spokesperson for the bank, Frans Van Rensburg.

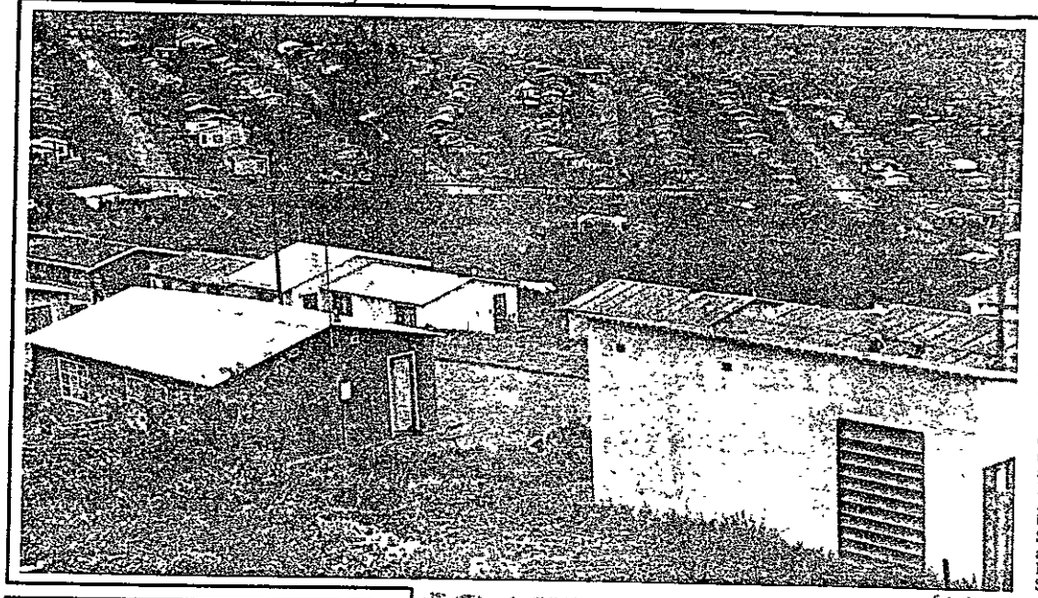
The individual committes consists of representatives of the various governments, as well as representatives of the South African Departments of Foreign Affairs and Finance.

Criticism of misuse of South African money in the four homelands has been growing steadily.

Last week, Conservative Party finance spokesman Cas Uys called for an inquiry into the matter. He referred to reports that the TBVC states had received R2 272 million in direct aid over the past two years.

In the Transkei, two commissions of inquiry have been investigating the misuse of public funds by government departments.

Estimates in some reports put losses as high as R120-million. – Elnews



Special report: S'BU MNGADI

Township terrorised by a spate of killings

THE KwaZulu township of Mpumalanga at Hammarsdale, dubbed "the killing fields" because of the current strife, lies 50km west of Durban

It is administered by a town council whose members were all elected on an Inkatha ticket and are mainly of business people

Its population of about 70 000 people live in some 8 700 houses – both formal and informal The township was established to accommodate workers employed in the neighbouring Hammarsdale, which was being developed by the Industrial Development Corporation as a growth point in the late 60's.

There is a lack in education and health facilities in the township No new houses have been built to accommodate the influx of people from nearby trial areas of Gwala and Mabhela. The rate of unemployment is also said to be high since the IDC stopped the incentives for industries to move into Hammarsdale

In the late seventies, organisation in the township consisted of Inkatha and the conservative Mpumalanga Residents Association founded by businesseman, Rodgers Sishi, after his expulsion as the manager of the National Professional Soccer League in 1975

Mpura's activities included organising functions for graduates in the area and tours for the youth during school vacations

In the same year, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, for Mpumulanga, was involved in a confrontation with Inkatha after launching his Inala Party which was to oppose Inkatha in the elections.

Maphumulo steadfastly refused to apologise to the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha. He defiantly continued to represent Mpumalanga constituency in the KLA until his expulsion in 1978

In 1983, Maphumulo was assaulted by Inkatha supporters outside the KLA for refusing to join Inkatha He said that, while Inkatha was non-violent when faced by a powerful government, it members were violent towards its black opponents

He further claimed that Simon Conco, former KLA chief whip and Uwusa general secretary, and other senior Inkatha leaders had tried to force his people to join Inkatha.

In 1977, Mpura was involved in a serious confrontation with Inkatha, when some Mpura members expressed opposition to Inkatha

In 1978, resentment of the KwaZulu government was taking root in Mpumalanga following rent increases. Rentals before KwaZulu took over the administration of the township had been R6,40 When the homeland took over reigns rentals increased to R11,04 a month

Some "progressive" residents had involved themselves in Mpura in the hope that it might take a clear political stand However, the leadership of Mpura maintained its membership of Inkatha and refused to take any political stand

Even during the 1979 bus boycott, which had the majority support of the community, MPURA did not take a stand.

The boycott was initiated by workers following fare increases Senior In-

reinstatement of a colleague fired two months earlier.

The striking workers were attacked by 40 riot squad policemen who fired teargas canisters at them. Some 555 workers were arrested and charged under the Riotious Assemblies Act.

Another scene of political activity in the township has been the Mpumalanga College of Education, where militant student activities date back to 1983 when students stoned riot police.

The divisions within community of Mpumalanga burst into the open with the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983.

During a UDF rally at Glazier Hall in the same year, vigilantes disrupted the meeting. A bus was burned and several cars belonging to UDF members and supporters were stoned

With the tide of political mobilation sweeping through Natal following

award winning play *Asinamali*, written and directed by Mbongeni Ngema to perform in the township.

The play takes its title from the cry against rent increases, made popular in the fifties and used by Lamontville, Chesterville and Hambanathi residents during their struggles against rent increase in 1983.

After their performance at Glazier Hall, the cast of Asinamali was attacked resulting to the death of Durban showbiz impressario, Jeffrey Shongwe, and several members of the cast were injured .

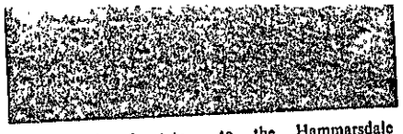
After the incident Mpuyo members claimed to have received verbal threats from Inkatha members, resulting in them leaving the township in fear of their lives.

There was a lull in the activities of Mpuyo until December 1985 when concerned members to the Hammarsdale Youth Congress to accomodate all areas under the Hammarsdale magisterial district. The late Vusi Maduna, a former Inkatha Youth Brigade's local treasurer, was elected its president

As Hayco's popularity spread in the area, tensions with Inkatha also increased Inkatha Youth Brigade members left in their large numbers to join Hayco, now led by their former leader According to Maduna, almost 60 percent of the present Hayco members were former Inkatha Youth Brigade members

Some schools were burnt in the early part of 1986. Hayco members were blamed Several Hayco members were harassed by vigilantes. Among the victims were Mmashu Mbatha, who was abducted from his house in February this year and found dead in a water-storm drain.

# of Killings



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Even during the 1979 bus boycott, which had the majority support of the community, MPURA did not take a stand.

The boycott was initiated by workers following fare increases. Senior Inkatha officials also did not take any stand on the boycott, mostly because the company involved was partly owned by the Kwazulu government.

Trade union activity, especially under the Federation of SA Trade Unions (now part of Cosatu), increased considerably during the late seventies and early eighties in Hammarsdale.

In August 1979 some 400 workers at the Hammersdale headquarters of Rainbow Chickens downed tools in support of their demand for the reinstatement of a colleague fired two months earlier.

The striking workers were attacked by 40 riot squad policemen who fired teargas canisters at them. Some 555 workers were arrested and charged under the Riotious Assemblies Act

Another scene of political activity in the township has been the Mpumalanga College of Education, where militant student activities date back to 1983 when students stoned riot police.

The divisions within community of Mpumalanga burst into the open with the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983.

During a UDF rally at Glazier Hall in the same year, vigilantes disrupted the meeting A bus was burned and several cars belonging to UDF members and supporters were stoned.

With the tide of political mobilation sweeping through Natal following the launch of the UDF, the youth in Mpumalanga formed the Mpumalanga Youth Organisation in 1984. From its inception Mpuyo received threats.

Some time in 1984, Mpura held confidential talks with the UDF leadership in a bid to affiliate to the front. Since then nothing has been heard of Mpura.

Tensions between members of Mpuyo and Inkatha supporters reached a peak in mid 1985, when Mpuyo invited the cast of the multi-award winning play *Asinamali*, written and directed by Mbongeni Ngema to perform in the township

The play takes its title from the cry against rent increases, made popular in the fifties and used by Lamontville, Chesterville and Hambanathi residents during their struggles against rent increase in 1983.

After their performance at Glazier Hall, the cast of Asinamali was attacked resulting to the death of Durban showbiz impressario, Jeffrey Shongwe, and several members of the cast were injured .

After the incident Mpuyo members claimed to have received verbal threats from Inkatha members, resulting in them leaving the township in fear of their lives.

There was a lull in the activities of Mpuyo until December 1985 when concerned members came together and decided to amend the contitution to include a clause about education. The amended constitution called for "a single, democratic and free education system".

The amended constitution gave Mpuyo a wide scope of operation. During the first four weeks of 1986 academic year, some 200 students enlisted as its members. Its popularity spread to areas outside the township.

In March last year Mpuyo changed it name to the Hammarsdale Youth Congress to accomodate all areas under the Hammarsdale magisterial district. The late Vusi Maduna, a former Inkatha Youth Brigade's local treasurer, was elected its president.

As Hayco's popularity spread in the area, tensions with Inkatha also increased. Inkatha Youth Brigade members left in their large numbers to join Hayco, now led by their former leader. According to Maduna, almost 60 percent of the present Hayco members were former Inkatha Youth Brigade members.

Some schools were burnt in the early part of 1986, Hayco members were blamed. Several Hayco members were harassed by vigilantes. Among the victims were Mmashu Mbatha, who was abducted from his house in February this year and found dead in a water-storm drain.

Scores of people have been killed since then, with most victims having had links with Hayco.

Locals blame a group of vigilantes they call "Otheleweni", after their war cry, for the murders.

Eyewitnesses claim attackers were seen wearing T-shirts with "Mateleng/Mandleni camp" written across them. This camp was established by Inkatha.

After the death of the Sithembiso Mngadi, killed this year in front of his comrades on the way from a street committee meeting, Hayco executive committee received an anonymous letter threatening that more and more Hayco members would be killed.

Hayco dismissed the letter as a "hoax" But a week later, three of its members were abducted and killed.

Following the killings, scores of Hayco activists left the township to seek refuge in neighbouring areas and Durban townships.

The Hammarsdale killings took a dramatic turn on March 14 when Maduna, Hayco president, was killed in Clermont by a group of about 40 people.

Reports alleged that he had been killed by "comrades" who suspected him of being a police informer. But Hayco and UDF blamed agents provocateur for the killings.

When students reopened for the second quarter in July, anti-Hayco attacks resumed, and over 12 people have been killed since then.

Inkatha Youth Brigades' National Secretary, Nkehli, said that he could not deny that his organisation's members were involved in the attacks of Hayco members, "but the question remains whether they did that as Inkatha members or individuals".

Nkehli, whose yellow Ford Cortina is said to be the notorious feature of the vigilantes, also admitted that the killings were as a result of a "misunderstanding".

A fortnight ago, UDF co-president Archie Gumede and Inkatha general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, held the first round of talks in an attempt to diffuse the strife.

In the meantime the killings continue.

Child refugees from the Pietermaritzburg violence find a place to sleep on the floor of a Durban church
Picture: BILLY PADDOCK

No Natal peace until detainees freed, says UDF

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

UNITED Democratic Front leaders in Pietermaritzburg say they cannot hold out any promise of an end to the violence in the local townships until their detained members are released.

However, AS Chetty, who chairs the Natal Midlands branch of the UDF, said it was possible that "ripple effects" of this week's initial talks between Inkatha/United Workers' Union of South Africa and the UDF/Congress of South African Trade Unions could filter down and help calm tempers in the townships.

Chetty said their detained members were key figures in the townships.

"At the meeting we, jointly with Inkatha, made a very heavy demand that these members be released."

Chetty was one of a group of local leaders whose organisations are involved in the violence. Their first round of talks this week was chaired by officials of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

Following the meeting, an official statement was released by the chamber, as all parties had agreed not to make independent statements.

Chamber officials said the parties had agreed to a joint call for the release from detention of members of the organisations which are party to the talks.

They also agreed with the principle that the groups should be able to meet their constituencies without interference from the security forces.

All involved endorsed the "principles of freedom of expression" and agreed to take disciplinary action against members who violated this.

While there were issues on which agreement was not reached, Chamber officials said they were optimistic about the progress that was made and a date has been set for the next talks.

However, in spite of this optimism, the violence and killings have continued, with official reports of four deaths since Tuesday.

Youths are still living in church and community halls in and around Durban after fleeing their homes earlier this month to escape the violence.

At one stage there were over 120 youngsters — some of them only 11 — who fled their homes, saying they feared for their lives because of threats by Inkatha.

W/Mail (1B) 27/11–3/12/87

(118) (SM 2/12/87)

Buthelezi accepts mayor's explanation

Tough talks during Maritzburg meeting

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Maritzburg will remain the capital city of a future united Natal/kwaZulu and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi may tour the city's troubled townships next year.

This emerged at a meeting yesterday between Chief Buthelezi and the Maritzburg city council.

Chief Buthelezi told the meeting he had been upset by a report in *The Weekly Mail* which quoted the mayor, Mr Mark Cornell, as saying: "If Inkatha had wanted to make friends, they should have gone and helped the people instead of going and saying to them at three o'clock in the morning — sign this card or I'll kill you if you don't."

Mr Cornell yesterday said: "I don't read *The Weekly Mail* and so had never read the story. The only thing I could think of was that at a United Democratic Front report back on unrest in the city — which I was told would be behind closed doors — I had condemned anybody, and not necessarily Inkatha, for taking advantage of destitute people. The next minute the international press were there and I believe the whole thing was orchestrated.

"I pointed out that Maritzburg was an enlightened council. We are the only council to have signed the Indaba proposals and we have also voted for a non-racial council for the city."

Mr Cornell said Chief Buthelezi had accepted his explanation.

The mayor said he was also heartened by the assurance given by the chief that he had never considered depriving Maritzburg of her capital status in a possible future Natal/kwaZulu.

An invitation to visit the city had been extended to Chief Buthelezi, but he had been unable to accept immediately as it was nearly the end of the year.

"BEING BUTCHERED"

Mr Cornell said the council was eager to have Chief Buthelezi as a guest for the city's 150th birthday celebration in October 1988.

In his address, Chief Buthelezi said he was appalled at the "shallowness of press coverage" of the violence in Maritzburg's townships.

He said his people were "being butchered" because they "steadfastly refuse to abandon the hallowed values of the black struggle for liberation and join the so-called armed struggle which the African National Congress has declared."

He said he was the leader of an angry people and he felt it to be his responsibility to turn that anger into something constructive. "It is their democratic right to defend — even with their lives if necessary — that which they cherish as their democratic ideals."

'GO-SLOW' on Botswana border

SA security clamp

Argus 3/12/87

JOHANNESBURG. — Botswana was under heavy pressure from South Africa today as the South African Police continued to fine-comb trains and vehicles crossing the border between the two countries, causing extensive delays and queues several kilometres long.

South African sources said the operation was similar to that which caused near chaos on the border between South Africa and Lesotho last year and which was the direct cause of the collapse of the Leabua Jonathan Government in a coup.

Botswana, like Lesotho, is heavily dependent on South Africa's transport network for the bulk of its food and other essential imports and exports.

The "go-slow" on the Botswana border since Tuesday was prompted by Gaborone's dismissal of a South African request to take action to stop the African National Congress from using Botswana as a springboard to launch an intensive Christmas terror campaign in South Africa.

High-level meeting

The Botswana Government insisted it had not been approached by the ANC, that it knew of no such plan and that its policy still was not to allow its territory to be used for attacks against its neighbours.

A high-level meeting between officials of both countries is understood to have been held yesterday, and South African sources are optimistic the issue may be resolved politically within the next few days.

South African intelligence services are convinced of the accuracy of information that the ANC had discussed using Botswana for its Christmas campaign with the authorities in Gaborone.

The information was obtained from guerrillas captured in recent weeks and from other sources.

Security police chief General Jan van der Merwe said at the weekend the authorities had information that a group of guerrillas from Lusaka would slip into South Africa through Botswana to plant landmines on farm roads used by the security forces in the Zeerust area.

Two mines had already been found.

"This is definitely not a game we are playing. We know for a fact those terrorists came through Botswana," General van der Merwe said.

A statement by the police in Pretoria last night said the increased control measures at all the border posts along the South African/Botswana border had become necessary after the information about the ANC's plans.

The statement said: "According to information, terrorists will try to infiltrate South Africa mainly through Botswana."

Explosives

Botswana was also to be a conduit for explosives.

"While the control measures may inconvenience travellers, they have become necessary to safeguard the South African population."

Meanwhile, border officials have said that since the slow method of searching vehicles was introduced on Tuesday morning, it took an average of one hour instead of five minutes to clear a car.

Luggage

Luggage was strewn on the ground and occupants had to vacate cars for the intense searches.

Some vehicles carried abnormal loads of commercial cargo.

Two tents were pitched on the South African side of the border for body searches.

Some travellers who spent the whole day at the border told reporters that the South African Police "took a rest or played around with their dogs" when they felt tired. — The Argus Correspondent and Argus Africa News Service.

A thirteenth Inkatha man told to stop violence

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

A TOWN councillor accused of gunning down three youths "because their parents don't take care of them", yesterday became the 13th Inkatha member under court order to stop harming township residents.

Mbali town councillor Jerome Mncwabe was ordered by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court to cease harming township residents.

He is one of 13 Inkatha members named in five cases — all related to the ongoing feud between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance — heard in the court since early November.

As far as is known, there have been no similar orders brought during this period against any UDF or Cosatu members.

In Mncwabe's case the temporary order was granted yesterday by consent, but he indicated he denied the claims and would be contesting the order being made final.

The application was brought by a group of Imbali residents who claim he was involved in killing three youths from the area last week.

Mduduzi Sililo and six other applicants claim that as they walked down the road, Mncwabe and three men with him emerged from a vehicle. Mncwabe was armed with a

To PAGE 2

By SHAUN JOHNSON

W/Mail 4-10/12/87

Court action on Inkatha man

From PAGE 1

"long gun" and the others with knives and knobkerries.

Some of the youths ran away and Sililo said that from the shack where he hid he saw Mncwabe "point his gun as Bongani Mseleku and shoot him in the back. Bongani fell down. I also saw that Mduduzi Dlamini and Sikumbuso Mthiyani had fallen to the ground. I concluded that (Mncwabe) had shot them."

Sililo and others claim the three with Mncwabe then beat and stabbed the shot youths lying on the ground and later placed knives "on or about them".

Sililo, his parents and others then drove back to the scene and found Mncwabe, his men and the three youths on the ground, still there.

When Sililo and his parents tried to put one of the three youths who was still alive into the car, Mncwabe allegedly pointed his gun at them, told them not to move the boy and to wait for the police.

While they waited, Mncwabe allegedly threatened Sililo and his group saying he would shoot the children and burn their houses down.

Sililo quotes Mncwabe [illegible] ng, "These people call me 'Thelewem'." Sililo said the word meant "killer" and was township slang for an Inkatha thug.

According to Sililo, Mncwabe went on: "If I am a 'Thelewem' I will 'Thelewem' all these people because you parents of these children are not looking after them... That's why I shoot them, because you parents aren't taking care of your children. If you don't take care of your children, I will shoot your children and burn your houses down."

Sililo comments that Mncwabe is already named in an earlier interdict restraining him and others from assaulting or interfering with another group of residents, and Sililo's father claims that he has previously seen Mncwabe shoot and kill other Imbali youths.

Sililo's statement concludes with the arrival of the police. He claims they examined Mncwabe's gun and then returned it to him. They questioned him and searched and disarmed his companions, taking a pistol from one of them.

At this point, Mncwabe allegedly told Sililo's father he could take Bongani to hospital, but he died on the way.

W/Mail (1B) 4-10/12/87

Branches were consulted about is-

Mayor attacked for remarks

WMail

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, this week sharply criticised the mayor of Pietermaritzburg for remarks he made to *The Weekly Mail*.

Cornell had been quoted saying, "If Inkatha had wanted to make friends (during the floods), they should have gone and helped the people instead of going and saying to them at three o'clock in the morning — sign this card or I'll kill you if you don't."

Inkatha secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said at the time that this was "just the old story repeated without substantiation".

Yesterday, Cornell told *WM* the challenge by Buthelezi "came like a thunderbolt" because he had not seen the newspaper.

"There was no written statement, we were just attending a report-back meeting.

"I said — I like to think I was responsible enough to have said — that *anyone* who had acted in this way should not have done so."

"I hope I said that. I do not want to get into a dispute with the newspaper.

"I do not want to take sides on the (Inkatha-UDF) issue, I do not know enough and am not involved enough to be able to do that. 4/10/12/87

"I just want the killings to stop.

"I assured MGB that if this was what was attributed to me this was not what I meant," Cornell said.

FOR THE RECORD

Politics and sport make a double-booking

W/Mercury 4-10/12/87

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

A "PEACE RALLY" given the go-ahead by Pietermaritzburg's chief magistrate ran into early difficulties when it was discovered the venue was double-booked and that the rally clashed with a soccer match.

However, the soccer game is to move to another stadium and the crucial rally — the first open-air meeting in a long time for the two hosting organisations — will go ahead as planned.

The meeting has been called by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to report back on the progress of peace talks between representatives of the two organisations and Inkatha.

Organisers, obviously surprised at being given permission for the rally, said they believed it would provide an opportunity for calling on their membership both to give the peace talks a chance and to play their part in ending the killings in the townships.

"Obviously the UDF and Cosatu hope that moves to hold similar meetings will be made on the other side," organisers said.

The meeting is to start at 9am and, in terms of the conditions set by Pietermaritzburg chief magistrate, Cecil Dicks, must be over by 2.30pm.

The programme, as submitted to the magistrate, begins with prayer, followed by reports on steps taken to achieve peace, including meetings with Inkatha representatives; and on Cosatu meetings with employers and employer bodies.

The churches are to issue a call for peace and then there is to be a "call for restraint and discipline by all members of our organisations" by UDF joint secretary Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, followed by the final prayer.

In his letter of permission, Dicks pointed out that one of the speakers on the list (Ngwenya) is restricted under the Emergency and he should be careful not to infringe these restrictions.

However UDF officials said their interpretation of the restrictions was that Ngwenya could speak at a meeting "called for the purpose of promoting peace which had the blessing of the Chamber of Commerce.

"The rally clearly has this purpose. It also has the blessing of the chamber and their officials will be attending."

It is expected that most people at the rally will come from the townships in and around Pietermaritzburg.

Officials of both Inkatha and the chamber have welcomed the rally go-ahead and Inkatha has announced it has applied for its members to hold a rally on December 16.

UDF RALLY AT PEACE TALKS

By S'BU MNGADI

HUNDREDS of residents from the war-torn Maritzburg townships are expected to converge at Edendale's Wadley Stadium tomorrow morning after the UDF-Cosatu alliance was granted permission by the city's chief magistrate to hold a huge open-air rally.

Chief magistrate Cecil Dicks this week approved an application by the Southern Natal region of Cosatu and the Natal Midlands UDF branch to hold a rally tomorrow at 9am to report back to their constituency on the preliminary peace talks meeting with Inkatha last week.

Under the emergency regulations, open-air gatherings may not be held without a magistrate's permission.

Meanwhile, Inkatha has also applied to hold an open-air rally at Mpumuza on December 16.

The Maritzburg magistrate's decision has been welcomed by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which had been spearheading the peace talks.

The meeting has been called to report back on the preliminary agreement reached last Tuesday, in a meeting with Inkatha leaders, on steps to be taken in restoring peace in the area. One of the points agreed upon was directed at the police, to allow meetings in order to get a mandate and report back to their constituencies.

Maritzburg SA Police PRO Capt Pieter Kitching assured the organisers that the police would keep a low profile during the meeting and would only step in if there was interference or signs of trouble.

However, late yesterday there still remained of a repetition of last weekend's Port Elizabeth incident, where the government stepped in after the local chief magistrate and police chief had given the go-ahead for a rally planned to welcome back Govan Mbeki.

The UDF-Cosatu rally is to be opened by Dr Simon Gqubule principal of the local John Wesley College, and will the first major outdoor meeting to be held in Maritzburg since the May Day rally, also held at Wadley Stadium last year.

All Natal Midlands UDF chairman AS Chetty could say was "we welcome the news that we can hold the rally, and as far as we are concerned, we will see to it that the meeting is controlled".

The decision to give a green light for the rally comes against the background of the bloody chaos in Maritzburg.

The weekend saw the bloodiest violence in the Natal capital, according to the police unrest report.

Members of the SAP dispersed a rowdy mob at the Piet Retief bus terminus after fighting broke out and a man was fatally stabbed.

Also at the weekend, three Imbali youths, Bongani Mseleku, Mduduzi Dlamini and Sikhumbuzo Mthiyane, were shot dead in broad daylight by two men who the residents identified as the notorious warlords.

By noon yesterday, the death toll since mid-September stood at 112, and 26 had been killed in political violece since the start of peace talks last Tuesday.

The death toll might increase dramatically as police continue to find more mutilated bodies.

In one of the most gruesome killings, 80-year-old Daniel Mnewabe was stoned and stabbed to death by a group of 100 people who attacked his home in Kwamnyandu this week.

Eleven people were arrested when police dispersed the crowd with teargas and shotguns.

The second round of talks intended to seek a solution to the escalating violence between supporters of the warring groups are due to take place next week, according to AS Chetty.

The co-chairman of the talks and manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Paul van Uytrecht, said that next week's meeting would raise items on which agreement could not be reached at the first meeting.

Argus 6/12/87

peace talks

Buthelezi to reconsider stand on black council

DURBAN — The Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is to reconsider his previous offer to take part in the government's National Statutory Council provided that the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and other political prisoners are released.

This comes in the wake of his recent announcement that he is also considering pulling out of both the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba and the region's Joint Executive Authority (JEA).

Addressing Inkatha's central committee in Ulundi at the weekend, he said it would be suicidal for Inkatha even to begin negotiating with the government while it refused "to deal with the reality of a black majority".

He said all these considerations had been forced on him by the recent rejection by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, of the Indaba proposals and his insistence that South Africa was a country of minorities.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Heunis' statement had shocked him very deeply.

It could only have been made by "a man who had been politically castrated by his own colleagues".

He said the statement had made it clearly evident that the National Party leadership was not prepared to entertain the scrapping of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

He had been as conciliatory as he could humanly be and if he went any further he would erode Inkatha members' confidence in their leaders.

"I have really to re-examine everything I have ever thought or said about the national council.

"My own gut feeling is that the more the South African Government continues to blunder on major issues, the less likelihood there is that you will ever give credibility to the council.

"How can I negotiate with cabinet ministers when they sweep everything off the negotiating table whenever the right wing sneezes?"

Chief Buthelezi said he had not been posturing when he said that KwaZulu would seriously have to reconsider its involvement in the KwaZulu—Natal Joint Executive Authority if the government "scotched" the politics of negotiation which had been given impetus by the Indaba.

He asked "what earthly use" there was in participating in the JEA if there were no hope of it being only the first stage towards a joint legislative authority in which the reality of the region's black majority was given constitutional expression.

He said another implication of what he was saying was that Inkatha might yet have seriously to review its own support for the Indaba.

Asked to comment on Chief Buthelezi's remarks Mr Heunis responded: "As a custom I don't comment on other leader's remarks and don't wish to do say anything now either." — DDC

(118) 7/12/87

Buthelezi threatens to dump Indaba

Cape Times 7/12/87

118

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will reconsider his previous offer to take part in the government's National Statutory Council if Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners are released.

This comes after his recent announcement that he is also considering pulling out of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and the region's Joint Executive Authority.

Addressing Inkatha's central committee at the weekend, he said it would be suicidal to begin negotiating with the government while it refused "to deal with the reality of a black majority".

He said all these considerations had been forced on him by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis's, rejection of the Indaba proposals and his insistence that South Africa was a country of minorities.

Dr Buthelezi said Mr Heunis's statement could only have been made by "a man who had been politically castrated by his own colleagues".

He said the statement had made it clear that the National Party leadership was not prepared to scrap the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Mr Heunis said: "As a custom I don't comment on other leader's remarks and don't wish to do say anything now either."

The government's cautiously diplomatic response in the face of Chief Buthelezi's attack on one of its senior members was seen in political circles as an attempt to pour oil on troubled waters.

The dilemma facing the government is that it hopes to draw leaders like Chief Buthelezi on to it proposed National Council but at the same time appease the increasingly fearful and conservative white electorate ahead of next October's nationwide municipal elections.

● At the same weekend meeting Inkatha said it was deeply committed to bringing about radical change in South Africa through negotiation and the employment of non-violent tactics and strategies.

Chief Buthelezi won't forgive and forget

NO END TO WAR

11B

7/12/87 Sunday Times

THOUSANDS of people rallied in Edendale, Natal, yesterday to talk peace after a year of fights between members of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha, which have claimed more than 150 lives.

But doubt remains as to whether the two warring factions will accept white businessmen's pleas to forgive, forget and stop fighting.

The Chamber of Commerce in the provincial capital of Pietermaritzburg is mediating between the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), and Inkatha.

Some 5 000 UDF and Cosatu supporters came to the rally in the football stadium of the central Edendale township to hear how the peace talks, mediated by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, were progressing.

Rally organisers had to rescue a woman and a youth from the crowd when they were singled out as Inkatha supporters and beaten.

"Inkatha members are not our enemies, our enemy is apartheid," UDF regional secretary, Mr S'kumbuzo Ngwenya urged the crowd. "We need to act with discipline and restraint and we should not go beyond the bounds of self-defence."

Hours before, police reported two more deaths in the township battles, while Chief Mangosuthu

SAPA-REUTER

Buthelezi asked an Inkatha meeting: "How in God's name can I be forgiving and how can I be forgetful"?

He added: "The UDF and Cosatu are not worthy of the status of organisations to whom we need to be reconciled."

Chief Buthelezi is an influential critic of the white-led Government with considerable support from conservative Zulus.

But the UDF denounces him for agreeing to rule one of 10 tribal homelands set up under apartheid to remove blacks from white South Africa, while Cosatu denounces unions set up under the Inkatha banner as pro-capitalist.

Cosatu negotiator, Mr Mbanjwa Dumisani, told the rally Inkatha agreed in principle to its peace terms but had been asked to go back to its members to ensure they would be observed — in particular that any Inkatha members implicated in the fighting would be arrested.

"Comrades here today will never agree or accept peace talks if there are still Inkatha people (not arrested), who have blood on their hands," he said.

The Inkatha meeting passed a resolution applauding Chief Buthelezi's call on members "to defend their democratic rights with whatever is needed in the honoured idiom of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" — adding that this "ensures only defensive action."

Buthelezi may have rethink on Indaba

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to reconsider his previous offer to take part in the Government's National Statutory Council — initially made on the condition that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released.

He told Inkatha's central committee in Ulundi at the weekend that it would be suicidal for Inkatha even to begin negotiating with the Government while it refused to deal with "the reality of a black majority."

And he raised the possibility of KwaZulu pulling out of both the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and the region's joint executive authority.

All these considerations had been forced on him by Mr Chris Heunis's recent rejection of the Indaba proposals and his insistence that South Africa was a country of minorities.

The Minister of Constitutional Development's statement had shocked him very deeply. It could only have been made by a man who had been "politically castrated" by his own colleagues, he said.

It had made it "clearly evident" that the National Party leadership was not prepared to entertain the scrapping of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts.

7/12/87 Sunday (IB)

Cold shoulder for Mangope

(118) (28) (107)
CAPE TIMES 9/2/87

Own Correspondent

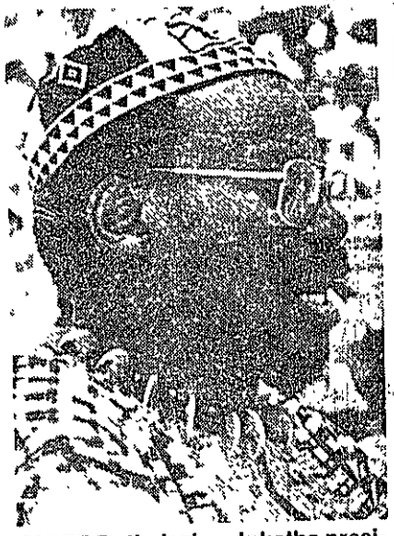
JOHANNESBURG. — The Botswana and South African governments have shown no enthusiasm for a move suggested by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope at the weekend that his "independent" state should merge with Botswana.

Chief Mangope said the people of his state and those of Botswana were from the same ethnic group, divided artificially by the British.

Spokesmen for the Botswana Department of External Affairs and the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said they had no official reaction to the speech.

But the Botswana deputy secretary of External Affairs, Mr Molosiwa Selepeng, said as a matter of policy Bophuthatswana was regarded as part of South Africa.

MORE DIE IN PMB



CHIEF Buthelezi . . . Inkatha president.

A MAN was killed and had his throat slit in the continuing violence in the Maritzburg area at the weekend.

And prominent Cosatu leadership in the Empangeni area claim they were visited by large groups of Inkatha youths who insisted that they place "Support the Indaba" stickers on their houses, cars and persons.

Pushed

In two unrelated incidents in Hammarsdale and Mpumalanga near Maritzburg, five people were burnt and their houses damaged when petrol bombs were hurled at their dwellings.

Quirts and tearsmoke were used by police to disperse a mob at George Town after a large group boarded a bus and started damaging windows. One man was injured when he was pushed

By ALI MPHAKI

out of the bus by the passengers.

In another incident a policeman was assaulted by a group of 25 men who stabbed and robbed him of his gun when he tried to arrest a suspected handbag thief in the Retief Street beerhall on Saturday afternoon

Claimed

The Cosatu spokesman said in a statement that a large group of Inkatha youth arrived at the Dlamvuzo high school in Esikhawini under the cloak of cleaning the area of litter. However these youth visited houses of prominent Cosatu leadership and insisted that "Support Indaba" stickers be placed on houses, cars and persons.

At the time of going to press Inkatha had not yet responded to the telephone asking about Cosatu allegations

Cosatu also claimed that one senior official of Uwusa, was present.

Sowetan. 9/12/89

CLOUD OVER INDABA

(18)

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

SEVEN more people have died in violent clashes in Maritzburg on the eve of the second round of peace talks between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha scheduled for today.

Seven men — aged between 22 and 67 — were killed and many others injured after a group of men, travelling in a bus, attacked residents and property in Deda township.

Police confirmed yesterday that the 67-year-old man was stabbed at least 129 times.

"Twenty-one men were arrested and firearms were confiscated," a spokesman for the police said.

The violence follows a weekend rally in Edendale by supporters of the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions aimed at seeking peace with rival Inkatha members.

More than 200 people have died, hundreds others injured and about 400 arrested since the fighting between the two rival groups started early this year.

Today's peace talks, hosted by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, are aimed at ending the feud.

The first talks were held on November 24.

At the first meeting, both parties agreed to take disciplinary action against those causing trouble in the area.

A spokesman for the chamber, Mr Paul van Uytrecht, yesterday said. "Today's talks are very crucial. We are going to plead with the two warring factions to stop the fights because they are benefitting nobody.

"We hope that the talks will bring peace in the area."

(118) 9/12/87 B/day

Another blow to the Indaba

ELSABÉ WESSELS

THE shock announcement by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend that he might have to withdraw from the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba was the second blow in two weeks to the project.

Indaba supporters have described KwaZulu's possible withdrawal as a tragedy. "Buthelezi's withdrawal would hold serious consequences for the project," Indaba associate director Peter Mansfield warned.

Buthelezi's announcement comes after the Indaba proposals were turned down by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis recently. He accused the Indaba of being without a power base and offering insufficient minority protection.

Both Heunis and Natal NP Leader Stoffel Botha have rejected the Indaba's proposals for a single legislative authority as "deficient". Heunis would not comment on Buthelezi's statement.

Speaking at Ulundi at the weekend, Buthelezi told Inkatha's central committee that their participation in both the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and the region's recently founded Joint Executive Authority might have to be terminated.

Sapa reported Buthelezi said his considerations had been forced by Heunis's "rejection of the Indaba proposals" and his insistence that SA was a country of minorities.

Criticising Heunis's rejection, Buthelezi said: "It could only have been made by a man who had been politically castrated by his own colleagues. Heunis's intentions, whatever they were, have been thrown to the right-wing wolves of the party."

He said the statement had made it "clearly evident" that the NP leadership was not prepared to entertain the scrapping of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

Buthelezi accused the NP of looking only to the 1988 nation-wide elections and said the NP was following a whites-only political path in which real negotiation with blacks was out of the question.

☐ BUTHELEZI . . . second blow

He added KwaZulu would seriously have to reconsider its involvement in the JEA if the government "scotched" the politics of negotiation, which had been given impetus by the Indaba.

Said Mansfield: "It would be a tragedy for SA if the stage was reached where Buthelezi and others like him felt obliged to abandon their commitment to negotiated solutions.

"The Indaba is doing everything possible to facilitate negotiations with the government regarding the Indaba proposals."

& PRETORIA GST) | ELSEWHERE IN SA R1,12 (excl. GST)

MAIL

11 to THURSDAY DECEMBER 17, 1987

Buthelezi in amazing swipe at UDF

IN the midst of peace talks in the violence-strewn Pietermaritzburg area, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, has delivered a major denunciation of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

In a speech released to the press, he told his central committee the UDF and Cosatu were "not worthy" of reconciliation.

"I am now coming closer to believing that the only reconciliation there will ever be in this country is the reconciliation of the most powerful with those who pay homage to the powerful," Buthelezi said.

"We are talking about a life and death struggle. We are talking about all-or-nothing victories. We are talking about the final triumph by good over evil."

This speech was followed on Thursday by a breakdown in talks between the two groups.

The Thursday talks, part of a series being held under the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce, were attended by several additional Inkatha delegates, including central committee member Seigfried Bhengu.

During the meeting, the delegation produced the October issue of the journal of the Marxist Workers Tendency of

●To PAGE 2

W/Mail 11-17/12/87

P.T.O.

Buthelezi takes a swipe at UDF, Cosatu

the African National Congress — *Inqaba Yabasebenzi* — circulated by Buthelezi at the weekend's Inkatha Central Committee meeting and demanded that the UDF/Cosatu delegates publicly repudiate the journal.

When they refused to do so, the talks deadlocked and were adjourned.

The UDF/Cosatu delegates said later this new development posed "serious difficulties" for the talks.

They had nothing to do with the document: it did not come from their structures, did not reflect the view of their organisations and as far as they knew had not been circulated in Pietermaritzburg, they said.

"Our approach has been to agree to concrete steps that will de-escalate violence and lead to peace. Attacks and recriminations against each other cannot take us forward.

● From PAGE 1

National chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Musa Zondi, said they demanded a public repudiation from the UDF/Cosatu.

Copies of *Inqaba ya Basenbenzi* were distributed at Buthelezi's request, by his personal assistant, to members of the central committee last weekend, but some days before he had read part of the contents in his speech to Pietermaritzburg's mayor, Mark Cornell, then on a goodwill visit to Ulundi.

The section read by Buthelezi to Cornell referred to vigilantes and continued, "Of these forces, Inkatha is the most formidable, because of the political base that vigilante-in-chief Gatsha Buthelezi has built in Zululand through fear and appeals to conservative tribal prejudice ...

"For activists especially it is a matter of life and death.... To work out and put forward a clear national strategy to defeat Inkatha, Uwusa and all vigilantes is an urgent task for the leadership of Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC."

The writer goes on to criticise Cosatu for "softness and hesitation" on Inkatha and Uwusa.

However, the article then complains sharply about UDF president Archie Gumede signing a truce with Inkatha.

However the Marxist Workers Tendency (alleged by Buthelezi to have been responsible for the journal) is a small group of mainly white academics, purged from the ANC in 1985 after years of disagreement.

Political scientist and acknowledged ANC expert, Dr Tom Lodge, said yesterday the basically Trotskyite tendency and its journal were "not very significant".

Lodge says the tendency is highly critical of the UDF as well as of Inkatha and, asked to comment on Buthelezi's remarks concerning the journal, added: "This is Buthelezi at his most paranoid and stupid."

During his address to the central committee, and with the next round of peace talks just four days away, Buthelezi referred to the continuing violence in Pietermaritzburg and to attempts at "reconciliation".

"I must say rather bluntly that the UDF and Cosatu are not worthy of the status of organisations to whom we need to be reconciled. It is their choice that death keeps us apart and death is keeping us apart. There is no reconciliation with a spear being thrust into your heart ..."

11/17/12/87 W/Mail

It's standing room only for police at the UDF/Cosatu rally in Pietermaritzburg, but they manage a look-in from their perch beyond the wall. Picture by BILLY PADDOCK

City Press 13/2/87

These youths were caught lost in song and dance at the UDF-Cosatu peace rally on Sunday.

As the hillocks of Natal reverberated with the shouts of 'Viva Peace' ...

THE SEARCH FOR THAT ELUSIVE PEACE GOES ON

By S'BU MNGADI

TO the echoe of surrounding hillocks, a 17 000-strong crowd at the UDF-Cosatu peace rally roared "Viva peace" at the weekend.

However, the call was shortlived. A message came halfway through the rally informing the crowds that nearby Ashdown was under attack from Inkatha. And an hour later some of those returning on foot to Dambuza had running battles with vigilantes.

A day later the endemnic killings continued unabated.

Supporters of the UDF-Cosatu alliance, who came in droves and clad in colourful T-shirts of their organisations, chanted and toi-toi-ed throughout the three-hour meeting.

Some told *City Press* that they had kept vigil the previous night – "waiting for the big day". Big, because of the dramatic decision by the local chief magistrate to give the open-air meeting the go-ahead.

Previously, even indoor meetings to discuss the process of ending violence between supporters of the two allies and Inkatha had been illegal. It was during these meetings that joint UDF secretaries S'Khumbuzo Ngwenya and Martin Wittenberg were detained by police while consulting with grassroots structures on peace.

Hence, among UDF-Cosatu's preconditions for talks with Inkatha was that all organisations, not only Inkatha, must be allowed to freely consult with their members. "Peace talks at a leadership level mean nothing – we must take the community with us," they argued.

The rally, also attended by about 100 whites, was called to report back on the preliminary peace talks held with Inkatha a forthnight ago and to seek a fresh mandate for further talks which were held behind doors on Wednesday before a full-scale peace conference.

Police filmed the meeting from outside Edendale's Wadley stadium. And a large banner reading "Viva Moscow, Viva UDF, Viva Mbeki" was unfolded by toi-toi-ing youths who tried to prevent the police from filming.

Speaking at the rally National Union of Metalworkers organiser Dumisani Mbanjwa said they had been labelled ANC surrogates who were bent on making the country ungovernable when they defended their right of freedom of association.

"Strangely, we see our people being butchered daily with pangas, knobkeries, guns and daggers. Do they want us to sit back and allow brutal injustice because when we stand up against it we are branded ANC surrogates?" he asked.

To thunderous applause he said Inkatha's forced recruitment must come to an end.

Mbanjwa then read UDF-Cosatu's preconditions for talks – and clause by clause was met with shouts of "Viva":

- For the peace talks to work, the authorities must stop detentions.
- Organisations involved in peace talks must be freely allowed to organise openly.
- Perpetrators of violence, some of whom were identified in a month-long investigation by lawyers – must be arrested and charged.
- Inkatha's forced recruitment must stop and all organisations must be allowed equal freedom to organise.
- All organisations must discipline members guilty of aggression.
- The police must act against known culprits. Bringing more police and army will only increase tension.

He said after the first round of peace talks the UDF-Cosatu delegation emerged victorious for the meeting as it reached agreement on all preconditions, except the one relating to the details of the perpetrators of violence.

To date, 13 senior Inkatha members have been interdicted against acts of murder, attempted murder, threats, harassment and public violence.

The meeting mandated the six-man delegation to go back to talks this week and deliberate on those points where agreement could not be reached.

During the meeting, two youths accused of having been seen with "Otheleweni" (vigilantes) were handed to marshals by the angry crowd.

Messages of support came from the Natal Indian Congress, Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell, Natal Midlands UDF president Dr Simon Gqubule, National Democratic Movement's Piet Cronje and the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, whose vice president Rob Pater also addressed the meeting.

Rob Pater ... addressed the gathering.

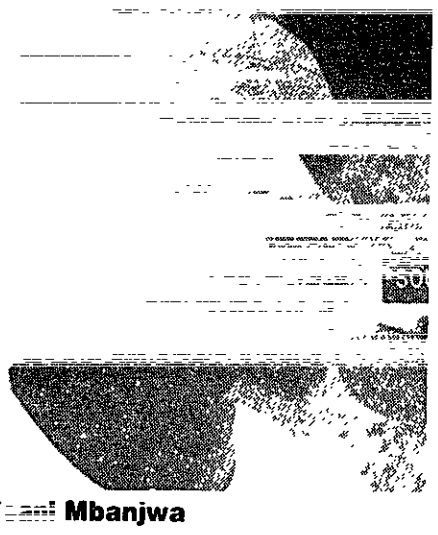
A section of the large crowd who attended the meeting.

about the end to violence.

They included calling on the Minister of Law and Order to release all the officials or office bearers of the organisations that had been detained.

Furthermore, it was made clear that police and security forces must allow meetings of the different organisations which were part of the peace process in order for them to get a mandate and report back to their constituencies.

The parties publicly condemned and disassociated themselves from the current violence and called on all those involved in the peace process to publicly endorse and accept the principles of freedom of expression and asssociation and to publicly condemn actions such as forced recruitment and to undertake disciplinary action against those individuals violating these principles.



Mbanjwa

nkatha rank nd file not nemy – UDF

By S'BU MNGADI

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We must prove also that we are the organisa- that are most consistently working for peace democracy in our country," said Ngwenya.

e pointed out that the 17 000-strong crowd proof that the UDF and Cosatu had the ois support of the people and they were because they were interested in peace.

Let the government note this, for it is the ment and other forces that have attacked or not being interested in peace," he said.

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Our people want peace, but the apartheid m denies us peace. Our communities are inuously disrupted by the activities of the nies and other ters of apartheid.

The peace in our nities is also dis- d by the effects of ployment, pover- starvation, inferior ation, lack of hous- and removals," he

ne UDF and Cosa- commitment to was the reason the organisations struggling for an to apartheid, he and that the day to legitimate struggles d in the factories, s and townships creating the basis ace.

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the last few hs we have made ndous strides in g unity in our ps. We have young and old, ac- and ordinary peo- m the communi- te to defend elves against vigi- attacks.

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CITY PRESS 13/12/87

11'

Dumisani Mbanjwa

Inkatha rank and file not enemy – UDF

By S'BU MNGADI

THE UDF-Cosatu alliance needed to act in a way that made it easy for Inkatha members to join the people's organisations, joint UDF secretay S'khumbuzo Ngwenya told a 17 000-strong crowd at Edendale' Wadley Stadium at the weekend.

He said that comrades needed to realise that even the ordinary Inkatha member was not the enemy and that the need to prove that the struggle included struggling for their liberation had to be made clear.

"We must prove also that we are the organisations that are most consistently working for peace and democracy in our country," said Ngwenya.

He pointed out that the 17 000-strong crowd was proof that the UDF and Cosatu had the grassroots support of the people and they were there because they were interested in peace.

"Let the government note this, for it is the government and other forces that have attacked us for not being interested in peace," he said.

He said that the Freedom Charter made the point that the people had always believed in peace with a clause saying that "there shall be peace and friendship".

"Our people want peace, but the apartheid system denies us peace. Our communities are continuously disrupted by the activities of the vigilantes and other supporters of apartheid.

"The peace in our communities is also disturbed by the effects of unemployment, poverty, starvation, inferior education, lack of housing and removals," he said.

The UDF and Cosatu's commitment to peace was the reason why the organisations were struggling for an end to apartheid, he said, and that the day to day legitimate struggles waged in the factories, schools and townships were creating the basis for peace.

"We have been prepared to sacrifice a lot for this struggle for a non-racial, democratic and peaceful society.

"In the last few months we have made tremendous strides in building unity in our townships. We have seen young and old, activists and ordinary people from the community, unite to defend themselves against vigilante attacks.

"We have seen the alliance between Cosatu and the UDF becoming stronger," he said, while stressing that it was only through the behaviour of ambassadors of these organisations that people could be won over.

The distinguishing factor of the UDF and Cosatu was that they had "never forced anybody to join us", said Ngwenya.

The respect of the community was only earned through the painstaking work of activists in relating to the youth, workers, businessmen, taxi owners, and the unemployed, he added.

He said that organisations needed to address themselves to the everyday problems and concerns of the people in every section of life and that the organisations must be built according to these needs.

The need at the moment, he said, was to help the people defend themselves against unlawful attacks and the violence in the townships, at the same time acting with discipline and restraint.

"We need to show in practise that we are not like the warlords. We will have to act in a disciplined manner even though this might not always be easy. Sometimes we have to restrain some of our most deeply felt emotions," he said.

The parties concerned with achieving peace in the townships had reached agreement on the process needed to achieve a situation which would bring about the end to violence.

They included calling on the Minister of Law and Order to release all the officials or office bearers of the organisations that had been detained.

Furthermore, it was made clear that police and security forces must allow meetings of the different organisations which were part of the peace process in order for them to get a mandate and report back to their constituencies.

The parties publicly condemned and disassociated themselves from the current violence and called on all those involved in the peace process to publicly endorse and accept the principles of freedom of expression and asssociation and to publicly condemn actions such as forced recruitment and to undertake disciplinary action against those individuals violating these principles.

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Rob Pater ... addressed the gathering.

A section of the large crowd who attended the meeting.

Whole page

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

UDF, Cosatu 'unworthy of Inkatha'

By S'BU MNGADI

THE UDF and Cosatu were not "worthy of the status" of organisations with whom Inkatha needed to be reconciled, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Inkatha's central committee at the weekened.

He said his people were dying "hideous deaths" because the ANC wanted to make Maritzburg a "no-go area" for Inkatha.

"How in God's name can I be forgiving and how can I be forgetful?" he asked.

"How can I sanction any further meetings between my lieutenants and senior ANC personnel? When the ANC begins to respect the opinions of millions of black South Africans, we can begin to respect the ANC," he said.

South Africa's black majority was against what both the National Party and the external mission of the ANC was doing, he said.

"This is borne out by the behaviour of ordinary people in everyday life. They want to fulfil their aspirations as human beings and are not intimidated.

"I must also say bluntly that the UDF and Cosatu are not worthy of the status to whom we need to be reconciled," he said.

"It is their choice that death keeps us apart – and death is keeping us apart. There is no reconciliation with a spear being struck into your heart or with a match setting the necklace ablaze. We will not fight evil with evil, just as we have never fought white racism with black racism.

"We will not become violent aggressors for political purposes, but how can we seek reconciliation with those who do what they do to our brothers, wives and children? We must eradicate violence without courting or wooing those who are hideously violent," Buthelezi concluded.

CAPE TIMES 14/2/87

Buthelezi warns followers against 'instant justice'

Chief Buthelezi

MPUMALANGA, Natal. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned Inkatha members at the weekend that it could be suicidal for black politics if they took the organization's law into their own hands "to mete out instant justice as they see it".

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was opening an administration building.

Referring to violence in the greater Maritzburg and Mpumalanga areas, he said the Zulu people had a basic unity, created by history, which would in the end always triumph over "divisive forces which come like hyenas at night to sow misery and discord".

Inkatha had emerged, after more than a decade's involvement, as the most intact and unified organization in the black struggle. Others had disintegrated because their members had turned on each other, he said.

"When Inkatha members take Inkatha's law into their own hands to mete out instant justice as they see it, terrible dangers face us all.

"I have seen signs of these fratricidal developments in some of your local conflicts. As your elected leader, all I can do is to hang my head in shame, for these developments will be suicidal if we allow them to increase within the black body politic." — Sapa

Indaba dissociates itself from reports of violence

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Indaba has dissociated itself from violence allegedly perpetrated by people wearing its T-shirt and dislaying its stickers.

In a statement the Indaba said it had noted with great concern certain reports linking it with the culprits.

"It must be clearly understood that the Indaba is a totally non-partisan organisation committed to a peaceful transition to regional power-sharing in KwaZulu in Natal."

The organisations was reacting to press reports that some people wearing its T-shirts and displaying its stickers were seen perpetrating acts of violence.

The Indaba said the very notion of violence as a means of change was absolutely abhorrent to it, and was rejected in the strongest possible terms.

"The wide support the Indaba enjoys clearly means that thousands of people, including non-members, are wearing its T-shirts throughout the region, while literally millions of bumper stickers have been distibuted."

DISCREDIT PROGRESS

The organisation said that if the allegations were true, those wearing its T-shirts were not necessarily its members nor where they acting on its instructions.

"Finally, it is clear that there are elements within the region who would dearly love to discredit the progress of the Indaba.

The question of just who is associating Indaba with acts of violence is worthy of consideration," the statement said.

Buthelezi lists criteria for discussions

Cape Times 16/12/87

11B

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday spelt out his criteria for discussions over South Africa's future political dispensation.

There would be no deviation from these criteria by either himself, Inkatha or the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Dr Buthelezi said.

He listed the criteria at the start of a meeting here with members of the Metropolitan Consultative Committee, chaired by Mr Owen Jones, former mayor of Pinetown, and which included Mrs Sybil Hotz, chairman of Durban City Council's management committee, and Durban Town Clerk Mr Gordon Haygarth.

"Black South Africa cherishes a one-person-one-vote system of government in a unitary state," Dr Buthelezi said.

"I, Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly are prepared to look at alternatives if they recognize that there is one South Africa in which:

"There is one sovereign parliament, a system of universal adult franchise, the rule of law, and equality before the constitution and the law.

"We insist on these parameters because we believe that it is within them that black, white, Indian and coloured can work together to normalize SA as a modern Western-type industrial democracy.

"It is in the process of normalization of the country that we can salvage the best that there is and reject the worst.

"We reject any form of racial discrimination in politics and will have nothing to do with any constitution which makes race a fundamental building block.

"We recognize that the politics of negotiation must take cognisance of both black and white fears and distrust, each of the other.

"We are therefore prepared to look at alternative consititutional models in which it is possible to protect minority groups.

"There is a black majority in South Africa and minorities must deal with this reality in negotiation.

"The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act must be scrapped."

Dr Buthelezi said that these positions were not prohibitive, and permitted the kind of negotiations which had taken place in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba as well as the constitutional proposals which had flowed from it.

"They permit the normalization of South Africa and the development of black-white accord." — Sapa

'We will not deviate'

Buthelezi lists criteria for negotiations

ULUNDI — kwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday spelt out criteria for discussions from which he, Inkatha and the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly would not deviate in negotiations for a future South African political dispensation.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president listed the criteria at the start of a meeting here with members of the Metropolitan Consultative Committee aimed at establishing a liaison mechanism for authorities in the Greater Durban area.

The committee is chaired by Mr Owen Jones, former mayor of Pinetown, and includes Mrs Sybil Hotz, chairman of Durban City Council's management committee and Durban town clerk Mr Gordon Haygarth.

Chief Buthelezi told the committee he wished to restate his position on certain major issues so that the discussions could proceed "from that which cannot be changed because they have been made what they are by mass democratic decision-making".

Under the heading "The politics of compromise through negotiation" he listed the following parameters:

- "Black South Africa cherishes a one-person-one-vote system of government in a unitary state.
- "I, Inkatha and the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly are prepared to look at alternatives if they recognise that there is one South Africa in which there is one sovereign parliament, a system of universal adult franchise, the rule of law, and equality before the constitution and the law.
- "We insist on these parameters of what can and cannot be done constitutionally because we believe that it is within these parameters that black, white, Indian and coloured can work together to normalise South Africa as a modern Western-type industrial democracy.
- "It is in the process of normalisation of the country that we can salvage the best that there is and reject the worst that there is.
- "We reject any form of racial discrimination in politics and will have nothing to do with any constitution which makes race a fundamental building block.
- "We recognise that the politics of negotiation must take cognisance of both black and white fears and distrust.
- "We are therefore prepared to look at alternative consititutional models in which it is possible to protect minority groups.
- "There is a black majority in South Africa, and minorities must deal with this reality in negotiation.
- "The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act must be scrapped."

PERMIT PARTICIPATION

Chief Buthelezi said these positions were regarded as permissive and not prohibitive. They permitted the kind of negotiations that had taken place in the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba as well as the constitutional proposals that had flowed from it.

"They permit our participation in the (kwaZulu/Natal) Joint Executive Authority. They permit the normalisation of South Africa and the development of black-white accord about where to go from here and how to get there." — Sapa.

Peace talks off rails

11B

17-23/12/87 South

MARITZBURG — Negotiations to bring peace to the trouble-torn townships of Maritzburg could break down following a demand by Inkatha that the UDF and Cosatu condemn a document drawn up by expelled ANC members in London.

The document, drawn up by the Marxist Workers Tendency, called for the smashing of Inkatha and its trade union offspring, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

Inkatha

However, the UDF Midlands regional chairman, Mr A.S. Chetty, said his delegation had made it clear to Inkatha they had nothing to do with the document.

"We have already rejected the sentiments expressed in the document and it is now up to Inkatha to come forward. We are waiting for the Chamber of Commerce to contact us for further talks," he said.

It was alleged Inkatha was using recruitment drives to stamp its political domination on Maritzburg and the rest of the Natal to counter the growing popularity of the UDF and Cosatu.

The apparent failure to bring Inkatha members to heel has been highlighted in a speech made by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at a gathering in the township of Mpumalanga, near Maritzburg, at the weekend.

Chief Buthelezi

Referring to the violence, he warned Inkatha members not to take the law into their own hands to mete out what he termed "instant justice".

- *Press Trust News Agency*

UDF, Inkatha agree to extend peace talks

Cape Times 17/12/87

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A major stumbling block to the continuation of peace talks between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha here was removed yesterday with the public repudiation of a banned journal calling for the destruction of Inkatha and its union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

Last week Inkatha and Uwusa had insisted that the UDF and Cosatu openly repudiate a document published by the Marxist Workers' Tendency — a small, ultra-leftist grouping expelled from the ANC — or face the possible failure of the peace talks.

In a newspaper advert yesterday the UDF and Cosatu did so, after having repudiated the document at the peace talks last week.

At an Inkatha rally at Taylor's Halt outside Maritzburg yesterday, the UDF and Cosatu's actions were praised by Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, the KwaZulu MP for Maritzburg, and Mr Vitus Mvelase, the KwaZulu urban representative for Maritzburg.

Mr Ndlovu said the repudiation of the document made Inkatha "very happy" and was a "step forward" in ending the violence which has plagued the city.

He said the "talks about talks" which have been hosted by the Maritzburg chamber of commerce would definitely continue next year, once the UDF and Cosatu had reported back to their membership on their decision.

Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu start talks again

From Page 1

Member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly for Vulindlela, Velaphi Ndlovu said: "We are very happy about the repudiation of the document Inqaba Yabasebenzi."

"We are still prepared to negotiate and perhaps the brokers (the Chamber of Commerce) would organise something early in the new year," Ndlovu said.

He added that Inkatha would still like the UDF/Cosatu to call a rally and make the repudiation publicly to those who do not read newspapers.

Mvelase also called on State President P W Botha to speed up the reform process and called on the government to release all political prisoners

One of the instigators of the peace initiative, Rob Pater of the Chamber of Commerce, and the local chairman of the UDF A S Chetty welcomed the Inkatha decision.

"The Chamber is most encouraged with the UDF/Cosatu advertisment and the reported Inkatha response at the rally," Pater said. — Sapa

UDF/Cosatu placates Inkatha

MARITZBURG — Peace talks between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu are back on stream after senior Inkatha officials yesterday thanked the opposing organisations for publicly repudiating a banned document which calls for the destruction of Inkatha.

Addressing a rally at Tayler's Halt, KwaZulu urban representative V V Mvelase said: "I would like to thank the UDF/Cosatu leadership for responding to our request made during the peace talks.

"I hope that this will bring peace in our beloved Pietermaritzburg area," he said adding that Inkatha was committed to "real talks" and peace.

"Talks are the only remedy," Mvelase said.

B/day 17/12/87

To Page 2

Judgement today in Buthelezi case

Weekly Mail Reporter

JUDGEMENT is expected today in the damages action brought by KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi against *Frontline* magazine.

The case was argued before Mr Justice Alan Howard in the Durban Supreme Court early in November.

Buthelezi is suing *Frontline* and its editor, Denis Beckett, for R20 000 for alleged defamation.

He objected to an article, originally printed in the London magazine, *The Spectator*, in which the writer said Buthelezi was "nauseatingly pompous and self important", that he claimed to be the "sole non-violent alternative to Marxist revolution", and that "his well-drilled *impi* regiments" were among the "most thuggish operators in South Africa".

Buthelezi himself took the witness box, spending almost seven hours giving his own evidence and answering questions about his speeches, his attitude to violence and the control he wields over the members and leaders of Inkatha.

The outcome of the case is of significance to media beyond *Frontline* because of the frequency with which legal actions are launched by Buthelezi.

Most of these claims are settled out of court; this is one of the few to reach a trial and it is certainly the first such case in which Buthelezi himself has given evidence.

B-23/12/88 (116) W/Mail

W/Mail 23/12/88 (113)

LETTERS

If it's irrelevant, condemn it

I REFER to the issue of the *Weekly Mail* (December 11) in which you carry an article about the peace talks in Pietermaritzburg under the heading "Buthelezi in amazing swipe at UDF". I must record my total dismay that your newspaper has seen fit to report on the peace talks initiated by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce with such little understanding.

The import of your article gives the average reader the impression that I have thrown a spanner in the spokes of the peace talks by demanding that the UDF and Cosatu publicly repudiate an article in the October 1987 issue of *Inqaba ya Sebenzi*. In this issue Cosatu is accused of being soft on Uwusa and the UDF is castigated because it is involved in peace talks with Inkatha instead of pursuing the destruction of Inkatha through violence.

The basis of the critical bias in the article is that *Inqaba ya Sebenzi* reflects the opinions of a discredited group of white activists in the ANC who had been thrown out by the organisation some time ago. This is an entirely misleading slant to give to the facts of the matter.

You could have observed that I asked for a public repudiation of certain ANC thinking in a way which made that public repudiation most possible. If your emphasis on the irrelevancy of the "Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress" is correct, then why did the UDF and and Cosatu have difficulty in publicly repudiating the hideous views it expresses? Surely it would have been very easy for UDF and Cosatu to repudiate somebody you claim the ANC had thrown out?

The harsh reality is that the tendency reflected in the article which was presented for repudiation, is a tendency which is alive and well among core ANC National Executive members and activists. It is alive and well in factions of the UDF and Cosatu. They want more killing. They want the annihilation of Inkatha and it is this desire for the annihilation of Inkatha which demands public repudiation.

I could have made the demand for public repudiation much tougher by quoting at length from the ANC's own journal, *Sechaba*, and from the *South African Communist* as well as from the actual texts of ANC radio broadcasts.

There is hideous violence in Pietermaritzburg because revolutionaries gain from it. This is the real issue and I am amazed that the South African press criticises me for demanding that the UDF and Cosatu disassociate themselves from efforts to fan the flames of violence while they discuss peace with Inkatha. — MG Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, Ulundi

®We presume Chief Buthelezi is referring to Inqaba yabaSebenzi.

We are satisfied that our description of this group was both accurate and relevant. — Editors.

11B

PEACE TALKS

Peace talks between Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha have ground to a halt after a bitter clash during their latest meeting in Maritzburg.

Delegates seeking an end to the violence in the city's black townships clashed over a magazine called *Inqaba ya Basebenzi* ("The Workers' Silo") which Inkatha brought to the meeting.

Published by the Marxist Workers' Tendency, a hard-Left faction recently expelled from the ANC, the magazine dealt with violence as a political strategy. Inkatha insisted that both the UDF and Cosatu should publicly repudiate the magazine.

UDF and Cosatu representatives evidently did so during the meeting, but refused to do so publicly on the grounds that neither organisation had anything to do with the magazine. After about three hours of fruitless argument, the meeting broke up. No date was set for further talks.

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which is acting as peace broker, will now try to get things going again, according to manager Paul van Uytrecht. Both parties remained anxious to pursue talks, he said, but each appeared to be waiting for the other to make the first move.

On the eve of last week's talks, seven more murders were reported, including that of a 67-year-old man who was stabbed 129 times.

FM 18/12/87

nday, December 21 1987

Maritzburg hopes for calm Christmas

21/12/87 B/day

Peace talks will take place early next year

ROGER SMITH

THE next round in the Maritzburg peace talks is expected to take place only early in the New Year, Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce chairman Paul van Uytrecht said yesterday.

He said it was not possible to arrange talks before Christmas.

There were still some minor points which needed to be ironed out. He would not clarify what these were because of the sensitivity of the negotiations.

However, recent events — where the UDF/Cosatu publicly repudiated a Marxist Workers' Tendency publication as Inkatha had demanded, and the repudiation was accepted by local Inkatha leaders — were "encouraging".

"Things are back on the right track," said Van Uytrecht.

With calls for restraint from both sides, he hoped there would be calm over the volatile festive season.

The chamber said in an earlier statement it did not see the peace process as eliminating all conflict but rather as a means to deal with and reduce levels of conflict.

In this way it hoped the appalling loss of life could be ended.

About 200 people have been killed in the violence in Maritzburg's townships in recent months.

☐ According to police, a spate of stabbings in the Maritzburg area were reported at the weekend, Sapa reports.

Two black men were stabbed to death in two separate incidents in the area.

At Sinateng, a 40-year-old man was killed by a group of blacks who attacked him with a knife. Murder was being investigated, police said.

A 59-year-old black man was stabbed to death and his wife seriously injured when they were attacked by a group of blacks in Edenvale in Pietermaritzburg.

A member of the SAP was attacked by a group in Kwadebeka in Pietermaritzburg. He is in serious condition in hospital after being stabbed several times. Attempted murder is being investigated, according to police sources.

Extensive damage was caused at Umpumuza, when a group set a private dwelling alight. Two black men have been arrested in connection with the incident.

Main bout of the Indaba has yet to start

22/12/87

The kwaZulu-Natal Indaba recently marked the first anniversary of the agreement it reached. But its success claim is challenged here by Dr Karl Magyar of the department of international relations at Wits University.

The Indaba, we were told, was of interest to all South Africans as it was the only show in town. That is basically true, but it isn't a very good show. Considering the great horde of absentees — radicals, moderates and right-wingers — it was like watching 10 rounds of boxing with only one boxer in the ring.

After eight months of active debate, the Indaba participants took great pride in having demonstrated that blacks and whites could sit together in the same room and debate mutual interests. Big deal.

But blacks and whites? Yes, and that was one of the problems. In a province in which Indians outnumber whites, the Indaba emerged somewhat as a conspiracy between only certain whites and blacks to come to an "arrangement" before Indians realised they were being outflanked. And even if they did come to the realisation, they couldn't do anything about it.

Indians did in fact take part — but on a "take it or leave it" basis. The whole organisational structure of the Indaba had been a carefully orchestrated affair between the ever-ambitious Chief Minister of kwaZulu and the NRP-led Natal Provincial Administration (remember them?).

Hard to refuse

Having joined the House of Delegates against Buthelezi's wishes, Indians did so on the grounds of wishing to explore every opportunity to pursue reforms. On that basis, they could hardly refuse the invitation to the Indaba tea — provided they didn't drink any and cleaned up afterwards.

Half of Natal's blacks were represented by the kwaZulu-based, Buthelezi-led Inkatha movement; an undetermined portion of whites were represented by mostly business or commercial organisations (the owners of the means of production types); while the less than enthusiastic Indians represented a considerably less than majority of that community.

In fact, the Indaba proponents cannot show that they are able to count half of Natal's inhabitants on their side. The predominantly rural orienta tion of the Inkatha faction represents the wrong half of Natal's blacks for purposes of effective social reform which has (and will) always come from the urbanised, young, educated and professional sectors. That's the boxer who hasn't stepped in the ring yet.

Thirty-seven delegations, very loosely defined, took part in the work of the Indaba and 30 signed the final report — the Constitutional Proposals and the Bill of Rights.

There was, however, no rational or political base of legitimacy for these groups. Among the possibly more impressive list of absentees were the ANC, PAC, UDF, NIC, Cosatu, Cusa, Azapo, etc. This at once raises an interesting point: Chief Buthelezi denounced the trichamber Parliament because of its exclusion of the huge social sector that was to receive no representation. Yet the Indaba proceeded under his tutelage without the representation of Natal's own significant social sectors.

Of special interest is the role that organised business groups played at the Indaba. Several English-speaking groups such as the Natal Chamber of Industries assumed a very active supporting role. Afrikaner groups were very unenthusiastic.

That business and cultural organisations were able to participate and to vote on political proposals raises a question of just whom and how many did these groups represent? While business can play a role in such deliberations, it is not unreasonable to suggest that their counsel should be primarily on economic matters.

In essence, everyone at the Indaba — just as at the negotiations for independence throughout Africa — concentrated on only power conversion, constitutions, elections and new political institutions. But few bothered to look at the economic base which is required to sustain these new efforts. The lack of such preparations throughout Africa led to a series of disasters and to the loss of millions of lives.

Fusing Natal and kwaZulu politically will essentially place kwaZulu's political administration in charge of the Executive Branch and the dominant one of the two houses according to the structures offered by the Indaba's proposals. Politically, it is a giant short-term leap for democracy. Economically, it may be a giant leap backwards — along with the usual ensuing chaos.

The kwaZulu administration, in its perennial quest for political elevation to provincial and perhaps even to national levels, has demonstrated mostly ineptitude in the management of its own homeland. kwaZulu as been analysed by several economists as being a very mediocre, if not outright poor economic performer.

The Indaba failed to study and to incorporate an economic blueprint that is the absolute prerequisite for political advancement. A more relevant Indaba needs to be convened now that the preliminary bout has been performed. The new Indaba must broaden its base. Just because the other major opponent doesn't step into the boxing ring doesn't mean that he may not get you afterwards outside in the alley.

When the real bout begins, the major focus must be on a comprehensive economic plan that will methodically and surely incorporate the Zulus in a single modern integrated economy to the point where the great bulk of blacks will have a real stake in Natal's multiracial future. Only then should political designs be undertaken. With a very solid economic base, competent managers will be elected to office with performance, not race, being the major criterion.

The present plans for Natal call for, in effect, a black-dominated government controlled by a white economic elite behind the scenes, with kwaZulu's masses to be physically kept out of Durban, and the Indians watching from the sidelines with their fingers crossed.

The *City Press* offered a better description: "A conglomeration of apartheid, separate development, plural relations and tribal dances, spiced with hallal dishes."

The main bout hasn't started yet.

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELAND POLITICS

1987

OCT. - NOV.

16-22/10/87 (TB) W/Mail

WEEKLY MAIL, October

Gumede's UDF peace pipe steams up his Inkatha rivals

Inkatha's chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi unleashed his verbal fury on the UDF

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

TALKS between warring Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters almost came apart this week with two outbursts against the UDF and its president, Archie Gumede, unleashed by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The attacks on Gumede seem to ignore the fact that the UDF president has been conducting delicate ceasefire negotiations at some considerable risk to himself — from both sides in the conflict.

Despite these verbal attacks made in statements from Ulundi — which some of Gumede's supporters fear could spark an attempt on Gumede's life — he has continued with the talks as scheduled. saying it was "not (his) make-up to drop everything in response to the remarks" however much of a shock they had been to him.

The first attack by Buthelezi followed just days after last week's historic "temporary truce" signed by Gumede and the national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Musa Zondi.

However, over the weekend at the Inkatha Women's Brigade annual conference in Ulundi, Buthelezi accused Gumede of "toadying" to divisive elements in the UDF which were trying to prevent talks between Inkatha and the UDF and which were promoting "black-on-black violence".

In particular he slammed the Natal Indian Congress for manipulative and divisive behaviour adding that Indian elements in the African National Congress were responsible for preventing Oliver Tambo from talking to him.

Gumede and members of the NIC responded with a demand that Buthelezi produce evidence that the Indian Congress was behind township violence.

Early this week Buthelezi fired a second salvo at Gumede, the UDF and NIC saying he and NIC's Mewa Ramgobin had "resorted to provocative political polemic in responding to my speech at the weekend in which I stated that their organisations ferment black on black confrontations and play a part in preventing black unity".

On his proof of NIC involvement in township violence he said, "I have ample evidence of their devisive manipulations throughout South Africa and abroad. Their own words and actions speak for themselves when they continually accuse me and Inkatha of being 'racist' and 'tribalistic'."

Commenting on his attitude to Buthelezi's remarks Gumede, who admitted they had come as a great shock, said talks between members of Inkatha and the UDF from several townships where there was violence between the two groups, had been held on Monday as planned and further discussions were scheduled for next week.

Gumede denied he had ever called Buthelezi "tribalistic or racist" but Asian' statements attributed to him (Buthelezi) as racist and calculated to (Buthelezi) as racist and calculated to fan the flames of patriotic fervour of his supporters".

WEEKLY MAIL
VOLUME 3, NUMBER 38 FRIDAY SEPTEMER 25 to THURSDAY OCTOBER 1, 1987
THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

Iron-man George Matanzima flees T'Kei

25/9-1/10/87 W/Mail (11B)

Weekly Mail Reporters: EAST LONDON

AN army coup toppled Transkei Prime Minister George Matanzima yesterday. Matanzima has fled and eight ministers are under house arrest.

An interim government has been set up after the bloodless and unopposed coup, led by Transkei Defence Force chief Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

- Military coup topples Transkei Prime Minister
- Troops set up interim cabinet
- Eight ministers house arrested

Reports of a coup come in the wake of commissions of inquiry into alleged massive government corruption. Transkei troops have put up roadblocks in an attempt to seal off the "homeland".

Matanzima, involved in a corruption probe, is believed to be hiding in Port Elizabeth

Among ministers under house arrest are Reverend GT Vika (deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and forestry; Digby Koyana (justice and prisons); Tshepo Letlaka, (commerce); M Lujaba (interior, manpower utilisation and planning), S Xaba (transport); HB Tsengwa (local government and land tenure); MZ Ngceba (deputy minister of agriculture); WT Nomvalo (deputy minister of health.

The official, who refused to be named, said Transkeian troops had turned up at the ministers' homes on Wednesday night and forced them to sign resignation papers. "It looks as though the government has collapsed," he said.

But Holomisa denied that the army was involved in a coup. "The roadblocks that we have set up are in anticipation of the anniverssary of the death of Batandwa Ndondo (a student activist shot dead by Transkei police).

"They (the roadblocks) are similar to the ones we set up on June 16 in anticipation of trouble."

By late last night top Transkeian government officials were locked in a meeting that lasted over six hours under President Tutor Ndamase.

The delay in making an announcement was caused by Holomisa's refusal to head the interim government.

The charismatic 31-year-old commander took over the armed forces from General Ron Reid-Daly and 27 former Selous Scout commandos.

Last night Holomisa said the ministers submitted their resignations voluntarily, adding that Matanzima is "on sick leave in Port Elizabeth".

● South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said last night that "as far as the South African government is concerned, nothing has happened to affect our bilateral relations", Sapa reports.

The government had taken cognisance of Ndamase's statement that "there has been no coup in Transkei, that nobody has been detained, and that the country's government is continuing normally."

THE NAPOLEON OF THE TRANSKEI FOR THE FULL STORY OF HOW GREED BROUGHT DOWN THE MATANZIMA EMPIRE, TURN TO PAGES 10 AND 11

The scramble for Transkei power begins in earnest

By FRANZ KRÜGER, East London

TRANSKEI Prime Minister Chief George Matanzima has gone to ground somewhere in South Africa while the scramble for his position has begun in earnest in the "homeland".

Chief George fled the Transkei last Wednesday, a day before the Transkei military forced the resignation of eight members of his cabinet. Heavily implicated in the corruption scandal which led to the shakeup, Chief George sought refuge in the Port Elizabeth Holiday Inn.

It has now emerged that he failed to attend a cabinet meeting earlier on Wednesday, at which the report of the commission of inquiry into the Department of Commerce, Industry and Tourism was to be discussed.

A cabinet source told the *Weekly Mail* the meeting had been postponed once before because Chief George was not present. At the Wednesday meeting, there was a letter from him saying he had to "go to South Africa" for medical treatment.

The cabinet discussed the report anyway, and decided Chief George should resign because of the weight of evidence against him. By that stage, however, he was already in Port Elizabeth, where he remained closeted in a luxury suite, guarded by South African police. On Monday morning at about 6.30am, he left his hotel for an undisclosed destination.

Yesterday, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs told *WM* Chief George was staying "with a friend at a private home".

The department was aware of his whereabouts, but was not prepared to disclose them, the spokesman said. He was also not prepared to say whether the department was in contact with him.

As far as the South African government was concerned, Chief George was a private citizen on a visit to the country. No request for extradition had been received from the Transkei authorities.

Chief George is technically still prime minister, but he is certain to be replaced as leader of the Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) at a special congress to be convened for the purpose next week.

The party's head committee and executive called on him to resign because of his alleged involvement in the scandal, and for "health reasons", after a meeting last Monday.

Chief George had made a last-minute appeal to the party to be allowed to keep his position. In a letter from his Port Elizabeth hotel, he claimed tribal divisions and a power struggle would tear the party apart.

It was decided to convene the congress for Monday, which will be empowered to remove him if he has not resigned by then.

Already, the front-runners in the leadership stakes are jockeying for position. Favourites are the minister of finance, Kholisile Nota, and the minister of posts and telegraphs, Stella Sigcau, and both moved quickly to declare their candidacy and unwavering dedication to fight corruption.

Nota tabled the commerce and industries report at the special session of parliament on Wednesday, saying: "In these days of mounting deceit, massive cover-ups, fraud and corruption some drastic steps should be adopted as the growth of these maladies is rampant."

Chief George Matanzima

Later the same afternoon, he held a press conference to announce he would be standing for the position of leader of TNIP, and thus prime minister. If elected, there would be "no room for corruption" in his government.

His opponent, Sigcau, would have problems because of her gender. He said he could not see his house governed by a woman as it was "against our culture and no woman dominates over men in our way of life".

Sigcau had already announced her candidacy the day before. She said she believed in selflessness, honesty and humility in government service, and was totally against corruption and nepotism. She said she did not feel being a woman counted against her.

Nota, 52, is a successful businessman, and a qualified auditor, who was first elected to the Transkei National Assembly in 1963. At the time he was finance spokesman for the opposition Democratic Party, but later joined the ruling TNIP.

Sigcau, 50, is the daughter of Transkei's first president, Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau. A teacher, Sigcau first entered the national assembly in 1968 when she won the Lusikisiki constituency.

Sigcau, who is one of the Transkei's longest serving ministers, is believed to be popular with TNIP rank and file.

Two further names have been mentioned as candidates: Chief Ngangomhlaba Matanzima, deputy minister of police, and Fulinzima Matutu, the minister of health.

Matutu is believed to be backed by Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the retired state president, and Chief Ngangomhlaba is a member of the family and also implicated in the commerce and industry report.

For both, the Matanzima connection is probably more of a handicap under the present conditions, although it is too early to write Chief George and his family right out of the equation. A substantial system of patronage has been built over the years, and the brothers may still be able to call for significant support. — elnews

The graft-cancer spreads a lot further than Transkei

EXTENSIVE corruption in Transkei has led to the resignation, with a little nudging from soldiers of the Transkei Defence Force, of eight cabinet ministers and to demands for the officially convalescing prime minister, George Matanzima, to step down.

But graft in Transkei may be merely a symptom of a wider-spread moral cancer, permeating the structures of most, if not all, of the apartheid institutions established for blacks by South Africa's white rulers.

These apartheid-inspired institutions, with their proliferating bureaucracies, range from town councils in black townships to the governments of the four nominally sovereign TBVC states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei

The six partially self-governing states, or "homelands", occupy an intermediate position.

In his investigation for the government into the causes of the 1984 revolt in the cluster of townships in the Vaal triangle, Professor Tjaart van der Walt concluded suspicion by residents that the councillors were corrupt was, "without a shadow of doubt", the most important cause of bitterness in the townships.

Van der Walt, a respected *Broeder* and rector of the University of Potchefstroom, referred earlier in his report to "incredibly many allegations of bribery".

He recommended that a separate investigation be conducted into these allegations to "identify the guilty ones and to rid innocent people of the cloud of suspicion hanging over them". The government did not heed his advice.

Since then a councillor from the Vaal triangle, Knox Matjila, has been prosecuted and convicted of corruption. More important, evidence has surfaced of corruption in town councils beyond the Vaal triangle.

The deputy mayor of Dobsonville, Alex Jaca, was convicted of theft.

The mayor of Thokoza, Gerald Mamabolo, has been suspended after allegations of theft were made against him. He and the town clerk, Doris Thinane, face court charges.

The Thokoza Town Council has been dissolved and replaced by government-appointed administrators. The Tembisa Town Council has also collapsed and has had to be administered by government-nominated men.

Two officials of another town council, Ratanda, near Heidelberg, were dismissed after the disappearance of more than R500 from the council's treasury.

A probe by officials of the Transvaal Provincial Administration into suspected skulduggery in Jouberton's town council found that the town clerk, Alosius Shongwe, had granted himself a loan to buy a car without the council's consent. Shongwe was not dismissed.

In Soweto, councillors — who live behind razor wire in a specially guarded elite housing complex on the outskirts of Soweto — overpaid themselves for nearly 18 months, increasing their monthly allowances from R554 to R 1 200.

Top council officials who were charged in court with theft and corruption include Steve Kgame, chairman of the Dobsonville Management Committee and, more important, president of the Urban Councils of Association of South Africa. Ucasa is one of the few black organisations which has agreed to participate in President PW Botha's proposed National Council.

The bribery scandal which brought down the Matanzimas was hardly an isolated case. Allegations of corruption are common in apartheid's burgeoning black bureaucracies which, lacking popular legitimacy, turn to self-interest instead. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

The charges against Kgame and two of his co-councillors in Dobsonville were withdrawn late in March. A few weeks later, Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis was the guest speaker at Ucasa's annual conference.

Kgame and co-councillors, Jerry Zembe and Isaac Mashao, originally faced a total of nearly 110 charges of bribery.

According to a detailed report in *City Press*, published at the time that the charges were withdrawn, Kgame had amassed eight residential sites for himself in Dobsonville. One of his sons had been allocated another site and his daughter a further two.

The report gave the numbers of the 11 sites acquired by the Kgame family. As chairman of the management committee, Kgame had a major say in the allocation of sites.

Charges were withdrawn in August against another top councillor and confederate of Kgame's, Steve Nkatlo, the mayor of Dobsonville. Nkatlo faced 62 counts of theft.

In the TBVC states, indications point to large-scale corruption.

There has been evidence of corruption in Transkei's neighbouring and rival state of Ciskei.

In 1985 a commission of inquiry headed by Ciskei's chief justice found that the former minister of health, Hendrik Beukes, and the director-general of health, HM Mdleleni, were guilty of corruption and bribery.

Last month the Ciskei National Assembly passed a law indemnifying President-for-Life Lennox Sebe against prosecution for the expenditure of R4,4-million from state coffers to extend and furnish his five homes.

Allegations of corruption in Venda go back to 1973 when it became a partially self-governing state under the then Chief Minister — now also President-for-Life — Patrick Mphephu. In that year the anti-Mphephu Venda Independence Party (VIP) won 13 of the 18 elected seats in the National Assembly.

There was a danger that enough of the 42 designated members — chiefs and their nominees — would defect to the VIP to unseat Mphephu. The loyalty of 37 chieftains to Mphephu was assured, however, after they were taken to the nearby Manyeleti game reserve, plied with alcohol, subjected to concentrated pro-Mphephu propaganda and reportedly rewarded in anticipation with new suits.

Later, after Venda became independent in 1979, the law governing operation of the casino was changed by special decree. By waiving a requirement that the casino and the adjacent hotel in Thohoyando should fall under the same control, it enabled a businessman who had ingratiated himself with Mphephu to run the casino.

Venda's image of moral decadence was epitomised by reports in 1982 that live donkeys were being fed to lions in the Lion Park because it made feeding time more exciting to watch.

Different explanations have been offered for the apparent vulnerability of apartheid institutions to corruption.

Former parliamentary opposition leader, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, blamed it on the burgeoning bureaucracies associated with apartheid and an obsessive need to establish separate institutions for each race

"Bureaucratic expansion is the necessary and inevitable forerunner of corruption and inefficiency in government," he said.

It creates a psychological climate where everyone wants to be the "train driver on the gravy train".

Historian Gavin Lewis, author of *Between the Wire and the Wall*, a definitive study of coloured politics, offers another interpretation.

General antipathy to these institutions means those elected to them are chosen — if not actually nominated — on low polls.

Lacking popular legitimacy and faced with condemnation as "collaborators", they are inclined to adopt a cynical attitude, seeing their positions on the institutions as an opportunity to plunder for their own self-enrichment rather than as a chance to serve the community.

'WE'RE SICK OF VIOLENCE,' SAYS INKATHA'S MVELASE

4/10/87

By S'BU MNGADI

THE weekend's killing of 16 Inkatha members in Maritzburg seems to have shocked affected political leaders into realising that a genuine "ceasefire" between their organisations is necessary.

Maritzburg's Inkatha central committee member and KwaZulu urban representative, Vitus Mvelase, said: "The township residents, Inkatha and the UDF are all sick of the violence."

The weekend's toll brought to 28 the number of deaths reported, with police permission, in the city environs in the past fortnight.

All are victims of the political feud between Inkatha the UDF and, to a lesser extent, Cosatu.

Inkatha regional chairman Joseph Mabaso identified the 13 people killed at Kwashange outside Maritzburg as Inkatha Youth Brigade members.

Three other IYB members' bodies were found the following day at Kwamachibisa, he said.

Mabaso reiterated the police version that, in the early hours of the morning, "a group of people" carrying sticks, firearms and assegais attacked a Kwashange home of a prominent Inkatha member, A Ngubane.

He said members of the IYB – about 20 youths – had been camping at the house.

The assailants locked the house and set it alight, said Mabaso. As occupants tried to escape, they were attacked.

The SAP public relations division in Pretoria later reported that three policemen and three other people were being held in connection with the Kwashange incident.

The policemen have been suspended pending an investigation.

The Kwashange incident was the first major setback suffered by Inkatha.

UDF co-president Archie Gumede said he had not known of the area called Kwashange until the violence flared up.

"We are not aware of any UDF membership in this area. This could have been a fight between Inkatha and members of that community.

"It has become understandably fashionable when Inkatha is involved in a political feud to conclude that the opposing side is the UDF," said Gumede.

Detainee 'lost' pension in jail

CP Correspondent

4/10/87

AN old-age pensioner, who spent 15 months in detention in Port Elizabeth, says he is starving because his pension expired while he was in prison.

Seventy-year-old Richard Mhlobiso, who was detained in July last year and held at St Albans prison, said he did not receive his old-age pension in prison. When he gave power of attorney to his wife in August this year to collect it for him, an employee at the pensions office in Africa House informed her that the pension had expired.

On his release in September, Mhlobiso was told

(i) Western Cape
Algoa
Walvis Bay
Bloem Area
Pretoria
West Rand
East Rand
Central Witwatersrand

(ii) (aa) Western Cape .. R900 000
Algoa R800 000
Walvis Bay R100 000
Bloem Area R150 000
Pretoria R550 000
West Rand R200 000
East Rand R500 000
Central Witwatersrand R750 000

(ii) (bb) Regarded as bridging finance to defray administrative costs until adequate own revenue is being received.

(b) Yes.

(i) Vaal Triangle
West Vaal
Rustenburg-Marico
Highveld
Bushveld
Northern Transvaal
East Vaal
Lowveld Escarpment

It is envisaged that the four regional services councils mentioned last, will function as from December 1987/January 1988.

(ii) (aa) Amounts have not yet been determined.

(bb) Will be regarded as bridging finance to defray administrative costs until adequate own revenue is being received.

KwaZulu/Natal-Indaba

532. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether his Department has issued a certain organisation, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, with a welfare number for fund-raising purposes; if so, (a) on what date and (b) what is the name of this organisation;

(2) whether this organisation is a political organisation; if so, on what basis did it become eligible for being issued with a welfare number; if not, (a) what kind of organisation is it and (b) on what grounds was it issued with such a number?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) A temporary fund-raising number was issued.

(a) 26.11.1986.

(b) KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising.

(2) No.

(a) A fund-raising organisation.

(b) In terms of section 6 of the Fund-raising Act, 1978 (Act 107 of 1978).

Overseas visitors

533. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) (a) How many overseas visitors were the guests of his Department during the period 7 May 1987 up to the latest specified date for which information is available, (b) what are their names and (c) from which countries did they come;

(2) whether these visitors were afforded the opportunity of meeting members of the Official Opposition in this House; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) From 7 May 1987 to 30 September 1987, there were 186 visitors from other countries who were guests of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

(b) It is left to the guest to disclose whether he was a guest of the Department of Foreign Affairs or was not.

(c) It is not deemed to be in the interest of the RSA to mention individual countries.

(2) It is the practice to arrange interviews with representatives of the political parties in all three Houses of Parliament. Sometimes, however, meetings with representatives of all the parties cannot be fitted in either because the visitors' programme does not allow it or because the programme of the representative of the relative party does not allow it.

Diplomatic personnel

534. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether his Department takes any precautions to ensure that members of diplomatic personnel representing foreign countries in the Republic are not sympathisers of or collaborators with subversive organisations; if not, why not; if so, (a) what precautions and (b) what are the names of the main organisations considered to be subversive?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) When heads of diplomatic missions are appointed it is customary that the approval for the appointment must be sought from the receiving state. This is done by submitting a copy of the nominee's *curriculum vitae* which is then scrutinised by the receiving state before approval or agrément is given.

In regard to other members of diplomatic missions, it is customary that the sending state may, with certain exceptions, freely appoint the staff of the mission. However, the receiving state may at any time and without having to explain its decision notify the sending state that the head of mission or any member of the diplomatic staff of the mission is *persona non grata*, or that any other member of the staff of the mission is not acceptable. Such persons are obliged to leave the country. When this happens the sending state in turn frequently in retaliation declares a member of the receiving state's diplomatic staff *persona non grata* even if that staff member had not acted improperly in any way whatsoever.

(b) This question does not fall within the purview of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Robert Smit

535. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any progress has been made in the investigation into the murder of the National Party candidate for Springs in the general election of 1977, Mr Robert Smit, and his wife; if so, what progress;

(2) what difficulties are being experienced in solving this crime?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2) It is not the policy of the South African Police to make known information regarding the investigation of cases which have not yet been completed and finalised.

Restrictive minimum wage legislation

536. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Manpower:

Whether it is the intention of the Government, in terms of its deregulation policy, to abolish current restrictive minimum wage legislation; if so, when; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

No, because minimum wages are regulated by the Labour Relations Act, 1956, and the Wage Act, 1957, after negotiations in industrial councils and in conciliation boards in the case of the first-mentioned Act and after extensive consultation by the Wage Board with

directly by the Government or any Department or agency of the Government to (i) the Government of, (ii) any Government Department of, (iii) a development corporation in and (iv) any other specified person or organization in Venda in 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987, respectively; if so,

(2) (a) what amounts were involved in each case and (b) what was the total amount outstanding as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, only in respect of the 1986/87 and 1987/88 financial years.

(c) None.

(a) (i) yes, as in (a).

(ii) No.

(iii) No.

(iv) No.

(b) (i) Only in respect of the 1986/87 and 1987/88 financial years guarantees were issued for the repayment of overdraft facilities.

(ii) None.

(iii) None.

(iv) None.

(c) (i) None.

(ii) None.

(iii) None.

(iv) None.

2. (a) *Loans*

1983/84	—
1984/85	R2 900 000
1985/86	—
1986/87	R7 400 000
1987/88	R26 776 000 (Amount budgeted for the granting of loans).

Lines of credit: Guaranteed overdraft facilities

1986/87	R62 500 000
1987/88	R61 500 000

(b) Amount outstanding as at 30 June 1987: R6 515 915.

The information furnished above is only in respect of the activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs and therefore does not include any possible assistance by other RSA Departments or agencies.

Guarantees/sureties by Government

599. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether any guarantees or sureties were given directly or indirectly by the Government or any Department or agency of the Government to any person or organization for (a) loans granted, (b) lines of credit granted and (c) other specified financial services rendered to (i) the Government of, (ii) any Government Department of, (iii) a development corporation in and (iv) any other specified person or organization in Transkei in 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987, respectively; if so,

(2) (a) what amounts were involved in each case and (b) what was the total amount outstanding in terms of such guarantees or sureties as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(3) whether foreign currencies are involved in any of these guarantees or sureties; if so, (a) what currencies, (b) how much is involved and (c) who is responsible for bearing the potential cost of exchange rate fluctuations?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) No.

(b) Yes, guarantees for the repayment of overdraft facilities.

(c) No.

(i) Yes.

(ii) No.

(iii) No.

(iv) No.

(2) (a) *Overdraft Facilities*

1986/87 ..... R217 000 000
1987/88 ..... R158 000 000.

(b) To date an amount of R217 million in respect of the guaranteed overdraft facilities for the 1986/87 financial year has been taken up and will be repaid by the Transkei Government within the framework of the multi-year stabilization programme. No amount of the R158 million for the current financial year has thus far been taken up.

(3) No.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(c) Falls away.

The information furnished above is only in respect of the activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs and therefore does not include any possible assistance by other RSA Departments or agencies.

Guarantees/sureties by Government

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(1) Whether any guarantees or sureties were given directly or indirectly by the Government or any Department or agency of the Government to any person or organization for (a) loans granted, (b) lines of credit granted and (c) other specified financial services rendered to (i) the Government of, (i) any Government Department of, (iii) a development corporation in and (iv) any other specified person or organization in Ciskei in 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987, respectively; if so,

(2) (a) what amounts were involved in each case and (b) what was the total amount outstanding in terms of such guarantees or sureties as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(3) whether foreign currencies are involved in any of these guarantees or sureties; if so, (a) what currencies, (b) how much is involved and (c) who is responsible for bearing the potential cost of exchange rate fluctuations?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) No.

(b) Yes, guarantees for the repayment of overdraft facilities.

(c) No.

(i) Yes.

(ii) No.

(iii) No.

(iv) No.

(2) (a) *Overdraft Facilities*

1986-87 ..... R227 000 000
1987-88 ..... R214 000 000.

(b) To date an amount of R227 million in respect of the guaranteed overdraft facilities for the 1986-87 financial year has been taken up and will be repaid by the Ciskei Government within the framework of the multi-year stabilization programme. No amount of the R214 million for the current financial year has thus far been taken up.

(3) No.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(c) Falls away.

The information furnished above is only in respect of the activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs and therefore does not include any possible assistance by other RSA Departments or agencies.

Sunday Times 14/10/81

Doubt over Inkatha peace talks

DURBAN. - Political activists in Natal townships are sceptical of Inkatha's peace overtures to resolve the seven-year-old bloody conflict with UDF supporters.

This year alone more than 100 people are reported to have been killed in incidents related to Inkatha-UDF clashes and scores of people, mostly youths, have become virtual refugees.

Youths interviewed this week said while Inkatha was making peace overtures, vigilante activity directly linked to its members was spreading even to the remotest areas of Natal.

Over the last two months the Maritzburg area has seen an increased number of attacks. It is reported that 28 people have been killed in the last three weeks. At least 16 of them are said to be Inkatha supporters.

Youths also argue that the take-over of police stations by the Kwazulu police force in June had made life, especially at Umlazi and Kwamashu, even more tough.

"Vigilantes are still out to get us. I last slept at home about six months ago. Two of my brothers were brutally murdered by vigilantes in Mpumalanga. said a 23 year-old youth from the strife-torn Mpumalanga, near Hammarsdale.

Mr Vitus Mvelase, the Durban representative of Kwazulu and a member of the Inkatha Central Commitee, said the talks held on Tuesday in Durban were "sucessful".

UDF's publicity secretary in Natal, Lechesa Tsenoli said the question of talking to Inkatha had the potential of splitting the UDF. - *Concord News Agency*

Blacks

Truce! UDF and Inkatha agree to stop the killings

W Mail

11B

9-15/10/87

Weekly Mail Reporters: Durban

AFTER years of bloody violence, the United Democratic Front and Inkatha have issued an historic statement agreeing to "stop the killing".

The truce was signed on Tuesday by UDF president Archie Gumede and Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi. It followed several talk-sessions between senior members of the two organisations

In a joint statement, issued a few days after the weekend killing of a youth in Mpumalanga township, Hammarsdale, the two leaders called on their members to "stop killing one another".

The statement was issued after residents of several violence-torn townships, including Mpumalanga, KwaMakhutha and the Pietermaritzburg areas, attended "three or four meetings" at a Durban venue.

Their statement says the purpose of the meetings was "to iron out the differences which have led the two organisations to the escalation of violence".

The two sides agreed to "ferret out ways and means of stopping violence" and stressed their commitment to freedom of expression, association, assembly and movement.

Differences between the two organisations were acknowledged but the signatories said these differences "should not be allowed to escalate to black-on-black violence".

The statement said the two organisations "believe strongly in national unity and call on their members to stop killing one another.

"We believe our common enemy is apartheid."

But the fragile truce between the UDF and Inkatha lay in the balance yesterday after three members of the UDF-affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress yesterday claimed they were routed out of Mpumalanga township by Inkatha members.

The youths were part of a group that returned to the township after several months in hiding.

The KwaZulu township of Mpuma-

To PAGE 2

P.T.O.

Inkatha trio jailed for Cosatu killing

DURBAN. - Three members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade have been jailed for effective terms of 12 years each for murder and attempted murder.

Cleophas Mbatha, 20, Sikhumbuso Buthelezi, 21, and Thembinkosi Ngwane, 23, of Kwa Mashu were jailed by Justice Page of the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court for the murder in December last year of Mr Nathi Basi, a Cosatu worker.

They were sentenced to seven years, five years of which are to run concurrently with the 10-year sentences imposed for the attempted murder of Basi's girl friend, Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize. — *Press Trust*

RDM

15-21/10/89 (118) South

Buthelezi tells why Tambo won't meet him

11B

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused UDF co-president Archie Gumede and the Natal Indian Congress of preventing ANC leader Oliver Tambo from meeting with him.

Both Gumede and the NIC said if Buthelezi had any information he should supply it to the police for investigation.

Buthelezi also attacked certain anti-apartheid organisations for keeping alive "black-on-black strife".

Meanwhile, Gumede said in an interview that he did not take part in the recent Inkatha-UDF peace talks as a UDF representative but as a representative of anti-apartheid organisations in the affected townships.

15-21/10/87

"The local community leaders asked me to bring about peace in their townships," Gumede.

"I volunteered to intervene because I am sick and tired of all the killings," he said. He said that since the murder of Mrs Victoria Mxenge in August 1985 more than 500 people had been killed and more than R2-million damages has been caused to private homes. — *Press Trust*

Sowetan

THE HOMELANDS

Echoes of discontent

Official investigation of corruption in Transkei has led to a mini-coup. But the majority of homelands, independent or otherwise, are stricken with comparable problems, and the bill — to SA — rises each year.

What on earth is to be done about the homelands? If you won one in a raffle, would you keep it? The turbulent exit of the Matanzimas in Transkei — carried off by floods of bad publicity involving alleged corruption — is only one indicator that all is not well in the black statelets.

Of course, they are not recognised in international law; of course they are based on the inequitable territorial allocations of the Land Acts; and of course they are blatantly political in that they serve as the geographical basis of the denationalisation policy.

But they exist — and the longer they do so, the more likely they are to take on the character of former colonies, with all this implies of rule by elite and economic dependency on metropolitan (in our case, Pretoria) largesse. The price seems rather too high.

They were never exactly regarded as model nations. Now the four independent TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei), and, with some notable exceptions, the six self-governing homelands, appear to be entering a period of moral and financial laxity — the consequences of which remain unquantifiable.

The level of corruption exposed by the Commission of Inquiry into Transkei's Department of Public Works and Energy has shocked even those inured to the worst excesses of homeland administrations.

The prospect of millions of rands being skimmed off the top of contracts never put out to tender; of property wheeling and dealing on behalf of favoured sons or those close to the seat of power; and of Cabinet ministers being marched out of office by force has, rightly, left many South Africans aghast.

And though it has not happened yet, the prospect exists of a coup in one of the homelands which could trigger regional instability — with SA exercising its own version of the Brezhnev Doctrine and intervening in the affairs of a hostile state within its "hemisphere."

The dubious legal status of the independent homelands has lately thrown up an example of how SA's relations with Western nations can be devilled. It was singularly embarrassing to have SA embroiled in a diplomatic tug-of-war (in the Albertini affair) because France and the rest of the international community refuses to recognise SA's creation, Ciskei, as a sovereign state.

Moreover, it is untenable that the army of one homeland (Transkei) should invade — on whatever scale — that of another (Ciskei) and cause loss of life and the destruction of property. All in the name of a personal vendetta — its roots in tribalism — between the two administrations. That incident earlier this year was happily resolved only after the intervention of top officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the signing of a non-aggression pact between the two adversaries similar to that of the Nkomati Accord.

Goings-on of this kind are taking an exacting toll on the image of SA's homelands abroad (such as it is) and, by extension, that of SA too (such as it is). It begs the question: what further traumas can SA expect from its truculent offspring in the months and years ahead?

To her credit, the new incumbent in Transkei, Stella Sigcau, pledged herself to a clean administration in her first public statement. That, in the light of the legacy of successive Transkei administrations, might be an impossible dream. Nevertheless, it is a laudable objective and one which needs support — especially since South African taxpayers' funds are at risk to misbehaviour.

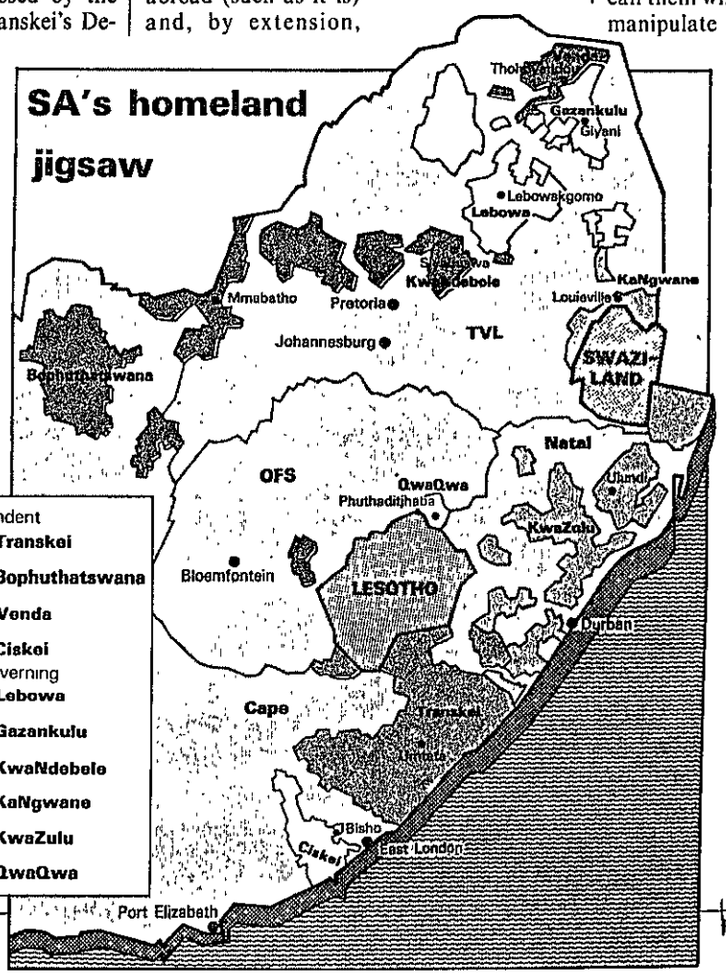
It is perhaps simplistic to see the type of maladministration in evidence in the homelands as a purely African phenomenon. That is not to say that they do not take their cue, in part, from countries to the north of the Limpopo. In these regions kickbacks to officialdom have become so customary that they are almost quantifiable business costs.

The truth of the matter is that it is not only officialdom that is to blame — much less black officialdom. One of the most disturbing elements in the successive waves of corruption which have rocked homeland administrations is that whites have often been at the root of it — and that black officials are frequently merely the instruments through which they acquire their ill-gotten gains. Rank opportunists, or "Uhuru hoppers" — call them what you will, it is they who tend to manipulate the system most by insinuating themselves close to those in authority.

So endemic has graft and corruption become that the central government has become tacitly accepting of it. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha admitted to parliament this year that something like 5% of the State's allocation towards homeland finances was misappropriated each year, adding that, in the African context, the wastage factor was "not bad." A sorry admission.

It is true that the amount of revenue contributed towards homeland finances from "own sources" has grown considerably over the years. One or two are getting to the point where they could conceivably become self-financing. But with South African taxpayers still contributing something like R6 billion annually (if all revenue is included) in the form of budgetary assistance to the TBVC states — and excluding the self-governing regions — there is a need for greater concern over expenditure.

The commission delving into



the financial affairs of Transkei has recommended that tighter budgetary control is one way in which corruption could be minimised — a difficult task if the charade of homeland independence which SA presents to the world is to be maintained.

One positive development has been the formation of four Joint Financial Adjustment Committees — bilateral bodies comprising officials of the affected administrations — to oversee future spending.

While ostensibly not detracting from the carefully cultivated sovereignty SA's vassal states enjoy, they will subtly guide the hand that signs the cheques.

A special committee has been established to examine the efficacy of government's decentralisation policy and its attendant incentive packages — an area long suspected of being vulnerable.

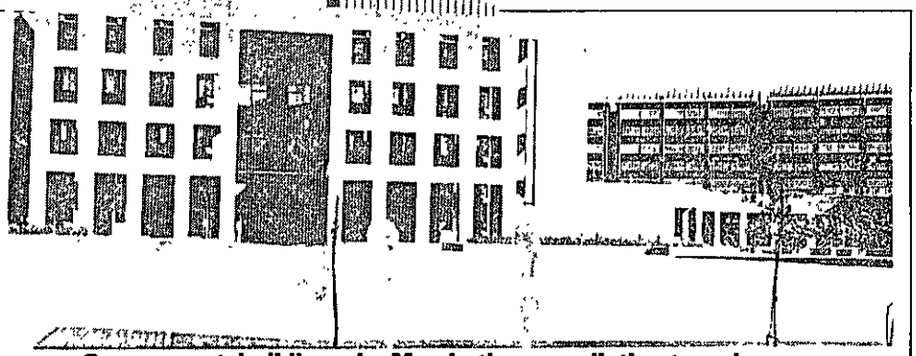
A total of R500m is apparently spent each year in facilitating industrial decentralisation to the homelands — much of which is alleged to somehow find its way into various back pockets. Retroactive tax legislation should help stem the haemorrhage into cross-border tax havens at the expense of the South African exchequer. It is common cause that tax evasion scams perpetrated under Ciskei's benign "no corporate tax" environment has cost the South African fiscus millions each year.

There is another time-bomb — and one which PFP MP Harry Schwarz frequently refers to in parliament: Offshore loans, running into many hundreds of millions, which the TBVC states have borrowed to fund their deficits.

At some point the piper will have to be paid. The burden is likely to fall on the South African taxpayer, since all homeland offshore borrowings have been guaranteed by Pretoria.

Homeland officials obviously do not start out with the intention of corrupting the system. But they often have scant political legitimacy among the people they are intended to represent — Mangosuthu Buthelezi is a notable exception.

As co-opted black leaders they begin in an invidious position; and the hostility directed at them for being "Pretoria's puppets" has been a potent factor in rural "unrest" these past three years.



Government buildings in Mmabatho ... all the trappings

Some of them — the overlords in KwaNdebele appear to be a case in point — are on the opposite side of their community.

Clearly, theirs is no easy role.

The consequence of being the butt of the community's derision could lead to a lowering of self-esteem, from which the slide into moral degradation — of which corruption is only one manifestation — cannot be too distant.

Cynics would no doubt say that government has been hoist by its own petard. By blindly following the Verwoerdian vision of separating out a "white" SA from the midst of a host of nominally independent black states, it has created a privileged and powerful elite reluctant to surrender the trappings of office.

It is axiomatic that black Mercedes-Benzes with pennants flying, luxury homes, plush legislative assembly buildings and national flags — even if they are hoisted upside down — are hallmarks of avariciousness not likely to be given up without protest.

Moreover, it would be naive to believe that the homelands could, in effect, be scuppered.

Recognised or not, they exist as defined if usually fragmented geographic entities and seem to square with the worldwide phenomenon towards stronger ethnic identification and autonomy, of which the Sikh and Tamil national movements in India and Sri Lanka are two examples.

Graft or no graft, homeland citizens are a mite better off than they were prior to independence, when they were irremediably locked by Group Areas and influx control into arid, remote dependencies.

That much even avowed critics of the system like *Time* magazine acknowledge. Fuelled no doubt by the infusion of South African cash, GDP is rising in most, as is per capita income and the quality of life in general.

Yet not without reason government is becoming more circumspect about "independence" for the homelands. It's insistence that KwaNedebele's desire for autonomy should be tested at the polls is evidence that statehood is a favour not as lightly granted as it once was.

It is easy to be critical of the homeland leaders' style or shortcomings. The history of modern Africa is littered with corrupt despots. But in the final analysis it is SA itself that bears responsibility for its creations.

And while it might be easy, even fashionable, to joke about the antics of some homeland leaders, what must not be forgotten is that something like 20m people have to live under their maladministrations. The lesson surely must be that it is not the political kingdom held shakily in place by "aid" from Pretoria (which inflation constantly erodes) to which blacks should aspire.

The means of greater participation in the market economy of the region — imperfect though it may be — should be the priority. ■

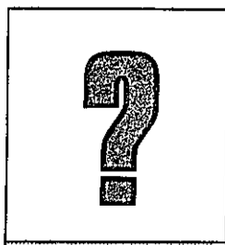
Who's who in the homelands

Stella Sigcau
TRANSKEI

Lucas Mangope
BOPHUTHATSWANA

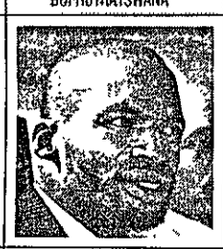
Patrick Mphephu
VENDA

Lennox Sebe
CISKEI



LEBOWA

Hudson Ntsanwisi
GAZANKULU



George Mahlangu
KWANDEBELE

Enos Mabuza
KANGWANE

Mangosuthu Buthelezi
KWAZULU

Kenneth Mopeli
QWAQWA

Working towards progress

Oscar Dhlomo is deputy leader of Inkatha, and acting chief minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) while Mangosuthu Buthelezi is away. Dhlomo is clearly Buthelezi's most trusted political lieutenant. Now he has even more clout, as chairman of the Kwa-Natal Joint Authority (JEA).

***FM*: What importance do you attach to the JEA and how do you see it developing?**

Dhlomo: I suppose we differ from our colleagues on the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) executive. When we started the process of regional co-operation we saw it developing in three phases:

☐ The first was informal co-operation under the Strategic Policy Group (SPG) and the working group of department heads of the NPA and KLA;

☐ The JEA concept then arose because the policy group needed to be formalised. Our proposals were accepted by government with only two amendments — removing education from the area of responsibility, and including a provision to establish JEAs elsewhere.

We had deliberately avoided suggesting that similar JEAs could be established elsewhere. We tended to feel that people might mistake this for arrogance. To our surprise government decided to include such a provision; and

☐ The third phase is the establishment of a joint legislative authority, that will combine the two regions and be responsible for all people — along the lines of the Indaba proposals.

Because of this view, the JEA has a greater psychological importance for us than for our colleagues from the NPA. We see it as a mechanism, to demonstrate that it's possible to work together and co-operate in advancing certain projects and executing certain ordinances. Obviously this should progress to where you make the ordinances as well as execute them.

What are the limitations of the JEA?

You have two separate authorities, operating on a confederal basis, and each retains its autonomy. It does not have legislative powers. It's still ethnically structured. And it cannot begin to positively affect the lives of people — in education, for instance, and housing.

When do you see these limitations being resolved, or an Indaba-type joint legislature replacing the JEA?

I can't say. The government owns the clock. But there can be no going back from the JEA. And one is encouraged by statements from the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Chris Heunis; the Administrator of Natal, Radclyffe Cadman; and Heunis's statement that he has no objection to restoring legislative powers to the provinces.

The indications are that government is in favour of a single legislature for Kwa-Natal, so a lot of ground has been covered even before negotiations. We start from the common premise that it represents one region, and should be governed by a single legislative authority.

We prefer the Indaba proposals, but are prepared to listen to whatever kind of legislature Heunis will want.

What accounts for this different attitude towards Natal by the government?

Natal's history leaves a lingering feeling that it is somehow different from the rest of the country. Until the last election, Natal was still the only province that was ruled at second-tier by an opposition party. This party happened to be mainly English-speaking.

The National Party, at its height and in the midst of resounding election successes, failed to capture Natal — until May this year.

Natal is the only province that has within it a homeland whose borders are so intertwined with those of Natal that, no matter what you did by way of so-called consolidation, you'd never get a contiguous territory of KwaZulu and Natal without calling the two one.

In fact, government does see this now. Heunis has said that his department is to re-examine provincial boundaries — but that the study would not affect Natal. Again, this emphasises that Natal is different, and that Natal and KwaZulu are inseparable.

There appear to be growing areas of dialogue between Zulus and white Natalians. What advice do you have for those white negotiators who may be ignorant of Zulu custom on such occasions?

Zulu people by nature are reserved and modest, and whites by contrast are outgoing and open. Normally a Zulu person will not interject. Only if the debate grows hot will he do so.

Zulu people tend also to be very diplomatic and their responses may be misinterpreted. Normally a Zulu person will not be straightforward and the negotiator may believe he has agreed with everything that has been discussed, whereas he merely listened without interjecting.

There is a certain inscrutability. Often this arises because the Zulu does not wish to rush into a decision. Most of our people would like to talk about it among themselves first.

KwaZulu's leaders come under fierce attack from the Left as "sell-outs," for working within the system and sticking to the "politics of negotiation."

The problem can be traced back to history. Our political terminology has become distorted. You're conservative if you are normal — if you want your children to go to school, and acquire skills for a post-apartheid SA; if you don't want them to throw stones and burn things down; if you don't want them to assault teachers; or if you encourage respect for authority and senior people.

When we grew up this was normal, typical behaviour. Now it's conservative, reactionary, counter-revolutionary. If you boycott schools, burn them down, stab teachers, shout slogans like "Liberation first and education later" — then you're progressive and a comrade in the liberation struggle. You must commit suicide to be a comrade.

This is why Inkatha, Dr Buthelezi and KwaZulu are regarded as obstacles to the so-called liberation struggle. Because he wants what he wants, and this is what will give his people a good start in a post-apartheid SA.

How is support for these two viewpoints spread among Zulus?

Recent research found that the majority of black people in SA still believe negotiation is possible. But if you go to some of the black townships you would not believe that.

The strategies of the revolutionaries are such that they don't need numbers to make themselves heard. They are also very well organised.

Many people don't like admitting they are politically in the middle ground. They become ambivalent and maintain two insurance policies — one in revolution and the other in negotiation — while they look to see which will mature first. (See ***PEOPLE***)

W/Mail 16-22/10/87

Inkatha 3 get 12 years for union murder

Weekly Mail Reporters

THREE Inkatha members have been sentenced in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court to an effective 12 years imprisonment for murdering a member of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and shooting his friend.

The three went to Sundumbili outside Mtunzini last December on a publicity campaign for Inkatha.

Cleophas Mbatha, 20, Sikhumbuso Buthelezi, 21, and Themba Nkosi Ngwane, 23 — all of KwaMashu — were part of a group from Inkatha and the Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of South Africa who went to the area carrying a variety of arms.

Mr Justice Neville Page accepted that Cosatu supporters taunted and threatened to kill them. However, he noted that the accused had, among other things, forced Cosatu supporters to strip off the union T-shirts.

He also found that the Inkatha group tried to stop a vehicle they believed was carrying Cosatu supporters, and followed it to kill the passengers.

They found only two people inside the vehicle — Nathi Basi and Hlengiwe Mkhize. Both were shot in the head, but Mkhize survived.

The judge said he made allowances because of the relative youth of the three, and because they had been threatened — but he also had to take into account the fact that the community was suffering a spate of killings by bands of thugs.

He described the killing as "ruthless", and sentenced each of the three to 10 years for the murder of Basi, and to seven for the attempted murder of Mkhize, part of which will run concurrently.

● CHRISTINA SCOTT reports that in a separate case in Pietermaritzburg, four Umlazi Youth League members — including the president — have been charged with murdering a South African policeman in a petrol bomb attack in Umlazi township.

A fifteen-year-old, a sixteen-year-old, Henry Mkhize, 18, and "Rambo" Lawrene Sibusiso Nhlangulela have pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, attempted murder and petrol-bombing a police car.

The four are accused of murdering SAP member Madod Able Mkhwanazi and injuring Nelisiwe Khoza.

The trial begins on November 30.

— Own Correspondent and Concord News Agency

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GUMEDE BLOWS PEACE PIPES

By S'BU MNGADI

UNITED Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumede this week defiantly continued with his crusade to end the current bloodshed between the UDF and Inkatha, despite Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "spurious" attack on him and his "comrades".

Addressing the Inkatha Women Brigade's annual conference at Ulundi at the weekend – three days after a historic truce signed by Gumede and Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi – Buthelezi accused the UDF, Natal Indian Congress, Black Sash, National Union of SA Students, white academics and elements in the PFP of helping to keep black strife alive.

The attack, which was also directed at Diakonia and the SACC – members of which had been instrumental in initiating the present dialogue between the UDF and Inkatha leadership – has cast doubts over Buthelezi's sincere commitment to reconciliation in the embattled province.

To this, he said: "I call for reconciliation on the basis that no one organisation represents the totality of authentic black aims and aspirations."

Apart from this, the veteran anti-apartheid compaigner said he had on several occasions been threatened personally.

In his scathing attack on the left, Buthelezi claimed that NIC's modern leadership was "an insult to that great son of Africa, Mahatma Gandhi".

He said there was a brand of Indian who "is poison to the black struggle for liberation" and that certain Indians in the ANC were totally against any reconciliation between himself and his "brother", ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He accused Gumede, who cut a lone figure as the only Natal UDF official at the forefront of peace talks between the two rival organisations, of "toadying" to divisive elements.

"Must I keep quiet about this because Gumede is an expert at distorting what I say?" he asked.

Inspite of these attacks Gumede was this week back on his peace mission.

He led a large delegation from the "flash point" of Mpumalanga, KwaNdengezi and KwaMakhutha to a meeting with senior Inkatha leaders and Kwazulu MPs in another round of talks in Koinona, at Botha's Hill.

Gumede said the utterances had not dampened his commitment to peace and co-existence.

When *City Press* interviewd him this week in his offices in central Durban, messages of support from throughout the country and abroad were pouring in, including from foreign diplomats who had been present at the Inkatha Women Brigade's conference.

Responding to Buthelezi, he said:

"I'd like to know who I am toadying to? Toadying to him or to Botha? How can one toady to people who are powerless? I don't understand how people can pay attention to such spurious statements.

"Where does Buthelezi obtain the basss for his statement that our organisation is against the conciliation between Inkatha and us, and Inkatha and the ANC?" he asked.

"By looking at the number of people who had been killed or had their houses and property destroyed one could conclude who was responsible for the violence in this province.

"Unlike Inkatha members, the homes of UDF members are always searched. We can't keep any dangerous weapons in our homes.

"Those who can defend themselves do so while others run away. I know of thousands of refugees who have run away from Inkatha violence.

"Until Buthelezi distances himself from attacks on the campaign for comprehensive sanctions, I cannot see any raproachment taking place between himself and the ANC nor do I see how the UDF can accept his bona fides while he is able to say he does not share our 'need to toe the line of the ANC'," he said.

Lastly, he said: "I make no apology for the fact that I abhore apartheid in all its manifestations, irrespective of the might of its perpetrators, and I don't appreciate how a victim of that evil system can possibly accuse me of confronting him when I express my opposition to apartheid."

Meanwhile, Kwandengezi and Kwamakhutha representatives of both rival factions applauded the Mpumalanga truce reached last week and agreed to go back to their constituencies for further consultations.

In the meantime, they agreed to call on their membership to refrain from violence. However, the Kwamakhutha Youth League members present, including Victor Ntuli, whose 13-member family and fellow-church members were wiped out in a cold-blooded massacre early this year, expressed reluctance.

At Kwandengezi, Inkatha and UDF supporters have set up a "people's forum" to clear up misunderstandings.

More talks will be held next Wednesday, according to Gumede.

In Maritzburg, which saw the gunning down of six people in separate incidents this week, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the UDF issued a joint pamphlet condemning the violence and called on local communities to isolate and expose Inkatha, whom they accused of perpetrating violence in the region.

The UDF-Cosatu pamphlet advised Maritzburg residents to form defence units and monitor the movements of raiders.

"Don't retaliate on innocent Inkatha members and supporters, because by so doing you will perpetraring the very violence we want to counter," it advised.

Already, defence units have been formed and have had several clashes with vigilantes.

Among those killed this week were an unidentified black woman aged 50 and her 11-year-old daughter, shot dead in their home in Elandsko area near Edendale.

Maritzburg SA Police PRO Captain P Kitching said two inspectors were shot dead in the back of the head at close range on a bus near Henley Dam outside Edendale.

A gunman opened fire in the bus killing Joseph Dube, 55, and Wilson Mda, 50, both of whom worked for Sizanani Mazulu Transport, before jumping out of a window.

Sizanani Mazulu Transport has been an ugly scene of confrontation between Inkatha-backed Uwusa and the Cosatu-affiliated Transport and General Workers' Union members which has clamed eight lives so far.

In another incident, Anna Mathonsi, 47, died instantly when she was shot in the head outside her Imbali home. Shots were fired from a car which pulled up in front of the house.

The police also found a bullet-riddled body of a man at Elandskop. Another man was seriously wounded.

There were other reports of injuries during attacks and counter-attacks, and seven youths were arrested after they refused to disperse from an illegal gathering, according to the police.

UDF Natal co-president Archie Gumede.

Inkatha men jailed for murder

By S'BU MNGADI

THREE Durban Inkatha Youth Brigade members were this week each sentenced to an effective 12years' imprisonment by Maritzburg Supreme Court Judge Page for murdering a Cosatu member in Mthunzini and attempting to kill his girlfriend in December last year.

Cleophas Mbatha, 20, Sikhumbuzo Buthelezi, 21, and Thembinkosi Ngwane, 23, all of Lindelani squatter camp – were found guilty with extenuating circumstance by Page and two assessors of having shot Nathi Basi through the head.

The dead man's girlfriend, Hlengiwe Mkhize, was also shot in the head and was seriously injured during the incident at Sundumbili, Mthunzini, on December 16 last year.

According to evidence before the court the accused and supporters of Uwusa had gone there to conduct a publicity campaign on behalf of Inkatha, which controls Uwusa.

Basi was accused of being a supporter of rival Cosatu but he denied this.

The three accused were each jailed for 10 years on the murder charge with extenuating circumstances and seven years' imprisonment for attempted murder. Five years of the sentence was ordered to run concurrently.

Page said he took into cognisance the ever increasing killing of people by "bands of thugs" purpoting to act under the aegis of political movements.

He said the courts had the duty of combating conduct of this nature which was reducing the townships to "lawless chaos".

It appeared that a great number of people involved were young and were acting under the protection of "youth movements".

He felt, however, that the youth of the perpetrators should not be accorded undue weight as a mitigating factor in this case.

Nevertheless, he was imposing a lesser sentence on them than he would have on adult people.

The judge said the crimes committed by the men were a "ruthless murder and an equally ruthless attempted murder".

Star Times

SA could become colossus — Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — South Africa could easily rise from the ashes of apartheid to become a colossus of Africa, bringing benefits to the entire sub-continent, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said in West Germany at the weekend.

Speaking at a dinner held in his honour in Essen, Frankfurt, he said there were growing signs of disillusionment with the effectiveness of sanctions, and encouraging evidence that the world was beginning to re-examine attitudes towards the South African situation.

Black South Africans were disillusioned with the effectiveness of the politics of confrontation and with the violent tactics of some groups, he said.

"Three years ago revolutionaries were telling the black population that violence would continue escalating until the government was toppled.

"Now, three years later, the government is still there and it is blacks who are paying the price of failed violence."

23/10/87

INDABA

A bit more subtle

The Indaba has again come under fire from the National Party — but this time, at the NP Natal congress in Amanzimtoti, the criticism was more restrained. There are still two main targets — the Indaba education proposals, and its marketing campaign.

Criticism of education proposals is based on a distortion of Indaba intentions to make facilities equal. Nat critics claim this is set to happen within one year, and will lead to massive disruptive, to the disadvantage of white children. The Indaba has frequently refuted the allegation — its campaign is a long-term one, and has the same objective as government. But the inaccurate criticism continues.

The second target of Nat critics is the Indaba marketing campaign, regarded as a glossy propaganda exercise which will unfairly influence public opinion.

Indaba's response, outlined by Peter Mansfield, is that the proposals are complex and need detailed presentation. The communications campaign aims to present the details in digestible form. If public opinion is ever tested in a provincial referendum, people will need to know what they are voting about.

Mansfield is reluctant to quote budget figures, but says he believes the government has spent more money communicating its position on Group Areas than Indaba has on newspaper advertisements. Until there's a formal response from government on the Indaba proposals for the administration of KwaNatal, Indaba will continue to inform as broad an audience as possible.

"Our impression," says Mansfield, "is that, once Heunis has received the province's reply to our proposals, he will hold discussions with Indaba participants. Our immediate goal is discussion, and we hope it would lead to a referendum to test our proposals."

Significantly, Mansfield adds that despite the "mischievous" efforts of some critics, Indaba is amenable to discussing variations of its proposals with government. "We have indicated that we are happy to meet with government to seek consensus . . . Our attitude is non-confrontational and seeks to accommodate any concerns that government may have." ■

Crossfire of views on the Indaba come under spotlight

(118) SMAL 21/10/87

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

DURBAN — Behind the razzmatazz and often unreasoned perceptions of the kwaNatal Indaba, a major debate, in which some of the more substantial issues are emerging, is under way over Natal/kwaZulu politics.

This debate, with its multitude of conflicting and often contradictory arguments, has been comprehensively presented in a special edition of the magazine *The Indicator* produced by the Indicator Project South Africa at the University of Natal.

The debate in the edition, which appears under the title New Frontiers — The kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, is not limited to what many observers consider to be the quaint regional politics of a maverick province.

Some of the 16 articles in the publication stress that the Indaba, if nothing else, could be the catalyst for greater things. At least one of the contributors, however, argues that the achievements of the Indaba have been grossly exaggerated.

The Durban newspaper, *The Daily News*, has extracted various brief points made by some of the contributors to the publication in order to highlight the debate.

Professor Karl Maygar, of the department of international relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, points out that the problems of the country have been several decades in the making.

"We cannot expect to undo them in eight short months of political negotiation," he says.

The Indaba could be the beginning of a solution that will take much longer to attain, he argues.

But Mr Gerhard Mardu15'e, research fellow at the Applied Social Sciences Centre of the University of Natal, argues in his contribution that the Indaba achievements have been exaggerated and are "dangerous to democratic social change as a whole".

Political analyst Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, in a summing up article, says there is cause for hope, caution and despair in the arguments and proposals presented in the Indicator review.

Deeply polarised viewpoints

"It is clear from the essays carried in this review that the major problem with these proposals is their location in the political cross fire between deeply polarised political viewpoints in South Africa.

"It is possible that, falling between the two political currents, they may be lost in the tide of history.

"On the other hand, their position in the cross fire may be the surest indication that they represent a creative resolution."

Much of the debate deals with the pressing political and socio-economic demands being placed on South Africa as well as the full range of proposed political solutions that have been put forward to deal with them.

The arguments over the Indaba proposals themselves boil down to three basic issues — legitimacy, protection of individual or group rights and the acceptability and economic feasibility of regional solutions.

Some of the arguments tend to become submerged in often meaningless political jargon.

But this is not the fault of *The Indicator* and probably stems from the polemical approach adopted by some of the contributors.

With the publication, The Indicator Project has confirmed its ability to tackle major problems of the country and present the full scope of opinion around important issues of the day.

Apart from the contributed articles, research editors Miss Karin Roberts and Mr Graham Howe, have summarised sections and brought in background documentation and information.

The special publication of *The Indicator*will be available from the end of the month at a cost of R25.

Right wing avoids basic question of legitimacy

Political Staff

DURBAN — The legitimacy of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba is the core argument in the raging debate.

But it is also a debate the right wing groupings, with their total lack of general legitimacy, sidestep.

The argument over legitimacy goes back to initial participation in the Indaba.

Mr Mewa Ramgobin, veteran Natal Indian Congress politician, and academic Gerard Mare argue that no solution will have legitimacy that does not include the groupings to the left but add that for a number of reasons the indaba concept itself is unacceptable.

Mr Peter Mansfield, Indaba Director of Communications is confident the Indaba can prove majority support for the proposals.

In short, he says, the Indaba believes "the people" must decide and is even willing to test the opinions of the various population groups separately to gauge breadth of support.

Dealing with the non co-operation of organisations such as the UDF and ANC, Mr Mansfield says "it is a plan that invites all political groupings to participate in elections to prove their support or power".

The main argument against the legitimacy of the Indaba is that groupings such as the UDF, Azapo, the ANC and the PAC were not represented.

Research Fellow at the Centre for Applied Social Sciences Gerhard Maree rejects the Indaba as a "regional intervention by minority class interests" claiming it has brought Inkatha and the tricameral parties, excluding the far right, into a practical, political and ideological alliance.

He defends the non-participation of the various left-wing organisations saying that among other things voting would have been loaded against them, the meetings were to be held in secret, which was non democratic and there was a state of emergency.

From this base, he then says, the recommendations were therefore also non-democratic because the left wing groupings were not present.

These groupings were committed to national change and he asks "can a fragment prescribe to the whole?"

University of Natal legal academic, Professor Laurence Boulle, says the proposals actually prefer "administrative continuity to constitutional legitimacy".

The Indaba had inevitably attempted to rationalise existing political arrangements.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo . . . general-secretary of Inkatha — legitimate rights of majority need to be recognised.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, well-known political analyst . . . "cause for caution, hope and despair".

The 'group factor' is a weapon used by both sides

Political Staff

DURBAN — The right wing, including the National Party has selected what it perceives to be the lack of protection of group — and by that it means race group — as the stick with which to beat the Indaba.

But it is the group factor that the left uses as well in rejecting the Indaba — because it has race group protections.

Co-sponsor of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, says to have a chance of winning widespread support in South Africa a political solution will have to recognise the legitimate rights of the majority to exercise political power commensurate with their numerical strength.

Simultaneously it would have to assure minority groups, possibly for specified periods of time, that the political power of the majority "shall not be exercised at the expense of minority, religious and linguistic rights.

"The Indaba proposals, together with the Bill of Rights, attempt to realise both of these diffcult objectives."

Natal University legal academic, Professor Laurence Boulle, states bluntly that the proposals prefer group rights to majority rule — the preference being shown in the second chamber and with the protection of group rights.

It was probable that not only cultural or linguistic rights could be protected by also material rights.

The combined English and Afrikaans groups could absolutely veto constitutional amendments.

Mr Chris Saunders, chief of the Tongaat/Hulett group says the Indaba appeal lies in the fact it has come up with non-racial power sharing

Academic Gerard Mare, although conceding the proposals do not amount to apartheid Says ethnicity continues to be given "spatial, political and administrative form".

The only way to get rid of racial divisions would, in his opinion, probably be "the politics of the working class" or else a national rather than an ethnic populism.

Constititional academic, Professor Marinus Wiechers, rejects claims that the constitutional model is based on the racially defined group, saying it would be impossible in terms of the Bill of Rights.

But at the same time the Indaba gave protection to community groups on the basis of freedom of association — a "fundamental break with current Government dogma".

(113) S/T 25/10/87

Blacks form 'laagers' in city of death

Report: SHAUN HARRIS Pictures: JIMMY HUTTON

AS POLICE reinforcements rolled into Maritzburg's townships of death this week, residents were organising their own laager-style protection.

"Defensive units" is the new buzzword in the townships — a system of safe areas, manned and patrolled mainly by youths.

Woman, children and the elderly are crowded into the centre of the safe area, which consists of anything from a few houses to several blocks.

The outskirts are unobtrusively monitored by youths, many lounging around houses evacuated in the fighting.

"Fewer people are getting killed since the defensive units were set up — but the fighting will continue. People are now feeling more secure, and there is an attitude on both sides of "we are winning". Nobody is going to give up," said a young man from the township of Edendale.

Thugs

When the Sunday Times drove past "Angola", one of the units, it looked like an ordinary part of the township.

But a companion, who asked not to be named for his own safety, said hundreds of "comrades" would spring into action in a matter of minutes if the area was threatened.

Tearing apart the black townships which surround the normally peaceful city is the most prolonged and intense conflict seen since the declaration of the state of emergency.

On one level the violence is a bitter fight between the Natal-based Inkatha movement and the United Democratic Front for control of the townships; on another it is open season for what is now being called the third force — gangsters, thugs, and criminals who are using the ideological conflict to rape, loot, and murder.

One of the defensive units which have sprung up in Maritzburg

The official death toll in the violence so far this year stands at around 100 — unofficially it could be much higher.

Houses have been burnt to the ground, vehicles destroyed, childen forced out of school and parents prevented from going to work in the city.

In one bloody weekend this month eight people were killed, six of them shot. Victims are also being burnt to death or hacked to pieces with pangas and axes.

And while Inkatha and the UDF make claims and counter-claims about each other, peace talks initiated between the two political parties last year seem to be on the rocks with little chance of being salvaged.

Black high school pupils began their final matric exams on Friday. Many were unable to write, threatened or too scared to attend school.

Unless alternative venues can be arranged or the exams postponed, 1987 will become just another wasted school year for thousands of pupils.

"Why do you think the killing is getting worse? It is because the UDF do not want the children to write exams. They (the UDF) want them out of school and on the streets so they can recruit them," said Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, regional chairman of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Maritzburg.

"That is a ridiculous claim. Of course the youths want to write exams, but they are unhappy because they have learnt that the army is to be called in to invigilate the exams," said Mr Archie Gumede, UDF president and one of the leading figures in the stalled peace talks.

Other UDF leaders also claim that the reason behind the violence is a recruitment drive by Inkatha, organised from Ulundi.

Although Inkatha controls many Durban townships and most of the smaller areas in Zululand and on the South Coast, they do not have a firm power base in Maritzburg.

In many ways the city is a natural battleground for the two groups, where they are fighting a type of border war for the hearts and minds of the residents.

"We are the defending side — it is our members who are being killed," says Mr Ndlovu.

But as far as the UDF is concerned, bands of Inkatha vigilantes are going from door to door forcing residents to sign up.

Peace

Inkatha responds with similar claims about young UDF members, saying they are forcing children out of school and making them join in night marches.

Mr Ndlovu says Inkatha is ready for a peace meeting.

Mr Gumede says agreement was reached at meetings with Inkatha officials in Durban for a structure to be set up to resolve the conflict.

"Proposals from the meeting have been sent to UDF affiliates. I am still waiting for replies."

One of the worst affected areas during the past week has been Zayeka, a part of Sweetwaters, a rural township 15 minutes from the centre of Maritzburg.

Mrs Thembisa Ndlele was outside her house sorting through a mound of burnt furniture, clothing and bedding.

"Four men came last Friday looking for boys to join them. When they didn't find any they hit me, then began to burn everything inside the house.

"I know some of them — they were from Inkatha," Mrs Ndlele said, adding that she was confused by the attack because she was also a member of the organisation.

Simon's Town, The
I Area of Strand;
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IN AREAS.

THE NATAL 'WARZONE'

25/10/87

By S'BU MNGADI

THE bloody United Democratic Front-Inkatha conflict for political supremacy has reduced Natal Midlands townships to a warzone.

The death toll during the past three weeks alone, which yesterday morning stood at 47, could increase dramatically as more bodies continued to be found after each night's pitched battles.

Recently devastated by floods, residents in the area also have to face nights of terror

The bashing down of doors, kidnappings, screams, executions and the flames of burning houses have become permanent features of the townships.

Hundreds of supporters of both Inkatha and the UDF, and to a lesser extent Cosatu, have been maimed and killed during the past year and scores of houses destroyed.

The matric examinations, scheduled to begin today, hung in the balance yesterday because schools are situated in areas that have become no-go areas for either the UDF or Inkatha supporters

On Monday, a heavily armed group of people allegedly disrupted pupils preparing to write their examinations at two Edendale schools This was confirmed by LJ Simelane, S'Mero High School's committee vice-chairman.

Several businesses in Maritzburg have also been severely disrupted, with employees staying at home to protect their property which rival political gangs have been threatening to destroy if the men refused to join their "armies".

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries frantically convened meetings with concerned organisation, but without any success.

All townships in the area have been torn into "strongholds" for either the UDF or Inkatha.

UDF strongholds have been renamed after socialist countries.

On arriving at Kwadambuza (Angola), we were ushered into a mud house where "comrades" – all members of "The Scorpions" (named after an automatic Russian pistol) – had been discussing the war.

The group consisted of scholars, workers and unemployed poeple – including a prison warder – and their ages ranged from 13 to 21.

Hundreds of local youths are said to be members of The Scorpions.

It's 24-hou[r] where nigh[t] to the flood[s]

According to the group, they were formed out of fear of retribution following the killing of two prominent Inkatha members accused of being at the forefront of a reign of terror by vigilantes at Kwadambuza last year.

Sitting at the table was pint-size Themba Gasa, 14, who appeared to be second-in-command of The Scorpions.

Themba's profile depicts

Sister Bernard Ncube ... freed after 16 months in detention.

25/10/87

'Prayers answered' as nun is released

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

IT was a happy reunion for the president of the Federation of Transvaal Woman, Sister Bernard Ncube, and her family in Dube, Soweto, when she was released on bail this week after 16 months in detention.

Ncube was joyfully welcomed by her elderly parents who said, "Our prayers are answered," when she visited them this week.

Ncube and 14 members of the Krugersdorp Residents' Committee were detained on June 12 last year. They are facing charges of sedition, subversion and assault.

Those who were freed on R500 bail with Sister Ncube are: Abel Mokonyane, Steven Motingoe, George Xolelizwe, Moses Kelebane, Mathew Kope and Christopher Sithole.

Two others, Lawrence Ntlokoe, secretary of the KRO, and Bongani Dlamini, an executive member, were the first to be freed after their lawyers successfully applied to the Rand Supreme Court for their release.

The chairman of the KRO, Joshia Dekeme Makgotlo, and Zacharia Molete, are allowed to go to work in Chamdor, but are not allowed to enter Kagiso.

Isaac Genu, KRO vice-chairman, Jerry Kgofela, Morgen Morwa Montoedi, George Xolelizwe, Abel Mokonyane, Steven Oupa Motingoe, Johanna Mokowe, Moses Kelebane, Chistopther Sithole and Mathew Kope are all staying in a mission house in Soweto.

The trial of Ncube and the 14 others is due to start in January.

According to bail conditions, Ncube, who is living at the Ursuline sisters' home in Kensington, is prohibited from entering the magisterial districts of Krugersdorp, Roodepoort and Randfontein or move her place of residence without the permission of the investigating officer.

She is restricted from participating in any actions or attend any political organisations or civic associations meetings and has to report to the police twice a week.

Mokone is no more

ELIJAH Mokone, the erstwhile boxing "Ellis Brown", is no more.

Mokone, 54, one of the finest lightweight champions SA has ever seen, passed away this week at the Sebokeng Hospital.

THE EMERGENCY

This newspaper has been produced under emergency regulations which amount to censorship. The restrictions effectively suppress information of public interest. No details of 'unrest' or security force ac

Twins start solo

hung in the balance yesterday because schools are situated in areas that have become no-go areas for either the UDF or Inkatha supporters.

On Monday, a heavily armed group of people allegedly disrupted pupils preparing to write their examinations at two Edendale schools. This was confirmed by LJ Simelane, S'Mero High School's committee vice-chairman.

Several businesses in Maritzburg have also been severely disrupted, with employees staying at home to protect their property which rival political gangs have been threatening to destroy if the men refused to join their "armies".

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries frantically convened meetings with concerned organisation, but without any success.

All townships in the area have been torn into "strongholds" for either the UDF or Inkatha.

UDF strongholds have been renamed after socialist countries.

On arriving at Kwadambuza (Angola), we were ushered into a mud house where "comrades" – all members of "The Scorpions" (named after an automatic Russian pistol) – had been discussing the war.

The group consisted of scholars, workers and unemployed poeple – including a prison warder – and their ages ranged from 13 to 21.

Hundreds of local youths are said to be members of The Scorpions.

It's 24-hour terror where night adds to the flood horrors

According to the group, they were formed out of fear of retribution following the killing of two prominent Inkatha members accused of being at the forefront of a reign of terror by vigilantes at Kwadambuza last year.

Sitting at the table was pint-size Themba Gasa, 14, who appeared to be second-in-command of The Scorpions.

Themba's profile depicts a grim picture of brutalised youth.

He said he had no fear of death and would "be proud if I die protecting my community from these thugs".

The Scorpions use anything from pangas, spears and an assortment of homemade weapons to "defend themselves".

They have also won themselves friends among local policemen and prison warders.

In Dambuza alone, they boast four prison warders and two policemen on their side.

And a fortnight ago three local policemen and nine Kwasange men appeared in the local magistrates' court in connection with the killing of 13 Inkatha Youth Brigade members.

The prison warder present told *City Press* that many of his colleagues and policemen had been forced to take sides because, unlike their white seniors whose main concern was to protect the government and its apparatus, they were facing unprovoked violence in the townships.

He insisted that he was not a UDF supporter but the suffering endured by the front's supporters in the current strife had drawn him closer to UDF policies.

The Scorpions said of the prospect of a truce with Inkatha: "We did not start this, they did."

The group's leader added: "If they are now calling for peace talks we must consult the communities they have brutalised.

"We don't want the peace initiatives to come from above. The people must decide. Look what happened at Mpumalanga – it is a joke, they signed the truce but our people are still being attacked."

A [illegible] do Park schoolgirl walked off with the prestigeous Miss Sabta 1987/88 beauty title at the Standard Bank Arena this week.

Celest Dollie, 16, won R3 000 in cash and a make-up kit from Justine Cosmetics.

Her princesses, Hillary Arendse, 17, also from Eldorado Park, won R2 000 and Vivianna

ocedure to separate the twins.

that it can be controlled from outside their bodies.

Initially the operation would have been performed yesterday or today, but at the weekend the team had decided to advance the date of the operation.

The twins were put under an anaesthetic at 7am on Tuesday and they were placed in the required position on their stomachs for the operation.

The team of plastic surgeons started the operation and about 45 minutes later the team of neuro-surgeons took over.

The team was very positive about the outcome of the operation, said a spokesman.

The biggest danger to the twins at present is possible infection. They are, therefore, being kept in extreme sterile conditions.

The twins' mother, Sophie Mathibela, is staying in the hospital.

The team is being led by Prof Lipschitz, chief of the hospital's neurological unit.

Uwusa joins indaba call

THE United Workers' Union of South Africa yesterday formally backed the controversial KwaZulu/Natal indaba and called for stronger resistance against sanctions and disinvestment.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Uwusa, a trade union grouping which is backed mostly by members of the Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi-led Inkatha movement, also called other trade union movements to a meeting which would further the struggle "against a common oppressor."

The organisation described its invitation as a challenge "to all other worker organisations to come out and sit down around the table to hold talks about the workers' struggle."

Violence

The resolutions, which also condemned "black-on-black" violence which is dominating our unions, while the dangerous enemy of apartheid gains momentum," were taken at the federation's second annual congress held in Soweto yesterday.

More that 20 buses, all bearing Natal registration numbers, filled the parking grounds of the Eyethu Cinema in Mofolo township.

About 3 000 people attended the meeting with many wearing T-shirts overtly supporting Inkatha.

The congress delegates pledged solidarity with victims of the recent Natal floods and donated more than R2 000 in cash or clothing.

More than 2000 people attended Uwusa's annual congress at the weekend.

Indaba breakthrough hopes

MERCUR 28/10/87 (116)

By David Braun
Political Staff

THE Government and the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba have signalled they are ready to renegotiate proposals which could eventually give full legal status to a new constitutional dispensation for the region.

In what is being regarded as a breakthrough in the thinking of both sides, successful negotiations between the Government and the Indaba could be of important significance for any eventual constitutional arrangements for the country as a whole.

The breakthrough is largely due to the personal efforts of Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis and the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is significant in that the Government, which refused to take part in the original Indaba and has since been largely critical of its proposals, now wants to take part in negotiation on new proposals.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convenor of the Indaba, said the fact that the Indaba was seeking to communicate full detils about the proposals did not mean that it regarded them as non-negotiable.

Dr Dhlomo said: "Indeed we wish to make it clear that we are looking forward to discussing them with Government.

"We are also willing to consider suggested modifications to the proposals from critics at the other end of the political spectrum."

Dr Dhlomo said the Indaba had clearly signalled its intention to be constructive in negotiation with Government.

"We look forward to and anticipate a similar attitude on the part of the Government,' he said.

In an interview this week Mr Heunis said he welcomed Dr Dhlomo's statement that the Indaba was prepared to negotiate on its proposals.

He said: "But I must explain that the Indaba concept was initiated originally by the kwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration. I indicated when the proposals were handed to me that I would obtain the view of the kwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration.

"Naturally the Government would be prepared to negotiate with anybody on solutions to our regional and national problems.'

Govt welcomes Indaba offer to renegotiate plans

28/10/87

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

A new political system for kwaZulu/Natal came closer to implementation this week when the Government welcomed the Indaba's offer to renegotiate its earlier constitutional proposals.

The developments came after intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations at the highest level between the most powerful parties.

The implications of the latest developments are very important. If a new set of Indaba proposals can be negotiated, this time with the Government taking part as one of the major signatories, not only could Natal/kwaZulu get a new system of government, but there would almost certainly be an impact on the wider constitutional negotiations between the Government and black leaders at national level.

In a sense, then, the revamped Indaba proposals could act as a test-case for a future South Africa. But just how feasible is it for the Government and the Indaba to come to a mutually acceptable agreement? From a speech delivered to the Pretoria Press Club this week by Indaba co-convener Dr Oscar Dhlomo, it would appear there is already substantial common ground between the Indaba and the Government.

'Open to negotiations'

Dr Dhlomo's speech made it clear that the Indaba did not regard its proposals as non-negotiable. "Indeed, we wish to make it clear that we are looking forward to discussing them with the Government. It is our impression that the Government has difficulties with some aspects of the proposals. It is our intention to make every effort to reach agreement.

"We are willing to look at suggestions about improving the proposals. It may be that the proposals have to be modified in some way in order to reach agreement with the Government."

But Dr Dhlomo said there were three vital points on which the Indaba stood firm:

- The Indaba proposals were designed to achieve power-sharing. Any changes to the proposals which shifted them towards unfettered majority rule or continued white control, or maintenance of apartheid, would be unacceptable to the Indaba signatories and would not gain support from all race groups in the province.
- The concepts of full participation for all and protection of legitimate individual and group rights were essential parts of the proposals.
- The people of the region must be given the opportunity to support or oppose the final proposals in a referendum.

This is how these three "non-negotiables", as it were, stand up to pronouncements by Government leaders:

- It is National Party policy to share power on an equal basis up to the highest level without one group being able to dominate the others. In theory, then, the Government rejects unfettered majority rule as well as continued white control.
- The Government has accepted that all South African citizens, regardless of race, should have full political participation in all the structures up to the highest level. The protection of legitimate individual and, particularly, group rights is a concept which could have come straight out of a National Party statement of policy.
- Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis announced more than a year ago that the people of Natal and kwaZulu must be given an opportunity to express their support or opposition to any proposals which affected them.

Mr Heunis this week welcomed Dr Dhlomo's statement that the Indaba was ready to negotiate with the Government on its proposals. The Government, he said, was ready to negotiate with anyone on solutions to the country's regional and national problems.

Dr Dhlomo pointed out how important it was to understand how very difficult it was to reach agreement at the Indaba: it would be easy to change the proposals to suit the demands of the left, but that would ensure a "No" vote on the referendum minority groups. It would be just as easy to change the proposals to satisfy the right, but that would ensure a "No" from blacks.

INDABA BEGINS TO END NATAL WARS

Cabinet Minister Vlok meets Inkatha leader

MINISTER Vlok

Chief Buthelezi

PEACE talks between the two main warring factions in Maritzburg's townships could begin within the next week.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, three major churches and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, are behind the peace talks.

The chamber of commerce has appointed a mediation committee to try and bring peace in the area.

A top level meeting between Mr Vlok and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, was held at Ulundi on Tuesday to stop the violence in the area.

The Anglican, Catholic and Methodist churches, have appointed the Reverend Athol Jennings, director of the Buleka Trust, to bring about reconciliation and to stop the killing and bloodshed in the Maritzburg "civil war" between supporters of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

Fifty-two people have died and another 324 arrested since the fights started about a month ago.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order has confirmed that the meeting between Mr Vlok and Chief Buthelezi took place.

He said: "Two main measures are to be taken to resolve the problem."

Police

He said a major reenforcement of the police in the area and an extension of the joint management centre to deal with the issue in the longer term, will be introduced.

The management centre was established to clamp down firmly on unrest while upgrading the quality of life of township residents.

The manager of the chamber, Mr Paul van Uytrecht, said: "There seems to be no doubt at leadership level that people from the various parties are serious about sitting down together to discuss means of ending the violence."

Both UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, and members of Inkatha such as Mr Musa Zondi and Mr Mtwe Mafole, have said the talks already held at community level had been "very useful".

Meanwhile the funeral of 10-year-old S'khumbuzo Shezi, beheaded by unknown men last week, was held without incident on Tuesday afternoon.

Journalists and photographers from the *Natal Witness* were warned to leave the scene of the funeral as they were prohibited from attending in terms of the emergency regulations.

FIRST JOINT DEBATE

KwaNatal's Joint Executive Authority (JEA), which unites the Provincial Executive and the KwaZulu Legislative Authority (KLA) in a statutory debating chamber, will hold its first session on November 3.

Main items on the agenda will be the election of a chairman — indications are he will be KLA Deputy Chief Minister Oscar Dhlomo — and a vice-chairman and chief executive officer.

The public session, to be held in the Durban City Hall, will be attended and addressed by State President P W Botha, Provincial Administrator Radclyffe Cadman and KLA Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Natal's five-man team will be MECs Val Volker, Peter Miller, Shunmoogan Naidoo, Abdul Joosub, and Clyde Pearce. KwaZulu has yet to name a team.

The mission of the JEA (*FM* August 28) was described by Miller, MEC in charge of local government, as "an attempt to promote regional co-operation and the co-ordination of functions currently carried out either separately or jointly by the Natal Provincial Administration and KwaZulu."

KwaZulu has agreed to participate even though it is critical of the JEA because it has no legislative authority, is racially based, and unrepresentative of the whole province.

The first major topic could be the stalemated RSC (see ***Durban RSC***).

INKATHA-UDF

Killing fields

Superficially, the black townships of Pietermaritzburg have lapsed into a senseless anarchy reminiscent of Beirut. In the three weeks to last Friday, 47 people died in township violence — much between arch-rivals Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF). The most recent death was the brutal decapitation of a 10-year-old boy.

Dhlomo

Whether there is method to this mayhem, neither residents nor academic researchers can answer with certainty. It is equally impossible to apportion relative blame. But there is general agreement about the principal antagonists: Inkatha and the UDF.

Embarrassed leaders of both have failed to stem the violence. Appeals from residents for a peace envoy reflect the seriousness of the situation. The *Sowetan* recently lamented: "Because of political in-fighting, many people have lost all confidence and trust in politicians and their organisations. This has set the struggle back by many years."

Inkatha-UDF clashes in the region date back to August 1985. It is perhaps significant that the recent upsurge comes when Inkatha is lobbying ahead of a proposed provincial referendum on the Indaba. The UDF and its affiliates have branded the Indaba's constitutional arrangement as ethnic, regional and thus divisive.

At a weekend seminar, University of Natal (Durban) researcher Douglas Booth defined the "structural and locational" contrasts between the two organisations.

The UDF and its extra-parliamentary affiliates respond to local community grievances, such as housing shortages and inferior education. At national level they have coalesced into anti-government, anti-apartheid, and anti-capitalist movements. Strategies include boycotts, protests, and support for disinvestment, he explained.

Inkatha's discourse on the goals of black liberation differs little from that of the UDF, but strategic contrasts include a tacit support for capitalism and working within the system. Structurally, it differs in that its leadership is middle class — tribal chiefs, traders, and professional civil servants.

Conflict between the two, said Booth, arose in township administration, education, and the trade union movement. Since the Indaba does not address the problem of transposing a regional arrangement to a national one, it has been categorically rejected by extra-parliamentary opposition.

UDF and Inkatha sources offer differing explanations as to why violence has escalated. To the UDF, it has a great deal to do with Inkatha's stepped-up recruitment drive in townships, where, some aver, Inkatha support is not as strong as Ulundi would like. The UDF claims that people who refuse to co-operate with Inkatha, either by proving membership, or agreeing to join there and then, end up "on the wrong end of the stick."

Academic researchers agree that Inkatha employs coercive methods to expand its membership — like insisting on membership cards before houses are allocated. But coercion, they add, is not uncommon on the other side of the spectrum either.

A UDF Maritzburg official questions the nature of recruitment which takes place in the middle of the night. Inkatha committee member Vusumuzi Mvelase returns the compliment, claiming the UDF specialises in late-night terrorising of the population. He also maintains that people join Inkatha "of their own accord."

Both sides concede their supporters are not all paragons of virtue, and agree that a substantial "thug element" is at work. Both express disquiet at the role played by the police.

The UDF claims the police have given "at least tacit support" to Inkatha, while Inkatha complains that the police show little interest in quelling violence. Astonishingly, Inkatha's Oscar Dhlomo this week claimed the police are working in collusion with the UDF in the "civil war" in Maritzburg.

Ironically, if the UDF is indeed "winning," violence might increase: people do not negotiate when they think they can win.

Also endangered by violence is the prospect of an Indaba referendum (see *Natal Indaba*). Government is unlikely to repeat the boycott and violence "trap" it fell into over the tricameral elections. So there may be method to the mayhem after all.

NATAL INDABA

The stealth factor

Government is "reforming by stealth" because it refuses to fall again into a boycott trap. This rules out a Natal referendum to test public attitudes to the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba.

This persuasive argument comes from Natal University political science professor Mervyn Frost.

At a weekend seminar, Frost argued that critics of the National Party mistakenly believe it no longer pursues a coherent policy programme, and has resorted to ad hoc decision-making. On the contrary, he said, government retains a clear and sophisticated vision, which bitter experience with the tricameral elections has taught should be pursued with stealth.

The approach demands that institutions should be established which can deliver the goods — such as water, electricity, sewerage and roads — and moral and popular legitimacy will follow. The process is thus no longer aimed at broadening democracy through new representative institutions, but at creating "multiracial power-sharing executive structures at all levels of government."

The analysis undoubtedly casts a shadow over the Indaba's hopes of organising a referendum, and raises doubts about the value of its marketing campaign to prepare public opinion.

But it simultaneously raises hopes that government may not oppose the joint administration of KwaNatal — so long as it is introduced by sleight of hand. Public polls notwithstanding, the Indaba's confidence that a majority of Natalians will support it in a referendum might be misplaced.

More damaging to the Indaba's prospects was the argument of Natal economist Jill Nattrass that, "come the revolution," the Indaba would simply not be able to deliver on its economic promises. This would lead to a cycle of disillusionment and opposition.

Assuming a 5% rate of growth in Gross Geographic Product (GGP), expenditure on education, for example, would have to rise by 36,7% annually until 1995 to achieve parity, said Nattrass. At 2% GGP growth, education expenditure would have to rise by 50% per annum.

Suggestions that privatisation of the harbour might provide capital, or that the boost to confidence in a province administered by the Indaba would attract investments, are "fatuous," she said. A trend towards social democracy, with significantly higher tax rates, presents the only possible solution, she argued.

Nattrass scoffed at the suggestion that high taxes necessarily drive off investors. And, despite international experience to the contrary, she dismissed the notion that "low taxes correlated with high economic growth." In any case, she does not believe that lower tax rates are a realistic policy option for the Indaba.

Indaba director Dawid van Wyk told delegates he remained encouraged by public reception of the Indaba's constitutional proposals for the administration of Natal. The government's formal stance was that it was awaiting the Natal Provincial Administration's (NPA) view before responding officially.

Judging from Van Wyk's comments and those of other Indaba officials and sympathisers, there is growing support for the notion that the NPA and KwaZulu Legislative Authority may reopen the debates that led to the Indaba. This time around, with government's blessing.

Intriguingly, the vehicle for such discussions — the Joint Executive Authority (see **page 60**) — will hold its inaugural meeting next week.

So whereas prospects for a referendum and the introduction of the Indaba proposals as they stand appear bleak, all may not be lost. ■

JUSTICE

More accessible

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's increases in the monetary jurisdiction of the lower courts should make legal redress more widely accessible. They are described by Mike Cooper, chairman of the Society of Advocates of SA, as "long overdue."

From January, the civil jurisdiction of magistrates' courts will be increased from R5 000-R10 000 for illiquid claims, and from R10 000-R30 000 for liquid claims.

In the criminal jurisdiction, maximum

(11B) S Times 1/11/87

Peace bid in townships war

CHURCH groups and organised commerce were frantically trying to set up peace talks this weekend to stop the carnage between the warring Inkatha and United Democratic Front forces in Natal.

Stabbings, stone-throwing and arson continued unabated this week, leaving another nine people dead and bringing the official death toll in the past month's violence to at least 56.

Police have increased patrols in the Maritzburg townships, calling in reinforcements from other parts of the province.

But as refugees from strife-torn Maritzburg continue the feud, violence is threatening to spill over into other Natal townships. Unrest killings outside Amanzimtoti and Umkomaas on the Natal South Coast have been linked to the trouble in Maritzburg.

LETHAL . . . police show some of the weapons wielded in Natal

Meanwhile, the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce is attempting to bring Inkatha and the UDF to the negotiating table to start peace talks.

Church organisations are also trying to get the two sides together. And the Rev Athol Jennings, director of the Buleka Trust, is chairing talks between Maritzburg residents.

The trust, backed by the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist churches, has for some time provided a forum for talks between warring factions in troubled areas.

"We were approached by several Maritzburg residents and a series of discussions is taking place.

"The next meeting is on Wednesday," Mr Jennings said.

By DENYSE ARMOUR

In a dramatic peace move today, an interdenominational mass prayer service for peace is being held at the Edendale Ecumunical Centre in Maritzburg.

Rejection

Church leaders at the meeting include the Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Rev Denis Hurley, the president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Khoza Mgojo and the Methodist Church's president-elect, the Rev Stanley Mogoba.

While the organisers of the service expect about 3 000 people to attend, the Maritzburg chairman of Inkatha, Velaphi Ndlovu, has rejected the service.

"Although individual members are welcome to go and pray, as they do every Sunday, I will not be going," he said.

"Tutu is a patron of the UDF, the organisation we are at war with. How can we go and listen to what he tells us?

"Anyway, we need peace talks — not prayer. A ceasefire won't fall from the heavens. We must sit at a table together and resolve the issue."

Mr Ndlovu said it was imperative for the two sides to reach a ceasefire before the end of this month — when students will have written their end-of-year examinations.

"We can communicate with and control our members now, but we must have a ceasefire before the students start their holidays.

"We in Inkatha are trying our best, but the UDF leaders will not come to the table."

Mr Ndlovu added that Inkatha recognised the Chamber of Commerce efforts at peace-making as the only forum for negotiations with the UDF.

Mr AS Chetty, Midlands chairman of the UDF, said the UDF was ready to negotiate.

"We're not stalling. We believe in the democratic process. But we have an enormous constituency that we must go to for mandates," he said.

Support

"It's easy for leaders to sit down and talk but they must have grassroots support if lasting peace is to result from those talks.

"We are consulting our members now.

"We want to go to the talks set up by the Chamber of Commerce with all our facts correct.

"There have been so many accusations and counter-accusations since the violence started in 1985. We must now establish our points of difference."

Mr Chetty said he would be attending today's prayer service.

"Prayer is the best way of getting people together."

The Rev Benson V Nsimbi, one of the organisers of the prayer meeting, said: "All Christians and concerned people are invited to attend."

1/4/87. (118) STI mes

nay break logjam

THE KwaZulu-Natal Indaba could be on the brink of a historic breakthrough.

This week the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for KwaZulu-Natal will be launched. There is wide expectation that it could lead to more fundamental political changes in the region.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convener of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, said yesterday the launching next week of the authority could lead to a single elected Government for the area.

The warm response from Ulundi, matched by conciliatory statements from the Cabinet over the Indaba proposals for a unified legislature, could now herald a breaking of the political logjam — albeit on a regional basis.

The birth of the JEA will be attended by State President P W Botha and KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — itself a significant step forward, given the antagonism that has existed for some time between the two men.

Yesterday the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, disclosed that his administration's response to the Indaba proposals had already been finalised and forwarded to Mr Heunis.

He could not disclose the nature of the response, he said.

And yesterday Minister of Constitutional Affairs Chris Heunis confirmed he had been telephoned by Mr Cadman on Thursday to inform him that Natal's response was being forwarded.

The next step, he said, was to study the comments and then refer it to the Government to formulate its response. Normally such response was not made public, he said.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Approved

Dr Dhlomo said the public response of the Government for further talks on the Indaba proposals had so far been "positive".

The KwaZulu government has already approved the proposals — and Mr Heunis indicated earlier that the Government would enter into further discussions once it had obtained a response from the Natal Provincial Administration.

An optimistic Dr Dhlomo said the JEA would only be an interim measure, serving as a launching pad for talks which would lead to the eventual implementation of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba plan.

The Indaba proposals seek the establishment of a unified province ruled by a single provincial government.

Dr Dhlomo praised Mr Heunis for the "statesmanlike" manner in which he had handled the Indaba proposals. He was now more optimistic then ever that an agreement could soon be reached with the Government on the proposed KwaNatal government.

This follows a public statement by Mr Heunis that the Government would hold further discussions with the Indaba once he had received comment from the KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Executive Committee (Exco).

KwaZulu has already responded positively and Dr Dhlomo expected the Natal Exco to do likewise — so paving the way for Government-Indaba talks on the proposals in the near future, said Dr Dhlomo.

The JEA will have five KwaZulu Cabinet Ministers and the Natal Provincial Administration will have five Exco members serving on it. They will have executive power and will be looking after matters of common concern.

Elected

Although the JEA will not have any legislative power and be only an executive body, it would lead to a situation where "we will not only execute ordinances together which we have not made together; but we will develop into a single elected legislative body", he said.

Dr Dhlomo said the JEA was, in any case, a KwaZulu invention and based on an enabling Bill drafted by Kwazulu and accepted by the Government with very minor changes.

Dr Dhlomo warned that the JEA must in no way be interpreted as a readiness on the part of KwaZulu to abandon any of its principles regarding a single parliament for South Africa.

LP, Inkatha in 'peace' indaba

By NORMAN WEST

THE Labour Party and Inkatha are to engage in their own "indaba" next Friday in the Zulu capital, Ulundi.

The talks, initiated by the LP, are regarded by the party as "preliminary" but nevertheless a serious attempt at patching up the relationship between the two bodies.

In 1983, the LP decided to break ranks with Inkatha and take part in the tricameral Parliament.

At the time, the LP and Inkatha were the main components of the South African Black Alliance (Saba), with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as president.

Indaba r

Defence units, 'liberated zones' in Natal's 'Angola'

MARITZBURG. — The strife-torn townships near here have been aptly nicknamed "Angola".

Like the strife-torn Frontline state, rival groups are embroiled in a virtual civil war as residents are determined to resist outside interference in their lives.

The civil war is ostensibly a struggle for control of the townships by UDF supporters and members of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement

Killed

The killings and counter-killings have claimed so many lives that human rights organisations have been unable to keep track of the statistics.

However, UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede believes more than 500 people have been killed since 1983.

Over the past four weeks as many as 70 people are reported to have been killed and scores have been injured. But conflicting reports cast doubt over the accuracy of the statistics

More than 350 people have been arrested, and many homes have been damaged by petrol bombings and arson.

The schooling of hundreds of children has been disrupted with matriculants worst off as examinations approach.

The "war zone" comprises Edendale, Ashdown, Imbali, Sobantu, Hammarsdale and smaller outlying areas.

The attributing of the killing of at least five people last weekend to thugs and common criminals masquerading as UDF and Inkatha members, has added a new dimesion to the conflict.

Two of the victims were stabbed to death, a number of people were injured and some houses were attacked with petrol bombs

Groups have formed "defence units" and cleared "liberated zones", to protect themselves and their homes. And "rebel" groups are conducting "guerilla" raids on innocent residents.

Residents claimed they had to establish their own units because of attempts by armed raiders who they allege are trying to make them to join Inkatha.

Peace

"These invaders knock on our doors at night and pressured us to join Inkatha. When we refuse, they think we are members of the UDF. They then either attack, kill or burn us or our properties," a resident said.

"We want to emphasise that we are not UDF supporters or members, but just ordinary people who want nothing to do with what's going on between these people."

One angry youth said vigilantes and others were tearing the communities apart.

"We are being told to throw away our books and join units to protect ourselves because some organisations want to control our lives.

"Our parents are afraid, but we want to make sure that our people live in peace without being troubled," he said.

The combatants in the "civil war" are blaming each other for the killings.

A local Inkatha representative, Mr V V Mvelase, claimed his members were protecting themselves against attacks by supporters of the UDF.

The Pietermaritzburg Christian Social Awareness organisation has claimed that since the beginning of the year more than 100 people have been killed in the clashes.

Conflict

The director of the organisation, Mr Peter Kerschoff, said communities had been broken up and the family life of thousands of people had been disrupted by the conflict.

"The violence has caused hundreds of people to flee their homes and become refugees.

Residents pray at the opening of a meeting at Edendale. The meeting was called to find ways to resolve the crisis

Gladys Sangweni stands in the ruins of her house He husband and daughter were killed by vigilantes PICS. CEDRIC NUNN

"It has become a traumatic experience for hundreds of families In many cases people have had to flee because they have refused to be drawn into the clashes between the supporters of either the UDF or Inkatha "

Gumede is desperate to end the conflict, but claims that he cannot do much if the local residents do not come forward for assistance.

"The residents have become so brutalised that they are suspicious of the motives of both sides. UDF supporters are saying that they are being attacked and they are only protecting themselves On the other hand the Inkatha leadership is saying the same thing

"I am prepared to intervene if I am called upon to do so," said a dejected Gumede

The violence is a spin off of the battles that have taken place throughout Natal since the UDF was established in August 1983.

Inkatha saw the emergence of the UDF as a threat to its control in Natal and its members and vigilantes immediately went on the offensive against UDF supporters and members

Violence

Inkatha has attained a semblance of control in some areas because of the violence and the active collusion of different authorities.

Townships in and around Durban are subdued, but there are still strong undercurrents militating against permanent peace in the townships.

In Maritzburg, however, the continued conflict shows that Inkatha has not been having it all its own way

"We have to do something to end the senseless killings, but it seems some people are not keen on seeing an end to the violence because peace in our townships will not make them sleep peacefully in their areas," Gumede said.

The "forces who do not want peace and unity" can only survive when there is chaos, confusion and division in our ranks," he said. *(PISA)*

Police in door-to-door survey

POLICE have started a door-to-door survey in strife-torn Bonteheuwel, raising fears among political activists of a possible major security swoop on the area.

But police have denied the survey was politically motivated. They said it was "to build a better relationship with the community".

Members of the Bonteheuwel Interschools Congress (Bisco) said police were seen in the area at least twice a week.

"They ask questions about the number of people in the house, where people work and which schools the children attend.

"They have also handed out pamphlets suggesting they should contact the police if there is any unrest in the area," a Bisco spokesperson said.

She said Bisco believed the reason for the survey was to get information about activists and to find out where students live.

"Policemen told people they could make anonymous phone calls if they wanted to give information.

"Even primary school pupils were asked detailed questions about activists.

"We are preparing ourselves for a swoop on Bonteheuwel The survey could also be related to the planned visit to the area by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

"Vlok is welcome to visit the area if he comes in peace and not to harass us," she said.

A Vlamboom Road resident said she was asked if she had problems with a nearby liquor outlet and nightclub.

"I was also told to contact the police if I have any information about people who throw stones and burn the buses," she said.

Labour Party MP for the area Patrick McKenzie said: "All I know about the survey is what people came to tell me.

"The most surprising thing is that people are so pleased with what the police are doing. I did not find anyone who was upset "

He did not know if the survey was linked to the Joint Management Centre (JMC) sub-committee in the area.

"I have not been to JMC meetings for months because of my commitments in Parliament," he said.

Bishop Lavis police station commander Captain D A Langeveldt confirmed the survey, but referred questions to the Western Cape police liaison department.

Western Cape police liaison officer Lieutenant Attie Laubscher confirmed that "senior policemen and officers are visiting the residents to obtain personal contact".

"They act like a deacon would, to find out if people have any problems which they are reluctant to talk about.

"It's purpose is also to win the confidence of residents It is to build a better relationship between the police and the community

"The police are not just those on a patrol van or Casspir.

"These policemen are specially trained for the task It has been going on for a month and it will go on longer as we hope to reach all the houses in Bonteheuwel It is not unrest-related."

He said the operation was being run by the Western Cape regional office.

ARGUS 30/10/87

Stopping the 'Natal war'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Rev Athol R Jennings will be the man in the hot seat at a summit meeting to bring about reconciliation and to stop the killing and bloodshed in the Maritzburg "civil wars" between supporters of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

He has the backing of three major churches.

Mr Jennings, 56, is a former olympic athlete and is now director of the Buleka Trust, which manages the Koinonia conference centre at Botha's Hill.

His task is to direct moves aimed at bringing justice and reconciliation wherever it is needed, but he said that it was neither the Trust nor the centre (which is backed by the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist Churches) which initiated the move to get the warring groups to talk.

"It was the people who felt that there was a need to talk to resolve the crisis in the townships," said Mr Jennings. "We are not here to tell them what to do. I am here to ensure that those people who want to talk are able to do so."

Both UDF president Mr Archie Gumede and members of the Inkatha organisation such as Mr Musa Zondi and Mr Mtwe Mafole have said the talks already held at community level had been "very useful".

He said the talks that had already taken place and which would begin again next Wednesday were at a local level.

"But there will have to be some talks between the leadership at a higher level. Who knows what will happen then," said Mr Jennings.

He is a man who chooses his words and talks softly. Obviously deeply caring about all people, Mr Jennings, in 1960, was appointed resident minister at Kloof Methodist Church and was later appointed chaplain of Kearsney College.

In 1968, he was appointed Methodist youth leader in Natal.

During Christmas of 1972 he took part in the 965-kilometre pilgrimage of confession and concern from Grahamstown to Cape Town, to make whites aware of the evils of the migrant labour system.

W/E ARGUS 31/10/87

Indaba launches a new initiative

Political Staff

THE Natal-Kwazulu indaba has launched a new initiative to get its proposals for a single region off the ground.

The new initiative, announced yesterday by indaba co-sponsor Dr Oscar Dhlomo at the Cape Town Press Club, is aimed at overcoming hurdles in the way of implementing the proposals.

A two-year "implementation study" is to be started by the indaba office.

Dr Dhlomo's announcement follows growing criticism that numerous flaws and open-end problems in the indaba proposals would make them difficult to implement.

Confident

Dr Dhlomo also warned Natal Nationalist backbenchers that "there is a limit to the extent to which we can be abused . . ."

He said attacks made by junior Natal MPs at the recent Natal National Party congress were "disturbingly similar to attacks made on the indaba by the Conservative Party and extra-parliamentary rightwing groups".

He complimented the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, and other senior Nationalist spokesmen, however, for the way they handled the indaba.

Dr Dhlomo was confident agreement could be reached with the government on the indaba proposals but warned that the proposals could not be changed in a way which would lose the support of the majority of any group.

Cape Times 31/10/87

Dhlomo: SAP backing UDF

Political Correspondent

THE SA Police was backing the UDF in the violent clashes between the organization and Inkatha that left scores dead in recent weeks in Natal, Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo charged yesterday.

Earlier this week, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, responding to Inkatha's claims, said it was ridiculous to suggest the SAP was favouring the UDF.

"It is not police policy to favour the UDF or any other organization and we have no knowledge of ill-feelings towards police there," he said.

Answering questions at a Cape Town Press Club meeting, Dr Dhlomo noted that two SAP members were on trial in Maritzburg for their involvement in the conflict: "UDF members admit that they have enlisted SAP members and prison warders to attack Inkatha."

Later he said during an interview that the UDF may have infiltrated the police force or "the UDF may have been infiltrated by members of the police".

yesterday afternoon.

Cape Times 2/10/87 (11B)

Ilanga circulation up

DURBAN. — The circulation of Natal's Ilanga newspaper had soared by 15 000 since it was bought from the Argus Company by Inkatha's Mandla Matla Publishing, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced here yesterday. The KwaZulu Chief Minister said Ilanga's ABC-audited circulation had grown from a little over 105 000, when it was taken over a few months ago, to 120 000.

Star Times 2/11/87

Tutu pleads for end to gang wars

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, yesterday made a plea for peace to the people of the troubled Maritzburg townships.

He said killings in the area were "delaying liberation".

Addressing a prayer meeting convened by the Maritzburg Council of Churches and attended by more than 1 000 people, Archbishop Tutu said the church was appealing on behalf of God to those who were engaged in carnage and evil blood-letting to stop.

Most of the people present appeared to be UDF supporters. Much of the violence has been ascribed to fighting between them and Inkatha members.

Before the service a group of people carried a banner saying "UDF is not responsible for the violence, we want peace".

Archbishop Tutu said: "We are not here as a Terry Waites, as some have suggested. We have nothing to offer to the world except spiritual resources. We are fellow workers with God to change evil injustice and to change chaos."

The service was also addressed by Durban Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, who called upon all people and parties involved in the conflict in the area "to reflect on the terrible contradiction between what they are preaching and what they are practising".

The chairman of Inkatha in the Maritzburg district, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, said Inkatha supporters had stayed away from the meeting because they had not received an official invitation.

He also said it would have been better if Archbishop Tutu had stayed away because "one must remember that he called for sanctions against South Africa".

● Meanwhile, police reported three more deaths in the area at the weekend.

A nightwatchman was stabbed to death in Edendale, another man was stoned to death in Sinathing and a third man shot dead by security forces in Kaluza.

A youth was seriously injured when a group stabbed him with sharp objects at the Mphophomeni township, near Howick. The security forces dispersed the group with shotgun fire and tearsmoke and arrested a man in connection with the incident, police said.

At Edendale a shop was damaged by arsonists. Six youths and one man were arrested.

Inkatha slams world media

LONDON — Inkatha overseas representative Ben Skosana criticised the international media yesterday for suggesting that his organisation was to blame for the black-on-black violence in the Maritzburg area.

He said: "Some of the overseas Press agents in SA continue to portray Inkatha as the conservative Zulu movement which is after the blood of UDF members for being radical.

"This unbalanced reporting to overseas readers continues despite the fact that Mr Archie Gumede, the UDF president in Natal, made the Press statement on October 1 where he cautioned about the real source of the escalating violence in these townships."

Skosana quoted Gumede as having said: "We are aware that certain undisciplined individuals and groups who call themselves UDF are taking advantage of the support which the movement is enjoying in our communities to further their own ends by committing acts of violence against innocent people."

He said Gumede came to this conclusion after several meetings with Inkatha members in these areas and "he was convinced that Inkatha was not the provoking party" in the violence.

"But unfortunately such truths are not conveyed to the overseas reader by the overseas Press based and observing in SA," said Skosana. — Sapa.

3/11/87

(TIB) Argus 3/11/87

Alarm . . . pangas into action

By Jeremy Maggs in Durban

"THEY usually attack in the early morning when we start to feel drowsy and sleepy ... when we have been up and on guard all night. They will burst through the door. These days we are ready. I'm not scared It is my duty ...

It is past midnight. The speaker is a jaded 15-year-old boy As he talks, he fingers a rusty bush knife. He chain smokes and his bloodshot eyes never stop darting around the tiny room.

Should he and his 10 battle-ready colleagues hear a secret alarm call, they will spring into action. A single candle in the dingy room will be snuffed. In an instant they will be outside and ready to meet the "enemy".

"Defence units"

A clash is likely to follow and the tragic results will possibly feature in the next day's police unrest report.

These are a new breed of soldier-children. They are members of "defence units" — armed guard groups, born of a necessity to survive, as the township war in Maritzburg continues.

Scores of these cell-like structures have sprung up in recent weeks. Their locations for obvious reasons, closely guarded secrets.

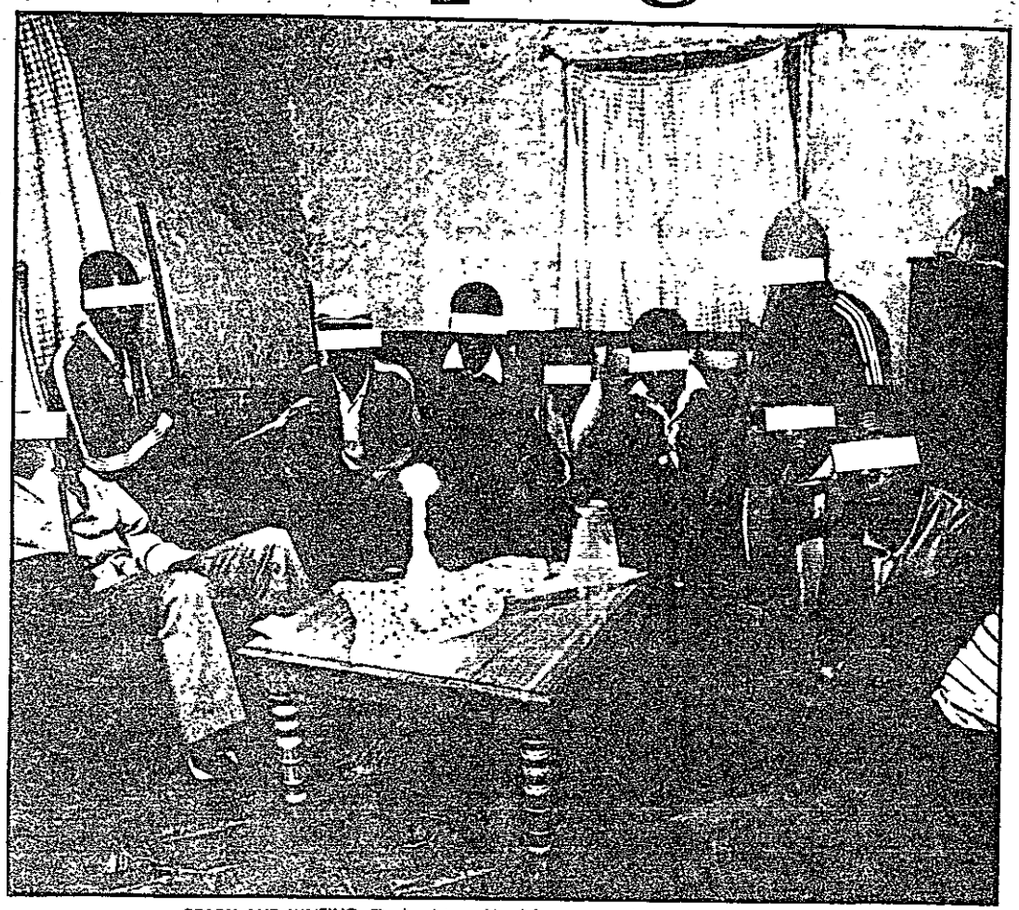
The Argus correspondent visited one such group late last week. The venue, reached under the cover of darkness, was undisclosed. A condition of the interview was that the members would not reveal their names

At same time, according to later reports, two groups armed with pangas and knives clashed in the vicinity. A 16-year-old youth was hacked to death and another was seriously wounded. Later a man was injured when he was attacked by a group also wielding pangas and knives.

The group sat in a small stuffy room A battered cassette recorder played muted jazz. A faint smell of dagga and paraffin hung in the air.

At the foot of each boy was a weapon Mostly homemade knives, clubs and spears. One had a firearm which he would not let anyone touch.

They meet at dusk and stay awake until sunrise every day. Should one of the 50-odd houses under their "jurisdiction" sound the alarm the group will react instantly.



READY AND WAITING: The local township defence unit with their homemade arsenal

ON WATCH: An armed youth looking out for the "enemy".

Pictures by John Woodroof

Two-pronged peace initiative to end the township killing

A two-pronged peace initiative is under way to end Maritzburg's township war which has claimed more than 70 lives in the past six weeks

Late last week the city's Chamber of Commerce met members of Inkatha and later the Congress of South African Trade Unions' United Democratic Front grouping in an attempt to get the two sides to nominate representatives for mediation talks

On a wider scale, three major church alliances are supporting efforts by the Rev Athol Jennings director of the Vuleka Trust, to bring about a "peace summit" between the two groups.

"We will not be concentrating solely on the violence in Maritzburg but in Natal as a whole" said Mr Jennings, whose secret meeting with the two groups is scheduled for tomorrow

Business sources say it is in the "immediate political interests" of Inkatha and Cosatu/UDF to end the fighting.

They said both had "hidden agendas" which made a peace settlement in the area "vital to their future credibility".

"The Natal Indaba is seen by many white people as a viable political alternative," a source said.

"In this, Inkatha plays a leading role. However, if it is unable to find a workable solution in its own backyard, its effectiveness in the Indaba process might also be questioned"

Cosatu is engaged in a major membership drive in the area, and its inability to find a solution to the conflict might affect this, another source said

According to Mr Paul van Uytrecht, manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, the chamber would like to see two representatives nominated by each side thrash out, with the help of a "process specialist or technocrat", a solution which would at least bring about an end to the fighting

"The parties must all agree on the representatives If it would help, the chamber would be prepared to drop out," he said.

The short-term goal would be to install a "joint monitoring group" to maintain order.

The chamber had become involved in the search for peace not through any request but because it was "impossible to separate business and politics in the present political climate", Mr Van Uytrecht said

The prolonged violence was battering the city's image.

"Every time Pietermaritzburg's name appears in an unrest report we lose potential investors When we lose them, we lose employement opportunities and standards of living drop."

Untangling the patchwork

By Bruce Cameron
Political Staff

THE Joint Executive Authority, officially launched by President Botha yesterday, is part of the so-called Natal option.

It started from very small beginnings way back in 1975 but some of its participants and creators see it as only part of what can still be an even longer process.

In 1975 the then United Party Natal provincial executive faced the reality of the impossibility of governing a province that looked like a haphazzard patchwork quilt.

The reality had come gradually as the Government pushed ahead with its policy of separate development creating brand new states within a state.

'Consolidated'

Nowhere in the country however was this system more confused than in Kwazulu-Natal. Despite Government inquiry after inquiry, attempts to bring some sort of order to the scattering of the Zulu nation by the British in the wake of the Zulu wars no "consolidated" Kwazulu is in sight.

In order to get some administrative order into the system the Natal Consultative Committee was quietly established, meeting for the first time on September 3, 1975.

A year later the first whispers of far more formal links were being heard with the late Mr Frank Martin MEC suggesting an Indaba in very loose terms for the first time.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then took the initiative in appointing the Buthelezi committee under vice principal of the University of Natal, Professor Denys Schrienerr.

The committee had much the same representation as the yet to come Natal/Kwazulu Indaba with the left and right sitting out.

Kwazulu immediately withdrew from the Natal Consultative Committee, which had met 29 times in the intervening eight years.

After a stand-off of more than a year the Kwazulu Cabinet and the Provincial Executive met in Ulundi in November 1984.

Towards the end of 1985 discussions started between Kwazulu and Natal on firmer ties.

Indications from the Government showed that joint administration of the territory would be acceptable but the Government hedged at agreeing to a joint legislature, which would effectively unite the region.

A dual strategy was adopted with direct negotiations getting underway for a joint executive which would only have administrative powers divided on a strictly 50:50 basis.

By February last year agreement had been reached and a draft bill to establish the Joint Executive Authority was submitted to the Government.

Kwazulu however insisted that this was only the first step and almost simultaneously invitations were sent out for the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba.

Step by step

Natal NP spokesmen immediately rejected any move towards a single legislature but President Botha opening Parliament that year left the door open and has continued to do so.

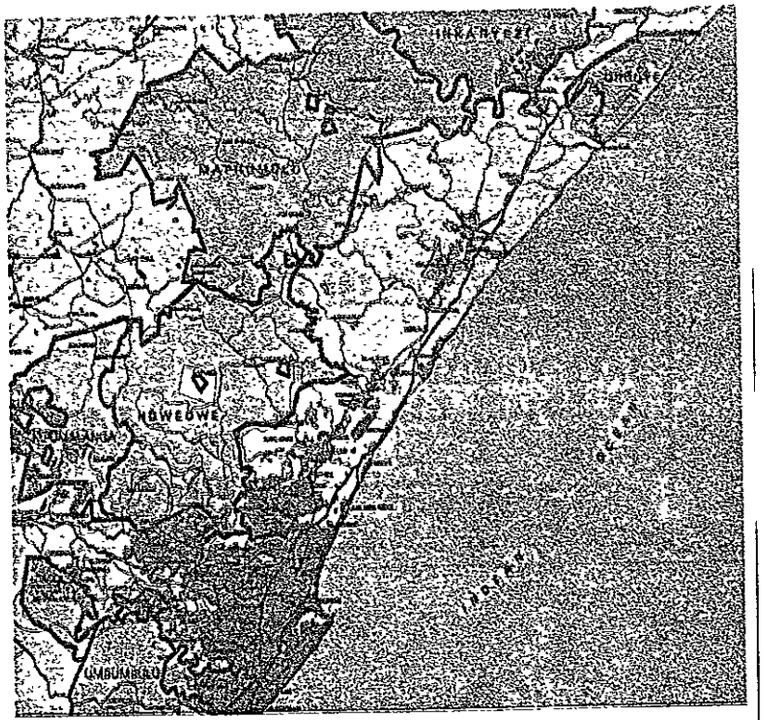
Step by tiny step however his Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has moved towards firstly accepting different solutions in different regions to accepting at the Natal congress that the principle of a single legislature could be accepted.

The Government however enthusiastically adopted the Joint Exevutive Authority and has encouraged other regions to adopt a similar process

The structure, with its loose confederal make-up, is much the same as the type of constitutional dispensation foreseen by NP ideologues at national level — the constellation of states concept of President Botha.

Mr Gavin Woods, left, director of the Inkatha Institute, with a section of the map. The map project began when a major utility company wanted information about population settlements in Kwazulu and Natal. The Kwazulu Department of Works commissioned Air Survey to take the photographs.

COLOUR CODING: The colour coding on the maps are as follows: Brown — industrial; Red — Formal urban; Orange — Dense informal area; Yellow — Urban/rural transition; Green — Rural settlement characteristic of Kwazulu; White — Open farmland, game reserves, uninhabitable terain.



The new technique of aerial cartography shows, above, Durban and the North Coast area, and left the Richards Bay area. They show to what extent 'white' areas are flecked with black settlement areas, and the chaotic overlapping of Kwazulu and Natal.

New map technique shows chaotic overlapping

The Argus Correspondent

A new technique in aerial cartography has produced the first accurate map of Kwazulu and Natal as a single system and revealed distributions and densities of population settlement which the authorities were unaware of until now.

The map was commissioned by the Inkatha Institute for South Africa and compiled by Air Survey Company of Africa Ltd, in conjunction with the Kwazulu Government Department of Works and Professor D A Scogings, of the Department of Surveying and Mapping, University of Natal.

It shows effective consolidation of Kwazulu to be even more unrealistic a proposition than many already believed.

The map shows that:

- Vast areas of rural "white" Natal are thoroughly flecked with areas of black settlement — some of them freehold, others labour tenants, mission squatters, mine squatters or people on development trust resettlement areas which have not yet been allocated to Kwazulu.
- The Kwazulu boundaries shown on existing maps are often unrealistic. They are based on projected consolidation, not on what KwaZulu actually administers.
- Population settlement does not always coincide with boundaries. The reality is that large numbers of blacks live outside Kwazulu and often take little account of the boundaries.

Researchers working on the map also discovered a sometimes chaotic overlapping of Natal and Kwazulu magisterial districts Kwazulu's Emnambithi magisterial district, for instance, overlaps with five Natal magisterial districts.

This is the first time the technique has been used in Southern Africa to map settlement and land usage and it is probably the first time anywhere in the developing world.

"This map is a breakthrough. It tells us a great deal which many suspected but nobody knew for sure," commented Mr Gavin Woods, director of the institute

"It tells us first of all that Kwazulu/Natal is an integrated demographic unit and always will be. Nobody will ever unscramble it. They can forget about homeland consolidation, any political solution will have to take into account the sharing of a common territory

"It also shows us the terrible distortions caused by apartheid over the years, the lack of rational planning and land usage."

President Botha shares a cheerful moment with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his wife, Princess Irene, at the launch of the Natal/Kwazulu Joint Executive Authority.

ARGUS 4/11/87 (11B)

Joint authority 'only a small step'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — In spite of the launch of a Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for the region no early resolution can be expected on the Natal/Kwazulu indaba proposals for a single legislature, says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But he said yesterday the JEA was only a small step along the path.

Speaking at the opening of the authority, Chief Buthelezi dealt extensively with the Indaba.

He said the consensus to establish a JEA pointed immediately to the need for a joint legislative assembly.

The proposals were open for negotiation, but he warned: "We dare not damage them."

Indications today were that negotiations between the Government and Kwazulu and other political groupings could soon be under way.

Two obstacles to talks have been removed — the JEA has been launched and the Natal Provincial Executive has sent its opinion on the proposals to the Government.

Natal Administrator Mr Radclyffe Cadman would not say yesterday what stance the Provincial Executive had taken or even whether the response had been unanimous.

Principle

But he said he favoured an elected joint legislature for Natal and Kwazulu.

He added: "I am talking about the principle, not the detail."

A joint legislature did not follow on a joint executive.

Speaking at the launch, he said that if through the JEA it could be shown Zulu and non-Zulu could work together, it would help those who believed in the ideal of a joint legislature.

"The JEA will be an important testing ground."

President Botha did not refer in his speech to the Indaba proposals, although he emphasised the interdependence of the region.

He praised the JEA and said similar structures were needed in the Transvaal and Free State.

There was a large contingent of Indaba steering committee members and staff at the opening.

● Untangling the patchwork, page 19.

(11B) DD 4/11/87

KwaZulu/Natal JEA can succeed — PW

DURBAN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday described the multiracial KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) as "an experiment that can succeed".

Mr Botha officially opened the JEA here, saying it illustrated the importance which the government attached to the process of regional government.

"An increasing need for similar ventures also exists in the Transvaal and the Free State."

He complimented the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and his cabinet, and the Administrator of Natal, Mr R. M. Cadman, and his executive committee on "illustrating the kind of co-operation which should exist between executive authorities in the country".

His government was committed to continued social, economic and constitutional reform, and would protect the rights of individuals and communities.

"The South African Government's hand is strengthened by leaders who openly reject violence as a means of achieving political goals," Mr Botha said.

South Africa remained a country of hope, too, with the hundreds-of-thousands of people who flocked to it from neighbouring states "because they also find hope and security here while hunger, insecurity and despair reign where they come from," he said.

"Let our efforts and our determination steer South Africa on the road to still greater hope, prosperity and peace."

Earlier, Mr Botha described the floods that devastated Natal and KwaZulu as "this disaster, in a destructive way, that confirmed the interdependence of all residents in this region, irrespective of political, racial, religious and other differences".

It was, he said, a disaster that had taught the people of South Africa three important lessons, namely that "we have many common interests," that "the various communities can work together," and that "all mankind is dependent on God Almighty".

It had become increasingly clear the world over that government should be brought closer to the people for personal and practical reasons.

His government believed local government to be an effective basis for democratic government, and the proposed JEA "enjoys the full support of the South African Government".

Chief Buthelezi said South African blacks wanted reparation and not retribution.

He told Mr Botha, "this region of South Africa has presented you with an initiative which you have endorsed to your great credit".

The Chief Minister termed South Africa "a country of erring Christians who are grappling with the realities around them and have not yet found the way to give real effect to national reconciliation," even though South Africa was by and large a Christian country.

There was a historic ripeness for really meaningful change in South Africa and it was still not too late "to grasp this moment of South African history and to move to a shared, peaceful future which, equally before the constitution and the law, will lead to increasing prosperity for all".

He hoped that the formation of the JEA would prove to be the first in a number of steps which would lead to more effective administration, in which reconciliation between race groups would become a reality.

"It is our duty to build bridges across chasms which some would have widened until they are totally unbridgeable.

"The establishment of the KwaZulu/Natal JEA is a significant first in South Africa.

"It is not a first, final victory, however. It is a step in taking a constitutional step which brings black, white, Indians and coloureds together in a JEA," he said.

● Dr Oscar Dhlomo was elected first chairman of the kwaZulu/Natal JEA , with Natal MEC, Mr Tino Volker, the deputy chairman.

Apart from Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi a number of distinguished people were in the audience. They included the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill, a number of cabinet ministers including Mr C. Heunis and Dr Viljoen, KwaZulu cabinet ministers, the judge president of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, as well as MP's of South Africa and KwaZulu.

Dr Dhlomo is a director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and a KwaZulu cabinet minister. — Sapa

Regional bodies 'needed in other provinces'

Natal's JEA can succeed — Botha

4/11/87 STAR (11B)

Durban

President Botha yesterday described the multiracial kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority as "an experiment that can succeed".

Mr Botha officially opened the authority in Durban, saying it illustrated the importance that the South African Government attached to the process of regional government.

He said: "An increasing need for similar ventures exists in the Transvaal and Free State."

He complimented the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and his Cabinet, and the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, and his executive committee, for "illustrating the kind of co-operation which should exist between executive authorities in the country".

President Botha said the Government was committed to continued social, economic and constitutional reform — and would protect the rights of individuals and communities.

"The South African Government's hand is strengthened by leaders who openly reject violence as a means of achieving political goals," he said to loud applause.

He added that South Africa remained a country of hope, with hundreds of thousands of people flocking to it from neighbouring lands "because they also find hope and security here, while hunger, insecurity and despair reign where they come from".

Local government was an effective basis for democratic government, he said, and the JEA "enjoys the full support of the Government".

Chief Buthelezi said South African blacks wanted "reparation" and not retribution.

He told President Botha that "this region of South Africa has presented you with an initiative, which you have endorsed to your great credit".

Statesmanship

Chief Buthelezi described Mr Botha as "a God-fearing man, and we are grateful that you have subjected yourself to divine authority in the execution of your public duties".

He added: "You have turned your face towards statesmanship, and it is under your guiding hand that there are now some prospects of a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

"I do not imply that we are anywhere near resolving our problems. What I am saying is that with just a little more boldness we can get closer to resolving our complex problems."

Despite the exchange of pleasantries between President Botha and Chief Buthelezi, the political logjam between the two remains.

At a press conference later, Chief Buthelezi made it clear that he could see no reason for a meeting with President Botha at present. — Political Staff and Sapa.

● See Page 15.

Cape Times 4/11/87

Speed up reform, Buthelezi urges PW

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — At the ceremonial first meeting of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in the City Hall here yesterday, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged State President Botha to speed up reform.

Chief Buthelezi punted the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the proposals of which the National Party has rejected as containing insufficient safeguards for minority rights.

He said he was very depressed by the views of certain South African MPs about the Indaba.

"If you can't meet halfway, even with a leader like me who is sentenced to death because he believes in negotiation, I don't know what kind of leader can negotiate with white South Africa.

"If we can't give the young people who support me in their hundreds of thousands some hope of a compromise solution such as in the Indaba, then I feel a sense of dispair for this troubled land."

He said the JEA was a step in the right direction and would contribute significantly to the domination of the politics of negotiation over the politics of confrontation and violence.

Studiously avoiding the Indaba, Mr P W Botha praised the leadership of Chief Buthelezi and the Natal Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, for the good record of negotiation, co-operation and assistance between the two regional authorities.

Mr Botha said the government fully supported the JEA because it enhanced the process of regional government.

"We are often criticized for supposedly imposing centralized policies on people. But decentralization and privatization will afford everyone the opportunity to try to influence services and policies directly, according to his choice."

Mr Botha said the JEA was an experiment which could succeed and for which there was an increasing need in the Transvaal and Free State.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary-general, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and Indaba co-convener, was elected JEA chairman.

Dr Dhlomo said he looked forward to using Mr Botha's "open door" to express the hopes and dreams of the region beyond the JEA.

● As Mr Botha arrived just before the ceremony started, three members of the Black Sash were hustled from the city hall by police.

The women were about to take out banners and posters. A police spokesman said they had not been arrested.

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused journalists of being propagandists for his enemies during an explosive press conference here yesterday after the inaugural meeting of the Joint Executive Authority.

The atmosphere turned sour when one of 30 local and foreign journalists asked about alleged Inkatha involvement in violence in Maritzburg townships.

"That's bull ... You're accusing me of criminal acts."

Another journalist said it seemed Inkatha leaders were doing little to end the violence.

"That's nonsense, what kind of journalist are you?" retorted Chief Buthelezi. He said violence was being fomented by people in tandem with the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi exploded again when a reporter asked him about a coming court case in which he is suing a magazine for defamation.

"What kind of journalism is this? You're being propagandists for my enemies. What I am going to say in court has nothing to do with you."

A journalist finally defused the tension by exclaiming: "Gee Chief, you're awfully touchy today!"

Results — after 12 long years of frustration and obstruction

Natal option: the new authority is now official

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

DURBAN — The Joint Executive Authority launched officially yesterday is part of the so-called Natal option.

It started from small beginnings in 1975, but some of its participants and creators see it as only part of what can still be an even longer process.

In 1975, the then United Party-controlled Natal Provincial Executive faced the reality of the impossibility of governing a province that looked like a haphazard patchwork quilt.

Utter confusion

The reality had come gradually as the Government pushed ahead with its policy of separate development, creating new states within a state.

Nowhere in the country, however, was this system more confused than in kwaZulu, Natal. Despite many Government inquiries, attempts to bring some sort of order to the scattering of the Zulu nation by the British in the wake of the Zulu wars, no "consolidated" kwaZulu was in sight.

In order to get some administrative order into the system, the Natal Consultative Committee was quietly established, meeting for the first time on September 3 1975.

The committee was not reserved for the kwaZulu Government and Natal Provincial Executive members, but also included Indian and coloured representatives involved in local government.

A year later the first whispers of far more formal links were being heard, with the late Mr Frank Martin, MEC, suggesting an Indaba in loose terms for the first time.

Meanwhile, other initiatives were taking place. The first was the Lombard Committee investigation, which was initiated basically by big business — particularly the sugar industry.

The Lombard investigation was primarily a result of the horror of industry and commerce — including, for the first time, Afrikaner interests — at the Government's consolidation plans.

Professor Jan Lombard came forward with the first definitive recommendations for a joint Government for the two regions.

The then Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Owen Horwood, kicked the proposals right out.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then took the initiative, appointing the Buthelezi Committee under the Vice-Principal of the University of Natal, Professor Denys Schreiner.

The committee had much the same representation as the yet-to-come Natal/kwaZulu Indaba, with the left and right sitting out.

It followed on the Lombard report recommending a single legislature. This time, not only did the National Party give the plans a firm thumbs down, but so did the New Republic Party — saying there was no group protection.

kwaZulu immediately withdrew from the Natal Consultative Committee, which had met 29 times in eight years.

After a stand-off of more than a year, the kwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Provincial Executive met in Ulundi in November 1984.

At the meeting, the Ulundi Accord was signed, creating two new bodies — a Strategic Policy Group (SPG) of public representatives from both sides, which was to advise on priorities — and the kwaZulu/Natal Work Group of senior officials of both sides, which made recommendations to the SPG.

Power split

Towards the end of 1985, discussions started between kwaZulu and Natal on firmer ties.

Indications from the Government showed that joint administration of the territory would be acceptable, but the Government hedged at agreeing to a joint legislature, which would effectively unite the region.

A dual strategy was adopted, with direct negotiations getting under way for a joint executive which would only have administrative powers divided on a strictly 50-50 basis.

By February last year agreement had been reached, and a draft Bill to establish the Joint Executive Authority was submitted to Government. kwaZulu, however, insisted this was only the first step, and almost simultaneously invitations were sent out for the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba.

Natal National Party spokesmen immediately rejected any move towards a single legislature, but President Botha, opening Parliament last year, left the door open and has continued to do so.

Step by tiny step his Minister of Constitutional Development , Mr Chris Heunis, has moved — first accepting that there can be different solutions in different regions, and then conceding at the recent Natal National Party con gress that the principle of a single legislature could be accepted.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo . . . one of the kwaZulu line-up.

However, a single legislature is still clearly not acceptable yet in terms of the Indaba proposals.

But the Government enthusiastically adopted the Joint Executive Authority, and has encouraged other regions to adopt a similar process.

The structure, with its loose confederal makeup, is much the same as the type of constitutional dispensation foreseen by NP ideologues at national level — the constellation of states concept of President Botha.

There has been a lengthy delay since the adoption of the draft Bill by kwaZulu and Natal — mainly so that the fine print could be worked out.

But political factors also caused delays. These included concern in kwaZulu that the JEA would be used to implement the regional services councils, to which it is opposed.

Vacancies stay

The other major political factor was the scrapping of the all-white, but elected, New Republic Party-controlled Natal Executive Committee, and its replacement by a Government-appointed Nationalist-dominated but multiracial executive.

One of the ways kwaZulu has shown its opposition has been its refusal to fill the vacancies for blacks on the executive committee.

There is no doubt that the JEA will bring major advantages to the region, cutting out some of the expensive duplication, while ensuring far better planning and allocation of resources.

New group will foster co-operation

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

DURBAN — The Joint Executive Authority (JEA) will open the way for widespread co-operation — but either side will be able to veto any plans.

The object of the JEA is to combine resources in the region, avoid duplication and ensure sound planning.

The JEA will sit in Durban and will have a small permanent secretariat.

KwaZulu and Natal will have five members each.

The KwaZulu members are Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Mr Simon Gumede, Dr Dennis Madide, Dr Frank Mdlalose and Mr Steve Sithebe — all members of the KwaZulu Cabinet.

Natal is represented by Mr V Volker, Mr A G Joosab, Mr Clive Pierce, Mr Peter Miller and Mr S Naidoo.

The JEA powers include:

- **The administration of any law of KwaZulu or Natal assigned to it.**
- **The administration of any function assigned to it by the State President.**
- **Making recommendations to amend any legal provisions in KwaZulu or Natal.**
- **Acting as the co-ordinating agency between the two bodies.**

The JEA will be able to take decisions on such things as road planning and construction, conservation, supplies and libraries.

However these functions would not result in the creation of new departments and would make use of existing departments to carry out particular projects.

The JEA will hold at least six meetings a year.

The Administrator and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu are not legible for membership. They will play a referee role in the case of deadlock.

If any side votes against a JEA resolution, the matter will be referred to the two who will decide "by agreement between them".

It will probably be some time before the full list of functions of the JEA are finalised.

(118) B/day 5/11/87.

NEWS FOCUS

JEA's black majority doesn't rule

ROGER SMITH

THE newly-elected chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority (JEA) — KwaZulu Minister of Education Dr Oscar Dhlomo — recently quipped that the JEA meant black majority rule for the region.

He was referring to the fact that the 10-member JEA would have fewer whites on it than other races, consisting as it does of five KwaZulu Cabinet Ministers and the five members of Natal's now multiracial Executive Committee.

Although white right-wingers would take Dhlomo's jest seriously and decry what they see as "black domination," the fact remains that it was nothing but a jest.

The reason, as Dhlomo knew full well, was that the JEA has only limited powers and that its decisions can be reached only on the basis of consensus between the Executive Committee and the KwaZulu Cabinet.

Either side can block a decision, or even discussion, on a particular issue. It would be impossible for any MEC or KwaZulu Cabinet Minister to cross the floor in order to force a majority decision in the JEA.

Even in the extremely unlikely event of a government-nominated MEC or a senior Inkatha member breaking ranks, the JEA simply does not work that way.

Its powers are limited to the co-ordination of the functions of the two administrations — it may administer laws on behalf of them but it has no power to make regulations or enact subordinate legislation.

It has no decision-making powers on the enforcement of a particular rule or regulation and can only make recommendations to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the Administrator of Natal.

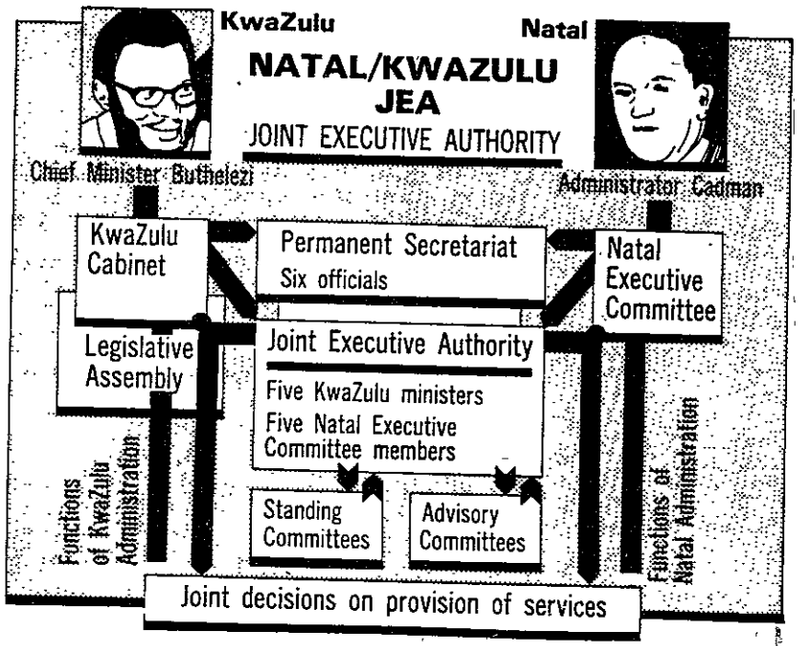
In the event of disputes between members of the JEA, it is up to the Chief Minister and the Administrator (who are not members of the JEA) to resolve any issue referred to them "by agreement".

As to the work of the JEA, the administrative functions to be co-ordinated have still to be decided, but initial indications are that these will include roads, road traffic, hospitals, libraries, licensing, planning and civil defence.

The JEA can set up standing committees to supervise specific co-ordinated functions and advisory committees to recommend on action to be taken.

Joint functions are to be carried out by the staff of the separate administrations, financed through a JEA fund drawn from the KwaZulu government and Natal provincial administration budgets.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis has said he views the JEA as "a step towards real power-sharing between black and white in SA". Black majority rule it certainly is not.



Star 6/11/87

Journalist's clothes 'torn by demos'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The news editor of The Star, Johannesburg, told the Supreme Court here he was surrounded by placard-waving demonstrators who jeered at him and tore his clothing at a meeting with KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Peter Mann was testifying yesterday in a R20 000 defamation claim by Chief Buthelezi against Mr Denis Becket, editor of Frontline.

An article, reprinted from the Spectator of London, said Chief Buthelezi was "nauseatingly pompous and self-important", portrayed him as the "rogue stooge of South Africa" and said his "well-drilled impis were among the most thuggish" in the country.

Chief Buthelezi denied allegations of thuggery.

Mr Mann, called on behalf of the defendant, told the court that some time before 1980 his relations with Chief Buthelezi had not been good and he had been sent to Ulundi to normalize the situation.

Although unable to see Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mann had covered a story about a farmer who called his dog "Gatsha" and dressed him in Inkatha colours.

Later he received a telephone call from Chief Buthelezi's secretary inviting him to Ulundi.

On his arrival he saw people with placards marching in military formation.

As he got out of his car they surrounded him and he realized the demonstration was aimed at him.

"It was unpleasant but manageable and I walked to Chief Buthelezi's office."

In Chief Buthelezi's office he was made to wait for an hour while the demonstrators sang and pushed placards under the door.

I was then told Chief Buthelezi had arrived, I was taken by the wrists and led out into the corridor which was lined with protesters.

"As we progressed through the crowd people started pushing and shouting at me. They became more aggressive, tearing at my clothes and pulling off my tie."

Appearing in a "dishevelled" state before Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mann expressed fears for his safety and was told he was quite safe.

He said a message had arrived via one of the aides that he had a flat tyre and Chief Buthelezi had said: "I told them not to do anything to the motor car."

After the meeting Mr Mann was confronted by knobkierie-wielding men and was told by the Chief they were angry and expected an apology.

"In the situation I had no option but to apologise," said Mr Mann.

Mr Justice Howard reserved judgment.

81 FM 6/11/87

KWA-NATAL

Wrong figures

Three myths have been exploded by the first-ever aerial map of Natal-KwaZulu.

The first is the consolidated population figure of 5,9m of the 1985 census. With an estimate for the Durban Functional Region (DFR) alone of 3,6m, the map suggests the population of Natal-KwaZulu — 92 000 km² in extent, roughly a third of which is KwaZulu territory — is far higher.

The second is the impractical dream nursed by right-wing organisations of a whites-only *Boerestaat* in northern Natal. The area is densely settled with black communities which have evidently escaped the attention of both census agents and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its allies.

The third is the equally impractical notion that black settlements in Natal can sensibly be abstracted into a chequerboard "state." KwaZulu already comprises 46 separate "black" islands in the "white" province of Natal, and the map shows numerous settled black communities outside present or proposed KwaZulu territory.

For the consolidation of KwaZulu to have any practical effect resettlement on a vast scale would have to take place, and this is ostensibly no longer government policy.

The map, released this week, was commissioned by the Inkatha Institute and used aerial photographs taken by a private company, Air Survey Africa. The photographs were originally required by Eskom to help shape its future electricity demands.

Analysis was undertaken on behalf of the institute by anthropology honours graduate Clarissa Fourie, assisted by Professor D Scogins of the department of surveying and mapping at the University of Natal.

The realities it has disclosed may oblige wide policy changes from government, especially with regard to an Indaba-type administration of the province.

Already Indaba sympathisers say it demonstrates conclusively that the area cannot be unscrambled into "white" and "black" territories: the only practical administration is a unified Kwa-Natal. The map coincides with the formal opening of the Joint Executive Authority for Kwa-Natal.

The institute says the map "shows effective consolidation of KwaZulu to be even more unrealistic than many already believe."

It points to the vast areas of rural "white" Natal flecked with areas of black settlement; that these communities chose to settle without regard for official boundaries; and that there is "chaotic" overlapping of Natal and KwaZulu magisterial districts.

The DFR includes shack settlements surrounding "formal" Durban housing an estimated 1,7m people, or 48% of the DFR population. The growth of this community is responsible for making Durban one of the fastest-growing urban areas in the world.

By contrast only some 387 000 whites (10,7%) live in the formal limits of the city, 70 000 Coloureds (2%), 60 000 Indians (1,6%), and 827 000 formally-housed blacks.

Cosatu gives background to violence in Maritzburg's townships

WARLORDS BEHIND KILLINGS IN NATAL

WARLORDS with their private armies were largely responsible for the continuing violence in the townships that surround Maritzburg.

This was disclosed at a Press conference called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Cosatu is the largest trade union federation in South Africa and the UDF is the largest overt political body.

Mr Jay Naidoo, the secretary general of Cosatu, said there was a long history attached to the violence.

Mr Naidoo said: "The violence began as long ago as January 1985 when progressive organisations had embarked upon campaigns to extend their structures and protest against the actions of the state."

He pointed out that conservative organisations like INkatha that had their political legitimacy challenged as a result of these campaigns led to the invitation of violence.

Reacting to the accusations levelled against Inkatha, Dr Dhlomo said that it did not help for organisations to level accusations and counter-accusations against each other.

"Instead of Press conferences called behind Inkatha's back to make these accusations I would be more interested in seeing the UDF coming to meet with us and discuss the problems together to solve them," he said.

Buthulezi 'ignorant' about court orders

8/1/87 C/Press (1B)

CP Correspondent

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... doesn't know about interedicts against Inkatha.

A DAY after temporary interdicts were granted against two Maritzburg Inkatha chairmen, their leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said he knew nothing about the matter nor about several other interdicts against members and leaders of the movement.

Buthelezi was giving evidence in the Durban Supreme Court during a R20 000 defamation action against *Frontline* magazine and it's editor, Dennis Beckett.

He objects to an article printed last November, in which the writer, Stephen Robinson, said Buthelezi was "commonly portrayed as a rogue stoogie" and added "the Zulu leader is not everyone's cup of tea, he is nauseatingly pompous and self-important. His claim to represent the sole non-violent alternative to Marxist revolution is questionable, to say the least, and his well-drilled Impi regiments are among the most thuggish operators in South Africa".

The Chief Minister said he was "appalled" to read the article.

He had no personal impis which were thuggish operators and he felt the "article was an attempt to damage his international reputation as a leader committed to non-violence".

Because of this commitment, he had become the "target of violence" and has been virtually "sentenced to death".

He said the article was part of the African National Congress' international strategy to vilify him.

Among the newspapers involved in this campaign were the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Boston Globe*.

"It is an international thing. I am not paranoid about it."

He named *City Press* as a local paper whose role in this campaign was so obvious "even a child – not even 20 years old – can see it and bring it to my attention."

He said Inkatha was well disciplined, disciplinary procedures existed and were used against members when warranted.

However, he could not be expected to control the one and a half million members of the organisation or know exactly what they were doing.

He said he knew nothing of the application in Maritzburg this week, in which temporary interdicts were granted against two local Inkatha chairmen.

When told of a number of Supreme Court interdicts against Inkatha members and leaders, he said he knew nothing about such cases.

Asked what had been done by the Inkatha central committee about the case of a Dlamini, who was sentenced for public violence, he replied:

"From our perspective we could not imagine that this woman could be involved in burning down houses.

"We believe it must have been a case of mistaken identity.

"We did discuss this in the Inkatha central committee."

MBEKI IS BACK IN THE FRAY

118

STimes 8/11/87

Released ANC boss offers to help settle faction war in Natal

MY HELL with the beast who slew Canla

Sunday Times Reporters

FREED African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki was leaving the Government in no doubt this weekend that he is back in political business.

Within hours of his release from prison, the white-haired ANC chairman plunged back into the political fray with an offer to mediate in the violence between warring Inkatha and UDF-linked factions in Natal's townships.

The offer was instantly accepted by Inkatha, thus raising the intriguing possibility that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu may soon be dealing directly with the ANC.

Also now on the cards is the possibility that Mr Mbeki may become the nucleus of an unofficial and public "internal" wing of the banned ANC.

Mr Mbeki, 77, has made it clear that his political views remain as determinedly communist as they were when he was jailed for plotting the downfall of the Government 23 years ago.

And he promised a visit to Lusaka to meet the exiled ANC leadership — including his son, Thabo, who is information chief of the banned organisation and regarded as one of its rising stars.

Government sources were at pains to stress that Mr Mbeki is a free agent — he may go where he pleases, see whom he likes, and engage in lawful politics.

But, as a listed person, he may not be quoted in South African newspapers.

The ageing activist's release sparked widespread celebrations in South Africa's black townships — and also a sense of anticipation that the country's long-deadlocked political scene may be shifting gear.

His choice of the Natal violence as starting point for a resumed political career is fraught with danger.

The clashes between Inkatha and UDF-linked groups have so far claimed 170 lives and resulted in troops being deployed in

Govan Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela face the Johannesburg Press

Bev Ade

release sparked widespread celebrations in South Africa's black townships — and also a sense of anticipation that the country's long-deadlocked political scene may be shifting gear.

His choice of the Natal violence as starting point for a resumed political career is fraught with danger.

The clashes between Inkatha and UDF-linked groups have so far claimed 170 lives and resulted in troops being deployed in the worst-hit townships in the Natal Midlands.

Attempts by UDF leaders and Archbishop Desmond Tutu to defuse the issue in talks with Chief Buthulezi on Friday were only partially successful: the antagonism between Inkatha and UDF runs extremely deep.

Mr Mbeki's comments at a Johannesburg Press conference yesterday cannot be reported in terms of the law.

But it was clear that he did not intend relinquishing a political role inside and outside the country and that the ANC was deeply concerned about the savage violence in Natal.

Mr Govan Mbeki's offer of assistance in settling the war in Maritzburg's townships

BACK TO THE CROWDS AND COPS: See Page 3

has been welcomed by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, general secretary of Inkatha.

He said yesterday he was sure Inkatha would give its full co-operation to Mr Mbeki's initiative.

"Since Inkatha is seriously trying to end the violence, without co-operation from the UDF leadership, we would heartily welcome the involvement of Mr Mbeki as mediator in the current conflict in Maritzburg.

"We have always felt that the imprisoned political leaders, once they are released, could play a vital role in bringing about unity among all black political groupings across the political spectrum.

"I have no doubt that if Mr Mbeki did decide to get involved in Maritzburg, he would receive the full co-operation of the president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and our local Inkatha leadership in Maritzburg," Dr Dhlomo said.

The release of Mr Mbeki, meanwhile, follows months

☐ To Page 2

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

Govan Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela face the Johannesburg Press

P.T.O.

'Not a major victim'

CP Correspondent

INKATHA has not been the major victim of violence in the bloody Maritzburg conflict, it was said in court this week.

Edwin Cameron, appearing for *Frontline* magazine in a defamation action brought by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said that the latest edition of the PFP unrest report listed 89 people killed in the area, with 18 as members of Inkatha.

Cameron said this seemed to indicate that Inkatha had not been "the major victim of the violence".

Inkatha's 'private armies, warlords'

S. Times 8/4/87

Sunday Times Reporter

WARLORDS and their private armies are engaged in a campaign of terror in black townships round Maritzburg.

This has been the major finding of an investigation conducted over the past month by a team of lawyers engaged by Cosatu and the UDF.

At a Press conference in Maritzburg this week spokesmen for the two bodies said the mounting violence and the 130 deaths in the past three months had spurred the investigation.

Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu secretary-general, said the investigation had revealed that a "warlord phenomenon" had emerged in the townships.

But Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary-general, denied the allegations.

As a result of the investigation court actions were launched in the Maritzburg Supreme Court this week to halt the activities of three alleged "warlords", all of whom are leaders of Inkatha.

Restrained

One of them, David Ntombela, was temporarily restrained from threatening or attempting to kill or assault the Mkhize family of the Mpumuza area.

In an interim interdict obtained by nine residents of Edendale township, another Inkatha leader, Christopher Sichizo Zuma, was restrained from killing, assaulting or abducting them.

The order also directed Mr Zuma to prevent any member of Inkatha in his control from assaulting the residents or damaging their property.

Mr Naidoo said at the Press conference that Inkatha had begun forced recruitment and dragooned people into marauding bands who hunted down UDF supporters and sympathisers.

Complicity

Dr Dhlomo denied that Inkatha had "hordes of vigilantes" who went round killing people.

Mr Naidoo accused the police of complicity with vigilantes and Inkatha members in the violence.

He cited a number of affidavits which alleged that many times victims of warlord violence reported to the police and identified the perpetrators of violence.

Police often arrested the individuals and then released them a day or two later.

A police statement said: "We deny the general statements that the police refuse to act against 'vigilantes', that we refuse to protect residents and that we refuse to intervene in clashes," a police statement said.

Any complaint against any member of the police by the public would be thoroughly investigated.

Late this week SADF troops were deployed in the Maritzburg townships.

ARGUS 9/11/87

More die in Maritzburg

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The violence in Maritzburg continued this weekend, with five people killed in spite of urgent calls for a ceasefire by black leaders and pledges by the United Democratic Front and Inkatha to crack down on supporters instigating it.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, freed African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki, Kwazulu's Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and UDF president Mr Archie Gumede are all now involved in efforts to end the killing.

Mr Mbeki has offered to act as a mediator and he and Nelson Mandela have asked UDF and Inkatha supporters to "bury the hatchet". Both the UDF and Inkatha have welcomed the offer.

Five people were killed this weekend — including a 15-year-old Maritzburg youth who had his throat slit and was repeatedly stabbed — bringing the death toll in Natal unrest to 73 in six weeks.

Natal unrest claims five more lives

STAR 9/11/87

Township violence in Natal left five people dead at the weekend — including a 15-year-old youth — and four others injured, police said in their unrest reports.

Two of the dead, aged 20 and 22, were killed in Pinetown's kwaNdengezi township. One was shot dead while the other was stabbed.

The bodies of the other three murder victims were found in Sinating, Sobantu and Caluza townships, near Maritzburg. The youth, whose body was found in Sobantu, and the two other young men all had stab wounds.

In Edendale, near Maritzburg, on Saturday, a 19-year-old man was seriously injured when he was stabbed by a mob.

At kwaNdengezi, on Saturday, two opposing groups gathered for a confrontation. Shots were fired by one group and three men were injured.

In Ashdown, outside Maritzburg, yesterday, a home was damaged after it was set alight.

Two men and a youth were arrested in Caluza after police dispersed an illegal gathering.

Buthelezi welcomes talks with Mbeki

Cape Times 10/11/87 (146)

JOHANNESBURG. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would welcome talks with freed ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki on the unrest in the Maritzburg area, but said the ANC was responsible for political violence in the country.

"We are in this country faced with the harsh reality that it is Mr Mbeki's ANC and the ANC's UDF and Cosatu which have sworn to make South Africa ungovernable," the Zulu leader said.

The statement was referring to news reports that Mr Mbeki had offered to assist in bringing an end to black-on-black confrontations in the Maritzburg area.

Chief Buthelezi said he would welcome whatever anybody could do to de-escalate the violence.

Meanwhile the SAP public relations division reported that at Ashdown, Maritzburg, police yesterday used tear-smoke to disperse two opposing groups.

At Gazabuza a group of blacks stoned a dwelling and seriously injured an 18-year-old man when they attacked him with knives.

Also in the area police found the bodies of four blacks, all with multiple stab wounds. — Sapa

(18) SOWETAN 12/11/87

National Council 'will bring trust and reform'

From Our Own Correspondent

Natal's Indaba is a likely option for political reform throughout South Africa. That is the view of the former director-general of Constitutional Development and Planning, Professor Andreas van Wyk.

The leading academic placed considerable faith in the proposed National Council when he addressed delgates to the National Clothing Federation's convention at the Wild Coast.

"Compromise between black demands for parliamentary representation and white insistence on communal representation could see the start of evolution towards a system of community-based representation in local, regional and national bodies, with possible provision for an 'open group'.

"Such developments could first occur at the provincial level. An initiative such as the co-operation between Natal and kwaZulu could serve as an example."

Professor van Wyk said there was little doubt the Government's approach to constitutional reform would continue to be on an incremental one.

He said the Government had done much to show it accepted the legitimacy of black claims for political rights and the need to create political structures for them. The administration of black affairs had been changed beyond recognition.

"In a piece of massive decentralisation the provinces were entrusted with the responsibility for all local government and for black socio-economic development. The abolition of influx control was probably the most significant step of deregulation ever undertaken in South African history."

The proposed National Council would be of "utmost importance as a trust-building and reforming institution" in bringing about an alliance of moderate leaders of the various communities, said Professor van Wyk.

The recent release of political prisoners had created a more favourable atmosphere. He saw the re-introduction of elected provincial legislatives composed on a communal basis as a possible "major step of incremental reform" in line with the Government's avowed intention of building out the regional/provincial level of government to the utmost.

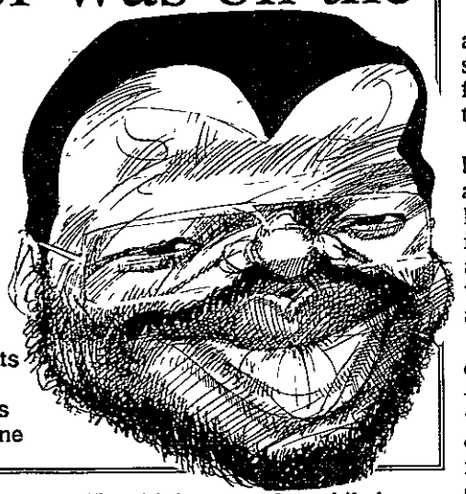
'COMPROMISE INEVITABLE'

"The recent inauguration of the Joint Executive Authority for Natal and kwaZulu and the State President's express depiction of it as an example which could be followed by the Free State and Transvaal shows another probable line of development."

Joint Executive Authorities could, he said, start a trend to the regionalisation of all existing units — provinces and the six self-governing states. Given blacks' insistence on parliamentary expression and the strong demands by whites for recognition of ethnicity in the form of communal representation, Professor Van Wyk said compromise was inevitable.

Referring to the Government's acceptance of open residential areas, he asked: "Is it fanciful to suggest that this opening up in the framework of group areas could eventually be followed by something similar in the framework of race classification?"

The editor was on the line. But Inkatha got the grilling



CARMEL RICKARD reports on the case in which Mangosuthu Buthelezi is sueing *Frontline* magazine

THE sincerity of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's commitment to non-violence was virtually on trial in Durban this week, with a R20 000 damages claim against *Frontline* magazine and its editor, Denis Beckett.

Buthelezi himself spent almost seven hours in the witness box answering questions about his speeches, his attitude to violence and the control he wields over the members and leaders of Inkatha.

Judge Alan Howard has reserved judgement, but the outcome is of great significance to the media because of the frequency with which defamation actions are launched by Buthelezi. Most of these claims are settled out of court; this is one of the few to reach a trial and it is certainly the first such case in which Buthelezi himself has given evidence.

The alleged defamation is part of an article written by Stephen Robinson, which originally appeared in the *Spectator* last July.

He said Buthelezi was "nauseatingly pompous and self-important", that he claimed to be the "sole non-violent alternative to Marxist revolution" and that "his well-drilled *impi* regiments" were among the "most thuggish operators in South Africa".

Buthelezi told the court he was "appalled" by the article: he had never seen himself as pompous and he had "no personal *impis* who were thuggish operators".

He said, "My commitment to non-violence is my entire life" and claimed that in attempting to ruin his international reputation as a leader wedded to non-violence, the article was part of an international campaign by the African National Congress to discredit him, using local and international media — including also the *Boston Globe* and the *Manchester Guardian*.

Under cross-examination he said he would follow the strategy of non-violence as long as it was the option chosen by his people, but that if they changed their minds and opted for violence, he would continue to lead them.

Buthelezi said Inkatha was well disciplined and that disciplinary procedures existed and were used against members when warranted. However, he could not be expected to control the 1,5-million members of the organisation.

He said he knew nothing of the application in Pietermaritzburg earlier this week in which a temporary interdict was granted against a local Inkatha leader, ordering him not to assault members of a family. Nor did he know anything about interdicts brought over the past few years against other Inkatha members or leaders.

He told the court that while he emphasised to members the organisation was non-violent, he stressed equally their "inalienable right" both to self defence and to rely on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

Edwin Cameron for *Frontline* said that in spite of what Buthelezi claimed about members acting in self-defence, Inkatha appeared "not to be the major victim of violence in Pietermaritzburg". Cameron quoted from the October PFP unrest monitoring report saying that of the people killed in the Pietermaritzburg townships between January and September this year, the local KwaZulu representative had identified only 18 of the 89 dead as Inkatha members.

Buthelezi: "I do not know what to make of that."

Evidence was also given by two journalists. News editor of *The Star*, Peter Mann, told the court about an incident in which he was roughed up and his clothes torn at Ulundi when he arrived for an appointment with Buthelezi.

He said a large crowd jostled him and waved placards objecting to a story he had written about a local farmer who named his dog after Buthelezi.

He said that Buthelezi must have been aware of what was happening as it took place outside his office, but he did not intervene. Finally, after the interview he left him with a group of armed men saying they were angry with him and that he "owed them an apology" for his article.

Senior *Business Day* reporter Roger Smith recounted several incidents — supported by photographs — which he had witnessed, including one occasion on which a group of men, apparently under the leadership of senior Inkatha members, chased and assaulted mourners returning from a funeral.

Summing up his argument, David Gordon, SC, for Buthelezi, said the use of the pronoun "his" in the article to refer to the "well-drilled *impi* regiments" implied that Buthelezi was "directing criminal conduct". The article also implied he was a poseur and that he was no democrat.

His good name had been injured and it would not be unreasonable to award him R20 000 "for this grievous injury".

Asking for the claim to be dismissed, Cameron told the court that in Buthelezi's speeches he repeatedly relied on the menace of violence to warn off his opponents; his commitment to non-violence was, by his own admission, a question of strategy which could change and it was also clear that "persons within his inner circle of acquaintances had been involved in thuggish acts".

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Inkatha condemns UDF detentions

MARITZBURG — Inkatha has condemned the detention of two senior UDF officials and warned that sensitive negotiations aimed at resolving the crisis in Maritzburg townships were now in jeopardy.

The two UDF men, Martin Wittenberg and Skumbuzo Ngwenya, and allegedly 10 youth activists, were detained while apparently negotiating with people from the townships.

"Everything is going to ashes, the talks now face a tough time," senior Inkatha member Velapi Ndlovu said of the peace negotiations.

"It is bad the police arrested these men, and I was sorry to hear about the detentions, but they should have applied for permission to hold their meetings."

Yesterday, police confirmed Friday's detention of Wittenberg and Ngwenya. They have not yet confirmed that 10 others were also arrested.

Ndlovu was reacting to claims by the UDF and Cosatu that more than 200 of their members in the Midlands area had been detained while no Inkatha members had suffered the same fate.

Mayor Mark Cornell, who has been involved in the peace talks, said he was afraid "the youths will now regard the peace talks as a sellout since it was while they were holding talks that they were detained".

A joint UDF-Cosatu statement yesterday said the detentions had "seriously undermined the entire peace process".

The detentions "once again show that the government is incapable of bringing peace to our country". — Sapa.

Buthelezi, Naidoo clash over Indaba

116 B/day 13/11/87

ALAN FINE

COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi clashed at the FM investment conference yesterday after Naidoo attacked the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and referred to the involvement of certain Inkatha leaders in the current Maritzburg violence.

Naidoo, criticising political solutions favoured by business, described the Indaba as an undemocratic regional solution based on principles similar to the tricameral parliamentary system.

He linked this to the violence in Natal where, he said, affidavits had shown local "warlords" — among them senior Inkatha officials — were the main perpetrators. The police had failed to take action against them, he added.

"While we do not deny some of our members have become embroiled in the violence, no leading Cosatu or UDF person has ever been guilty of involvement in violent intimidation," he said.

He asked for police action against those against whom documentary evidence was provided, and challenged all organisations to publicly condemn forced recruitment and to support the principle of free association and expression.

During question time, Buthelezi said it was Cosatu and UDF policy to make the townships ungovernable. It was laughable, he said, to talk as if Cosatu was an innocent victim.

He said Inkatha members reserved the right to defend themselves, but it was a blatant lie to say it was his and Inkatha's policy to kill political opponents. He also rejected allegations that people were coerced into joining Inkatha.

Buthelezi said the Indaba was the product of several years of discussions, and represented the will of the people of Natal. He said the UDF and the ANC had been invited to take part and the invitation still stood.

● See Pages 3 and 4

CAPE TIMES 13/11/87

Naidoo clashes with Buthelezi over Indaba

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Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi clashed at the FM investment conference yesterday.

Mr Naidoo referred in his speech to the KwaNatal Indaba as an undemocratic regional solution based on principles similar to the tricameral parliamentary system.

He said affidavits had shown that local "warlords" — among them senior Inkatha officials — were the main perpetrators of violence in Natal. Police had failed to take action, he added.

At question time, Chief Buthelezi said it was Cosatu and UDF policy to make townships ungovernable. He said it was a lie to say it was his and Inkatha's policy to kill opponents.

● Twenty-one 21 people have been arrested or charged since Wednesday in connection with unrest-related crimes in the past six weeks, said police liaison officer Captain P Kitching.

Inkatha discusses ways of ending Natal conflict

(118) DD 13/11/87

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth — if somebody takes my eye out I will take out his," the Inkatha national youth organiser, Mr Ntwe Mafole, said at a Press conference here yesterday.

The conference was held to discuss Inkatha's recommendations for ending the bloody conflict which has been raging between the group and the UDF in Natal's towns.

Mr Mafole was responding to questions from newsmen as to whether his organisation differentiated between self-defence and retaliation, in instructions to its members.

He and an Inkatha information officer, Mr Siegfried Bhengu, were unable to make a distinction between the two.

Mr Bhengu said without attacks being launched on Inkatha members there would still be the need for either self-defence or retaliation.

Also addressing the conference in his capacity as an Inkatha supporter was Mr Rowley Arenstein, the avowed marxist lawyer and listed communist who became political adviser to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha President and KwaZulu Chief Minister, last year.

Mr Arenstein, who may not be quoted as he is a listed person, was among the Inkatha leaders who called for the creation of a monitoring committee consisting of members of all affected organisations and neutral observers to help end the clashes.

Reiterating Mr Arenstein's comments, Mr Mafole said representatives of Inkatha, the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the black consciousness movement, students, workers and the youth should take part in the committee, which would ascertain who the perpetrators of violence were and refer them to their organisations for disciplinary action.

The Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman, Mr Musa Zondi, said the two organisations should hold "huge mass meetings" throughout Natal to call on their members to end the violence.

Mr Zondi said that UDF leaders had consistently refused to back their Natal president, Mr Archie Gumede, in his repeated attempts to set up negotiations with Inkatha.

There was, he said, a split developing within the UDF over the issue.

Denying allegations that the conflict in Pietermaritzburg had become one of Inkatha against the rest of the people, who had formed defence units to protect themselves, Mr Zondi said it was no longer possible for people in the towns to maintain political neutrality.

"You either have to belong to an Angola camp or an Ulundi camp. The situation is quite polarised."

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Mr Musa Zondi called yesterday for the creation of a monitoring committee consisting of representatives of all the organisations affected by conflict in Natal's townships in order to end the bloody clashes which have been raging since 1983.

methods to force people to move. Many have gone to the equally squalid conditions at Sandkraal in the face of what community workers claim is official intimidation, but others are determined to fight to have Lawaaikamp redeveloped.

The authorities claim that Lawaaikamp is beyond saving and that redevelopment is not feasible.

The GCA, however, commissioned a study which found that the upgrading was possible in a number of different ways at relatively low cost.

Further away

The Black Sash and the Surplus People Project (SPP), which are monitoring efforts to move the people, say the only apparent reason for the move is to have the community slightly further away from the town and behind the "barrier" of the new national road between Sandkraal and George.

Other sources say there is also pressure from local coloured community leaders who want the Lawaaikamp land to expand the adjacent coloured residential areas.

A recent meeting between the GCA executive, George's new mayor John Rogers, and Town Clerk Carel du Plessis, again failed to resolve the major problems. ■

MBEKI RELEASE FEATURE

Return from the cold

Govan Mbeki, who in a surprise move was released (with four other long-term political prisoners) by government last Thursday, demanded to speak to Nelson Mandela at Pollsmoor prison before being freed. In their hour-long meeting, it is understood from reliable sources, the ANC veterans discussed a number of issues including the implications of Mbeki's release (see page 58).

Mbeki (77) a former ANC national chairman and secretary of its high command was later flown in an army helicopter from Ysterplaat military base to Port Elizabeth, where he plans to live in New Brighton, one of SA's most militant townships.

Many would say that Port Elizabeth's (and the eastern Cape's) reputation as the cradle of radical black opposition is largely due to the young Mbeki's organisational skills.

In a press conference at Port Elizabeth, Mbeki made it clear that he is still a member of the (banned) ANC and SA Communist Party.

He also said he supports the ANC's military wing as well as the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The silver-haired, elegantly dressed Mbeki, who was imprisoned after the landmark Rivonia trial in 1963, exuded dignity and charisma and looked fit and healthy for a man of his age.

Mbeki was reunited with his wife, Epainet, with whom he last stayed in 1955. The couple wept for a few minutes before a contingent of journalists and photographers was allowed into the room.

The release of Mbeki, whose stature in the liberation movement almost equals Mandela's, has drawn favourable response from both overseas governments and extra-parliamentary politicians.

An executive member of the UDF the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu said: "We welcome the news of his release with tremendous pleasure.

"We hope that it is a start to a process that will see people like Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners released so that negotiations for a just and democratic SA can begin."

Mbeki flew to Johannesburg on Friday night to a tumultuous welcome by about 1 500 well-wishers at Jan Smuts airport. A reception committee of UDF president Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, National Union of Mineworkers leader Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu's Sydney Mafumadi, UDF's Samsom Ndou, and Release Mandela Committee's Irene Mkwayi, drew up Mbeki's itinerary.

Said Albertina Sisulu: "We welcome Mr Mbeki with open arms. We can only hope that his release presages the liberation of the oppressed masses. The government must now proceed and release other political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela."

Speculation is, of course, that Mandela could be released by Christmas. However, since government wants to "test the water" with Mbeki's release, freeing Mandela could take a little longer.

Epainet Mbeki and Govan ... home at last

On Saturday Mbeki held another press conference at Khotso House but as a "listed person" he may not be quoted (government gave permission only for his remarks at Port Elizabeth to be quoted).

However Mbeki spelt out his political future to some extent. It is clear that as a patron of the UDF he will work within existing opposition structures and consult closely with other leaders.

He offered to mediate in the Maritzburg feud between the UDF and Inkatha which has claimed about 176 lives.

Inkatha deputy leader Oscar Dhlomo welcomed the offer. Mbeki's role as peacemaker will be keenly observed to see whether the revered leadership in prison is able to resolve practical political problems.

It will also have implications for future ANC-Inkatha relations. In Johannesburg Mbeki stayed with Sisulu. A reception was prepared for him at St Barnabas College in Bosmont.

He met the Rev Peter Storey and a number of high-ranking ministers from the Methodist World Conference who are due to see State President P W Botha this week.

Mbeki, a founder member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, is generally considered to have been the ANC's leading theoretician and strategist. It will be interesting to see whether he can regalvanise the structures of the UDF which have been hard-hit by the emergency.

Recently released political prisoners describe him as a "living computer" because of his photographic memory.

Indeed many have been impressed by how fully in touch he is with the political scene.

While on Robben Island Mbeki wrote a book, *The Peasant Revolt in Transkei*, which earned a doctorate from Amsterdam University.

He has also written a number of articles some of which he intends to publish — probably overseas. A big project will be his autobiography. Mbeki has applied for a "travel document" to visit Lusaka to meet the ANC leadership which includes his son Thabo Mbeki considered to be a future leader of the organisation. ■

Double blow to Natal's fragile peace

* Buthelezi row with Cosatu at conference
* Inkatha challenge to UDF over violence

By CARMEL RICKARD and HILARY JOFFE

TWO incidents yesterday highlighted obstacles facing peace talks between groups involved in the violent Pietermaritzburg political feud.

In Johannesburg, a major business conference was the scene of an acrimonious confrontation between Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

And at a press conference in Durban Inkatha Youth Brigade leaders challenged the United Democratic Front to explain why they had not responded to Inkatha's proposal of a joint monitoring committee to halt violence in the Natal townships.

Youth brigade leaders spelt out their attitudes to the conflict with the Cosatu-UDF alliance.

National organiser, Ntwe Mafole, said: "If somebody takes my eye out I will take somebody's eye out; if they take my tooth out I will take somebody's tooth out; if they stab me I will stab. That is defence."

And KwaZulu MP Velaphi Ndlovu added, "As far as Inkatha (who is being attacked) is concerned, there is no difference between self-defence and retaliation. It is all one thing."

Speaking at the *Financial Mail's* investment conference in Johannesburg, Naidoo said the KwaNatal Indaba was an undemocratic regional solution based on principles similar to those of the tricameral parliament.

Naidoo said the growing violence against Cosatu members in Natal was not a case of black-on-black violence but a battle for political supremacy in Natal. It was an attempt to crush the democratic alternative which had been offered with the growth of trade unions and community organisations.

"Scores of Cosatu members who work in your factories in Natal have been killed and injured in attacks,

●To PAGE 2

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Natal's fragile peace

●From PAGE 1

from roving bands bent on crushing all non-Inkatha activity," he told the businessmen.

Buthelezi, who was in the audience and is due to address the conference today, leapt up to accuse Naidoo of inaccuracies.

He said the violence in Natal had been "deliberately fomented" and referred to "broadcasts from Lusaka and Addis Ababa and our brothers in the ANC calling for collaborators to be killed and for the country to be made ungovernable".

He said Inkatha was a voluntary organisation and had never forced members to join.

In Durban, leaders of the Inkatha Youth Brigade called a news conference to outline their stance on the current violence.

Musa Zondi, who heads the organisation, said the fact that the UDF had not responded to the proposals for a joint monitoring committee "pointed a finger" at who was the aggressor in the conflict.

He also claimed UDF President Archie Gumede had "problems" with his constituency and could not get them to approve such a committee.

Until the violence, in which the UDF was the aggressor, was ended, Inkatha members would be entitled to their "inalienable right" of self-defence.

Asked to spell out what the organisation understood by self-defence, Mafole said "When you are attacked someone will retaliate in some or other way, depending on what you did."

Mafole, who has been convicted of attempted murder and public violence, but is out of jail pending an appeal, added, "We as Inkatha have put up a principle that we will defend ourselves.

"Somebody may stab an Inkatha Youth Brigade member to death at the Pinetown taxi rank. And what happens? What does Inkatha Youth Brigade do in that situation? (Inter-jection: "They go to the courts.") Who knows what they do? I am merely saying you can't draw a line."

These incidents came at the end of a week in which 11 people died in the Pietermaritzburg townships and violence spilled over into other areas.

Chief Buthelezi warns on 'SA democracy'

20/1/87 Sowetan

CHIEF Buthelezi.

SOWETAN Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said that he saw a "terrible danger" in the Government's search for a unique brand of "South African democracy."

Speaking at a Middelburg Steel and Alloys lunch in the Transvaal, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said that history was riddled with so many failed alternative democracies that they could scarcely be counted. Consequently it made common sense, he said, to establish a democracy here by learning from those who had succeeded.

In this case, it was the democracies of western Europe and North America that should prove a model for South Africa.

However, if these countries decided to "withdraw their input", there was a real danger that South Africa could end up as a "half-baked banana republic."

He said: "The mentality that South Africa must be isolated economically, socially and politically, is dangerous for everything of value in this country. It was economic progress that led to social and political progress in the western world. It took an industrial revolution in Britain to establish British democracy.

"It passes my comprehension how thinking people in the west believe we can establish a democracy here if the present down-turn in our economy develops into a total economic collapse."

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1987 LATE FINAL PWV 30c (27 + 3c GST) C(

NATAL PEACE TALKS

(11B) Sowetan 23/11/87

OFFICIALS of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha meet tomorrow to try and bring an end to fighting that has claimed more than 170 lives in Pietermaritzburg in the past few months.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

Mr Archie Gumede, Natal president of the UDF and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, are among the officials expected to attend the meeting which will be hosted by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, head of the Anglican Church in South Africa, who is playing a major role in restoring peace in the area, is also expected to attend the talks.

The Chamber has been trying to set up such a meeting in the past two months.

More than 300 people have been arrested and scores of others have fled their homes since the fighting started between members of the UDF and Inkatha.

Fighting

More fighting was reported at the weekend between the rival groups in the townships of Kwamakhutha and Mpumalanga.

Leaders of both warring factions have expressed their confidence in the MCC for hosting the talks.

Two weeks ago, Archbishop Tutu and other prominent church leaders held two meetings with Chief Buthelezi and Mr Gumede to resolve the matter.

Archbishop Tutu also held a prayer meeting in the area which was boycotted by Inkatha members. The meeting was also attended by, among others, Archbishop Denis Hurley of the Roman Catholic Church and the Reverend Stanley Mogoba, president-elect of the Methodist Church.

Mr Paul van Uytrecht, the chamber's manager, said he was hoping that tomorrow's talks would bring peace to the area.

"The fighting in the area has claimed the lives of scores of people. Others have been injured and hundreds of others have fled their homes. The chamber's aim is to see the fighting ending," he said.

DD 25/11/87

Inkatha leaders facing criminal charges

116

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — Police disclosed yesterday that two of three regional Inkatha leaders interdicted earlier this month from assaulting, killing, or intimidating various Pietermaritzburg township residents were already facing criminal charges.

The information was given in reply to newspaper queries last week relating to Cosatu and UDF allegations that police have failed to take action against "Inkatha warlords" in the townships.

However, precise details of charges against Mr David Ntombela and Mr Sichizo Zuma were not supplied, so it is unclear whether they relate to allegations contained in papers used in the interdict applications.

No charges have been brought against the third — Chief Zuma.

According to a police spokesman for the Pietermaritzburg region, Mr Ntombela, the Inkatha regional chairman at Mazwazini, was charged with two counts of murder during the first week of October. He was released on bail pending a hearing.

Mr Sichizo Zuma, Inkatha's Harewood branch chairman, is facing six charges brought on three separate occasions in the last six months. He was granted bail on each occasion and each case is still pending.

The spokesman said Mr Zuma was first charged with public violence in May.

In September he was arrested and charged with arson and possession of an unlicensed firearm.

Last month he was again arrested and charged with attempted murder, illegal possession of a firearm, and public violence.

Asked whether police were using the interdict affidavits in their investigations into the regional violence, the spokesman said they form part of the appropriate court record — and the police cannot lay claim to the documents.

He said it was possible the complainants to lodge affidavits with the police.

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, November 25 1987

INTERDICTED INKATHA MEN WERE ON CHARGES

ALAN FINE

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According to Captain Kitching, SAP liaison officer for the Maritzburg region, Ntombela, Inkatha regional chairman at Mazwazini, was charged with two counts of murder during the first week of October. He was released on bail pending a hearing.

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Asked whether police were using the interdict affidavits in their investigations into the regional violence, the SAP said they formed part of the appropriate court record and the police cannot lay claim to the documents.

"However, should the complainants have cause for complaint against the persons mentioned, they should lodge affidavits with the SAP in order to enable us to investigate their complaints," the statement concluded.

PEACE HOPES HIGH

VAN Zyl Slabbert.

HOPES for peace in the battle-scarred Maritzburg townships were boosted on Tuesday night when the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha held a historic five-hour meeting chaired by the local chamber of commerce.

And police in the area have announced that they had arrested 32 more people in connection with unrest-related crimes in the area. The total of people who have been arrested is now 238, a spokesman said.

The five-hour talks between the warring parties in Maritzburg have ignited hope for a negotiated end to the killing — and the meeting was described by Dr Frederick van Zyl as "far more important" than anything he achieved in Parliament.

UDF and Inkatha together in talks

The talks between leaders of Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and Cosatu appear to have been successful, and delegates emerged optimistic about further negotiations.

A team from Inkatha/Uwusa and another from the UDF/Cosatu and three observers attended the meeting, which was co-chaired by Mr Bob Pater and Mr Paul van Uytrecht of the Maritzburg Chamber of Comerce.

Five hours later the delegates called for the release of their members from detention-freedom to meet with their constituencies without interference from the police and security forces-endorsement of the principles of freedom of expression with disciplinary action against those who violated them.

Mr van Uytrecht said later that far more progress had been made than expected, and was a cause for optimsim about the future.

Sunday Times 26/11/87

Killing

Speaking at a chamber of commerce luncheon at the same venue only hours earlier, guest Dr van Zyl Slabbert said the round-table discussions were a vitally important extra-parliamentary development in South African politics.

The strife and killing in Pietermaritzburg, the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party contended, was a "conflict of ideology and a conflict of privilege — all the old political issues.

12 months on, Indaba has cause to celebrate

(116) STAR 26/11/87

On Saturday it will be a year since that humid afternoon in the Durban City Hall when the Indaba reached its historic agreement.

It was a moment of great excitement. We celebrated. The news media of the world jostled for our statements. This was history in the making, we told each other, and we were part of it.

We were right, of course. South African politics will never be quite the same again . . . The individuals involved had discovered a collective greatness and achieved a consensus never before even attempted in such a representative South African forum.

Today we are all one year older and much wiser. History, we have discovered, is not made overnight. Nevertheless, we have made strides none of our opponents and few of our supporters would have believed possible.

No death knell

We have survived early attempts to kill the Indaba. We have survived a general election in which we became an unwilling political football and whose results were interpreted quite wrongly by many as the death knell for the Indaba.

And we have grown up. A year ago "indaba" was just a word, and only a vaguely familiar one at that, to many of the people of South Africa, and indeed kwaZulu Natal. Since then much has changed and the Indaba has become a force that is taken seriously by everyone.

The Indaba message is finding remarkable acceptance in the hearts and minds of people of all races, cutting right across traditional party-political and ideological divisions

On one side of the political arena we have supporters within the ANC and UDF and on the other we have supporters within the ruling white National Party. In fact recent market research by highly reputable agencies indicates that more National Party voters in kwaZulu Natal support the Indaba proposals than oppose them. We have no doubt that in a referendum the Indaba proposals would win majority support among all race groups in the province.

The Indaba is also taken seriously by business and industry. We have attracted major and continued funding from companies all over South Africa who believe the Indaba is blazing a trail for the future, not only for kwaZulu and Natal but for the whole country.

Most importantly, the Indaba is taken seriously by Central Government. The initial reaction to the Indaba of the Natal leader of the National Party was widely reported in a very negative fashion as an out-of-hand rejection. Officially, however, the Government has to this day neither accepted nor rejected the Indaba proposals. This is not due to lack of interest, but because the Government was awaiting the official responses of the convening bodies of the Indaba, the kwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Executive.

These have recently been received and we are looking forward to meaningful discussions about the Indaba proposals in the not-too-distant future.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convener of the kwaZulu Natal Indaba and chairman of the kwaZulu Natal Joint Executive Authority, spoke at a meeting of the French Chamber of Commerce and Industries of Southern Africa in Durban yesterday. This is a shortened version of his address.

We are strengthened in our optimism by the recent launching of the Joint Executive Authority for kwaZulu and Natal which is, in our minds, the first official step in the direction of power-sharing, elected, representative government at regional level in kwaZulu/Natal.

While naturally we welcome its creation, we also acknowledge that the JEA is only the halfway mark in our quest for a single legislature for second-tier power-sharing in kwaZulu Natal. The next step lies with the Government, which from the outset stated that it would only make a decision on the Indaba proposals once it had received the response of both kwaZulu and Natal.

My government endorsed the proposals several months ago and Natal delivered its response, which we believe to be favourable, at the time of the launch of the JEA.

Making the perfectly reasonable assumption that some form of elected, non-racial, power-sharing provincial government will be introduced within the next few years, we are embarking on an implementation study to identify problems and opportunities which may arise at the time of implementation.

Basically the study will seek to ensure that a new government "hits the ground running", rather than milling around in confusion.

I hope the setting up of the implementation study will indicate how seriously we take our responsibilities. We fully realise that we are not involved in constitutional games. The implementation of the Indaba proposals is critically important to the region and to South Africa as a whole.

But failure, non-delivery of benefits to all, would be disastrous — not only for the region but for the whole of South Africa. Blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds are likely to be convinced that violence is the only way of satisfying their needs.

The immediate future of the Indaba now lies in the expected negotiation between the Government and key Indaba participants. These negotiations may be time-consuming but we have patience and will continue to be non-confrontational because we are determined to succeed.

While we await the Government's response, we also plan for the future.

STAGE SET FOR SECOND INDABA

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

FURTHER peace talks aimed at ending the violence in Maritzburg's war-torn townships are due to take place in the city on December 9, and hopes are high that agreement will be reached on issues to be thrashed out at a full-scale peace summit.

Mr Rob Pater, vice-president of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and co-chairman of the "talks abouts talks", said that the chamber was "thrilled" at the rapid progress made during Tuesday's first five-hour session.

He said the talks between leaders of Inkatha, Uwusa, the United Democratic Front and Cosatu had gone off exceptionally well and, by the end of the meeting, hostility between the delegates had been broken down.

"It was only the start and we still have a long way to go. But we built many bridges on Tuesday.

The Midlands chairman of the UDF, Mr A A Chetty, said the December 9 meeting would be a report-back session and it was hoped response to the gathering would set the wheels in motion for a ceasefire in the city.

"At the next meeting we hope to formulate settlement proposals which will be discussed at a peace conference."

He stressed the importance of being allowed free access in the townships to meet with grassroots supporters and get the peace message across to them.

"We don't know at this stage how much of what happened at Tuesday's meeting has got through to them."

He said an extended delegation would attend the December meeting "because we believe we can succeed in achieving peace."

Inkatha's leader in Maritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, could not be contacted yesterday.

UDF president Archie Gumede . . . involved in peace initiative.

Sharp rise in M'burg death toll

THE violence in Maritzburg's war-town townships has escalated sharply in recent weeks, with the official police death toll estimated at 40 killings so far this month — double last month's figure.

The number of political murders is heading towards 200 so far this year and there have been more than 400 arrests in the past two months.

The police liaison officer in Pretoria, Captain Reg Crewe, said that there had been more than 60 killings in Maritzburg since the beginning of last month. Nearly 40 of the deaths occured this month.

Captain Crewe added that police had arrested more than 400 people in connection with unrest-related crimes in the past two months — 150 of them this month.

He did not know how many of the detainees had been released and said they were being accommodated in police cells at various stations in and around Maritzburg.

There had been no development of additional police or South African defence force troops since the SADF was called in to patrol the townships earlier this month.

OSCAR DHLOMO

Under fire

The most enviable political quality KwaZulu's Oscar Dhlomo reveals when under fire from foes, particularly rightwing critics of the Indaba, is an air of unflappable calm.

Maddeningly for his critics, he is then able to respond with apparent sympathy and understanding. There emerges an almost avuncular concern with the critic's worst anxieties. No matter how bitter the provocation, Dhlomo answers in civil and measured tones.

It is a thick skin, he says in the quiet manner he affects. But an air of distance and pre-occupation belie the half-hearted jest. His is a deliberately reflective mien, which contrasts devastatingly with the generally spontaneous, often aggressive attacks from critics. It is no accident of birth — unless he is a born politician.

Dhlomo's public profile contrasts equally strikingly with the delicately balanced temperament of the man whom he may one day succeed as leader of SA's Zulus, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But for Dhlomo, deputy leader of Inkatha and the man who acts as chief minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in the absence of Buthelezi, life after the leader is simply unthinkable.

"I honestly never think of that situation. I can't imagine Inkatha, or the Zulu people, or black politics without him. So deliberately I refuse to think of it.

"Constitutionally, yes, in Inkatha I am the second most senior official. But in government, I am not necessarily a deputy chief minister. The KwaZulu government doesn't have such a position. It's the prerogative of the chief minister to appoint someone, and up to now he's always appointed me. He could appoint anybody."

Dhlomo says he is by nature a calm, low-key personality. It is partly the result of his academic background.

Oscar Dumisani Dhlomo was born on December 28 1943 at Umbumbulu, about 30 km south of Durban. He matriculated from the Amanzimtoti Training College, where he was good at soccer, and thereafter enrolled at the University College of Zululand for a BA with history and anthropology as majors.

Oscar Dhlomo . . . in the spotlight

There followed at the same university a UED and B Ed, with distinctions in general empirical education, didactics and comparative education. From Unisa he obtained a BA (Hons).

In 1974 he left his job as principal at KwaShaka High School in Umlazi and was appointed lecturer in didactics at the university.

In 1975 he completed an M Ed at the University of Zululand, and five years later completed a D Ed at Unisa.

I've tended to develop, intellectually speaking, a thick skin. I'm also aware that if you lose your calm, then you invariably lose your logical train of thought and fail to impress the person you are talking to. I try to adopt the policy that, when I am extremely provoked, I say nothing until I have recovered my equilibrium."

In 1977, after the birth of his second child (he has four), Dhlomo abandoned academia to take up a political career. His connections with the university and education were not completely severed, however, as the following year he was appointed Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu government.

"It's a great pity that the present South African government made it acceptable practice to use education as a political instrument. The greatest political educationist was Dr Verwoerd with his Bantu Education.

"As a result of the prevailing political ideology of the time, black people began to feel that they would only rid themselves of Bantu Education if they themselves began to politicise education. When you talk today of 'people's education' this background becomes important. However, two wrongs don't make a right.

" 'People's education' as presently espoused is, of course, very unclear. Nobody, not even professional educationists, are able to tell you exactly what it is about, or what its philosophy or ground motive is.

"A people's education that I would endorse in SA is one that will come after liberation in the post-apartheid era, and will not be a people's education for blacks only, but for all people.

"That's why I think it's still premature to begin to want to install a new system of education when we're not even sure yet what a post-apartheid SA will look like. If we do it now we'd educate for separation, as Dr Verwoerd wanted to do, but not for a new Africanism."

Inkatha and KwaZulu matters absorb much of Dhlomo's time. At the black-white political interface, however, his roles as co-convenor of the Indaba, and more lately chairman of the Kwa-Natal Joint Executive Authority, place him in the spotlight as far as white Natalians are concerned.

It is in this arena, as spokesman for the Indaba, that his academic training, personal insights and imperturbable calm become great assets.

Negotiation politics

"I believe in negotiation politics. You cannot escape it, even if you have fought to get there. The problem is that negotiation is far more demanding than protest politics or revolution. There is a greater need to plan, to strategise. You must take into account more than merely your own feelings and aspirations.

"You are obliged to think about the future, to improvise, to propose alternative constitutional structures.

"It's taxing. The most difficult option. But it's the best." ■

☐ See *Current Affairs*

(116) STAR 30/11/87

'It's not an effective form of power-sharing'

Natal Nats support rejection of Indaba

DURBAN — The head committee of the National Party in Natal this weekend endorsed and gave its unqualified support to Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Stoffel Botha's rejection of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals.

At its annual meeting, the committee rejected any insinuation of disunity within the party over the proposals.

It condemned the "superficial and purposely misleading" campaign carried out to create the impression that the Indaba was an effective form of power-sharing without domination.

It also denied as far-fetched and untrue, allegations that the current proposals enjoyed the support of the party in Natal.

The head committee described these "attempts to put pressure on the Government by means of a continuous and calculated propoganda campaign" as "deplorable" and "not in the interests of the negotiation process."

It also called on the organisers and proponents of the Indaba to end this campaign.

The committee said it deplored the fact that the clear difference which existed between the Joint Executive Authority as an administrative body and the current Indaba proposals as a legislative authority were being consciously ignored by the right and left in an attempt to promote political standpoints.

TRIBUTE TO SOLDIERS

It also condemned the fact that "highly contentious political subjects", such as the current proposals and powersharing, should be introduced at schools by the Indaba office as part of its propoganda campaign and appointed a special subcommittee to monitor the situation and report back to the head committee.

The committee also paid tribute to South African soldiers who lost their lives in the defence of the country, and expressed its sympathy to the victims of the Mauritius air disaster and their families.

The executive committee of the NP in Natal — the most senior body of the party in the province — was also reconstituted at the meeting. — Sapa.

Advocate accuses rifleman at inquest

An advocate today accused a national serviceman of shooting Rifleman Frederick Swarts. Mr A Burger put the accusation to Rifleman Petrus Redlinghuys, who was giving evidence in an Alberton inquest hearing.

Rifleman Redlinghuys was one of the national serviceman who shared a tent at Alberton Commando with Rifleman Frederick Swarts before his death on August 13 1985.

Previous evidence before the hearing was that Rifleman Swarts had shot himself after cocking his rifle, first with a full and then with an empty magazine.

The inquest was postponed to February 22 1988.

BLACK POLITICS

1988

FEBRUARY → MAY

D/D 6/2/88 (118)

Unrest result of alliance foothold bid — Buthelezi

ULUNDI — Pietermaritzburg was in a state of violence because of the desperate need of the alliance between the United Democratic Front (UDF), the African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to gain a foothold in Natal, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said here yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi was addressing a group of British Conservative Party MPs including the chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Energy, Sir Ian Lloyd, MP, the vice chairman of the Trade and Industry Committee, Mr Neil Hamilton, MP, and a member of the Energy Select Committee, Mr Michael Brown, MP.

He said Inkatha had become the target of this alliance as it had grown in strength and was continuing to develop new constituencies in its policy of negotiation and its members had either to defend their families and homes against revolutionaries or die.

"It is this constituency development of Inkatha which is being so hideously attacked by revolutionaries and those who work in consort with them," Chief Buthelezi said.

"We are now witnessing hideous violence in Pietermaritzburg because the UDF-ANC-Cosatu alliance desperately needs to establish a foothold in this region of South Africa."

He added that Inkatha was being attacked by those who were committed to violence as the organisation was proving that change in South Africa could still be brought about through negotiation.

He did not have to dissipate his forces by attacking the revolutionaries as, like all black South Africans, Inkatha members were from time to time drawn into violence.

Inkatha members had to defend their lives, their families and their property and could not turn the other cheek as they would be annihilated if they did.

"We have to defend ourselves to survive.

"If we do defend ourselves and we do survive," Chief Buthelezi said. — DDC

Govt to send more police to strife-torn townships

Star 6/2/88

BRUCE CAMERON

MARITZBURG — Substantial additional police reinforcements are to be put into the strife-torn Maritzburg area over the next two weeks to curb violent clashes between members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

But the army is not to be called in to areas of unrest apart from in the normal supportive role, according to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Vlok yesterday held a series of meetings with the Mayor of Maritzburg, Mr Mark Cornell, and a number of politicians.

He said the police were to establish strategic temporary bases throughout the area to keep a high-profile presence.

A Law and Order spokesman declined to say how many men were now in the area.

Mr Cornell expressed concern about the lack of court prosecutions for the 400 murders. He said Mr Vlok had given the assurance that investigations were being stepped up and any one guilty of an offence would be charged.

Mr Cornell said Mr Vlok had explained that various factors had contributed to the lack of evidence — including the atmosphere of fear where witnesses were intimidated. There were also problems with bail being granted too readily.

Mr Cornell said police were also experiencing difficulties with the type of terrain, which included a considerable informal settlement spread over about 400 sq km.

Mr Roger Burrows, Progressive Federal Party leader for Natal, who saw Mr Vlok separately, said he would wait to see whether the new measures would be effective.

Maritzburg violence: '87 death toll 268 — in '88 it's already 120

All hell breaks loose

Locals wary of new police

By DESMOND BLOW

MARITZBURG residents have expressed concern about the effectiveness of 100 police reinforcements being flown into the area.

Many have claimed they were not given adequate protection by the police.

A petition sent by 108 women to the Progressive Federal Party, claimed the police were assisting Inkatha.

The women, who are not affiliated to any political organisation, said they preferred the army to the police in the area.

A number of organisations have also criticised the police for not using the emergency regulations to detain the so-called "warlords".

Residents claimed some "warlords" had been arrested and had court orders placed on them. However, after they were released, they returned to their "murderous campaigns".

A spokesman for the police in Maritzburg, Capt Peter Kitching, yesterday said a number of "warlords" had been arrested, charged and released on bail.

When the claims were pointed out to him, he said: "We do not hold people indefinitely without charging them".

PAIN: This young boy became yet another victim after an Inkatha mob went on the rampage.

By S'BU MNGADI

WAR-torn Maritzburg is balancing on the brink of total disaster.

"One more act of aggression could have horrific consequences," warned Cosatu and the UDF as Inkatha mobs launched invasions to recapture townships and villages won by rivals during the year-long bloody conflict.

Amid widespread fears that Inkatha supporters, backed by a "third force", could start a massive counter-attack to win back lost ground, 50 weapon-wielding Inkatha youths, searching for comrades, swarned into the city centre, attacking pedestrians.

A 14-year-old boy had been stabbed to death the previous day during a similar raid.

Meanwhile, Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell – in Cape Town for the opening of Parliament today – is hoping to consult Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok about the situation.

Calling for the army to be called in, he said the situation was serious enough to warrant military action. Yesterday, the death toll since the beginning of the year stood at 120.

Edendale Valley was plunged into deeper turmoil this week after large groups of heavily armed Inkatha vigilantes left a prayer meeting to attack residents of Ashdown and other nearby townships.

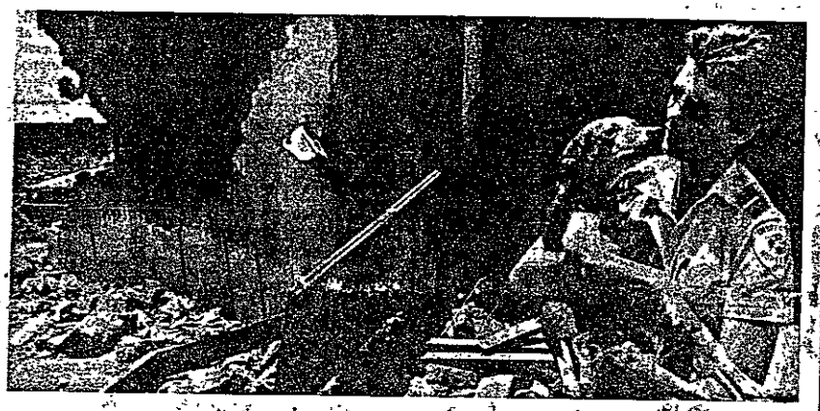
According to sworn statements by 108 local women, vigilantes had – in "full view" of police – marched on several opposition strongholds, leaving a bloody trail.

A petition from the women to local police chiefs and Minister of Law and Order Vlok read: "We the undersigned state that:

- The SA Police either

SADF less biased than the police – claim

PANIC: AN Inkatha family leaves Ashdown after the weekend's violent clashes between UDF and Inkatha supporters.



SURVIVOR: This dog was the only survivor after its owners, a Sweetwaters family of four, were murdered this week.

Two more Aids deaths

By SOL MORATHI
CP Correspondent

TWO people have died of Aids in Pretoria – bringing the death toll from the dreaded virus in the area to three.

The two deaths at the GaRankua hospital were confirmed by the superintendent, Dr Rudi van Niekerk, who said three other Africa in GaRankuwa.

More than 1 500 people have also been tested for Aids by the Department of Virology at the University of Pretoria since October last year.

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A petition from the women to local police chiefs and Minister of Law and Order Vlok read: "We the undersigned state that:

- The SA Police either leave the area of Ashdown . . . or they prove to the community from now on that they can act impartially in stopping the violence and preventing crime.

"If neither of these work, the SA Defence Force is preferred to the SAP or ZP (Kwazulu Police) as their actions are impartial."

According to affidavits, heavily armed groups left the "prayer meeting" and stormed into Ashdown.

The Inkatha supporters marched along, chanting that they would kill the residents because the "comrades were dogs".

The raiders started by stoning houses at the top of Ashdown and proceeded to a Busisiwe Ndaba's house.

One statement read: "Two boys from this group proceeded to Ndaba's house with four soldiers, two of whom were on foot and two in a vehicle, No 22B.

One of them assaulted Ndaba, who received stitches.

"The rest of the crowd went down to Y-section, to the home of a Mr Shange. They threw stones and tried to attack Shange but he outran them."

In front of Shange's house they stabbed Lucky Ndwandwe three times – once in his head and twice in the shoulder.

"Soldiers and police moved along behind, telling residents to go inside. No arrests were made," said the affidavits.

"They (the vigilantes) then called a young boy, Ziphepha. The others said 'leave him', so they left him and went after Mandla Msomi who was standing at a bus stop.

Msomi was allegedly attacked with pangas, bush-knives and his throat was slit. He died.

"The police were there and the army arrived soon afterwards," said the witness.

Many of the attackers were positively recognised as Inkatha members. They allegedly included "warlords" who had been ordered by the Supreme Court not to participate in acts of violence.

A number of attackers were "outsiders".

"When the soldiers got to the scene they took out a blanket and covered Msomi's body."

Residents then tried to point out the police who "watched the attack" but the police chased them away.

One boy was shot and wounded and had been admitted to hospital.

When the vigilantes returned on Monday morning they were repulsed by local defence committees.

There was an almost total stayaway in Ashdown on Monday and schools remained closed as residents feared for their lives and properties.

An SAP unrest report confirmed five people had been killed at Sweetwaters, the site of the prayer meeting.

Natal inland PFP director Radley Keys said the weekend's carnage would have been averted had police heeded warnings he had sent to the local chief magistrate and security police.

Local Inkatha leaders declined to comment about the raids.

The Natal inland divisional commissioner of police, Brig J Kotze, denied allegations that members of the SAP were "taking sides".

He, however, promised to investigate the matter.

"At present I believe the SAP are impartial and are only doing their duty in an attempt to restore law and order in the townships."

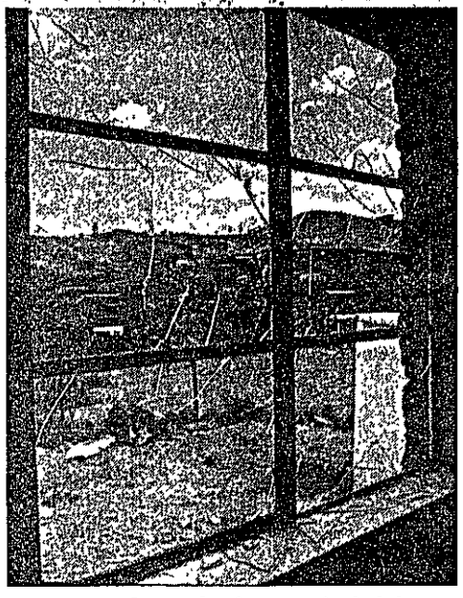
Brig Leon Mellet, spokesman for Vlok, told a local newspaper that the "violence has to stop at all costs".

"The investigating team is charged with investigating any form of criminal activity and bringing those responsible to book," he said.

– claim

PANIC: **AN Inkatha family leaves Ashdown after the weekend's violent clashes between UDF and Inkatha supporters.**

SURVIVOR: **This dog was the only survivor after its owners, a Sweetwaters family of four, were murdered this week.**



DAMAGE: **A damaged Ashdown house after fighting.**

BP TOP EIGHT

It's Chiefs-Arcs, AmaZulu-Downs – fighting for a spot in the **FINAL**

See Back Page

Locals wary of new police

By DESMOND BLOW

MARITZBURG residents have expressed concern about the effectiveness of 100 police reinforcements being flown into the area.

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A petition sent by 108 women to the Progressive Federal Party, claimed the police were assisting Inkatha.

The women, who are not affiliated to any political organisation, said they preferred the army to the police in the area.

A number of organisations have also criticised the police for not using the emergency regulations to detain the so-called "warlords".

Residents claimed some "warlords" had been arrested and had court orders placed on them. However, after they were released, they returned to their "murderous campaigns".

A spokesman for the police in Maritzburg, Capt Peter Kitching, yesterday said a number of "warlords" had been arrested, charged and released on bail.

When the claims were pointed out to him, he said: "We do not hold people indefinitely without charging them."

7/2/88

No place for the neutrals on killing grounds

Star 8/4/88

MARITZBURG — For thousands, indeed hundreds of thousands, of black residents in Maritzburg's troubled townships there is no place to hide.

They cannot escape the murderers, the rapists, the violent men and women, youths too, who have been on the rampage since March last year. In that time almost 500 people have died violently.

Since the beginning of this year, the death toll is 105.

Ashdown, Imbali, Taylor's Halt, Plessislaer, Edendale, have become the hunting and killing grounds.

Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu groups have talked peace but with no result.

Now, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has answered a "stop the killings" plea by Maritzburg mayor, Mr Mark Cornell, by promising yet further police reinforcements, over and above an extra 100 drafted in last week.

"This is a war," Mr Cornell said.

Few of the people in those townships close to the Natal capital — a population estimated at between 20 0000 and 60 0000 — would quibble with the statement.

Mrs Miriam Kubeka, for example, has had to quit her home in Imbali, and she has taken her children with her. Her husband was stabbed "about 30 times, I think," last month. He was a "neutral" — and that was his sin.

When he was approached and it was suggested he should "join us," he refused. He never spoke again. The knives ensured that.

Now his widow is staying "in my madam's house." Her children are camping "here and there, wherever I can find a place for them".

Mr John Ndlovu is a bus driver, a frightened one, he admits. Many of his colleagues have been dragged from their vehicles, cut to pieces, killed.

Bus drivers are "collaborators, traitors." The "warlords" have said so. So they are on hit lists.

"Bulala" (kill them). Burn the buses, too.

Mr Ndlovu joined in a strike which, he says, was intended to convince his employers of the perils the drivers faced. That put them in danger of being fired, so they returned to work. But they are still in constant danger.

Miss Rebecca Msomi, a teenager who plans to become a nurse, goes to Taylor's Halt only on Sundays now. The reason — her parents were hacked to death in the road outside their home. Rebecca watched from the house.

"There is nobody left for me. I just return to see that our home has not been burned down by the gangs," she says.

These were just some of the tragic stories related to me this week as I walked the streets of Maritzburg. All asked that they be given false names.

The overall picture I got was that Inkatha was the more disciplined of the two factions, the braver and thus the more dangerous.

MEN OF THE ZULU HIERARCHY

I was told that most of the "warlords", the men who are akin to "directors" of many of the killings, were the orchestrators of the violence, a black mafia, powerful men whose actions keep them "clean" when it comes to police investigations.

Above all, most of the time, wealthy men. Men who are of the Zulu hierarchy.

The UDF/Cosatu rank-and-file appear, in the main, to be educationally and, by Western standards more cultured than their Inkatha counterparts.

Which could explain why they are less violent than their Inkatha rivals.

It is the "neutrals", those who are not committed to either side who maintain this.

But the numbers of "neutrals" is waning, and waning fast.

A rampaging Inkatha band, or an out-of-control UDF mob, will kill self-confessed "neutrals" as readily, if not more so, than adherents of the opposite side. The uncommitted man or woman is seen as "easy" and such a killing, anyway, means that a possible recruit for the other side is put out of the way.

So, many a "neutral", confronted by Inkatha, joins them to stay alive. It is instant recruitment. It also applies vice versa, of course.

Though the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, through its general manager, Mr Paul van Uytrecht, and its vice-president, Mr Rob Pater, has tried to get real peace talks going, their efforts have achieved little.

City business is sufering from the violence. Absenteeism is on the upsurge among black workers. Some go home and never return. Death is surmised as the reason.

The Maritzburg publicity directorate is concerned. Tourism is at stake.

Inkatha has held peace talks of its own in the townships.

So has the UDF/Cosatu grouping.

People who have attended, say the gatherings begin "on course" with clergymen opening and closing the proceedings with prayers. Heads are bowed, eyes close, voices join in with the minister.

In between, though, those eyewitnesses report, "the leaders sometimes go mad, calling on their followers to "keep it up," to go on with the killings.

Police chiefs in Maritzbuirg told a few weeks ago of "new plans" to stop the violence.

Will the reinforcements and their officers which Mr Vlok promised Mayor Cornell on Friday, be able to do so?

All of this in an age, it has been said, of "faceless people."

No wonder that, to a terrified Maritzburg township resident, he first insists, before he will talk, that he be allowed to remain nameless — Sapa.

(11B) Sowetan 8/2/88

END THE VIOLENCE

OLIVER Tambo

ANC's call to feuding Maritzburg

SOWETAN Correspondent

THE African National Congress at the weekend called for an end to township violence in the Maritzburg area after another week of bloody clashes between Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters.

In a statement from Lusaka on Saturday the ANC said that the continuing factional violence served only to strengthen the South African Government and appealed to the youth to unite against Pretoria.

The violence increased sharply in Maritzburg's Edendale valley this week, and the fighting spilled over into the city as gangs roamed the streets and white suburbs in search of people who have fled the killing.

As many as 120 people have died in the war-ravaged townships so far this year — 268 were killed in 1987 — and residents are living in fear of large-scale murder spreading to the city's streets and suburban backyards.

In a new flare-up on
died in the area, including a young child and a 90-year-old man.

In a series of developments last week.

- The Minister of Law and Order announced that the South African Defence Force would not be deployed in the area, despite requests for such deployment by the city's mayor, Mr Mark Cornell.
- UDF co-president Archie Gumede criticised the mayor's call and said that he apparently lacked an understanding of the problems in the area. "We need leaders, not soldiers," Mr Gumede said.
- At least another dozen people died in the violence, including a four-year-old girl and a 90-year-old man.
- The conflict moved into the city centre of Maritzburg for the first time when 46 youths were arrested just outside the CBD after they had apparently tried to march on trade union headquarters in the city.
- Church leaders in the area called on the Red Cross and other relief organisations to create refugee camps so that people displaced by the fighting had a safe place to live.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede.

Children

The Rev Ben Msinga, a Methodist minister from Georgetown (a township near Maritzburg), said: "The Red Cross and other organisations should urgently create refugee camps as temporary shelters for people who are really stranded."

He said hundreds of people, especially children, were roaming the streets because they had no work or because of the township trouble, and they were now being followed into the city by vigilantes.

Mr Msinga said township dwellers related to domestic workers had fled to white suburbs for temporary accommodation.

"They feel it is far safer there than in the townships."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday that the SADF would not be sent into the area.

Maritzburg truce meeting plans not finalised — UDF

Star 9/2/88

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Plans for a meeting between national leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha, aimed at arranging a truce in the Maritzburg district, have not yet been finalised, according to UDF Natal Midlands chairman Mr A S Chetty.

Mr Chetty said the UDF and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) had been told by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce that Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was willing to meet them.

Mr Chetty said the UDF response had been: "Chief Buthelezi can come along and sit down with us to talk about the Maritzburg situation. But we felt we needed to create an appropriate climate for that and so we drew up a format for the next meeting."

This proposal was being conveyed to Inkatha via the Chamber of Commerce, he said.

Mr Chetty said he believed that, even if national figures attended, the issues should be confined to the Maritzburg crisis and stopping the killings.

"We don't want to enter into rhetoric about national or international politics. We want to bring an end to the violence."

Inkatha Youth Brigade president Mr Musa Zondi said the UDF/Cosatu proposal for the meeting had not yet reached his organisation.

"We demanded that the UDF should send the national leadership. If the UDF could agree to that we should be able to find solution," said Mr Zondi.

He disagreed that talks should be confined to the Maritzburg issue. "You cannot divorce local and international issues.

"It is the actual basic attitude which the UDF and Cosatu have — that Inkatha is an illegitimate organisation — that must be addressed."

UDF and Inkatha leaders to meet

SIPHO NGCOBO

NATIONAL leaders of the UDF and Inkatha have finally agreed to meet, in a bid to end the violence in the Maritzburg townships.

UDF Midlands' chairman A S Chetty said the format of the meeting has been proposed by the UDF and Cosatu. It will be convened by Paul van Uytrecht and chaired by Rob Pater, both of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

"We are committed to ending the carnage," said Chetty.

Inkatha welcomed the new efforts by the UDF and Cosatu to bring national leaders together as a "glimmer of hope".

Inkatha Youth Brigade president Musa Zondi said: "I cannot wait. This is the type of a meeting we need. National leaders are the right people for this meeting, because they command a great deal of respect from their followers."

It was not immediately known who would attend the meeting, nor when it would be held.

Zondi said it was high time Inkatha and the UDF shelved their ideological differences "for the sake of the oppressed people".

"It is necessary for us to grow above ideological differences for the sake of peace. The bloodshed in Maritzburg is a disgrace."

The planning of the meeting at national level by the UDF and Cosatu is seen as a response to Inkatha's demands that national office-bearers take part in any peace talks.

☐ The latest SAP unrest report says three more people have been killed and another 10 injured, in townships around Maritzburg.

Top Inkatha, UDF leaders to meet

Cape Times 9/2/88

116

Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG — National leaders of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha have finally agreed to meet in a bid to end the violence in the Maritzburg townships.

The UDF Midlands chairman, Mr A S Chetty, said the format of the meeting has been proposed by the UDF and Cosatu. It will be convened by Mr Paul van Uytrecht and chaired by Mr Rob Pater, both of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

Mr Chetty said "We are committed to ending the carnage", while Inkatha welcomed the new efforts to bring national leaders together as a "glimmer of hope".

Meanwhile, 10 weekend killings in Natal townships took to nearly 130 this year's toll in the struggle between the UDF and Inkatha.

● Speaking during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinetown, Mr Roger Burrows, said the ongoing violence in Martizburg's townships gave the lie to the claim that the state of emergency had brought peace.

It could not be said that internal peace had been maintained when more than 400 murders had occurred in less than a year, he said.

Mr Burrows said there were rumours that special constables were to be sent to the area, adding that this would be "extremely foolish".

He called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to give an assurance that this would not happen.

Inkatha, UDF to meet

(11B) D/D 9/2/88

JOHANNESBURG — National leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha have agreed to meet in an attempt to end the violence in the Pietermaritzburg townships.

According to the UDF Midlands' chairman, Mr A. S. Chetty, the format of the meeting has been proposed by the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). It will be convened by Mr Paul van Uytrecht and chaired by Mr Rob Pater, both of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

The president of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi, said: "I cannot wait. This is the type of a meeting we need. National leaders are the right people for this meeting because they command a great deal of respect from their followers."

It was not immediately known who would attend the meeting and when it would be held. — DDC

WOMEN'S THROATS SLIT

Murderers on rampage in Maritzburg

THREE more blacks were murdered in Natal, police reported yesterday.

A group of people attacked a hut at Mnyandu, Edendale, near Maritzburg, and murdered two black women by slitting their throats.

A third woman was stabbed and seriously wounded, the report said.

"They thereafter burnt the hut and a private dwelling, causing extensive damage."

At Elandskop, police found the body of a 22-year-old black man with a bullet wound in the head.

"At KwaMakutha, Durban, a [illegible] of people hurled three petrol [illegible] and fired a shotgun at a policeman's house. An 18-year-old woman was slightly injured but a two-year-old child was seriously wounded in the neck, head and chest. The policeman drove off the attackers with pistol fire. The house was badly damaged" — Sapa/PS.

Cape Times 10/2/88

43 convicted for Natal violence

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Forty-three Inkatha members were yesterday convicted in the Regional Court here on a charge of attending an unlawful gathering in terms of the Internal Security Act following disturbances which flared in central Maritzburg last week.

All had pleaded guilty to the charge.

Regional magistrate Mr G J Barnard sentenced 30 juvenile accused to corporal punishment while 13 adults were fined R100 (or three months).

The minors were each sentenced to five cuts with a light cane to be administered in private.

The court was told earlier that last Wednesday's violence was sparked off by an attack on five of the accused — all members of Inkatha — who came to town to seek employment, and followed the killing of two Inkatha members in Retief Street by UDF members the previous day.

Inkatha plans crisis meetings

INKATHA plans to hold a series of meetings in the Maritzburg townships to discuss ways of ending the fight between the organization and supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The top Inkatha official in the capital and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Maritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, yesterday said his organization had applied to the chief magistrate to hold meetings throughout Maritzburg soon.

Meanwhile, the UDF's Natal Midlands chairman, Mr A S Chetty, yesterday said his organization and Cosatu had summitted a proposed format for negotiations with Inkatha to the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis, said he had met leaders of Inkatha, Cosatu leaders, churchmen and school principals, members of the Edendale Crisis Committee and the Mayor of Maritzburg, Mr Mark Cornell, during a two-day fact-finding mission.

● A house was set alight at Taylor's Halt (Natal Midlands) and at KwaMakutha, near Durban, a private vehicle was extensively damaged when it was stoned, the police unrest report said yesterday.

A man was shot dead in Soweto after an attack on a policeman, the report said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

UDF members 'control central Maritzburg'

10/2/88

Star

MARITZBURG — The United Democratic Front claimed to control central Maritzburg's streets, shops and buses and Inkatha members had been indiscriminately attacked for entering these "UDF zones", a city regional court heard at the trial of 43 Inkatha members yesterday.

The 43 pleaded guilty to a charge of contravening Section 57 of the Internal Security Act by forming an illegal gathering in the Boshoff Street area on February 3.

Magistrate Mr GJ Barnard sentenced 13 adults in the group to a fine of R100 or three months imprisonment and the remaining 30 — all under the age of 21 — to five cuts with a light cane.

The majority of the 43 were either scholars or unemployed.

Three children aged 12 and 13, who were arrested with the 43, were released without being charged.

The 43 were initially charged with public violence and with forming an illegal gathering. However, only the lesser charge of forming an illegal gathering was put to them yesterday.

In argument before sentence Mr W von Willich, for the 43, said that their actions should be seen against a background of an ongoing "ideological feud" between members of Inkatha, "the moderate Zulus", on the one side, and the UDF, Cosatu, the ANC and the South African Communist Party on the other side.

At least 100 members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade had been killed by the UDF in the last few months, he said.

Mr Kuhn for the State said the facts were not in dispute, however, people could not take the law into their own hands.

The court should also take into account that there was not only one faction at fault but that the violence "works both ways", said Mr Kuhn. — Sapa.

DD 11/2/88

No Ciskei, Transkei comment

11B

EAST LONDON — Transkei and Ciskei leaders declined to comment yesterday on the short-lived coup in Bophuthatswana.

When approached for comment in Umtata, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the chairman of Transkei's ruling military council, which toppled the government of Miss Stella Sigcau, said he did not "poke his nose into the affairs of other countries".

Gen Holomisa said he had last visited Bophuthatswana in 1986.

● In Bisho, Ciskei's deputy director general of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi, said it was too early at this stage for Ciskei to comment. — DDR.

Inkatha calls on groups to stop violence

THE central committee of Inkatha said it deplored "the wanton killing" taking place in the Pietermaritzburg area and called on all organisations, groups and individuals to do all they could to stop hostilities.

In a statement from Ulundi, the committee said it had also resolved to call on the ANC mission-in-exile to abandon attempts to develop what they called "a people's war," and to abandon their "instigation of black-on-black" confrontations.

Inkatha called on the UDF and Cosatu to declare their rejection, "not only of violence taking place in Pietermaritzburg, but also of all violence committed for political purposes".

"We, the members of the central committe of Inkatha, are deeply aware that the root cause of the upward spiralling of violence in South Africa generally is a direct consequence of apartheid."

The committe also resolved to call on the State President, PW Botha, to address the fundamental issues this country faces and to revitalise his reform program. – Sapa.

Regrets the absence of a reform package deal

Buthelezi endorses privatisation plan

Star 12/2/88. (116)

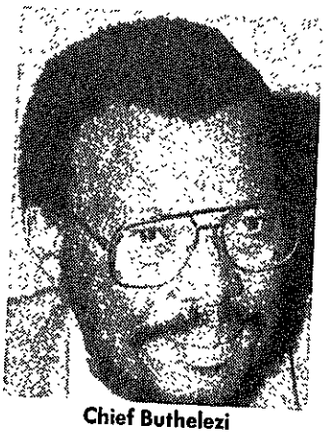
Special Correspondent

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told leading international financiers yesterday that State President PW Botha's privatisation programme had the potential for astounding progress in South Africa.

But he stressed his regret that the programme was not part of a reform package deal aimed at addressing real political issues.

He asked where else in Africa or the Third World there could be any prospects of such a privatisation programme succeeding and said it could do so only in South Africa.

"The country's banking system, the degree of its economic infrastructural development, its sophisticated management expertise, its technological know-how, its transportation and electricity supply and communication systems, all add up to a battery of forces capable of making astounding progress in the face of immense difficulties.



Chief Buthelezi

"My reaction to the State President's announced privatisation programme was dominated by the lament that (it) could achieve so much more, so much faster, if it were located in a reform package deal in which the Government could begin to address the real political issues we face.

"I believe it is the task of black political leadership to drag the Government, albeit kicking and screaming, to the negotiating table where political issues can be decided within which we will be able to maximise economic growth."

Dr Buthelezi said he believed the scales were tipped in favour of the democrats.

"And I believe that non-violent opposition to apartheid will best lead to the politics of negotiation so essential to arrive at a future political dispensation in which a government will be able to govern for the benefit of the people."

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was addressing a group of European, American and British company directors, including Mr Geoff Rothschild and Dr Leslie Frankel of Frankel Kruger, Mr Ivan Mazuranic of Switzerland's Banque Bruxelles Lambert and Mr Julian Baring of Britain's James Capel and Co.

Buthelezi backs privatisation

DD 12/2/88 (118)

ULUNDI — The Chief Minister of Kwazululu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told leading international financiers here yesterday that President P.W. Botha's privatisation programme had the potential for "astounding progress".

But he emphasised his regret that the programme was not part of a reform package deal aimed at addressing real political issues.

He asked where else in Africa or the Third World there could be any prospects of such a privatisation programme succeeding and said it could do so here because South Africa was distinctively itself in the Third World.

"The country's banking system, the degree of its economic infrastructural development, its sophisticated management expertise, its technological know-how, its transportation and electricity supply and communication systems, all add up to a battery of forces capable of making astounding progress in the face of immense difficulties.

"My reaction to the State President's announced privatisation programme was dominated by the lament that (it) could achieve so much more so much faster if it were located in a reform package deal in which the Government could begin to address the real political issues we face.

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THE ARTS/BOOKS

12-18/2/88

A scathing indictment of Inkatha

AN APPETITE FOR POWER: BUTHELEZI'S INKATHA AND THE POLITICS OF 'LOYAL RESISTANCE' by Gerhard Maré and Georgina Hamilton (Ravan, R24,95)

INKATHA, which boasts of 1,5-million members, revels in threatening to take mass action against apartheid, but studiously stops short of carrying out its threats.

It does so because its inspiration is not the militant Youth League of the African National Congress — of which its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was once a member — but the original Inkata movement founded in 1928 by the Zulu king, Solomon ka Dinuzulu.

The first Inkata (the "h" was dropped in the original spelling) was a conservative movement, representing Zulu "petty bourgeois" interests; it was consequently hostile to the demands of black workers and open to alliances with white capital, particularly Natal's sugar barons.

The later Inkatha, revived by Buthelezi in 1975, fulfils a similar role, serving as a ballast to the South African state, rather than a revolutionary force for change.

These are the underlying arguments made by Gerhard Maré and Georgina Hamilton in their new book on Inkatha. Their book is in part a bid to counter the "growing veneration" of Buthelezi and Inkatha by the South African media (Buthelezi, judging by his letters to the press, does not share their view that newspapers are excessively supportive).

It certainly offers a critical view of Buthelezi, a man who occupies a central position in South Africa today and who, sooner or later, is almost invariably discussed, derided and praised, either begrudgingly or slavishly, in almost every political discussion.

The authors see Buthelezi and Inkatha as serving the function of a "loyal opposition": while opposed to race discrimination and the exclusion of blacks from political power, they are fundamentally loyal to "politicised ethnicity, to reformism and compromise, to capitalism, to anti-communism and anti-socilism, to foreign capitalism."

Inkatha's commitment to capitalism is examined, not only ideologically but structurally as an "active participant in exploitation". Inkatha's involvement as a force in capitalism takes place at several tiers.

First, Inkatha is a *de facto* partner in the tri-

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

partite schemes first forged in the mid-1970s between the KwaZulu government, the now defunct Bantu Investment Corporation and retail capital, represented by companies such as Checkers.

Second, it is involved in Khulani Holdings, a company which it launched jointly with Inyanda or, to give its full name, the Natal and Zululand African Chamber of Commerce.

Reflecting on the conclusion of the first tripartite agreement in the mid-1970s, Maré and Hamilton write: "The signing ceremony was ... the first concrete tie between large-scale business and a bantustan petty bourgeoisie."

The tripartite scheme, the authors add, offered white-controlled retail capital a way into the "bantustans" or "ethnic stockades", which had been designed originally to serve as the preserve of black entrepreneurs.

Khulani Holdings was registered in 1979, establishing wholesale stores through a subsidiary company in which it had 51 percent of the shares and moving into the property, retail and bookselling markets though wholly owned subsidiaries. Its directors had close ties with Inkatha, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly or the KwaZulu Development Corporation.

Linked to Inkatha's capitalist ventures is, the authors contend, an anti-trade union stance, except where the union is docile.

They recall Buthelezi's quarrel with his lieutenant of the early 1970s, Barney Dladla, who supported worker demands for higher wages during the first stirrings of articulated worker dissatisfaction in Natal.

"Dladla probably offered the last chance of a self-consciously pro-worker political direction from the KwaZulu authorities and later the Inkatha movement," they write.

Against that, the authors say, in 1974 Buthelezi went "so far as to condemn strikes". Recalling that only a year before, Buthelezi cited the mass strike of 1973 as an indication of what strike action by black workers can achieve, they add: "Buthelezi's position on strikes illustrates the emptiness of so many of his threats."

Inkatha's fallouts and quarrels with rival political movements — the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the black consciousness movement, the United Democratic Front and even its erstwhile partners in the South African Black Alliance (Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, and Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement) — are examined critically.

The reason, the authors suggest, for Inkatha's inability to sustain alliances or co-exist with its co-black political movements is its vision of itself as the only true liberation movement. As they put it, "Inkatha's popularism has been to construe nearly all alternative opposition in South Africa as threats to its claims to represent the 'wisdom of the struggle' and the 'wisdom of the ages'."

Noting Buthelezi's public commitment to non-violence, the authors cite examples where his supporters have used violence. "Inkatha has gone to considerable lengths to distribute, overseas, justifications and denials of its involvement in violent or threatening activities.

"Yet, since 1983 violence seems to have become an increasingly important weapon for Inkatha supporters if they are to establish control over certain 'no-go' areas."

Maré and Hamilton's book has one major defect. They admit that Buthelezi is a charismatic leader, but fail to portray the nature of his charisma.

Their explanation is that he is a tribal notable who has shrewdly mobilised an alliance between tribal chiefs and the petty bourgeoisie and won mass support through populist and tribal oratory. But somehow the real flesh and blood man who clearly occupies a pivotal posi-

SCUTTLED

Govt clampdown throws Maritzburg talks into disarray

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By S'BU MNGADI

THE Maritzburg peace talks have been thrown into disarray by the government action against the UDF and Cosatu.

The peace brokers, the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, has an appointment with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok this morning to get clarity on the fate of the peace talks.

Van Uytrecht said the chamber noted that the UDF could apply for permission to continue certain activities, but questioned whether the UDF-Cosatu alliance would be prepared to or could continue under the circumstances.

Prior to the clampdown on the organisations, four members of the UDF-Cosatu delegation to the talks had been among those recently detained under emergency regulations.

To add to this, the co-leaders of the delegation, AS Chetty, Natal's Midlands UDF chairman, and Natal Midlands UDF president, Dr Simon Gqubule of the Federal Theological Seminar at Imbali, were served with severe restriction orders.

The chamber said as part of the on-going process, they had already secured an appointment with Vlok this morning and hoped to get clarification there.

Despite a clause in the order that organisations may apply to Vlok for permission to continue certain activities, sources said it would be impossible for UDF-Cosatu to continue in the talks as an application to Vlok could be construed as lending credibility to the government action.

Meanwhile, a caucus meeting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly resolved on the same day to call on the SAP to give KwaZulu police jurisdiction over all war-torn areas in Maritzburg.

This would put the homeland in a position where it could legally "sort out" in its own terms problems created by violence in the region.

The meeting also resolved to ask the SA government to pass legislation extending the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu government to include all areas in the KwaZulu-Natal region for which the Assembly was responsible.

It also decided to convey the deep appreciation of the caucus to all members of Inkatha in the Greater Maritzburg area who had "defended" their democratic rights "so valiantly and at such great cost".

The meeting resolved to convey to ANC president Oliver Tambo that "if we have not passed the point of no return, we are very perilously close to the point beyond which there can only be a fight to the death between Inkatha and the ANC".

"All the ANC will do is to discredit itself as it attempts to eradicate time-honoured values and aims and objectives of the black struggle for liberation now living in the hearts and minds of the people who support Inkatha en masse," the caucus added.

Meanwhile, armed groups clashed in Maritzburg's city centre on Wednesday night and a number of arrests were made.

Eye witnesses attributed the confrontation to the supporters of Inkatha and the UDF. Police confirmed the incident, which took place in Commercial Road and involved 15 people, but could not specify the groups' political affiliations.

MCC general manager Paul van Uytrecht said that obviously, if one of the parties involved in the talks was not able to be present, the talks could not continue.

UDF arrests threaten peace talks

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

PIETERMARITZBURG peace talks are in jeopardy once again over detentions of key United Democratic Front officials.

At least four senior UDF members, against whom no charges have been laid, were picked up under Emergency regulations on Wednesday night and Thursday, while "Inkatha warlords" named in several supreme court temporary interdicts, are at liberty and have called a news conference to "put their point of view" and "meet the press".

The detention of Skumbuzo Ngwenya and Martin Wittenberg, joint secretaries of the UDF in the region, has created a sense of *deja vu*.

Last November, when they were detained, they were involved in crucial peace talks between Inkatha and the UDF. When the UDF refused to continue talks unless they were released, officials of the Chamber of Commerce made representations "at the highest level" for them to be freed and allowed to continue their work.

Their detention this week has once again put peace talks in doubt.

The Chamber's initiative is experiencing serious problems, likely to be worsened by the detentions, and a separate top level Church initiative could also now be in jeopardy.

Others detained were Reggie Hadebe, a UDF official and national executive member of the National Education Union of South Africa, and Thami Mseleku of Neusa and the National Education Crisis Committee.

The UDF said the detentions "undermined the efforts being made to contribute to a climate of peace.

"It is a bitter irony that we should have these new detentions when the war-lords against whom there exist substantial evidence of criminal activities continue roaming freely."

An alleged "war-lord", Jerome Mncwabe, named in affidavits before the supreme court as involved in serious acts of violence, arrived at the office of *The Natal Witness* on Monday and said he was speaking on behalf of "us, the so-called warlords".

He issued an invitation to local and international media to "meet the so-called war-lords" on Monday.

The detentions came just days after 43 Inkatha members were convicted and sentenced for attending an unlawful gathering.

They were arrested on February 3 after coming to the city centre by bus. Violence broke out and three people were rushed to hospital.

A charge of public violence was withdrawn before the start of the case. Before they were sentenced, their lawyer claimed they had been at the receiving end of UDF violence over the previous weeks and when they went to town it was to protect some of their number who had allegedly been attacked by UDF members earlier the same day.

On Tuesday, 18 prominent figures in Natal, including church heads and a retired judge, called for tougher action by the warring organisations to enforce internal discipline on their members.

Among the signatories are the Anglican Bishop-Suffragan of Natal, Alfred Mkhize, former vice-principal of Natal University Deneys Schreiner, author Alan Paton and the head of the Methodist Church of southern Africa, Khoza Mgojo.

WMail 11B 12-18/2/88

Sunday Times 14/2/88 (11B)

Buthelezi — the thorny cactus plant — instantly likeable, amiable

There are many voices that speak out against racism in South Africa, but Buthelezi the Batter-proof speaks out more bluntly and stands more unflinchingly than most.

This week JANI ALLAN flew to the Drakensberg and came FACE TO FACE with Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha.

TEN years ago it might still have been possible to lift his contact book with one hand. These days it is a tome of such proportions that War and Peace would look like a short telephone message in comparison.

The success of his statesmanship can be measured by the close personal relationships that the controversial and outspoken opinion maker, giver, mover and shaker enjoys with heads of nations all over the world.

When Chief Buthelezi isn't living up to his Zulu sobriquet — *babezane* ("thorny cactus plant") — he's instantly likeable, highly intelligent company and nothing if not amiable.

I suspect that at the end of many a diplomatic evening he's probably being addressed as "Boots".

We're sitting in the plush Pink Suite at the new R20-million Drakensberg Sun. On the morning tea-table, fresh jam scones wear duvets of whipped cream. The corridor is clogged with chisel-faced security men.

"I am a servant of my people, and if the name is politician it is just coincidence. I believe I have a mission to serve my people and my country. If I had a choice I wouldn't do what I do," he begins.

He's quietly confident, dignified and urbane (if a little tubby) in a business suit. A further inventory reveals Argyle socks and impeccable cufflinks.

At close range, Buthelezi dominates from the head. It's a large head, carved in the rough, weather-worn and storm-proof. One suspects that the eyes, now twinkling behind spectacles, can flash like siren lights. The mouth beneath the manicured moustache is of generous proportions.

It's a mouth shaped for drama, for proclamations, refutations and salutations. It's a mouth that can swift-shift from smile to snarl.

HE'S a dark man who takes delight in acknowledging his blackness.

"Thank goodness," he has been known to say on a public platform, "that I wear a black mask, for that way you cannot see me blush."

Chief Mangosuthu is of royal blood, a descendant of Shaka, the Zulu king who welded the now-some-seven-million-strong Zulu nation into one from a diversity of tribes.

The understanding of his mission came to the boy, Mangosuthu Gatsha, while he was growing up at the royal palace near Nongoma.

"I was 14 years old when my father, Chief Mathole, died. In front of thousands of tribesmen I had to perform certain rites at his grave to indicate that I was the heir."

The ceremony shaped the form of his mission.

"My uncle, King Solomon, was a man who was ahead of his time. In the 1920s he had white chauffeurs. He had Indian gardeners. He had many coloured friends. So from the moment my eyes opened, as it were, I knew that South Africa was a multicultural society."

By birth, culture and history, Chief Buthelezi is a Zulu. "But I regard myself as a black South African of Zulu extraction.

"There's no doubt — it's a matter of history — that the Zulu nation has a specific character. They are a nation of determination. They are a courageous people. They are a proud people, too. I say things people don't like, regardless of whom they are."

What of his talent for leadership?

He chortles with delight. It's a laugh that is 20 pounds larger than life.

"What can I say without sounding as though I'm blowing my own horn?

"In spite of what my detractors say, my following has been and is such a growing one because I'm constant. I'm consistent. I don't chop and change as winds blow.

"I don't pretend that I'm an oracle. I always get my cue from the people. I consult my constituency. I don't rely on my own wisdom. I rely on the wisdom of the people. The Zulu Assembly is the people in action. I articulate and carry out their aspirations."

Yes, sometimes he does make decisions that he knows will cause flak.

"I always think of the decision in the long run. If it's right in the long run, I don't mind the flak. It's better to be right in the long run than in the short term.

Who guards the guardian?

"My mother, Princess Magogo, more than anyone else," he says, granite turning gossamer for a moment. "I owe a lot to her."

It was she who gave the child the name "Gatsha" — "twig" or "branch" — a name now reserved for close friends only.

"Then there's Dr Alan Paton — I've known him for decades — and it's a privilege to seek wisdom from him, and Dr Edgar Brookes, a father figure to me and one of the towers of strength of South African liberalism. He was the principal of Adam's College, which I attended.

"At that time, students from Michaelhouse used to visit Adam's. Can you imagine? That's about 40 years ago. It was unique that white boys used to come to our college and spend a couple of weeks with us....

A LOOK BACK in time has him reminiscing about the halcyon days when he was a herdboy, drinking sour milk, playing and wrestling with his companions and developing his deep love of nature.

"I used to be afraid of snakes," he admits a trifle sheepishly. "I'd seen some kids lose their legs after a puffadder bit them."

Then, as now, he agonised about whether humans have a right to dispose of them. Who gives them a right to life? It's God.

Commitment to service "on whatever level and in whatever form" is something Chief Buthelezi admires above all else. "God created us to serve".

Work is love made visible?

"Quite so, quite so!"

Someone said a revolution is like a cocktail. You have one and it gets you in the mood for another one....

"Agreed! That's why I'm so implacably opposed to violence and revolution. As a student of history I know what revolutions are. Once you establish any change through revolution you're starting a series of them.

"I remember a quotation: 'The reign of terror burnt within itself and consumed its children like a virago.' I think that sums it up very well."

He reads the Bible every day. He speaks a lot about people being children of God. Like Reagan.

"He's a child of God and a human being. When I talk to him I'm not surprised that he's got where he's got. I have the same feeling about Mrs Thatcher. I am impressed by her thoroughness and the firmness of her convictions. And her courage, too. My God! She has courage!"

So few people are gifted with her stamina.

"Agreed. Agreed. She's a marathon runner! I met Mr Thatcher, too. We had dinner with them. We clicked just like that. He's a very charming man...."

And what of those cries from the left of "Sellout! Sellout!"? What of those who accuse him of changing sides like a windscreen wiper?

He makes no apology for his political stance. Rather he sees that a negative attitude will deprive his people of the development that is available to them.

"I think that if I was born in the mould of Gandhi or Martin Luther King God would have blessed me. As a Christian I believe that they were men who carried out God's main injunction to the human race — we must love one another."

Do people understand what love is?

"I don't think we do. Precisely because it's very difficult. It's difficult to present the other cheek. But that's what Christian love asks of us.

"If things go wrong there must be reconciliation. Reconciliation is the basis of love. What does Christ talk about when he talks about presenting the other cheek if it's not about reconciliation?

"I try to be forgiving. I suppose that's the only rule I have in life. Some of my colleagues say that this is my biggest weakness. I always retort by saying that if they showed me a garbage hole for bad people then I would also not forgive them. What can I do if someone errs? I'm not perfect myself.

"Perhaps they'll write on my tombstone: 'Here is a man who did not accomplish much but who did his best.'"

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — batter-proof and storm-proof
Picture: JANI ALLAN

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call to the UDF

LET'S END THE WAR

CHIEF Buthelezi

ARCHIE Gumede

Mercy plea for Death Row 6

KWAZULU's Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday called on the president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, for urgent talks to solve the crisis in Maritzburg where more than 100 people have died in factional violence this year.

The Chief Minister was responding to a letter sent to him by Mr Gumede late last year

Chief Buthelezi stressed the urgency for a meeting "no matter our differences, then and now."

"I have read every word of your letter and did not scent conciliation Any whiff would have been one of hope for me Not because we need each other but because a great many people are begging us to do something which may alleviate their misery," he said

"When I wrote to you about black unity, I meant it I was asking you and the UDF to think about our joint responsibility to this country and, specifically, our duty to positively reach out to our brothers and sisters who have suffered so much for so long

"I was asking you to consider the fact that both the UDF and Inkatha are here to stay and that the time has come for us to rise above the dialectic that divides us There will come a time when the people will decide who will govern this country and how They must choose and they must be able to do so freely

"Men, women and children are being butchered. Apartheid continues to kick us in the guts And yet, we are pathetically shouting at each other from public platforms It shames me, it shames us both

"Inkatha is not perfect The UDF is not perfect. You and I have our failings along with everybody else," the Chief said in the letter

"In some way, however tentatively, is it not possible for me to stand back, pause, and think positively as to how we, can motivate the considerable constituencies around us into action for the common good? Can we not agree to disagree?" he asked.

VARIOUS churches and political organisations are to send a petition to State President, Mr P W Botha, in a desperate attempt to save the lives of six Sharpeville activists who are presently on the Death Row.

The six, known as the "Sharpeville Six", were sentenced to death for the murder of Lekoa town councillor, Mr Jacob Dlamini. Mr Dlamini was killed at the height of the Vaal Triangle unrest on September 3, 1984.

The six are Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa (30), Reid Maleso Mokoena (22), Francis Mokhesi (29), Oupa Moses Diniso (30), Miss Theresa Ramashamola (24) and Duma Khumalo.

Reverend Richard Mokolo (left) and the Reverend Jeffery Letale took on in Vereeniging yesterday as a Vaal resident, Mrs Manano Nhlapo, signs a petition to be sent to the State President, P W Botha, requesting him to reprieve the Sharpeville Six.

BEER DRINKERS HIT

By ALI MPHAKI

BEER drinkers will as from today pay more for their malt after a 10 percent increase announced by South African Breweries last Friday.

A check at several watering holes at the weekend found beer drinkers with long faces — and with a resolve to continue taking their favourite drink.

The price of a quart of beer is R1,50 and a number of shebeeners announced at the weekend that they may be forced to increase their prices by at least 10 cents Some said a fair increase would be 15 cents as the wholesale price had gone up by 10 percent.

Many said they would however watch the situation and see if there was a need to increase prices

The president of the

● To Page 2

D/D 15/12/88

Buthelezi offers UDF hand of friendship

(116)

DURBAN — The president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday held out the hand of friendship to the United Democratic Front and urged the two ideologically opposed organisations to deal with their differences in a "civilised and democratic manner" and "rise above the problems of the past".

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu was replying to a letter he had received from the president of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, in November last year in which Mr Gumede said his organisation was "in principle" in favour of talks.

Chief Buthelezi said that after some delay he had received the letter although he had been aware of it because of reports in the press.

He had last written to the UDF in August, 1987.

In the latest letter to Mr Gumede, Chief Buthelezi said: "When I wrote to you last year, I did not mean to prescribe to the UDF. But, no matter what our differences are, when people are dying the kind of hideous deaths they are in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere, we have a responsibility to attempt to do something.

"However much we may distrust each other, I believe it is crucial that we explore ways and means of dealing with our problems.

"Inkatha is not perfect. The UDF is not perfect. It grieves me that our combined leadership appears to be incapable of acting on the lessons of the past.

"I have read your letter and did not scent conciliation. But despite our differences, we have to do something.

"In some way, however tentatively, is it not possible for us to stand back, pause, and think positively as to how we can motivate the considerable constituencies around us into action for the common good? Can we not agree to disagree?

"Men, women and children are being butchered. Apartheid continues to kick us in the guts, and yet we are pathetically shouting at each other from public platforms. It shames me, it shames us both.

"Let us stop this nonsense. Let a measure of sanity prevail. We know that for this to happen, we have to reach some sort of accord."

In his letter to Chief Buthelezi in November, Mr Gumede had said that his organisation was "in principle" in favour of discussions about ways to resolve the violence

"Such discussions must occur within a structured democratic framework."

The UDF president spelt out his organisation's opposition to apartheid and listed what he said were differences between the UDF and Inkatha.

These were:

- "Officials of Inkatha have often forced people to join its organisation
- "Officials of Inkatha are intolerant of the UDF and other democratic organisations.
- "Inkatha's intolerance of democratic organisations often becomes displayed as opposition to non-Zulus.
- "Inkatha's support for the apartheid system with its participation in the bantustan administration."

In Chief Buthelezi's August letter to the UDF, he said: "The only black unity we can have for the forseeable future is a black unity resting on the acceptance of a multi-strategy approach in the black struggle for liberation." — DDC

Buthelezi appeals to Gumede for action to achieve 'black unity'

15/2/88 (116) Star

An appeal for action to secure "black unity" has been made by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to United Democratic Front president Mr Archie Gumede in a letter urging that they encourage their constituencies to secure peace in the Maritzburg area.

"Men, women and children are being butchered. Apartheid continues to kick us in the guts. And yet we are pathetically shouting at each other from public platforms. It shames me, it shames us both.

"Inkatha is not perfect. The UDF is not perfect. You and I have our failings along with everybody else," said Chief Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of kwaZulu.

"In some way, however tentatively, is it not possible for you and me to stand back, pause, and think positively about how we can motivate the considerable constituencies around us into action for the common good? Can we not agree to dis agree?" he asked.

Having dismissed Mr Gumede's earlier correspondence to him as posturing for the purposes of propaganda, Chief Buthelezi continued: "We will not be dictated to and neither will you. But this does not mean, Mr Gumede, that people must die because of our intractability," he said.

"Political objectives achieved through death and destruction are hollow victories. I put it to you that it is possible for us to join forces if and when it is mutually acceptable."

He referred to ongoing Maritzburg "peace talks" pursued by Inkatha and the UDF at various levels.

"I see them simply as a first striving towards consolidating black power in opposition to apartheid. It is history itself that will distil out of the black struggle that which is finally going to win the day.

"Delays in black unity simply heap up the cost of the final victory which is inevitably going to be ours."

Tricameral system futile, say chiefs

Star 15/2/88

PHUTHADITJHABA — There was one South Africa with one nation which had only one destiny, the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Chief T K Mopedi, and the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Mr M N Ramodike, said in the QwaQwa capital on Saturday.

They said in a joint statement: "We reaffirm the commitment of QwaQwa and Lebowa to establish one sovereign parliament in which there shall be universal adult franchise and equality before the Constitution and the law.

"We reaffirm our commitment to bring non-racial democracy into being through the politics of negotiation and consultation. We further reaffirm our commitment to strive at all times to improve the quality of life of all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed.

"We together reject the country's tricameral parliamentary system as a futile experiment.

"We reject racism as the cornerstone of the Constitution.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

"We together state that the National Council, as envisaged, will come to nought unless democracy is unshackled through the release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of all political organisations.

"We together reject the politics of revolutionary violence and condemn the diversive forces at work in the black society turning black brother against black brother.

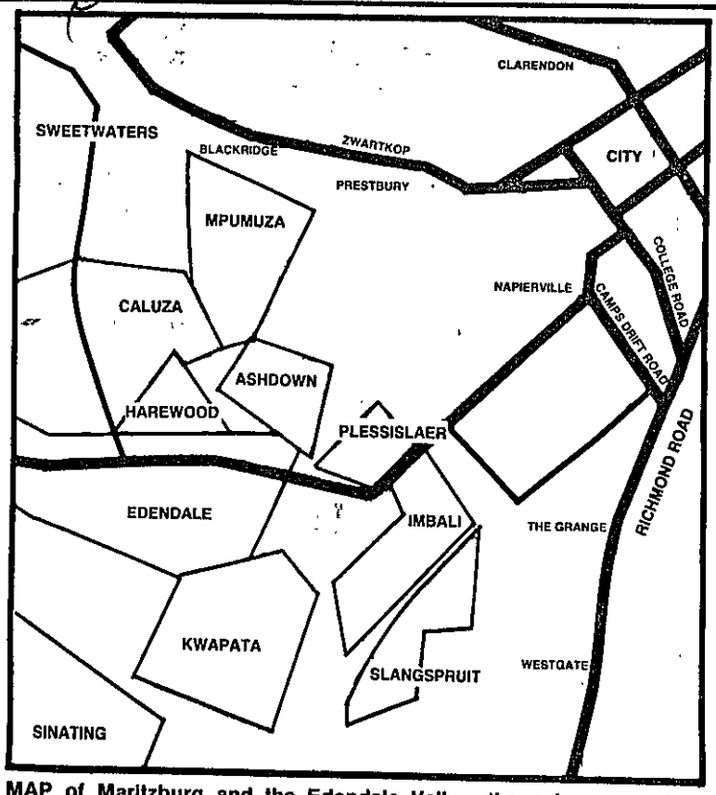
"We call for the unity of all South Africans and further reiterate that our unity calls for and demands the acceptance of a multi-strategy approach.

"We together reject the notion that South Africa is a country of minorities and we jointly undertake not to participate in negotiations aimed at making the country's minorities building blocks of future constitutions.

"We undertake to continue driving for greater unity between Lebowa and QwaQwa as we face the responsibility of negotiating white fears out of existence, as we search for compromise acceptable to all the people of South Africa." — Sapa.

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson and J M Patten, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

More than 400 people have already died in the relentless fighting between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front-Cosatu in the Edendale Valley in Maritzburg. In a four-part series starting today, JOE THLOLOE examines the conflict after seeing and talking to the people involved . . .



MAP of Maritzburg and the Edendale Valley, the epicentre of the violence. (Courtesy the *Natal Witness*)

Maritzburg - city of fear

FOCUS

BUSI Dladla will always remember December 30, 1987 — just a day before the end of that year.

This 21-year-old girl with finely chiselled features is sitting on a bed in her home in Imbali Township as she talks to us. One of her legs is stretched across to her sister's bed next to hers.

She is wearing a gown that covers her legs, but the foot on the bed peeps out and is in plaster of Paris. It has been like that for 41 days.

"A neighbour of ours, Sifiso Mabuza, had been shot dead on Christmas Eve, so we were going to bury him at the Sinathing Cemetery," Busi says.

"The bus carrying the elderly people was ahead of the bus with the youngsters, the bus that was carrying us. Just before we entered the cemetery I realised that the bus was being stoned and people were scrambling from the bus and running away.

"I jumped through the window, but as I landed on the ground I heard a shot. Then I found I could not use my right leg. I hobbled on one leg, now trying to get back into the bus.

"As I reached the door, I was stabbed twice in the back. I fell, but managed to crawl back into the bus.

"While I was lying on the floor of the bus, four girls came in and hit me with sticks. As they were hitting me they kept asking if I was an *iQabane* (comrade) or not. They removed my shoes and took them away.

"After a while I passed out. Later, through a fog, I saw the police arriving and they took me to the Edendale Hospital."

Busi was kept at the hospital for a month. The doctors told her the bullet had smashed the two bones in her lower leg and it would be a long, long time before they mended.

Busi's younger brother, Bheki, takes up the story: "I was near the door of the bus. As we were approaching the cemetery, I saw a crowd of people emerge from the bushes and run towards a house near the entrance of the cemetery. When they came back they were armed with sticks, guns, bush knives, everything.

"When they started firing the guns at us, those of us who were near the door jumped out and ran into the hills. As we were running we could hear screams and more gunfire.

"Later, much later, a police helicopter found us hiding in the hills. They arranged for another bus to take us back home and they escorted us."

Sifiso, who was 18 when he died, was buried by the people in the elders' bus.

Six people died on the spot in that attack and seven died later from their wounds: mere statistics in the police unrest report of that day.

Were the people who attacked you Inkatha or UDF members?

Both answer at the same time: "We do not know".

They say they do not know what Camp Sifiso, who was a Std 8 pupil at the Georgetown High School, belonged to. All they know is that he was shot while walking near a garage in Imbali on Christmas Eve. They went to the funeral only because he was a neighbour.

Fear

I try again: We have been told that the *amaQabane* now bury their dead in Mountain Rise, the other side of Maritzburg city, and not in Sinathing because they fear attacks from Inkatha. Do you believe that this attack was from Inkatha people?

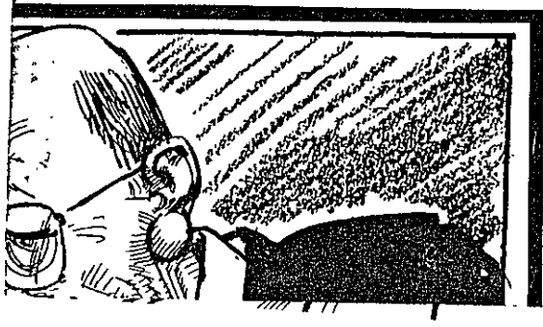
"No, we don't know," the boy answers.

"Yes, we don't," the girl says.

Suddenly the fear that envelopes the Edendale Valley becomes real in this small room. The people of Maritzburg whisper their sympathies only to the closest of friends.

The wrong greeting, boarding the wrong taxi; or wearing the wrong dress could mean a vicious death. This year alone, more than 120 people have died in the fighting that could easily turn Maritzburg into another Beirut

- **Tomorrow: Trying to understand the history and logic of the violence.**



Star 16/2/88

Assocom visit kindles peace hopes

(18)

By Tim Cohen

A visit to Maritzburg on Thursday by three senior members of Assocom has rekindled hopes that a new round of peace talks will begin soon in the strife-torn region.

Assocom president, Mr Alec Rogoff, chief executive Mr Raymond Parsons, and Mr Brian Kurtz, chairman of the executive council, will meet separately with representatives of the United Democratic Front/Cosatu alliance and Inkatha leaders. They will also meet with representatives of the South African Police.

The Assocom group will also make an inspection of certain of the affected areas.

Mr Parsons said last night the visit would be in the nature of a fact-finding mission and was taking place at the request of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

"The meetings and the inspection are for the purpose of forming an Assocom perspective on the situation which will hopefully facilitate the mediating role played by the local chamber of commerce," the organisations said in a statement.

The senior members will also meet with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and the Maritzburg unrest is among the subjects for discussion at that meeting.

The president of the Maritzburg branch of the chamber, Mr Stewart Smith, said last night that both Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance had recently indicated their willingness to discuss the unrest which has so far claimed at least 450 lives.

Manager of the Maritzburg chamber, Mr Paul van Uytrecht, said the possibility that the visit by Assocom's most senior members would lead to a new round of peace talks could not be ruled out but added that the meetings were convened primarily to inform the national leaders of the situation.

Midlands chairman of the UDF, Mr A S Chetty, said last night he welcomed the visit to the region by the Assocom executive members.

He said the recent detention of four key UDF officials would not impede the discussions "but their release will certainly be the first demands we will make at the talks".

"We would expect Chief Buthelezi to join us in demanding their release," he said.

VIOLENCE SPREADS

Death toll rises

• From Page 1

black youths injured.

It is not known whether those killed were local residents or people who had sought refuge after fleeing Maritzburg.

Last week police distributed thousands of pamphlets in townships in Maritzburg urging residents not to leave their area.

At Shongweni police found two bodies, one an 18-year-man and the other a 15-year-old youth. Both had bullet wounds.

In Taylor's Halt a 27-year-old man was stabbed to death. In the same area, police found the bodies of a couple, a 70-year.old man and his 60-year-old wife. Both had stab wounds. In another incident, police discovered the body of a 61-year-old woman with her throat slit.

At KwaMakutha near Durban there were several minor incidents of stone-throwing, illegal gatherings and petrol-bombs hurled at private dwellings. No deaths or injuries were reported and no serious damage caused.

10 more die as 'warlords' hold indaba

TEN more people were killed in violence in Natal townships at the weekend amid fears that the fighting between the UDF and Inkatha is spilling over to areas in Greater Durban.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Six people were killed in the torn townships of Maritzburg and four others shot dead at KwaNdengezi near Durban on the eve of the Press conference called by the "warlords".

The South African Police daily unrest report said that three women and a man were gunned down at KwaNdengezi near Pinetown after a group of men hurled a petrol bomb at a home.

As the occupants fled the burning house, numerous shots were fired at them from a 9mm pistol. Three black women and a man were fatally wounded and two

• To page 2

REV Chikane . . . appeal to President Botha.

Students' heartbreak — P2

(118) B/day 17/2/88

Maritzburg police action

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — It could not yet be established how many people had been killed in politically inspired violence since July 1987 in greater Edendale, Maritzburg, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said.

Police had conducted an inquiry into events since July 1987, he said yesterday in reply to a question from Roger Burrows (PFP Pinetown).

A number of people had been killed in that time, but because it could not yet be established beyond doubt which deaths could be ascribed to faction fights, ordinary crime, or politically inspired crime, it would be inopportune to furnish figures at this stage.

Charges had been laid against 254 people, who were now awaiting trial.

Charges included murder, attempted murder, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, arson and public violence.

Vlok's department was taking steps to ensure law and order was re-established.

A number of temporary bases had been established in the area, from where a large contingent of police, supported by units of the SADF, operated round the clock.

Also, a large team of experienced detectives, under the command of a senior officer, was investigating cases that emanated from the violence.

"They leave no stone unturned in locating and charging those persons who have committed acts of violence.

"The results achieved thus far are both positive and encouraging.

"From the steps that have been taken thus far to normalise the situation in the Republic and also in the Maritzburg area, it is clear that the SAP is well on its way to achieving that aim." — Sapa.

Blamed for PMB strife: 'Operation Doom'

(11B) 5-11/2/88

From PAGE 1

W/Mercu

A mass Inkatha meeting at Kwa-Mkhulu on Sunday has been pinpointed by UDF, Cosatu and other organisations in Pietermaritzburg as the start of the week's violence.

After the meeting large groups of people — many well armed — streamed into Ashdown, attacking residents and property.

The next day, out of fear and to protect their belongings, Ashdown residents held a large-scale stayaway.

On Wednesday a bus-load of armed people — many of them youths and all allegedly Inkatha supporters — arrived in the city centre and began to move towards Cosatu's local headquarters.

Witnesses said the men shouted they were looking for "comrades".

They attacked pedestrians and shoppers, and at least three people were left seriously injured before police moved in and arrested 46 people.

"They just went on a rampage, attacking everyone in sight. It was so frightening. We ran in all directions. Some people got stabbed. They were carrying assegaais, knobkieries and bushknives and said they were looking for *amaqabane* (comrades)," said one witness, an Edendale teacher.

KwaZulu MP Velaphi Ndlovu said he wantedto know what proof there was that Inkatha members were responsible for the attack.

"It is not the first time that people have been bussed in to attack in any particular area. Why should people suddenly want my comment? Why didn't they ask for it when people were bussed to attack homes of the chiefs and many other people in Ngaphezulu in the Edendale valley. or when Uwusa drivers were killed in East Street?

"Why do they suddenly become interested when it takes place in town?" he said.

Before the crucial Sunday meeting, the Progressive Federal Party regional director, Radley Keys, had written to the police and the chief magistrate warning of the possible consequences of the rally.

He said yesterday he had also been contacted by people expressing fear of an "Operation Cleanup", and that during the week before the Sunday meeting he had received many calls and visits from people afraid of the consequences of the rally.

His letter informed the authorities that he had received information about the meeting "through reports phoned to the office by employers and people living in Sweetwaters and from people coming in to the office who live in the area."

He warned that Sweetwaters was a "flashpoint" with people from both sides being killed and a bus drivers strike which disrupted the transport system in the area.

Keys further warned he had received reports that "councillors and members of Inkatha had reportedly been going round the area to get people to attend the meeting".

He reported similar counter threats levelled against members of the community who did attend the meeting by people who were allegedly members of the UDF.

He wrote, "We present you with this information in the hope that any possible conflict that may arise can be diverted."

Meanwhile, criticism of police for not acting against Inkatha supporters and "warlords" continued, particularly in Ashdown following the Sunday meeting and the subsequent violence in the area.

Over 100 women gathered in the PFP offices on Monday to ask for help.

After a lengthy discussion of the situation they drew up and signed a petition to the Minister of Law and Order.

"Either the SAP leave the area of Ashdown because they have shown the community that they act against the community in favour of Inkatha or they prove to the community from now on that they can act impartially in stopping violence and preventing crime," they said.

"If neither of these work, the SADF is preferred to the SAP or KwaZulu Police to police Ashdown as their actions are impartial," they concluded.

Police have repeatedly denied these claims and stated that they have favoured neither side in the conflict.

Death stalks the streets in Maritzburg's townships

Innocent are victims in Natal's bloody reign of terror

Star 4/2/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Somewhere in the Sweetwaters township outside Maritzburg, an old blind man weeps tears of hopelessness and despair. His wife, equally distressed, holds back her own tears and tries to comfort him.

The couple are living in the terror which is now endemic in most townships around Maritzburg.

Their offence? The blind man walked to the bus-stop several weeks ago in the hopes of going into Maritzburg to do some chores. As a rule he climbed on to the bus, told the passengers where he was going and they helped him off, guided him to his destination in town, and made plans to help him catch a bus home.

This time, however, buses weren't running and so the old man was offered a lift into town in a police van.

Two days later word got around that he was a police informer and his life was threatened. Fearing for their lives, his two teenage daughters were forced into hiding.

"Where are my children? Why are we being threatened for something I did so innocently? When will this end?" he implores.

Tragedy a daily reality

It is just one of hundreds of similar incidents which are being told around strife-torn Maritzburg.

Tragedies have become a daily reality, stoically endured by those living among the trouble, strongly felt by those living away from it.

Life has fallen apart in townships which were peaceful even when other areas countrywide seethed with violence. And it seems that the innocent, unpoliticised people are bearing the brunt of the violence.

Somewhere in Howick, a domestic maid arrives at work hours late, bruised and cut, her clothes in tatters.

"They came last night," she says, "and we had to run away as fast as we could. They wanted my son; they hit my daughter. We left our house with everything inside it. We are going to live in Mphophomeni with my friends."

An Edendale man, a successful painter, stumbles into the business premises of a friend. He collapses on the floor and sobs.

"They came to our house last night. They beat my wife, and they hit me. They broke our windows and tried to burn the house. I don't know why. Don't ask me why. Please help me. I am taking my family to Ixopo. We have family there."

Child shot after finding body

In central Maritzburg, a middle-aged woman resident in Imbali and employed as a shop assistant, goes about her work in her usual helpful manner.

But she is clearly distraught, and she eventually breaks down and tells her employer: "They tried to kill my son. They hit him while he was walking on the road with his friends. I don't know why. They don't tell us why. I think it was because they saw them on the road. Sometimes they do that.

"I don't know who it was. If I say it's UDF I could be wrong and if I say it's Inkatha I could also be wrong. They both cause trouble with the people.

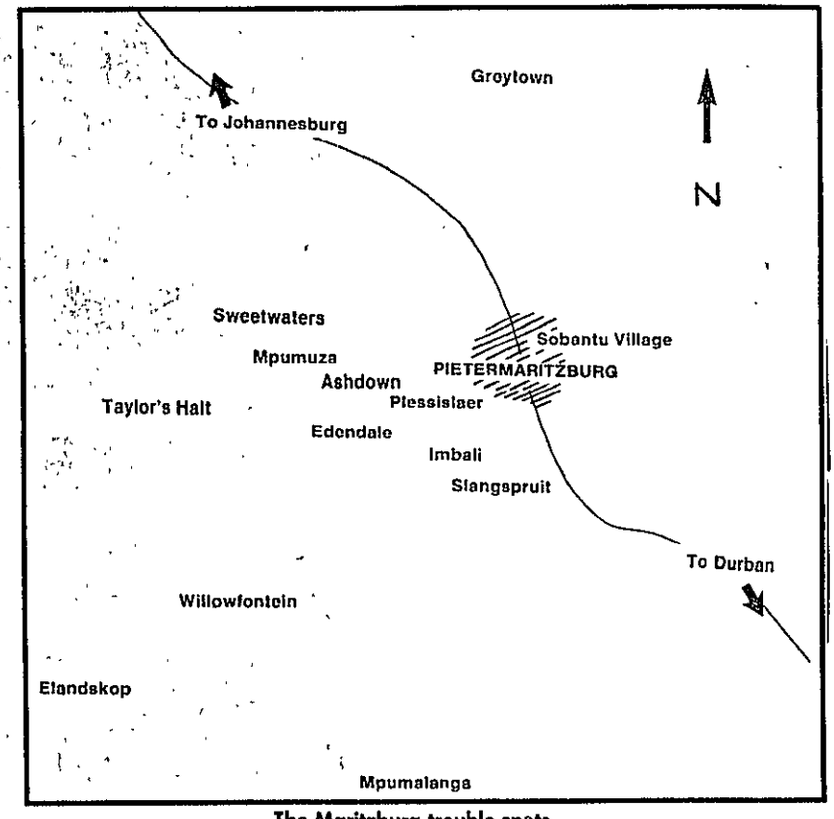
"My son cannot go to school this year. He is too weak. He is crying to go to school, but he is not fit. He won't be able to walk properly, and he can't eat properly because his teeth are full of wires. He was going to do matric. He is 18.

"Please don't use my name. They can kill me or burn my house. They burnt my cousin's house in Slangspruit. We are very scared."

A Sweetwaters teacher tells a friend of the brutal killing of the 13-year-old daughter of a neighbour of hers.

"She found the body of an elderly man lying close to her home. She did not know what to do about it so she reported it to the police. That night she was shot dead."

The teacher adds: "You don't know what is happening here in Sweetwaters. We are all so fearful all the time. You are so lucky you are white."



The Maritzburg trouble spots.

No sign of violence abating

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Blood continues to flow in townships around the Natal midlands — and while violence was sporadic during most of 1987, this year has seen a horrifying eruption in political deaths.

About 50 people died between January and August 1987.

A sharp escalation during September brought the death-toll to 94.

Between mid-September 1987 and January 1 1988, about 180 died in political violence in Natal.

In October 49 were killed, in November 50 died, and, in December, a frightening figure of "at least" 90 deaths were reported.

The total number of deaths in Natal during the whole of 1987 was estimated by the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA) to be 300.

The festive period saw 43 deaths in townships and 13 people died within the first two days of 1988.

And it has not stopped since then. Close to 110 people have died this year, according to Mr Peter Kerchhoff, director of PACSA, and the violence shows no signs of abating.

The circle turns vicious

Maritzburg's black townships have become burial grounds whose true significance only future historians may one day assess. There is no end in sight to the killings; black residents live in fear, or flee.

For whites, the law currently combines with racial divisions, censorship and propaganda to ensure that the daily mutilation and death, the grief and devastation, the torching of pitiful shacks and the terror of hunted children, remain remote and barely understood.

For the almost 400 blacks who have died in the violence and the surviving combatants, the roots of the conflict may once have been more or less clear, but their resolution is unpredictable. "It's becoming a Beirut situation where people forget how the violence started or what the causes were and it just becomes a way of life," warns Paul van Uytrecht, manager of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

There are many obstacles to understanding why Inkatha and UDF-Cosatu elements are so brutally pitted against one another and what the outcome of this struggle will be. Not the least is the recklessly facile view encouraged by SABC radio and TV. An example was the radio *Comment* of December 9: with a sly hint at the UDF, it said that "those who ally themselves at least tacitly with the ANC" sought to make the country ungovernable. In those circumstances, "there is no barbarism too degrading to be employed as their instrument in gaining the silent acquiescence of the masses."

The implicit solution is to "eradicate" the UDF, a fanciful notion which underlines the bankruptcy of those aspects of State policy on internal insurrection which are either declared or hinted at. The qualification is crucial, since much of that policy remains secret.

From a liberal white perspective, articulated by Peter Kirchoff of the Pietermaritzburg Association for Christian Social Awareness, the spark which ignited the Maritzburg powderkeg was a recruitment drive by Inkatha: "It would have been all right, I believe, if the drive had been conducted in a civilised way, but they went around at night knocking on people's doors and demanding that they join."

This partisan explanation accepts the UDF-Cosatu dogma that Inkatha is the sole aggressor and harassed villagers have desperately gathered together under the UDF banner to defend themselves. Cosatu's Dumisani Mbanjwa tells the *FM*: "The forced recruitment began in Imbali, because Imbali is run by Inkatha councillors." The UDF's A S Chetty goes further: "The violence started by way of a wave of terror against some of the units affiliated to the UDF."

But both are silent on the fact that one of the earliest incidents of violence — in 1985 — was the firebombing of the home of the chairman of the Imbali Township Council, Patrick Pakkies. As was the case elsewhere in the country, the Imbali councillors then became prime targets of the violence.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi singles out racist legislation as the underlying cause of poverty, unemployment and crime, all of which, he says, are now manipulated by the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu to foment violence. In the process, Inkatha, which opposes the ANC's Marxism with a belief in a free enterprise democracy, becomes the target of violent attack.

Reflecting his peace-broking role — though the Chamber of Commerce's initiative is in great danger of floundering — Van Uytrecht says violence ran out of control when recruiting agents of both Inkatha and UDF-Cosatu clashed. "Each told an almost identical story about the other," he told the *FM*. "The common element is a quest for popular support on both sides."

There can be no winner in such a war, although periodic body counts may cynically fix the temporary ascendancy of one group or another. The police view, reported on SABC-TV, was that, by the end of last year, roughly a third of the victims belonged to neither Inkatha nor the UDF-Cosatu and the great majority of the remainder were Inkatha. So mindless thuggery was an important factor and in the "political" arena the UDF was by implication the aggressor.

Kirchoff, on the other hand, reports that one-third of the victims were Inkatha suporters and the balance non-Inkatha. Mbanjwa qualifies this and says that, until November last year, most of the victims were non-Inkatha members, but that once the community organised to defend itself, this balance swung against Inkatha. By implication Inkatha was the initial aggressor but is now on the defensive.

Given the terrain and the deep divisions in the communities, no amount of policing is likely to restore permanent peace to the area in the immediate future. This was borne out by a sharp escalation in violence at the weekend despite police reinforcements.

Current peace initiatives are also unlikely to succeed. The deep mistrust between the UDF-Cosatu and Inkatha combines with fundamental ideological differences to ensure that representatives of each party come to peace meetings convinced that the other is working to a hidden agenda which makes peace talks futile.

In all likelihood, both are perfectly justified in their suspicions. And so the fighting continues.

There can be little doubt that a protracted conflict will work to Inkatha's disadvantage. Buthelezi's uneasy relationship with government has placed him in the unenviable role of landlord and rent collector in township communities where the popular party is one which organises rent boycotts As a measure of his unease, he is reluctant to raise tariffs and under-collections must be heavily subsidised.

It is plain that to succeed in his quest for majority support, Buthelezi must either deliver — whether it be jobs, homes, tarred roads or a genuine share in administering wealth — or significantly alter his position on working within the system.

This Achilles' Heel is now being gleefully exploited by his opponents. Reasonably objective observers report that Inkatha was badly shocked when it went recruiting in Maritzburg's rural districts and found that Cosatu had beaten it to the area

Naturally, as an extra parliamentary grouping, unencumbered by administrative responsibilities and inadequate budgets, the UDF and Cosatu enjoy a certain licence which Buthelezi must now increasingly envy. Thus, if government cannot make his support for working within the grudging system worth the political cost he must pay, there remains a distinct likelihood that he will reconsider his position.

It is thus Buthelezi's political aspirations and the hopes of the Indaba constitution-makers which may prove to be the most significant victims of Maritzburg's violence. If those aspirations and hopes fail, the prospects for peace are bleak.

Progress of peace talks 'slowed'

B/Day 4/2/88

ROGER SMITH (118)

PROGRESS in the Maritzburg peace negotiations has slowed while Inkatha attempts to elevate the status of peace talks to a national level, sources close to the negotiations say.

The second round of peace talks was due to have taken place early last month but has not yet done so.

Meanwhile, the violence between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the Maritzburg area has reached new heights, with about three people killed daily.

Paul van Uytrecht, chairman of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce which has a mediating role in the negotiations, said yesterday meetings were continuing, but there was no definite date for the next round of talks.

Other sources say the negotiations are making progress and Inkatha's insistence on bringing in national leaders can be resolved.

Inkatha statements in December made it clear there was no future in the talks unless the issue of the atttitude of Cosatu and the UDF towards Inkatha at a national level was addressed.

Inkatha man: 'I have lost control of events'

CP Correspondent

AMID the raging Inkatha-UDF confrontation which has claimed more than 20 lives in KwaNdengezi township, near Durban since the beginning of this year, the local chairman of Inkatha has broken his silence to announce that the situation in his constituency was beyond his control.

The alarmed Beatus Msomi who has been quietly holed up in his home in the township claims to have received death threats from all quarters.

"The UDF is blaming me for the deaths of their comrades and attacks on their homes, while my own followers have split into two factions.

"One faction, led by my rival who is vying for chairmanship of Inkatha in the area, has adopted a hostile attitude towards me because they claim I have sold out; they say I am a friend of the UDF," he said.

He said his rival, who he declined to name, was exploiting the youths to further his aims.

He said the man was also collaborating closely with a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

"They are the ones who burn people's houses, loot property and force the Inkatha theories down the people's throats," he said.

Msomi claimed that this faction was having countless meetings behind closed doors.

He said he had been told that at most of these meetings he was being discredited.

He said he had learnt of pupils being forced to become Inkatha members in order to qualify for registration at local schools.

He also said he had recently learnt of the faction's latest onslaught on the township's taximen.

The crackdown on taximen comes in the wake of wide-ranging claims that they work in cahoots with the UDF.

Since the beginning of the year, eight taxis have been attacked and five taxi drivers were seriously injured and had their money and other belongings looted by people alleged to be members of Inkatha.

However, the one Inkatha faction is still loyal to Msomi and is continually trying to persuade him to intervene to halt the carnage and improve the tarnished image of Inkatha, he said.

Msomi, whose house has already been attacked and stoned, dissociated himself from the behaviour of some members of Inkatha.

His young followers are presently guarding his house in anticipation of further attacks.

Msomi, who claims to have been an ANC member before the organisation was banned, said he strongly believed that the UDF had a legitimate right to exist in the township and maintained that he had never stood in its way. — Concord

D/D 2/02/88

Pietermaritzburg violence could spread — Buthelezi

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that black-against-black fighting in Pietermaritzburg could spread to the rest of the country, if the South African Government did not change its policy of apartheid.

"The events (in Pietermaritzburg) are a salient and daily reminder of what may be in store for us all, if the government persists in ramming its racism down our throats," Chief Buthelezi said in a letter to the Independent newspaper.

Last month, 100 people died in black townships around Pietermaritzburg, in the worst carnage in the feud between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

About 400 people have been killed since the so-called "Zulu war" started a year ago.

Chief Buthelezi is known as a moderate, and an opponent of violence.

"The tragedy of Pietermaritzburg is that, what is happening there is a lesson for all of South Africa (white and black).

"However, few people beyond the boundaries of the area are taking much notice.

"The only solution is for the politics of negotiation and compromise to triumph," he added. — Sapa-RNS

Businessmen in new effort for peace in Maritzburg violence

Star 3/2/88

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

As Maritzburg's township conflict enters its bloodiest phase, urgent attempts are being made by commerce, industry and civic leaders to resolve the deepening crisis which is affecting economic activity in the region.

Fighting between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha has left 24 dead since the start of last weekend, bringing the death toll to more than 400 since the violence began last year.

Maritzburg's mayor, Mr Mark Cornell and leading businessmen met senior police officers yesterday and expressed fears that increasing violence in the region was affecting production.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has vowed to stop the violence.

Police reinforcements have been sent to the area.

Mr Cornell said he would fly to Cape Town for the opening of Parliament on Friday and would try to discuss the situation with Mr Vlok.

He said: "The situation in Maritzburg has now reached a point where it can best be described as a war. Something has to be done quickly to cool it down and bring about peace between the warring factions."

Mr Cornell said he had been given conflicting assurances about police deployment in the region.

'Senseless'

"I have been told that there are enough policemen — and I have also been told there are not enough and some feel that police should be on every bus."

Mr Vlok said yesterday that he was determined to halt the "senseless violence and killings" in the region and announced that a team of investigators, under one of his senior brigadiers, had been sent to investigate.

Clashes in the Ashdown area on Monday resulted in a massive stayaway as workers apparently did not feel their families and homes were safe from attack. Schools also remained closed.

Reports from the area said the latest violence began at the weekend with clashes in the UDF-dominated Ashdown area.

Mr S Davidson, president of the Chamber of Industries, said some workers were staying away.

He said that another bus strike, which could be caused by the death of another driver, could hit production again.

"People are not seeing that the township violence is being punished. They would like to see swifter prosecutions."

Low poll an indictment of House of Delegates — TIC

The low poll yesterday in the Eastern Transvaal House of Delegates by-election was a massive vote of no confidence in the House, Mr I Momoniat, secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), said.

Mr Momoniat said the pertcentage poll was 20 percent less than that registered in 1984.

"It is clear that the Indian community rejects the House of Delegates because it is a powerless body designed to enforce apartheid."

"The House of Delegates has failed to fulfil most of its promises made in 1984.

"The low poll was registered in spite of the state of emergency which made the congress's campaign for a stayaway from the polls difficult.

"The Transvaal Indian Congress sees the poor response as a fantastic victory for the congress," Mr Momoniat said. — Sapa.

More cops in troubled Maritzburg

THE police flew 100 extra men into the strife-torn Pietermaritzburg area yesterday with a commitment from the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to stop the violence.

The additional action comes at a time when there are fair indications that the United Democratic Front has started to win what the Pietermaritzburg mayor, Mr Mark Cornell, has termed a "war."

There are widespread fears that Inkatha supporters could initiate a massive response to beat back the UDF.

An attack on the UDF-dominated township of Ashdown on Sunday, following a mass Inkatha meeting, could have been the start of the retaliation.

The vice chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Rob Pater, said his organisation was going ahead with its plans to "talk peace" to the UDF and Inkatha.

"There are no immediate plans to get the UDF and Inkatha to a conference but we are talking to both groups," said Mr Pater. — Sapa.

Daily Mail

46 arrested after M'burg assaults and attack on Cosatu House

WAR SPILLS INTO TOWN

SEVERE restrictions have been placed on the funeral of Sicelo Dhlomo (above), the young political activist who will be buried on Saturday. The funeral service is to be held at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church. See Page 3.

Sicelo funeral curbs

POLICE yesterday arrested 46 blacks who allegedly went on a rampage in Pietermaritzburg, injuring about 10 people, three of whom were admitted to hospital.

SAP Liaison Officer, Captain Peter Kitching, said last night that "they will appear in court today though at this stage we have not yet formulated charges."

He said some of the suspects were adults but the majority were minors.

The arrests were made shortly before noon yesterday when a gang estimated at between 60 and 100-strong raced through a Pietermaritzburg shopping area in Berg, Retief and Pietermaritzburg streets — an open shopping area.

Wielding pangas, knives, assegais, knobkerries and metal rods, they attacked what eyewitnesses said were "innocent bystanders."

But police were quickly on the scene and the arrests were made as the gang, chanting "we want to kill the comrades, we want the comrades," were running up in the direction of the Pietermaritzburg CBD.

Witnesses said the gang covered about 2 km

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

before police moved in on them.

The incident took place at about 11 am. Victims of the attack were taken to the Edendale Hospital where they are reported to be in a serious condition.

During the assault on the youths, the violence spread to include an attack on Cosatu's offices in the centre of the city.

The attack brings into the city the violent confrontation between UDF and Inkatha, that has until now been confined to townships that sprawl outside Natal's capital.

'Brigade'

A Cosatu spokesman accused the "youth brigade" of having sent a busload of its supporters into town with the purpose of "getting into Cosatu House".

This appears to be the second incident where the escalating violence between the UDF and its rival for political influence, Inkatha, has spilled into the city centre.

'Botswana gave Mahobe to SAP'

GABORONE — Mr Zola Mahobe, the former owner of the Mamelodi Sundowns soccer club, was not arrested in South Africa but in Gaborone, where police involving about R10-million.

The case relates to the alleged theft through computer manipulation of money from the Standard Bank

11B
Sowetan 4/2/88

P/D 4-2-88

Derby-Lewis' attack on report called a political tantrum

DURBAN — The KwaZulu-Natal Indaba has dismissed the recent attack on the results of research it carried out in six Natal constituencies by the Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis as "a public political tantrum".

Responding to Mr Derby-Lewis' statement yesterday, Indaba's communications director, Mr Peter Badcock, said the attack appeared to be more of a political tantrum at the outcome of the research than a reasoned analysis.

Although Mr Derby-Lewis' unsolicited attack on the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was a private issue between the two leaders, his (Mr Derby Lewis') feelings did not alter the fact that 73 per cent of the white voters interviewed in the survey would like to see Dr Buthelezi involved in the leadership of KwaZulu-Natal.

In contrast to this, two per cent of the 1 002 voters in the six seats believed that the Natal CP organiser, Mr Duncan du Bois, should likewise be involved in regional government, Mr Badcock said.

Further, to question the credibility of the research findings and to label them a "political fraud" was in effect also to dispute state market research, as the same method of canvassing — known as Random Stratified Sampling — was also employed by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Mr Badcock said that since the survey included three National Party held constituencies and had been conducted in the most highly-populated white areas in the province, its results could be considered representative of majority white thinking.

Its findings were consistent with the findings of many previous surveys not commissioned by the Indaba.

These surveys had repeatedly shown that whites generally, and Natal whites in particular, believed that reform should take place at an accelerated rate.

Mr Badcock added that it appeared Mr Derby-Lewis was deliberately distorting and taking out of context the findings of another survey that a high proportion of Natal whites (11 per cent) might consider emigrating in the next five years.

"All evidence points to the conclusion that the majority of those who may leave South Africa would do so because of the consequences of lack of change and the growth of the CP-AWB factor and not because they oppose change," he said. — DDC

MEMBERS of the national executive committee of Azanyu (from left) Mr Reggie Nikiwe, Mr Mpuka Radinku, Mr Walter Lukhuleni, Miss Phumla Mfeya, Mr Serame Molefi, Mr Carter Seleka and Mr Ntsie Mohloai.

Azanyu, pledge on violence in Maritzburg area

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE Azanian National Unity has pledged to bring to an end the fighting in Maritzburg which has claimed more than 300 lives since the violence started last year.

This was one of the resolutions taken by Azanyu at its second annual national congress held at the Ipelegeng Community Centre, Soweto, at the weekend. It was attended by about 2 000 delegates and observers from various parts of the country, including the homelands.

The theme of the congress was "Mobilise, consolidate and unite against reactionary forces".

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Carter Seleka, Azanyu's general secretary, said: "We condemn the violence in the Maritzburg area and we call upon the people to refrain from killing each other because no-one benefits from the fighting."

He also said Azanyu was doing its best to defuse the fighting between members of the UDF and Inkatha.

"We are still working on plans to end the feuding," Mr Seleka said.

Mr Seleka said other resolutions taken at the congress were that:

- Azanyu condemns the illegal occupation of the land of Palestinian people by the Israeli government. The organisation pledged solidarity with the Palestinian people struggling for their liberation;
- The organisation condemned the presence of the South African Defence Force in Angola and the killing of innocent women and children by the MNR bandits in Mozambique.
- Azanyu condemned the "illegal" occupation of Namibia by the South African Government.
- The merger between Zanu-PF and Zapu-PF in Zimbabwe was welcomed by the congress.

Merger

- Azanyu rejected the new amendment to the Labour Relations Act of 1956, stating that this document wanted to prevent workers from taking action if they had grievances and to politically isolate workers' problems from other political matters; and
- Azanyu called for the removal of members of the SAP and SADF from school and university premises and also called for the scrapping of the Joint Management Committees.

A new national executive committee was elected at the end of the two-day congress.

The members are: Mr Serame Molefi, president; Mr Ntsie Mohloai, vice-president; Mr Seleka; Mr Walter Lukhuleni, finance secretary; Mr Mpuka Radinku, publicity secretary; Mr Mzwandile Mcitheka, national organiser; Mr Mxolisi Phantshwa, labour secretary, Miss Phumla Mfeya, education secretary; Mr Reggie Nikiwe, sports and culture secretary, and two additional members, Mr Arden Bosman and Mr Trevor Mpofu.

The congress was attended by representatives of the French, Dutch, Canadian and Australian embassies.

Messages of support and solidarity were received from the labour parties of Belgium and Sweden and from the youth wing of the Zanu-PF from Zimbabwe.

21/1/88 B/Day (11B) (SOWETAN)

Indaba support 'still strong'

DURBAN — Support for the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba remained strong, a new survey said yesterday.

The market research survey canvassed 1 002 white voters from six Natal constituencies — Maritzburg North (NP), Durban Central (NDM), Umbilo (NP), Durban North (PFP), Umhlanga (NP) and Pinetown (PFP).

The survey, conducted by Research Surveys last month, showed that 54% of the people tested supported the Indaba proposals for an elected, power-sharing government for the region, against 13% who rejected them.

Another 21% were neutral, with the remaining 12% "don't knows or can't says".

"The survey also shows majority support for the Indaba within the ranks of NP voters, with 40% supportive compared with 23% opposed," an Indaba spokesman said. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha is a party to the Indaba.

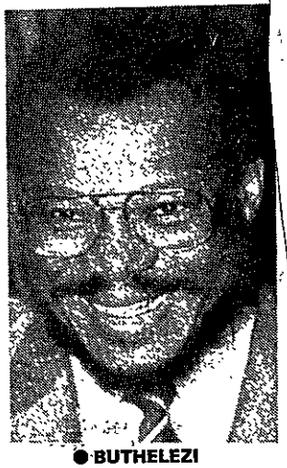
In reply to the question "in a general election which party's candidate would be ideal", 40% said the NP, followed by 21% for the PFP. The Worrall-led Independence Movement gained 15%, the CP 4%, Wynand Malan's NDM and the NRP 3% each.

Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk said he found the survey results "gratifying" for several reasons.

He said the results corroborated "entirely" results of previous research conducted by a different market company. In addition, the Indaba support-base among white voters had "firmed and expanded" despite the belief by some that last year's election results were a "major reverse" for the Indaba.

"Thirdly, and mainly, because they show that the degree of our acceptance within the NP continues to grow steadily.

"Being aware as we are of the critical importance of governmental approval of our proposals, we cannot help but be pleased by confirmation of the extent of NP voter support for the Indaba and the process of change generally," Van Wyk said. — Sapa.



● BUTHELEZI

Indaba cuts staff at end of campaign

DURBAN — The KwaZulu-Natal Indaba has reduced its staff by 14 members to 50 as a result of the organisation's shift from its communication campaign, associate director Peter Mansfield said yesterday.

This reduction in staff reflected a "maturing" of the Indaba's strategy.

The organsation was, however, recruiting additional staff for its implementation study, which was due to begin this year.

Last year the Indaba was active in a "highly intensive and successful communications campaign" involving more than 100 meetings a month.

Proposals

Millions of pamphlets outlining the Indaba's proposals were also distributed, Mansfield said.

This activity would continue at a lower level of intensity in 1988, though its focus would "shift to negotiation regarding the proposals" and an implementation plan.

The coming year would be less labour intensive and the decision to cut staff reflected this reality, he said.

More than 3 000 individual and corporate donors had given their support to the Indaba, Mansfield said, and indications were that a similar level of support could be expected in 1988. — Sapa.

21/1/88

Inkatha to blame, says UDF

22/1/88. B/day

PATRICK BULGER

THE UDF and Cosatu yesterday replied to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's views on the conflict in Maritzburg, claiming an Inkatha membership drive lay behind the violence.

In a lengthy statement, UDF Natal Midlands Region and Cosatu Natal Region claimed there was "overwhelming documentary evidence that the bulk of violent incidents have been initiated by Inkatha supporters".

The statement disputed Buthelezi's claim that UDF and ANC elements had launched a campaign to make the area ungovernable in August last year.

"How can a campaign that can be so easily fitted into the State's black-on-black violence propaganda possibly assist either the UDF or Cosatu? There is no evidence of such a general campaign mounted by the UDF or Cosatu in the rest of Natal".

The statement said that during August last year, as the number of deaths increased, Cosatu brought a team of lawyers and investigators into Maritzburg. Evidence emerged then that "certain Inkatha leaders were using violence against people who refused to join Inkatha or showed any other political allegiance".

"We had no choice but to extend the investigation, and between October 1 and December 10 hundreds of statements were taken. Out of these statements, six urgent interdict orders were applied for. Interim orders were granted in five cases, and in the sixth a rule nisi was granted. Five of the actions were against Inkatha leaders and office-bearers, and the sixth against police officers.

"The UDF and Cosatu placed this information, plus other supporting documentation, before influential bodies in Maritzburg. We demonstrated there was overwhelming evidence of a forced recruiting drive by clearly identifiable Inkatha leaders and groups. We provided very strong *prima facie* evidence — in certain cases strong enough to sustain an interim interdict order — of the systematic perpetration of violence.

"We made detailed and concrete proposals to try and achieve a return to normality. We publicly condemned the violence and stated our proposals for the achievement of peace. Despite the widespread detention of local UDF and Cosatu leadership, our structures continue to work to restrain retaliatory attacks."

The statement said the violence was being prolonged by the suppression of information, government's curtailment of freedom, "a largely unaccountable and politically-motivated police force and the desperate protection of Inkatha by powerful political interests".

"The violence in the area is a great human tragedy and the widening pools of blood inexorably draw in more people. Political posturing and simplistic 'kragdadigheid' will not solve the problem."

(11B) 22-28/1/88 WEEKLY MAIL, Jan

Inside Maritzburg's battle zone, a community is at war with itself ...

An armed Inkatha youth flashes a knife at the Inkatha peace rally in war-torn Pietermaritzburg

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

There have been so many deaths that most people have lost their sense of weeping

Armed men bang on doors at night and order parents to release their children for defence units to ward off attackers. No child dare refuse. LAKELA KAUNDA reports from Pietermaritzburg

A WEEPING Mpumuza woman recently came to the *Natal Witness* offices in Pietermaritzburg and asked to telephone Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The woman, an Inkatha card-carrying member, said she could no longer bear the harassment she was subjected to by armed men calling themselves Inkatha members who came to her home at night and ordered her to release her sons to join their "army".

Life has never been the same since forced recruitment drove the Pietmaritzburg community into an undeclared war with itself.

Pietermaritzburg has since become an island. No outsiders, except a few brave journalists, penetrate the war zone. There has been no entertainment since November: weddings, soccer matches and parties have been replaced by funerals.

There have been so many deaths that most people have lost their sense of weeping.

The first casualty of the holocaust, which is centred mainly on greater Edendale, was the family institution.

Parents have lost control over their children as they no longer live with them. Most children fled their homes as they became targets of attacks. Armed men bang on doors at night and order parents to release their children for night marches or defence units to ward off attackers.

"What should we do?" asked an Edendale widow.

"When the child refuses to go because he is scared, they assume he belongs to a rival organisation and he is taken away from his parents and hacked to death.

"But our children have already fled; we do not know where they are.

"When you tell the attackers that, they say you are hiding them and assault you or even burn the house and

the days when one used to enjoy looking at youths doing the *toyi-toyi* in the streets.

Now, one disappears as soon as one hears the chants.

"Nothing is as frightening as hearing chants and singing in the background and you find there is no bus or kombi to whisk you away home soon.

"You never know what might happen. They might even mistake you for a *theleweni* (as Inkatha members are now called) and either molest you or force you to 'model'," a local social worker said.

"Modelling" is a new system used by the youths to combat crime. A person strips naked and, accompa-

The unrest has also affected the way people dress and talk. Khaki clothing is a no-no — it identifies one with Inkatha. Yellow T-shirts are easily associated with the UDF and the wearer becomes a target of rival groups.

A man carrying a *knobkierrie* or *sjambok* is believed to be an Inkatha member, while balaclava-type woollen hats are identified with the UDF youth.

Black, yellow and gold is acceptable in both camps. You have to be with people who know your stand, otherwise Inkatha members might think you are wearing ANC colours or UDF members might accuse you of being an Inkatha member.

Speak deep Zulu and you are the

build new homes on sites the government has given them.

"What is the use of building a house today and have it burnt down tomorrow? We'd rather squat here until the killings stop," one of them said.

Most claim to be non-affiliated, but they know how many innocent "fence-sitters" have been killed.

Grafitti on township walls show which cock rules that particular roost. Signs such as "Welcome to Angola/Tanzania/Lusaka/Zambia/Ulundi" are to be seen on the walls.

Will the children ever be rehabilitated from the trauma of the violence? Some have problems re-adjusting already and do not want to return to school.

Nkosinathai, a member of the black consciousness Azanian Students Movement (Azasm), summed up the feeling of most youths: "I do not see myself going back to school anymore.

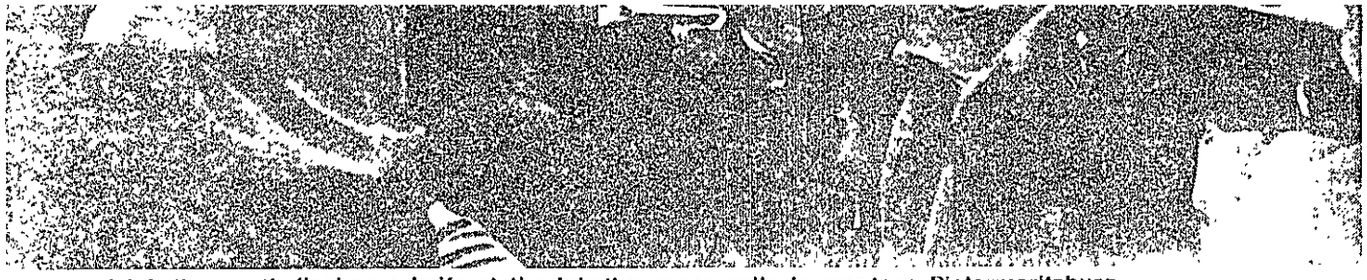
"Firstly, I am 20 and too old to return to standard eight. Also, I do not think I can stomach to sit in front of a teacher for her to tell me that history began in 1652 with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.

"Besides, what is the use of an education when I cannot get the job I want and cannot live where I want to. I will not enjoy the fruits of it anyway."

And what does he think the future holds for him? "It is easy. We will join the Azanian defence force after liberation. One does not need to write any aptitude test to become a soldier.

"I will have served my apprenticeship in the struggle anyway," he said.

Nkosinathi is one of many Azasm members who fled Imbali, an Inkatha stronghold, and went to live in Sobantu, a UDF stronghold. There have been constant clashes between the UDF-linked Sobantu Youth Co-



An armed Inkatha youth flashes a knife at the Inkatha peace rally in war-torn Pietermaritzburg

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

There have been so many deaths that most people have lost their sense of weeping

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"What should we do?" asked an Edendale widow.

"When the child refuses to go because he is scared, they assume he belongs to a rival organisation and he is taken away from his parents and hacked to death.

"But our children have already fled; we do not know where they are.

"When you tell the attackers that, they say you are hiding them and assault you or even burn the house and kill everyone.

Children as young as three are already feeling the stress of the ongoing violence. As the woman who came to the *Natal Witness* offices said: "This is unbearable. I cannot remember when last I had a good night's sleep. My three-year-old son, Siyanda, wakes up in the middle of the night screaming and asks me, 'Mama, where is Inkatha.'

"What is going to become of my child?"

The unrest has forced many parents to disown and evict their own children. There are families where the parents are Inkatha members and the sons belong to the UDF. Rather than have their homes burnt down by either the father's or son's comrades, the son is thrown out.

Some family heads have been killed because they failed to convince their children to join a certain organisation.

Fearless children have taken to the streets and are out to fight. Gone are the days when one used to enjoy looking at youths doing the *toyi-toyi* in the streets.

Now, one disappears as soon as one hears the chants.

"Nothing is as frightening as hearing chants and singing in the background and you find there is no bus or kombi to whisk you away home soon.

"You never know what might happen. They might even mistake you for a *theleweni* (as Inkatha members are now called) and either molest you or force you to 'model'," a local social worker said.

"Modelling" is a new system used by the youths to combat crime. A person strips naked and, accompanied around the township by the youths, is made to shout his or her crime out to everyone they come across.

Some have said this method is less gruesome than the "necklace", though more humiliating. It has been welcomed by some, in preference to the "necklace", and condemned by others who say the *amaqabane* do not give the victim a hearing before the sentence is passed

The "modelling" sentence is handed out to criminals, prostitutes and rude drunkards.

Smoking in buses and kombis has also been banned in Pietermaritzburg. A person guilty of that offence has to "model" between the passenger seats, to the horror of blushing fellow passengers.

The unrest has also affected the way people dress and talk. Khaki clothing is a no-no — it identifies one with Inkatha. Yellow T-shirts are easily associated with the UDF and the wearer becomes a target of rival groups.

A man carrying a *knobkierrie* or *sjambok* is believed to be an Inkatha member, while balaclava-type woollen hats are identified with the UDF youth.

Black, yellow and gold is acceptable in both camps. You have to be with people who know your stand, otherwise Inkatha members might think you are wearing ANC colours or UDF members might accuse you of being an Inkatha member.

Speak deep Zulu and you are the biggest *thelewéni*.. Comrades are said to speak *tsotsi taal*, a mixture of Zulu, English, Afrikaans and some words of unknown origin.

"Eita", which used to be an ordinary *tsotsi* greeting, is now associated with *amaqabane*. One has to be careful about whom one is greeting, otherwise one ends up in Edendale Hospital or the morgue.

Pietermaritzburg people have become experts at such things.

Many families have fled to more peaceful areas to live with friends and relatives.

Those in safe areas do not want to move. About 100 flood victims, who have been housed in Edendale's Poyinadi community hall since the September floods, refuse to move and build new homes on sites the government has given them.

"What is the use of building a house today and have it burnt down tomorrow? We'd rather squat here until the killings stop," one of them said.

Most claim to be non-affiliated, but they know how many innocent "fence-sitters" have been killed.

Grafitti on township walls show which cock rules that particular roost. Signs such as "Welcome to Angola/Tanzania/Lusaka/Zambia/Ulundi" are to be seen on the walls.

Will the children ever be rehabilitated from the trauma of the violence? Some have problems re-adjusting already and do not want to return to school.

Nkosinathai, a member of the black consciousness Azanian Students Movement (Azasm), summed up the feeling of most youths: "I do not see myself going back to school anymore.

"Firstly, I am 20 and too old to return to standard eight. Also, I do not think I can stomach to sit in front of a teacher for her to tell me that history began in 1652 with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.

"Besides, what is the use of an education when I cannot get the job I want and cannot live where I want to. I will not enjoy the fruits of it anyway."

And what does he think the future holds for him? "It is easy. We will join the Azanian defence force after liberation. One does not need to write any aptitude test to become a soldier.

"I will have served my apprenticeship in the struggle anyway," he said.

Nkosinathi is one of many Azasm members who fled Imbali, an Inkatha stronghold, and went to live in Sobantu, a UDF stronghold. There have been constant clashes between the UDF-linked Sobantu Youth Congress (Soyo) and Azasm and many lives have been lost, though this has received little publicity in the press.

This has prompted their parents to convene a meeting next Tuesday to attempt to resolve the conflict.

Some youths are keen to return to normal life.

Those at Siyanda Secondary School in Mpumuza, near Sweetwaters, are a good example. After hearing rumours that their school may not re-open next week, the pupils quickly convened a meeting and convinced their parents that they were prepared to return to school.

The following day they cleaned the lawn and fixed the broken windows, but not before renaming the school "Tanzania High".

They have since been informed by the school inspector that the school is definately open.

At least not everything that happens in our Pietermaritzburg is negative these days.

Modelling: A new system used by youths to combat crime. The accused is stripped naked and led through the streets, shouting out his crime to all who pass.

(11B2) 2-28/1/88 W/Mail (11A) (226) W/Mail 22-28/1/88

QwaQwa plan is senseless — OFS lecturer

22-28/1/88

W/Mail

By JO-ANN BEKKER

BOTSHABELO's incorporation into QwaQwa does not make ethnic, political or economic sense, a former employee of the department of co-operation and development argues in papers before the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein.

In an unusual alliance, anthropologist Dr Abel Petrus Erasmus, now a senior lecturer in the University of the Orange Free State's Department of Ethnology, has joined forces with anti-incorporation activists to oppose Botshabelo's inclusion into the South-Sotho "homeland".

Botshabelo teacher Gauta Lawrence Lefuo is seeking an order overturning incorporation on the grounds that President PW Botha acted beyond the powers vested in him. He argues that Botha's power to "amend" the area which falls under the QwaQwa Legislative Assembly does not allow for the "drastic transformation" of amalgamating it with Botshabelo's 500 000 residents.

Lefuo adds that Botha did not consult with Botshabelo's inhabitants about their incorporation into a "homeland" 270km away.

In a memorandum supporting the application Erasmus argues that:

- QwaQwa has a specific historical identity which has developed around traditional language and cultural practises. Although 20 percent of its 1 700 000 inhabitants are non-Sotho speakers, they share "the same ethnic sentiments" to a great extent.

On the other hand, Botshabelo — created only in 1979 and with about 70 percent of its half a million residents younger than 30 — has placed less emphasis on traditionalism. Botshabelo and QwaQwa must thus be seen as two separate, not kindred, communities.

- QwaQwa and Botshabelo's constitutional development was entirely separate. In addition, it appears that Botshabelo has a latent "unstable political climate". Factors such as possible discrimination against South-Sotho speakers in an independent QwaQwa, as well as the "sensitive question of citizenship" could activate disturbances.
- It can be said that QwaQwa is a "poor, typically underdeveloped Third World country". In 1975 its net national income of R154 per capita was the lowest in all South Africa's "homelands".

Erasmus said the fact that the South African government has undertaken to continue providing educational, judicial and other services to Botshabelo for an unspecified period, supported the belief that the incorporation was forced and not the result of a natural process.

The application is due to come before court on February 4.

Nine more die in unrest

Nine more people have been killed in unrest in the troubled Maritzburg area.

This brings the death toll in the area to 51 since the beginning of the year.

Police said in their unrest report today that the new deaths included five who died in a home in Mpumalanga.

The report said that an "unknown number of shots were fired" at the house in Mpumalanga in which three men and two youths were killed.

See Page 3

SMC 24/11/88

Natal violence — 'Inkatha to blame'

MARITZBURG. — Inkatha was responsible for systematic violence in the Maritzburg area, according to Cosatu and the United Democratic Front.

In reply to media attacks earlier this week by the Kwazulu chief minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the organisations said they had evidence to support their claims.

In a joint statement issued yesterday, Cosatu (Natal region) and the UDF (Midlands region) defended themselves against Dr Buthelezi and listed incidents of violence in the townships and rural areas around the Natal capital which have claimed at least 54 lives this year.

They said the violence — which they described as "a tragic statement about the deep inadequacies of South African society" — had reached present levels because of the suppression of information and lack of freedom of expression.

DISTORTED

The SABC was accused of constructing a picture of black-on-black violence "in order to focus attention away from State responsibilty" and of "blatantly distorting" facts to blame the organisations.

Cosatu/UDF said Dr Buthelezi's position — that the ANC had links with the UDF and was a violent organisation aimed at rendering the country ungovernable — was similar to the Government's.

"Confirmation of their (the Government) view by a black leader such as Dr Buthelezi acts as a powerful propaganda weapon. This coincidence of views also has the unavoidable consequence of bringing the Inkatha movement into an increasingly close working relationship with the State's security forces," the joint statement said.

Cosatu/UDF disputed Dr Buthelezi's claim that the violence was a result of a Cosatu/ UDF membership drive. — Sapa.

Dhlomo: Need for new Afrikaner-Zulu pact

Cape Times 22/1/88

DURBAN. — The secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, yesterday called for a new Afrikaner-Zulu covenant of reconciliation to heal the political wounds inflicted on the two groups by the Battle of Blood River.

Addressing a conference in Pretoria on perspectives of the Great Trek, Dr Dhlomo repeated the call made by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the launch of the KwaZulu-Natal Joint Executive Authority last year for a new Afrikaner-Zulu Covenant.

"Finally, to those Afrikaners who interpret Blood River and the Great Trek as justification for the creation of yet another exclusive Afrikaner state in a South Africa of the 1980s, the Covenant would teach a lesson that wars and human conflicts can never be firm foundations on which to build a free society," Dr Dhlomo said.

Blood River had adversely affected relations betweens Afrikaners and Zulus as the Voortrekkers saw the execution of Piet Retief as an act of utmost treachery on the part of King Dingane, whereas Zulus saw Voortrekkers as scheming land grabbers who were out to rob them of their land.

CAPE TIMES

Cosatu, UDF blast Inkatha

MARITZBURG. — Cosatu and the UDF yesterday retaliated to a statement this week by the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying it had evidence that Inkatha had perpetrated systematic violence in the Maritzburg area.

In a joint statement yesterday, Cosatu (Natal region) and the UDF (Midlands region) said the violence — a "tragic statement about the deep inadequacies of South African society" — developed to its present proportions as a result of the suppression of information and lack of freedom of expression by organizations opposed to the government.

The trade union federation accused the SABC of constructing a picture of black-on-black violence "to focus attention away from state repsonsibilty" and "blatantly distorting" facts to blame the UDF and Cosatu.

Cosatu/UDF said Chief Buthelezi's position — that the ANC had links with the UDF and was a violent organization aimed at rendering the country ungovernable — was similar to the government's.

"Confirmation of their (the government) view by a black leader such as Buthelezi acts as a powerful propaganda weapon." — Sapa

Buthelezi urges end to violence

(118) B/day 26/1/88.

DURBAN — Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday: "I want peace in Maritzburg and I want it now."

The Inkatha leader told heads of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, who have tried to broker peace in the area: "If there is anything I could have done to bring about a cessation of hostilities in the area, I would have long since done it".

But he warned the chamber its efforts would fail "unless the chamber plants its feet on the ground and deals with the realities around us".

He said: "In Maritzburg Inkatha's members are faced with death squads and have to defend their lives and their property against hideous attack.

"There is an undeclared war against Inkatha in the Maritzburg area. This is not imagined, it is just fact."

☐ It is reported the mutilated body of a man was found yesterday near the Thornville Police Station, Maritzburg, bringing to at least 10 the number of people murdered there at the weekend, most in incidents of intergroup violence. — Sapa.

Zimbabwe: isolate racist SA

B/day.

MICHAEL HARTNACK 26/1/88.

ZIMBABWE'S new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nathan Shamu Yarira, says the focus of the country's foreign policy is to "isolate the racist clique from its own people" in SA.

In his first interview with the semi-official daily newspaper, the Herald, since taking over his portfolio a fortnight ago, the former newspaper editor said: "You cannot have a peaceful solution with a racist and militarist clique incapable of reaching a peaceful solution with the representatives of the majority of the people in SA".

Shamuyarira, 55, who has been Minister of Information since Zimbabwean independence in 1980 swopped posts with the controversial former Foreign Minister, Witness Mangwende, in President Robert Mugabe's recent cabinet reshuffle.

"The government's policy on SA will continue now, as in the past and be determined by the need to support the liberation struggle being waged by the masses in SA and Namibia," said Shamuyarira.

"The struggle in SA has reached a very high and advanced stage, as the people have mobilised themselves through mass organisations such as the trade union, the students and cultural organisations," he said.

unscathed.

taken into account in the calculations. — DDC

Strauss hints at aid for Buthelezi

DD 26/1/88 (118)

ULUNDI — The visiting Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr Frans Josef Strauss, hinted yesterday at the possibility of German economic aid for Inkatha and KwaZulu.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Dr Strauss he was concerned "about the prospects of revolutionary violence succeeding in bringing about the downfall of the South African government by first destroying the economy".

The two leaders met for an hour of talks at the KwaZulu capital Ulundi yesterday. Dr Strauss is on a fact-finding mission during which he has met three homeland leaders.

Dr Strauss was told the UDF and Cosatu were "awash with money".

"If we give money to Chief Buthelezi are we strengthening the apartheid position of the South African government?" Dr Strauss asked the KwaZulu leader.

"They are talking nonsense," Chief Buthelezi replied. "Apartheid will go one day but black people must be prepared for it."

Dr Strauss then said: "You need our support in order to be prepared for a post-apartheid South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi told the Bavarian leader while "drastic steps need to be taken to bring about meaningful reform" he was not in a position to negotiate with President Botha.

MR STRAUSS

"Unless political prisoners are released from jail the ability of black leaders to campaign will remain limited," he said. — DDC

Referring to her earlier evidence that the for-

Buthelezi calls for peace 'now'

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday: "I want peace in Maritzburg, and I want it now."

He was speaking as the police announced that the mutilated body of a man was found near the Thornville police station on Sunday, bringing the weekend death toll in troubled Maritzburg townships to at least 10.

Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi told heads of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, who have tried to broker peace in the area: "If there is anything I could have done to bring about a cessation of hostilities in the area, I would have long since done it."

He warned the chamber that while its efforts to act as an agency for peace must be applauded, it would fail "unless it deals with the realities around us".

"In Maritzburg Inkatha's members are faced with death squads and have to defend their lives and their property against hideous attack," he said.

"There is an undeclared war against Inkatha in the Maritzburg area. This is not imagined, it is just fact."

Chief Buthelezi unleashed a new attack on the banned ANC, linking it to the power struggle between his supporters and members of the UDF.

He said it was the ANC which had declared the armed struggle, translating it into a "people's war".

The ANC claimed the UDF and Cosatu as their own organizations. These organizations had declared their support for ANC and rejected the "politics of negotiation".

● Meanwhile, an Imbali man and his four sons obtained an urgent interim interdict in the Supreme Court here yesterday to restrain three alleged Inkatha members — including an Imbali town councillor — from killing, assaulting or attacking them or their property and from making threats of death, assault or destruction towards any of them.

The respondents were ordered to bring the terms of the court order to the notice of all members of Inkatha subject to their authority. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

NRP-Worrall party debated

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE NRP this weekend will discuss disbanding the party with a view to the possible establishment of a new party led by the Independent Movement's Denis Worrall.

It is understood that once the party's federal council has debated the matter, a statement or document of intent will be issued.

The federal council is also likely to recommend that a federal congress be convened to lobby the views of all provincial leaders and branches of the party.

There has not yet been a decision on a name for the new party.

It is believed the name will probably steer clear of Worrall's "Independent" tag. A merger with his movement will probably also be avoided because motivators for the new party do not want it to have the appearance of "recycled, tattered remnants of the so-called left".

NRP leader Bill Sutton and Worrall yesterday declined to comment, but indicated they would make statements on the matter at a later stage.

The thinking behind the move is that the new party could capture white voters in terms of an "own programme"

To Page 2

New NRP-Worrall party under spotlight

From Page 1

and form part of a "creative opposition" in Parliament.

While it hopes first to address "the large middle-section of white voters' thinking on security, money and blacks", lobbyists for the party aim to promote the need for central government to negotiate with credible black leaders.

Although Worrall has aligned himself with proposals of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba and the NRP has been one of the forces behind the Indaba, it is understood the new party hopes to explore more widely means of negotiation at second-tier government.

He stood up for the truth

South 28/1 - 3/2/88

(11)

Ric Turner was a philosopher and human rights activist who played an inspiring role in getting the progressive movement on to its feet again in the '70s. Ten years ago he was assassinated. His killers have never been found. KEITH GOTTSCHALK, chairperson of the Civil Right League and close friend of Ric Turner, pays tribute.

"IF a man happens to be 36 years old, as I happen to be, and some great truth stands before the door of his life, some great opportunity to stand up for that which is right and that which is just, and he refuses to stand up because he wants to live a little longer and he is afraid his home will get bombed, or he is afraid he will lose his job, or he is afraid he will get shot ... he may go on and live until he is eighty.

"And the cessation of breathing in his life is merely the belated announcement of an earlier death of the spirit.

"A man dies when he refuses to stand up for that which is right. A man dies when he refuses to take a stand for that which is true.

"So we are going to stand up right here ... letting the world know we are determined to be free."

The family of Ric Turner chose these words of Martin Luther King to commemorate Ric's assassination at the age of 36.

January 8 was the 10th anniversary of the assassination of Ric Turner.

Nusas

Dr Turner was a philosopher teaching at the University of Natal, a human rights activist supporting NUSAS, and a pioneer of the Institute of Industrial Education. He helped the fledgling trade union movement which later grew into COSATU.

In a police state, government paranoia can be a sentence of death. The Schlebusch-Le Grange Commission prepared the way for Ric Turner, NUSAS leaders and radical Christian clergy to be banned.

In the years that Ric Turner was banned, more than one person claimed they were detained and accused of being a "courier" between "Ric Turner's communist Durban cell" and the "communist cell in Johannesburg".

We do not know how seriously Special Branch detectives took these fantasies.

We do know that when Ric Turner was assassinated, the police did not even bother to question the neighbours who heard the shot.

Boss

Sensational allegations were made about the state's involvement by secret service double-agent Gordon Winter in his autobiography INSIDE BOSS. The state censor banned this book.

There were media reports allleging that one of the anti-Seychelles mercenaries was involved in the assassination.

What was Ric like as a person? In the 1960s, lecturers all wore ties and suits. But one young lecturer talked, dressed and lived like his students did. Usually he was barefoot, in jeans and T-shirt and lived in digs with tatty furniture.

Ric had married his school sweetheart, Barbara Hubbard. Gradually their personalities grew apart and they divorced, but remained friends in constant contact by phone and letter for the remaining eight years of Ric's life.

Ric and Foszia Fisher (classified so-called "Cape malay") married in 1970, at the height of prosecutions under the Immorality Act and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.

In those days, inter-racial couples often married by Muslim ceremony or across the border and had to live together as secretly as gay couples sometimes have to today.

Probably the only reason the Special Branch did not arrest them for their forbidden marriage was the outrage, here and abroad, following the arrest of a prominent Johannesburg "mixed" couple. After that the police tended not to arrest celebrities.

Days before his five-year-banning expired he was assassinated, bleeding to death in the arms of his 14-year-old daughter, Jann.

He had been committed to all anti-apartheid organisations of his time: NUSAS, the Institute for Industrial Education, the embryonic trade unions, the South African Labour Bulletin, the Christian Institute, and its Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society.(SPRO-CAS).

The 15th congress of the Philosophy Society of South Africa, held at UWC last week evaluated Ric Turner's life-work.

Ric Turner's contribution to South Africa was a critique of the social conditioning of those with power and privilege.

He exposed the shallowness of much of what passes as "realism", with its inability to address our real problems.

Ric Turner remains our leading advocate of the necessity for Utopian thinking. His life and his book demonstrate that at least some amongst the privileged can use rationality and imagination to empower us to transcend the racist, capitalist and sexist assumptions the system socialises us into believing.

It demonstrates that we can search for imaginative ways to challenge repression, exploitation and fratricide - and achieve a nonracial, democratic and socialist South Africa.

Today, his work would strike us as abstract, with few references to South African history and ongoing mass organization. This is understandable.

He wrote THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE in 1972, after a decade of counter-revolution by the Special Branch had crushed all people's organizations. So in a sense he created in a vacuum the case for a socialist South Africa.

Ric argued that attempting revolutions without hope of success was counter-productive.

It merely enabled the Government to justify the repressive measures of banning, detention, jailing and hanging. He emphasised the importance of political work - persuasion, publicity and pamphlets - and exploring every avenue of peaceful resistance.

Ric insisted on reminding us that the dynamics of control are not only the obvious, like the knock on the door at 4 am.

Apartheid power does not only rest on the military and the police. It uses a strategy of legitimising divisions – ethnic and other. The Government manipulates any divisions and then sits back to enjoy the fratricide.

Ric's non-sectarianism was exemplary for us on the left. He stood up for non-racialism, but could understand why Black Consciousness arose in South Africa. Steve Biko, Saths Cooper, Harry Ngwenkulu and Barney Pityana were among his friends.

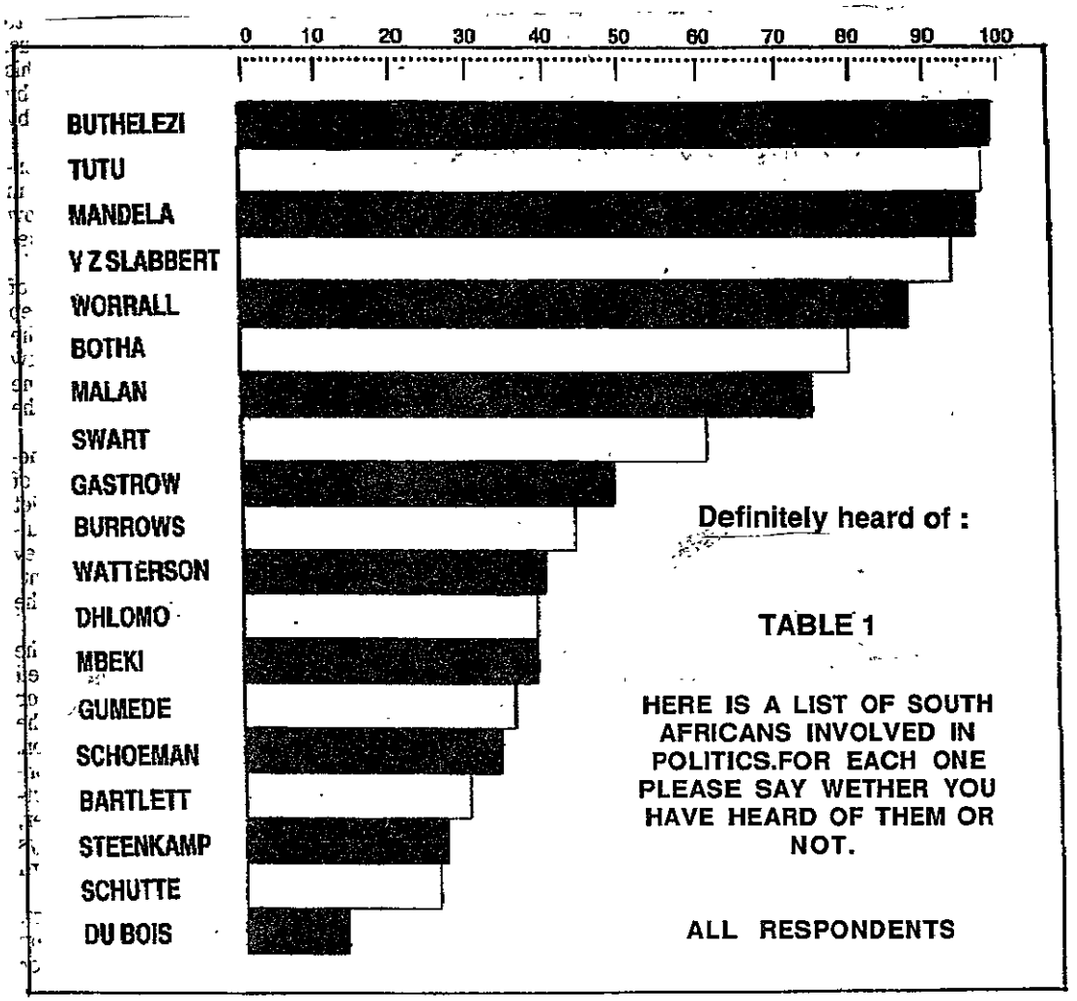
He worked on the Christian SPRO-CAS panel, but was married by Islamic ceremony and buried in a Muslim cemetry.

He wrote in a style that enabled liberals to emphathise with the ethics of equality and socialism.

He advocated participatory democracy – a social system that enables individuals to have maximum control over their social and material environment, and encourages them to interact creatively with other people.

Ten years after his assassination, the case he made out for socialism still challenges the inequality and unemployment that deform our society.

• On Thursday January 28 at 7pm there will be a free people's poetry reading at UCT's School of Extra-Mural Studies. There will be several poems about Ric Turner.



Natal whites give nod to Buthelezi

(118)

Own Correspondent STM 28/1/88

Natal's white voters would overwhelmingly support kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi being involved in the leadership of a kwaZulu/Natal provincial government, according to a market research poll.

The survey, conducted by Research Surveys, was commissioned by the Indaba to determine the most popular politicians in the region among whites.

It was carried out last month in the National Party-held seats of Umbilo, Umhlanga and Pietermaritzburg North, and the Progressive Federal Party constituencies of Pinetown, Durban Central and Durban North.

Asked whom they "would like to see involved in the leadership and running of a combined kwaZulu and Natal", a massive 73 percent of respondents favoured Chief Buthelezi, with 17 percent against him and 10 percent non-committed.

The next highest vote of 52 percent (19 against, 29 don't know) went to the leader of the Independent Movement, Dr Denis Worrall.

Third favourite was former PFP leader, Dr van Zyl Slabbert (43 percent), with NP Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, and New Democratic Movement leader, Mr Wynand Malan, tying fourth with 29 percent each.

Surprisingly enough — in view of the Government's rejection of the Indaba — 69 percent of NP voters indicated Chief Buthelezi as their first-choice leader, with Mr Stoffel Botha polling only 44 percent.

The next-favoured black politician in the overall poll was Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convenor of the Indaba, with 19 percent support, ahead of ANC leader Nelson Mandela (9 percent), Mr Archie Gumede, United Democratic Front chairman (7 percent), Archbishop Desmond Tutu (6 percent) and ANC executive Mr Govan Mbeki (5 percent).

DISCARD

ANC dictates to donor groups, says Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

The militirisation of South African youth is making him "apprehensive about the country's future, kwaZulu chief Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a group of church personalities yesterday.

At a meeting in Ulundi with Australian evangalist Mr Brian Shaw, Pastor Morgan Jonathan of the Havest Time Church and Mrs Peta Hulets and Miss Isabel Lakay of the Evangelistic Financial Missionary, Dr Buthelezi said the survival of Christian decency was currently at stake in South Africa.

POLITICS OF INTIMIDATION

"We have a whole new generation of black South Africans who have been inducted into a violent society in which blacks have declared an armed struggle. And we have white youths who are being militarised from their teens. The black youths of today know mob violence as an arbiter in disputes. They know the politics of intimidation as a mechanism of gaining what they want."

Dr Buthelezi said what was particularly disturbing was the extent to which high-profile church leaders, who could play a vital role in the development of a "decent" South Africa, "lend themselves" to the deepening of violence. They were openly supporting the African National Congress (ANC), he said, which was totally committed to revolution and violence.

UDF, COSATU GET FUNDS

"These church leaders act as though they have some inner compulsion to go way out front and to identify with blacks in the armed struggle regardless of what their particular identification is costing in the development of a Christian society."

He said he was also appalled by the extent to which the ANC dictated to international church donor agencies.

Consequently, welfare organisations were ploughing money into organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) instead of assisting the needy, he said.

No end in sight for PMB violence

THE political violence in Pietermaritzburg's black townships is continuing without any end in sight.

On Wednesday, January 27, the police reported that another three people were killed, bringing to 76 the number of people who have been killed since the beginning of the year.

More than 350 people have been reported killed since the beginning of 1987, in clashes between supporters of Inkatha and supporters of anti-apartheid forces.

The Inkatha leader, Chief Buthelezi, accused the ANC and UDF of being responsible for the violence.

–PTSA

South 28/1–3/2/88

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D/D. 28/1/88

Churchmen encourage violence — Buthelezi

1/13

ULUNDI — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was alarmed at the extent to which "high profile church leaders" had become involved in intensifying the conditions for violence in South Africa.

In this atmosphere, the black youth of today was being used as the cannon fodder of those committed to radical violent change, he told a group of Australian and local evangelists.

He also attacked the clergy's role in ensuring that the poorest of the poor in KwaZulu were denied humanitarian aid from overseas.

Archbishops, bishops and clergymen were identifying with the ANC, which was engaged in a desperate attempt to generalise the kind of violence now endemic in many black quarters.

Its aim was to change history and develop South Africa into a one-party Marxist state.

It aimed to transform today's younger generation into "brutal actors" in a society in which violence was established as the only means of control.

These church leaders were applauded throughout the world, and there was a growing perception that the ANC should be assisted to win, in some incomprehensible belief that its proposed one-party Marxist state would further the aims of justice and that of the church itself.

Regardless of how influential these Christian leaders were who identified with radicals committed to bloodshed, the vast majority of blacks remained committed to non-violent, democratic action.

Chief Buthelezi said

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

he was constantly appalled by the extent to which international Christian donor agencies used the ANC as their reference group in deciding how to dispense funds in this country.

Church groups in KwaZulu and Inkatha itself had time and again been denied requests for humanitarian aid for the poor in this region.

"They advise (them) to give money only to the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the UDF and Cosatu, for projects which the ANC endorses

Chief Buthelezi said he was growing more and more apprehensive about the survival of Christian decency in this country.

"I am alarmed at the extent to which high profile church leaders, who could play such a vital role in the development of a decent South Africa, lend themselves to the deepening of the atmosphere of confrontation leading to violence.

"It is as though these church leaders are trying to atone for a century of church history in which the church was kept alive only by a minority of dedicated Christians." — Sapa

Buthelezi ahead, says poll

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is way out front following a poll to determine the man "to lead and run a combined KwaZulu and Natal".

That, the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba said yesterday, was how 1 002 white voters of six Natal parliamentary constituencies voted in a survey conducted recently for it by Research Survey (Pty) Ltd.

Chief Buthelezi received a mammoth 73% vote.

He was followed by four white leaders — Dr Denis Worrall with 52%, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert 43%, Mr Wynand Malan and Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha, joint fourth, with 29%.

The survey took in three NP seats — Maritzburg North, Umbilo and Umhlanga — and three PFP seats — Durban North, Durban Central and Pinetown.

According to the Indaba, the research showed that among NP voters canvassed, Dr Buthelezi was tops with a 69% positive vote, with Mr Stoffel Botha 44% and Dr Worrall 39%.

"A feature of the poll was the low public recognition enjoyed by many of the Indaba's critics.

"Mr George Bartlett, deputy leader of the NP in Natal, and Mr Renier Schoeman (NP Umhlanga) had 'not been heard of' by 58% of the respondents; 60% had not heard of Dr Johan Steenkamp (NP Umhlatuzana) or Mr Danie Schutte (NP Maritzburg North).

Preliminary

"Mr Duncan du Bois of the Conservative Party was unknown to 77%," the Indaba said in its statement.

The preliminary findings of the survey, released last week, showed that 54% of white voters supported the Indaba, with 13% against. There was also majority support for the Indaba from Independent, PFP and NP supporters.

But if Dr Worrall, Dr Slabbert, Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Stoffel Botha ran just behind Chief Buthelezi in the leadership stakes, they were pushed two further places down the field when respondents were asked: "Here is a list of South Africans involved in politics. Say whether you have heard of them or not. If you have only done so vaguely please say so."

Chief Buthelezi ran in a mighty 99% from all respondents — "Nats only" as well — to the first part, and 1% to the second part.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu scored 98%, 1% and 1% overall, with 98% from the NP only recognizing him; Mr Nelson Mandela 97% positive, 2% and 1%.

Mr Ray Swart, former leader of the PFP in Natal, just trailed Mr Malan to fill eighth place. Overall, Mr Malan scored 75% for those who had heard of him, and Mr Swart 61%.

Apart from Chief Buthelezi, Archbishop Tutu and Mr Mandela, only three other black leaders were included — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu cabinet minister and Indaba co-leader, Mr Archie Gumede (UDF) and Mr Govan Mbeki (recently released political prisoner).

Their "positive" ratios were, respectively, 11%, 4% and 2%.

The "don't know of them" percentages respectively were 74, 75 and 67. — Sapa.

Chief Buthelezi

DR SLABBERT . . .
43 per cent

DR WORRALL . . .
57 per cent

CHIEF BUTHELEZI . . .
73 per cent

D/D 29/1/88 (118)

Buthelezi clear leader in Natal Indaba poll

DURBAN — Natal's white voters would strongly support Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's involvement in the leadership of a kwaZulu/Natal provincial government ahead of other leading political figures, according to latest market research findings.

Asked who they "would like to see involved in the leadership and running of a combined kwaZulu and Natal," 73 per cent of respondents favoured Chief Buthelezi, with the next-highest vote of 52 per cent going to Dr Denis Worrall as leader of the Independent Movement.

Third favourite was Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert (43 per cent), followed by Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, and Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party (both 29 per cent).

The survey, conducted last month by Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd on behalf of the kwaZulu Natal Indaba, canvassed a random representative sample of 1 002 white voters in the Natal constituencies of Pietermaritzburg North, Durban Central, Umbilo, Durban North, Umhlanga and Pinetown.

Three of these seats are currently held by the National Party and three by the Progressive Federal Party.

Among National Party Voters Canvassed, Chief Buthelezi remained the favourite choice, polling 69 per cent as opposed to his nearest contenders Mr Stoffel Botha (44 per cent) and Dr Denis Worrall (39 per cent).

The next-favourite black politician in the overall poll was Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convenor of the Indaba, with 19 per cent support, ahead of Nelson Mandela (9 per cent), Mr Archie Gumede (7 per cent), Bishop Desmond Tutu (6 per cent) and Mr Govan Mbeki (5 per cent).

Opposition to the involvement of Bishop Tutu (79 per cent) and Nelson Mandela (73 per cent) was the strongest recorded.

The preliminary findings of the survey released last week showed that 54 per cent of white voters canvassed supported the kwaZulu Natal Indaba, as compared with 13 per cent who opposed it.

At the same time the survey reflected the National Party's current dominance of the Natal political scene, with a clear majority of 40 per cent of respondents expressing support for the National Party in a general election, as opposed to 21 per cent for the Progressive Federal Party and 15 per cent for an Independent movement backed by Dr Denis Worrall. — Sapa

Natal violence: Seven interdicts, yet no investigations ...

The warlords who walk free

W/Mail 29/1-4/2/88 (118)

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and Weekly Mail Reporters

A MASS of evidence before the Natal courts points to a failure by police to apprehend "warlords" accused of large scale thuggery, intimidation and murder in the Pietermaritzburg area.

Two more temporary interdicts were served this week on Inkatha supporting "warlords", restraining them from killing, assaulting, threatening or intimidating people.

This brings to seven the number of interim interdicts which have been won against them — yet all are still walking around freely.

One of the most striking examples is Christopher Sicheze Zuma, who has had two interdicts granted against him.

An application for contempt of court was brought against Zuma this week after two men, who were party to a court order seeking to restrain him from committing acts of violence against them, were allegedly shot by him at the weekend. This allegation is contained in papers before the court.

The temporary interdicts already granted against Zuma restrain him from multiple murder, attempted murder, kidnapping, arson, assault and intimidation.

Lawyers bringing the applications say despite the large amount of evidence produced in court, there is no indication of the police investigation Zuma.

According to affidavits forming part of the contempt of the court application, Zuma showed the papers to a relative on Saturday.

On Sunday, the affidavits claim, he shot Smallbridge Mthembu, the third applicant in the interdict, in the shoulder. The fourth applicant, Simon Mthembu, was also shot and is paralysed from the waist down.

According to the Mthembu's lawyers, there is still no sign of the police arresting Zuma, while an eyewitness to the shootings has been arrested and charged with public violence.

Several "warlords" mentioned in court papers have lengthy criminal records.

Peter Harris, a lawyer involved in drawing up the cases against the "warlords", said interdicts had been launched in the hope that this would control their activities.

"With certain 'warlords' — and one in particular — this was found not to

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Sicelo Dhlomo's mother at the memorial to her son in Johannesburg yesterday

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

W/Mail 29/1-4/2/88

A chilling pattern to activist deaths

By VUSI GUNENE

THE killing this week of a young South African who had recently spoken out on detention and torture to international television audiences, bears chilling resemblances to the murder of Pretoria doctor Fabian Ribiero just over a year ago.

Eighteen-year-old Sicelo Godfrey Dhlomo, a volunteer worker for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) and a member of the South African Students Congress, was found shot in the head in Soweto on Monday.

Like Ribiero, Dhlomo had featured in foreign television programmes, relating horrifying accounts of torture while in custody. He had appeared in the CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid", as well as on the BBC and a Dutch television station.

He was briefly detained by the police only days before his death.

The Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday raised questions about "the co-incidence" of his death coming so soon after his detention.

Speaking at a DPSC press conference, Chikane called for a full police investigation into the cir-

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Natal's warlords who walk free

11B

be the case, and we had to launch a second interdict against the same person," said Harris.

"This means people identified in the community as allegedly being responsible for such crimes as multiple murder continue to be at large and as a consequence the conflict escalates."

Harris said as long as certain "warlords" and chiefs with private armies were allowed to act in an unfettered manner, one could not expect the violence to come to a halt.

The failure of police to arrest "warlords" was a key issue behind a strike yesterday at Sizanani MaZulu bus company in Pietermaritzburg.

On Wednesday, after driver Patrick Magwaza was shot and critically injured at his home, only about 25 percent of drivers reported for duty. Although the numbers went up to 50 percent yesterday morning, about 15 000 people had severe problems getting to work.

Magwaza's shooting comes in the wake of the deaths of 10 drivers over the last eight months.

One union official said a "key issue" of the strike was the workers' demand that a certain *induna* be charged for murder.

"Witnesses have seen him shooting people in the area. There are affidavits naming him, but he is still out there, walking the streets and shooting people."

However, managing director of KwaZulu Transport, Eddie Marshall, said management would not agree to put the issue of "warlords" on the negotiation agenda. It was an issue for "the authorities".

Apart from the accusations against the "warlords", which have been denied in replying arguments, the affidavits contain serious allegations about police reluctance to take action against Inkatha leaders.

One disturbing — but not atypical — example was that of Mandla and Mangethe Mkhize, two young men from the Mpumuza area, whose mother and sister were murdered on the night of October 9 last year.

Their younger brother and sister were eyewitnesses to the murders, which they claimed were committed by the *induna* of the area, David Ntombela, along with other identifiable Inkatha members.

These men were also allegedly re-

From PAGE 1

sponsible that night for the death of another boy, Sithembiso Khumalo.

Ntombela and his cohorts, including the four Zondi brothers, were later identified at the police station as the men responsible for the crimes.

Mangethe, emotional because of the death of two family members, started to cry at the police station. He claimed a white police officer offered a gun to him, saying if he wanted revenge he could shoot Ntombela.

"When I moved towards the gun, he took it out of my reach," he said. "A number of policemen who were present thought this was funny."

Two days later, on his way back from the mortuary, older brother Mandla passed Ntombela at a T-junction, and went to the Plessislaer police station to find out why he and the others had been set free.

Mandla spoke to a detective who "told me if he were in my position he would immediately move his family where they would be safer.

"He said in his experience when members of Inkatha committed atrocities, they were arrested but subsequently quickly released and almost never charged and prosecuted." The Mkhizes fled into hiding — just missing another raid on their house.

Pietermaritzburg's new security police chief, Brigadier Jac Buchner claimed in an interview on *Network* two weeks ago that his forces were "a law enforcement agency, not a political organisation".

He said the aim of the massive deployment of security forces into the area in January was to "restore law and order and to restore the human dignity of people living in this area."

Yet Buchner said authorities would seek to do this by restoring the control of parents and traditional chiefs.

In addition, he said, the local population would not give any information on the atrocities to the police.

Yet the January deployment has had little effect and was followed by an even more horrifying wave of violence which, far from subsiding this month, has made it almost the worst month on record.

According to Peter Kerchhof, an organiser for the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Social Awareness (Pacsa), 82 people died between January 1 and January 25, compared to 90 for the whole of December.

Kerchhof said from mid-December well above 1 000 people had been detained under the State of Emergency regulations and that between 800 and 1 000 were still being held.

Though some members of Inkatha are facing criminal charges, Kerchhof said he had names of about 500 detainees and had yet to hear of a single Inkatha person held under the Emergency regulations.

All evidence points to the UDF and Congress of South African Trade Unions bearing the brunt of the clampdown, as well as of propaganda from the SABC.

Asked to comment yesterday, the SAP public relations division said the gist of this article was "antagonistic towards the police and the authorities ... to which we take the strongest exception.

"The police have been accused by both Inkatha and the UDF of siding with the other group. We have made it clear the SAP is apolitical and impartial. We deny that we side with certain groups or that we act selectively in maintaining law and order.

"We refer you to our daily unrest reports which have indicated the large number of arrests made by the police. Those arrested have not only belonged to one specific group.

"The police can only refer cases to court where they have sufficient evidence.

"It is clear that certain allegations are based on hearsay and are vague and unsubstantiated ... It must also be remembered that the SAP cannot arrest a person because he has a criminal record or has had an interdict brought against him. Allegations should be lodged with the police, in the form of written affidavits, in order that they can be investigated."

BUS MEN LIVING IN FEAR

City Press 31/1/88

By S'BU MNGADI

THE killing of a Taylor's Halt bus driver has led to fears that transport services will be severely disrupted in the war-torn Maritzburg area.

Since fighting broke out between UDF and Cosatu affiliates and Inkatha members in March last year, the official death toll has risen to 364.

The shooting of Patrick Magwaza, a member of the Cosatu-affiliated Transport and General Workers' Union, has caused the majority of his colleagues to down tools.

According to a Cosatu statement, they returned to their depots to discuss possible action.

Since May 1987, 10 of the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation-owned Sizanani Mazulu Transport company's employees have been killed.

Earlier this month, another driver, Phineas Mpulu, was killed. This sparked off a two-day strike which ended after negotiations where it was agreed that management would:

- Request extra police protection in the area.
- Investigate bullet proofing for cabs.
- Install two-way radios.
- Make representation to the police to have warlords arrested.

However, on Monday union officials met management to express their disappointment at "ineffective police protection".

Meanwhile, an Imbali family fought a pitched battle with a party led by an Inkatha Youth Leader barely 24 hours before being granted a court order against him and fellow senior Inkatha members.

Maritzburg's Harewood Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman S'chizo Zuma and two other youths were later admitted to hospital.

Police confirmed this week that Smalridge and Simon Mthembu and Zuma had been seriously injured in the incident.

An SAP unrest report said a group of men stopped a vehicle and intimidated the occupants. One man was injured when he was struck with a cane knife and one of the occupants of the vehicle fired at the attackers with a revolver.

A day later, in the Maritzburg Supreme Court, Judge Krick granted a temporary interdict restraining Inkatha leader Zuma, Imbali councillor Lucas Mncwabe and Thulani Ngcobo, from killing or assaulting Johannes Mthembu and his four sons Elphas, Smalridge, Simon and Ernest.

Krick also ordered that the three respondents bring the terms of his order to the notice of all members of Inkatha subject to their authority.

In an affidavit, Mthembu said neither he nor his sons had any political allegiance, although they had declined to join Inkatha.

Mthembu said that in August last year there was a "fracas" between his sons Smalridge and Simon, and local Inkatha Youth members.

Later that day a large group gathered outside the Mthembu home. Simon was shot in the arm and the house was stoned.

Mthembu described other incidents of intimidation by Zuma, and said he thought police were involved in one instance.

Elphas Mthembu said that on January 16 this year he was walking in Imbali when a person known as Ngcobo called him from his car. Ngcobo had become angry when he had ignored him and continued to walk.

Mthembu was then shot in the foot.

When he was later taken to the local police station he said he was shocked to see Ngcobo "speaking casually with the police".

Where life is pure hell

By SHAUN HARRIS

LIFE or death in the war-torn townships of Maritzburg can depends on where you live.

The bloody violence which has claimed more than 80 lives so far this year in Maritzburg's Inkatha-United Democratic Front "civil war" is becoming indiscriminate.

Victims of the deadly feud said this week that political affiliations were becoming blurred — what now makes township residents friend or foe is the area in which they live.

The horror is worst for people who live on the borders of Inkatha and UDF controlled areas.

"We have to join whoever controls the township — there is no question of refusing," a 17-year-old youth said this week.

Sibusiso Mdlala — not his real name, — was severely beaten up this week.

His kneecaps are swollen, a gory mess of cuts and bruises, and he has sjambok welts across his chest and back.

He says he received the injuries on Wednesday — acting as a member of his local "defensive unit" — which clashed with Inkatha members.

Sibusiso lives in Ashdown, one of the many townships surrounding Maritzburg.

Ashdown used to be an Inkatha stronghold, but recently it has fallen under the control of UDF-supporting groups.

But the neighbouring township of Mpumuza, separated from Ashdown by a dry river bed, is still in Inkatha hands.

Neutrals

And, for people living on the border of Ashdown and Mpumuza, many of whom have no ideological affiliations, life is hell.

Nhlanhla Mchunu was attacked by a group of chanting, singing men outside his house last November.

"I was walking home when I met them. I don't know why they attacked me — the only reason can be because I live in a UDF area, and they were members of Inkatha."

The attack put Mr Mchunu in hospital for 10 weeks.

Mrs Alvinah Magaqu, 63, vice-chairwoman of the local chapter of the Inkatha Women's Brigade, has been attacked in her home at least twice.

Now she carries a pistol.

31/1/88 City Press

'Land issue sparked Maritzburg violence'

(11A)

(11B)

CP Correspondent

WARFARE in Maritzburg might be the result of years of manipulation by the State to strip the area's second largest township, Edendale, of its controversial freehold land rights.

So warns a Natal academic who claims that the conflict between Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu alliance was the result of a community blacklash against Inkatha's use of violence to gain control of the land.

"Edendale is one of the very few African areas in the country where Africans have full ownership of the land," explained the researcher, who asked to remain anonymous to "protect his family".

Since colonisation began, white authorities had always come down with a bad case of "the jitters" when confronted with land-owning blacks, he pointed out.

He said the medicine that cured their "jitters" in Natal was Inkatha, a structure which – under Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu Legislative Assembly – could control housing in much the same way as the central government.

Edendale's powerful land-owning families accuse government officials of administering the "free" township as if it were the same as the surrounding semi-rural KwaZulu areas, and of encouraging the growth of slums, which could serve as a pretext for overruling land ownership

Both tenants and landlords have so far successfully opposed incorporation attempts.

KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"Legally, the State cannot incorporate Edendale into KwaZulu without the consent of the land-owners. The State also cannot mediate between the land-owners and the tenants since the land-owners do not need any bureaucratic mechanism to extract rent from tenants," he said.

The State's "systematic attempts to undermine land ownership" coincided neatly with Inkatha's urgent desire to take over Edendale, said the academic.

"The loss of such a big area for Inkatha would seriously put in doubt its claimed 1,5-million membership as well as its leadership of the Zulu nation.

"The less its bureaucratic access to African communities and townships, the larger is its scale of violent attacks on people

"And the less successful it becomes in crushing progressive organisations, the more it relies on the apartheid state for more bureaucratic and repressive apparatuses.

"The implications go beyond the borders of Natal and have lessons for the entire progressive movement," he suggested

"Trying to develop organisations around national campaigns unconnected to national issues is a fatal mistake. National campaigns should build from local conditions of oppression and struggle," he said

Edendale land-owners have been fighting for their rights for over a century

In 1840, their ancestors, pro-capitalism early African Christian converts known as Amakolwa, settled at a mission station in Edendale

The wealthy trading and farming peasantry bought land but were attacked by the end of the century because of "the threat of African farming activities to the then growing white capitalist agriculture in need of labour", he said.

In self-defence, the Amakholwa registered their freehold land with racially exclusive covenants stating that "no white man shall be allowed to partake in the purchase of the said farm and none of the natives shall have the right to sell to a white man".

Now their direct descendants, Edendale's current land-owners and their working class tenants are fighting another battle for the land, 100 years later.

A landlord, Sibusiso Nyembezi, said: "The crux of the matter is that blacks want to have a say in decision-making.

"Maybe the authorities can control the violence but they can't control the disatisfaction," said Nyembezi, a former member of a group known as the Edendale Advisory Board which disbanded after repeated attempts to negotiate change with the government.

Even if the landlords and tenants win the war with Inkatha, the spectre of the Natal Indaba lies over the possession of land.

"Whatever the final package of the final package of the Indaba looks like, it will certainly include extending Buthelezi's power to all African areas and townships in Natal

"The State needs Buthelezi's co-operation in its national plans and the Indaba will certainly enable him to break out of the somewhat restrictive terrain of the KwaZulu Bantustan," predicts the researcher.

"Maritzburg is Inkatha's big ulcer in Natal. For the mass democratic movement, as well, there is obviously a lot at stake

"Isolating and neutralising Inkatha is crucial in creating space for advancing the struggle in Natal. And the energies of the people are, for some time, going to be increasingly tied to engaging Inkatha in Natal." – Concord.

UDF and Cosatu supporters toyi-toyi after a service held in Maritzburg to appeal for peace in the region.

D/Dispatch 1/02/88

Buthelezi renews call for pressure on SA

1/02/88

(118)

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi renewed his call yesterday for international shuttle diplomacy in order to force the South African Government to change its policies.

"I have sent letters to foreign ministers of all Commonwealth countries and of all Non-Aligned countries, appealing to them to continue some kind of diplomatic pressure on the South African government," Chief Buthelezi said on British television.

He was speaking from Durban via satellite, in an interview with the commercial Channel Four television.

"I don't think changes will take place because black and whites come to some agreement.

"An international input is absolutely vital," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said the failure of diplomatic missions by the Commonwealth's so-called Eminent Persons Group and the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in 1985, did not mean that shuttle diplomacy does not work.

"I've always advocated Sir Geoffrey Howe for some kind of shuttle diplomacy," he said.

Chief Buthelezi, who opposes sanctions against South Africa and any violent solution to the country's problems, praised the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, for her firm stance against comprehensive economic sanctions.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

"Mrs Thatcher's approach to sanctions has been very realistic, very statesman-like, and consonant also with the feeling of the majority of black people."

Asked about the fighting in Pietermaritzburg between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF), Chief Buthelezi said: "I stand for non-violence, nevertheless I'm not going to allow my people to be pushed over by anyone using intimidation."

About 400 blacks have died since the fighting began early last year.

"That was started of course by our brothers in the African National Congress . . . and those in the United Democratic Front who work in tandem with them, and are committed to making the country ungovernable," he said. — Sapa-RNS

Security clamp after 5 men in court disarmed

11B

Star 1/3/88

Security at the Howick Magistrate's Court has been tightened after police found five men with guns in the public gallery last week at the start of an inquest into the deaths of three people allegedly killed and set alight by vigilantes.

The men were disarmed after a lawyer representing the families of the three dead people told the magistrate, Mrs S M Nieuwoudt, that his witnesses were frightened to give evidence because there was a man with a gun in court.

IN HIDING

A witness who had been in hiding for two years had been brought to court and was giving evidence when Mrs Nieuwoudt ordered the police to search a leading Inkatha official.

The police took him from the courtroom and searched him and found a heavy calibre handgun.

Mrs Nieuwoudt ordered that all people in the public gallery be searched and four more men were disarmed.

Prosecutor Mr Petrus Coetzee confirmed the incident.

Police reinforcements were sent for and 15 policemen, armed with shotguns, stood outside court while the inquest into the deaths of Mr Phineas Sibiya, Mr Simon Ngubane and Miss Flomena Mnikathi continued. The two men were shop stewards of the Metal and Allied Workers Union who were employed at BTR Sarmcol.

The hearing has been adjourned until March 14, but the security crackdown is still in force at the court and all people entering the public galleries are searched, says a court official.

The witness who was giving evidence at the time of the interruption, Mr Micca Sibiya, was with the three victims on December 6 1986, when they were allegedly abducted by vigilantes outside a house in Mpophomeni township, beaten up and taken to a deserted spot in Lion's River. Here, Mr Sibiya, despite being stabbed with a spear, escaped, while the three others were killed.

A lawyer for the families of the three said this was the second incident involving guns on court premises.

He said that on February 12 his clients were threatened at the Maritzburg Supreme Court by a gunman.

1/3/88 B/day

Peace will be 'liberating'

ULUNDI — The pro-disinvestment lobby was yesterday called on by Mangosuthu Buthelezi to question why "bloody-minded revolutionaries" opposed to peaceful change cried out loudest for sanctions against SA.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking to Sal Marzullo, general manager of international government relations for Mobil Oil, USA, and local Mobil MD Bob Angel.

He said once the peaceful struggle against apartheid had been won, the relationship between SA and her neighbours would be radically altered and the country's economy would really come into its own.

Buthelezi said: "I can envisage a massive economic backbone running down from Brazzaville through Lusaka and then down through Harare and Gaborone to Cape Town."

He said it would mean that such countries would finally be able to liberate themselves from the tyranny of poverty, ignorance and disease.

Campaigners for disinvestment were often unaware that sanctions, which they saw as a last resort for peaceful change, were in fact a first step towards abandoning such peaceful means.

Buthelezi said: "They should stop and ask themselves why it is that bloody-minded revolutionaries, who see the prospects of peaceful change as threatening their revolutionary intentions and their intentions to set up a one-party, socialist/communist state, cry out the loudest for sanctions against SA."

They supported sanctions because they wanted the economy destroyed and the desperation of blacks thereby increased to the point where they had nothing to lose.

Buthelezi said: "They want anarchy to prevail after the economy has collapsed because it is in anarchy that they can establish themselves as forces unsurpassed in their ability to wield brute force." — Sapa.

PFP opposes special police in Maritzburg

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The announcement at the weekend by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that special police constables might be sent to Maritzburg in the next few days has been slammed by the PFP and church organisations.

Vlok said the constables — 400 of whom passed out at their Cape training centre at the weekend — would be posted to Maritzburg's strife-torn townships if they were needed for maintenance of law and order.

Asked if the policemen were all Inkatha members, Vlok said they had been recruited without their political affiliations being screened.

PFP spokesman on Law and Order Helen Suzman said she was "alarmed at the thought of barely trained men armed with lethal weapons and a past record of lack of discipline in confrontations with the residents of other townships," being sent to Maritzburg.

Tributes to bishop

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, expressed the condolences yesterday of the South African Government to Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the government of KwaZulu and the next of kin of Bishop Alpheus Zulu at his death.

Bishop Zulu, who was 82, died on Monday night after a long illness. He was the Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and former Bishop of the Diocese of Zululand.

He was one of the founders of Inkatha and also the chairman of the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation.

Mr Heunis said in a statement: "The Legislative Assembly of KwaZulu has not only lost a worthy Speaker, but the whole of South Africa has lost a responsible and moderate leader and friend."

The Leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said Bishop Zulu was "a true son of Africa" who had played a particularly inspirational role to all involved in the South African Black Alliance. — Sapa

Doctor drain hits SA

DURBAN — Kwazulu is suffering from a serious shortage of doctors — there is one doctor for 15 844 patients, compared to the national average of one for every 2 320, according to a report in the latest edition of The Developer.

The report said only 40 per cent of existing Kwazulu posts for doctors were filled. A third of these were filled by overseas doctors.

It said KwaZulu Health Department officials attribute the crisis situation to the "'brain drain".

It said doctors working in the region were "almost totally hospital-bound" and rural communities were not receiving vital health care. — DDC

Star 1/2/88

Continue pressure on Govt — Buthelezi

(118)

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has renewed his call for international shuttle diplomacy to force the Government to change.

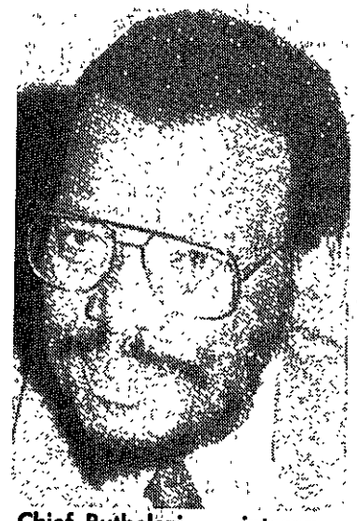
"I've sent letters to Foreign Ministers of all Commonwealth countries and of all non-aligned countries, appealing to them to continue some kind of diplomatic pressure on the South African Government," Chief Buthelezi said on British television yesterday.

He was speaking from Durban via satellite in an interview with the commercial Channel Four television.

"I don't think changes will take place because black and whites come to some agreement. An international input is absolutely vital," Chief Buthelezi added.

He said the failure of diplomatic missions in 1985 by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe did not mean that shuttle diplomacy did not work.

"I've always advocated Geoffrey Howe for some kind of shuttle diplomacy," he said.



Chief Buthelezi . . . international input is vital.

Chief Buthelezi, who opposes foreign sanctions against South Africa and opposes a violent solution to South Africa's troubles, praised British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for her firm stance against comprehensive economic sanctions.

"Mrs Thatcher's approach to sanctions has been very realistic, very statesman-like and consonant also with the feeling of the majority of black people," he said.

INKATHA-UDF BATTLE

Asked about the fighting raging in Natal between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF), Chief Buthelezi replied: "I stand for non-violence; nevertheless I'm not going to allow my people to be pushed over by anyone using intimidation."

About 400 blacks have died since the fighting began early last year.

"That was started of course by our brothers in the ANC . . . and those in the UDF who work in tandem with them and are committed to make the country ungovernable," he added. — Reuter.

Buthelezi looks at Maritzburg unrest and says . . .

Apartheid to blame for Natal violence

Various reasons have been mooted for the explosive violence in Maritzburg which shows no sign of abating. Here, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi focuses on the unrest and details his understanding of the reasons for it, his problems regarding the situation, prospects for peace in the troubled area and the role he is prepared to play in resolving the conflict.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said as long as racist legislation damned South Africa and shackled black democracy, conflict was inevitable.

Chief Buthelezi was commenting on the violence in Maritzburg.

He said apartheid had crippled black unity and had also subjugated blacks economically. Therefore, the roots of the trouble in Maritzburg were also socio-economic.

"The area has, for many years, had an extremely high rate of unemployment and crime and I believe it is relevant that — for the most part — it is in depressed areas where violence is taking place."

He said Inkatha had been attacked because it supported multi-racial democracy in a free enterprise system. The African National Congress (ANC) wanted a one-party socialist Marxist state. This characterised the violence throughout the country.

"You cannot have one analysis of the violence in the Maritzburg area in which Inkatha is blamed and then go on to explain, in different terms, the same phenomena of the same violence in the Eastern Cape where Inkatha has no presence," he added.

"I am totally and absolutely opposed to violence as a means of sorting out political differences. I have nothing to gain by creating a revolutionary climate in any part of South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said elements in the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Cosatu were trying to use the "appalling deprivation" of the area for their own political purposes. They supported the tactics of the ANC which perpetuated the view that the country was ripe for revolution and there was nothing left to do except to kill for political purposes.

However, the overall aims and objectives of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu did not differ radically from those of Inkatha. All professed to be liberation movements working towards the eradication of apartheid and to the establishment of a free, democratic, united South Africa with justice for all.

"There is nothing in Inkatha's Statement of Belief that could be offensive to any of these other organisations. However, it is with regard to tactics and strategies that the nub of the problem is exposed."

The ANC and its supporters in other organisations saw Inkatha, and those committed to non-violence and negotiation, as an obstacle to their success in making the country ungovernable, he said.

He said the ANC had placed on record that he was a "snake which must be hit on the head" and Inkatha neutralised.

"It is therefore obvious that the ANC has concentrated its efforts in Natal where Inkatha was launched and obviously enjoys considerable support. There is no doubt in my mind that the External Mission of the ANC has been involved in fomenting the violence."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . poverty breeds violence.

Chief Buthelezi said there was ample evidence of ANC activity in the area and as KwaZulu's Minister of Police, he had access to information that left no doubt in his mind about its involvement.

He dismissed allegations that Inkatha's "recruitment drives" were a key factor in the Maritzburg conflict as UDF propaganda.

"Any leader of any organisation would be a fool to seek support by force. I unequivocally denounce any such alleged behaviour."

He said on the surface, the Maritzburg violence appeared to be black versus black but there were whites and Indians who were actively involved in the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance who would like to see Inkatha's power base destroyed.

On prospects for peace in Maritzburg, Chief Buthelezi said: "I support (and always have done) calls for peace and will do everything I can to diffuse the situation. The carnage must stop and I am completely and utterly genuine about this. Having said this, it is also obvious that there will, of course, be little prospect of peace as long as certain individuals and organisations are committed to annihilating Inkatha."

On the role he was prepared to play in resolving the conflict, he said: "I have done everything I believe I can. I have talked with church and civic leaders, I have instructed senior colleagues to do everything possible to meet with the UDF/Cosatu leadership and others.

"I have offered (as previously noted) to stand publicly with the leadership of the UDF and others to call for peace. I have involved Inkatha structures at all levels and have exhorted them to do what they can to diffuse the situation. Various members of Inkatha have been asked to leave their jobs and to work full time in the area (at our expense) in an attempt to bring various factions together to resolve their differences. Inkatha was the first to endorse the church leaders' draft peace statement. We have endorsed a subsequent statement. Any other suggestions would be welcome."

On his relationship regarding the Maritzburg peace talks with UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Chief Buthelezi said: "Mr Gumede, and Archbisho Tutu have been strangely silent about my offer to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with them on a public platform to bury our differences and to call for peace and black unity. I am prepared to assist in organising the biggest prayer rally for peace this country has ever seen to achieve such an end. It will serve no purpose to again articulate personal differences that have been expressed by us all — they are documented.

Regarding his leadership of the KwaZulu government, Chief Buthelezi said the background to his role in KwaZulu and his traditional and elected positions in the region were well documented. "My only crime is that I have refused to allow Inkatha to become a surrogate of the External Mission of the ANC.

SOM 19/11/88.

BLACK POLITICS — HOMELANDS

1988

JANUARY — MAY.

16.95

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urban's Catholic leader, Archbishop Denis Hurley.

Inkatha to boycott peace vigil call by Catholics?

Cpress 11/1/88

118

CP Correspondent

INKATHA members may boycott a number of day-long vigils for peace in Maritzburg tomorrow because they are to be held at Catholic churches, but would attend if they were held at a Presbyterian church.

This was said by the KwaZulu representative for Vulindlela and Inkatha peace talks delegate Velaphi Ndlovu, in response to a call for a day of vigils for peace by Archbishop Denis Hurley.

The vigils have been organised for 9am to 4pm in a number of Catholic churches in Maritzburg, Edendale and Imbali as "an expression of my deep concern over the escalating violence", said the Archbishop.

The Durban archbishop and auxiliary bishop Dominique Khumalo will be attending the Edendale and Imbali townships' prayers for peace.

But Ndlovu, 39, has refused to attend and said he did not think other Inkatha members would attend either.

Ndlovu, the Kwazulu representative for Vulindlela (the Maritzburg region) since 1983, denied that his refusal was politically motivated.

Although informed that the services were not aimed at Catholics but at all people concerned by the violence, he replied: "I don't go inside Catholic churches. I will not go. If it was held in a Presbyterian church, I would go."

He did not elaborate on why he thought other Inkatha members, Catholic or not, would boycott the peace prayers.

Although the churches will be open all day, the times of the special services will vary from place to place. Interested people are invited to contact their local Catholic church for further details. – Concord News Agency.

Maritzburg is apprehensive

C/Press 3/1/88

By S'BU MNGADI

THE embattled Maritzburg region this week awaited the new year apprehensively instead of planning to make merry.

Already, this year's festive season has shown to be not so kind for the region as political violence continued, with no signs of abating.

The Christmas weekend was the bloodiest the Natal capital has ever seen. A total of 37 people were killed in separate but related incidents around the city.

Fifteen of those killed were victims of faction fights in the Ngotshe area near Greytown between the Ngotshe and Thulini clans, and another at Siphahleni near Bulwer.

The latest killings brought to 163 the total number of people killed in townships and villages around Maritzburg as a result of the bloody conflict between supporters of Inkatha and those of the UDF-Cosatu alliance.

Hopes for a peaceful Christmas were dashed a fortnight ago when the crucial peace talks between Inkatha and the rival UDF-Cosatu alliance broke down after the Inkatha delegation produced a copy of a banned Marxist-Leninist document which they demanded the other faction publicly repudiate.

Nevertheless, leaders of all organisations appealed for a peaceful Christmas.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that if the ANC was involved in the Maritzburg violence his weekend peace call applied to that organisation as much as to anybody else involved in the fighting.

He was responding to a statement by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said on Tuesday that Tutu's call on leaders of Inkatha and the UDF was "posturing for peace".

He said Tutu had frequently stated his support for the ANC.

Tutu released a statement in Cape Town this week which said the shocking carnage in Maritzburg had to stop. "The absolute minimum conditions necessary as we enter 1988 was an immediate seizefire," it said.

till critical

or of *City Press*, remained in a ntensive care unit at Baragwan-

nitted to the hospital on Christ- cardio-respiratory failure," said eith Lister yesterday.

sts that the family's privacy be Further statements will be issued

4 MORE DIE IN NATAL CLASHES

ANOTHER four people were killed in continuing violence in Maritzburg and surrounding areas, including a 14-year-old boy who was shot to death, police said yesterday.

This takes the 1988 death toll to 31.

Police said in their overnight unrest report that a group of blacks attacked and entered a private dwelling at Taylors Halt near Maritzburg and shot the boy.

The bodies of two men who had been murdered

SAPA

were also found in the strife-torn area where, according to unofficial reports, more than 250 people died last year.

One, a 35-year-old black man, was found at Imbali. He had apparently been stabbed to death, police said.

Arsonist

The other was found at Willow Fountain with multiple stab wounds and a slit throat.

In another incident in the area, arsonists caused serious damage to property when they set fire to three private dwellings and at Shange, also near Maritzburg, arsonists caused serious damage to two houses.

At Edendale, a black township near Maritzburg, police said an unknown gunman fired a shot at a police vehicle where "a group of blacks had gathered illegally." Police fired at the group killing a 21-year-old man.

At Mpophomeni, Howick, about 20 km from Maritzburg, a group of blacks set fire to a bottle store, a shop and vehicles at a shopping complex Police said extensive damage was caused to property but no injuries were reported.

MARITZBURG VIOLENCE

No end in sight

Inkatha delegates have withdrawn from Maritzburg's peace talks, against a backdrop of sharply increased violence in the black townships. Police reports indicate that more than 50 people have died in the townships since Christmas, including no fewer than 10 slain over New Year alone. Unofficially, it's estimated that 268 people died during 1987.

The withdrawal by Inkatha from the talks coincided with a scathing response from Inkatha president and chief minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to a peace appeal issued by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In response to the appeal on December 27, Buthelezi said Tutu had become embroiled in the intrigue which lay behind township violence and questioned his support for the ANC. Tutu, he said, should direct similar appeals to the ANC. Despite a subsequent statement from Tutu that the appeal applied to the ANC as well, Inkatha delegates have withdrawn from the talks, saying they're a waste of time.

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which was responsible for putting the warring parties together, will now meet individually with all the delegates to try to restart the talks.

The SAP also proposes a new campaign to stop the violence in the area, and is reported to be moving reinforcements into the townships.

FINANCIAL MAIL JANUARY 8 1988

Holomisa denies making 'ANC support' statement

CAPE TIMES 8/4/88 (116)

UMTATA. — The chairman of Transkei's new ruling military council, General Bantu Holomisa, yesterday commented on a radio broadcast which quoted him as saying he would support an ANC government in the homeland.

The general said he had never directly picked out the ANC, but had said he would support any political party as long as it was voted into power by the electorate.

"I still say I will support whatever government takes over as long as it is favoured by the people of Transkei," he said, adding his government guaranteed freedom of worship but would not tolerate "liberation theology".

General Holomisa was holding high-level meetings yesterday at his Transkei Defence Force office. He said he expected to move to the office of the prime minister, from where the military council would operate.

He dismissed news reports that, since the military takeover, two South African Defence Force officers had arrived in Transkei and were operating from an office in the government building. "We are working alone here with nobody's assistance," he said.

The South African ambassador to Transkei, Mr G P D Terblanche, also denied knowledge of any SADF personnel in Transkei, except for a military attache to his office who arrived late last year.

Mr Terblanche declined to comment on whether South Africa would recognize the new military government.

— Sapa

It's a tale of a pitiless war

9/1/88 STAR (118)

His eyes closed behind his gold-rimmed spectacles to focus his thoughts more sharply. Then Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said, with deliberate emphasis: "The use of vitriol is a declaration of war."

His tea in a gold-rimmed cup still untouched, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, and a Zulu prince, was referring to his political foes in the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress and their denunciation of him as a tribalist and a marionette controlled by Pretoria.

"They go beyond criticism," he said in his panelled office in Ulundi, in the heart of kwaZulu. "They use abusive language. They pour on the vitriol."

A pitiless war, however, is already being fought for supremacy in black townships and villages surrounding Maritzburg between the zealots of Dr Buthelezi's 1,5 million strong Inkatha movement and the Amaqabane or "comrades" of the United Democratic Front and its trade union ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Last year 270 people were shot, stabbed, hacked and burnt to death, 77 of them in December.

The new year did not start auspiciously. In the first 10 days 35 people were killed. The latest killings added to the anger and sorrow of December 30.

On that day a bus carrying mourners from the funeral of a UDF man was ambushed. Three people were killed and 24 injured as they tried to scramble to safety through the windows of the bus. Their attackers were alleged to be pro-Inkatha vigilantes.

But Chief Buthelezi's statement was not simply ex post facto rhetoric. It is a sign that attitudes are hardening and that the peacemakers — led by Nobel peace laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce — are being pushed aside as every new death generates more bitterness.

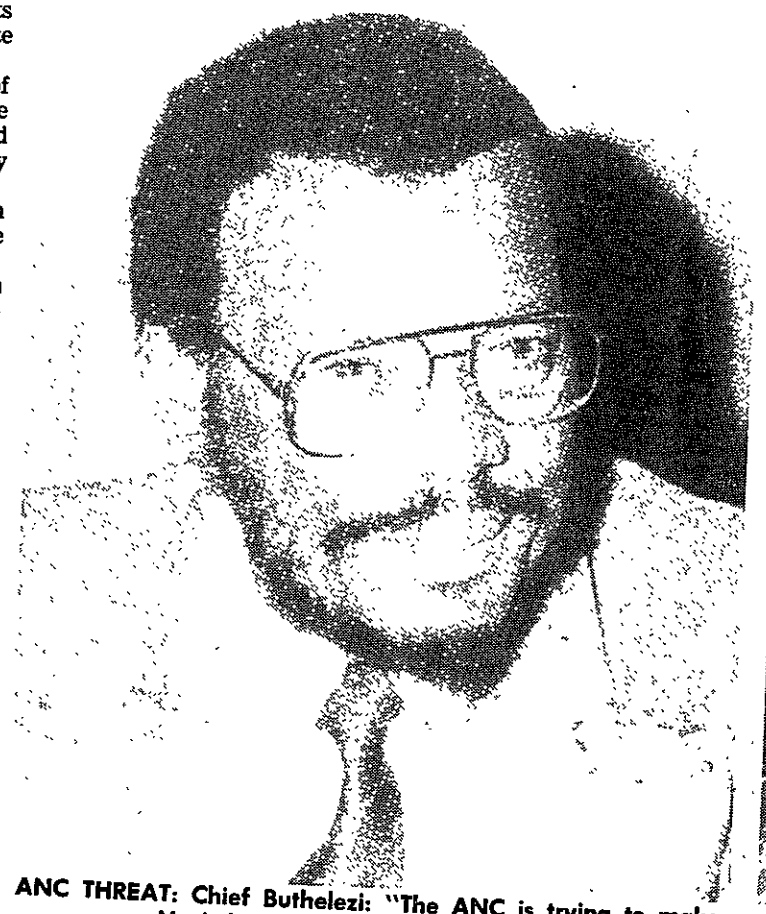
Mr Paul van Uytrecht, manager of the Chamber of Commerce which has been acting as an honest broker since September, implicitly identified Inkatha's national leadership as the more reluctant of the two conflicting parties to agree to a negotiated settlement.

The chamber is due to speak separately to both sides in the next few days following a largely unproductive three-hour joint meeting on December 9.

"We hope we can persuade Inkatha that negotiations can still be fruitful," Mr van Uytrecht said. "If we don't, we will then have to review our position."

Peacemakers are losing ground in Maritzburg conflict

PATRICK LAURENCE in Maritzburg



ANC THREAT: Chief Buthelezi: "The ANC is trying to make Maritzburg a no-go area for Inkatha."

CAUGHT UP IN THE VIOLENCE: a group of Marizburg youths at a recent press conference, who have to be masked to protect them from possible reprisals in land dominated by fear.

In his office in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi produced a copy of a telex from the chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi. It charged the Natal UDF president, Mr W Gumede, with intoning hypocritically about the need for peace — but doing nothing about it.

"Mr Gumede has the temerity to bluff the world by shouting 'peace, peace' when he means the opposite," it said.

Chief Buthelezi, a former member of the ANC Youth League, is now locked in vicious battle with the ANC.

In a speech late last year, he declared: "The ANC has committed itself to a death struggle against Inkatha ... they want to drive us out of the greater Maritzburg area. They want to make it a no-go area for Inkatha."

Later in the same speech, he said of the UDF and Cosatu: "We are talking about a life-and-death struggle. We are talking about all-or-nothing victories. We are talking about the triumph by good over evil."

The UDF, however, is equally sceptical about Chief Buthelezi's avowed commitment to peace, his professed determination never to be the aggressor and his expressed regret at having to resort defensively to "a philosophy of an eye for eye and a tooth for a tooth."

In a 19-page open letter to Chief Buthelezi, Mr Gumede accused Inkatha of attacking UDF and Cosatu activists and of attempting to "crush and remove all traces of democratic organisations".

The letter charged Inkatha with tribalism — of labelling its opponents ethnically as "Xhosa priests" or "Sotho lawyers" or, simply, as "Indians" — and of supporting the apartheid system by participating in its structures.

In the crowded townships on the edge of Maritzburg — Edendale, Imbali, Ashtown and Sobantu — there are fears that Inkatha is preparing an invasion force to crush anti-Buthelezi elements once and for all.

There is talk that reinforcements have been brought up from the staunchly pro-Inkatha rural areas to counter the comrades. January 19 is said to be the day set for the start of a decisive offensive.

There is no firm evidence. But the fear is real enough. The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce views it seriously.

Already concerned about the disruptive effect of the strife, it has formally told the local security police chief, Brigadier Keo Buchner, an expert on the ANC, of the invasion fears.

"The police have assured us they won't allow it to happen," Mr van Uytrecht said.

Chief Buthelezi is confident that he has the resources and support to end the turmoil in the Maritzburg townships. But they lie outside the jurisdiction of kwaZulu and he cannot deploy kwaZulu police there, except to protect prominent Inkatha and kwaZulu notables.

If he was legally entitled to send kwaZulu police into Maritzburg's townships, they would be brought under control rapidly, he said, recalling that he had contained the threatened turmoil in 1985 in kwaMashu and Umlazi, two large townships near Durban which do fall under his control.

"Even illegally, I could clear it (the trouble in Maritzburg townships) up," he added. "But I have no intention of doing anything illegally."

On the ground, both sides are fearful as the killing goes on. The South African Police are holding the ring. Both sides, however, suspect its neutrality.

Chief Buthelezi rejected UDF charges that the SAP favours Inkatha, citing the murder of 14 members last September of the Inkatha Youth Brigade at kwaShange and the subsequent arrest of three black members of the SAP for alleged involvement in the killing.

But, against that, the UDF has pointed out that the three SAP men were kwaShange residents who were reportedly informed that the youth brigade planned to set fire to the houses of all families who refused to join Inkatha.

There is no single cause of the conflict. But the often bloody rivalry between Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu for dominance in Zulu-speaking Natal is a key factor.

A more immediate cause is the Inkatha drive for recruits in the Maritzburg area after an Inkatha Youth Brigade conference in August.

There are allegations that people were forced to join Inkatha, and that the only guarantee against attack by Inkatha cadres was to purchase an Inkatha membership card for R5.

The recruitment drive is said to have crystallised resistance to Inkatha and driven many neutral people into the UDF camp.

Chief Buthelezi repudiated charges that people were press-ganged into joining Inkatha.

"I would not be such a fool as to dragoon people into membership," he said.

Mr Henry Ngcobo and his wife Gertrude are one couple who were on the receiving end of an illegal recruiting drive.

Last Saturday their house in Mpuzmi was invaded by Inkatha zealots, who, they said, chastised them for not joining Inkatha. Mr Ngcobo (67) was stabbed three times in the shoulder with a spear and hit on the head with a brick.

Another brick was used to fell Mrs Ngcobo, her assailants lashing her hand with a panga. Later their house was burnt down.

"They smacked us until we lay down," Mr Ngcobo said as he unbuttoned his shirt to display three prominent stab wounds. But he had no intention of joining Inkatha.

If Mr Ngcobo is determined to resist intimidation, so, too, is Mr Phillip Thabethe, a staunch Buthelezi man. He survived two murderous attacks on his house before Christmas by an anti-Inkatha gang.

In the first his son was killed. In the second, his wife and mother were killed. He survived at the cost of eight bullet wounds and three stab wounds.

City Press 10/1/88

UDF PLEA FOR PEACE

By REVELATION NTOULA

A PASSIONATE plea to stop the escalating violence in the Maritzburg area, which has so far caused more than 200 deaths, came from the UDF in its New Year message to South Africans.

The UDF, which has been feuding with kwaZulu-based Inkatha in the protracted fighting, said it had always been prepared to negotiate a lasting settlement to the conflict.

"We believe that for us to reach a permanent solution to the problem, we must at least agree to the four basic practices of democracy: Freedom of association, freedom of expression and freedom after expression, freedom of movement and freedom of organisation."

The organisation also called on the media to give a true and balanced account of the situation "to help end the violence".

Turning to the fate of people facing unrest-related sentences the message paid special attention to the "Sharpeville Six" who are awaiting execution following the death of deputy mayor Jacob Dlamini in 1984.

The message expressed solidarity with those involved in the rent boycotts around the country.

The UDF expressed sympathy with those who have over the years faced evictions from their homes and forced removals.

"To the youth who have struggled so valiantly and suffered so much, our struggle is forever indebted," said the message.

"We all rejoice with you on the formation of the South African Youth Congress."

Referring to the last whites-only elections, the UDF said: "The masses of our country have always and everywhere set the pace of the struggle. When the government called elections, the majority of the people of this country showed their contempt for this sham democracy by staying away from work – the biggest stayaway in the history of the country."

Spelling out its conditions for a negotiated future, the UDF said these would include the unbanning of the ANC, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the ending of the emergency, allowing all exiles to return home, dismantling apartheid and withdrawing troops from the townships and neighbouring countries.

Weak and innocent suffer as faction war rages through townships

Blood and tears at Maritzburg

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — As the blood of their husbands and young sons spills to the ground in the gruesome battle for control of the Maritzburg townships, so do the tears of the wives and mothers.

Trapped between opposing sides in the carnage are the mothers, children and the elderly.

Most do not even know why the war is being fought. All they know is that each day they must protect themselves and their little ones and try to survive.

Whether they be mothers whose sons are members of either the "vigilantes" (Inkatha) or the "comrades" (United Democratic Front), they all cry for the same thing: peace.

All they want is an end to living like cornered animals, but there will be no end, they say, while the hate between the two warring factions grows and while anyone who stands in their way dies.

They say they would be able to bring some peace to the area if they were given the chance to negotiate, but custom does not allow women to have a say.

In town they meet and together they mourn the deaths of their men and sons. Once many of them were friends, but they have been divided.

"People young and old have been brutally murdered. All the time they are dying around us; we never know when we are going to be next," said a young mother of seven children who had to flee from her house in Slangspruit.

No place to sleep

Her home was petrol-bombed a few weeks ago.

my sister's house as she was afraid they would do the same thing to her."

With her children she slept in the undergrowth on one of the hills that surround her township. All they owned was the clothing they wore.

"We stayed there for days. There were many other women and children who had to run away as well."

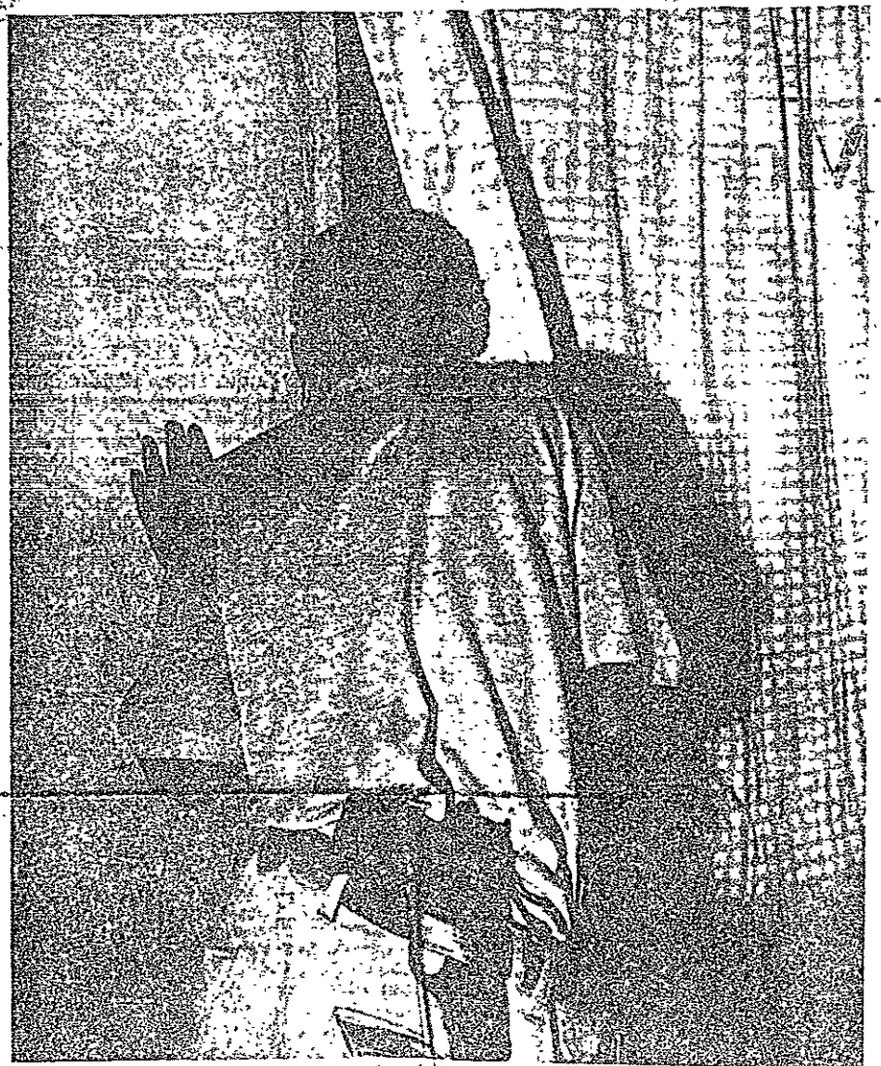
During the day the mothers from the hill went to the township to look for food and shelter.

"We could not make shacks on the hill because they would have found us. Then the police came and chased us back into the township."

She and another family managed to find accommodation for R10 a month each. In squalor they now share a one-bedroom squatters' shack in which 17 people sleep.

In the townships of kwaShange, Taylor's Halt and the Henly Dam area, women and children have also fled into the hills.

In the day they too venture back to their homes, but towards late afternoon they return to their beds under the stars.



A young vigilante in Maritzburg, pistol at hip, peers cautiously out of a window, on the alert for the polic or a rival faction. (118) SMC 11/1/88

They say they feel safe in the daylight but it is at night when the attacks begin. Many families sleep during the day so that they can stay awake at night to protect themselves.

"They come in combis or buses. Sometimes there are about 80 men and youths who go from house to house finding out which side we are on. They knock on the door shouting 'Are you Inkatha or UDF supporters?'.

"We do not know what to answer because we do not know what side they are on. If we make a mistake and give the wrong answer, they break down the doors, beat us up or burn our house and kill us. Every day this is happening to our friends and neighbours," said one mother of three from Taylor's Halt.

A few weeks ago she said the two factions were fighting in her street.

"They burnt down a house near mine and were shooting people. I was scared so I took my children and grandchild and ran away to stay with my madam in Maritzburg. We are tired. We do not sleep. Now if they want to kill us, they must. What can we do? I am black. I cannot change my skin and I do not want to belong to any organisation. It is the black who is killing the black. Who can save us?"

Another group of women said they feared the vigilantes the most.

"They come to our houses and force us to become Inkatha members. If we say we do not want to, they say we must join or suffer a severe punishment."

One woman who lives in Ashdown said her family joined in order to save their own lives. Each adult in the house had to pay R5, and R2,50 each for the children, to a group who had forced themselves into her home.

She said she was lucky she could pay. A neighbour did not have the money so they assaulted her husband, raped her and slaughtered one of her cattle, which they regarded as payment.

"Sometimes they just walk into our homes and eat our food. We do not know who they are or which side they are on."

Others said they feared the comrades, who just burst into their homes and either demanded that their young sons and husbands joined them in their patrols or pulled them out by force.

No money for food

"We worry so much because we do not know if they will come back. We know mothers who have not seen their sons for days. When our husbands disappear we have no money so we cannot buy food. We are hungry and scared."

After these disappearances the women begin searching for their men.

They go from friend to friend for information, then the hospitals and finally from mortuary to mortuary. Some have returned widows, or mourning the loss of a son, while others have to continue the search.

Some sections of the townships have been taken over completely by Inkatha or the UDF.

Families have been forced out of their homes, into which large groups of youths then move.

If the area is an Inkatha stronghold, the UDF send patrols to protect the homes of their followers or vice versa.

At one house near an Inkatha area, about eight UDF supporters had gathered. When asked what they were doing they said they were going out to protect their people. They said did not want a photograph taken as they were all wanted by the police.

Botha on disaster course — Buthelezi

D/D 25/11/88

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has warned that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, is taking South Africa on the road to disaster, which could be avoided only if Mr Botha became a political realist.

Chief Buthelezi's address to the first provincial congress of the newly-formed United Democratic Party (UDP), at Wentworth at the weekend, was read by the KwaZulu Minister of Health, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

In the speech, Chief Buthelezi slammed the proposed National Council (NC) and the Regional Services Councils (RSCs). He said the lack of reality in both institutions was illustrated by the fact that the National Party had failed to recognise that Durban was a predominantly black city which would collapse without black spending power.

The RSC and the NC were fatally flawed because Mr Botha had made it clear from all he had said that he wanted a future South Africa in which white privilege would continue to be protected by law, Chief Buthelezi said.

He added that, in this respect, Mr Botha had insisted that the Population Registration Act remain a vital political tool; had rejected universal adult franchise in either a unitary or a federal state and continued to insist that the various racial groups should have different political mechanisms for exercising their 'democratic' rights.

KwaZulu and Inkatha had rejected the RSC system as it continued to uphold racially segregated first and second-tier government. To do otherwise would be to condone the politics of prescription at its worst since the country's towns and cities belonged to black South Africans as much as to anyone else, Chief Buthelezi said.

"It is entirely wrong to give Durban a white voting right in Regional Services Council operations when in fact Durban is so predominantly a black city."

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

The acceptance of the RSC's would be totally incompatible with negotiation towards the kind of South Africa the vast majority of blacks looked forward to.

Other speakers at the meeting lashed out at the Labour Party for its failure to address the needs of its constituents.

The UDP national chairman, Mr Peter Marais, criticised Labour MPs for accepting 'white' privileges and for their support for the Group Areas Act.

Towards the end of Dr Mdlalose's address, activists belonging to the United Committee of Concern (UCC) — a United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliate which had been invited to send delegates to the meeting — distributed an open letter to the meeting before being ushered out by policemen.

Copies of the letter, which rejected attendance after discussion amongst UCC members and talks with the UDF, were torn up by angry UDP members while others were confiscated by police.

In the letter, addressed to the newly-elected leader of the UDP in Natal, Mr Morris Fynn, the UCC said it took exception to the attempt by the UDP to "blur the lines of distinction" between itself and the UDF through the choice of its name.

It criticised the UDP as neither significant nor a threat to the state, slamming UDP leadership as "a mere realignment of disgruntled and aspirant participants in the Tricameral System". The letter added that the UDP's continued participation in this system detracted from the creation of maximum unity among the oppressed people of South Africa.

The UDP's adoption of the Freedom Charter demonstrated its ignorance of the nature of the charter, its history and support, the letter said.

Referring to the invitation to Chief Buthelezi to address the meeting — which according to UCC activists was one of the major reasons for the demonstration — the letter said information contained in an accompanying memorandum, issued by the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) on the Pietermaritzburg violence and Inkatha's role in it, "will make the insensitivity of your invitation to Buthelezi abundantly clear".

"In the light of the accusations made of Buthelezi's impis in Pietermaritzburg's townships, we believe that your association with Buthelezi places you in questionable repute."

Indaba deplores Maritzburg unrest

13/1/88 STAR

By Duncan Guy

The kwaZulu Natal Indaba leadership, leaders, Inkatha, and the United Democratic Front (UDF) have appealed to their followers not to take part in the violence sweeping Maritzburg.

A joint statement from Inkatha, the UDF and church leaders called for an unconditional end to the violence so that church leaders could prepare the climate for holding talks with the leaders of political organisations.

The Indaba called on all people who cared about the region's future to add their weight and influence to ensure that the violence ends.

"The perpetrators of violence are doing nothing to solve the problems of the region — indeed they are part of the problem. They have been playing into the hands of extremists on both the left and right who would rather see the country burn than find reconciliation through negotiation and constructive compromise."

A statement from church leaders said Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had accepted a statement drawn up after discussions which were a follow-up to a prayer meeting held on November 1 last year.

"But the UDF had some difficulties dealing with the matters owing to the harassment and detention of their leaders in the Maritzburg areas."

The statement was prepared by church leaders led by the president-elect of the Methodist Church, the Rev Stanley Mogoba.

1 death, injuries, arson, in 'Maritzburg unrest

13/1/88 DD

PIETERMARITZBURG — An 18-year-old man was stabbed to death at Sweetwaters, and two men and a youth shot and wounded at Dambuza, according to the South African Police unrest report.

At Dambuza a large group forced a black man to strip naked and accompany them through the streets because he did not want to join their organisation.

As the man was being pushed along, an unknown gunman fired on the group, injuring two men and a youth.

Police arrived on the scene and arrested a man and a youth.

At Esigodeni, also near the capital, arsonists are reported to have caused serious damage to a house.

At Forty Second Hill (Harrismith) a private house was extensively damaged in a petrol bomb attack.

Meanwhile, a meeting has been held in the capital, between the Pietermaritzburg chamber of commerce and Inkatha, to discuss the township unrest. A similar meeting was held with the United Democratic Front and Cosatu last Friday.

A statement is expected to be released soon.

Four funerals a day

14-20/1/88 Sowetan

THE prospects for peace in the strife-torn Maritzburg townships now appear to be fading fast following apparent moves by Inkatha to raise the situation into a national dispute instead of allowing local leaders to break the spiral of violence.

The violent struggle for political control of the black townships involves Inkatha and its vigilantes on one hand, and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) on the other.

The mass killings and counter-killings between members and supporters of the two organisations have claimed more than 300 lives since the beginning of the conflict.

35 people killed

About 35 people have been killed between January 1 and January 9 this year.

Although the two groups have committed themselves to ending the violence by holding "peace talks" and issuing joint statements, it now appears Inkatha wants to hold talks at national, rather than local level.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week there were no peace prospects as long as the UDF and Inkatha were "on the warpath".

This remark followed the disclosure by local church leaders that a joint peace statement had been signed by the UDF and Inkatha.

Buthelezi said: "At no stage did I have any qualms about endorsing it. But people are dying in the meantime, and I will leave no stone unturned in my efforts to end the violence.

"However, the mainspring of violence must be stilled: People and organisations simply squealing for peace have no effect.

On the warpath

"I see no prospect for peace as long as Inkatha and the UDF remain on the warpath. There is nothing any of us can do about it at present."

The Zulu leader's latest statement followed earlier statements that prospects for peace were slim as long as the UDF was in collusion with the ANC "to make the townships ungovernable", and as long as he was denigrated by the ANC.

Local UDF leaders interpret Buthelezi's latest statement as an effort to hold top-level talks with the national executive of the UDF in an effort to boost Inkatha's credibility.

Ever since the foundation of the UDF in August 1983, the Front avoided top-level talks with Buthelezi and Inkatha because it said "we have nothing in common with organisations such as Inkatha".

It is now felt that Buthelezi and Inkatha want to use the Maritzburg situation to demonstrate that the UDF's national leaders are actually talking to Buthelezi and company".

The chairman of the Midlands Region of the UDF, Mr A.S. Chetty, said the UDF's main concern at the moment was to end the unnecessary killings.

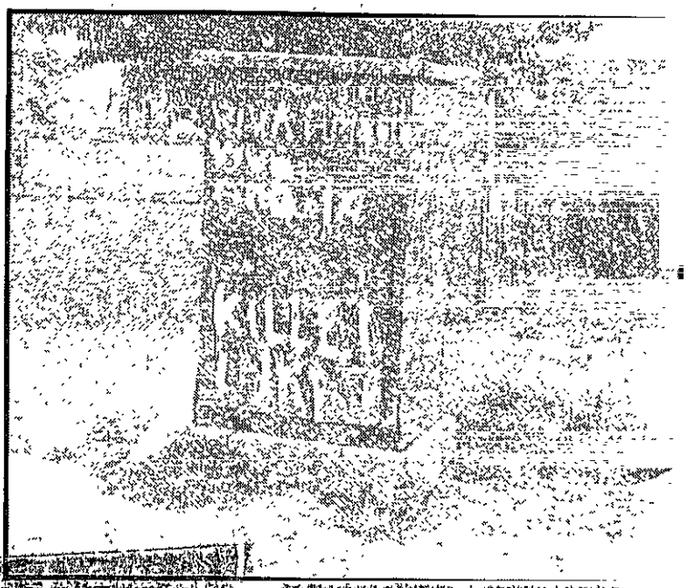
"While we appreciate the efforts of church organisations and their leaders to bring about peace, we believe the violence should not be made a national issue as it would only complicate matters."

— Press Trust of S.A. News Agency

B/Day 15/1/88 (11B)

Edendale: a town at war with itself

POLICE statistics show that 248 people have died in recent months in townships near Maritzburg in continuing savagery between Inkatha and UDF supporters. SIPHO NGCOBO profiles life in Edendale, the township at the centre of the carnage.



Graffiti bears stark testimony to unrest in Maritzburg

ENTERING Edendale, near Maritzburg, a huge slogan painted on the wall welcomes you: "1988 — THE YEAR OF VIOLENCE."

For nearly six months, Edendale has been the centre of spiralling violence between Inkatha and UDF supporters. The violence has since spread to include most townships in the area, the surrounding rural areas and townships as far away as Hammarsdale.

The fear endemic in the area has also spilled on to the streets of Maritzburg. Warring factions have taken their war into the city, say black residents, so that many no longer even visit the town as it is not safe.

Residents say hundreds are dead — many more than the official death toll of 248. While I was in Edendale last week, two unreported deaths occurred. Mthandeni Dladla, a nine-year-old schoolboy; and Mduduzi Makhoba, a second-year student at Umbumbulu College of Education, died in one of the daily battles.

Their deaths did not appear in the police unrest report. Yet their parents, relatives and friends bitterly mourned the deaths of young Mthandeni and once-future teacher Mduduzi.

"Long live their spirits," said a young activist with eyes fixed on the distance and face twitching.

He turned and looked west, the direction of the Umsunduze River. The twitch faded and his eyes became watery.

The river runs between Hairwood, the Inkatha stronghold, and Emadakaneni, the UDF headquarters. It is now the battle line between rival "warriors".

Emadakaneni, otherwise known as "Moscow" is under the command of a self-styled "General", a man called "Bob Marley". Marley is said by residents to have unbelievable fighting skills. "That man has magic in his hands," local residents kept saying.

Inkatha supporters speak fearfully of him.

Never a member of the UDF, Marley is said to be a married man with three children, and in his 30s.

"Bob Marley, like many other community members, got involved in the fighting after seeing his relatives and friends being killed. He got annoyed and started fighting," said one resident.

There are many community members like Marley who are neither members of Inkatha nor the UDF but who are, however, part of the raging war.

Marley's territory is inhabited by UDF members and other community members not associated with the UDF. With less than 300 families, "Moscow" is Maritzburg's own headquarters of political activism.

On the other side of the river is Hairwood, the home of a commander-in-chief known as "Big S", said to be a former criminal and ex-convict. Residents say he fears no-one except Marley.

Residents say "King Big S" has an R1 rifle. "He is more dangerous when alone," said a Moscow UDF member who believes "Big S" uses *muti* (black magic) to field extraordinary fighting power. The man is not only feared by the anti-Inkatha elements: even some Inkatha members said the man was bad news.

Stories differ over how the war started.

A youth said: "Inkatha sympathisers were trying to force us to go back to school. We explained the reasons for our boycotting of schools. That fell on deaf ears. Instead of listening they sjambokked and attacked us with all sorts of weapons.

"They were doing the work of the government. We had to defend ourselves and that is how the war started."

Not true, says Inkatha. "The UDF is insulting us. They insult our leader, Buthelezi. They call us all sorts of names on public platforms. They say we are sellouts. That must stop," said an Inkatha member.

Still on Edendale Road, I momentarily stopped. The street was deserted except for a number of vehicles.

A lone figure approached a few metres away. It was a boy, about 15, pushing a bicycle. I stopped him.

I wanted information, "classified information" about the fighting. I greeted him and started explaining why I was in Maritzburg and how I wanted him to help me. The boy did not talk. He just stared at me with his face expressionless and his eyes blank. The silence bothered me but I said nothing. After a moment the boy turned and looked at an American magazine and a note book I had in my hand. "If those are banned books, make sure that you hide them because this place is patrolled by police. And now let's go," he said and started walking.

We walked for about 20 minutes before we reached a house built of mud and corrugated iron. The boy led me into a dark passage. The heavy smell of dagga greeted us. The boy stopped for a moment, leaning his bicycle against one of the walls in the mud corridor. He continued walking and led me into a dingy room.

The room was packed. I counted heads and there were 11 people, all males. Most of them were teenagers while others looked quite old, maybe 35, 36 or even 38 years of age.

Pop music was playing on the hi-fi stereo which was at the corner of the room. Pasted on the wall in front of me was a big pamphlet marked in bold letters: "STOP THE VIOLENCE." On another wall was a big picture of ANC leader, Govan Mbeki.

The youth who led me into the room looked at me and said: "Bra, tell them. Tell them who you are."

I started by producing my Press card and explained my mission. I made it clear that I had nothing to do with either the UDF or Inkatha. "I am just a newsman," I said.

"People are dying here and those that are dying in the fight against Inkatha are not necessarily members of the UDF. It is the community. Inkatha is fighting the whole community. Not all of us in this room are members of the UDF but we are all in this fight. Not because we want to be, but in order to defend ourselves, our families and our property," said one of the men.

All the men in the room alleged that members of Inkatha were supported by police. That was later denied by Major du Plessis, acting public relations officer for the Maritzburg police.

On my last day in Maritzburg, I went back to KwaDambuza to say goodbye to my 11 friends, but they did not show up. Had something happened to them during the fighting the previous night?

Some of them were young, too young to be involved in bloody battles like those raging in the Maritzburg area.

WEEKLY MAIL, Ja

Buthelezi on violence

'I can't see any hope' says the Inkatha president, arguing that peace talks with the UDF will be 'futile'. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi speaks to

PATRICK LAURENCE

Archie Gumede

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

A RAPPROCHEMENT between Inkatha and the outlawed African National Congress is of the "paramount importance", Mangosuthu Buthelezi told *Weekly Mail* in a new year interview.

He revealed that Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary general, had met Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's information secretary, last year in New York in an attempt to reach such a rapprochement.

"It is really vital," Buthelezi said. "I think it is consistent with Dr Mandela's own views."

His statement, made in his security-proofed office in Ulundi, came as the civil war between Inkatha zealots and equally militant pro-ANC *Amaqabane* or "comrades" waged unabated in townships around Pietermaritzburg.

Earlier during the interview, Buthelezi blamed the ANC and the United Democratic Front for Pietermaritzburg's violence.

Speaking slowly, his eyes closed as he concentrated on selecting the right words, he said: "The ANC is involved. And those who work in tandem with them are ... brewing a revolution."

He accused his foes of rejecting all hope of a negotiated solution to South Africa's ills: "They have come to the conclusion that there is nothing left to do except to kill."

A high-ranking Zulu prince whose office exuded a regal ambience, Buthelezi took the ANC and Archie Gumede, the Natal UDF president, to task, charging them with using intemperate, abusive language in their attacks on him. In Zulu tradition, he declared: "The use of vitriol is a declaration of war."

Referring to an open letter to him from Gumede, Buthelezi said: "If he were seriously seeking peace, they are not the kind of (statements) he would have included in a letter."

Gumede's 19-page open letter accused Inkatha of often forcing people to join its ranks, of intolerance of opposition, of physically attacking UDF and Cosatu activists, of tribalism — "You and Inkatha members have repeatedly used racial and ethnic terms to attack democratic organisations" — and of supporting the "apartheid system" by participating in "bantustan structures of the apartheid regime".

Buthelezi said: "The allegations and smears convince me personally that there can't be any reconciliation, that they don't want reconciliation."

Only the day before he had received a telex from Musa Zondi, chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, concluding that, in present circumstances, it would be "futile" to continue peace talks with the UDF.

Buthelezi said: "I have just sent a telex to say I endorse that absolutely. I can't see any hope."

But as the interview drew to a close he identified the need for "black unity" in general, and a reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC in particular, as the most pressing priority for 1988.

Without it, there was no hope of ending the paralysis which PW Botha's fears of alienating the white rightwing had imposed on the country, Buthelezi said.

Confidential talks between Inkatha's Oscar Dhlomo and the ANC's Thabo Mbeki in New York last year had lasted three hours.

A later Inkatha-ANC meeting in London had been arranged for October, he said. But a three-man Inkatha delegation, led by Dhlomo, was "stood up" by the ANC.

Buthelezi, however, remained convinced of the imperative need for reconciliation.

"The ball is in their court," he said. "I have no hard feelings. I realise (the issue) is bigger than Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The future of the whole nation is at stake."

But, on the ground in South Africa where the Pietermaritzburg conflict claimed 35 lives in the first week of the new year, Inkatha is reluctant, as Buthelezi admitted, to press ahead with peace talks.

Paul van Uytrecht, manager of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which has been acting as an honest broker between Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu axis, implicitly but clearly identified Inkatha as the more reluctant of the two warring parties to negotiate a peace settlement.

"We hope we can persuade Inkatha that negotiations can still be fruitful," he said.

The UDF leadership is more amenable to peace talks now. But it is doubtful whether the UDF leaders, restrained and frequently incapacitated by the State of Emergency, speak for the more zealous "comrades" in the townships.

Ben Nsimbi, a Methodist minister who sits as an observer in the Chamber of Commerce-sponsored peace talks, concedes that control of the UDF leaders over its members is often tenuous.

The difficulties experienced by UDF leaders in consulting with their members account for their belated signing last week of the peace declaration drawn up by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu in November.

But by the time UDF leaders were able to put pen to paper, another 110 people had been shot, stabbed, and burnt to death in Pietermaritzburg's townships. Feelings had hardened, both in Inkatha, which signed the statement in November, and among the *Amaqabane*.

At the cutting edge, the bloody struggle for supremacy in Pietermaritzburg's townships is essentially an intra-Zulu dispute. Inkatha and the Natal branches of the UDF and Cosatu are largely Zulu organisations.

The Zulu dimension makes the conflict more, rather than less, intractable. Tribal feuds in KwaZulu are notoriously vicious and protracted. Few end quickly. Many are fought for decades in brutal wars of attrition which often spill over into migrant worker hostels in townships on the Reef, more that 500km away.

The ideological overlay in the present strife adds grist to the mill, given the already bloody history of rivalry between Inkatha and the UDF.

The conflict in Pietermaritzburg came to the boil last September after Inkatha, inspired by its Youth Brigade, began a recruitment drive. But it had been simmering all year, as the struggle for paramountcy between Inkatha and the UDF in most of Natal turned nasty.

One conclusion is inescapable. Buthelezi, once the uncontested leader of the Zulu community in Natal and KwaZulu, is now challenged on his own turf. His opponents outnumber his supporters in urban areas, according to a survey conducted by sociologist Mark Orkin of Case (Community Agency for Social Enquiry).

In Pietermaritzburg some local observers believe Inkatha was stronger at the start of the war but that balance has now started to tilt in favour of the UDF. Their assessment is difficult to test.

Buthelezi's support base in rural areas, however, is still strong. That has triggered fears that reinforcements are being brought in from the hinterland to ensure what Buthelezi has called the "final triumph of good over evil".

But Pietermaritzburg's townships lie outside the jurisdiction of KwaZulu and any move by Buthelezi to use either vigilantes or KwaZulu policemen to crush UDF and Cosatu dissidents would be unlawful.

"I have no intention of doing anything illegally," Buthelezi said.

A development which might work lawfully but strongly in favour of Buthelezi would be to transfer Pietermaritzburg townships to KwaZulu. Buthelezi would then be able to deploy KwaZulu policemen to impose "order", as he has done in Umlazi and KwaMashu outside Durban.

Umlazi and KwaMashu were transferred to KwaZulu some years ago, but the police stations there were only handed over to the KwaZulu police last year.

There are suspicions that Buthelezi may be playing a waiting game, pending the transfer of Pietermaritzburg's townships to KwaZulu.

Buthelezi denied, however, that KwaZulu is actively seeking to incorporate these townships.

He noted that Edendale and Imbali, outside Pietermaritzburg, are both earmarked for incorporation. But, he said, the KwaZulu administration would have nothing to do with Pretoria's plans to consolidate KwaZulu into a viable bantustan.

Court move 'a political ploy'

18/11/85 (116)

B/Day Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The UDF and Cosatu have been accused of having obtained Supreme Court interdicts against three Inkatha office bearers last November merely as a political ploy.

This was alleged in replying affidavits filed in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court by the three office bearers, David Ntombela, Christopher Sichizo Zuma and Shiyabani Elphas Zuma.

The interim interdicts preventing the Inkatha leaders from assaulting, killing or abducting people, were extended by Mr Justice Booysen last week until February 1.

Zulu aspirations 'not tribal' — king

28/1/88 B/Day

NONGOMA — King Zwelithini Goodwill of the Zulus has called on the US and others to stop regarding his people's aspirations as tribalistic.

He made the appeal at a weekend meeting at Nongoma with US Ambassador to SA Edward Perkins.

Propaganda to this effect was depriving the poorest in Kwazulu from international humanitarian aid, he told the envoy.

Referring to sanctions, the king said he was encouraged by the way the US was trying to balance its political action with greater humanitarian concern about the poorest of the poor in SA, but believed that the correct balance had not yet been struck.

"The humanitarian aid which is welcome from the US does not reverse the suffering of those who pay the price of sanctions", he said.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Perkins that if it were possible to force blacks into supporting political parties, the ANC would long ago have dominated SA.

Buthelezi said he was correcting what he called "shallow media representations" of the conflict situation in his country.

"Now that Inkatha's historically significant mass membership can no longer be ignored, I am accused of dragooning blacks into becoming members," he said.

"I can assure you that if it were politically possible to do what I am accused of doing in this regard, the ANC would long since have dominated the country. They would be the only force to be reckoned with."

Buthelezi told Perkins that "forces of destruction" were claiming that everything in SA needed to be destroyed by political violence before rebuilding could start.

Propaganda that reform was not possible, pessimism about the prospects of blacks and whites together eradicating apartheid, conjured up visions of "hideous bloodbaths which justify any means to avoid them".

In fact there was sufficient good will among all groups to enable them all to work with the forces undermining apartheid and to establish just social, economic and political orders.

"There is no need to rely on the politics of prescription which is inherent in the intimidatory tactics and strategies of the ANC and those in the UDF, Cosatu and other organisations who work in tandem with them," he said. — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, January 19 1988

Inkatha has 'right to defend itself' in Maritzburg

Buthelezi sees little prospect of peace

ROGER SMITH

IN A definitive statement at the weekend on his position on the Maritzburg violence, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said there would be little prospect for peace as long as "certain individuals and organisations" were committed to annihilating Inkatha.

However, he said the prime cause of the conflict was apartheid.

Buthelezi said: "As long as the curse of racist legislation damns this country and shackles black democracy (as well as democratic opposition to apartheid) conflicts of this kind are inevitable."

Buthelezi

The roots of the Maritzburg conflict were socio-economic, but elements in the UDF and Cosatu were trying to use the appalling deprivation in the area for their own political purposes.

Committed

"The ANC and its supporters in other organisations see Inkatha and those who are committed to non-violence and negotiation as an obstacle to their success in making the country 'ungovernable'."

Buthelezi said there was ample evidence of ANC activity in the area "and as KwaZulu's Minister of Police I have access to information that leaves no doubt in my mind that the External Mission of the ANC has been involved in fomenting violence".

The conflict was not an "ethnic" one, "but there are whites and Indians who are actively involved in the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance who would like to see Inkatha's power base destroyed".

Buthelezi denied Inkatha recruitment drives were a key factor in the conflict. "Any leader of any organisation would be a fool to seek support by force."

Buthelezi said he continued to support calls for peace but Inkatha believed it had a right to defend itself. "We will not be intimidated out of existence."

Campaign

With regard to the right of the UDF and Cosatu to campaign and organise in KwaZulu, Buthelezi said any lawful organisation had a democratic right to put its views to the people and to seek their support.

But, he said, when any organisation abused that right, "the people have a right to lawfully oppose their actions".

Continuing 'war' threat to Indaba

ROGER SMITH

THE continuing war between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the Maritzburg region is being seen by KwaZulu/Natal Indaba officials as a threat to the future of the Indaba.

"It doesn't create the environment for negotiation," Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk said in Durban yesterday.

In stressing the Indaba's concern about the situation, he referred to an earlier statement supporting calls for an end to the violence.

In the statement, he urged all Indaba supporters in affected areas to prove their commitment to powersharing and constructive change by doing everything possible to strengthen the hands of peacemakers and discourage violence.

Asked whether the fact Inkatha supported the Indaba while the UDF and Cosatu opposed it did not undercut its position on negotiation politics, Van Wyk said the Indaba was not for or against anybody.

He said: "Our main intent is to bring people together. We are committed to bringing together everybody committed to peaceful change."

He said the Indaba had dissociated itself from perpetrators of violence.

Bus drivers strike after killing of a colleague

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — About 130 000 people were affected yesterday when bus drivers employed by KwaZulu Transport in the capital refused to work after the killing of one of their colleagues during unrest at the weekend.

Kwazulu Transport MD E Marshall, said all Sizanani Mazulu Transport drivers had refused to work on Sunday and yesterday leaving thousands of commuters stranded and unable to get to work.

This followed the shooting of a bus driver in the Elandskop area outside the capital on Saturday evening, he said.

Following lengthy negotiations, drivers agreed to return to work yesterday evening on condition that they need not enter the townships after dark.

Marshall said several bus drivers and staff members had been killed in violence in the Maritzburg district.

'Tax help nurtures growing industry'

JENNY BOBERG

THE key to the Republic of China's (ROC's) success in electronics is the government's willingness to be the "enabler" rather than the "controller", by offering a wide range of incentives.

Altron group executive DH Jacobson, who led a delegation from SA industry to the ROC in October, makes this point in his report. The CSIR sponsored tour group studied the ROC's success as an electronics exporter.

Tax concessions, says the report, have proved highly effective because they encourage "winners". "If a business is not successful it is not paying taxes and cannot make use of tax concessions."

In the ROC, (Taiwan) a five-year corporate income tax holiday is granted to new enterprises. Imported machinery and equipment are tax exempt, the depreciation of machinery is accelerated by up to 50% and generous tax credits are given for expenditure on technology development.

These concessions, should, the delegation believes, be implemented in SA. "If the above measures are rejected in principle by government, as a consequence of the view of the Margo Commission, then a method of direct cash incentives should be used".

Those governments which create a wide variety of incentives encourage electronics industries to expand, says Jacobson's report.

17/2/88 B/Day (11B)

BUSIN

NEWS FOCUS

Peace talks coup for Buthelezi

ROGER SMITH

ANY MEETING soon between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and UDF president Archie Gumede could be perceived as a propaganda coup for Buthelezi, who has been asking for such a meeting for years.

The UDF, which has until now rejected the notion of such a meeting, has been forced into a corner through the need to bring an end to the violence between warring Inkatha and UDF supporters. The Maritzburg region death toll is climbing at the rate of about three a day.

The Maritzburg peace talks provided the means by which Inkatha manoeuvered the UDF into the position where acceptance of a Buthelezi/Gumede meeting has become necessary.

The talks, mediated by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, were originally between a local UDF/Cosatu delegation and an Inkatha delegation consisting of Inkatha Youth Brigade leaders and local Inkatha members.

They were said to have been making good progress until the Inkatha delegation was expanded to include such Inkatha "heavies" as Siegfried Bengu and listed communist Rowley Arenstein. The second round of talks deadlocked over Inkatha's insistence the UDF repudiate a Marxist Workers' Tendency article advocating the destruction of Inkatha.

While stressing the article did not emanate from them or reflect their views, the UDF/Cosatu eventually did so. But the talks did not resume and negotiations bogged down as, according to the Inkatha side, the question remained one of addressing the attitude of the UDF/Cosatu to Inkatha.

Inkatha insisted the talks be elevated to the national level, and include national leaders. UDF-/Cosatu, in submissions for the next round of talks, are now prepared to agree.

This implied acceptance of a Buthelezi/Gumede meeting was confirmed this week when Gumede accepted an invitation to church-sponsored peace talks scheduled for February 23 near Durban, which Buthelezi might be expected to attend.

Gumede said it was up to Buthelezi to take up his invitation and make it to the meeting.

The invitation has been sent to the UDF, Inkatha, Uwusa, Cosatu, church leaders, the Maritzburg and Durban Chambers of Commerce and the Maritzburg Council of Churches.

Gumede refused comment on the letter he received from Buthelezi at the weekend calling for accord between the UDF and Inkatha, saying that he had passed it on to the UDF executive for a reply to be considered.

But he said the letter had in a sense already been answered by the fact of the forthcoming church-sponsored talks and the UDF submissions earlier this month which allowed for the participation of national leaders in the Maritzburg peace talks.

The February 23 meeting would be the leaders' first in many years. Since 1984 the UDF has rejected Buthelezi's requests for a meeting with Gumede because of Inkatha's participation in homeland structures and a belief Inkatha is divisive and undemocratic.

Gumede said the present situation would seem to warrant a meeting. He stressed, however, that the peace negotiations had suffered a serious setback with the detention of UDF Natal Midlands region secretaries Martin Wittenberg and Skumbuza Ngwenya.

"It will be very difficult to speak about the problems of Maritzburg in the absence of these people. They must be released."

12/2/88
Star

Buthelezi slams US newspaper article

(11B)

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The *New York Times* has come under scathing criticism from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for claims made in a front-page article on the role of Inkatha in recent clashes between its members and supporters of the United Democratic Front in the Maritzburg area.

Chief Buthelezi took particular exception to implications in the article that Inkatha would offer special protection for whites.

"You allege that of all the major black groups, Inkatha is considered 'the most politically accommodating' to whites," he wrote.

"In a 'transition to black rule' there are prospects, you say, that Inkatha would 'provide special protection for whites'.

"What does this imply? That we believe all South Africans — black and white — should share power? Or, that we are prepared to deal with our political oppressors behind black South Africa's backs?"

Inkatha, he said, was adamant that South Africa's future should be determined by all its citizens.

"A post-apartheid constitution will have to be written by the people, and no organisation can claim to be the sole and authentic representative (as the African National Congress does) of the majority of South Africans."

He chided the paper for failing to mention that the "pro-violence African National Congress (which receives arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union and elsewhere) is active in Pietermaritzburg, and that it is the stated policy of the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable".

11.6

Behind the battle lines in Maritzburg

More than 400 people have already died in the relentless fighting between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front-Cosatu in the Edendale Valley in Maritzburg. In a four-part series, JOE THLOLOE examines the conflict after seeing and talking to the people involved . . .

LOST in a mad man's maze

FOCUS

TRYING to understand the history and the logic of the violence in Maritzburg is like trying to find your way out of a mad man's maze, where all the possibilities lead to dead ends.

For instance, talk to Mr Ben Jele, a member of Inkatha's Central Committee, and you would believe you were getting warmer.

He is very relaxed in his office in a company where he is welfare officer and tells a story that is plausible: Maritzburg youths tried to follow the rest of the country in attacking black town councillors and policemen. He says that in Natal they added Inkatha members to the list of victims.

"Inkatha members are merely defending themselves," Mr Jele argues.

Given what has been happening in other areas around the country since the Vaal burst into flames on September 3, 1984, his story does make some sense. Councillors, policemen and "informers" were attacked mercilessly as the black community saw liberation just round the corner.

The flaming "necklace" of those days will go down in our history books. But Maritzburg also staked its place in them with ruthless decapitation, including the beheading of small children.

Mr Jele traces the present violence in Maritzburg to Durban in 1983. "When the townships of Lamontville and Chesterville were to be incorporated into KwaZulu, white liberals stepped in and told people that if they agreed to it they would lose their rights to be in Durban. They said people would be allowed to work in Durban only if they had permits.

"The radicals took advantage of that and started saying that KwaZulu was a tool of the National Party. And that was when attacks against Inkatha members started.

"In Maritzburg the violence actually started when my home was attacked with petrol bombs in 1984.

Attacked

"I was fast asleep one night when I was awakened by a loud bang about 1 am. Petrol bombs were being thrown at my home and these were followed by a rain of stones. All my windows were smashed and furniture and the TV set were damaged."

Mr Jele says that after his house had been attacked other houses in Maritzburg were also attacked.

In 1985 the homes of the mayor of Imbali, Mr Patrick Pakkies, and of the deputy mayor, Mr Abdul Awetta, were also attacked with petrol bombs.

"At the time these homes were attacked, Mr Pakkies was not a member of Inkatha; he only joined recently. Mr Awetta was a member of Inkatha — in fact, he was chairman of the Ward 4 branch of Inkatha."

Mr Jele says the conflict reached its present proportions when there was a "disruption of schooling and buses were stopped from entering the township in 1985."

"Our children were being forced out of classrooms; we were stopped from using buses; and we were not allowed to buy anything from town," Mr Jele says. "And these things were being imposed on the community.

Meeting

"I personally went to the mayor and asked him to call a residents' meeting to discuss the problems in the township.

"The meeting resolved that each parent must accompany his children to school and see to it that the children went there to learn.

"It also resolved that each bus coming into the township would be escorted by 10 men riding in it to stop the stone throwers.

"It was in this way that we restored order to Imbali Township. The children went back to class, buses started to come in and out of the township normally and we resumed buying from town. And it was all the work of the residents, not of Inkatha.

"I did not want to bring Inkatha in because that was not an Inkatha problem."

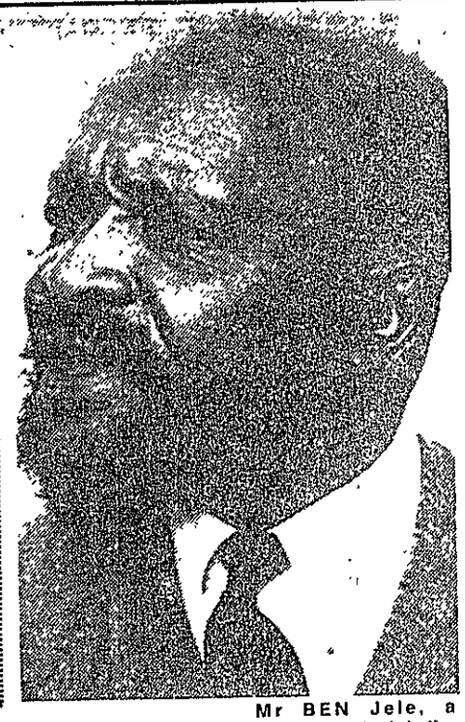
Mr Jele concedes that there were violent clashes at the time and many people who were for the boycotts were forced to flee the township.

A plausible story, Mr Jele's.

But it does not explain some events like those that took place on the weekend of January 30 and 31 and the week after when the township of Ashdown was besieged by Inkatha supporters and when Inkatha supporters entered Maritzburg city and attacked people at random before the police arrested 46 of them, three of them children under 13.

And it differs radically from what the *ama-Qabane* say against *oTheleweni* (push them down the cliff), the Inkatha supporters.

• Tomorrow: Ashdown residents tell of forced recruitment by Inkatha and describe how they are defending themselves.



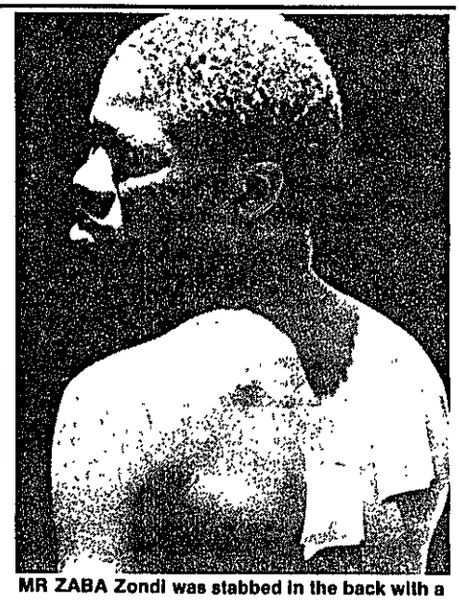
Mr BEN Jele, a member of the Inkatha Central Committee, chairman of Inkatha's Imbali constituency, and well-known in boxing circles throughout the country as former manager of Divid "Slumber" Gogotya. *(Pic courtesy Natal Witness).*

11B

On the run from Inkatha

Behind the battle lines in Maritzburg

More than 400 people have already died in the relentless fighting between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front-Cosatu in the Edendale Valley in Maritzburg. In a four-part series, JOE THLOLOE examines the conflict after seeing and talking to the people involved . . .



MR ZABA Zondi was stabbed in the back with a spear by Inkatha members . . .
(Courtesy *Natal Witness*)

ON Tuesday, February 2, we drove over a narrow bridge across the Msunduzi River into Ashdown, a township of four-roomed houses in the Edendale Valley.

We climbed uphill, then past the stadium, which had "Welcome to Zambia" written on the corrugated iron fence.

It is a normal South African black township preparing for the evening meals: men walking home slowly, children playing in the dust and smoke climbing from the chimneys of the houses.

It is also one of what the *amaQabane* call the liberated areas: this one they call Zambia; Macibisa is called Lusaka; Georgetown, Tanzania; Dambuza Road, Angola . . .

We reach the home of Mr Dumisani Mbanjwa, an official of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, at the border between Ashdown and Mpumuza. We park behind his car in the yard.

His front door is locked and barred. We walk to the back and see a *Buffel* armoured vehicle carrying soldiers driving past.

Smoke rises from the grass in the open space behind the yard.

Suddenly our eyes sting: that smoke was tearsmoke. We are choaking and tears are streaming down our cheeks as we rush to the tap next to the toilet. As we are shouting Mr Mbanjwa opens the door and he is laughing.

"You are lucky you got only a whiff of that thing," he says. "We have been inhaling it since Sunday."

And so he and his colleagues start the story of the Sunday before:

Rally

According to them Inkatha had a rally attended by thousands of people in Mpumuza, just across the valley.

After the rally a group of about eight men drove into Ashdown in a kombi and attacked a boy and a girl near the stadium. The boy, a visitor from another township, was hacked to death before the police and soldiers escorted the group back to Mpumuza.

As the small group attacked from the rear, the main body made a frontal attack on Ashdown: hundreds of men armed with sticks, bush knives and other weapons tried to march on the township.

The men of Ashdown also grabbed their weapons and confronted the attacking group.

FOCUS

The police and the army intervened, keeping the *oTheleweni* on the Mpumuza side and the *amaQabane* on the Ashdown side.

"We did not sleep that night," Mr Mbanjwa says. "In fact we snatch only a couple of hours' sleep every night because we have to watch against an Inkatha invasion. They are desperately trying to regain control of this township."

Bheki Zuma continues the story: "About six of us were hiding in the yard at my home when at about 9 pm we heard a commotion in the next yard. The boy from that house, Sicelo Sithole, was with us.

"He jumped over the fence to check what was happening at his home. We heard him scream and the soldiers switched on a search light.

"When the light was switched on about 60 Inkatha men who had been hiding in the dark ran back towards Mpumuza and when we reached Sicelo we found he had been shot in the arm."

Sicelo was admitted to the Northdale Hospital, at the opposite end of Maritzburg. *amaQabane* do not use Edendale Hospital because they fear they will be attacked there.

The vigil continued through Monday when the township residents decided not to go to work and not to send their children to school.

"We are guarding our homes against further Inkatha attacks," Mr Mbanjwa says.

How did all this violence start?

The Ashdown residents we spoke to trace it to 1986 when a Mr Majola went on a drive to recruit youngsters for the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Meetings

"He and his men would round up all the youngsters they could lay their hands on and take them to the hall for Inkatha meetings twice a week," one man told us.

"At these meetings they would tell us that if we did not want to join Inkatha we had to leave the township."

Many boys went into hiding, no longer staying at their homes, because they did not want to join Inkatha.

Phelelani Dube, who is now 24, recalls how his home was burnt down because he refused to join Inkatha.

"I was not staying at home then. But one afternoon Inkatha members got to my home looking for me. When my sister told them I was not there, one of them hit her with the butt of a gun.

"They drove out my two sisters and their children, poured petrol in the house and then set it alight. Everything was destroyed.

"The three of us, my nephews and nieces and my mother sheltered with relatives for six months while the house was being repaired."

Tomorrow: What hopes for peace?

JOHN McKenzie (50), who was hacked on the head with a bush knife when Inkatha members attacked people at random in the centre of Maritzburg.
(Courtesy *Natal Witness*)

Lest we forget

THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- **Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 431 days;**
- **Brian Sokutu, Eastern Cape free-lance journalist, 615 days;**
- **Vincent Mfundisi, of SABC-TV, has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 139**

Court told of fatal stabbing

CAPE TIMES 18/2/88

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A Sweetwaters woman described in the Supreme Court here yesterday how her 70-year-old father was stabbed to death at the weekend and her mother was seriously injured in what she alleges was an attack on their home by Inkatha supporters.

The dead man, Mr Johannes Nkomo, was one of 19 parties, including Cosatu, who had applied to the court for restraining orders against Inkatha and four of its officials.

Mr Nkomo said in an affidavit which was before the court last Friday, that he feared an attack by Inkatha. The case was yesterday adjourned for oral evidence.

Miss Nomabheka Flora Nkomo, 35, told the court in papers of a large crowd which gathered at their home on Sunday evening. She said she believed them to be Inkatha members or supporters.

"The crowd attacked our house, breaking all the windows with knobkieries and empty beer bottles. They then broke down the door and shouted they wanted my brother, Bongi, who is a supporter of the United Democratic Front."

Miss Nkomo said she was stabbed in both shoulders by attackers she identified as Mabhayi Mngadi and "Mjenqeka".

She claims she saw them stab her father to death.

● Sapa reports that Deputy Attorney General Mr Les Roberts told the Supreme Court allegations of violence by Maritzburg township residents seeking restraining orders against alleged assailants were being investigated and criminal proceedings would be instituted if necessary.

'We don't use force' — Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The carnage in the area had to stop, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in an affidavit in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu assured the court of his commitment to peace and promised to use all his influence to achieve it.

"Both I and the first respondent (Inkatha) abhor violence and long for peace," he said.

Cosatu and 19 others have applied for restraining orders against five Inkatha officials and Inkatha itself.

Chief Buthelezi denied that Inkatha tried to recruit supporters by threats and force.

Regarding allegations of murder and assault against the Inkatha officials, he said he was unable to control the manner in which they acted in their capacity as chiefs.

"If they are members of Inkatha then that is incidental in my submission," he said.

Fears in P'mburg as elderly man slain

AN elderly man who brought an application against Inkatha members restraining them from assaulting or killing him has been found dead — two days after he brought the application.

Sowetan Reporter

There are now fears in Maritzburg that people who brought applications against Inkatha members and officials were in danger.

A former Inkatha member, Mr Bhekamafa Nkomo (70), claimed in court papers last Friday that he and his family feared for their lives. On Sunday he was found murdered in his Mbubu home.

His wife was critically injured in the attack and is in hospital. His daughter was also stabbed.

A number of interdicts against "warlords" have been granted and the question now doing the rounds is: "Are the applicants now safe?"

Last week a judge reprimanded another warlord who threatened people outside court.

Police have said that Mr Nkomo was killed by unknown assailants.

In affidavits filed before his death, Mr Nkomo said after he failed to attend a meeting at the chief's residence youths with shields, spears and knobkieries assaulted him and told him to leave his home.

"I did not go to the meeting on Sunday because I was ill. No one else went from my home. At approximately 6.30 pm a group of young men came to my house. I knew two of them. They asked me where my son Bongi was. I replied that I did not know.

The following day, on Monday, February 1 at 8 pm, another group led by two men arrived at my home.

"I asked 'what is going on my children?' One of them hit me on the chest with the flat side of his dagger and said we must pack our things and leave."

SEX KILLER: NEW FEARS

Sowetan 19/2/88

NEW fears swept through the Western Transvaal town of Klerksdorp after a rape attempt on a woman this week — and the police are now investigating the possibility that the man they are holding in connection with the rape and murder of 10 women may not be the culprit.

By ALI MPHAKI
Crime Reporter

The police have said the suspect was arrested towards the end of January after an unsuccessful rape attempt, and it is difficult to link him to the 10 murders.

The decomposed bodies of 10 women were discovered on a koppie in the past four days. They had apparently been raped and then killed.

The bodies do not have wounds and police believe that the women may have been strangled.

Residents' fears were sparked off on Monday when a Jouberton woman was lured to the "koppie" that was the scene of the murders by a man who had promised her a job. The woman escaped when the man tried to rape her. The would-be rapist is still on the run.

According to the police, Monday's attempted rape could mean that the rapist-killer of the 10 women was still at large and the man arrested for attempted rape late in January was not linked to these crimes as previously suspected.

Murders

The investigating officer and commanding officer of the Klerksdorp CID, Lieutenant Doeds Myburgh, said this man was to appear in court on February 26.

"While there is a possibility that he is not linked to the 10 murders, we cannot rule out another possibility that Monday's attempted rape may not be by the man who committed the

To Page 3

Doctors' D-Day

TODAY is D-Day for Baragwanath doctors who have been ordered to apologise for an article that appeared in the *South African Medical Journal* or face disciplinary action.

The ultimatum from the Transvaal Provincial Administration was extended to today by the Director of Hospitals, Dr Hennie van Wyk, last week after representations were made to him.

Last Thursday several organisations met at the Glyn Thomas Hall at Baragwanath and resolved to write a letter to the provincial authorities.

A spokesman for the Health Workers Association, representing the doctors, yesterday said none of the doctors had apologised. They were prepared to defend themselves against whatever action might be taken against them.

The director of Hospital Services, Dr Hennie van Wyk, and MEC in charge of hospitals, Mr Dan Kirstein, were not available for comment yesterday.

A receptionist in the office of Dr van Wyk in Pretoria yesterday said he was in a meeting with Mr Kirstein.

A doctor at the hospital yesterday said that they would not apologise because nothing had been done to improve the conditions since the matter was brought to public notice.

Sowetan 19/2/88

P.T.O

(11B) Sowetan 19/2/88

Behind the battle lines in Maritzburg

More than 400 people have already died in the relentless fighting between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front-Cosatu in the Edendale Valley in Maritzburg. This is the last of a four-part series in which JOE THLOLOE examines the conflict after seeing and talking to the people involved . . .

CHIEF Buthelezi . . . Inkatha leader.

Caught in the crossfire

FOCUS

FOR as long as a solution to the violence in Maritzburg is not found, for that long will the man in the middle continue to suffer more than everybody else.

Example: We sat in the lounge of the Mthembu home in Imbali and listened to their tale of months of terror. Every time a car drove past in the hour we were there, a member of the family would go to the curtain to peep outside.

They live on their nerves.

In the bedroom 29-year-old Simon lifted his pyjama top to show us a healing scar right down his belly and a smaller one on his left side.

Painfully his father, Mr Johannes Mthembu, lifted him to a sitting position. He asked me to feel around his shoulder blade and just under his skin was a bullet.

Hospital

Simon cannot explain how it got there: all he knows is that he was shot through his side and his belly. Doctors have removed one of his kidneys.

The family "stole" Simon from the Northdale Hospital, where he had been admitted, because they believed that Inkatha members would go there to finish him off.

Back in the lounge, Smalridge (24), one of the Mthembu brothers, has his arm in a sling: a bullet, which has not been removed yet, smashed his collar bone.

Elphas (26) shows a scar where a bullet went through his foot. He also shows us a burn mark on one of his fingers, again the work of a bullet.

The Mthembu home is in the centre of a part of Imbali Township known as Ulundi, after the capital of KwaZulu. This part is an Inkatha stronghold.

The Mthembus say that the way they were sucked into the violence was unbelievably casual.

On Saturday, August 1, last year, Simon and Smalridge were seeing their cousin, who had visited them, out when they saw two youths chasing another in the street.

Apparently the youth outran the two, who came back and threatened the Mthembu brothers with knives. The brothers ran back into their home to arm themselves. In the end one of the attacking youths was stabbed in the arm by Simon.

This skirmish deteriorated into the bloody war between Inkatha members and the Mthembu family.

Cars have parked outside the house and shots fired into it; the Mthembu brothers and their father have been ambushed and attacked; charges and counter-charges have been laid with the Plessieslaer police.

The Mthembus have so far been granted two court interdicts restraining the leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in Harewood, Mr Sichizo Zuma, from assaulting them and from entering the Northdale Hospital, where Simon was a patient until his family became concerned about his safety.

The Mthembu patriarch insists that they are not *amaQabane:* "If we were, the *amaQabane* would be camping here to protect us. My sons and I are on our own and our only sin is that we refuse to join Inkatha."

Question

The logical question at the end of a visit to Maritzburg is: What are the police doing about the violence?

The Maritzburg police would not talk to us: they referred all inquiries to Pretoria.

We sent the following telex to the SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria:

"Would you please advise the following as soon as possible:

1. The number of arrests in Maritzburg since the beginning of the present unrest.

2. The number of convictions of people arrested.

3. The charges on which these people were convicted and the sentences they received.

4. The number of outstanding cases to be heard.

5. The number of acquittals.

6. The number of detentions under the state of emergency which are related to the unrest in Maritzburg.

"What do you have to say against accusations that the police in Maritzburg are taking sides in the unrest?

"Is it possible to arrange an interview with the brigadier who came in with 100 men this week?"

The reply was: "All arrests are furnished on our daily unrest report. However, each crime committed (e.g. murder, assault, arson, etc.) is investigated individually and further arrests are possible. These further arrests are not reported to this office.

"As regards questions 2 to 5, we cannot assist you with these figures. To obtain this information, each and every police station in the division or area concerned would have to be contacted and records checked. This would be counter-productive in terms of time and manpower.

"With regard to question 6, this office does not confirm detentions under the emergency regulations.

"We have stated emphatically on several occasions that the SA Police does not side with any faction or organisation and that we are impartial.

"Your request for an interview has been carefully considered but we regret to advise that we cannot accede to your request."

So one door is shut.

We visit Mr Radley Keys, the regional director of the Progressive Federal Party, who hosted 106 women on the day of the stay-at-home in Ashdown.

He points out that there are six police stations serving the city of Maritzburg, but only one and a caravan serving the vast Edendale Valley.

Mr Keys helped the

● To Page 9

Inkatha denies responsibility for violence

D/D 19/2/88

Buthelezi explains rift with the ANC

11B

PIETERMARITZBURG — The president of Inkatha and chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday explained in court papers how and why he broke ties with the African National Congress (ANC).

Responding to allegations by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and 19 others that Inkatha was responsible for acts of violence in the Edendale Valley after a rally on January 31, 1988, Chief Buthelezi and senior Pietermaritzburg officials of Inkatha denied in the Supreme Court here that their organisation was responsible for the violence.

Chief Buthelezi described, in his affidavit, how Cosatu and the United Democratic Front (UDF) had used "court orders as propaganda and proof of the fact (as they allege) that the court has found Inkatha responsible for all the violence in the townships surrounding Pietermaritzburg and the UDF and Cosatu supporters are portrayed as the innocent victims.

Chief Buthelezi believed that the present application was, in his view, "a further strategem" to promote the propaganda of the UDF and Cosatu.

Chief Buthelezi told of how the break between Inkatha and the ANC came about after a joint meeting between the organisation's "external mission" and Inkatha in London in 1979.

During that conference suggestions were made to Inkatha which would have resulted in Inkatha becoming a surrogate organisation of the ANC, Chief Buthelezi said.

He refused to accept the suggestion and his refusal "led in 1980 to the ANC breaking all relations with Inkatha and me."

Since that time, Chief Buthelezi said, the head of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo "began criticising me publicly."

"Mr Tambo did not have the courage of his convictions and he could not control his own organisation, and had perforce to side with those who saw Inkatha as a threat," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said that the ANC had told the "South African contingent" at Dakar that it believed in the principle of "liberatory intolerance".

This meant "no democratic rights for any organisations or persons that have opposed the ANC in any respect.

He alleged that the UDF was a "surrogate" organisation of the ANC which used the former to create a situation of "ungovernability" in South Africa.

He also said that there had been ongoing discussions between the UDF and Inkatha to which a president of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, had been a party.

"Time and again Mr Gumede has left meetings to seek confirmation from the UDF's national leadership that agreements should take place."

Time and again we have not heard from him, he said.

"An analysis of the 'applicants' case reveals such a tenuous link between me personally and the alleged incidents (of violence in the Edendale valley) that I believe I am correct in suspecting that my joinder in these proceedings is an attempt by the applicants to force this court to take an action which is politically advantageous to my political opponents."

To support his claims against the ANC, Chief Buthelezi appended a document of the ANC's national consultative conference in 1985, which outlined a programme of action to discredit Inkatha and use the UDF to establish "ANC collectives".

In terms of the court order agreed to by the counsel for Inkatha and Cosatu, three Inkatha senior officials gave an undertaking that they would not assault or damage the property of any person."

An order of the court was handed down by Mr Justice Howard ruling that the application by Cosatu and 19 others would be referred to trial on a date to be determined by the registrar of the Supreme Court. — Sapa

KWAZULU/NATAL

Testing the links

Strained relations between KwaZulu and Natal face a stern test this week when the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) meets to discuss the provision of services in the black shacklands surrounding Durban.

The debate will require cool heads. The politically intractable nature of the subject, continuing violence in Natal's capital city, Maritzburg, and damaging talk that KwaZulu may pull out of the fledgling JEA are just some of the elements which have combined to raise the political temperature.

Another is the fact that service infrastructure is properly the business of a regional services council (RSC) — absent in Durban because KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has refused to participate, arguing that KwaZulu was not consulted. This has become a sore point between the KwaZulu Legislative Authority and the Natal Provincial Administration, the two parties to the JEA.

The absence of an RSC has obliged the JEA to undertake the delicate task of forward planning of services in what is termed the Durban Functional Region (DFR) by the Durban municipality. The DFR includes KwaMashu and Umlazi and also the vast shack settlements, some within "white" Natal and some in KwaZulu territory surrounding the "formal" city limits.

By comparison with the 387 000 whites living within the city boundaries, about 1,7m blacks live in the DFR and the explosive growth of informal housing in this area makes Durban one of the fastest growing cities in the world.

It now seems increasingly likely that Buthelezi hopes to bend the JEA into performing the functions of an RSC and thus save political face without jeopardising the living circumstances of his constituents.

Whether his partners in the JEA allow this is another matter. There are increasing signs that the NPA will not accommodate what is regarded as politicking by Buthelezi. In any event, the resolution of the ballooning housing shortage and associated service problems will require considerable capital not yet committed. The deadlocked RSC was, of course, intended not only to administer services, but to levy the funds for their creation.

It is unlikely, therefore, that the JEA will itself undertake to finance, commission and operate services in the area. It is more likely to agree that this is properly the function of either an RSC, or, to save face for Buthelezi, an RSC by another name. ■

19/2/88

UDF used force after call by ANC: Buthelezi

19/2/88 Star

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — In 1984 the external mission of the African National Congress (ANC) had called for making the townships ungovernable, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi said in Supreme Court papers in Maritzburg on Wednesday.

Thereafter, he said, United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters had begun using violence against Inkatha supporters and against the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

He said that the UDF was a surrogate of the ANC (external mission) was acknowledged in a report of its national consultative conference held in June 1985.

Chief Buthelezi's affidavit was given in an application by the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and 19 other applicants for restraining orders against five Inkatha officials and Inkatha itself.

Part of the document reads: "We support the campaigns of the UDF around which mobilisation both on regional and national levels is planned: high cost of living, education, militarisation, forced removals, influx control, New Zealand rugby tour, land issue, treason trials.

"In particular, those campaigns which are in line with the strategy of generating a spirit of defiance and ungovernability.

"We should establish ANC collectives within affiliates, as well as the leadership. These would not act as factions, but as organised sections of our movement fighting for the strengthening and consolidation of the UDF.

Another passage reads: "His (Buthelezi's) counter-revolutionary role must be exposed and we must work to win over his supporters and deprive him of a social base. The more notorious puppets, like Sebe in the Ciskei, have placed themselves, through their actions, squarely within the enemy camp and must be dealt with accordingly."

Another passage on mobilising the white community reads: "To ensure that democratic whites become active participants of the struggle we recommend that:

- They work increasingly to popularise the End Conscription Campaign. The issue of conscription can be explained and the community convinced politically that they should not join the SADF.

No ruling was made by Mr Justice Howard and the matter was referred to a date to be fixed for oral evidence.

However, three respondents, Mr V V Mvelase, Mr N Zondi and Mr David Ntombela, gave undertakings that they would not incite or assault anybody and would not damage property or threaten anybody.

W/Mail 19-25/2/88 (11B) whole page

KRISJAN LEMMER'S DIARY

YOU KNOW, things are hotting up in my former neck of the woods with these by-elections coming up. Now I find it all very interesting, but there is a problem for me: Lemmer is a famous old name in the district, and there are a lot of them. Worse, one is the National Party candidate in Schweizer-Reneke. As a result, my once-underworked secretary now faces a daily deluge of enquiries. Some callers want to donate money to my "campaign fund". (This is fine.) Some want to tar and feather me. (This is not.)

AND the HNP's newspaper, *Die Afrikaner*, has made matters worse by publishing an exposé under the headline "LEMMER 'N BROEDER". This has caused people to shun me, even though I have assured them that the statement is only true insofar as my sister Krisjanette is concerned. So, friends, I must once again ask for help. Please assure doubters that the only parties I belong to are the ones where snacks are served in between generous pourings of brandy and coke.

I HAVE just received an invitation to what looks like a very interesting conference in the homeland-everyone-wants-to-visit, Bophuthatswana. Organised by the National Occupational Safety Association, the gathering (at Sun City) is entitled "Safety and its Spin-offs". Personally, I think it is very timely in view of the Rocky path the homeland has recently been travelling. The sessions themselves are very practical, too. For example, there's "Explosives Usage", "Flameproofing — The Rules", and "Housekeeping Pays Off". Then, as a real crowd-pleaser, a special paper on "Troubled Employees". One can only hope this is to be delivered by sometime-president Lucas Mangope, who knows more about them than most.

I think I must attend, don't you? The R450-a-night price is a bit stiff, I admit, but it does include a Superbowl Banquet. And I have been couped up here for too long.

THERE is much confusion about the latest advertisement from everyone's favourite multinational, Shell. Erudite Cape Town artist Nicolaas Vergunst says not only is the picture adapted from a 1926 Soviet poster by Adolf Strakhov (original slogan: "You are a free woman — help to build socialism"), but the text is adopted from the Congress Alliance's 1955 Freedom Charter: "Everyone has the right to vote for all law-making bodies".

The 1926 Soviet original

"Both picture and slogan originate from mass-based struggles for socialist democracy," says Nicolaas, "so what is this piece of promotional propaganda about?" Has Shell suddenly become convinced of the merits of a socialist future? he wonders.

Well, Nicolaas, this sort of talk goes above my head. But I do hear a rumour that Shell is denying all knowledge of the historical legacy of the new campaign material. Which is a good way to retain credibility on office (and factory) floors.

A SPORTY friend tells a story about Tony Lewis, the former England cricket captain and now BBC journalist who has been visiting as the guest of the South African Cricket Union and SABC-TV. Now my friend has no doubt Lewis is well qualified to pronounce on matters regarding the willow and leather: it's his views on the politics of the sport that stump him.

Why? Well, for one thing, when asked whether he had consulted the rival South African Cricket Board (a Sacos affiliate), Lewis said he "hadn't had time". My friend said some doubt was cast on his sincerity when it was pointed out that he'd just returned from a lengthy round of golf. But Lewis, who has publicly called for an MCC tour of South Africa, was unabashed: "I have been to all the townships where cricket is played", he said. (My friend estimates such a feat would take longer than a verbatim reading of the collected speeches of Jaap Marais.)

Asked if Sacos would be making efforts to meet Lewis on his next safari, a representative would only comment: "There is no place here for a full toss."

AMONG the Ciskei army officers who received quick promotions after their colleagues in Bop got out of hand was one Colonel S Zwelendaba, now elevated to the rank of Brigadier and deputy commander of the Ciskei Defence Force. I am told by a friend who follows intrigues in Bisho that his recommendation for promotion — delivered by Ciskei Minister of Defence, Chief DN Mavuso — included the following: "Colonel Zwelendaba is one of the original members of the CDF, and he has been in the operational areas of South Africa". Some mistake, surely, thought my informant. But no: asked about the citation, Zwelendaba confirmed he had served in "South West Africa". "I did border duty," he said with appropriate military gruffness.

And people laughed when PW talked of homeland armies and the SADF coming to each other's aid in times of need ...

BOP's *klein couptjie* has even caused ferment in the local wine industry, writes a cultivated imbiber. Since the coup, he says, bottles of *Falcon Crest Paarl Rouge* (sic) — which had, until then, proudly borne the inscription "Bottled in the Republic of Bophuthatswana" — admit only to their South African origins.

The bizarre vintage — which claims to have been "judged superior to such classics as *Chateau Mouton Rothschild* in blind taste tests" — had been spotted at discerning stores in Midrand and Maralsburg. It sold for R3.99 — "buy two, get one free".

According to my correspondent's own blind tastings, *FCPR*, whether admitting to its Bop connection or not, is "best described as a fighting wine. Like most of Bop, it pongs".

Nevertheless, I think I should try it: so if you spot one, I am prepared to get blind with you.

THAT'S about all for now, friends, except for one thing. I have it noted in my diary that today is the day that Adelmarie Bekker's "Universal Bond" political party expects to achieve its reconstitution of Southern Africa. Which means that I am now living in Southernstate. And some of you are in Parkstate. Still others in Zulustate. And Botswana has disappeared.

Strangely, though, I don't feel any different ...

K. Lemmer

IN A MAJOR CASE, INKATHA LEADERS ARE ACCUSED FOR THE FIRST

To court: A case accusing Inkatha leaders

THE first court application in which the Inkatha leadership is accused of directing the Pietermaritzburg violence was referred to trial by the Natal Supreme Court this week.

The trial date is still to be announced by the court registrar.

In the meantime, three alleged Inkatha "warlords", Vitus Vusumuzi Mvelase, urban representative of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and a member of Inkatha's Central Committee, Nsikayezwe Zondi, chief of the Mpumuza area, and David Ntombela, an Inkatha branch chairman, have undertaken not to assault or threaten any person or any property.

But the "consent order" stresses that the three men deny they committed any of the criminal acts alleged in the founding affidavits.

The application was brought by 19 residents of Ashdown and Sweetwaters townships, outside Pietermaritzburg, and Cosatu.

Two of the "warlords" cited as respondents, Manfana Majola and Gende Dlamini, were not served with papers as lawyers could not find them.

In addition, Inkatha has denied that Zondi is an official of the organisation. According to the replying papers, chiefs are "ex officio patrons" of Inkatha "which affords them no authority as such".

Cries of 'Abajojwe ... stop them! Abajojwe! Kill them!'

By CARMEL RICKARD, Pietermaritzburg

INKATHA leaders used a rally to urge their members to attack and kill political opponents, according to affidavits presented in support of an interdict against the organisation.

Central to the application is the sworn statement of Andreas Mpangase, a building society clerk who describes himself as having "no political allegiance to any group"

Mpangase, now being treated in hospital for a gunshot wound, attended a meeting called by key Inkatha members on January 31.

Following the rally, according to the applicants' version of events, large groups of armed people — many in Inkatha uniforms — launched unprovoked attacks on local residents.

Mpangase claims that before the meeting residents had been warned by Philip Zondi, brother of a local chief, that "all those who did not attend would be attacked and their houses burnt".

Mpangase had thus decided to attend and on arrival saw a large number of people, many wearing Inkatha uniforms and badges.

"Most of the men were armed with sticks, stabbing spears and shields. There were several yellow police vans parked in the vicinity and a number of ... policemen in attendance."

Speakers included several high-ranking Inkatha leaders and chiefs, said Mpangase.

He alleges the same Zondi who issued the threats said the only way to end violence in the area was "to drive the UDF and Cosatu from KwaZulu to Xhosa areas The UDF and Cosatu were 'Indian' organisations and all who belonged to them should go and live with the 'Indians'.

"Any 'Indian' who did not move or repent and apologise, would be killed. He advised parents whose children had joined the 'other camp' to kill their children"

Mpangase alleges that KwaZulu MP Velaphi Ndlovu started his speech by "instructing us to remain loyal to the chiefs and to be certain that if we live in a chief's area to be members of Inkatha.

"He stated that our children must also be members of Inkatha and if they were not they must be brought to the chief's house where a formal apology was expected. Failing that, we would have to leave the area

"He threatened that refusal to join and refusal to leave would be reason for being killed."

An unnamed chief from Ladysmith allegedly said in his address to the meeting· "Cosatu is controlled by Slovo who is receiving instructions from Russia"

"He became emotional and started chanting. He rhythmically punctuated his chant with the Zulu word *abajojwe* (stab them), while simultaneously stabbing into the air with his spear.

"'What should we do about them? *Abajojwe!* Let's stop them! *Abajojwe!* Finish them off! *Abajojwe!* Kill them!' At each stabbing of the spear, the women would ululate and the men would stab into the air with their spears or sticks. As the pace increased the crowd became more frenzied."

> **'Ntombela said anyone who did not want to belong to Inkatha should be killed. He was prepared to go anywhere and kill those who are not Inkatha'**
>
> Statement by injured man Andreas Mpangase

At this point, Mpangase claims, a woman screamed that houses were burning at ePhayephini. Some people rushed off, but others remained at the rally.

Other speakers then allegedly pursued the theme that 'Indians' should no longer live in the area.

The last address was delivered by David Ntombela, one of the respondents.

According to Mpangase, "He said anyone who did not want to belong to Inkatha should be killed. He said he was prepared to go anywhere and kill all those who are not Inkatha. He said he would go to each of the chief's areas and kill the *amaqabane* ("comrades"). He asked permission od the chiefs to stop the meeting so that he could lead the people out (and) drive the UDF and Cosatu from the area."

After the meeting, claims Mpangase, he witnessed Inkatha supporters chasing, then shooting and repeatedly stabbing a former Sarmcol worker who lived in the area

On his way home, Mpangase was challenged by some in his party about where his son had been during the meeting (he told the court his sons were "active supporters of the UDF"), and he was later allegedly shot by one of the group

Several other statements before the court detail the threats allegedly made to those who did not attend the meeting, but most concern incidents in the 24 hour period following the rally

Witnesses described the circumstances of the deaths of two men — allegedly at the hands of people returning from the rally — and of injuries suffered by several others.

The first affidavit in the application was from the director of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), Peter Kerchhoff

He argued that the Inkatha Central Committee was responsible for implementing the "entire policy of the movement", exercising complete control over officials and disciplining all officials

He held further that office bearers of each local committee were directly answerable to the central committee and subject to its discipline and control

Kerchhoff said the rally was well planned and held under Inkatha's auspices. During the rally "high ranking (Inkatha) officials directly incited the audience to continue the violence against persons who did not associate themselves with (the organisation)."

The violence which followed the

Dead: The man who told

> *Johannes Nkomo was an Inkatha member, but he feared Inkatha 'warriors' most. Two days after making a statement, he was found dead.*
>
> JO-ANN BEKKER reports

SEVENTY year old Johannes Bhekamafa Nkomo told the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court he was "living in fear that the Inkatha warriors will again attack us" — and two days later he was dead.

Stranger still, Nkomo was an Inkatha supporter His wife had renewed her Inkatha membership the day before his death.

According to witnesses, the elderly Sweetwaters man was stabbed to death by the very "warlords" he had named in an affidavit supporting the urgent application he launched last Friday with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and 18 other Pietermaritzburg residents.

The matter had been postponed till Wednesday this week to give Inkatha and six "warlords" time to reply to the application.

In one of the replying affidavits, Vitus Vusumuzi Mvelase, urban representative of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and a member of Inkatha's Central Committee, said he had no knowledge of most of the allegations in Nkomo's statement. "The allegation that Nkomo is 'certain that Inkatha will return and again attack our community' is wholly unsubstantiated," Mvelase said.

Nkomo's daughter, Nomabheka Flora Nkomo, told *Weekly Mail* her father was murdered on Sunday evening — just one day after her mother had gone to the tribal court to renew their Inkatha membership.

"Inkatha people said if she did not come she could not collect pension money." But the membership ticket could not undo the fact that the 70-year-old man's son, Bongi, was a United Democratic Front supporter.

In his founding affidavit, Nkomo said his harassment began after he was ill and did not attend Inkatha's meeting in Mpumuza on January 31.

That evening, an armed group of young men, including Mahlamvana Ndlovu and Jabulani Buthelezi, came to his house looking for Bongi. The following day a larger group, again including Ndlovu and Buthelezi, returned

"Mahlamvana (Ndlovu) came up to me where I was standing," Nkomo said. "I asked, 'What's going on my children?' He hit me on the chest with the flat of his dagger and said we must now pack our things and leave the place, we were not to stay in the area. Mahlamvana also struck my wife on the nose with the flat of his bayonet. They then asked for my son, Bongi, and we said we had not seen him. Buthelezi then slapped my face."

TIME OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE MARITZBURG VIOLENCE. INKATHA DENY IT. HERE ARE THE OPPOSING CASES

A father's last respects for a victim of the violence in Natal
Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

rally was "precisely what officials had exhorted ... members to do."

Kerchhoff said no senior member of Inkatha had subsequently repudiated the meeting and its aftermath, although both had been widely publicised.

"The only inference to be drawn ... is that the rally with its associated incitement and condonation of further violence must have taken place with the knowledge and consent of (Inkatha's) central committee," he said.

Even if members go on rampage ... there is little Inkatha can do

By JO-ANN BEKKER
in Pietermaritzburg

THE crowd which left an Inkatha meeting in Mpumuza on January 31 and attacked residents in nearby Ashdown acted in self-defence against "radicals" who had burnt their homes, according to a senior Inkatha official.

Vitus Vusumuzi Mvelase, urban representative of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and a member of Inkatha's central committe, claimed also:

- The police, correctly in his view, did not stop people retaliating in "self-defence".
- Inkatha would not punish members who acted in self-defence. Even if the members should go on the rampage, Inkatha did not have the machinery to take any effective steps against them

Mvelase made these assertions in papers in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court this week.

He was one of several respondents replying to an urgent application brought by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and 19 Pietermaritzburg township residents

The application sought to restrain Inkatha's office bearers from killing, assaulting or threatening non-Inkatha supporting residents of Ashdown and Sweetwaters

Mvelase said there was no connection between acts of atrocity detailed in the court application and Inkatha, or the named "warlords". He denied any of the alleged attacks took place on the instructions of the Inkatha leadership. And he claimed "radicals" often wore Inkatha uniform, or colours, which were the same as those of the African National Congress.

In his replying affidavit, KwaZulu leader and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi added there was no connection between Inkatha and the tribal chiefs. "If they are members of Inkatha, then that is incidental I am unable to control the manner in which they act in their capacity as chiefs."

Mvelase said the affidavit by Peter Kerchhoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness was based on newspaper reports and therefore hearsay. He asked for it to be struck out.

Inkatha did not have the organisational structure to police compliance with Inkatha leadership, he said. He said "if the Inkatha members of a certain branch were to act in self-defence against an attack by the radicals, ... no punishment would be called for.

"Even if the members of a certain branch of Inkatha had actually gone on the rampage, there is very little that the Disciplinary Committee can do in terms of the Constitution . To the higher echelons of authority in the Inkatha structure such as the respondents in this matter, it is totally impossible to take any effective steps whatsoever."

Mvelase said the January 31 meeting had been called to end the violence in the area. Speakers had appealed to children to follow the "old customs of the Zulu nation".

Mvelase said while a member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly was addressing the audience, a woman shouted that houses were burning at ePhayephini, an area in Mphumuza.

A large number of people who lived there ran back to their homes and found them burning. The "radicals" responsible were lying in ambush, but they "managed to drive the arsonists back to Ashdown", Mvelase said

"I believe that the residents of ePhayephini whose homes had been set alight retaliated by setting alight to their assailants' homes as well. I wish to emphasise that this was a spontaneous reaction to arson and an attack which had been initiated by the radicals."

Mvelase denied as "preposterous" allegations that the police stoody idly by while the attacks took place. "I am virtually in daily contact with members of the police force who are desperately trying to stop the conflict."

'A woman shouted that houses were burning at ePhayephini. A large number ran off to find their homes burning. The radicals responsible lay in ambush'

Statement by Inkatha leader Vitus Mvelase

But Mvelase added "The police and defence force did not disarm the attackers because they had been provoked beyond all endurance by having their houses set alight, and then attacked by the radicals."

Mvelase denied people had attended the meeting out of fear, or that speakers incited the crowd against the United Democratic Front or Cosatu

He also denied he had derided the UDF and Cosatu as "Indian" organisations or suggested parents should kill their children if they joined the anti-Inkatha camp

He said he had blamed violence in the area on bus drivers who were members of the Cosatu-affiliated Transport and General Workers Union. The drivers, he said, transported Cosatu and UDF members at night to attack moderate Zulus

Mvelase admitted telling the audience that "Cosatu/UDF were the tools of the ANC and the Communist Party and that they should not listen to them I added that in spite of having resigned (from the ANC military leadership), Joe Slovo was behind all the violence in South Africa I finally besought them not to pay any attention to Cosatu and the UDF but to respect and support their chiefs, the KwaZulu government, and also Inkatha."

Inkatha branch chairman and member of the Mpumuza Tribal Authority, David Ntombela, also denied allegations that he had called for violence.

He said the theme of his speech was that he was "bitterly opposed to violence" and committed to assisting the authorities to stamp it out. "I said I would volunteer to act for the victims of any criminal acts and to point out their attackers to the police."

He said his sister had been attacked by "a well-known UDF supporter",

Ntombela said he left the meeting on the late afternoon of January 1988 in a convoy of vehicles As they were returning home they were confronted by a group of 50 shouting, "Come all together *maqabane* ("comrades") and kill the *Thelaweni* (Inkatha supporters) "

The police arrived and dispersed the attackers But the Inkatha group were attacked again "The police were, however, able to protect us and we reached home safely "

In his affidavit, Buthelezi accuses the UDF and Cosatu of using the court application — and a string of previous interdicts against Inkatha warlords — for propaganda.

He places the blame for the violence squarely on the shoulders of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

In strongly-worded statements which echo the state's case in the "Delmas" treason trial, Buthelezi accuses the UDF of being a "surrogate of the ANC" and being formed "with the express instruction to exclude (Inkatha) from affiliation

"The main subjective cause of the violence," says Buthelezi, "is essentially to be found in the attitude of the external mission of the ANC to first respondent (Inkatha) and to myself as chief minister of KwaZulu government and president of first respondent. The UDF is in substance an internal surrogate organisation of the ANC external mission and has adopted a similar attitude to first respondent and to myself "

Mvelase echoed Buthelezi's views A former member of the ANC Youth League, Mvelase cited two periods in detention and police interrogation as being instrumental in his conclusion that the ANC was "infiltrated by the communists".

He said the UDF's determination to abolish the tribal system "has fostered decadent, detribalised gangs of youths."

d the court he lived in fear

On Tuesday, February 2, Nkomo reported the incident to his local *induna*. "He said he could do nothing, the reason being that we did not cooperate in reporting our children's misbehaviour, so he could not help me now."

On his way home he watched from a distance as one of his three daughters, Eunice, carried goods out of the main house. He saw three men waiting, one of whom he recognised as Jabulani Buthelezi. While Eunice continued to empty the house, two of the men set fire to the grass roof of one of Nkomo's four outhouses. "All my belongings, bank books, trunk, bicycle, stove and identification book had been destroyed," he said.

He said he was at first "afraid to be seen approaching the police to report the matter, in case Inkatha-sympathetic neighbours attacked us again." He did, however, report the matter the following day. And although his wife also reported the attack, no action had been taken by the time the application came before court.

"Although I am an Inkatha supporter, I strongly believe that these warriors should be disciplined."

In an affidavit filed before the court on Wednesday, Nomabheka Nkomo, 35, said she was at home with her father and mother on Sunday evening when a large crowd of people arrived — including Mahlamvana Ndlovu and Jabulani Buthelezi and a number of others she recognised as Inkatha supporters.

The crowd broke all the windows of the house with knobkieries and empty beer bottles. "They then broke down the door and shouted that they wanted my brother, Bongi."

Mahlamvana Ndlovu and another man entered the house. Nomabheka Nkomo was stabbed on her right shoulder. As she retreated to a window, she was stabbed on her left shoulder by a man she identified as Mabhayi Mngadi.

"I then saw Mabhayi Mngadi and Mahlamvana Ndlovu stab my father," she said. "Ndlovu had a home-made knife approximately 12 inches long which he used to stab my father three times on the chest and in the mouth Mngadi stabbed my father once in the back through the broken window with the same spear he had used on me. My father died immediately."

Pietermaritzburg attorney Juhan van Klemperer told the court he had informed Captain UR Upton, station commander of the police's Pietermaritzburg unrest investigation squad, that Nkomo's daughter wished to bring charges of murder and attempted murder against the people named in her affidavit.

Upton told Klemperer's secretary he would arrange for Nomabheka Nkomo's affidavit and a copy of Klemperer's letter to be collected on Tuesday.

By 4.30pm on Tuesday they had not been collected.

UDF surrogate of ANC - Chief

SOWETAN Correspondent

DR MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi said in Supreme Court papers in Maritzburg on Wednesday that in 1984 the external mission of the African National Congress had called for making the townships ungovernable and thereafter United Democratic Front supporters had begun using violence against Inkatha supporters and against the Azanian People's Organisation.

He said that the UDF was a surrogate of the ANC (external mission) acknowledged by it in a report of its National Consultative Conference held in June, 1985.

Dr Buthelezi's affidavit was given following an application by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and 19 other applicants for restraining orders against five Inkatha officials and Inkatha itself.

Part of the document reads: "We support the campaigns of the UDF around which mobilisation both on regional and national levels is planned: high cost of living, education, militarism, forced removals, influx control, New Zealand rugby tour, land issue, treason trial.

"In particular those campaigns which are in line with the strategy of generating a spirit of defiance and ungovernability.

"The UDF remains a front and does not narrow its base. We should distribute internally a position paper based on the tactics of a united front and the necessity, at this stage, for the continued existence of such a front.

"We establish ANC collectives within affiliates as well as the leadership. These would not act as factions, but as organised sections of our movement fighting for the strengthening and consolidation of the UDF."

No ruling on the matter was made by Mr Justice Howard and the matter was referred to a date to be fixed for oral evidence.

However, three respondents, Mr V V Mvelase, Mr N Zondi and Mr David Ntombela gave undertakings that they would not incite or assault anybody and would not damage property or threaten anybody.

(13) Sowetan 19/2/88

Whites in Natal cities support Indaba – survey

CP Correspondent

MOST of Natal's urban white voters would support pro-Indaba candidates in the municipal elections scheduled for October this year, according to a market research survey.

This finding is among the final results of a December survey by Research Surveys, on behalf of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, and released this week.

The survey covered a random representative sample of 1 002 voters in the Natal constituencies of Maritzburg North, Durban Central, Umbilo, Durban North, Umhlanga and Pinetown.

Asked to repond to the question: "If a candidate in the forthcoming municipal elections was a supporter of the Indaba, would you tend to support or oppose that candidate?" Fifty five percent of those canvassed said they would support the candidate, with 12 percent opposed and 33 percent undecided.

This endorsement of pro-Indaba candidates extended through the ranks of National Party voters – 43 percent supportive, 19 percent opposed and 38 percent undecided – and each of the six constituencies, an Indaba spokesman said.

"The latest findings are entirely in line with those released over recent weeks and are also consistent with the findings of many previous surveys conducted entirely independently of the Indaba. These have shown that whites generally, and Natal whites in particular, believe reform should take place more rapidly.

"Inevitably our critics will, without any scientific justification, seek to dismiss the survey results. However, it should be pointed out that the method of sample selection used, known as Random Stratified Sampling, is exactly the same as that employed by the Human Sciences Research Council in their surveys, many of which are commissioned by government.

"Since the survey was conducted in areas which rank among the most highly-populated in the province, the results may be considered representative of majority urban white thinking in the province," he said.

Other findings included an analysis of respondents' opinions on squatter settlements in and around Natal's cities and towns.

There was almost complete consensus among respondents that there was a "real need to upgrade and improve conditions" in squatter settlements – 86 percent agreeing, nine percent disagreeing and five percent undecided.

There was some shift in attitude, however, when respondents were asked whether the "cities and towns of Natal should use some of their resources" to provide basic facilities to squatter settlements, but opinion remained overwhelmingly positive – 77 percent "Yes" as opposed to 19 percent "No".

When asked whether they would be prepared to accept a two to three percent increase in rates to finance the provision of such facilities, there was a further slippage in respondents' agreement, but still a majority positive verdict – 42 percent "Yes" as opposed to 38 percent "No".

Other findings of the survey showed that 54 percent of white voters in the region supported the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals, compared with only 13 percent who opposed them.

These also showed majority support for the Indaba from Independent, PFP and NP voters.

The majority of respondents – 40 percent – said they would support the NP in a general election.

Council taken to court

21/2/88

By STAN MHLONGO

FORMER Lekoa town clerk NP Louw, sacked by the council three days before Christmas last year, has taken the matter to the Industrial Council.

Louw said the matter was expected to be brought before the court next month.

He claimed he fell out of favour with the council and was sacked after the suspension of the head of Lekoa municipal police, Captain N Debruyn.

This was after a dramatic shootout between Lekoa municipal cops, better known as the "Green Beans", and members of the West Rand SAP riot squad on the outskirts of Sebokeng in December.

The "Green Beans" mutinied after being ordered by De Bruyn to carry out a traffic inspection.

One of the main grievances of the "Green Beans" was low salaries and bad working conditions. Among others, they alleged they earned R126 a month.

...ue amid allegations of 'muti hitman' mastermind

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meet the regional executive of Inkatha in a desperate attempt to halt further attacks.

But there were rumblings of discontent from some taximen who wanted nothing to do with the proposed "peace talks".

According to the association, a hit-list naming taximen regarded as "bad elements who should be eliminated" prompted the urgent meeting.

The alleged list was apparently being used by a hit-squad led by a notorious "hitman-cum-muti-man".

The hitman apparently earned himself his reputation for his role during savage Natal South Coast faction-fighting between the Mkhize and Mkhandi tribes.

But Inkatha spokesman Zakhele Nkehli has denied claims about the hitman.

"We don't need to hire mercenaries. We are self-sufficient. We have men who can come out now and arm themselves with sticks and knobkerries and fight.

"The UDF has a very unique opportunity here in Mpumalanga, to exist where Inkatha rules. In places where the UDF rules, Inkatha will not live," said Nkehli who asserted that Inkatha would continue its reign in the township.

The last two weeks have seen eight people, among them two 14-year-olds, being dragged out of taxis and hacked to death, bringing the estimated death toll to 100.

Meanwhile, despite stepped-up police activity, the violence has continued, with the death toll rising daily.

As early as last February, long before the start of the now much publicised Maritzburg carnage, rivalry between Inkatha and the UDF had already claimed nine lives and at least 20 homes had been destroyed.

Some of the first people to fall victim to the wrath of the vigilantes were Hayco activists Sthembiso Mngadi, Mashu Mbatha and Ndabazezwe Msomi who eyewitnesses said were gunned down by men in a yellow car.

Talks between the two groups in March – believed to be the first "peace talks" in the region – fizzled out after a deadlock over the use of vigilantes in the area.

While justifying the use of vigilantes to control the area, Nkehli denied Inkatha was responsible for the previous month's violence.

"Inkatha took the initiative in forming vigilante groups to fight crime in Mpumalanga.

"Like vigilantes in other areas, they have been very responsible people. Mandla Shabalala and Winnington Sabelo of Umlazi are both well-known and very responsible vigilantes," said Nkehli at the time.

Weeks later, Hayco president Vusi Maduna, who had spearheaded the peacetalks, was killed in mysterious circumstances.

Responding to claims that the South African Police had not acted to stop the violence, Capt HR Upton of the Maritzburg CID, said the police were aware of the violent struggle between the two groups and was prepared to bring the culprits to book.

But in August the violence took a new turn with Inkatha supporters allegedly forcing people to pay "protection fees". Hundreds of non-aligned and UDF supporting residents fled the area.

At the end of last year, there was short-lived relief for the refugees when a number of vigilante leaders, including brothers Toto and Bheko Dlamini, were killed.

But the much hoped-for peace was not to become a reality. This period saw the brutal slaying of an 102-year-old granny who apparently refused to betray the whereabouts of her grandson, a Hayco member.

A 16-year-old girl, the niece of a top-ranking Inkatha official, told *City Press* how she became disenchanted with the organisation after her home was mistaken for that of a UDF sympathiser and burnt down.

She claimed she had been at the meeting where the attack had been plotted.

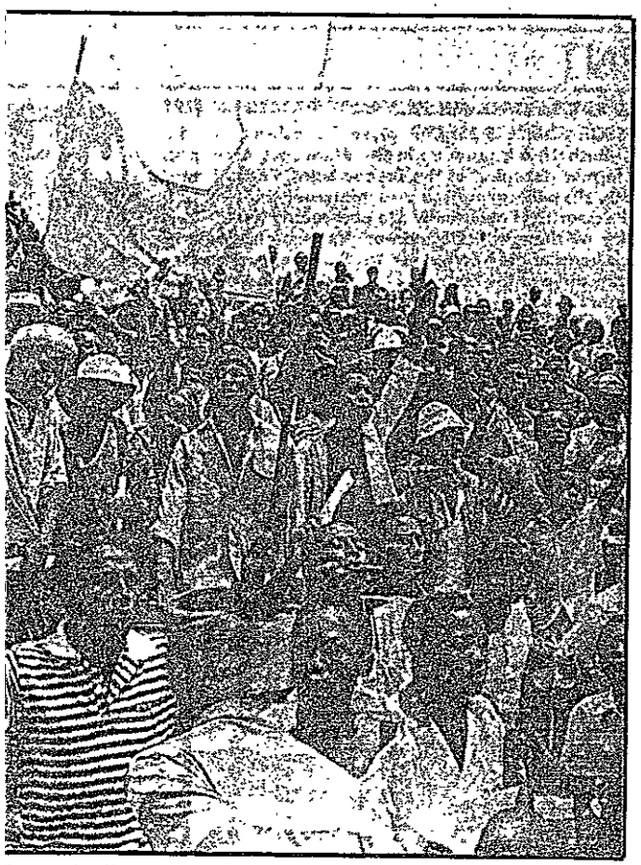
She said it had also been decided that, in order to intensify the organisation's recruitment drive, non-Inkatha pupils should not be allowed to register at schools in the township.

Those who dared would be knifed in front of their teachers, she said.

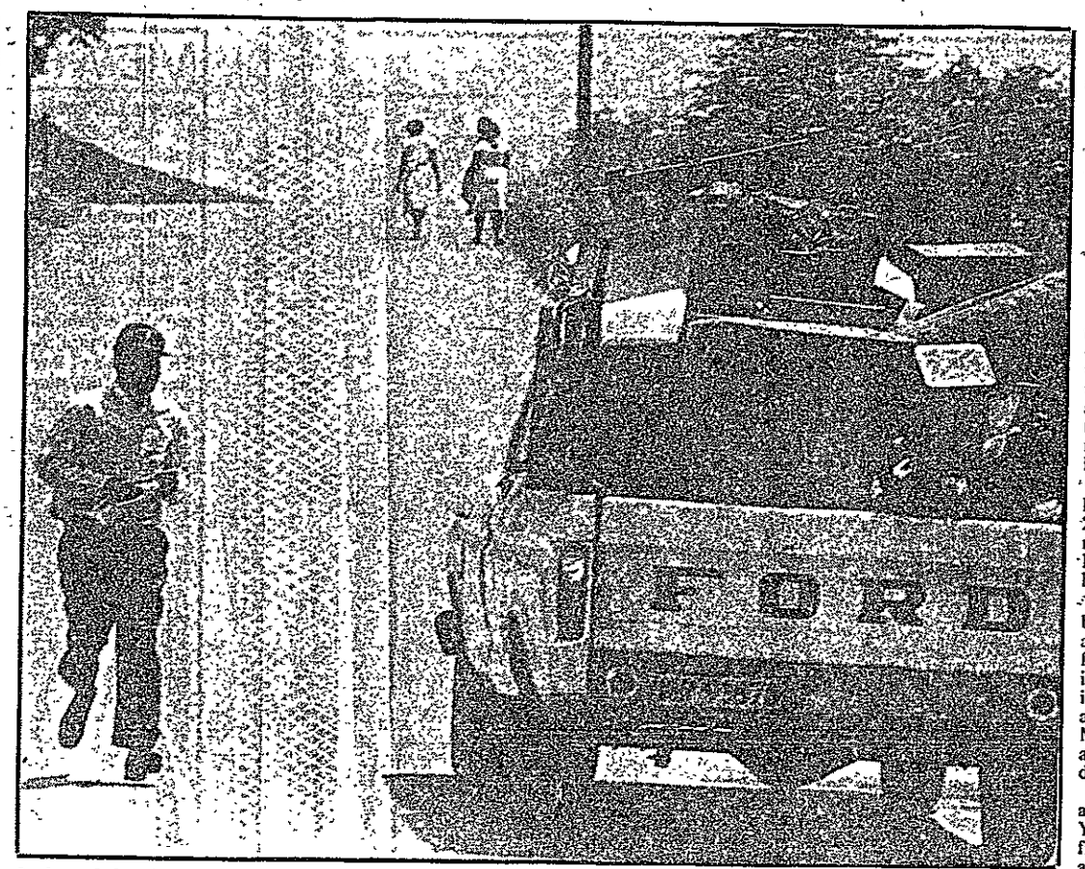
The first victim of these planned attacks was Vusi Gqaza of Unit Two, who was last week shot dead in a classroom at Ukusa High School, in full view of his teachers and other pupils. – Concord

Mandla Shabalala ... 'a responsible vigilante'

(ITB) 21/2/85



lies and talks.



A sign of the times . . . a family flees the death and destruction.

Murders continue

Dark ti

CP Correspondent

IN most other countries, a town named Mpumalanga – Zulu for "the place where the sun rises" – would conjure up images of a happy, peaceful and friendly haven. But this is not the case in this tragic little Natal township.

Ever since political violence broke out in the KwaZulu-controlled township near Hammarsdale in the Natal heartlands, the place has become a mini-hell.

While the attention of both the security forces and the media has been focused on Maritzburg and its immediate surroundings, Mpumalanga – situated between Durban and Maritzburg – has been ablaze with violent incidents.

Members of the UDF-affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress were at first the main targets of attacks, including murder, arson and rape. But in a dramatic turn of event taxi drivers have entere the war.

Bearing testimony t this was the recent gunnin down of taxi drivers Mfar afuthi Basa and Sydne Dlamini.

Basa was attacked at hi home by unknown me while Dlamini was mowe down while carrying pas sengers along the town ship's Unit One main road

Eyewitnesses watche with horror as armed men identified as "well-known members of Inkatha" fired a hail of bullets a Basa's minibus which wa carrying 11 passengers.

A number of the passen gers were seriously injurec while trying to escape from the vehicle as it careerec out of control towards a cliff at the bottom of the steep road.

At the time of going to Press, delegates from the Mpumalanga Taxidrivers' Association were due to

SA Govt has ended reform — Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused the government of abandoning its reform programme while pretending blacks were responsible for the lack of progress.

He also laid down the condition that, unless the government accepted the reality of a black majority in South Africa, he would not negotiate with it.

He told Inkatha's central committee in his presidential address that the "whole white political machine" was geared to trouncing the Conservative Party in October's nationwide municipal elections.

"National issues and fundamental reform are being put on the back burners by the government as they marshall their forces to cope with the 'broedertwis' which has now broken out in Afrikanerdom," the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

He said Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, had pandered to the far right by slating the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba's constitutional proposals.

Mr Buthelezi said this meant a rejection of the fact of a black majority. He added that if Inkatha was willing to negotiate with the government despite this, it would be trampled on by the history of black politics.

"We have to make a stand on this issue," he said. "It is so fundamental that we must establish the reality of there being a black majority as an absolute precondition for negotiation." — Sapa.

Buthelezi: media supporting the UDF in PMB violence

ULUNDI — The leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has accused the media of being so biased against his organisation that the UDF now wanted the Pietermaritzburg violence to continue.

He accused the media of giving credibility to false claims that the disturbances were caused by Inkatha's use of violence and intimidation in recruitment campaigns.

All the information open to him emphasised that the ordinary people of Pietermaritzburg, "the peasants and labourers", were sickened by the carnage, Chief Buthelezi said.

They were participating in "a very justifiable backlash" against orchestrated political violence and were disgusted by the behaviour of UDF youth.

The UDF and COSATU were "fetch and carry boys" for the ANC, who were attacking Inkatha because they wanted to see the revolutionary organisation as the only real force in the field.

"I think there is very little doubt that thus far we are losing the media battle. The media is on the side of those who set out to kill Inkatha's members."

Chief Buthelezi said he was "terribly concerned" about media treatment of the violence. He said he could see the effect of the "media bias" when he talked to ambassadors, businessmen and others.

"I can see by the way that they talk and the questions they ask that the UDF's propaganda campaign is succeeding. Our refusal to go on violent rampages is costing us dearly in terms of the image of Inkatha as portrayed by the media.

". . . It is because Inkatha is suffering by the way the media is treating the Pietermaritzburg violence, that the UDF actually wants violence to continue, whatever they say publicly about the matter," Chief Buthelezi added. — Sapa

Business Da

NDAY, FEBRUARY 22 1988 50c (45c + 5c tax)

L and CAPE 80c (71c + 9c tax) B/day 22/2/88 A TIMES

Arrests scuttle Natal peace talks

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE peace meeting between leaders of Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu in Maritzburg scheduled for tomorrow has been postponed indefinitely due to recent police detention of key members of the UDF and Cosatu.

This has been disclosed by the meeting's convenor, the Rev Khoza Mgojo of the Methodist Church. It is believed Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was unlikely to attend in the absence of UDF leadership.

Mgojo said he was so concerned about the peace talks that he had written a letter to President P W Botha asking for the release of the detained men.

The UDF/Cosatu members who were arrested are S'Khumbuzo Ngwenya, Martin Wittenberg, Reggie Hadebe and Thami Mseleku. They were all detained on February 10.

The bodies of two black men, who apparently died from stab wounds, were found at Taylor's Halt, the SA Police Liaison Division said yesterday.

☐ The Maritzburg violence had led to such media bias against Inkatha that the UDF wanted the strife to continue, Buthelezi said in Ulundi yesterday according to Sapa.

11B

Assocom and Buthelezi to explore ways of reducing violence

Fresh bid for Natal peace

MICK COLLINS

ASSOCOM is to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi in Ulundi this week to consider the Maritzburg unrest situation.

Also to be discussed will be job creation for the social upliftment of the residents of Maritzburg's townships which, it was felt, would also have a positive effect in reducing violence.

In a statement released after a visit to the affected areas, Assocom said there appeared to be agreement from both UDF/Cosatu and Inkatha that all the groups wished to see violence de-escalate.

The fact-finding mission was led by Assocom president Alec Rogoff and included CE Raymond Parsons and the chairman of the Assocom executive council, Brian Kurz.

Discussions were held with senior representatives of the UDF/Cosatu, Inkatha, the South African Police, and the local chamber.

A short visit was also made to certain of the affected areas around Maritzburg.

The Assocom delegation, which visited the area at the request of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce said:

"Assocom is supportive of the positive role which the local chamber of commerce has played in attempting to promote discussion between the main interest groups concerned. We will continue to assist the chamber in these efforts."

It said both the UDF/Cosatu and Inkatha groups believed that the release of certain recent UDF detainees would aid talks to reduce violence.

"Both UDF/Cosatu and Inkatha support the local chamber's role as an honest broker to help resolve differences of opinion and to de-escalate violence.

"Assocom believes that t. ks to reduce violence must be continued at the highest level, as the association views the matter as of the greatest concern to business."

It said it would be addressing the possibility of further steps to encourage this dialogue.

"The association greatly regrets the number of deaths and injuries which have occurred during the unrest and violence in Maritzburg."

INKATHA SLAMS 'MEDIA BIAS'

Buthelezi blames UDF for on-going strife

THE Pietermaritzburg violence had led to such media bias against Inkatha that the UDF wanted the strife to continue, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi at the weekend.

He accused the media of giving credibility to false claims that the disturbances were caused by Inkatha's use of violence and intimidation in recruitment campaigns.

The KwaZulu chief minister was making his presidential address to the conference of Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement.

All the information open to him emphasised that the ordinary people of Pietermaritzburg, "the peasants and labourers", were sickened by the carnage, Dr Buthelezi said.

Backlash

They were participating in "a very justifiable backlash" against orchestrated political violence and were disgusted by the behaviour of UDF youth.

The UDF and Cosatu were "fetch and carry boys" for the ANC who were attacking Inkatha because they wanted to see the revolutionary organisation as the only real force in the field.

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Dr Buthelezi said he was "terribly concerned" about media treatment of the violence. He could see the effects of the "media bias" when he talked to ambassadors, businessmen and others.

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"It is because Inkatha is suffering by the way the media is treating the Pietermaritzburg violence that the UDF actually wants violence to continue, whatever they say publicly about the matter," he said. — Sapa.

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D/D 23/2/88

Inkatha calls for combined efforts to end Natal strife

(11B)

ULUNDI — Inkatha's central committee yesterday called on all organisations, groups and individuals in the Pietermaritzburg area to do everything possible to bring peace to the war-torn black townships.

In a statement at the end of a central committee conference, Inkatha said it deplored the "wanton killing" taking place in Pietermaritzburg.

For this reason it resolved to call on the African National Congress mission-in-exile to abandon attempts to develop what they called "a people's war" and to abandon their instigation of black-on-black confrontations.

Inkatha also called on the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to declare their rejection "not only of violence taking place in Pietermaritzburg, but also of all violence committed for political purposes".

The central committee resolved to call on all Inkatha members and leaders in Pietermaritzburg to do whatever they could to co-operate with anyone genuinely committed to ending the conflict.

Noting that the root cause of the violence in the country was a direct consequence of apartheid, the committee also resolved to call on the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to address the fundamental issues facing the country and to revitalise his reform programme.

They further resolved to ask Mr Botha to recognise that unless reform was related to creating one South Africa, with a single sovereign parliament based on universal adult franchise, the country would continue to gravitate towards final, and totally destructive violent confrontations.

The committee asked those involved in peace intitiatives to realise that they would be dealing with life and death issues and to "avoid the kind of blundering which makes peace initiatives fail".

SA paying for PW's errors — Buthelezi

(11B)

23/2/88 B/day

Own Corresndent

PRETORIA — The whole of SA was paying the price for State President P W Botha's abandonment of his reform programme, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Buthelezi was addressing the Students' Representative Council Forum at the University of Pretoria on 'the abandonment of the State President's reform programme and its implications for a negotiated solution for South Africa's problems'.

He said although he was ready to negotiate immediately about the future of the country, real negotiations had not even begun as the Government negotiated only with those with whom it wished to negotiate.

There was still no negotiating agenda which both blacks and whites could subscribe to, while the Regional Services Councils and black city states — which would affect millions of blacks — were about to be foisted on them without any consultations whatsoever.

"When the government behaves like this, how can I as a black leader believe the State President is serious about his committment to reform?" Buthelezi said.

In the white political arena, Afrikaners were becoming increasingly polarised with 'Broedertwis' assuming huge political importance as whites attempted to decide what to do about black political development.

Blacks were also becoming increasingly radicalised and people who still wished to negotiate were facing the 'hideous forces of destruction' from those who did not want negotiations to succeed.

"Whether we look at black politics or whether we look at white politics, we see South Africa paying prices for the State President's failure to get his reform programme off the ground," Buthelezi said.

It was imperative, he said, that young Afrikaners put pressure on the government to come to the negotiating table before black and white 'scorched earth' forces collided head-on.

"You, the young people of South Africa today, will inherit the failures of politicians, whether they be black politicians or white politicians."

"You will not escape the consequences of black political blundering, just as you will not escape the consequences of white political blundering."

Minorities a Govt figment — Buthelezi

24/7/88

REFORM in South Africa was possible only if the Government acknowledged the "inescapable reality" that there was a black majority in the country, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told business leaders yesterday.

In a meeting in Ulundi with a delegation of business executives led by the president of Assocom, Mr Alec Rogoff, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said it was a figment of the imagination for the Government to insist that South Africa was a country of minorities.

Unless this was acknowledged, he said, the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals could never be implemented.

Dr Buthelezi said he was also constantly amazed at the State President Mr P W Botha's habit of fearfully looking over his shoulder at the far right-wing.

"If the State President was bolder in what he is doing right wing politics would be made irrelevant in the onward march of history."

Unity's the key, says Gatsha

Sowetan 25/2 - 2/3/88 116

From MARIMUTHU SUBRAMONEY

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has called for "political rapprochement" between South Africa's different black leaders and organisations.

This is necessary if the majority of people are ever to win their freedom and liberation, he says.

Buthelezi, who is also the leader of the Inkatha movement, made the call at the same time that the ANC National Executive issued a statement from Lusaka urging all democratic forces to halt the violence in Natal and the Western Cape immediately.

The ANC called on "young militants" to take the lead in resolving differences among black people without resorting to physical force, because violence only benefitted the Pretoria government.

Buthelezi, whose supporters are involved in clashes with anti-apartheid supporters of the UDF and Cosatu, said in an interview that the divisions among black leaders and organisations created a most severe setback to black people's stuggle for freedom and liberation.

"I think Pretoria laughs all the way to the political bank because we black organisations and leaders have our daggers drawn and are fighting among ourselves.

"Unity among us is the key to our struggles. Even in Zimbabwe Zanu and Zapu had to bury the hatchet in order to strive towards peace and development. The same applies to us," said Buthelezi.

Referring to the ongoing violence in and around Pietermaritzburg, Buthelezi said he had done everything in his power to bring about peace.

He said he had written to one of the presidents of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, in August last year, he had participated in peace talks involving church leaders, his officials had been involved in peace talks with the UDF and Cosatu, and he even sent four of his senior officials to London for talks with the ANC in October.

"Mr Gumede only replied in November which showed that he did not accept any framework for our discussions and when our members went to London the talks were aborted. The ANC did not pitch up, although they initiated the talks," said Buthelezi.

"While there are people committed to violence and while there are people committed to making the country ungovernable, I don't think we have a chance in hell of defusing the violence," said Buthelezi.

He was concerned about the present direction of the Pretoria government, which was proposing the National Statutory Council to represent the majority of South Africa's people. As far as he was concerned such proposals could not get off the ground as long as there were so many black leaders in detention and in jail.

"There is no way I am going to negotiate with the government as long as people like Dr Nelson Mandela are in jail and cannot function normally," said Buthelezi.

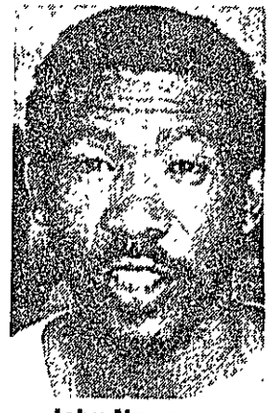
The Inkatha leader said he had recently called on the Commonwealth countries to continue their negotiations with the Pretoria government because he believed there was still a chance of pressuring Pretoria into sitting around a negotiating table to discuss the future of the country. – *Press Trust News Agency*

Restricted

Albertina Sisulu

Archie Gumede

Dr RAM Saloojee



Jabu Ngwenya

Inkatha knew the govt was going to act

By S'BU MNGADI

A SENIOR Maritzburg Inkatha official knew of this week's crackdown a day in advance.

When probed, the official told journalists that a "friend" from Johannesburg had phoned him the previous day to break the news, but was not clear if Inkatha was one of the organisations. The imminent bannings were thus discussed in Inkatha circles that day.

The clampdown came days after a meeting at which Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi made a stinging attack on the UDF and Cosatu, describing them as the "fetch-and-carry boys" of the ANC.

Reacting to the accusations at the time, the Natal branch of the UDF said that Buthelezi intended to inspire greater state repression against the two organisations.

The UDF also called on him to demonstrate greater responsibility.

Buthelezi told an Inkatha Central Committee meeting: "The UDF and Cosatu do not make decisions themselves at all. They are front organisations which act on decisions made for them in Lusaka."

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said he had documentary evidence of ANC involvement in the Maritzburg conflict.

He said UDF co-president Archie Gumede had confirmed in a recent interview in a local magazine that UDF leaders were only surrogate leaders of the ANC.

Referring to the Maritzburg conflict which he said was started by the UDF, he said it was part of the ANC's commitment to make township violence the beginning of a "people's war".

It would be politically insane to think that the UDF or the ANC or Cosatu wanted peace in Maritzburg other than peace they would control after total victory, Buthelezi said.

He said Inkatha had to decide whether "we take off our hats and bow and scrape to the ANC-UDF-Cosatu alliance, or whether we defend our right to employ the tactics and strategies of our choice."

28/2/88 Star

Violence a 'detraction'

CP Correspondent

APART from loss of life, the "tragic" violence in Maritzburg was detracting from what should be the focus of the black struggle for liberation, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi this week.

The struggle should be concentrating on the destruction of apartheid through non-violent tactics and strategies, he told a top Assocom delegation led by its president, Alec Rogoff.

Instead it detracted from "small but significant" beginnings that had been made in the politics of negotiation in the KwaZulu-Natal region.

"It detracts from the vitally necessary opposition to the South African government as it attempts to foist regional services councils on us and forces us to work within the idiom of the tricameral parliamentary system which is there in the revised second-tier form of government we now have," he said.

Violence would continue escalating while PW Botha "dillies and dallies" on reform.

A fierce battle for minds was raging among black people, and the rise of efforts to negotiate had spurred revolutionaries to greater endeavours to destroy such prospects.

"They know that if the politics of negotiation succeed the free enterprise system will be revitalised. They want a socialist economic system in their dreamed-of one-party state.

"Again they must attack black leaders and black organisations who threaten their revolutionary aims by developing prospects that negotiations will succeed," he said.

R1,124bn for development

29/2/88 B/day

ULUNDI — The KwaZulu/Natal Planning Council has recommended development projects at a cost of R1,124-billion.

This was announced last night in a joint statement by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and SA Minister of Education and Development Gerrit Viljoen.

The council was established in 1984 to investigate and report on the improvement of the quality of life in KwaZulu/Natal, as well as of Zulu people in Durban, Pinetown and Maritzburg.

The R1,124bn includes the upgrading of infrastructural and community facilities in the metropolitan areas at a cost of R486m and development of new areas at R638m.

"The two governments have considered the proposals and, in recognition of the urgent need for the improvement of living conditions, have agreed to accept the proposals in principle for implementation over a period of at least five years, subject to availability of the necessary finances," the statement said.

The KwaZulu government has been authorised to proceed with the projects which can be financed by the Development Bank of Southern Africa. The bank has indicated it may be able to provide loans of up to R428,5m. — Sapa.

B/day 29/2/88.

Bid for peace-talk plan continues

ROGER SMITH

THE MARITZBURG Chamber of Commerce is to continue its attempts to get the Maritzburg peace talks going, despite the restrictions on the UDF, local UDF leaders and Cosatu which have put an end to negotiations.

This follows a meeting at the weekend between chamber representatives and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, who placed restrictions on the organisations and on UDF president Archie Gumede and Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty. UDF Natal Midlands secretaries Martin Wittenberg and Skumbuza Ngwenya are still detained.

The chamber of commerce says the meeting was positive and the chamber will continue to talk to all parties concerned.

The on-going "war" between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the region has claimed about 400 lives so far. But it seems unlikely the peace negotiations will resume at an early stage.

Lawyers acting for UDF/Cosatu say the restriction orders are still being considered with a view to appealing against them or challenging them in court.

They agree it is unlikely an application to the minister will be made for lifting of the restrictions while any such action is under way.

Meanwhile, Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet has rejected criticism of the lack of progress made by police in their investigations of violent incidents in the region.

He says affidavits such as those filed in recent Supreme Court applications for restraining orders against Inkatha members do not mean police have all the evidence required for a charge to be brought.

Furthermore, the intimidation factor is high and people are afraid to come forward and give evidence in court, he says.

Natal Attorney-General Mike Imber says there was "no delay" in bringing cases against alleged perpetrators of violence.

However, there is only one specific case related to the killings which is due to come to court soon, involving nine accused and 13 deceased, he says.

Lawyers acting for the UDF/Cosatu in Maritzburg say township residents who have witnessed violence or were victims of it are increasingly scared to give their names for fear of retribution.

There have been several recent incidents involving attacks on people who supplied affidavits in support of applications for restraining orders on local Inkatha leaders.

In one incident, Johannes Bhekamafa Nkomo, was stabbed to death and his wife and daughter seriously injured.

In another, a woman was left semi-paralysed and another seriously injured.

P/D 3/3/88

Natal MEC denies he suggested KwaZulu had changed on RSCs

11B

DURBAN — Natal's MEC in charge of Regional Services Councils (RSCs), Mr Peter Miller, yesterday denied having made any attempt to create the impression that KwaZulu had changed its stance opposing the introduction of RSCs to Natal.

Mr Miller's statement was prompted by allegations by the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that Mr Miller, announcing the boundaries for the proposed RSCs, had said that their implementation had been made possible 'because of the massive R1 124 million that would be injected into the province (as announced by the Minister of Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.)

Reiterating the KwaZulu Government's opposition to the RSCs, Chief Buthelezi said that the statement on the KwaZulu—Natal Planning Council was made jointly by him and Dr Viljoen.

"KwaZulu's attitude to the RSCs is well known and unchanged, and the implementation of the development programmes (mentioned in the joint statement) will be done completely independently of these unacceptable extensions of the equally unacceptable tricameral Parliament," Chief Buthelezi said.

"I object most strongly to the fact that the KwaZulu—Natal Planning Council report was linked in any way with the RSCs: they have nothing to do with the report and never have."

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Dr Buthelezi added that the innuendo of Mr Miller's reported remarks was that the Planning Council's recommendations somehow opened the back door to the RSCs, leaving the impression that KwaZulu might have softened its opposition to them.

Mr Miller said that in announcing the boundaries for the four proposed RSCs, he had been very careful to emphasise that Exco's actions must not be interpreted as indicating that KwaZulu or Chief Buthelezi had in any way altered their political opposition to the RSCs.

Mr Val Volker, MEC, said Exco had consulted with Dr Viljoen on the RSCs issue and that it was imperative that clarity be obtained as to whether Government would accept the committment to expend the money to implement the recommendations.

"We waited for that announcement before we proceeded with announcing the tentative plans for comment," Mr Volker said.

He said the RSC boundaries had been announced for comment and that Exco was not proceeding with them post haste.

"We want the closest liason with KwaZulu before we proceed with our nextstep," he said.—DDC

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Housing rentals/service charges: amount owing

5. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

What total amount was owing to Black local authorities in respect of (a) housing rentals and (b) service charges in each specified province of the Republic as at 31 December 1987?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

Housing rentals and service charges are levied as a single amount. Therefore separate figures cannot be furnished. The total amount for each of the provinces is as follows:

ORANGE FREE STATE
R16 857 555,59

NATAL
R2 455 587

TRANSVAAL
R321 179 285

CAPE PROVINCE
R46 938 619

Primary/secondary schools in departmental regions

174. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid.

What total number of (a) primary and (b) secondary schools was there in each specified departmental region as at 31 December 1987?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

REGION	(a) PRIMARY	(b) SECONDARY
N Transvaal	1 200	93
Highveld	568	57
Johannesburg	275	22
Orange-Vaal	1 483	34
OFS	1 306	25
Natal	1 022	39
Cape	1 449	58

Information as on 3.3.1987. Figures for 31 December 1987 are not available.

Private bodies/persons: amounts owing by Government

287. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

What amoutns were owing to private bodies and persons by the Government, other than on bank facilities and stock issues, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

R1 857 033 984 — as at 31 January 1988. (This amount excludes foreign loans, stock issues and Treasury Bills.)

Films: subsidies paid

355. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

(1) What amounts were paid in subsidies in the 1986-87 financial year in respect of films in (a) Afrikaans, (b) English and (c) the African languages;

(2) in respect of how many films in each language were these subsidies paid?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

(1) (a) Afrikaans R2 068 944
(b) English R2 944 229
(c) Black languages R4 738 117
R9 751 290

Note: The amounts were paid in respect of films released during the 1986/87 financial year as well as in respect of films released during previous years but which still qualified for the subsidy.

(2) (a) Afrikaans 13
(b) English -
(c) Black languages 32

South African Certification Council: persons appointed

361. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education.

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 14 on 15 September 1987, he has as yet appointed persons to serve on the South African Certification Council; if not, why not; if so, (a) what are the names of the persons appointed, (b) what are their qualifications for serving on this council in each case and (c) with effect from what date were they appointed?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

Yes.

(a) and (b):

Chairman:

Prof. C F Crouse, Vice-Chancellor and Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University. An expert on the mathematical sciences and in the use of statistical techniques in achieving the object of the Council.

People nominated by Ministers of Departments of State responsible for Education:

Minister of Education and Development Aid:
Dr E P Ndaba, Deputy Director: Education Development Services: Department of Education and Training.

Minister of Education and Culture (Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates):
Mr B M Moodley, Chief Education Planner.

Minister of Education and Culture (Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly):
Dr C R Meintjes, Superintendent of Education: Curriculum Service, Cape Education Department.

Minister of Education and Culture (Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives):
Mr W A Schroeder, Chief Inspector

Selected expert members:

Mr J A Benade, Principal of Hoerskool Voortrekker, Pietermaritzburg. An expert on the teaching of Accounting and on pre-tertiary education in general.

Prof M W Browne, Professor of Statistics at Unisa. An expert in the use of statistical techniques in achieving the object of the Council.

Prof C J Troskie, Professor of Statistics at the University of Cape Town. An expert in the use of statistical techniques in achieving the object of the Council.

Mr J P Brummer, President of the Association of Correspondence Colleges and Managing Director, Damelin Education Group. An expert on the teaching of Afrikaans and on private education and correspondence colleges.

Mr M Henning, Principal of St Stithian's College, and National Executive Officer of the Associaton of Private Schools. An expert on the teaching of Geography and English and on private school education.

Dr J S Hill, Chief Educationist, Department of Education and Culture: Administration: House of Assembly. A curriculum specialist.

Mr A T Jackson, Principal of the SADF Technical College, Wingfield. An expert on pre-tertiary vocational education.

Mr D Kobe, former Secretary of Education in Lebowa. An expert on pre-tertiary education in the self-governing territories.

Prof H J Potgieter, Dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, University of the Orange Free State. An expert on the natural sciences.

(c) 23 December 1987

Venda: projects financed by RSA

390. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether his Department has approved any projects in Venda which are to be financed in part or in whole with moneys appropriated by Parliament, if so,

(2) in respect of 1987, (a) what is the (i) name and (ii) nature of the project, (b) where is it situated, (c) what is the estimated total capital cost of the project, and (d) how much of this cost is to be borne by the South African Government, in each case?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes

113

(2) (a) (i)	(a) (ii)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Name of Project	1987/88 Financial Year		Estimated Total Capital Cost	RSA Contribution Rand
	Nature of Project	Where situated		
Special employment programmes	Relief of cyclical unemployment through the creation of temporary job opportunities under several programmes, e.g (a) Recovery of soil under soil erosion combat programme. (b) Building of dams and construction of pipelines. (c) Maintenance of infrastructure in towns, hospitals, clinics and schools. (d) Erection of fences. (e) Erection of powerlines.	Throughout Venda	R3 333 000	R2 500 000
Youth organization	Youth camp	Mathavhavhe	R600 000	R500 000*
Military vehicles	Military	Thohoyandou	R840 000	R558 000*
Aeroplane and military equipment	Military	Thohoyandou	R12 944 000	R12 944 000*
Male prison	Prison	Vondwe	R14 000 000	R14 000 000*
Additional classrooms	Education	Throughout Venda	R3 960 000	R3 960 000*
Tshitale and Masisi police stations	Police stations	Masisi and Mutale	R1 900 000	R1 900 000*
Postal service head office complex	Postal services	Thohoyandou	R9 600 000	R7 680 000*

*The South African contribution is reflected in the year when the agreement was signed while the expenditure is stretched over a number of years.

Bophuthatswana: projects financed by RSA

291. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether his Department has approved any projects in Bophuthatswana which are to be financed in part or in whole with moneys appropriated by Parliament; if so,

(2) in respect of 1987, (a) what is the (i) name and (ii) nature of the project, (b) where is it situated, (c) what is the estimated total capital cost of the project, and (d) how much of this cost is to be borne by the South African Government, in each case?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(1) Yes

(2) (a) (i)	(a) (ii)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Name of Project	1987/88 Financial Year		Estimated Total Capital Cost	RSA Contribution Rand
	Nature of Project	Where situated		
Thaba'Nchu Abattoir	Provision of slaughter facilities	Thaba'Nchu	R1 850 000	R1 850 000*
Temba cell block	Provision of facilities to maintain law and order	Temba	R770 000	R539 000*
Job creation	Job creation on a temporary basis	Throughout Bophuthatswana	R8 380 000	R8 380 000

*The South African contribution is reflected in the year when the agreement was signed, while the expenditure is stretched over a number of years.

Surveys undertaken on behalf of Government

430. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 14 on 6 October 1987, the Bureau for Information has undertaken any other surveys on behalf of the Government; if so, (a) what was the purpose of these surveys, (b) (i) where and (ii) when were they undertaken, (c) which population groups were included, and (d) what were the results, in each case;

(2) whether the results of any of these surveys have been made public; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will they be made public; if so, when in each case;

(3) (a) what total amount has been budgeted for the conducting of surveys by the Directorate for Research Co-ordination of the Bureau in the 1987-88 financial year and (b) what projects have been planned by the Directorate for the 1988 calendar year?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) Yes.

(a) The opinion surveys that have been undertaken are primarily designed to acquire essential communication planning information

(b) (i) Countrywide, (ii) During September October 1987

(c) The Black, Coloured, Indian and White population groups

(d) I do not consider it desirable to give general publicity to the questions and findings involved.

I am prepared, should the hon member be interested, to arrange a briefing for him.

(2) No

(a) I do not consider it to be in the interest of the continuation of the research to give general publicity to the results However, some of the information can be of interest to various groups in the private sector and the Bureau accordingly gives confidential briefings to such groups from time to time.

(b) Falls away.

(3) (a) R685 000

(b) The Directorate: Research Co-ordination plans to continue with similar survey projects during the 1988 calendar year.

Booklet: "The Group Areas Act . . ."

431. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information was responsible for the compilation and distribution of a booklet entitled "The Group Areas Act and subtitled "An address by State President P W Botha in Parliament on October 5, 1987"; if not, who is responsible for this booklet; if so, (a) how many pages does the booklet comprise (b) how many (i) English and

Star 4/3/88

Gunmen kill KwaZulu politician

JOHANNESBURG. — Unknown gunmen on Wednesday night shot and killed a member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly, Mr Mlaba Mbatha, police said yesterday.

Mr Mlaba, 36, was watching television with his wife and daughter when the gunmen entered his Camperdown home south of Pietermaritzburg and shot him in the head and stomach with a Soviet-made Ak-47 automatic rifle.

It was not known how many gunmen were involved.

Police said a number of AK-47 shells were found at the scene of the shooting.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday send his sympathy to Mr Mlaba's family and said it was "a political assassination, as the circumstances suggest". — Sapa and UPI

W/Mercury (11B) 4-10/3/88

TWO SETS OF INCIDENTS FROM THE LAND WHERE THE GUN RULES ...

Watching the court: five armed men

AT least two senior Inkatha figures were among five people disarmed when found in court with weapons at the start of the inquest last week into the death of the "Mpophomeni three".

Two of the three — Phineas Sibiya and Simon Ngubane — were shop stewards of the then Metal and Allied Workers Union. The third, Flomena Mnikathi, was the daughter of a Mawu member who, like Sibiya and Ngubane, was among 1 000 Sarmcol workers sacked after a strike at the factory.

The three, who lived in the township of Mpophomeni, were abducted and killed in December 1986 and a civil action is pending against members of Inkatha and the KwaZulu police force in connection with their deaths.

The proceedings were interrupted when counsel for the family told the magistrate, SM Nieuwoudt, that Inkatha official David Ntombela, who was sitting close to the witness box, was wearing a gun.

On the orders of the magistrate Ntombela was taken outside, searched and disarmed. His heavy calibre handgun was confiscated on her orders, for the duration of the inquest.

Ntombela has been named in several supreme court applications asking for interdicts preventing him from assaulting or threatening certain township residents. During a preliminary hearing in the most recent of these cases, a member of the team who had helped compile the affidavits, claimed Ntombela had threatened him in the court room and the judge then warned Ntombela — who denied the claim — that such behaviour would not be tolerated.

After Ntombela was disarmed at the inquest hearing, the magistrate ordered that every member of the public gallery be searched.

A further four people, including another senior Inkatha figure, were found to have firearms which were confiscated for the duration of the inquest.

COPS LINKED TO INKATHA

Sowetan 4/3/85

11B

THE Progressive Federal Party is to seek an urgent interview with Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, about allegations that a large number of the 300 special constables sent into the fray in the strife-torn Maritzburg area have strong Inkatha links.

Mr Roger Burrows, PFP Natal leader, yesterday expressed the party's concern about the position warning that the presence of the 'kitskonstabels' could be counter-productive.

Mr Burrows' reaction follows claims that about 70 of the 300 could be Inkatha members and that one — Special Constable Weseni Awetha — is named as second respondent in an application for an interdict to prevent him, two others and his father, Mr Abdul Awetha, from killing people in the area.

His father is an Imbali councillor and senior member of Inkatha.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, rejected the criticism saying the issue was being prejudiced.

He accused the UDF supporters of using the applications for court interdicts as a means of propaganda.

"An application for an interdict does not mean

To Page 3 ➔

Black Mambazo score a first

GRAMMY award for music group. See page 2

THESE two youngsters frolicked near their family's belongings unaware that their parents had been evicted for not paying rent. This was at Dobsonville early this week when 41 families were thrown out.

Cops linked with Inkatha

Sowetan 4/3/88. 118

• From page 1

that any crime has been committed or that there is even any evidence of a crime.

"The issue should not be prejudiced.

"Neither is a single application a yardstick to measure the whole squad."

Brigadier Mellet said the constables were not screened for affiliations to a cultural organisation but "they were properly screened for any criminal history".

The whole purpose of the exercise was to recruit Zulu-speaking people who had grown up in the area and knew the area and were known by the people of the area.

He gave the assurance that the constables would be used only in a supplementary role to the SAP.

"The SAP will always be in charge with at least a warrant officer in command," he said.

It was learned yesterday that Mr Weseni Awetha went to Cape Town for six weeks to train as a special constable (kitskonstabel) and is now deployed in the city's townships.

Seminar on child abuse

A SEMINAR on child abuse will be held by Entokozweni Early Learning and Community Service Centre tomorrow. It will be at 269 Legoale Street, Moletsane.

Miss Moipone Buda, a social worker, Miss Cecilia Sililo-Tshishonga, a deputy-director of Entokozweni and Mrs L E Cadwell, a psychologist will be the speakers.

Parents are invited and the seminar will start at 8 am till 1 pm.

Famou

Cc

*Th

KwaZulu MP shot dead at his home

(113) Sowetan

A MEMBER of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Msinga Mbatha, was shot and killed at his home in Ximba in the Camperdown area, Natal, by an unknown gunman on Wednesday night.

Mr Mbatha (36) was shot at about 10pm, a statement from the SAP said yesterday.

A number of AK47 cartridge cases and expended bullets were found on the scene.

The SAP are investigating the killing. — Sapa. 24/3/88

that they cannot take sides".

-er or record company executive, who, in the "Two Bull" Thlothlalemajoe.

Women 'tired of death' call for leaders' release

C/Press 6/3/87

CP Correspondent

ABOUT 150 Zulu women from the most violent of Natal's townships this week presented a peace petition to the Natal Judge President, John Didcott.

The women said they were in the "Inkatha/UDF peace talk" movement. They from townships around Maritzburg – the KwaZulu-controlled Mpumalanga and KwaNdengezi townships and from KwaMakhutha down the Natal South Coast.

A spokeswoman, known only as Thoko, said the women were the mothers of people killed in the conflict between Inkatha and progressive forces opposing the KwaZulu homeland government.

"The women have travelled to the College Road Supreme Court at great danger, to express their concern with the violence and to ask the legal profession to work to release the people who initiated the peace talks, only to be detained by the government," said Thoko.

"We are tired of death," she said.

UDF co-president Archie Gumede, 72, has been involved in peace talks with Inkatha Youth leader, Musa Zondi, regarding the violence in KwaMakhuta, Mpumalanga and KwaNdengezi for more than a year.

Last week's banning order prevented him from continuing peace talks.

The protesting women arrived at the court in mini-buses and were allowed to present their petition without harassment from the police. Some of the women feared that they would be arrested at the end of the hand-over. – Concord

THE NEW BEIRUT

Sowetan 7/3/88

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FOCUS

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

Apartheid blamed for Natal violence

THERE is no flesh cheaper than black flesh in war-torn Pietermaritzburg, where homicide has become one of the main causes of death, and people are terrified, locked into divided camps, beleaguered and living behind bars and bolted doors.

This is the view of Thami Mthalane, secretary to the Administrator of Sobantu, who told a Women for Peaceful Change meeting in the capital last week that the townships had lapsed into "senseless anarchy reminiscent of Beirut".

He said the Pietermaritzburg conflict — "in which the death toll is casually put at five per day" — was of immeasurable significance for the future.

While it appeared to be largely ideological (socialist versus capitalist), it was a clash of world views which, if not reconciled, would affect peace in post-apartheid South Africa for decades.

"It is of concern to the ANC as much as it should be for whites

"The situation is frightening. People have lost all hope of a future for blacks in South Africa. They have moved into a dangerous psychological phase in which they have lost sensitivity for life — their own and those of others.

"It is a state of total desperation."

And the explosive conflict, he said, was getting worse.

Factors

"Although we are not responsible for the external factors that systematically create breeding grounds for social disorder, we cannot avoid the internal responsibility of doing everything we can to solve a problem that is rending the fabric of our lives."

Mr Mthalane said the Government should be held responsible for the violence in the townships, and should immediately do something to end it.

There was also a desperate need for a single standard of justice.

"Because of our history in this country, we are hostile to the police and prison system, often with good reason."

Police and prisons needed to prove they were fair and working in the best interests of all South Africans.

As a practical matter this would require more blacks in sensitive positions.

Mr Mthalane said there were many obstacles to understanding why the United Democratic Front/Cosatu and Inkatha/Uwusa were "so brutally pitted against one another and what the outcome of the struggle will be".

One point of conflict was the different political ideologies of the opposing groups.

Socialism

"One group sees and projects socialism as an ideal type of government while the other sees only capitalism as an answer", he explained. The common element was the quest for popular support.

"The dust of the battle, deliberate disinformation, and crude propaganda make it difficult to predict an eventual winner." In fact, "in such a war there can be no winner".

He said that for a long time many important black leaders had remained silent on the issue for fear of playing into the hands of men of bad faith who used every black misdeed to malign all blacks.

But the facts and figures in Pietermaritzburg townships had nothing to do with the social characteristics of black people.

"We are not now and have never been more violent than other groups: we are simply exposed more often to environments that have produced high levels of frustration and social disorder in all groups.

"Considering the abnormally high levels of black unemployment and the inhumane social conditions forced on most blacks, it is not at all unusual under the circumstances, and worthy of long thought. Most blacks of all ages and conditions are decent, law-abiding people."

Both sides agreed that a "substantial thug element is at work and both, again, express disquiet at the role played by the police.

"The UDF claims the police have given at least tacit support to Inkatha, while Inkatha complains the the police show little interest in quelling violence

"The UDF believes it is winning the war in Pietermaritzburg and so does Inkatha If indeed either of the parties at war continues to believe that it is winning, violence might increase because people do not negotiate when they think they are winning."

Schools, he said, were also bitter scenes of conflict. Some schools were closed because of the conflict, with pupils supporting one side refusing to attend schools under the control of authorities of the other side.

Looking further into the conflict, he said the fact that most land in Edendale belonged to blacks presented problems for the Government, "which has grand plans of incorporating Edendale into KwaZulu.

But for the land to be incorporated into KwaZulu, black land owners needed to say yes. "The sour relationship between the landowners, KwaZulu and central Government make this very remote."

If the Government succeeded in pushing Edendale into a ghetto characterised by violence, unemployment and social problems, "the way will be open to remove freehold rights from the people of Edendale and then incorporate it into KwaZulu.

Warlords

"Therefore the reluctance of the police to act against warlords and perpetrators of this violence must be seen in terms of the Government's desire to implement Verwoerd's dream of creating states (homelands) within the State to completion.

"When historians analyse the present violence in Pietermaritzburg, they will be struck by overwhelming evidence that apartheid and desire to maintain white supremacy were the crucibles of discontent"

Mr Mthalane said the message of the 1976/77 riots should have persuaded South Africans that political change was imperative.

"Black youths led the Soweto rebellion and they are doing so in Pietermaritzburg. By the time it was crushed thousands had left the country to join liberation movements.

"The youths want guns. The state of emergency or any other form of repression will not change this

"What we are concerned with about the violence in Pietermaritzburg is not so much whether the following generation will be governed by black or white, but that it will be a viable country not destroyed by violence and strife"

He said violence, as seen in Pietermaritzburg, was a "potent drug for the oppressed person

Reacting to the futility of his life, the individual derives an ultimate sense of power when he holds the fate of a human being in his hands."

When legitimate roads to personal achievement and material rewards were blocked or narrowed, violence became the answer "South Africa is at a cross-roads. There are essentially two choices before it

"Either it presses boldly ahead and forms a government of national reconciliation with popular support, or, courage failing, it remains transfixed, like a mouse before a snake, or allows forces of violence to tip the country into anarchy, chaos and, finally, perhaps full-blown revolution."

Lest we forget...

THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- **Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 448 days;**
- **Brian Sokutu, Eastern Cape freelance journalist, 632 days;**
- **Vincent Mfundisi, of SABC-TV, has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 156**

Breakfast 8 February 1988	—	23
Lunch 8 February 1988	—	23
Dinner 8 February 1988	—	23

On 9 February 1988 five of the detainees were fetched by the KwaNdebele Police. To date they have not been re-admitted to Witbank Prison.

Breakfast 9 February 1988	—	18
Lunch 9 February 1988	—	18
Dinner 9 February 1988	—	18
Breakfast 10 February 1988	—	18
Lunch 10 February 1988	—	18
Dinner 10 February 1988	—	18
Breakfast 11 February 1988	—	5
Lunch 11 February 1988	—	5
Dinner 11 February 1988	—	5
Breakfast 12 February 1988	—	1
Lunch 12 February 1988	—	1
Dinner 12 February 1988	—	1

Edibles which were in the detainees' possession during this period, were not taken from them.

(c) Regulation 3(1) of the Regulations promulgated in terms of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No 3 of 1953), by Proclamation R96 of 11 June 1987.

(d) The detainees did not state the reason for their actions to the Head of the Prison A request was however submitted to the Head of the Prison on 28 January 1988 that the Police should be requested to visit them in the Witbank Prison. This request was conveyed as requested and a police officer from KwaNdebele visited the detainees on 29 January 1988 and 9 February 1988.

(e) In cases where a detainee or any other prisoner indicates his refusal to eat or when the staff notice that food has not been taken during successive meal times, the Heads of Prisons consistently act in accordance with internationally accepted practices. Standard procedure includes the following:

— Continued serving of the prescribed balanced diet at every meal time.

— Participants are cautioned regularly of the disadvantageous effects of such actions on their health.

— Medical treatment is available on a continuous basis.

— Complaints and requests are formally registered on a daily basis and all complaints, requests, causes or imagined reasons for the hunger strike, if any, are thoroughly investigated, attended to and resolved within reasonable limits.

The persons involved in this case were treated in the same professional manner.

(f) The steps referred to are not aimed at any other results than to act in line with normal procedures as are applicable in such cases and also to place on record that such steps have been taken

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b)

The KwaNdebele Police fetched and returned the detainees on the dates as set out at (1) above. This matter does not fall within the ambit of the South African Prisons Services' activities and information regarding the place of detention while in the care of the KwaNdebele Police are therefore not known to the SA Prisons Service.

(c) According to the orders shown to the Head of the Prison by the KwaNdebele Police, they were fetched for further interrogation.

(3) No, not as far as could be ascertained.

(a), (b) and (c)(i) and (ii) fall away

(4) No.

Natal/KwaZulu: finalization of consolidation proposals

*22. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether the consolidation proposals for Natal/KwaZulu have been finalized; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that they will be finalized; if so, when will these proposals be made public?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

No

(a) The Cabinet is considering an interim report at present and on receipt of the final report, it will be submitted for discussion and consideration.

(b) As soon as possible.

Farms in East Griqualand earmarked for acquisition by Department

*23. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

(1) Whether certain farms situated on the slopes of the Swartberg in East Griqualand were earmarked for acquisition by his Department in or about 1981; if so,

(2) whether his Department intends to proceed with the acquisition of these farms, if so, when is it envisaged that payment will be made to the farmers concerned; if not, why not?

†The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

(1) No, however in 1977 an area known as the Swartberg Highland Farms was identified for possible purchase as mountain catchment area.

(2) Yes, but on account of a lack of funds no indication can be given at this stage when the acquisition will take place and when payment will be made to the farmers concerned.

The remainder of the question falls away

Mr R W HARDINGHAM: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, is he aware of the predicament and the invidious position in which the owners of those farms now find themselves by virtue of the fact that they are unable to sell those farms to any other people?

Certain person: in possession of fire-arms

*24. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, is in possession of fire-arms, if so, (a) what fire-arms and (b) what is the name of this person;

(2) whether licences for the legal possession of these fire-arms have been issued to the person concerned; if not, what steps have been or are being taken against him in this connection; if so, when were these licences issued,

(3) whether this person possessed any fire-arms illegally at any stage; if so, what steps are being or have been taken against him?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) I wish to point out to the hon member that the possession of fire-arms by a person, is a personal matter which the South African Police controls on a confidential basis by means of the issuing or refusal of licences.

(b) The name furnished by the hon member.

(2) and (3) In view of paragraph (1) above I do not consider it advisable to reveal the information. However, I am prepared to discuss the circumstances relating to the particular case with the hon member on a personal and confidential basis.

6 May 1987: polling stations closed

*25. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether any polling stations were closed for any period during polling hours on 6 May 1987 as a result of (a) bomb scares, (b) other security considerations and (c) other specified causes; if so, (i) which polling stations, (ii) who made the decision to close these polling stations, (iii) what was the effect of the closure, and (iv) what security arrangements were made in respect of (aa) ballot papers and (bb) ballot boxes during such closure, in each case;

(2) whether any bombs or other explosive devices were found, if so, at which polling stations; if not,

(3) whether investigations revealed any other justifiable reasons for closing these polling stations, if so, what reasons in each case?

'Talks vital to fend off the right'

B/Day 8/3/88 (11R)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Advances by the right-wing CP and the radical AWB made it urgent for people who supported real change and a negotiated settlement in SA to "get their act together", KwaNatal Indaba director Prof Dawid van Wyk said yesterday.

Releasing details of a survey revealing majority support for the Indaba in the NP, the PFP and independent movements, Van Wyk said no other constitutional proposals had as much support in white politics.

The Indaba had become a vital link between those whites who had already, or were now crossing, the political Rubicon.

It had become the dividing line between those who wanted genuine negotiation and power-sharing and those who refused to change.

Stalled

There were a number of factors which made it urgently necessary to get the "negotiation train out of the station", Van Wyk said.

"These include the growth of the anti-negotiation wing in May last year, the recent by-election results, the growth of the AWB as a militaristic pressure group behind the CP and the growing impatience of people of colour with the stalled process of change," he said.

"It should be noted that many supporters of extra-parliamentary groupings on the left welcome every CP victory as proof that revolution is the only solution," he added.

He warned that a time could come when it would be too late for negotiation.

'Indaba seeks to dismantle apartheid'

BREMEN — Inkatha overseas representative Ben Skosana said apartheid in SA has failed and his organisation believed negotiation should come to the fore.

Addressing the Gesellschaft Sudiches Afrika he said negotiation in SA could be initiated from the bottom and from the top to attain a solution to the country's problems.

"Inkatha therefore supports the KwaZulu Natal Indaba as a regional democratic approach for dismantling apartheid.

"It is the search for political interdependence and power sharing between all races inhabiting the region," he said.

(1B) B/day 9/3/88

5 INSTANT COPS MUST QUIT POLICE FORCE

Sowetan 11/3/88

FIVE kitskonstabels who were deployed in Maritzburg's black townships have been discharged from the South African Police force — because of alleged involvement in crimes.

One of the men discharged is Mr Weseni Awetha, son of an Imbali councillor and senior Inkatha member.

Mr Awetha has been cited as the second respondent in a Supreme Court application for an interdict to prevent him, his father and two others from killing or assaulting Imbali residents.

Captain Pieter Kitching, police public relations officer for Maritzburg, confirmed five special constables, whose criminal activities had been unknown to the police, had been discharged.

Screened

Captain Kitching said every special constable was screened for previous criminal offences and that police did not question whether they belonged to any particular political groups — whether UDF or Inkatha.

"The special constables work in groups under the command of four sergeants and no doubt their presence in the townships has helped in reducing unrest incidents.

"I want to stress that the special constables are allowed to belong to any political party they wish but are not allowed to be active members — whether UDF or Inkatha."

At present 288 special constables have been deployed in the townships and no further enlistings would take place

Having fun at the show

YOUNG things seen at a fashion show at Shareworld in Johannesburg are, from left, Sejang Gqobose, Anne Sengal, Boetelo Kootsene and Cecilia Matlapeng.

11/3/88 (11B)

INKATHA AND VOTING

At the moment, Inkatha does not have plans to participate in the October local authority elections. Should a decision be taken to field candidates, it would not be guided by a need to prove democratically that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's popularity stretches further than KwaZulu. Says Inkatha Secretary General Oscar Dhlomo: "We don't need to stage a demonstration of Buthelezi's national support. We know he has that support from the distribution of our membership."

Current Inkatha policy rejects the black local authorities as presently constructed. At the same time, Inkatha would not stand in the way of individual members who want to put themselves forward. Such individuals are on their own, however, says Dhlomo, and would have to campaign without Inkatha's organisational muscle.

Inkatha's policy was formulated in 1982, when legislation introduced fully fledged black local authorities. Inkatha rejected these structures, says Dhlomo, "because it felt government had failed to address the vexed question of how they would generate revenue. We anticipated that relying on rents for revenue would bring councillors into conflict with their constituents and events have proved us correct."

Any change in this policy would need to be agreed to by the Inkatha central committee.

"As far as I am aware," says Dhlomo "there are no immediate plans to put possible participation on the agenda."

After the crackdown the Committee for the Defence of Democracy is launched: Frank van der Horst, Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu and Jakes Gerwel

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

W/Mail 11-17/3/88 (118)

Cry freedom, and a new front rises from the ashes

A new opposition front forms to fight the crackdown on extra-parliamentary organisations.
CLARE HARPER reports from Cape Town

A NEW front was launched in the Western Cape this week, in response to the government's crackdown on the 17 extra-parliamentary organisations.

The Committee for the Defence of Democracy, comprising a range of progressive church, educational, women's and sports organisation leaders, made a public call for "our people to come forward in the name of democracy".

Immediately after its inaugural meeting on Monday, the committee called for a public rally "to defend democracy" at 2.30pm on Sunday, at the University of the Western Cape.

Key figures in the front are Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Roman Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Black Sash president Mary Burton, South African Council on Sport president Frank van der Horst, chairman of the Western Province Council of Churches Lionel Louw, University of the Western Cape rector Jakes Gerwel, vice-rector Jaap du Randt and Western Province Football Union vice-president Alex Abercrombie.

Tutu said: "We see the draconian actions of the government — highlighted in recent days — as a violation of human rights."

The defence of human rights was our "sacred duty", he said.

"We saw the need for us to come together to defend democracy and uphold human rights."

He hoped the informal committee would take off "as part of the people's response from those committed to working towards a non-racial, democratic society".

He expected churches, trade unions, youth and women's organisations to be among those attending the rally to show "there is something which comes from the people who desire a new South Africa".

The committee was a "collective idea" from a variety of people including senior church people, Gerwel said.

Boesak said it was not intended as a substitute for the banned organisations.

"The state may say those organisations are banned, but they are very much alive in the community — we are saying to the government you have thrown down the gauntlet and we will pick it up," he said.

Apart from the rally, the committee had not planned any definite activities — "but the committee will enable us to be in touch and work out where to go from here", Burton said.

Asked whether Tutu's participation in the committee represented a new political role for him, he said: "I don't see it as a political role, it is part of my religious role".

Boesak told the *Weekly Mail* that unlike past rallies where clergy had given police undertakings, they would "not be negotiating with police this time".

Past endeavours had proved fruitless, he said.

"We are simply calling the rally and we'll have to see what happens."

Plot to overthrow Sebe, says caucus

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE Ciskeian government caucus alleges that senior Ciskeian government officials are plotting with "Ciskeian exiles in Transkei" to unseat the present government.

Anonymous handwritten letters purporting to be from concerned civil servants protesting against the homeland's Validation of Expenditure Act were sent to civil servants and members of the Ciskeian Defence Force.

The Act, passed last year, validated expenditure of R68 747 on household goods and properties for Ciskeian President Lennox Sebe. These were for his private use and paid for by the state.

Attached to the anonymous letter was a list of all items bought and the dates on which they were purchased. It amounted R68 747.

The letter also alleges government bribery and corruption and calls upon civil servants and members of the defence force to do as "their brothers in the Transkei" have done

The Public Relations Officer in the Ciskei Department of Foreign Affairs, Headman Somthunzi, said his department knew about the letters in early Febuary. "These pamphlets (letters) were posted in King William's Town in order to create the impression that the dissent is within Ciskei, but we are confident that these come from Ciskeian fugitives in Transkei."

11/7/3/88

W/Mail 11B

Inkatha man kicked out of 'kits squad'

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

AT least five *kitskonstabels* (special constables) have been dismissed from the force in the week since they were brought in as part of the state's answer to the Pietermaritzburg violence.

Among the five discharged because of alleged involvement in crimes is Weseni Awetha, prominent Inkatha Youth Brigade member. He was named in an urgent application asking that he, his father and others be restrained from threatening or harassing certain township residents.

It was claimed in the court papers that the younger Awetha and others armed with spears, sjamboks and pangas dragged Thami Zulu from the street to a river where he was assaulted. Zulu said Awetha was well known and played a "prominent role in Inkatha in Imbali".

Revelations that Awetha was among about 300 *kitskonstabels* given six weeks' training in Cape Town and then brought to Pietermaritzburg to help bring an end to conflict between members of Inkatha and of the United Democratic Front, sparked an outcry.

This week police said Awetha had been arrested in connection with certain criminal activities, although they would not be drawn further, saying the matter was *sub judice*.

Pietermaritzburg police public relations officer Captain Piet Kitching confirmed that unknown to the SAP at the time, some of the new *kitskonstabels* were allegedly involved in criminal activities before being recruited to the force. They had subsequently been discharged.

Kitching said it was difficult to tell how many were discharged because some were dismissed after reporting drunk for duty or absconding.

There were now "about 288 special constables" deployed in the area.

Kitching said "no serious unrest incidents" had taken place in the Pietermaritzburg area this month and put the relative quiet down to a number of factors including the increased police presence, the leadership of Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen who is commanding the special police unrest unit, the assistance of the *kitskonstabels* — and to some extent the weather.

Kitching also confirmed the arrest of nine people in connection with the murder of 70-year-old Johannes Nkomo. He was killed on February 14, shortly after he helped bring an urgent application against Inkatha and several "warlords", asking for a restraining order against them.

During an attack on Nkomo's house, his wife and daughter were also stabbed and his wife has also subsequently died.

His daughter named some of the attackers in an affidavit, saying she believed they were Inkatha supporters and that some of them had been involved in an earlier incident at their home.

17/3/88 W/Mail 115

DD 17/3/88

PW on a lemming run warns Chief Buthelezi

1/B

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

ULUNDI — State President Mr P. W. Botha was on a suicidal course because of his refusal to throw his political future at the mercy of a non-racial electorate, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said Mr Botha must cease being an Afrikaner first and must become a true South African statesman capable of leading the country where it had to go.

He had to cease being a brake on the progress the country desperately needed to make in order to become an open, multi-racial democracy.

As long as South Africa retained a constitution which made it unnecessary for Mr Botha to campaign for support among the rest of the people for his political survivial, the country would remain locked in divisive Afrikaner politics, Chief Buthelezi said.

Until the National Party abandoned its racially-exclusive politics, violence would continue to escalate.

Inkatha's membership was under fire, he said, because of its refusal to turn away from the negotiating table.

"Our people are dying in defence of that which can save the white man's bacon in South Africa.

"How long will we be prepared to face this total onslaught from the revolutionary forces of South Africa while the South African Government continues to pull the rug from beneath our political feet?"

Referring the the NP's May 1987 election manifesto, he said the government was blind to the reality that what it was doing was destroying the circumstances under which serious negotiations could take place.

He would not negotiate within the constraints of the NP's "straitjacket on democracy". "I want to negotiate about one South Africa, with one sovereign Parliament, elected by one or another system of one-man-one-vote franchise," he said.

"There is nothing else to negotiate about as far as I am concerned."

'No hope of reform under emergency'

(118) SM 15/3/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — There was not a "snowball's chance in hell" of reform getting off the ground under the current state of emergency, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Opening the sixth session of the fourth kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Chief Minister said he had never in his life felt as alienated from the State President, Mr P W Botha, as he did now.

Mr Botha was represented by the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at the function. Chief Buthelezi said he was pleased to welcome "a man of integrity" such as Dr Viljoen, even though the National Party had stopped the reform process dead in its tracks because of its fear of the "lunatic right-wing fringe".

"My people are beginning to say enough is enough, and unless a light appears at the end of our tunnel, and hope is reborn that a reform programme which we could endorse will get off the ground, my people will feel that the slamming of the doors in their faces by the Government leaves them no alternative but to seek their salvation in another direction.

"We know what that direction is, but that is not the direction we now choose to walk.

"The National Party's headlong drive along the road to prescriptive politics has terrible implications for every race group in our country. There is no white destiny or Afrikaner destiny which is a seperate destiny from the destiny of other race groups."

NEWS FOCUS

No end to Maritzburg 'war'

ROGER SMITH

POLICE unrest reports reflect a reduction in the number of violent incidents in the Maritzburg "war" between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

According to one estimate, 57 people were killed last month, compared with at least 115 in January.

But observers — such as PFP Natal Inland region director Radley Keys and Peter Kerchoff, of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), say the quieter period does not mean peace.

Kerchoff said the fact of recent violent incidents in the Pinetown area show that, if anything, the conflict could be spreading. The increased security force presence in Maritzburg has reduced the level of violence, but so has bad weather.

There appear to be a number of serious obstacles to real peace:

☐ Government's restrictions on one side in the peace negotiations; the effective banning of the UDF and Cosatu, the banning of UDF president Archie Gumede and Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty; and the continued detention of Natal Midlands secretaries Martin Wittenberg and Skumbuza Ngwenya, have destroyed the chances of any further peace talks soon.

Discussions

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet has said the organisations and individuals concerned may apply for restrictions to be lifted so they can participate in peace talks, but their lawyers say there is little likelihood of this while court challenges to the bannings are being considered or proceeded with.

The mediators in the negotiations, the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, have had discussions with Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, and with the UDF and Cosatu, but without concrete results so far.

☐ Perceptions in the communities of partisanship by the police: police say both sides have accused them of biased actions, which they deny. However, a number of recent cases have involved further accusations of police siding with Inkatha.

Concern has also been expressed over cases where Inkatha "warlords" and people identified in attacks on individuals have not been arrested or prosecuted. Mellet replies that police investigations are hampered by the "intimidation factor" as people have been afraid to come forward to give evidence.

Another recent controversy has centred on the recruitment of known Inkatha supporters as "kitskonstabels" (special police constables).

Calls for calm

Keys said the basic problem was that the law must be seen to work.

He believed certain policemen were maintaining a professional attitude, but others "make mistakes".

☐ Apparent inability of organisations involved in the conflict to control or discipline their supporters: leaders on both sides have made calls for calm and restraint, but the killing has continued.

The UDF/Cosatu have been hampered by the detention of senior members and more recently by bannings, which have made it almost impossible for the leadership to maintain contact with grassroots supporters.

In Inkatha's case, senior local Inkatha member Vitus Mvelase said in court papers: "Even if the members of a certain branch of Inkatha had actually gone on the rampage, there is very little the disciplinary committee can do in terms of the (Inkatha) constitution: firstly, it does not have the capacity to police these events and to bring the culprits to justice, and secondly it does not have the deterrent force to have any such effect."

Retaliation

He said if Inkatha members were to act "in self-defence against an attack by radicals," no punishment was called for. In other statements, Mvelase has made it clear "self-defence" can mean retaliation.

☐ Attitudes of the organisations towards each other: that Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu were bound to clash goes almost without saying. The question, as the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce has put it, is one of limiting the conflict so it does not involve the kind of violence and appalling loss of life seen so far.

The problem in relations as far as the UDF is concerned is a perception, voiced in various statements, of Inkatha as being in the government camp, undemocratic and prone to coercion, intimidation and violence.

On the Inkatha side, statements by Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi show the UDF/Cosatu are perceived as an internal wing of the ANC.

Inkatha has insisted since December that the question of the UDF/Cosatu's attitude towards it must be addressed in peace talks including the national leadership. Not long after the UDF/Cosatu indicated a preparedness to meet this demand, the bannings interrupted the peace process.

Given lack of progress in overcoming the crucial stumbling blocks, there is no peace in sight.

'REFORM STALLED'

Sowetan 16/3/88

113

Not a snowballs chance in hell that it will take off says chief

GERRIT Viljoen

CHIEF Buthelezi

THERE was not a "snowball's chance in hell" of reform getting off the grounds under the current state of emergency, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Opening the sixth session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi, the Chief Minister said he had never in his life felt as "alienated" from the State President, Mr P W Botha, as he did then.

Mr Botha was represented by the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at the function.

Chief Buthelezi said he was pleased to welcome "a man of integrity" such as Dr Viljoen, even though the National Party had stopped the reform process dead in its tracks because of its fear of the "lunatic right-wing fringe".

In a hard-hitting address which made several oblique references to Chief Buthelezi's political party, Inkatha, reconsidering its strategies of compromise within the system, he said there seemed scant hope that Mr Botha would rise above adversity to get a "meaningful reform programme" off the ground.

However, he said, he would dread the day if he had to do "the bidding of the masses" and abandon a willingness to compromise and lead his people in "practical non-violent action".

Dr Viljoen told the Assembly that all South Africans shared a common destiny and a lack of development in one section would be to the detriment of all others.

Share in development

Dr Viljoen also repeated assurances that self-governing territories "will remain part of South Africa and share in the constitutional development of the Republic."

In South Africa, like elsewhere in Africa, he said, underdevelopment manifested itself regionally.

"The visible development problems in South Africa are poverty, ignorance, disease, unemployment, malnutrition, low life expectancies, high infant mortality rates, population growth rates that outstrip the creation of new jobs and illiteracy."

He pointed out that the problems were multi-dimensional affecting the economic, political and social position.

D 1D 16/3/86 (118)

Time for South Africa to compromise says Buthelezi

ULUNDI — KwaZulu had "walked its half of the road" to compromise with the South African Government, and it was now the government's turn to do its share of compromising, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said here yesterday.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister was delivering a vote of thanks to the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on his opening of this year's session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu was reaching the point where it did not know what else it could do to bring about reconciliation between black and white.

Blacks and whites were politically interdependent and unless both did what was right, there was no hope for South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi slammed the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, for his inability to institute a meaningful reform programme.

"I am beginning to dread the day when I will have to do the bidding of the masses, as they demand that I abandon a willingness to compromise." — DDC

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

DD 18/3/88

Chief: govt jackboot crushed organisations

118

ULUNDI — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday condemned the government's restrictions against 17 black organisations, including the UDF and Cosatu as detrimental to the politics of negotiation.

But he also accused UDF and Cosatu leadership of enough tactical blundering to endanger their own organisations' efficacy.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Continuing his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here, the Chief Minister claimed that the only answers to the politics of violence were "the liberalisation of political control and the unshackling of black democracy".

He told the House: "I cannot rejoice that the UDF, Cosatu and other organisations are crushed under a jackboot of the state" and said he did not want to kick organisations which were down.

On the other hand he could not withhold criticism of them for using ordinary people, including children, as cannon fodder and for what he called bashing their heads against a solid brick wall.

"They have stupidly attacked the South African Government where it is strongest and their noses are now bloodied and it is their fault. They tried the impossible and failed."

The more the whites are threatened by acts of violence in revolutionary tactics and strategies, the more they would close ranks. — Sapa

The men they call the warlords

NATAL'S highly controversial "warlords" have been accused of being deeply implicated in serious township violence — yet they walk the streets, armed and free.

The "warlord" label has been given them by leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions who have criticised them for continuing an alleged policy of violence towards non-Inkatha supporters in the townships.

The Pietermaritzburg "warlords" called a news conference last month to "meet the media" and put their point of view on the violence and their alleged role in it. After at least one change in venue, the meeting was called off.

One of the group, Jerome Mncwabe, who organised the event, explained its purpose: "We want to meet the press people and have a chat with them so that they can understand us as we are and as against what has been projected in the media."

To find out more about the people behind the "warlords" label, the *Weekly Mail* contacted Mncwabe. However, he said it had been decided no-one would talk to the media until after the pending supreme court cases were finalised.

"We do not like being given this name," he said. "We want to solve this problem but we cannot do so at this time because they have brought these interdicts against us.

"We would like to call a news conference at the end of the court case and put our position."

In some cases their alleged actions have been very serious — sometimes including several murders.

A feature common to several cases is a claim that the police have been told about these actions but have taken no action or, alternatively, have briefly held the "warlord" in question, and then released him.

What members of this group have in common is having been named as respondents in urgent supreme court applications for interdicts to prevent them harming township residents.

In many cases the "warlords" have licenced fire-arms — while many of the incidents of violence alleged in the papers involve fire-arms.

They are also people with a high profile in Inkatha, either elected leaders or ex-officio members.

They appear to command respect from a group of people who do their bidding.

They are all defended by the same lawyer, and Inkatha has not in any way distanced itself from the people named.

In all these cases, the "warlords" have denied the version presented by the applicants.

They say the cases are part of a campaign by the UDF and Cosatu to discredit Inkatha nationally and internationally, that the claims are false and that the real cause of the violence are members of the UDF and Cosatu who attack, leaving Inkatha supporters with no choice but to retaliate or defend themselves.

They claim they are being chosen as "targets" for the UDF/Cosatu campaign precisely because of their role within Inkatha.

None of the current cases has yet been settled, and it seems they will all be strongly contested and be referred to oral evidence.

● Police have denied they are biased in favour of Inkatha members or the respondents in the applications — or any other group.

Captain Piet Klitching said each case where a complaint was laid was investigated fully. However, police often experienced difficulty in finding witnesses prepared to give a statement, and the statements made in the urgent applications were not a suitable basis for a criminal investigation.

Faces of the 'warlords': from left, David Ntombela, Abdul Awetha and Sichizo Zuma

'Warlord' Number 1

THANDABANTU DAVID NTOMBELA, 63, of Mncane, Elandskop has been cited as respondent in two cases, one brought in November last year and the other last month.

In the earlier case it has been claimed he led a group of armed men who came to a house in Maswazini, near Pietermaritzburg, and shot dead two women, Angelica and Petronella Mkhize. It is also alleged that on the same night he led a group of armed men who abducted Sithembiso Khumalo, a young man whose body was found the next day with bullet wounds.

In his papers, Ntombela says he has been charged with the Mkhize murders and has appeared in the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court where he was released on R100 bail. "No date has yet been fixed for the trial and I understand that the police investigation has not yet been completed."

In the second case, brought last month, it has been claimed he spoke at the end of a meeting at Maswazini late in January saying that "anyone who did not want to belong to Inkatha should be killed" and that after the meeting he led a procession of men armed with sticks, pangas, spears and rifles. The group chased and attacked residents.

In replying papers filed in court Ntombela acknowledged he was the Induna "for the area of Mncane, in the Mpumuza tribe, under the authority of Nkikayezwe Zondi" and had held this position since 1977.

"I am responsible for the welfare of the residents of the Mncane area and I am the person in charge of attending to affairs in that area. I am also the chairman of Inkatha for the Mncane branch (since 1976). I am also a member of the Mpumuza Tribal Authority."

Applicants have said Ntombela is responsible for keeping Inkatha membership dues. They also claim he has introduced a number of "customs" — *eg*, "if a member of Inkatha has a wedding it is obligatory that the wedding be reported to (him), who then allocates an Inkatha observer or guard to the wedding at a fee. If, on the other hand, anybody who is not an Inkatha member has a wedding, then the ... proceedings and festivities are frequently disrupted by persons who are known to support (his) administration."

Commenting on his role at the meeting during which court applicants alleged people were incited to violence against non-members of Inkatha, Ntombela said: "When I was introduced, there was general applause from the audience indicating my popularity."

He also claimed to have suggested a method of ensuring violence was stamped out: "I told the meeting that in my opinion the continuing violence was attributable to the fact that people were afraid to identify their assailants to the police, for fear of retribution. This led to many criminals remaining at large and repeating their acts of violence.

"I said (to the meeting) that I would volunteer to act for the victims of any criminal acts and to point out their attackers to the police. I said that I was not afraid to be seen doing so and I offered to go to any area of any chief to do so."

In other court papers he said he has been the target of "an orchestrated campaign of terror and violence" because "I am a moderate and have on most occasions opposed actions which the radical elements have propagated". His house was razed in a 1979 petrol bomb attack.

'Warlord' Number 2

ABDUL AWETHA, the leader of Inkatha in Imbali and a town councillor, runs a herbalist business.

He is under a permanent interdict confirmed in 1985, barring him and others from assaulting or harassing certain township residents.

Awetha is named as a respondent in an urgent application brought four months ago by Alfred Zulu asking for court protection for his son, Thami Zulu, and for Justice Sunnyboy Ngubane.

Referring to the 1985 application against Awetha, one of the applicants in the later case claimed the issues involved were essentially similar: "that the respondents are not prepared to tolerate dissent and regard anyone who does not adhere to the same beliefs as them to be enemies who must be eradicated or driven from the community".

Awetha has denied any involvement in criminal activities.

He said all the applications brought in the supreme court formed "part of a wide propaganda campaign to discredit Inkatha and its leaders.

"I believe the *modus operandi* of the United Democratic Front is to select people who have been victims of the unrest as applicants in interdict proceedings. These are very often indigent and/or illiterate people" who would not be able to finance legal action on the scale "indulged in by the UDF".

The cases are invariably brought against Inkatha leaders, "respected leaders in their community". This puts them to considerable inconvenience and great expense.

Referring to the second of the applications against him, Awetha questioned whether the chief applicant, Alfred Zulu, knew what he was doing. He said Zulu worked with Jerome Mncwabe, and that Zulu told Mncwabe he "knew nothing of the interim order".

'Warlord' Number 3

CHRISTOPHER SICHIZO ZUMA, chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade's Harewood branch, is respondent in three urgent applications.

In the first application it is claimed that from August to October 1987, Zuma subjected the applicants and others in the community "to a concerted campaign of terror, violence and intimidation. The acts committed during this reign of terror include murder, assaults, pillaging of property and the burning of houses, and have been committed in some cases by (Zuma) himself and in other cases by individuals or groups of individuals acting under his direction and in accordance with his instructions."

It is also claimed that Zuma "has been orchestrating a deliberate and concerted campaign to recruit support for Inkatha and intimidate those who do not subscribe to it."

This first application contains affidavits from several people who claim Zuma was involved in petrol attacks, shootings and killings.

The second application concerns a number of incidents, including serious threats to the Mthembu family.

In this case, the Mthembu family describe Zuma (and Jerome Mncwabe see below) as "Inkatha 'warlords'" who have been making "threats and deadly assaults upon township residents, connected with unlawful activities, in pursuance of an apparent policy of eradicating or intimidating all those who refuse to demonstrate political allegiance to Inkatha".

The third application against Zuma concerns the shooting of Smalridge and Simon Mthembu, two of the applicants in the second case. They were both shot, allegedly by Zuma, on Sunday, January 24, two days after papers relating to the second case were served and one day before the day the matter came to court.

Of the two brothers, Smalridge is recovering from his wounds but Simon was paralysed from the waist down and eventually died.

Zuma is being charged with attempted murder in connection with the incident. He is out on bail and the case has been postponed repeatedly.

'Warlord' Number 4

SHIYABANI ELPHAS ZUMA lives in Slangspruit and is the leader of the local branch of Inkatha.

He is named as respondent in a supreme court application brought last November by Makhosazane Hadebe and others.

Hadebe said she and her boyfriend were woken up and assaulted on June 25 last year by a group of armed men who stole some of their property and then took them to Zuma's house.

There they were "subjected to lengthy interrogation and abuse" by Zuma and others. Hadebe was allegedly told by Zuma to bring her children the next night for questioning; "otherwise I would be killed".

Charges against Zuma in connection with the incident were recently withdrawn.

Other affidavits in this case concern similar incidents in which the applicants or their homes were attacked, allegedly by groups of men led by Zuma personally or by men who are "his followers".

According to one statement, "(Zuma's) home serves as the Inkatha headquarters, and meetings of Inkatha youth are routinely held at his house".

Zuma's version is that he constantly tried to organise Inkatha members to keep order in Slangspruit after United Democratic Front supporters and their affiliates began a "campaign of terror against government schools and public transport.

"As a result of this I was perceived by the reactionaries as their main adversary in their endeavours to foment revolution. I became the prime target of the UDF, Cosatu and their affiliates and was constantly subject to threats."

His house was petrol-bombed and burnt to the ground in June 1986 and he subsequently received an anonymous letter telling him to buy a coffin for himself.

Commenting on the application against himself, he denied all allegations of criminal activities and said a crowd had gathered at the Hadebe house, shouting slogans "vilifying" himself, State President PW Botha and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

'Warlord' Number 5

SHAYABANTU ZONDI is one of the respondents in the February case brought against Inkatha and several of the organisation's leaders.

He is also a respondent in an application brought this week to protect two schoolboys, Nelson Zondi and Knowledge Sithole.

The boys said on Thursday last week Chief Zondi got out of a vehicle with a handgun which he pointed at Nelson Zondi and called him. The boy ran away but claims that when looking back he saw Sithole being beaten by Chief Zondi's companions.

Later his mother said Chief Zondi threatened to go to Nelson's school and kill him.

In his replying affidavit in the earlier case, Zondi says his correct name is Siphiwe Amon Zondi and that the name "Shayabantu" is "a nickname by which I am commonly known".

He adds he is a chief of the Inati tribe and chairman of the Inadi Tribal Authority.

Explaining the status of chiefs in the Inkatha organisation, he says he is not an official of Inkatha, but is "simply a patron, ex officio as chief for that area".

'Warlord' Number 6

JEROME MNCWABE has been named in two interdict applications, one launched at the end of last year and the second this year.

He is a senior member of Inkatha and a town councillor for Imbali.

In last year's case it is alleged that he fatally shot Bongani Mseleku on November 28, after jumping out of a vehicle with "a long gun of some sort, either a rifle or a shotgun" in his hands.

An eyewitness and applicant in the case, Mduduzi Sihlo, said Mncwabe also shot two other boys and that he then saw Mncwabe's two companions stabbing and hitting the boys lying on the ground.

Sihlo fetched his parents and returned to the scene where they found Mncwabe and his companions who allegedly would not let them take Mseleku, who was still alive, to hospital until the police arrived.

Sihlo claimed Mncwabe said, "These people call me '*theleweni*'" (a local term for an Inkatha supporter). "If I am a *theleweni* I will *theleweni* all these people, because you parents of these children are not looking after them. That's why I shoot them .. If you don't take care of your children I will shoot your children and burn your houses down."

Sihlo adds," I repeat these words as best I remember them. A *theleweni* is a killer, literally, 'one who throws someone off a cliff'. It is township slang for an Inkatha thug."

In January another application was brought against Mncwabe.

In this case the Mthembu family describe Mncwabe and Sichizo Zuma as "Inkatha 'warlords'" who have been making "threats and deadly assaults upon township residents, connected with unlawful activities, in pursuance of an apparent policy of eradicating or intimidating all those who refuse to demonstrate political allegiance to Inkatha."

They claim Mncwabe's "proclivity to unprovoked violence is well known" and ask that he be restrained from assaulting or threatening the Mthembu family.

Although Mncwabe recorded that he denied all the allegations of illegal actions made against him in the January case, his exact version of events has not yet been filed.

(118) B/day 22/3/88

Buthelezi holds meeting on mediator's role

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — THE KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday held a special caucus meeting for its members to discuss the role of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce as mediator in the conflict in the capital.

The caucus meeting was called after KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi made public the correspondence between himself and the Chamber which led to the axing of its manager, Paul von Uytrecht, as the convenor of peace initiatives.

Last week sources within Assocom said von Uytrecht had been axed from the peace talks — of which he had been co-chairman — because of pressure from the organisation and Buthelezi.

Buthelezi said Inkatha had come to realise the Chamber, in establishing itself as an "honest broker" in the conflict, had tackled something which it was ill-equipped to handle.

Reading from the letters, he said comments attributed to von Uytrecht in the New York Times that Inkatha warlords had tried to enforce loyalty and that non-politicised communities had turned spontaneously against Inkatha resulted in his demanding that the Chamber publicly declare where it stood.

"How can your Chamber play peacemaker when it has already taken sides and made Inkatha the villain of the peace?" the letter read.

In a response to Buthelezi, President of the Chamber Stewart Smith, reaffirmed its neutrality, disassociated itself from the comments and said von Uytrecht had been misquoted in the article.

In a letter to Rob Pater, vice president of the Chamber, Buthelezi again questioned its neutrality.

D/D 22/3/88 (11B)

Chief: voters accept negotiation

ULUNDI — The white electorate was far more ready to move toward negotiation than was generally recognised, the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said here yesterday.

Blacks must also accept the burden of drawing the country's whites into the political solution for South Africa, he added in a continuation of his chief minister's policy speech in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly.

Fundamental to his whole approach was that, because the black-white problem was at the heart of the matter, both had to be involved in the solution.

"This perspective tells me that the historic burden of political responsibility that blacks must bear as blacks, because it is they who are the victims of oppression, is that of drawing whites into the political solution," Dr Buthelezi said.

This was in stark contrast to the perception by some that the struggle must produce a black victory and establish a black government which would then deal with the white problem.

In fact, however, there would be no black military victory over whites. The pursuit of this could lead only to a final scorched earth policy of confrontation on both sides which would destroy everything and leave nobody the victor. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 23/3/88 (116)

Inkatha members blamed for union deaths

MARITZBURG. — Nine Inkatha members were responsible for the deliberate killing of three Mpophomeni residents and the assault of a fourth at an Inkatha rally in December 1986, a Howick inquest magistrate found yesterday.

Mr Simon Ngubane and Mr Phineas Sibiya, both office-bearers of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, and Miss Flora Mnikathi, the daughter of a Sarmcol worker, were killed on the Lions River road on the night of December 5, 1986. Their bodies were found in a burnt-out car the next day.

The magistrate, Mrs G Nieuwoudt, named Inkatha members Mr Joseph Mabaso, Mr Morris Thusi, Mr Nhlanhla Tshabalala, Mr Thulani Mchunu, Mr Bhekisisa Majosi, Mr Mzikayikani Cele, Mr Vela Mchunu, Mr Dumisane Mkhize and Mr Bhekinkwenza Mtshali.

She said the finding did not exclude the possibility that other Inkatha members could also have been responsible for the killings, but there was not sufficient evidence.

Lying

She found that Inkatha witnesses at the inquest — Mr Noses Majola, Mr Morris Thusi, Mr Andries Mncube and Slangspruit Inkatha chairman "Chief" Zuma — were lying.

The inquest findings would be referred to the Attorney General to decide whom to charge and what the charges should be.

Mr W Trengrove, who appeared for the families of the dead, argued that the instruction was to kill the four, that it was Mr Mabaso's order and that it was clear to all who witnessed the departure of the two cars carrying the victims and several armed security guards from the hall.

Mr Trengrove further submitted that all the security guards were guilty on the basis of executing Mr Mabaso's orders.

The union is pursuing a civil claim for more than R400 000 against Inkatha, the KwaZulu police and Mr Joseph Mabaso, a spokesman said. — Sapa

Inkatha 9 responsible for murders

11B

MARITZBURG. — A magistrate has found nine Inkatha members, including an assistant youth organiser, Mr Joseph Mabasa, and a KwaZulu government employee, Mr Morris Thusi, responsible for the death of two Metal and Allied Workers Union officials in December 1986.

Inquest magistrate Mrs G Nieuwoudt made this finding in the Howick Magistrate's Court this week at the inquest of Mawu officials Mr Phineas Sibiya and Mr Simon Ngubane, both from Mpophomeni.

Seven of the nine men found responsible are members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade. The seven youths had just completed a year's training at Inkatha's Mandleni Youth Training Camp in Ulundi.

The murdered men were among 1 000 workers dismissed by the BTR Sarmcol factory in May 1985. Sibiya was the chairperson of the Mawu shop stewards committee at the factory.

On the night of December 5 1986 the two men, together with Mr Micca Sibiya and Ms Flomena Mnikathi, were captured by a group of armed Inkatha members.

They were severely assaulted and then driven in the direction of Nottingham Road, where Sibiya, Ngubane and Mnikathi were killed. Sibiya escaped.

The inquest magistrate found all the Inkatha witnesses were lying. They included Mr Shuyaboni Zuma, the chairperson of Inkatha's Slangspruit branch in Ashtown, Maritzburg.

The magistrate found there was a strong suspicion that other Inkatha figures were also responsible for the murders.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) expressed concern at the number of violent attacks against its members.

"We believe that many of these attacks can be linked to top Inkatha people.

Cosatu alleged that Inkatha was bent on stamping out democratic organisations through violence and intimidation.

"However, our views have been generally ignored," said the statement.

24-30/3/88

base in Northern Namibia. Commanding of 101 Battalion, Colonel Johannes

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Buthelezi warns ANC to stop lies and insults

24/2/88

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi formally warned Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday that unless the ANC ceased what he called its lies and insults about Inkatha he would be forced to regard it as unfit to negotiate with.

He also warned Mr Tambo that in the unlikely event of a military victory over apartheid, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging would have capabilities "in sabotage and killing which would make the ANC's best look like amateurish bungling."

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Continuing his chief ministerial policy speech in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi used parliamentary privilege to quote extensively from the banned organisation's recent attacks on him and Inkatha's growing membership.

He spoke about Mr Tambo's role as ANC leader in exile and recalled that he had never attacked or insulted him.

But after "hideous" broadcasts and published lies about him and Inkatha — details of which he listed — the time had come to say enough was enough.

He said it was the ANC which had the need to negotiate with Inkatha.

"Unless you (Mr Tambo) now forthwith return a semblance of black dignity to what your lieutenants and followers are saying about me, the Kwazulu government and Inkatha, we will be forced to regard you and your organisation as not fit to sit around any table with us." — Sapa

Boesak is a political imposter — Buthelezi

ULUNDI — kwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last night described the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, as a "glib-mouthed political imposter".

Speaking in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, he said apartheid in South Africa had produced a "crop" of celebrity leaders created and supported by certain media.

These included some clerics who, while "most dramatically" claiming to support the African National Congress mission in exile, themselves rejected the opportunity of "crossing the border and becoming a freedom fighter, as they would see it".

Every black leader worthy of the name had done back-breaking work at grassroot level to unify people and give them common purpose.

"I also know that leaders who shine most when they are upon stages, with international TV cameras focused on them, mostly shine least at grassroot level," Dr Buthelezi told the House.

Star 25/3/88

NO CONSTITUENCY

"He has no constituency which he has built up from nothing and turned into something.

"Dr Boesak is the epitomy of a posturing, publicity-loving, glib-mouthed political imposter.

"He is a political opportunist who flits from one committee to another and one forum to another, speaking on behalf of the people he does not lead."

The United Democratic Front's national chairman, Mr Archie Gumede, had spelt out that the UDF's leadership did not in fact lead at grassroot level and were not listened to by the organisation's affiliates.

"Yet (UDF patron) Dr Boesak is feted across the length and breadth of the world and jets from country to country and from one limelit venue to another, speaking on behalf of the oppressed." — Sapa.

Sowetan. Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

Cape Times 25/3/88

118

'Booby trap' meeting between Inkatha, ANC

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday disclosed details of an alleged attempt to "booby trap" four senior KwaZulu caBinet ministers into going to Lusaka for suggested dialogue between Inkatha and the ANC Mission in Exile.

In his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Chief Minister said that a meeting between a top-level Inkatha delegation and ANC representatives had been scheduled for London last October.

This followed discussions between the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki and Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

But when Dr Dhlomo and four colleagues arrived in London they were told what Chief Buthelezi described as "a cock and bull story about not having flights from Lusaka".

It was then suggested that the Inkatha leaders should consider calling at Lusaka for dialogue with the ANC.

"Quite clearly they could not fall into that booby trap," Chief Buthelezi told the Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi made the remarks following a request to debate the issue of future relationships between Inkatha and the ANC and formulate a statement accordingly. — Sapa

pendent with a majority of 26 votes. — Sapa

Cape Times 25/3/88

Boesak a 'glib impostor'

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last night described the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, as a "glib-mouthed political impostor".

Continuing his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here, he said apartheid in South Africa had produced a "crop" of celebrity leaders created and supported by certain media.

These included some clerics who, while "most dramatically" claiming to support the ANC Mission in Exile, themselves rejected the opportunity of "crossing the border and becoming a freedom fighter, as they would see it". — Sapa

Winnie's overture expected by chief

(115)

D.D. 26/2/88

ULUNDI — The statement by Mrs Winnie Mandela that she was prepared to meet Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an attempt to promote black unity came as no surprise, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said here yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi was responding to reports that the wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela had extended her call to end the violence between black organisations to include Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi said that in all the time he had known Mrs Mandela she had never shown hostility towards him.

Mandela himself had also never been hostile towards him, Chief Buthelezi said.

"He has in fact made it clear in talking to Mrs Helen Suzman and others who have spoken to him that he envisages negotiations about the future of this country to include me and Inkatha."

Chief Buthlezi added that he would comment further on the matter at a later stage. — DDC

D/D 26/3/88

Buthelezi calls Boesak glib-mouthed imposter

11B

ULUNDI — KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi tonight described the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, as a "glib-mouthed political imposter."

Speaking during his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here, he said apartheid in South Africa had produced a "crop" of celebrity leaders created and supported by certain media.

These included some clerics who, while "most dramatically" claiming to support the ANC Mission in Exile, themselves rejected the opportunity of "crossing the border and becoming a freedom fighter, as they would see it".

Every black leader worthy of the name had done back-breaking work at grass root level to unify people and give them common purpose.

"I also know that leaders who shine most when they are upon stages, with international TV cameras focussed on them, mostly shine least at grass root level," he said.

"Dr Allan Boesak is the epitomy of a posturing, high-celebrity publicity-loving, glib-mouthed political imposter.

"Mr Speaker, honourable members, he speaks for you as he speaks for the grass root communities which you represent.

"He is a political opportunitist who flits from one committee to another and one forum to another, speaking on behalf of the people he does not lead."

The United Democratic Front's national chairman, Mr Archie Gumede, had spelt out that the UDF's leadership did not in fact lead at grass root level and were not listened to by the organisation's affiliates.

DR BOESAK

"Yet (UDF patron) Dr Boesak is feted across the length and breadth of the world and jets from country to country and from one limelit venue to another, speaking on behalf of the oppressed." — Sapa

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) 21 September 1987.

(2) No.

(3) Yes, in accordance with applicable legislation.

(4) No. (a) and (b) fall away.

Pensionable service: new conditions on buying back

656. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether, with reference to the imposition of new conditions on the buying back of pensionable service in the latter half of 1987, he is required to consult with any staff associations prior to altering the conditions of service of their members; if not, why not; if so, in terms of what statutory provisions;

(2) whether he has received any indication as to whether any staff associations intend to take legal action against him or his Department in connection with the alteration of buy-back conditions; if so, which staff associations are involved;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) No. Only those office-holders specified in;

(i) section 17(3) of the Government Service Pension Act, 1973 (Act 57 of 1973),

(ii) section 8(6) of the Temporary Employees Pension Fund Act, 1979, (Act 75 of 1979), and

(iii) section 2 of the Associated Institutions Pension Fund Act, 1963 (Act 41 of 1963),

are required to be consulted prior to alteration of the relevant pension fund provisions.

(2) Yes, in a personal letter addressed to me. I have no authority to divulge the contents thereof.

(3) No.

Buying back of pensionable service: applications

666. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) How many applications for the buying back of pensionable service were received by his Department from members of the Natal Education Department after 21 September 1987;

(2) whether any of these applications had been lodged with the Natal Education Department prior to the above date but were not forwarded to his Department in time; if so, (a) how many applications and (b) what action was taken by his Department in respect of them;

(3) whether he has received any representations concerning the applications not so forwarded; if so, (a) from whom, (b) when and (c) what was the (i) purport of these representations and (ii) response thereto;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Not recorded.

(2) (a) Not recorded.

(b) falls away.

(3) Yes, not recorded.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(c) (i) Falls away.

(ii) Falls away.

(4) No.

KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization: activities

682. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 532 on 7 October 1987, the KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization furnished his Department with a description of its activities in applying for a temporary fund-raising number to be issued to it; if not, why not; if so, what were these activities?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

Yes; in applying for a temporary authority to collect contributions, the KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization furnished the Department with an application form and a constitution as required by the Fund-raising Act. According to the constitution, the objects (activities) of the organization are to handle and supervise fund-raising for the KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

East Rand hospitals: abortions

683. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) With reference to his reply to Question No 537 on 7 October 1987, on what date did the Transvaal Director of Hospital Services become aware of a possible excessive number of abortions at certain East Rand hospitals;

(2) whether the investigation into this matter has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so, when;

(3) whether any action has been taken in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) June 1987.

(2) Yes;

(a) falls away,

(b) November 1987.

(3) No, all legal requirements have been adhered to.

(a) and (b) fall away.

SABC: control over programmes

735. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether the Publications Control Board has any authority in respect of programmes televised by the SABC; if not, why not; if so, to what extent?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The hon member's attention is drawn to the fact that no such body as a "Publications Control Board" exists in terms of the Publications Act, 1974 (Act 42 of 1974).

However, if with his question the hon member has meant whether programmes televised by the SABC are subject to the control provided for in the aforementioned act, the answer is in the affirmative. All feature films televised have been examined by committees of publications and approved for screening. The normal conditions applicable to screening in theatres plus any other that the Directorate of Publications may deem necessary for televising, must be strictly observed. Because of logistical and other reasons, however, most of the other programmes of the corporation are handled on an exemption basis.

Flood relief: applications

746. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) (a) How many applications for flood relief have been received from (i) individuals and (ii) companies by the committee responsible for administering the Natal Flood Relief Fund, (b) how many claims have been settled and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) whether the application forms originally used in submitting claims have been altered; if so, (a) why and (b) when;

(3) whether any claims submitted on the original application forms have been returned to applicants for re-completion on the altered application forms; if so, (a) how many and (b) why;

(4) what amount had been contributed to the Natal Flood Relief Fund by the (a) public and (b) State as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) A total of approximately 82 000. Not possible to furnish particulars of individuals and companies separately.

(i) Falls away.

DID 29/3/88

KwaZulu to consider pulling out of Indaba

118

DURBAN — The KwaZulu Government is to debate whether or not to withdraw its support for the Indaba's constitutional proposals as well as pulling out of the KwaZulu—Natal Joint Executive Authority.

The debate, initiated by the Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, comes in formal reaction to the November 27 press statement by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in which he rejected the proposals on behalf of the South African Government.

Chief Buthelezi urged the Legislative Assembly to exercise caution in deciding the matters.

A spokesman for the Indaba said: "This sort of thing is routine. It's a matter of course.

"From time to time they (the KwaZulu Government) like to review the situation."

Market research had indicated "very substantial support" for the Indaba by National Party members.

Chief Buthelezi said he would have withdrawn from involvement in the KwaZulu—Natal Indaba immediately after Mr Heunis's statement had he not known that the minister (although with cabinet support) was speaking against the wishes of large numbers of Nationalists.

The chief minister said that the black people of the region had shown that they were prepared to make compromises by participating in the Indaba and it was now up to whites to get their political leaders to do likewise.

"I see it as terribly dangerous for Inkatha and this House to be hung up at some kind of crossroads while we wait for whites to arrive there and decide which direction they are going to take.

"Our support in principle for the KwaZulu—Natal constitutional proposals must not be allowed to become a millstone around our necks and limit our political options," Chief Buthelezi said.

The issue was so fundamental that he would not dare to act unilaterally as the president of Inkatha or as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Inkatha's final response to the matter would have to come at this year's annual general conference.

The Indaba was initiated in pursuit of the kind of political and constitutional breakthroughs which would enable the people of this region of South Africa to escape the tyranny of apartheid.

If it did not work, there had to be freedom to experiment again until something emerged which did work.

In reviewing support for the Indaba "we must necessarily also have to reconsider our involvement in the Joint Executive Authority".

"We have never become involved in this authority as an end in itself.

"We have always seen it as a first step towards establishing a joint legislative authority," Chief Buthelezi said.

"If the second step is not possible, the first step will be isolated in political history as nonsensical." — DDC

Inkatha to debate withdrawal this year

kwaZulu may retract support for Indaba plan

30/3/88 Star

The kwaZulu government is to consider withdrawing support for the Indaba's constitutional proposals and pulling out of the kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority.

A debate on the withdrawal, initiated on Monday, by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, comes in formal reaction to the November 27 press statement by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in which he rejected the proposals on behalf of the Government.

Chief Buthelezi urged the Legislative Assembly to exercise caution in deciding the matter.

He said it was not prudent to leap into action after Mr Heunis's rejection. Nor, however, was it prudent to "hitch the whole of our political future to the kwaZulu/Natal star".

"Our support in principle for the kwaZulu/Natal constitutional proposals must not be allowed to become a millstone around our necks and limit our political options," he said.

The issue was so fundamental that he would not dare to act unilaterally as the president of Inkatha or as the Chief Minister of kwaZulu. Inkatha's final response to the matter would have to come at this year's annual general conference.

He would have withdrawn from involvement in the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba immediately after Mr Heunis's statement had he not known that the Minister (although with Cabinet support) was speaking against the wishes of large numbers of Nationalists.

Research

Market research had indicated "very substantial support" for the Indaba by NP members.

He said the blacks of the region had shown that they were prepared to make compromises, and it was now up to whites to get their political leaders to do the same.

"I see it as terribly dangerous for Inkatha to be hung up at some kind of crossroads while we wait for whites to arrive there and decide which direction they are going to take.

"I make the point that in re-considering our support in principle for the constitutional proposals of the Indaba, we must necessarily also have to re-consider our involvement in the Joint Executive Authority."

MP IS ORDERED TO PAY R150 000 IN DAMAGES

Sowetan 30/3/88

11B

Woman claims fiance lured to his death

A MEMBER of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has been ordered to pay damages of over R150 000 to a Clermont woman who claimed he instructed people under his control to attack her and to kill her fiance.

KwaZulu MP for KwaMashu, Mr Jamile Mhlahlo Mlotshwa, did not defend the action brought by Ms Thokozile Shabalala.

Ms Shabalala told Mr Justice Howard in the Durban Supreme Court that during the night of April 5 last year, Mr Mlotshwa came to the house where she lived with her fiance, Mr Joseph Khumalo, and woke them up.

She said Mr Mlotshwa told them to accompany him so he could show Mr Khumalo how to use a firearm.

A car with four occupants was waiting. Mr Mlotshwa, Mr Khumalo and Ms Shabalala got into the car, which was then driven to a deserted spot. Ms Shabalala said Mr Mlotshwa told Mr Khumalo to go with him into some bushes so he could demonstrate the use of the firearm.

The two of them and two others from the car walked along a path and disappeared from view.

About half an hour later, Ms Shabalala was ordered to get out of the car and walk into the bush in the same direction as the others had gone.

Help

"I saw Jamile. Our eyes met and then people from behind grabbed me and began assaulting me." She said she was hit on the head and fell to the ground. She heard one of the group telling the others to stop assaulting her as she was dead. They left and she lost consciousness. Some hours later she found help and was taken to hospital.

In answer to a question by Mr Justice Howard, she said the last time she saw Mr Khumalo was when he left the car with Mr Mlotshwa. She later learned he had been shot and killed and his eyes removed.

Ms Shabalala was hospitalised for a number of injuries and still has severe disfigurement where, according to expert medical evidence, her assailants tried to cut her throat with a blunt panga-like weapon.

Mr Mlotshwa was charged with murder and attempted murder in connection with the incident, but after several adjournments the Attorney General announced he was not proceeding with the case.

Costs

In Ms Shabalala's notice of her claim against Mr Mlotshwa she alleged that he wrongfully and unlawfully instructed others to assault her, permitted people employed by him to assault her and did not stop them although he could have done so.

The judge ordered Mr Mlotshwa to pay Ms Shabalala R153 664,77 as well as costs of her court case and the fees of the two doctors who gave evidence in the case. — Sapa.

Inkatha Accord can't help workers

From PHINDA KUZWAYO

THE Inkatha-backed Ngotshe accord between white farmers and black farm labour tenants, which has been called "an example of change at the national level", has suffered a credibility blow and is said to be powerless to halt the threatened eviction of 16 black families from a white farm.

This week an angry five-person delegation of black elders from the Sikkhwebezi area in the Ngotshe district, near Vryheid, consulted lawyers in Durban and complained of "harassment".

The delegation, claiming to speak for the black community, said they were disillusioned with the agreement and instructed lawyers to investigate the possibilities of a Supreme Court application to stop or extend the final date of the eviction, and make representations on their behalf to the Ngotshe Association.

They said they were being harassed by white farmers despite the accord. Some of these farmers were signatories to the "peaceful co-existence" agreement.

The Ngotshe Association was set up to implement the accord after it was signed at Louwsberg in August 1986. The Farmers Association represent white farmers on this body.

Black tenants and the rest of the black community is represented on an equal number basis through Inkatha.

The association's role is to handle grievances and mediate between the farmers and farm workers, resolve land disputes and to "take steps to advance the concerns of people and the spirit of co-operation and loyalty", the constitution claims..

The man who has sparked off the eviction row is Reverend GJ Hugo, who bought the farm Tygerkloof from the HL and H Timber Products Company and told members of the 16 families to pack and move.

In notices served to the families, Rev Hugo has given them a final warning to move by April 8.

Initially, Hugo who is said to be a signatory to the accord, told the families personally that he did not want them on the farm. They did not move because there was nowhere to go.

Hugo allegedly drove cattle of the families to local pound and called in police to arrest members of the families.

Mr Muzikabani Khumalo, 70, is one such victim who has been "harassed" by Hugo.

He said he was released from prison on Tuesday after paying R800.

Nine of his cattle had been impounded on March 14. He was arrested on March 22, following verbal eviction notices issued by Hugo dating back to January 30.

The families are perplexed by the eviction notices because the HL and H Company had made assurances that they would never be moved from the land. Lawyers wrote to the company recently, demanding an explanation. The company replied saying it was investigating the evictions and would come back later.

Some members of the families still work for HL and H. Others have been pensioned while working for the company.

The Ngotshe Executive Committee has referred the matter to the Natal Provincial Council, appealing to it to grant land for the resettlement of the families. – *CONCORD NEWS*

Coup in SA would be right wing — Buthelezi

D/D 6/4/88

118

ULUNDI — If there were ever a coup d'etat in South Africa it would from the right wing, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

He was addressing Texan representatives of the United States's Bridge to Africa organisation here.

He also warned that sanctions issues were being used by some American politicians more to rap the US President, Mr Ronald Reagan than the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

Apartheid was so horrendous a violation of "God-given human rights" that it was unforgivable to use it simply for American party-political advantage, he said.

The situation in South Africa was indeed serious — "You cannot rule a country through a state of emergency and then say things are not bad."

It was not true that, as revolutionaries claimed, the government was now so on the run that the proponents of violent confrontation had only to mount one final push to gain victory, he said.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Black disillusionment with violence was a major reason for Inkatha's phenomenal growth to a card-carrying black membership of over one and a half million in its first decade, he said.

The vast black majority wanted the politics of negotiation which was the only way in which blacks and whites could participate in bringing about radical change.

Whites were scared, and to scare them more made them more recalcitrant and put them "on the path of suicide." But in fact each group vitally needed the other.

If ever there is a coup d'etat in South Africa it will only be a coup in the interest of right wing politics and the entrenchment of neo-apartheid," Dr Buthelezi said.

"This, therefore, makes it absolutely essential for blacks and whites to seek a compromise solution as the only way out of the present political maze," he said.

Both the Buthelezi commission of 1982 and the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba proposals of 1987 had shown that when South Africans of all races were given the chance to sit together to find a solution they could, he said. — Sapa

KwaZulu complain of SAP arrests

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

A ROW seems to be developing between the South African Police and KwaZulu Police over alleged SAP action in a Pietermaritzburg township earlier this week.

The deputy commissioner of the KZP, Brigadier SM Mathe, has written a letter to KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also Minister of Police for KwaZulu.

In his letter Mathe complains about the rounding up of "a large number of Inkatha members" from the Mpumuza district.

He says they were all taken to the police base at Pentritch where they were interrogated. Afterwards they were taken back but were dropped off in the middle of Ashdown township.

"It is known throughout Pietermaritzburg that Ashdown is a strong United Democratic Front base," Mathe says. "The off-loading of Inkatha members here resulted in a heavy battle when the Inkatha members were attacked by armed UDF members whilst the Inkatha members were unarmed. This resulted in the death of two Inkatha members ..."

A statement by an Mpumuza resident who was part of the group allegedly "rounded up" by police who were dropped off in the area by helicopter, says there were well over 100 men taken to the Pentritch police base for fingerprinting and photographing.

Allegations about similar police action — dropping a group of unarmed people in the middle of an area where residents are known to be hostile — have been made before by members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the UDF.

Commenting on Mathe's letter, Buthelezi said yesterday the matter would be taken up "as a matter of grave concern" with the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the South African Police.

Spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellett, said yesterday he knew nothing of the incident but that Pietermaritzburg police were investigating and would release a statement.

The former vice-chairman of the Natal Midlands region of the UDF, Professor Colin Gardner, speaking in his personal capacity, said the claims sounded "very strange" and that in effect it was Inkatha accusing the SAP of siding with the UDF.

Buthelezi swipes at 'alternative rags'

Weekly Mail Reporter

DAYS after its silencing by the state, the *New Nation* has been attacked by KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a "propaganda rag promoting the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance".

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, where he is protected by parliamentary privilege, Buthelezi lashed out at certain sections of the media — including the *Weekly Mail* — for portraying Inkatha as "the number one enemy of the people".

He went on to say he "regrets" the action taken against *New Nation*, which is published by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, because such action by the state "makes things worse for South Africa, (underscoring) the image of this country as a totalitarian state.

"I cannot see how we can hope to achieve the black unity which we are all craving for in the foreseeable future if the so-called alternative press does its damnedest to portray Inkatha as the number one enemy of the people.

"We can indulge in all the formal blandishments of leaders seeking black unity but for as long as the *New Nation* and the *Weekly Mail* write as they do write about Inkatha's leadership it will have to be accepted that the fight which has already begun is going to be a fight to the finish."

Buthelezi then launched an attack couched in similar language against *City Press*, calling it "a government-sponsored alternative press endeavour".

He asked, by implication, why the state had not banned *City Press* too, saying he found it "hideously anomalous" that the state took action against *New Nation*, while at the same time "government ministers sit on the board of Nationale Pers which publishes *City Press*".

Buthelezi also attacked Gerhard Maré and Georgina Hamilton, authors of *An Appetite for Power*, a recent book on Inkatha and Buthelezi's leadership.

He described them as "alternative academics" who have "a pathological bias" against Inkatha and himself and who give "paternalistic and uncritical support for all that the UDF, ANC and Cosatu stand for". He added they had simply applied their minds "to give the ANC mission-in-exile's blatantly party political propaganda a semblance of academic respectability".

No Inkatha cards - pupils barred

DURBAN. — Complaints that Hammersdale pupils who refuse to become card-carrying members of Inkatha are chased away from school persist despite denials by the Kwazulu Department of Education and Culture.

More than 200 pupils are said to be out of school at Sibukosezwe High School in Mpumalanga after the school committee allegedly decided not to admit pupils who are non-Inkatha members.

Non-residents of Mpumalanga are also barred from the school.

According to parents and pupils the school committee decision was taken early in March after pupils had registered for the current school year and paid R25 school fees.

According to officials of the Careers Information Centre here, many pupils and parents, mainly from the Mpumalanga area, told them they had problems retrieving school fees from Sibukosezwe school. They were told in mid-March to collect the refunds from the Kwazulu Government, CIC officials said.

Refused admission

Non-Inkatha pupils also found it difficult to continue schooling in Mpumalanga because principals refused to admit them and because of unrest in the area.

The CIC asked Kwazulu Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, what his department was doing about complaints.

Dr Dhlomo said the unrest was a matter for the police. There were sporadic incidents of unrest in areas such as Hammersdale and Kwamakuthu and sometimes violence spilled over into schools.

In some cases the Kwazulu government asked the police to guard schools so pupils could learn in peace, Dhlomo replied.

He conceded the presence of police tended to incite pupils.

None of the principals conceded they refused pupils for not being Inkatha members, he said. - CONCORD NEWS AGENCY

Cape Times 12/4/88

Inkatha interdicts extended

MARITZBURG. — Three Supreme Court interim interdicts against Inkatha officials who were alleged to have assaulted a number of residents in townships around the city were extended yesterday.

Mr Jerome Mncwabe, an Imbali town councillor, who was cited in two separate matters, had an order restraining him from killing or assaulting Mduduzi Sililo and six others extended until April 25.

In another matter, Mr Mncwabe, Mr Sichizo Zuma, the chairman of the Harewood Inkatha Youth Brigade, and Mr Thulani Ngcobo had an order restraining them from killing or assaulting Mr Johanness Mthembu and three of his sons extended until May 9. — Sapa

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A seminar explores

New eyes on

The violence in Natal has been blamed on the 'comrades', the 'warlords' and on 'criminal elements'. But few have managed to explain why it began ... until a conference this week, which shed new light on the causes of the bloodshed
CARMEL RICKARD reports

WELL over 600 people have died in the violence around Pietermaritzburg during the 14 months to March 1988, but there is still no consensus about the cause of the conflict.

A different explanation for the particularly intense violence in Edendale township, the largest in Pietermaritzburg, was offered to conference participants by Natal University researcher Nkosinathi Gwala.

The state has blamed "radicals" and the UDF/Cosatu as manipulated by the African National Congress, an analysis often used by Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The theory that a large criminal element has been operating in the area, capitalising on the instability, is also popular, while Cosatu, through its interdict applications, has put some of the blame on Inkatha "war-lords".

However, Gwala argues that the violence is "a reflection of a very deep legitimacy crisis facing Inkatha as a 'liberation movement'.

"The Pietermaritzburg violence captures in a very dramatic way what has become a pattern in other conflict-ridden townships in Natal, that more and more African people are increasingly questioning the credentials of Inkatha as a liberation movement.

"This violence also reveals what some would like to turn a blind eye to — the fact that Inkatha's support base is shrinking and, as an organisation, it is relying more and more on bureaucratic domination and repression to maintain its support base."

Gwala says the history of the Edendale area left the region with several unique features — such as the extent of private ownership of the land.

"Edendale (is) one of the very few places where Africans have freehold property. It is this legal status of the land that has given the landowners unusual autonomy from the state and Inkatha."

Both the state and Inkatha are unhappy about the autonomy of Edendale, Gwala argues, and in their concern about control of the area, their interests coincide.

"For the state, it would have been

Arithmetic of hate: 622 die in 90 days

STATISTICS of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area, kept by Natal University's Centre for Adult Education, list 622 deaths between January last year and March this year.

There were in all, 1 160 incidents of political violence during 1987 and nearly 500 in the first three months of this year.

Centre staff member John Aitchison told the seminar that where a judgement could be made of the affiliation of initiator and victim in killings since last January, 174 victims were aligned with the United Democratic Front and 79 with Inkatha.

Looking at the total number of incidents, it seemed Inkatha members were the initiators in 367 incidents and members of the UDF in 112. Members of black consciousness organisations were the initiators in 19 incidents of political violence.

Two members of the South African Police died during 1987, while there have been no SAP fatalities this year.

Commenting later, Aitchison said there were a large number of killings and other incidents in which the alignment of the victim and aggressor were not known.

However, he believed that, from the "rather limited cross checks" he had been able to make, the tendency of the figures was correct — that the UDF had suffered more heavily than Inkatha in the conflict.

"Many incidents where we have good information come from areas nearer to the city where our contacts are good. In the outlying areas ... it is most difficult there to determine affiliation."

Aitchison said he suspected a number of those victims whose affiliation was not known were neutral in the conflict, claimed by neither side.

"The reason we aren't able to be more precise is because the authorities don't release the victims' names and addresses."

Sources providing data for his "census" were newspaper articles on "unrest reports", and of murder and public violence trials; the Sapa version of the police unrest report; accounts from witnesses and victims of political violence recorded by the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness; reports from organisations and individuals in Pietermaritzburg, particularly the Detainees' Support Committee, lawyers, trade unionists, clergy and political activists as well as affidavits before court in applications for interdicts against local "war-lords".

On the question of bias in his statistics, he says cross checking of non-press sources has shown they have been reliable, but adds that most of these non-press sources are organisations sympathetic or not hostile to the UDF/Cosatu alliance. He concedes "the vacancy in sources is one for detailed Inkatha-gathered information".

Aitchison's figures show a dramatic change in the number of deaths every month: in January last year, only one death was recorded; this soared to 60 in September, 83 in October, 113 in December, 161 in January, 50 in February and 14 last month.

The statistics also showed that Vulindlela and neighbouring Edendale were the two worst-hit areas, with 146 dying in Edendale and 254 in Vulindlela during the months January 1987 to March 1988.

Looking at the progression of violence in the townships, Aitchison says, "It would appear that the violence actually started in Imbali, affected Ashdown and then led to the major battle, that for control of Edendale, and then flowed into Vulindlela where it seems that deaths reached horrifying proportions in December and January."

From those killings where he has been able to establish the age of the victims he concludes at least 68 percent of the dead were 25 years or under (the youngest was seven).

"There is a terrible message in this age composition. The conflict is devouring the young.

"Any response to the conflict that does not take seriously the aspirations of those youth and offer a meaningful life (which must include addressing political needs) is doomed to failure."

Blessed are the dead
For they will
Never be suspected,
Never be chased,
Never be unmanageable
Never be transformed into firewood
Never be killed
For they are now
Protected from adversaries
Saved from opponents
Secured from the persecution of this world
Blessed are those who are dead

— by B M Tenza of Imbali, published in Echo February 28 and read at the seminar on violence in Pietermaritzburg

Survivors: Gladys Sangweni lost husband, child and home, allegedly in Inkatha attacks

Stay away, police politely told

PIETERMARITZBURG security police chief Brigadier Jac Büchner is a man not used to being denied access to any one or any place.

But this week he was politely told he was "not welcome" on the local university campus to attend an all-day seminar on the violence which has wracked the region surrounding Pietermaritzburg.

Deputy director of the Centre for Adult Education at the university and co-organiser of the conference, John Aitchison, contacted Büchner to ask him not to attend. He told Buchner a number of speakers felt the presence of a senior security official would inhibit what they had to say and subsequent discussion.

"I have felt all along that it is essential to get to the bottom of this violence if it is to be solved and the problems overcome.

"I felt by going to hear these speeches I might get some fresh ideas. I might have asked some questions but I certainly did not intend interfering with or inhibiting either the speakers or their audience," Büchner said.

Following this exchange, University vice-principal Colin Webb commented the university regretted Buchner should feel insulted by being asked not to attend.

Webb said the university's commitment to free dissemination of ideas remained, but "the measure of intellectual freedom which a university is able to maintain is directly affected by the constraints on human freedom in the surrounding society".

Although he did not attend, Büchner's presence was strongly felt during one session.

In a conference paper, Ruth Tomaselli of the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit, University of Natal, Durban, showed a video of an SABC-TV comment programme screened in January.

Büchner, interviewed during the *Netwerk* programme, described the "daunting task facing the police" in Pietermaritzburg.

In particular he described the "traditional fear" of black people who fear burning more than they fear death.

"This is a traditional fear. When a person dies, they believe the spirit of the forefather is reincarnated ... But what we have here is where a person is burnt, specially when he is alive, then the belief is that his spirit perishes with him, so that the children have no mediator between themselves and the forefathers' spirits. That is a very important aspect of traditional culture."

Büchner said security forces would be "merging as members of the community" to re-establish law and order and to "re-establish or restore the dignity of the local community.

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute referred to another absence from the seminar — that of an official Inkatha representative.

Woods began his address by saying the institute was "independent" and did not represent any political party. He added the absence of an Inkatha representative "totally negates the contribution that Inkatha can make".

Aitchison told the *Weekly Mail* the organising committee had considered whether to issue official invitations to representatives of the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Inkatha and the South African Police.

"However when the UDF and Cosatu were restricted the problem was resolved. We felt it would have been invidious to invite Inkatha when the UDF could not attend, and so no representatives of any political grouping were invited."

REPORTING ON THE FRONT

THE sometimes impossibly difficult conditions under which journalists are working in Pietermaritzburg were highlighted during the seminar.

Khaba Mkhize, editor of the *Natal Witness* supplement, *Echo*, told of the problems in being a reporter living in the townships.

"To report on violence as an 'insider' is to risk death, or unpopularity at the least," Mkhize said.

He said he was sometimes approached by people living near him who would ask him why, knowing what he did of the truth of what was happening in the area, he did not report on these facts in his paper.

"I often have to give a crash course on the Emergency regulations to explain the problems of what we can and cannot publish."

Mkhize said reports alleging attacks by one side were often seen as evidence of his personal affiliation to the other side in the conflict. And attempts had been made on his life.

Natal Witness journalist and author David Robbins, said since February when "the state's security management system cranked into place in Pieterma-

Natal's violence

the violence

ideal for Edendale to be under the direct administration of the KwaZulu bantustan, controlled by an increasingly collaborative organisation like Inkatha. For Inkatha control over Edendale would give substance to its claimed membership of the 'Zulu nation', as well as its claimed membership of 1,5-million members."

Gwala says there is strong evidence that the Pietermaritzburg area is "traditionally a very strong ANC area, at least up till its banning in 1960" while Inkatha has never been strong in the Natal midlands.

Edendale is one of the few places where blacks own freehold property. This gives the landowners unusual autonomy from Inkatha's patronage or bureaucratic control ...

In addition, there has been a political re-awakening in the area during the 1980s, largely led by the "progressive labour movement" and the UDF, but Inkatha actively opposed several significant and well-supported labour and community actions, organising strike-breakers and breaking a consumer boycott.

"The workers and the Pietermaritzburg community learnt their lessons about Inkatha through these events."

But Gwala believes the most important explanation for the conflict is Inkatha's failure to get a foothold in the Edendale community through its normal methods of "bureaucratic control, patronage and distribution of resources".

In response to being blocked in Edendale by a community which did not need its patronage, Inkatha began "a violent recruitment drive".

He adds, "In fact when one examines other conflict areas in Natal where Inkatha is involved, there is an increasing propensity towards violence on its part where these bureaucratic entry points are closed.

"If its forced recruitment drive fails, like it clearly has in Pietermaritzburg, it appeals to the state for more administrative and repressive powers. That is why Inkatha is now pushing for more areas to be incorporated under the KwaZulu government and for more police powers in the form of the KwaZulu Police.

"The frustration of Inkatha is heightened in a place like Edendale where the landowners are somewhat more autonomous because of the freehold status of their land.

"While Inkatha does still retain mass support, it is nonetheless becoming like other bantustan ruling political parties. Where there is resistance to the state Inkatha is now almost always on the side of the state.

"No matter how hard you try, it is almost impossible to convince black people that a police force under apartheid or a bantustan government can be part of a liberation movement."

Discussing the causes of the violence in his paper, church worker Peter Kerchhoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa) said the conflict was not "mindless black on black conflict".

He added, "It is also not purely a clash between Inkatha and the UDF

"While our evidence suggests the fighting is Inkatha versus non-Inkatha, I am not saying that Inkatha has the sole responsibility

"If we want to understand the causes we cannot simply say it is a struggle for power. We have to understand what apartheid has done to all of us.

Socio-economic conditions were also blamed for much of the problem by Inkatha Institute speaker Gavin Woods

He said the institute had conducted a survey of socio-political conditions, attitudes and opinion in the affected areas.

They discovered about 350 000 people living in the region, about 11 people per house of one or two rooms, under appalling conditions of poverty and unemployment, with poor roads, inadequate health services and a lack of recreational facilities.

On average there was one bread winner — earning about R200 a month — per 15 people. This means 70 percent of the people live below the bread line.

Unemployment among the institute's "focus group" (youth aged 15-24, the group most involved in the violence) was about 80 percent.

They experience intense frustration, feeling they have no future, and move to "group formations", says Woods.

"Youth gangs are a feature of ghettoes but the tendency is even stronger in this region where apartheid has caused the disintegration of society."

He said the fighting was a result of "displaced aggression" — the youths turned to closer targets because they could not take out their frustrations on the real causes of their problems.

He also blamed the *lumpen proletariat*, saying this criminal element would "kill for a radio".

Of the 240 youths in the institute's sample "only 12 percent saw the UDF or Inkatha as vital components of the violence; 95 percent had no political understanding of these movements and had no formal connections with them".

He added that a large number did not know the names of leaders, and that this was especially true of the UDF-aligned youths interviewed.

Woods said it was important to distinguish between the "underlying and incidental causes" of the conflict.

The socio-economic problems and political frustrations caused by apartheid were the "underlying causes", while the ideological differences were "incidental".

He called on participants to direct their attention to "the real causes" and make an action plan to "lift the quality of life of these unfortunate people".

Final journey — comrades carry Mduduzi Mvubo and Ndoda Mchunu to Mphophomeni graveyard near Howick

Pictures: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

The court plays chief reporter

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

LEGAL restrictions preventing news of conditions in the townships reaching the wider community had led to the South African judiciary becoming "impotent press agents".

This was the view presented at the seminar by Natal University law professor, James Lund.

His argument is that laws and regulations in South Africa so effectively restrict the flow of information about what is happening in the black areas, that the only way to get this news out is to bring court interdicts.

Looking at the spate of applications for interdicts brought in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court during the last few months, he asks why they were brought and what it was hoped to achieve through the applications which could not be achieved through other means.

One reason might be to obtain protection for the individual applicants and other victims of violence in their communities.

"Given the nature and extent of the violence and the impunity with which some of the perpetrators appear to have acted, it would seem to be somewhat naive to expect that the assaults, killings or other attacks would stop merely because a judge had, with due ceremony, embodied a prohibition against such conduct in a formal court order."

Another reason for bringing the interdicts could have been to "identify those people committing acts of violence so that the police and prosecuting authorities, armed with the evidence contained in the affidavits, would be compelled by (white) public opinion to institute criminal proceedings. But this has not generally followed."

A third reason, he suggests, could be to gain publicity.

If this was the motivation behind the applications, Lund says, it reflects on the state of the law and the legal system in South Africa today.

"In a normal society with a free press and access to information it would obviously be unnecessary to go to the length of applying for interdicts that by and large simply restate the law in order to ensure the publication of information vitally affecting the society and its citizens.

"But South Africa is clearly an abnormal society."

Lund lists legislation which prevents those outside the black areas from knowing what happens in these communities — laws which keep groups strictly apart such as the Group Areas Act; laws severely limiting the information which the media may publish, and regulations which have restricted the activities of organisations and silenced their leaders.

"When the delicate balances evolved through the wisdom and experience of centuries of law are perverted to promote or preserve the privileges of a ruling class, one of the many victims is the law itself which becomes a mere display of force, little if any different from the force displayed by a bandit.

"The need for the victims of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area to resort to the dangers and expenses associated with the interdict applications in order to claim the fundamental rights and protection that should be theirs in any sane society, shows that the courts and the legal process have become a mockery.

"The judges, still fiercely proud of their independence, have been turned into impotent second-rate — may I say independent — press agents.

"While this might be a sad spectacle for many, a sadder feature is that the disillusionment created can only serve to promote further violence and disrespect for law on all sides."

LINES: FEAR AND DANGER

ritzburg townships, the situation underwent a profound and ominous change" and the problems of reporting greatly worsened.

Restrictions on key organisations and their leaders made it virtually impossible to quote a balance of opinion regarding any incident.

"Matters were further complicated by the introduction into the townships of *kliskonstabels*, some of whom had been Inkatha activists during the previous months of fighting. What had once been an essentially civil struggle, with the security forces more or less on the sidelines, is now a struggle between the state and Inkatha on one side and the popular 'progressive' resistance on the other," and so was subject to Emergency regulation restriction relating to security force action.

The change was reflected by the changed police attitude to the newspaper's requests for comment.

"Whereas before the police were sometimes prepared to confirm and comment on our stories they no longer do so", and refer reporters asking for comment, to Section 3(1) of the regulations which says nothing can be published in connection with security force action.

Robbins adds, "In our attempts to publish news of the unrest, we are now helped only by the protection given by parliament and the courts. When affidavits are filed and questions are asked in parliament, some facts become part of the public record and can therefore be published.

"In spite of this however, we know of many incidents and detentions which should be reported, but the police refuse to confirm, and the reports remain unpublished. As a newspaper we feel shackled and frustrated: we know we are not fulfilling our basic function properly — which is to keep our readership fully informed."

Added to this the physical risks to reporters trying to enter these areas are very real. There is also the problem of the great reluctance of people to talk to the press for fear of reprisals by one side of the other.

"Our proximity to the unrest has heightened our awareness of the need for even-handed reporting and for objectivity and balance in interpretation."

Youth groups getting together

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By Esmaré van der Merwe

Star 22/4/88

The third annual joint conference of Youth for South Africa and the Inkatha Youth Brigade takes place at the Rand Afrikaans University this weekend, starting at 3 pm today.

The conference aims to create better relationships among young South Africans.

Among the speakers are the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, and the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Dr van der Merwe will discuss the role of effective political communication in establishing an accepted constitutional dispensation.

Dr Dhlomo will speak on the possibilities of getting the political negotiation process off the ground.

A panel discussion will be held tomorrow.

KwaZulu govt gets the Umlazi stadium

By MOKGADI PELA

SOUTH Africa officially handed over some social amenity projects to the KwaZulu administration in Umlazi at the weekend. 11B

The projects which were handed over include Umlazi stadium, tennis courts and a sports hall for indoor games. Sowetan 25/4/88

Speaking at the ceremony which was attended by scores of KwaZulu officials and community councillors, the director-general of South African Department of Development Aid, Mr Gilles van de Wall, said: "Development is not something that happens to people overnight."

This sports field forms but a tiny part of a much larger development project in the areas in and around Umlazi, Inanda and Edendale, the planning of which was started in 1984 with a view to finding ways in which the quality of life of the Zulu people in KwaZulu could be improved.

Modern society

"Urbanisation is a phenomenon which we cannot ignore in modern society. For people who are often sophisticated and who have a long tradition of rural life behind them, sudden urbanisation presents a daunting challenge and even a traumatic experience," Mr van de Wall said.

He said sporting activities were not the only projects on the agenda but better roads and sewage systems were also receiving attention with a view to creating a balanced life.

The construction of the projects amounted to R20 million, Mr van de Wall said.

Accepting the projects on behalf of the people of Umlazi, the mayor, Mr Reuben Mfeka, said: "Life in the township is unbearable without these amenities and we are particularly grateful to the South African government in remembering her allies."

Traditional dancers and gumboot dancers graced the occasion. School kids played soccer and sang.

SHAKING hands, Dr Madide and Mr Gilles van de Wall while Umlazi mayor, Mr Reuben Mfeka looks on.

'Blacks should participate fully'

By Esmaré van der Merwe

(113) Star 27/4/88

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has rejected the Government's latest constitutional reforms as "an extension of the (National Party's) political idiom" based on minority rights.

President Botha's "innovations" were regarded by blacks as "the political intentions of the politics of prescription" as exercised in the tricameral Parliament.

At a meeting with Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said South Africa's political crises could not be defused by enfranchising urban blacks on a separate voters' roll.

The tricameral system had to be replaced by a multi-party state in which blacks could participate fully.

The NP had to accept that the negotiation process could only get off the ground if "one South Africa with one sovereign parliament" could be negotiated.

Star 28/4/88 (11B) (2610)

RSCs a problem for JEA

The Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in Natal could face a significant setback if provincial officials go ahead with the introduction of Regional Services Councils (RSCs) in the province without the JEA's approval, the South African Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

In an analysis of the JEA's failure to prevent the introduction of RSCs in face of kwaZulu's opposition, "Quarterly Countdown", the Institute's regular monitor of political reform, says that kwaZulu is still under the impression that RSCs will not be introduced without the JEA's approval.

It says that although the JEA is meant to serve as a channel for co-operation in cases where the Natal Provincial Administration and kwaZulu agree that this is necessary, kwaZulu "clearly hopes the arrangement will give it greater influence on decisions affecting the province as a whole".

KwaZulu's influence would therefore be severely limited if the JEA's bid to prevent the introduction of RSCs failed.

"Quarterly Countdown" said it was also unclear whether RSCs would play a significant role if kwaZulu were excluded. Most of Durban's black residents live in areas formally controlled by kwaZulu and would therefore presumably be excluded from the RSC's jurisdiction".

The publication says that Natal provincial officials are adamant that four RSCs will be established despite the objection of kwaZulu. — Sapa.

Inkatha violence spreads to Durban

(11B) 28-4/5/88

THE political violence in and around Maritzburg since the beginning of last year is now spreading to Durban and elsewhere.

It forms part of the on-going strife between Inkatha on the one hand and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) on the other.

Although sporadic violence is not new to these areas, it is now escalating.

Unaccounted murders, attacks on youths, petrol-bombing of homes, and residents fleeing their homes has become the order of the day in several townships in and around Durban.

Over the past few weeks, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, claimed violence in Natal decreased as the result of intensified efforts by the South African Police (SAP).

But a closer look at the situation paints a different picture.

On April 9 a house in which two orphaned young sisters were staying, was attacked, petrol-bombed and burnt to the ground in Shongweni.

Brutally slain

In the nearby township of Mpumalanga, Inkatha attacks on members of the progressive UDF-affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress (Hayco) appear to be increasing.

In one incident a 102-year-old grandmother who refused to divulge the whereabouts of her grandson, a Hayco member, was brutally slain.

The areas worst hit by the present wave of attacks are the Durban townships of Clermont, KwaNdengezi, KwaMashu, Umlazi and Inanda.

In Inanda more than 11 homes have been burned down in the past few weeks.

Mr Alec Erwin, a former national education officer of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), outlined some of the reasons for this gloomy scenario.

Gladys Sangweni stands in the ruins of her house. Her husband and daughter were killed by vigilantes because her son was identified as an Edendale Youth Congress member

Verbal abuse

"The violence is a clash between the conservative Zulu organisation of the KwaZulu homeland, Inkatha, and the rest of the residents.

"It is not black-on-black violence between rival tribes or factions as portrayed in the commercial press and by the State.

"If the township residents - whether they align themselves with the progressive movement or not - show any signs of not supporting Inkatha or of being antagonistic to the local Inkatha leadership - there is a very high probabilty that incidents of violence will take place.

"This kind of situation is present in many areas in Natal and it is for this reason that there is a good chance that the violence will escalate in these areas unless the judicial system is shown to be working effectively."

According to Erwin the pattern of the violence, which has seen more than 500 people killed in the Pietermaritzburg area since early last year, is very clear.

"The Inkatha leadership start by holding meetings. If they are questioned or queried in any way in a meeting, those questions are labelled as "UDF" or "Cosatu" irrespective of whether or not the questioner belongs to one of these organisations.

"And then the pattern is fairly general after that. The persons who ask the questions are subjected to verbal abuse and it often degenerates into physical attacks and even death.

"When that happens there is a tendency for the community to organise to defend itself against these attacks."

Erwin, now the national educational officer of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), said he did deny that retaliatory action had taken place.

He stressed, however, that the killings and attacks - which did not discriminate in terms of sex and age - were perpertrated by a very distinct and identifiable group.

"In Pietermaritzburg we call these Inkatha-linked people 'warlords' - they are individuals who organise armed men around them.

"Their weaponry ranges from pangas to R1 military rifles, shotguns and riot guns.

"The warlords tend to control small areas or fiefdoms and try to ensure that there are no other organisations in the area besides Inkatha.

"The 'warlord' phenomenon is characteristic of virtually all of the Natal violence. In virtually every area where there is violence you find these warlords."

Erwin claimed the Government was implicitly or directly abetting the "warlords" in the violence against progressive forces in all the townships. – *Press Trust of South Africa*

CAPE TIMES 28/4/88

Ulundi slams PW plan

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has slammed State President Mr P W Botha's proposed political dispensation for blacks as an attempt to hold together the crumbling tricameral system.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister told members of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) that it was disturbing that the National Party thought it could defuse the national crisis in South African politics by enfranchising so-called urban blacks on a separate voters' roll.

It was equally disturbing that despite intense attempts to teach the NP about democracy, it still clung to the absurd distinction between own affairs and common affairs.

Criticizing the NP's adherence to the misconception that South Africa was a "country of minorities", he said the tricameral system had failed and that it had to be "exorcised" out of South African history before it irreparably damaged the politics of negotiation.

Instead of scrapping this system before it resulted in the creation of an authoritarian, one-party black state, the NP was attempting to hold it together.

Buthelezi to speak on E Rand

(118)

STAR 29/4/88

By Abel Mabelane

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, will be the guest speaker at the 77th anniversary of the Germiston Chamber of Commerce and Industry next month.

A spokesman for the Chamber, Ms Sylvia Saunders, said Chief Buthelezi had been requested to speak on "KwaNatal: the effects it will have on commerce and business".

"Although we suggested this topic to Chief Buthelezi, he is, as our guest, completely free to speak on any topic he likes," she said.

Ms Saunders said Chief Buthelezi will address guests at the annual general meeting of the Chamber which will be held on Tuesday May 17 at Germiston Civic Centre.

LIAISON

She said the achievement of the Chamber during the past 77 years was to liaise with Germiston City Council and to make it understand the problems of commerce and industry.

The Chamber had also been instrumental in getting the city council to open its central business district to all people.

"We also liaise with the Katlehong Chamber of Commerce and share ideas with them.

"The Chambers' membership is open to all people irrespective of race, colour or creed," Ms Saunders said.

Dinner will be served after the meeting, which starts at 6.30 pm.

Inkatha man in legal battle

Sowetan 21/5/88

118

AN ORDER that a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and of Inkatha pay damages of R15 364 to a Clermont woman he allegedly assaulted has been set aside.

Miss Thokozile Miriam Shabalala was granted the damages in a default judgment in the Supreme Court, Durban, last month against Mr Bekizizwe Samuel Jamile.

Miss Shabalala claimed that Mr Jamile and others arrived at the house where she lived with her fiance, Mr Joseph Khumalo. She and her fiance were ordered to accompany the men. Her fiance was taken into the bushes, where he was allegedly shot dead. Miss Shabalala said she was severely assaulted.

The default judgment was made when Mr Jamile did not defend the action.

Asking for the judgment to be rescinded, Mr Jamile said on Friday that the first he knew of the case was when he read of it in the newspaper.

He denied any knowledge of the assault on Miss Shabalala. He said that after consulting his attorney he saw the summons. It had been served on his daughter by a white man. — Sapa.

Sowetan 4/5/88

'Widows lose out'

By ALI MPHAKI

ZULU widows are discriminated against under the traditional law of succession, a public prosecutor at Bergville, Mr Ambrose Mfayela, says.

In the latest edition of *De Rebus*, the South African attorneys' journal, Mr Mfayela writes: "The present system of promogeniture written into the Natal Code of Zulu Law is discriminatory on the grounds of sex and violates the principle of equality before the law.

"A widow cannot inherit property from her husband because in law widows are regarded as minors. This places widows at the mercy of the heir, particularly when it comes to property. The estate is inherited by the eldest legitimate son, or, if he has died, by the eldest legitimate grandson, and so on. Only men can inherit."

Majors

Mr Mfayela says this clashes with the KwaZulu Act on the Code of Zulu Law (16 of 1981) which was intended to raise the status of black women and extend property inheritance and succession rights to black women.

"Section 14 of the code recognises women as majors, but in this particular case they are treated as if they were still minors," he says.

Bophuthatswana's Succession Act abolished the traditional rules of succession and in terms of this Act the surviving widow can now inherit.

If her husband dies without leaving a will, the widow is still an heir and receives the equivalent of a child's share of the estate.

If there are no children she is the sole heir. If the dead man had several wives, his widows receive equal portions of the estate.

Mr Mfayela recommends that South Africa and KwaZulu enact a similar succession Act to that of Bophuthatswana, abolishing the right of primogeniture and that suitable provisions be made to protect the rights of the widow.

"Times have changed and the law must keep up with those changes. It is time to lift our widows from the quicksands of sexual injustice to the solid rock of equality before the law," says Mr Mfayela.

ZULU women are discriminated against in law.

Referendum on Indaba sought

Star 6/5/88

(118)

Stellenbosch University's students representative council is to call on the Government to hold a referendum on proposals made by the kwaZulu Natal Indaba.

The students' call will be handed to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, in the near future, council chairman Mr Francois Beukman says in a statement. The students want the referedum before the end of the year.

The SRC, which is dominated by National Party supporters, unanimously backed the Indaba after a series of discussions with Indaba staff in Durban.

The statement warns that negotiations, at regional and national level, for a political dispensation accommodating all race groups will have to be initiated within the next year if evolutionary change is to take place in South Africa.

Mr Beukman says the resolution is "evidence to the black people that the youth is prepared to compromise".

Inkatha squatter leader held by police

(1/13) 8/5/88 C/Press

By S'BU MNGADI

A SENIOR Inkatha official is believed to be among 10 people arrested in connection with the gruesome killing of a 16-year-old Ntuzuma schoolboy, Bheki Gcabashe.

Although KwaZulu police – citing continuing investigations – declined to confirm or deny the Lindelani squatter settlement resident's arrest, *City Press* learnt from a family member that he was in detention.

As police swooped on Lindelani – bordering KwaMashu and Ntuzuma – the atmosphere was still tense in Durban's north-western townships of Inanda, Newtown, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu, following a renewed wave of violence which started a month ago.

A number of people were injured, property was damaged and classes at some local schools were disrupted.

KwaZulu Police Commissioner Brig Andries Laas confirmed the arrests. He said the men were being held under KwaZulu's Act 19 of 1987 which allows for detention without trial for up to 90 days.

Because of fear of jeopardising the investigation, the police were not able to release the names of those held in connection with the killing.

Five other children were seriously injured during an attack on Ntuzuma's Igugulabasha and Phembisizwe schools, allegedly by Lindelani vigilantes led by a community leader, a forthnight ago.

Several eyewitnesses alleged in affidavits submitted to the Progressive Federal Party's unrest monitoring group that a KwaZulu-registered vehicle was seen in a convoy of cars that carried vigilantes during the attack.

An eyewitness said shots were fired into a group of pupils.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) No. Due to the acute shortage of qualified Marine Electrical Officers and a lack of volunteers in this grade.

(2) Yes. Five Chief Marine Engineer Officers.

(3) No.

KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization: temporary fund-raising number

*3. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 682 on 28 March 1988, it is sufficient for an organization applying for a temporary authority to collect contributions in terms of the Fund-raising Act, No 107 of 1978, to state merely that its objects are to handle and supervise fund-raising for another organization; if not, why was a temporary fund-raising number issued to the KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

Highveld Area Development Board: allowances paid after abolition

*4. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether, with reference to paragraph 9 of the Auditor-General's report on the Highveld Area Development Board for the 1985/86 financial year, the investigation into the continuation of payment of allowances of members of the above board after its abolition has been completed; if not, why not; if so, (a) when was the investigation completed and (b) what were the findings;

(2) whether any action is to be taken as a result of this investigation; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;

(3) who were the members of this board as at 30 June 1986;

(4) whether the members of any other development boards voted to continue payment of their allowances beyond 30 June 1986; if so, (a) of which boards and (b) for how long after 30 June 1986 in each case;

(5) whether these boards are the subject of similar investigations; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) No, the legal aspects are still being investigated by the Transvaal Provincial Government.

(2) The result of the investigation referred to in par (1) will determine whether further steps will be taken.

(3) Mr H F Breytenbach (Chairman)
Mr J I du Toit (Vice Chairman)
Mr R P Botha
Mr W A de Klerk
Mr F R P Schutte
Mr M du Toit (This member did not receive any compensation)

(4) No.
(a) and (b) Fall away.

(5) No. No allowances were paid to members of the other development boards in the Transvaal after 30 June 1986.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, he told us that no other members of the development board in the Transvaal received these payments. What was the situation in the other provinces?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the original question referred to the particular development board in the Transvaal, and the information I gave was obtained from the Transvaal provincial authority. That is why the reply to the question only refers to the Transvaal situation. If the hon member wishes to obtain information in regard to the other provinces, I suggest he tables his question.

Highveld Area Development Board: erection of head-office building before abolition

*5. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether the Highveld Area Development Board was aware at the time of the erection of its head-office building of the intended abolition of the board with effect from 1 July 1986; if so, (a) why, (b) at what cost and (c) on whose authorization was this building erected?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

No.

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

Highveld Area Development Board: unauthorized expenditure on computer

*6. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether any action is to be taken by his Department regarding the unauthorized expenditure of approximately R1,2 million on a computer by the Highveld Area Development Board, as stated in paragraph 11 of the Auditor-General's report on the said board for the 1985/86 financial year; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what action;

(2) what are the names of the outside bodies that provided computer services to this board during the above financial year?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) *Ex post facto* permission for the purchase of the computer was granted to the Highveld Area Development Board on 23 July 1986. Therefore, no further steps in this regard are considered.

(2) Computer services for the 1985/86 financial year were provided to the Development Board by the City Council of Witbank.

SABC: interim/final reports of committee investigating administration

*7. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:

Whether the (a) interim and (b) final reports of the committee investigating the administration of the South African Broadcasting Corporation will be made public; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

The Board has since April 1987 been examining all aspects of the activities of the SABC. It has appointed an outside consultant (not a committee of investigation) to help with certain analyses in the areas of finances, structuring and management.

The consultant's advice and reports are for the internal use of the Board and will assist it in the total evaluation process.

It is therefore for the Board itself to decide how to handle the reports.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, and in view of the fact that his Vote is coming up for discussion within the next few weeks and that this matter relating to the SABC is going to be duscussed during that debate, how does he expect this House to debate the SABC if information relating to it is not disclosed to hon members of this House?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it goes without saying that hon members of this House undoubtedly do not have access to all the information in the possession of any organization which is discussed, and that also applies to specific Government Departments and their activities. I cannot see why it should be different in this case.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, could I ask him if he has seen this report?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have indeed seen it.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, could I ask him whether he will be prepared, prior to the debate on his Vote, to impart to hon members the information which he has received?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I come back to the reply which I gave originally, which was that the report contains information which the board requested and obtained and which is at its disposal; consequently it is for the board itself, and not for me, to decide how that information should be dealt with further.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply,

Africa.

Cape Times 12/5/88 (118)

Chief appeals to Tambo for talks

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has sent a letter to exiled ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo offering to discuss the South African situation with him.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president told Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), that Mr Tambo had received the letter.

He also told Dr Slabbert that United Democratic Front (UDF) president Mr Archie Gumede had a long-standing invitation to talk to him and Inkatha in Ulundi.

However, in his policy speech as KwaZulu Minister of Police — delivered soon after the meeting — Dr Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that it seemed there was nothing to talk to the ANC about.

Referring to a written attack on Inkatha and the KwaZulu police by ANC propagandist Dr Francis Meli, he said: "The way Dr Meli talks confirms the growing perception amongst many around me that we have moved into a situation in which there is at this stage nothing to talk about with the ANC.

"They are committed to a military victory, a victory of violence."

No reply to UDF peace request

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

THE United Democratic Front has made formal application to the minister of law and order for permission to participate again in peace talks aimed at ending six months of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area.

"We believe there is no hope of real peace in the region unless the peace process continues," the application said.

UDF Natal publicity officer Lechesa Tsenoli said the organisation's participation in the talks, aimed at ending the conflict which has left over 500 people dead, was brought to a halt when the organisation was restricted by the state.

The UDF application noted that the Pietermarizburg Chamber Of Commerce had met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in February and urged him to allow the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to take part in the peace process.

The Chamber informed the UDF that Vlok had agreed to consider such an application.

The UDF said peace talks were interrupted by the "detention of almost the entire UDF delegation in the peace talks on February 10 and 11" and stressed that while violence had diminished, most of the root causes had not been addressed.

If the peace process was to be restored, the application said, both the UDF and Cosatu needed to consult their membership and affiliates "to seek a mandate and report back".

The application said people in detention "from the other side" who did not have criminal charges pending, should also be released to participate. "We believe that the peace process cannot continue unless detained and restricted members participate."

The application expressed hope that the "substantially" increased presence of police and *kitskonstabels* in the area would not be maintained indefinitely.

The UDF application attached a list of names, including eight regional and national executive committee members with the application, urging the minister to release and lift the restrictions imposed on them.

The minister has not replied to the application and could not be reached for comment.

W/Mercury 13-19/5/88

Inkatha's peaceful says Zondi

By KAREN EVANS

IN the face of the Pietermaritzburg violence, the Inkatha Youth Brigade has expressed sentiments of conciliation towards the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress.

Musa Zondi, chairman of Inkatha Youth Brigade, was commenting on last months's talks between his organisation and Jeugkrag.

"Our white compatriots in Jeugkrag found it difficult to understand how we were able to condemn the government for the clampdown on 17 organisations, including the UDF and Cosatu, against the background of their role in the Pietermaritzburg violence."

"We pointed out that whatever the UDF, Cosatu and ANC did in Pietermaritzburg against us does not make them less of our brothers.

He also claimed that repeated attempts to meet with the "ANC mission-in-exile" and the UDF and its associates have been rejected. "It is the UDF and its allies who reject Inkatha and spurn its hand of friendship."

Marthinus van Schalkwyk, chairman of Jeugkrag, told the *Weekly Mail* their organisation's attempts to meet with the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) have received no reply.

W/Mail

Matie bid to meet Inkatha

CAPE TOWN — Stellenbosch University students' representative council is to ask the Inkatha Youth Brigade's executive for a meeting in a bid to improve relations between them. (11B)

The chairman of the SRC, Mr Francois Beukman, said the cordial relationship that existed between the council and the Youth Brigade became "strained" about two years ago when a group of Stellenbosch students tried to hold talks with the ANC in Lusaka.

Politically, Inkatha was an important part of the "middle ground", he said. Star 13/5/88

probably been murdered
and his body set alight to

(116)

CAPE TIMES 19/5/88

Inkatha official is suspended

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The leader of the squatter settlement of Lindelani and a top Inkatha official, Mr Mandla Thomas Shabalala, who is facing murder charges, has been suspended from Inkatha's central committee.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, presented the motion at Inkatha's central committee meeting at the weekend, which was approved by its members with "deep regret".

Mr Shabalala appeared before the Ntuzuma court on Friday.

Top Inkatha man has been supended

Star 16/5/88

ULUNDI — The Central Committee of Inkatha has suspended one of its leading members, Mr Thomas Mandla Shabalala, who appeared in the Ntuzuma Court on Friday in connection with charges of murder and attempted murder. (11B)

Inkatha's stand

(118)

NEVER before had there been "quite such a violent onslaught against Inkatha at the local regional levels as has been mounted against us in the greater Maritzburg area during the first part of this year," Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said in Ulundi yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi was delivering his presidential address to the Inkatha national cultural liberation organisation's central committee.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said it was time "to review our involvement in the strife that took place."

"I say 'our involve-

• To Page 2

Inkatha

From page 1

(118)

ment' because we were drawn into situations of conflict we abhor.

"We reject violence for political purposes. We rejected the politics of intimidation. We reject coercion in whatever form it comes to us and from whomever it comes," Chief Buthelezi said. Sowetan 16/5/88

Howe urges talks for ANC, govt

CAPE TIMES 18/5/88 (16)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday strongly urged the South African government and the African National Congress to begin negotiations and presented a forceful case against sanctions.

In a major foreign policy speech here, Sir Geoffrey urged Pretoria to take the lead and step up the pace of change, condemned the use of violence by both the government and anti-government opposition forces and launched a scathing attack on the South African right wing.

In an extensive and carefully thought-out speech at a lunch for the Royal Commonwealth Society, Sir Geoffrey presented an agenda for reform and a "message" to black and white alike.

He stressed that change was "inevitable".

"Avoid intellectual and political strait-jackets. Be ready to think the unthinkable. Negotiation, when it comes, will not take place to rigid pre-set formulae. Catch phrases such as 'transfer of power' and coded language such as 'group rights' will have to be set aside. Compromise means give as well as take."

In a message to white South Africans, the British diplomat said: "No change is simply not an option. Change is coming, and the sooner the white community as a whole can face that fact the better the chance of negotiating a settlement in which their concerns will be met." He added that he accepted that change may be a long time coming but "the South African government has to take the lead. Dialogue cannot take place against a backcloth of violence and repression".

Widening rift

In clear conflict with a statement made by Mrs Margaret Thatcher in which she denounced the IRA, the PLO and the ANC as terrorist organizations during the Commonwealth's heads-of-government conference in Vancouver, Sir Geoffrey said the British government would continue talking to opposition groups — including the ANC.

His speech comes amid a widening rift with Mrs Thatcher over foreign office policy, and particularly on South Africa. Last week the Foreign Secretary sided with Chancellor Nigel Lawson in an increasingly bitter debate over the issue of exchange rate controls, and speculation is mounting that he may soon be out of the cabinet altogether.

In his speech, Sir Geoffrey returned constantly to the sanctions issue and Britain's attitude that they are counter-productive, would create economic stagnation and most hurt the frontline states and South African blacks.

He said opposition to sanctions does not mean support for apartheid. In a clearly intended barb, he said this was a myth "fostered, I regret to say, by some elements in the South African government".

The agenda for reform he presented includes:

- Lifting the state of emergency and press censorship;
- Revoking the February banning of 17 anti-apartheid organizations;
- Releasing Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;
- Unbanning the ANC and other political parties and allowing for resumption of normal political activity;
- Ending the destabilization of neighbouring states, and
- Dismantling apartheid legislation, beginning with the Group Areas Act.

Sir Geoffrey urged Pretoria to negotiate with "genuine" black leaders, otherwise "they will find succeeding generations more radical and more unpalatable to them".

He also pleaded with the ANC and black South Africans to forswear violence.

D/D 19/5/88

Dhlomo: Indaba may be our last hope

by Matthew Moonieya
business editor

EAST LONDON — Rejection of the KwaZulu-/Natal Indaba proposals could be a clear signal to some that evolutionary change was no longer possible and that revolution was the only alternative, the Kwazulu Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said here last night.

Dr Dhlomo, the chief Kwazulu and Inkatha negotiator at the Indaba, told the annual dinner of the East London Chamber of Commerce that while white politicians were dazzled by the fairy-tale lights of the October ethnic municipal elections, black politicians were beginning to doubt the efficacy of negotiation.

He said there was a limit to which they could continue to support power-sharing negotiation without any tangible results. Rejection of the Indaba proposals would irretrievably alienate the entire Zulu nation, the largest single population group in the country.

"The prospect of the Zulu nation turning its back on the negotiating table is one so drenched in gloom that I would prefer not even to consider it," he said.

Dealing earlier with the implications of the proposals, which he said were vast and far-reaching, Dr Dhlomo emphasised that they were not for independence or sovereign rule, but were for power-sharing and provincial government for the area in limited areas of jurisdiction.

"It will bring sweeping changes in the rationalisation of administration. In terms of education, we see that no less than six different departments will be streamlined into one with huge benefits in increased efficiency and reduced bureaucracy."

The fundamental fact underlying the changes was that it would be made by the legitimate and truly representative government of the region.

"This will be the product of an unparalleled exercise in democracy in South Africa and for the first time, all the people will share in planning their joint future."

He said it would create a new incentive for all to build a common future and a new mood of entrepreneurship and zeal for advancement would overtake the province as it discarded the shackles of apartheid and international antagonism. Substantial foreign investment would be attracted to fund the march to prosperity.

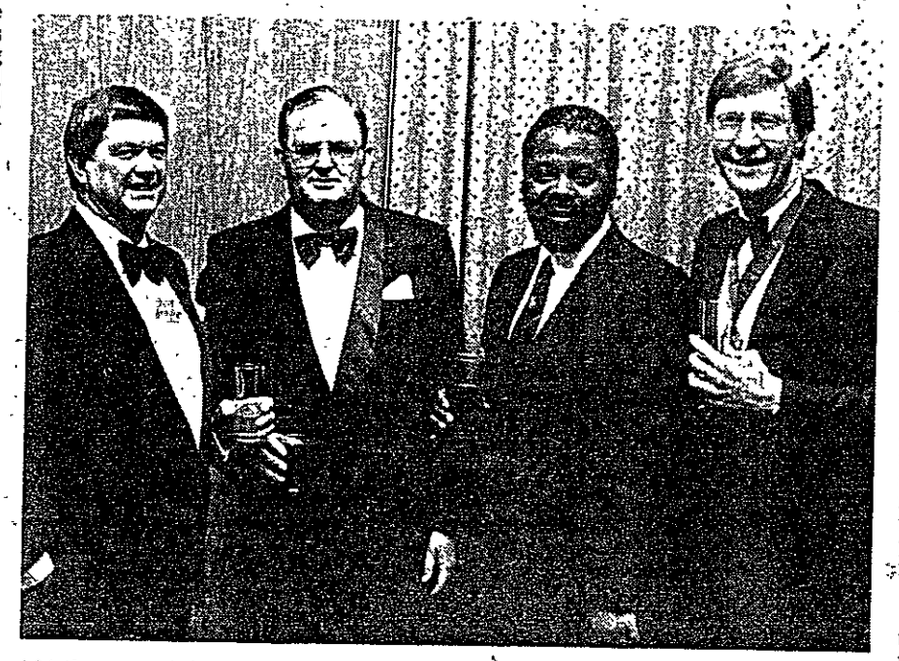
"This scenario is not wishful thinking on our part. The international business community has already indicated that an Indaba-type dispensation would not only remove the restraints on them, but would also provide a fertile investment proposition."

The partial clearing of the political logjam would attract considerable international sympathy and it would defuse to some extent the sanctions and disinvestment lobby.

"While we stand vehemently opposed to sanctions and would do anything to oppose it, we must warn that the sanctioners have mastered their trade, and most important, we have no friendly, powerful neighbour to the south to bail us out, as happened to the former Rhodesia."

Dr Dhlomo warned that time was running out for negotiation politics and that it had been 15 months since the indaba proposals were handed to the government and that they had not received any official communication from the cabinet.

"During all this time we have waited patiently because we have had no choice. But we cannot remain patient much longer. The tide of racial and political polarisation in South Africa is coming in and if we don't move fast, it will engulf us all."



At the annual dinner of the East London Chamber of Commerce held in East London last night were (from left): the MD of the Daily Dispatch, Mr T. Briceland; the chief magistrate, Mr S. Nel; guest speaker, Dr O. Dhlomo; and the president of ELCC, Mr E. Spring.

Cape Times 19/5/88

Inkatha: Tough warning to govt

11B

Political Staff

INKATHA, the largest legal black organization in South Africa, last night threatened to cut off negotiations with the government because it had not reacted to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals and warned that revolution was the only alternative.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inaktha and Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu government, said in East London that South Africa was rapidly approaching the limit of how long KwaZulu and Inkatha could continue to support power-sharing negotiation.

"The rejection of proposals as moderate as those of the Indaba would finally and irretrievably alienate the entire Zulu nation," he said in an address to the East London Chamber of Commerce.

"The prospect of the largest single population group in the country turning its back on the negotiating table is one so drenched in gloom that I would prefer not even to consider it.

"There is also little doubt that the rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate the violence on and within our borders, providing what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative," Dr Dhlomo said.

The Indaba proposals were handed to the government 15 months ago, but "to date we have have received no official communication from the cabinet".

His warning, the toughest ever issued by Inkatha, could sink government hopes of drawing in so-called "moderates" into the proposed national council.

"There is little doubt that the complete rejection of the Indaba proposals by government would be the deathblow to any possibility of a negotiated future for this country," Dr Dhlomo said in his prepared speech.

"Already the hour is late and there are few black leaders who are still prepared to negotiate.

"Already there is a growing belief even among black pragmatists that 'reform' is just a myth.

"Black politicians are beginning to doubt the efficacy of negotiation itself.

"There is a limit, which we are rapidly approaching, to how long KwaZulu and Inkatha can continue to support power-sharing negotiation without any tangible results whatsoever.

"There is also little doubt that the rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate violence on and within our borders, providing what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative."

Dr Dlomo added that they had waited patiently because "we had no choice but to do so. But we cannot remain patient very much longer.

"The tide of radical and political polarization in South Africa is coming in — and if we don't move fast it will engulf us all," he said.

Star 19/5/88

Inkatha wants results from Indaba

Staff Reporter

Time is running out to implement the kwaZulu Natal Indaba proposals, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convener of the Indaba and kwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, said yesterday.

11B

LIMIT

Addressing the East London Chamber of Commerce, Dr Dhlomo said the hour was already late and there was a limit, which was rapidly being approached, to how long kwaZulu and Inkatha could continue to support power-sharing negotiation "without any tangible results whatsoever".

The rejection of the "moderate" Indaba proposals by the Government would be the "death blow" to any possibility of a negotiated future for South Africa and would irretrievably alienate the Zulu nation, he said.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo . . . time is running out

"The prospect of the largest single population group in the country turning its back on the negotiating table is one so drenched in gloom that I would prefer not even to consider it.

"There is also little doubt that the rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate the violence on and within our borders, providing what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative," he said.

It would also contribute to the "final slamming of the international door firmly in our face".

On the other hand, the implementation of the Indaba proposals would have proved that negotiation politics was not only possible but "triumphantly practical", he said.

Pressure mounts on warlords

●From PAGE 1

he was brought to trial and his innocence or guilt established, adding they "(owed) this to the good name of Inkatha".

The central committee also decided, with immediate effect, to "suspend any member of the Central Committee who is charged with a heinous criminal offence or in any way detracts from the good name of Inkatha". They chose the organisation's secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, to head the new watchdog body.

Dhlomo said this week he had not attended the ICC meeting where the resolutions were passed and had not yet examined the records of the debate or decided when to begin work.

He said as far as he had been able to establish, the new committee was "mainly aimed at seeing to if that the members of the organisation did not get out of hand even under extreme provocation".

Asked whether Inkatha members charged in court would be automatically suspended, Dhlomo said, "It cannot be like that. We would have to look at each situation on merit."

In his presidential address to the central committee at the weekend, Buthelezi termed it "extremely important politically and diplomatically" for the organisation to counter accusations that "Inkatha commits political atrocities against black brothers and sisters in the struggle for liberation".

On the question of corruption he said, "I am in fact uneasy about the behaviour of some of our brothers and sisters at the local and regional levels.

"The abuse of the privileges of office, in, for example, jumping ahead of the ordinary man to buy up tracts of ground at ridiculously low prices, must be stamped out. It may or may not have happened, but we dare not let it happen."

His proposed watchdog committee would also help counter the "foul accusations levelled against (the organisation) that Inkatha has 'warlords' and ... that while Inkatha (was) committed to dealing with apartheid through non-violent tactics and strategies, it (was) very violent against black South Africa".

Dhlomo said the formation of the watchdog committee would not necessarily break the "statemate" between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in resolving the conflict.

He said he would welcome it if the UDF were to set up a similar watchdog group of its own.

However, since this would be in breach of the restrictions placed on the UDF, he hoped the state would relax them so talks could resume.

Inkatha poised to clear out warlords

20-26/5/88 W/Mail (11B)

By CARMEL RICKARD and THANDEKA GQUBULE

ONE of Natal's "warlords" was this week sentenced to death, two others appeared in court to face murder charges and Inkatha announced the formation of a watchdog committee to investigate claims of violence and corruption.

These are the first serious signs of action against against the infamous "warlords" after months of violence claiming over 600 lives in Natal.

Mlungisi A Shabalala, 20, was sentenced to death on Wednesday for the murder of Mfano Miya in a forest in Pietermaritzburg's Impande district.

Jerome Mncwabe, an Imbali town councillor and an Inkatha member, appeared yesterday before the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court on three charges of murder.

He is alleged to have murdered three youths, Bongani Mseleku, Mduduzi Dlamini and Sikhumbuzo Mthiyane, in Imbali last November and has pleaded not guilty, saying he acted in self-defence.

'I was told to kill Buthelezi'

A SECRET state witness in the Bethal treason trial yesterday claimed he was instructed by members of the outlawed African National Congress to assassinate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other "homeland" leaders.

The witness, identified as "X4", is allegedly a former member of the ANC. He told the court he had gone to Ulundi, but decided "it (assassinating Buthelezi) would not be suitable at the time".

The hearing continues. — Sapa

And Inkatha central committee (ICC) member Thomas Mandla Shabalala faces charges of murder and attempted murder.

The central committee last week suspended Shabalala at the request of Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After growing concern about allegations that powerful Inkatha members were misusing their office as "warlords" or to "feather their own nests", the organisation is also setting up an internal watchdog body.

The central committee wants the constitution changed so that any member of the organisation "charged with a criminal act or accused of fraudulent behaviour or profiteering" will be automatically suspended while an internal investigation is carried out.

Two resolutions dealing with this have still to be ratified by the Inkatha conference later this year, but the ICC accepted, with immediate effect, Buthelezi's call for the suspension of Shabalala. They said his privileges and duties would be suspended until

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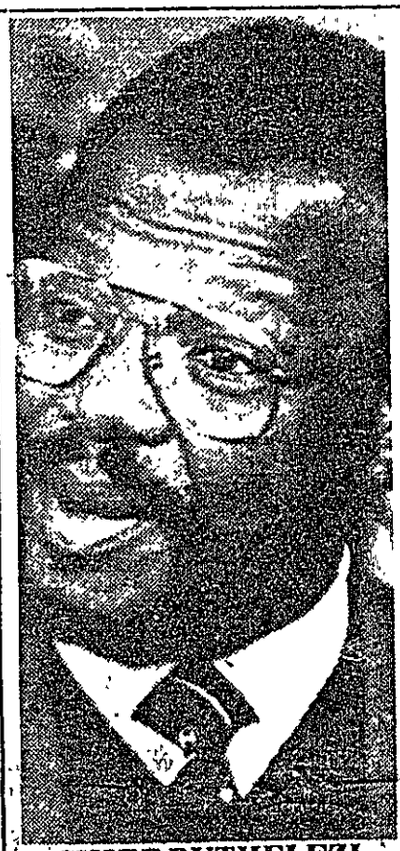
Chief Buthelezi to address EL business forum

P10 29/5/88



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

EAST LONDON — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will address an East London Chamber of Commerce lunch-time business forum here next Friday.

Chief Buthelezi is to speak on the role which black extra-parliamentary organisations can play in the negotiation process for a constitution, and to what extent they subscribe to the free market system.

His remarks are expected to be directed largely at the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Chief Buthelezi has consistently accused the UDF of following tactics and strategies which have failed in the past, and of "playing into the hands of the minority regime".

An opponent of sanctions and a supporter of the free enterprise system, Chief Buthelezi has frequently attacked Cosatu's socialist leanings. — DDR.

KWAZULU INDABA

Maties show spirit

President P W Botha must be grateful that he has given up the chancellorship of the University of Stellenbosch. Three years ago, seven students, among them members of the Students' Representative Council (SRC), had to be stopped by Botha himself when they planned to hold talks with the ANC in Lusaka. This week, the National Party-dominated SRC unanimously supported the

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FM 20/5/88

KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

The SRC's proposals — they also call on government to hold a referendum on the Indaba before the end of the year — will be handed to Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis. Heunis has so far only accused the Indaba proposals of "deficiencies" — of which the major one appears to be the risk of group domination. On the other hand, some of his Nat colleagues have openly rejected the proposals. To date, no formal communication has come from government explaining its position.

The Matie council warns that negotiations at regional and national level for a political dispensation, accommodating all race groups, will have to be initiated within the next year if evolutionary change is to take place in SA.

The Indaba "embodied the spirit of a possible solution and represented the spirit of negotiation that had taken place so far," says SRC member Nickie Smit in his proposal.

Heunis . . . Maties will hand petition to him

"The Indaba represents a regional solution which could be repeated in other parts of SA if the national negotiation process doesn't get under way. If the conflict potential is too great for national negotiation, or if the national negotiation process fizzles out, a regional Indaba-type solution will be of inestimable value," says Smit.

Smit says, as a Nat supporter, he could justify the motion because the party had clearly stated that there had to be a negotiated political future. "It will do the NP and its supporters the world of good if a clear programme of negotiation is initiated."

SRC chairman Francois Beukman says the resolution was "evidence to black people that the youth is prepared to compromise." Maybe this comes at a good time for the former university chancellor to make clear his government's position on the Indaba. ■

Oscar: Accept Indaba or else!

Oscar Dhlomo, Indaba convenor.

By ZB MOLEFE

KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister Oscar Dhlomo has a dream that one day South Africa will unite and cast off the shackles of ignorance and mistrust that imprison its people.

South Africa would then take its place at the helm of affairs on the African continent, Dhlomo told the East London Chamber of Commerce this week.

It would be "a South Africa which discards its current pariah rags and assumes the mantle of a respected world nation" said Dhlomo, who is also the KwaZulu Natal Indaba convenor.

He dreamed of a South Africa in which all the people pulled together for the common good instead of fighting over "the ethnic illusion". His vision was of a South Africa where "our powerhouse of resources and technology" was unleashed to restore the economy and reverse the current spiral of unemployment.

He envisioned a country where "there is freedom in the air – instead of the rank and pervasive odour of the state of emergency, Press curbs and the myriad repressive laws necessary to contain our self-inflicted plight," said Dhlomo.

He reminded his audience that many dreams did not materialise because they lacked a solid foundation.

"But I am fortunate in this regard," he said, "for my dream always begins on the solid foundation of that day of consensus in the Durban City Hall when the Indaba showed that negotiation CAN work and South Africans of all shades CAN agree to compromise and plan a shared future."

Government rejection of the Indaba proposals would kill the possibility of a negotiated future for South Africa, he said.

"Already the hour is late and there are few black leaders who are still prepared to negotiate."

There was a growing belief even among black pragmatists that "reform" was a myth.

"While white politicians are dazzled by the fairy lights of their forthcoming ethnic municipal elections, black politicians are beginning to doubt the efficacy of negotiation itself."

There was little doubt that rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate the violence on and within South Africa's borders, and provide "what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative," Dhlomo added.

He warned against white South Africans taking refuge in the "do your damndest" attitude, describing this as naive and misguided.

"The sanctions ball is progressively gathering speed and the ugly prospect of full-scale measures is not far distant.

"While we stand vehemently opposed to sanctions and would do anything to oppose them, we must warn that the santioneers have mastered their trade, and most important, we have no friendly, powerful neighbour to the south to bail us out, as happened to the former Rhodesia."

The international business comunity had already clearly indicated that an Indaba-type dispensation would provide a fertile investment proposition, Dhlomo said.

"I worry about the future of our beloved country. I have recurring nightmares of South Africa bloodied and beaten by punitive measures from without, and strife and hatred within.

"I have visions of the smouldering ruins of what should have been the showpiece of Africa, wilfully sacrificed through sheer folly on all sides," said Dhlomo.

Woman stabbed

● From Page 1

held United Democratic Front (UDF) and the more conservative Zulu Inkatha movement.

In the latest fighting, a black man was shot dead by a gunman in Henley, near Pietermaritzburg, the police said.

A black woman was killed and another wounded in another shooting incident in the same township.

A man was stabbed to death by fellow blacks at Taylor's Halt and a black woman was stabbed to death and her house stoned by black assailants at nearby Mpumalanga. Sowetan 23/5/88

At KwaDengeze township, police said they found the body of a black man who had apparently been stabbed to death.

Two black men were injured by gun shots in Chesterville.

Padley Keys, a local official of the liberal Progressive Federal Party, said last week that the heavy security reinforcements had restored a measure of calm to the the Pietermaritzburg townships, which spread across rolling hills.

"The violence has been held down for a while but it seems to be rearing its head again," he said.

Desperate living conditions and a criminal element had exacerbated the unrest, Keys said. — Sapa-Reuter.

5 killed as violence hits Natal

Sowetan 23/5/88

BLACK-against-black feuding has erupted again in South Africa's worst trouble spot, Natal Province, claiming five lives, police said yesterday.

Three people were stabbed to death and two others shot dead by gunmen on Saturday in Natal townships, the police said in a bulletin on political unrest.

At least 13 people have died in the area in the past week, one of the worst since last January when police reinforcements were drafted into townships around the Natal capital of Pietermaritzburg, scene of the most savage fighting.

Church groups estimate that more than 500 people have been killed since the fighting among blacks broke out at the start of 1987.

A bitter power struggle is being waged in the area between the anti-apart-

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Buthelezi says youth will see black State President

DIB 23/5/88

(118)

PORT SHEPSTONE — Young people would see blacks in the South African parliament under a black State President in their lifetime, the president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a youth rally yesterday.

Dr Buthelezi, who is also the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, was addressing the Umzumbe-Umzinto Youth Rally at the Othuthwini Sports Ground near here.

According to remarks prepared for delivery, he urged his audience to prepare now for a future in which they would inevitably be free before the law and the constitution, and in which there would be no distinction between races.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

But he warned that, if blacks allowed themselves to be divided in the struggle for victory over apartheid, they would remain divided after such victory.

People should beware of false prophets who urged them to destroy the country's assets, he added.

This was what the Xhosa "prophetess" Nonqqause had done in the last century, leading to the deaths of tens of thousands from starvation.

"There are those in black communities who urge young people today to destroy their schools, Dr Buthelezi said.

"There is nothing more important in the whole world to young people today than their preperation for the day of a new South Africa in which they will be free."

Dr Buthelezi said he knew that there were many who were educated but still could not find work, but their day would come.

Meanwhile, their time could be used to help the people survive.

More than any other country on the continent, South Africa was blessed with vast mineral wealth and great mines and factories had been raised by the people's endeavours.

"Do not destroy that which we have now because we want something more," he said. — Sapa

Soal questions police treatment of demos

(118) Star 23/5/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Peter Soal is angry at the "different" treatment meted out by police to Black Sash demonstrators recently and to anti-Archbishop Desmond Tutu protesters at airports this week.

The Johannesburg North MP said last week's anti-Tutu protests, which went off almost without incident, contrasted sharply with the demonstration in which armed police moved in on 28 Black Sash members staging a peaceful demonstration in Cape Town.

He wanted to know why police had demanded that the anti-Tutu placards, held at airports in Johannesburg and Cape Town on his arrival back from abroad, be removed only "after SABC-TV had conveniently been allowed to film them".

Mr Soal said he was not opposed to demonstrations but was against police acting selectively.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said the holding of placards was against the law, and police had asked those holding them to leave.

An eye-witness at Jan Smuts Airport said the demonstrators, said to be unemployed members of the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers Union of South Africa, walked into the airport building "and sat down quietly".

They had placards and a banner, which they had kept hidden until Archbishop Tutu arrived.

Then they suddenly unfurled them and stood holding them as he entered the arrivals hall.

Police "had no time" to prevent them from doing so, the witness said.

At Cape Town's D F Malan Airport Archbishop Tutu was met by a group of about 20 placard-waving students from the National Students Federation.

There was also a crowd of cheering well wishers from the Anglican church.

The placards used in the demonstrations included the slogans "Tutu, are your children hungry?" and "Sanctions kill the poor, not the rich".

Mr Soal said the recent protest by 28 Black Sash members in Cape Town resulted in a large squad of armed police closing in on the demonstrators in a "mad over-reaction".

"The two demonstrations seem to have been treated very differently indeed," he said.

Shooting: 3 acquitted

MARITZBURG — Three men were acquitted of attempted murder charges in the Maritzburg Regional Court yesterday.

Inkatha Youth chairman Sichizo Zuma, (25), Imbali councillor Abdool Aweta (51) and 18-year-old Mlamuli Majola had pleaded not guilty to allegations that after a funeral on May 30 last year, they had attempted to kill a 14-year-old boy by shooting at him and stabbing him. Star 24/5/88

The Inkatha men and a Mr Jabulani Kunene, against whom charges were dropped, were originally charged with seven counts of attempted murder, six of which were withdrawn. — Sapa.

Councillor acquitted of murder of two youths

ARGUS 30/5/87

(116)

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Mr Jerome Mncwabe, 37, a member of the Imbali Town Council and Inkatha, was carried shoulder-high outside the Supreme Court here after being acquitted of the murders of youths who attacked his car in Imbali during the November unrest.

Mr Mncwabe was mobbed by well-wishers and women danced and ululated as he made his way from the court.

His co-accused, a former "kitskonstabel", Nkosinathi Mncwabe, 19, was found guilty of culpable homicide and sentenced to a whipping of five strokes plus a 12-month jail sentence, conditionally suspended.

Mr Acting Justice Wessels said that Nkosinathi had substantially exceeded the bounds of self-defence when he struck Victor Mthiyane, 18, on the head twice. Victor died of head wounds. Nkosinathi's actions in trying to arrest Victor were far from reasonable.

Mr Acting Justice Wessels said the sentence was aimed at rehabilitating Nkosinathi and deterring him and others from taking the law into their own hands. Nkosinathi was not in the police force when the incidents took place and he had since been discharged.

He said the court had gained the distinct impression that some witnesses were biased against the Mncwabes and that they had acted as conduits for other people who wanted to ensure that they were convicted.

The court had not found that the two Mncwabes had been acting in common purpose and Nkosinathi could not be held responsible for the killings of Siphiwe Dlamini, 18, and Bongani Seleku, 16.

Mr Acting Justice Wessels said Bongani had been stabbed and had a gunshot wound but the State had not proved that he had died of the gunshot wound, neither had they proved the origin of the stab wound.

The court found that Mr Mncwabe had not been entitled to fire two shots when a group of youths threatened him.

The problem was, however, that the court did not know which shot killed Siphiwe Dlamini.

Mr Acting Justice Wessels said that the issue was not whether a person was guilty or not but whether his guilt had been proved.

The court unanimously concluded that the evidence fell short of doing so in the case of the killing of Siphiwe.

BLACK UNITY GREATLY NEEDED — CHIEF

Sowetan 30/5/86

CHIEF Buthelezi

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday black South Africans would struggle "until apartheid was totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy."

Chief Buthelezi was speaking at a prayer meeting in Durban for black unity during which he spoke on the issue of sanctions against South Africa.

He said in South Africa, where blacks "were conquered in the land of their birth . . . history demands that we struggle for justice and total equality for all South Africans . . ."

"I tell the world that black South Africa will never ever rest until apartheid is totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy.

Chief Buthelezi said South Africa was passing through a very difficult phase and that the situation was "very dangerous."

He said sanctions was not the only alternative left and was not the last thing that could be done before "violence overtakes us all to destroy everything."

He told the crowd: "Do you agree with me when I tell the world that it is totally untrue that those who argue the loudest for sanctions most want peace? I tell the world that black workers know that those who most argue for disinvestment are already committed to the politics of confrontation or are already committed to the politics of violence."

Spokesmen

He told the crowd the issue that confounded the whole black struggle for liberation was that black spokesmen who "represent nobody and who are answerable to nobody, posture as your saviours and speak on your behalf."

He mentioned Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Rev Frank Chikane, SACC secretary general and Cosatu president, Mr Elijah Barayi.

Companies

"They stomp the world speaking on your behalf calling on foreign companies to withdraw from South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said blacks "would invariably be the first to feel the pinch" of economic measures against South Africa.

"The Government which does not represent us, but which represents white interests, would immediately cut down on black services. They would be stingy on funds for education facilities. They would be stingy on money for health facilities. We would not have money set aside for black housing."

Chief Buthelezi said black unity was "desperately" needed in the country.

He said the South African Government was constitutionally on the run, but "most certainly not on the run from revolutionary attack."

ARCHBISHOP Tutu

ALLAN Boesak

REV Chikane

ELIJAH Barayi

Cape Times 30/5/88

Chief: World losing faith with peaceful change

MORE than 30 000 Inkatha members yesterday endorsed KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stand against economic sanctions, rejecting the campaign for world economic isolation of South Africa by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders.

At a rally held in Umlazi to focus on the issue, Inkatha rejected the call to Britain and Western Europe to implement sanctions by the delegation of South African church leaders now touring Europe.

Inkatha called on Archbishop Desmond Tutu and every other member of the clergy advocating sanctions to consult "the black masses in South Africa (who) reject disinvestment as a strategy which they wish to support" to ensure that their actions were not divisive.

Inkatha said Western governments should help blacks promote economic development to boost employment opportunities as disinvestment was a policy rejected by its main victims — the black majority in South Africa.

Addressing the rally, attended by Inkatha members bussed in from as far afield as the Northern Transvaal, Chief Buthelezi said the world was losing faith in peaceful change in South Africa because it saw the reform process as having ground to a halt.